Ukrainian in the United Kingdom: Language Use, Attitudes, Ideologies and Identities in the Ukrainian Community

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Abstract

This thesis is the first detailed sociolinguistic examination of the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom. It explores the linguistic repertoires, language practices, and language attitudes and ideologies of community members, as well as the perceived role of language in the formation of identity, and factors affecting the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of the heritage/community language. A mixed methods approach was employed, drawing on a combination of quantitative and qualitative data collected through three complementary methods: questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic observations in a Ukrainian complementary school.

The data presented in this thesis provide evidence that, on the whole, language shift is taking place in the community, as Ukrainian tends to be used relatively seldom by community members. This is despite generally positive attitudes towards Ukrainian and community members considering it an important part of Ukrainian identity. Thus, Ukrainian appears to play a largely symbolic role in the Ukrainian community in the UK. The data also highlight the considerable linguistic diversity within the community, particularly the linguistic differences between the two waves of Ukrainian migration to the UK. For example, those belonging to the first, post-World War II (mid-late 1940s) wave of migration reported largely more monolingual linguistic practices than members of the second, post-Soviet migration wave (1991-present), whose linguistic repertoires and language practices are comparatively more multilingual. The data also reveal that community

members belonging to either migration wave use different varieties of Ukrainian (labelled Diaspora Ukrainian and Contemporary Ukrainian), and that Russian also forms part of the linguistic repertoires of second-wave Ukrainians. Attitudes towards these languages and linguistic varieties were diverse, which further adds to the complexity of the linguistic situation in the community. Some informants exhibited negative attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian, as they considered it 'Russified' and 'impure', and positive attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian, which was perceived as being a more 'authentic', 'pure' variety of Ukrainian. The thesis also examines support for the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian (the heritage/community language) in the UK, but also uncovered many of the challenges encountered in doing so.

The findings of this research contribute to our understanding of the role played by heritage/community languages in ethnic minority groups in the UK, and some of the challenges facing such groups in relation to the transmission and maintenance of such languages. It also provides a valuable insight into the linguistic diversity that exists within an ethnic minority groups, and thus challenges assumptions of linguistic homogeneity within these groups. Thus, the study contributes to our understanding of the diverse, multilingual nature of contemporary society in the UK.

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Note on Transliteration

References to printed sources are transliterated using the Library of Congress System. Place names are transliterated from Ukrainian, hence for example Kyiv, Odesa and L'viv as opposed to the more familiar Russian transliterations Kiev, Odessa and Lvov. Transliterations and translations from Ukrainian and Russian into English are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

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1 Introduction and Research Context

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is the first detailed sociolinguistic examination of the Ukrainian Community in the United Kingdom. Over the last couple of decades – arguably as the UK has been recognised as being 'super-diverse' (Vertovec 2006, 2007) – an ever-increasing amount of sociolinguistic and linguistic ethnographic research has been conducted on a variety of ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom. This includes, but is not limited to, explorations of Chinese (Wei 1994, 2013; Archer, Francis and Mau 2008; Francis, Archer and Mau 2010a), Gujarati (Martin et al. 2006; Creese, Bhatt and Martin 2007), Turkish (Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006; Creese et al. 2007; Lytra 2012), and Bengali (Creese, Blackledge and Hamid 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2009) communities. This thesis aims to add to this body of research; however, in focusing on the Ukrainian community, it also provides an insight into a group, which, as will be outlined, is both particularly interesting and unique from a sociolinguistic perspective.

The Ukrainian community is linguistically relatively diverse and comprises two distinct migration waves with contrasting historical and linguistic backgrounds (see Section 1.4.3). As this chapter will outline, the differences between the backgrounds of the two migration waves mean that it is not simply the case that the heritage/community

language (Ukrainian) and the societal majority language (English) are present in the community. Russian is part of the linguistic repertoires of second-wave Ukrainians, and there are also discernible differences between the varieties of Ukrainian used by members of either migration wave. Many of the linguistic differences between the two can be attributed to the influence of the Soviet Union on the language practices of second-wave Ukrainian migrants, an influence that has had not had an impact on first-wave migrants. Thus, this examination of the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom may also provide an insight into the linguistic complexities within post-Soviet diaspora communities more generally.

1.2 Research Questions

In order to examine the sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom, this thesis examines language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, the relationship between language and identity, and the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian. More specifically, the thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. Language Practices

a) What are the linguistic repertoires of Ukrainian community members?
b) Which languages do Ukrainian community members use in different domains?

c) Is Ukrainian maintained in certain domains more than others? Are there any signs that language shift is taking place?

2. Language Attitudes and Ideologies

a) What are community members' attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian?
b) What are community members' attitudes towards the different languages and linguistic varieties present in Ukraine and the Ukrainian community?
c) What are the language ideologies that underpin these attitudes?

3. Language and Identity

What role does the Ukrainian language (and/or other languages) play in the formation of Ukrainian identity?

4. Intergenerational Language Transmission and Language Maintenance

a) What efforts (if any) are made by community members to transmit, and subsequently maintain, Ukrainian across generations?
b) What are the difficulties and challenges faced in attempting to do this?

The first group of research questions are primarily explored in Chapters 4 and 6; the second group in Chapters 5 and 6. The third set of questions is addressed primarily in Chapter 5, as well as in Chapter 6. The fourth group of research questions is addressed in Chapter 7. In addressing these questions, comparisons are made between the

two migration waves (inter-wave), and also within the first wave of migration (intra-wave), in order to provide a more complete, nuanced insight into the sociolinguistic complexity of the UK Ukrainian community.

To explore these research questions, a mixed methods approach was employed (see Chapter 3 for details), using a combination of questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic observations to collect quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire collected predominantly quantitative data from 137 informants which were subject to descriptive and inferential statistical analysis. The qualitative data collected from the seven semi-structured interviews conducted underwent a thematic analysis and aimed to supplement the quantitative questionnaire data by providing a deeper insight into the issues covered in the questionnaire. The 19 ethnographic observations conducted at a Ukrainian complementary school over the course of one academic year provided an additional insight into the sociolinguistic situation in the community and ensured that the thesis did not rely entirely on self-reported data.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The remainder of this chapter provides an overview of the linguistic and cultural context for this study. Section 1.4.1 provides an introduction to the Ukrainian language, the linguistic history of Ukraine,

and the standardisation of Ukrainian. Next, Section 1.4.2 reviews the existing literature and relevant sociolinguistic research on contemporary Ukraine, since it gained independence in 1991. The Ukrainian diaspora is the subject of Section 1.4.3; first, an overview of the history of Ukrainian migration to the UK is provided (Section 1.4.3.1), followed by Ukrainian complementary schools (Section 1.4.3.2), and a review of the limited existing research on the Ukrainian diaspora in the UK and North America (Section 1.4.3.3).

Chapter 2 outlines the key concepts and theories that this thesis draws on and reviews the relevant literature, beginning with a discussion of heritage/community languages and complementary schools. The chapter then explores key theoretical notions relevant to the thesis, including language and identity, language attitudes and ideologies, and language maintenance and shift. Chapter 3 describes and explains the research design and methods employed to explore the various aims of the thesis. The processes of designing the research, and collecting and analysing data are outlined, including a discussion of methodological issues encountered throughout these processes.

Chapters 4-7 present the analysis of the data obtained for this study. Chapter 4 draws from data collected through the questionnaire and interviews to examine the linguistic repertoires and language practices of members of the Ukrainian community. The chapter explores which languages members of the community know, which

languages they use in a variety of contexts (both in the UK and Ukraine), and how often they use Ukrainian. Thus, the chapter aims to ascertain in which domains Ukrainian is maintained and whether language shift is taking place. Chapter 5 explores the language attitudes of members of the Ukrainian community and the ideologies underpinning these attitudes. It explores attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian, as well as attitudes towards linguistic variation, both in the UK and Ukraine, and the language ideologies underpinning these attitudes. The chapter also explores the relationship between the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian identity within the community.

Chapter 6 draws on data collected through ethnographic observations in a Ukrainian complementary school. The chapter examines the ways in which Ukrainian identity is promoted and developed in the school, the language practices of students and teachers, and the language attitudes and ideologies observed in the classroom. Chapter 7 examines intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance. It explores the language practices of informants' children, the ways in which Ukrainian is transmitted and maintained in the UK, and some of the difficulties and challenges encountered in making such efforts. The thesis ends with a summary and conclusion in Chapter 8.

1.4 Context for the Study: Ukraine, Ukrainians, and the Ukrainian Language

This section outlines the background to the study, focusing on Ukraine and the Ukrainian language, and the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom. An understanding of the Ukrainian language and the past and present linguistic situation in Ukraine, as well as the history of Ukrainian migration to the United Kingdom, is essential for an informed analysis of the current sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom, as it allows us to understand why linguistic differences might exist within the community.

1.4.1 The Ukrainian Language

1.4.1.1 Ukrainian: A Brief Overview

Ukrainian is an Indo-European language that sits beside Russian and Belarusian – the two other nations that comprised Kyivan Rus' – in the eastern branch of the Slavonic languages. The three languages are closely related to each other, but the point at which they became distinct entities is disputed. According to Soviet historiography, a single language was shared throughout Kyivan Rus' (882-1240 AD), whereas Ukrainian historiography argues that linguistic divisions were present in the eighth and ninth centuries (Fouse 2000: 21). Ukrainian is most often compared to Russian, the East Slavonic language with the largest number of speakers.

It goes beyond the scope of this thesis to describe Ukrainian or compare it to Russian in any great detail, but some of its distinguishing features will now be outlined. First, Ukrainian uses the Cyrillic alphabet and, like Russian, has 33 characters, but a number of characters are distinct to either language. For example, Ukrainian contains the letters <ґ> [g], <є> [je], <і> [i], <ї> [ji], whereas Russian does not; Russian contains letters <ё> [jo], <э> [ɛ], and the hard sign <ь>, which are lacking in Ukrainian.[1] The two alphabets also contain three letters that are written identically but pronounced differently: <и> (Ukrainian [ɪ], Russian [i]); <е> (Ukrainian [ɛ], Russian [je]); and <г> (Ukrainian [ɦ], Russian [g]). Unlike Russian, Ukrainian spelling is largely phonetic. In Russian, but not in Ukrainian, *akanie* – pronouncing an unstressed 'о' as /a/ or /ə/ – is present, as is final consonant devoicing (Bilaniuk 2005: 203). Ukrainian is an inflectional language that has a similar case system to Russian, but it has one extra case (vocative), and sometimes uses cases differently to Russian, e.g. some verbs that take the dative case in Ukrainian take the accusative case in Russian (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b: 70). Ukrainian also has an additional, alternative way of forming the future imperfective tense that uses a suffix as opposed to a modal verb.

The development of a standard variety of Ukrainian has been affected by the history of Ukraine and attempts by various regimes to

[1] The hard sign has no phonetic value, and appears between a hard consonant (often at the end of a prefix) and a stem beginning with vowels я, е, ё or ю, e.g. *объяснить*, 'to explain' (Wade 2011).

engineer the language to fulfil political aims. Debates surrounding Standard Ukrainian are ongoing, complex, and influenced by a variety of social and historical factors, as will be outlined in Section 1.4.1.3.

1.4.1.2 A History of Language in Ukraine

The origins of the Ukrainian nation can be traced back to Kyivan Rus', which existed between the 9th and 13th centuries and comprised Ukrainian, Russian, and Belarusian territories. The political centre of this principality was the current capital of Ukraine, Kyiv. In 1240, the Mongol Invasion of Kyivan Rus' split it into several principalities and marked the beginning of the first Partition of Ukraine. Multiple partitions have since taken place throughout the territories of modern Ukraine: these have influenced the development of Ukrainian as well as language practices across the nation. Ukraine was split into two parts along the river Dnieper from the mid-seventeenth century, initially as a result of the Cossack uprising against the Polish nobility which started in 1648 (see Figure 1.1). This uprising led to the signing of the Pereiaslav Treaty in 1654 that resulted in closer allegiance with Moscow, and the subsequent Andrusovo Treaty in 1667 that divided Ukraine into two halves: Western Ukraine came under Polish rule, and Eastern Ukraine under Russian rule (Wilson 1997: 7; Fouse 2000: 25). In the late eighteenth century, further partitions of Poland (in 1772, 1793, and 1795) continued to split the Ukrainian territories; by the

beginning of the nineteenth century, Western Ukraine was part of the Hapsburg Empire, and Eastern Ukraine part of the Russian Empire.

Figure 1.1: Map of Ukrainian Territories, 1650-1812 (Source: Washington Post, 2015)[2]



The division of Ukraine in the nineteenth century between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russian Empire is significant to the development of Ukrainian, as the ways in which it was treated in either empire differed greatly and help explain linguistic differences that exist today across Ukraine (Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 348). In the

[2] All maps presented in this chapter are taken from the Washington Post. Ishaan Tharoor and Gene Thorp. 2015. 'Maps: How Ukraine became Ukraine', <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/03/09/maps-how-ukraine-became-ukraine/?utm_term=.d22448425c53> [accessed 19 March 2019].

Russian Empire, decrees in 1863, 1876, and 1881 aimed to completely eliminate Ukrainian from public life (Shevelov 1989: 6). Banning Ukrainian from many spheres of everyday life resulted in it being associated with the peasantry, while Russian was deemed prestigious (Wilson 1997: 10; Andriewsky 2003: 211). These decrees remained in force until after the Russian Revolution of 1905. In contrast, in Western Ukraine (Austro-Hungary), the conditions for the use and development of Ukrainian were less restrictive. Although Ukrainian was treated differently in different administrative regions of Western Ukraine, people had greater linguistic autonomy than those living in Eastern Ukraine (Bilaniuk 2005: 75).

Starting in 1917, Ukraine experienced some form of autonomy for the first time (see Figure 1.2). This was short-lived, and ended in 1922 when the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic became part of the Soviet Union and Western Ukraine was split between three different states: Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania (Wilson 1997: 14). In the early years of the Soviet Union, Soviet language policy supported the non-Russian languages of the Soviet Union, including Ukrainian. The policy of *korenizatsiia* (indigenisation), implemented in 1923, aimed to promote equality for the non-Russian members of the population by promoting the acquisition and use of the languages they spoke and enabling speakers of these languages to be promoted into senior positions in the party, government, and trade unions (Liber 1991: 16; Smith 1998). The policy also allowed these languages to be

further codified and developed, and was a powerful political tool and a means to promote Soviet ideology to those who did not speak Russian.

The policy of *korenizatsiia* was relatively short-lived, and by the beginning of the 1930s Russification policies were implemented by the Soviet authorities, now headed by Stalin. These policies both promoted the status of Russian throughout the Soviet Union and, in the case of Ukrainian, made changes to the language to make it more similar to Russian (Shevelov 1989; Bilaniuk 2005: 86). The end of the 1930s saw Russian being heavily promoted by the authorities. In 1938, Russian became mandatory in Ukrainian schools from the second grade, and to ensure that Ukrainian was not being used, teachers and scholars who were against Russification policies were purged (Kreindler 1982: 10; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008a: 348).

Figure 1.2 Map of Ukrainian Territories, 1919-1922 (Source: Washington Post, 2015)



In 1945, after the end of World War II, Western Ukraine also officially became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (see Figure 1.3). Having previously neither been part of the Russian Empire nor the Soviet Union, these regions were now subject to policies that promoted Russian for the first time. The status of Russian remained higher than Ukrainian, even in 1955 when Nikita Khrushchev came into power and a period of de-Stalinsation started throughout the Soviet Union. The high status of Russian was emphasised by the fact that the school reforms of 1958 which allowed parents to choose the language of instruction for their children did not result in increased numbers of children attending Ukrainian-medium schools. Instead, parents largely opted for Russian, which was perceived as the

language of opportunity, prestige, and social mobility (Kreindler 1982, 1989; Fouse 2000; Bilaniuk 2005; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b). Russian retained its high status after Khrushchev, and during the Brezhnev era (1964-1982), efforts were made by the Soviet government to further expand Russian throughout Ukraine, due to the perception of Russian as the language of interethnic communication in the Soviet Union and social mobility (Kreindler 1989; Fouse 2000).

Figure 1.3 Map of Ukrainian Territories, 1945-1954 (Source: Washington Post, 2015)



Later, as the Soviet era was coming to an end in the 1980s, policies of *glasnost'* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) implemented by Mikhail Gorbachev allowed the republics of the Soviet Union greater

national expression. In 1989 – two years before Ukraine declared independence – Ukraine began to attempt to counter the Russification policies implemented since the 1930s (see Figure 1.4). In 1989, a Law on Languages was passed, which made Ukrainian the official state language of Ukraine and aimed to gradually increase the use and status of Ukrainian (Arel 1995: 600).

The ratification of Article 10 of the Ukrainian Constitution in 1996 reaffirmed the status of Ukrainian as the sole official language of Ukraine. Article 10 aimed to ensure the development of Ukrainian throughout Ukraine, and also guaranteed 'the free development, use and protection of Russian, as well as the languages of other national minorities in Ukraine' (Verkhovna Rada Ukraina 1996). This part of Article 10 has been criticised for its ambiguity, as it sets Russian apart from other languages spoken in Ukraine, but also categorises it as a language spoken by an ethnic minority and overlooks Russian-speaking ethnic Ukrainians (Fournier 2002; Bilaniuk and Melnyk 2008b).

The language policies implemented in independent Ukraine which seek to promote the use and status of Ukrainian have resulted in tensions arising due to the linguistic, ethnic and regional disparities throughout the nation (Fouse 2000: 53). Several regional councils in the south and east of the country have contested the legal status of Ukrainian as the sole official language of the nation. These particular regions have voted to give Russian official regional status based on

the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, but this decision was deemed illegal by the Ukrainian authorities.

In the 21st century, tensions related to language policy and status in Ukraine have persisted. The pressure exerted by the predominantly Russian-speaking eastern and southern regions resulted in then President Viktor Yanukovych signing a new language law in summer 2012, 'On the Principles of the State Language Policy'. This law allowed minority languages to be awarded the status of regional language, provided the relevant ethnic minority comprised over ten per cent of the population of a given region. Known informally as the Kivalov-Kolesnichenko law,[3] its controversial nature resulted in protests on the streets and brawls in parliament, as some feared it would lead to closer ties with Russia, due to the dominance of Russian in some regions of the country (Charnysh 2013; Bilaniuk 2016). Indeed, despite the existence of eighteen minority languages in Ukraine, regions with large numbers of ethnic Russians were quick to take advantage of this law and grant Russian the status of regional language, but only two districts granted other languages (Hungarian and Romanian) regional status (Charnysh 2013: 1).[4] Arel (2017) has argued that this law has effectively removed any incentives for

[3] This name refers to the authors of the law, Serhiy Kivalov and Vadym Kolesnichenko.
[4] Regional councils in Dnipro, Donets'k, Kharkiv, Luhans'k, Mykoloaiv and Zaporizhzhia regions, and the cities of Kharkiv, Kherson, Luhans'k, Mykoliav, Odesa, Sevastopol, Yalta, and Zaporizhzhia made Russian a regional language.

Russian speakers to learn and use Ukrainian, and thus has overturned the core principles of the 1989 Law on Languages.

Figure 1.4 Map of Ukrainian Territories, 1991 (Source: Washington Post, 2015)



The 2012 Kivalov-Kolesnichenko law was repealed on 23rd February 2014, as levels of violence in Ukraine – initially triggered by the Euromaidan protests in November 2013[5] – peaked. The catalyst for these protests was then President Yanukovych's decision to suspend the Ukraine-European Association Agreement which would have resulted in closer economic ties between Ukraine and the EU; the

[5] 'Euromaidan' is the name given to these protests and the civil unrest that took place in Kyiv between November 2012 and February 2014 in the main square of the city, *Maidan Nezalezhnosti* (Independence Square).

suspension was considered a sign that Ukraine would pursue closer economic ties with Russia. Between November 2013 and February 2014, protests became more widespread and violent throughout Ukraine, and the Russian military have since illegally annexed Crimea and currently occupy parts of Eastern Ukraine, in which conflicts are ongoing (see Figure 1.5). The decision to repeal the Kivalov-Kolesnichenko law provoked outcry in the predominantly Russian-speaking regions in the south and east of Ukraine, but the bill to repeal it was not signed by interim President Oleksandr Turchynov and was also not signed by President Petro Poroshenko, who was in office from 2014 until April 2019 (Arel 2017; Azhniuk 2017; Flier and Graziosi 2017)

In May 2018 President Poroshenko signed a decree approving a ten-year programme which aims at ‘the comprehensive development and functioning of Ukrainian in all spheres of public life’ (Poroshenko 2018). The proposed programme includes ensuring that state officials use Ukrainian when fulfilling their duties, the development of a ‘national vocabulary database’, and supporting Ukrainian in education and the media. Most recently, in April 2019, a law was passed in Ukraine to promote and increase the use of Ukrainian in many aspects of public life (Roth 2019). The current focus on strengthening and consolidating the role of Ukrainian in Ukraine with the aim of strengthening the unity of the nation appears to send a clear message that the Ukrainian authorities consider the

Ukrainian language and Ukrainian national identity to be closely connected to one another. These more recent developments in Ukraine have taken place subsequent to the collection of the data for the present study, but are nevertheless relevant as they concern language and identity in Ukraine.

Figure 1.5 Map of Ukrainian Territories, 2014-Present (Source: Washington Post, 2015)



1.4.1.3 Standardising Ukrainian

The fractured history of Ukraine has hindered efforts to standardise Ukrainian, and what constitutes Standard Ukrainian remains a widely-debated issue. Although Ukraine was split between two empires in the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was at this time that initial efforts to standardise Ukrainian were made (Bilaniuk 2005: 77; Yavorska 2010: 165). The process of norm selection took place, and the subdialects of the Middle Dnipro regions were selected as the dialect base for Standard Ukrainian (Yavorska 2010: 165). Following this, efforts were made to codify Ukrainian – the first Ukrainian grammars and dictionaries were published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – but a lack of institutional support meant that implementing these codification efforts proved difficult (Bilaniuk 2005: 78; Yavorska 2010: 165).

A significant period in the standardisation of Ukrainian was the Soviet era. The policy of *korenizatsiia* that was implemented in the 1920s allowed the non-Russian languages of the Soviet Union to develop. In Ukraine, The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Republic was established in 1925 and brought together scholars from Soviet and Western Ukraine to discuss matters related to the standardisation of Ukrainian (Karavans'kyi 1994: 7). In 1928, following the All-Ukrainian Orthographic conference in 1927, the *Ukrains'kyi pravopys* (Ukrainian Orthography) was published, and the rules of this orthography were subsequently passed into law in Soviet Ukraine in 1930 (De Bray 1980: 99; Dingley 1998: 180; Fouse 2000: 40; Masenko 2004: 24).

The shift to policies of Russification in the 1930s – motivated by the fear that policy of *korenizatsiia* empowered non-Russian speakers

and posed a threat to Soviet control – undid the standardisation efforts of the 1920s. These new policies promoted Russian and altered Ukrainian to make it more similar to Russian. Changes made included changes to syntactic constructions, grammatical forms, spelling, and terminology (Bilaniuk 2005: 85-86). An amended Ukrainian Orthography was published in 1933 in which multiple changes were made from the 1928 orthography. These changes included: the removal of the letter <ґ> [g] (unique to Ukrainian) from the alphabet, and the consequent change in the pronunciation of letter <г> from [ɦ] to the Russian pronunciation of this letter, [g]; changes to various case endings to make them more similar to Russian; and changes to the transliteration and spelling of borrowed words (Karavans'kyi 1994: 103-09). In the decades that followed, a large number of further changes were made to Ukrainian (Karavans'kyi 1994; Masenko 2004; Taranenko 2007).

In independent Ukraine, issues surrounding the standardisation of Ukrainian have surfaced and it remains a much-debated issue. A particular issue of debate is whether to reverse the spelling and terminology changes made to Ukrainian throughout the Soviet period. Bilaniuk (2005: 101) has summarised the discussions as follows:

> Those pushing for linguistic reforms believed that there was an authentic essence that could be excavated and retrieved from history, whereas those preferring the status quo argued the need to support the language that was currently alive.

Bilaniuk's summary suggests that the preferred variety of Ukrainian of those advocating linguistic reform is a historical artefact in need of excavation and revival; however, this is not entirely the case. Karavans'kyi (1994) has pointed out the existence of two Ukrainian orthographies, one in the diaspora and one in Ukraine, where the diaspora here refers to those who left Ukraine up to the end of World War II. Since a second wave of migration from independent Ukraine to the UK has taken place, more recently, both varieties of Ukrainian can now be encountered in the Ukrainian diaspora. Generally, in the Ukrainian community in the UK, the variety transmitted to descendants of first-wave migrants aligns with the 1928 orthography, whereas second-wave migrants' Ukrainian reflects the various changes made to Ukrainian from the 1930s. In Chapter 5, attitudes towards such linguistic variation in the Ukrainian community will be explored.

Surzhyk

Surzhyk serves as an umbrella term for the multiple varieties of Ukrainian-Russian language mixing in the speech of members of the Ukrainian population (Bilaniuk 2004, 2005). A basic definition of *Surzhyk* (суржик) is 'impure language', a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian. Originally the term referred to a low-grade mixture of wheat and rye flour and is formed from the Late Common Slavic prefix sǫ- ('with') and nominal root *rьž ('rye) (Flier 1998: 115; Bilaniuk 2004). *Surzhyk* is relevant to this study, not just in terms of the present

discussion regarding the development and standardisation of Ukrainian, but because of the data collected regarding linguistic variation within the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom. Although participants did not explicitly refer to *Surzhyk*, they did discuss varieties of Ukrainian they considered 'Russified' and thus could be deemed forms of *Surzhyk*.

Bilaniuk, who has conducted extensive research on *Surzhyk*, considers the precise definition of this term 'primarily ideological'; that is, perceptions of what *Surzhyk* is depend on an individual's background and language ideologies (Bilaniuk 2004: 411; 2005). Since Ukraine gained independence in 1991, the term has primarily been used in a pejorative sense, referring to varieties of Ukrainian perceived as impure; it is often associated with a lack of education, low culture and social status, and even primitive thought (Bilaniuk 2004; Bernsand 2006). More recently, however, instances of more positive attitudes to *Surzhyk* have been identified in Ukraine: non-standard language practices and linguistic playfulness are starting to become more widely accepted (Bilaniuk 2017).

In response to *Surzhyk* being primarily employed as an umbrella term and being treated as a monolithic entity, Bilaniuk (2004) developed a typology of five major types of *Surzhyk*, defined primarily by the historical and ideological conditions from which they emerged. While it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss this typology in detail (but see the summary in Table 1.1) – one of the five categories

– Sovietised Ukrainian *Surzhyk* – is of particular relevance. The term Sovietised Ukrainian *Surzhyk* refers to Ukrainian that was subject to linguistic engineering by the Soviet authorities from the 1930s onwards (as discussed in the previous section), and broadly aligns with the Ukrainian taught in schools and used in contemporary Ukraine. Given this, many do not consider this linguistic variety *Surzhyk*; however, as Bilaniuk (2004: 419) notes, supporters of linguistic reforms to remodify Ukrainian to its pre-Soviet standard would argue that this variety is *Surzhyk*:

> The extension of the label *Surzhyk* to indicate the Russian influence in prevalent practices and in the current codification of Ukrainian reflects an ideology of purism that aspires to reinstate an earlier standard that would be free of Soviet influence.

As we shall see in Chapter 5, this ideology of purism surrounding the categorisation of this linguistic variety as *Surzhyk* was encountered in data collected for this study, as some participants regarded the language spoken by second-wave Ukrainian migrants as not ‘pure’ or ‘proper’ Ukrainian, due to traces of Soviet and Russian influence.

Table 1.1: Defining Features of Five *Surzhyk* Prototypes (Bilaniuk 2004: 415)

	Historical/Demographic Context			**Direction of Influence**
Type of *Surzhyk*	**Specific Description**	**Rural-Urban context**	**Era**	
Urbanised Peasant	Working-class Ukrainian peasants	rural → urban	19th century to present	Russian onto Ukrainian base
Village Dialect	Ukrainian villagers in contact with Russian administration and media	rural	19th century to present	Primarily Russian onto Ukrainian base
Sovietised-Ukrainian	Codified Ukrainian with planned Russian influence	urban (institutional)	1930s to present	Russian onto Ukrainian base
Urban Bilinguals'	Urban bilinguals with either native language	urban	Soviet & post-Soviet	Both directions
Post-Independence	Russophone urbanites newly using Ukrainian in public	urban	post-Soviet	Both directions

1.4.2 Research on Language in Contemporary Ukraine

It is only since the late 1980s, when *perestroika* was implemented in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, that it has been possible to conduct (objective) linguistic research in Ukraine; prior to this, the scientific analysis of various linguistic issues in Ukraine was banned by Soviet authorities (Masenko 2009: 102). The amount of linguistic research conducted in Ukraine has gradually increased since it gained independence in 1991. In this section, research on language practices and language attitudes and ideologies in contemporary Ukraine will be

reviewed.[6] Research on language practices and attitudes conducted after Ukraine became independent in 1991 and before the Euromaidan in 2013 and subsequent unrest in Eastern Ukraine highlights the complexity of the linguistic situation throughout the country during a time of major change.

Ethnographic research conducted by Bilaniuk (2005, 2010a, b) has examined language practices in public and the media in independent Ukraine. Changes in public language practices on the streets of Kyiv were observed over three periods of fieldwork conducted between 1991 and 2002. First, although Russian remained the dominant language in the public domain (at least), use of Ukrainian increased between these two dates (Bilaniuk 2005: 7). Second, non-accommodating bilingual interactions – interactions in which interlocutors communicate in two languages (Ukrainian and Russian), with each using their preferred language – were more frequently encountered. Such practices – also reported by some participants in this study – made the choice to use either Ukrainian or Russian acceptable, and thus helped to depoliticise language choice (Bilaniuk 2005: 22). In addition to linguistic practices observed on the streets, institutionally-enforced non-accommodating bilingualism on Ukrainian television has also been examined by Bilaniuk (2010a, b). Here, Bilaniuk has argued that although the enforcement of such

[6] This review is restricted to research conducted on a national scale in Ukraine. For examples of regionally-focused research, see Jackson (1998); Skvirskaja (2009); Søvik (2010); and Dickinson (2010).

language practices (through laws implemented that introduced quotas on language use on television) is an attempt to defuse the language issues in Ukraine, the continued presence of Russian helps Russian to retain its prestige, and thus fails to promote the use of Ukrainian (Bilaniuk 2010a: 215).

The relationship between language practices and language attitudes in contemporary Ukraine has been examined by Kulyk (2007, 2011, 2013a). An analysis of survey data collected in 2006 found that the language practices of members of the population did not always match their language policy preferences. Many of those surveyed – particularly those who were young, urban, well-educated, and affluent – frequently reported mainly speaking Russian whilst simultaneously being more supportive of policies that support Ukrainian than those who reported mainly using Ukrainian (Kulyk 2007).

An examination of beliefs about language status and corpus in contemporary Ukraine found that languages perceived to have a more developed corpus (e.g. Russian) were also deemed more prestigious (Kulyk 2011, 2013a). Consequently, Ukrainian was deemed an inadequate language for broadcasting, cinema, and literary translation due to perceptions that it is of low status, not just among Russian-speakers, but also among many Ukrainian-speakers (Kulyk 2013a: 1441). Ukrainian speakers stated that their support for policies that aimed to strengthen the status of Ukrainian and increase its use in society would be dependent on the quality of resources produced for

such purposes (Kulyk 2011: 86). These data demonstrate that participants' language practices do not always necessarily align with their language attitudes and language policy preferences.

The widespread use of Russian in Ukraine has also resulted in research being conducted on attitudes towards Russian in contemporary Ukraine (Kulyk 2014). Overall, Russian was most frequently viewed as: the language of the east and south; the language of the former USSR; the language of Russia; and also a language all Ukrainians know well. These widely-held beliefs imply that Russian – as well as being the language of Russia – is acknowledged as an inevitable part of the linguistic make-up of Ukraine: it is predominantly used in some regions, is part of Ukrainian history, and is part of the linguistic repertoire of (virtually) all members of the population. It is important to bear this in mind when attitudes towards Russian held by members of the Ukrainian community in the UK are examined in Chapter 5.

Research conducted on language in Ukraine since late 2013 has paid attention to the impact of Euromaidan and the ongoing conflict in the Donbas/Eastern Ukraine on language practices and the relationship between language and identity in Ukraine. One of the major findings of such research is that language and national identity are *not* extremely closely intertwined phenomena for Ukrainians (Kulyk 2016a, b; Arel 2017; Kulyk 2018). Over recent years, national identification has become more salient in Ukraine and there has been

a widespread rejection of the Russian state (Kulyk 2016a, 2018); however, this has not resulted in Russian-speaking Ukrainians switching to Ukrainian (Kulyk 2018: 134). Two key reasons for Russian-speakers not switching to Ukrainian have been identified: first, Russian-speakers do not consider language an essential feature of Ukrainian identity (Kulyk 2016a); second, Russian 'remains an important means of interaction' and also provides access to large amounts of information and culture (Kulyk 2018: 135).

In connection to this, one of the two main tendencies in language ideologies and practices that have been observed since Euromaidan is an ideology that 'language does not matter' (Bilaniuk 2016: 139). This ideology is manifested in the common belief that language and national identity are not intrinsically linked and is exemplified by the non-accommodating bilingual interactions observed in Ukraine. A second ideology, that 'language matters', stands in total opposition to the first, as it posits that language and national identity are intrinsically linked to each other. Thus, current research on language in Ukraine suggests that linguistic tensions persist. On the one hand, there is evidence that language use and national identity are becoming increasingly detached from each other, but on the other hand, an ideology that equates language and nation still exists.

1.4.3 The Ukrainian Diaspora

I now turn to the Ukrainian diaspora in the UK, the group whose language practices, attitudes and ideologies are the focus of this thesis. First, the history of Ukrainian migration to the UK will be outlined, followed by a review of the limited research to date on Ukrainian communities in the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

1.4.3.1 A History of Ukrainians in the UK

The first group of Ukrainians to settle in the United Kingdom appeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, although the exact date is unknown. These were a group of approximately 150 workers from Western Ukrainian – then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – who were travelling to the USA, but ended up in Liverpool and decided to stay in the UK (Dobriansky 1988: 88). This group settled in Manchester and founded the first Ukrainian centre in the UK – the *Ukrainskyi Kliub* (Ukrainian Club) – which opened in the 1920s and operated until World War II (Dobriansky 1988: 88; Jenkala 1994: 295).

Since then, there have been two main waves of Ukrainian migration to the UK, the first of which took place after World War II. After the war, between two and three million Ukrainians ended up in Western Europe (primarily in Germany, Austria, and Italy); many were voluntarily or forcibly returned to Ukraine, but those who remained constituted the group of post-war migration from Ukraine who were

granted asylum in various European countries (Pawliczko 1994: 117). An estimated 20,000 Ukrainians (predominantly males) migrated to the UK between 1946 and 1948, including 6,000 soldiers from the Second Polish Army Corps, 8,500 from the Division Galizien who were in a British Prisoner of War camp in Italy, and 14,000 displaced persons from the British zone in Germany. This group of Ukrainians came predominantly from Western Ukraine, which did not become part of the Soviet Union until after the war (Kubal, Bakewell and de Haas 2011: 28). All were brought over to Britain as European Voluntary Workers (EVWs), contracted to work for three years, often on farms, in factories or in coal mines. Upon completion of their contracts, the majority settled in industrial areas of the UK, especially Northern England, the Midlands, and Scotland, as well as London (Dobriansky 1988; Jenkala 1994).

The Ukrainian migrants were quick to organise themselves institutionally; in January 1946 the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) held an inaugural meeting in Edinburgh and decided on three main aims for the association: to represent the Ukrainian community; to act on behalf of the community in the host nation; and to work with similar Ukrainian organisations throughout the world (AUGB 2008b). Political differences within the association resulted in the formation of a rival Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain in late 1949, who supported a different political party in Ukraine than the members of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Jenkala

1994). Both organisations are active today, but the AUGB is considerably larger and has more members. The AUGB also acts as an umbrella organisation for other Ukrainian Associations, including the Association of Ukrainian Women, the Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators, and the Ukrainian Youth Organisation (AUGB 2008a).

Soviet restrictions on migration meant that it was not possible to emigrate from the Soviet Union, and migration from Ukraine did not become possible again until it gained independence in 1991. In the first thirteen years of independence (1991-2004), an estimated two million people emigrated from Ukraine (Malynovska 2006). It is difficult to ascertain how many Ukrainians or people with Ukrainian ancestry currently live in the UK, as Census data does not include the descendants of first-wave migrants, but the 2011 UK census reported that there were 21,000 Ukraine-born people living in the UK. Little research has been conducted on the Ukrainian community in the UK, and little is known about second-wave migrants.

Today, the AUGB – with its headquarters in West London – has 28 local branches and 19 sub-branches throughout the UK, which arrange cultural and social events throughout the year, and act as spaces for community members to meet. It also organises various national events, such as summer camps for children and national meetings, as well as supporting Ukrainian complementary schools. Second-wave Ukrainians in the UK have not been proactive in the

creation of new associations, and have instead joined existing organisations (Kubal, Bakewell and de Haas 2011). During my own ethnographic research and attending events at Ukrainian centres across the UK, I encountered both first- and second-wave Ukrainians who participated in the community and played an active role in the management and organisation of different groups within the community.

1.4.3.2 Ukrainian Complementary Schools

Several years after the formation of the AUGB in 1946, members of the Ukrainian community started to organise Ukrainian schools to teach the language to their children. The first Ukrainian schools and nurseries opened in the 1950s in towns and cities throughout the UK, including Bolton, Wolverhampton, Oldham, Bury, and Derby (Skrypka 2015: 141). These schools ran on Saturday or Sunday afternoons; class sizes and locations varied greatly, with some lessons even being held in community members' homes (Kravchenko 2009; Skrypka 2015).

Kravchenko (2009: 294) has identified three main periods in the development of Ukrainian schools in the United Kingdom. In a first 'experimental' period, from 1953 to the early 1960s, 320 students attended 20 schools, and 200 children seven nurseries. During the second period – 1964-1968 – the new generation of Ukrainians born

in the UK started to attend Saturday schools, and a Ukrainian O-Level was introduced by the British government. The busiest year for Ukrainian schools was in 1966: 43 schools with a total of 217 staff members were attended by 2473 pupils (Jenkala 1991, 1994). A third period (1970-1987) was marked by a sharp decline in the number of schools and pupils attending them: by 1987 350 students attended 14 schools, the largest two of which were located in Manchester and London. Between 2016 and 2017, when the data for this project were collected, there were six Ukrainian schools in the UK: London, Nottingham, Manchester, Bradford, Waltham Cross (London), and Coventry. The numbers of students attending these schools vary considerably; for example, more than 100 students attend schools in London and Manchester, whereas fewer than 20 students attend the school in Nottingham.

The Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators in Great Britain, established in 1955, supports the development of Ukrainian schools in the UK. It aims to bring together those working in Ukrainian schools, and supports learning in schools by developing teaching plans and materials (Skrypka 2015: 142). Ukrainian schools teach from nursery level (3-4 years old) to class 10 (15-16 years old) – the equivalent of the GCSE year in mainstream schools. Students who complete the tenth class of Ukrainian schools sit exams in Ukrainian language, geography, history, and literature. This is their only opportunity to take exams and obtain a qualification in Ukrainian, as

Ukrainian is not currently offered at GCSE, although it was offered as an O-Level in the past (1954-1997).

1.4.3.3 Research on Ukrainian Diasporas

Very little empirical research has been conducted on the Ukrainian diaspora in the United Kingdom. Consequently, this literature review will also examine research on Ukrainian communities in North America. Ukrainian migration to the USA and Canada comprises four waves, starting in the nineteenth century, followed by a second wave between the two World Wars, a third after World War II, and a fourth after Ukraine became independent (Satzewich 2002; Lemekh 2010). Thus, the first wave of migration to the UK corresponds with the third wave of migration to North America, and the second wave to the UK with the fourth wave to North America.

One of the earliest examples of empirical research on the UK's Ukrainian community is that conducted by Roman Petryshyn (1980), who examined the role of politics in the development of ethnic identity within the community. Since this initial piece of research, the role played by other factors in the formation of ethnic identity within the Ukrainian community in Bradford, Yorkshire has been examined. First, the impact of historical memory on national identity was explored using oral history interviews (Smith and Jackson 1999); second, the role of food in the formation of ethnic identity was examined (Forero

and Smith 2010). Both of these studies identified differences between generations (within the first wave of migrants); the present study will seek to explore to what extent these generational differences stretch to the role that language plays in ethnic identity formation.

More relevant to this study is research on the relationship between language and national identity within Ukrainian diaspora communities. In his exploration of the role of information technology in the formation of communities in Eastern Slavic diasporas (Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian) in the UK, Kozachenko (2013) identified Ukrainian as a central identity marker for the Ukrainian community, but also observed that English played a large role in communication between members. Further, on the diasporic websites he analysed, the absence of Russian suggested that it was not deemed a suitable language in the community (Kozachenko 2013: 27). This thesis will provide further data on the roles played by Ukrainian, English, and Russian in the Ukrainian community in the UK.

The relationship between language and ethnic identity has been examined in the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan, Canada (Makarova and Hudyma 2015). In this study, among the 82 people of Ukrainian ancestry surveyed, language was found to play a role in respondents' ethnic self-identification. For example, respondents who stated that Ukrainian was their first language identified ethnically as either Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian, whereas those with a different first language did not. Respondents' use and knowledge of Ukrainian

also correlated with their ethnic identification: those who identified as Ukrainian reported using Ukrainian most. A further finding of this study was that self-identification as Ukrainian decreased across generations; the younger generation reported feeling less Ukrainian than their older counterparts.

Language use and language maintenance in Ukrainian communities have also been examined, albeit in not in any great depth. In an early attempt to document multilingualism in Great Britain, Jenkala (1991) provided an account of the sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community in the UK up to the late 1980s. Her work suggested that language shift was taking place in the community, as an increasing number of second-generation Ukrainians had little or no knowledge of Ukrainian (Jenkala 1991: 165). The study also noted further signs of language shift in the presence of borrowings from English into Ukrainian and in frequent codeswitching observed. Another sign of language shift taking place was the decreasing number of students attending Ukrainian complementary schools (Jenkala 1991: 165). This decline in Ukrainian school attendance was attributed to a variety of factors: unsuitable teaching methods; a lack of emphasis on teaching Ukrainian as a second language; insufficient linguistic support from parents; low levels of student motivation due to the perceived low status of Ukrainian; and a preference towards participating in other activities on Saturday mornings – many of which are factors identified as obstacles to language maintenance in this

study. In response to these issues identified here, Jenkala (1991: 166-67) called for radical changes to be made to Ukrainian language teaching in the UK.

At around the same time, language maintenance and shift within the Ukrainian community in Toronto, Canada was under investigation. Research on the language practices in the homes of ten mothers and their children observed signs of language shift taking place (Chumak-Horbatsch 1987). First, mothers' language practices depended on their children's age: Ukrainian was used more frequently with younger children than those of school age. Second, English-language artefacts and the use of English were also found in the homes of all ten families. A follow-up study conducted ten years later, found that language maintenance became increasingly difficult as children became adolescents whose levels of motivation to use Ukrainian were generally very low (Chumak-Horbatsch 1999).

This thesis explores many of the issues examined by Jenkala (1994) and Chumak-Horbatsch (1987, 1999), including language practices (Chapters 4 and 6), and language maintenance and shift (Chapter 7). Of particular interest is the question of whether similar issues regarding the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK still exist, and whether new issues have arisen in recent years, taking into account the new-wave of post-1991 migrants and the impact of this group on the linguistic situation in the community.

Relationships and tensions between the new, post-Soviet wave and previous waves of Ukrainian migrants have been explored in the North American context (Satzewich 2002; Baczynskyj 2009). In her examination of Ukrainian identity and its impact on the Ukrainian schooling system in Toronto, Baczynskyj (2009) identified tensions between third- and fourth- wave Ukrainians regarding how they defined Ukrainian identity: the definitions provided by those belonging to either migration wave differed in terms of history, culture, language, politics and religion. The differences in how Ukrainian identity was defined by the two waves were identified as a factor preventing fourth-wave parents from sending their children to Ukrainian school, as the school's definition of Ukrainian identity did not align with theirs (Baczynskyj 2009: 107).

Tensions between new-wave Ukrainian migrants in North America have also been uncovered by Satzewich (2002: 196), who described the relationship between this group and members of previous migration waves as 'uneasy'. Language was identified as a factor contributing to these tensions, as the established, older waves of the diaspora resent the newly-arrived Ukrainians' use of Russian, a language considered that of Ukraine's oppressors. This thesis will explore whether similar linguistic tensions exist between the two waves of Ukrainian migrants in the UK.

Another interesting tension related to language identified by Satzewich (2002) is between the older, established waves of the

diaspora in North America and those in independent Ukraine. On the one hand, Ukrainians in independent Ukraine consider the variety of Ukrainian spoken by the diaspora archaic and difficult to comprehend. These comprehension issues result in anxiety among diaspora members, who feel 'they are using a quaint, but ossified and corrupted form of Ukrainian that has not kept up with the times' (Satzewich 2002: 200). On the other hand, diaspora members felt disappointed by the use of Russian in Ukraine, and that Ukrainian was not being promoted enough by the Ukrainian authorities. We shall see in Chapter 5 that similar opinions were expressed by those belonging to the first-wave of Ukrainian migration in the UK.

The literature reviewed in this section has revealed patterns that appear to be fairly predictable in diasporic contexts: language shift is taking place (Chumak-Horbatsch 1987; Jenkala 1991; Chumak-Horbatsch 1999), and ethnic identification weakens across generations (Makarova and Hudyma 2015). Perhaps more unique to the Ukrainian diaspora are the tensions identified between different waves within the Ukrainian diaspora (Satzewich 2002; Baczynskyj 2009). Building on the literature reviewed in this section, this thesis will examine to what extent intergenerational differences and inter-wave tensions exist within the Ukrainian community in the UK.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the aims of the study and the research questions that it will explore. It has also provided the background to this study by outlining the fragmented nature of the history of Ukraine, the different language policies implemented in different parts of Ukraine over the course of its history, and ongoing efforts to standardise Ukrainian. The thesis will explore to what extent these have impacted not just on language use in contemporary Ukraine, but also on language-related matters in the Ukrainian community in the UK. The chapter has also provided an overview of the history of Ukrainian migration to the United Kingdom, which comprises two different waves of migration with contrasting historical and linguistic backgrounds.

Having now provided the linguistic and cultural context to the study, Chapter 2 will outline the theoretical frameworks and concepts and empirical research relevant to the study.

2 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Having outlined the aims and objectives of the thesis and provided an overview of the background and context to this study in Chapter 1, this chapter presents the theoretical foundations and existing knowledge base that underpin this sociolinguistic study of the Ukrainian community (an example of an ethnic minority group) in the UK. First, I discuss the concept of heritage/community languages, and the speakers and learners of such languages (Section 2.2). Next, Section 2.3 introduces complementary schools and reviews the existing literature on such schools in the UK. Section 2.4 explores language maintenance, language shift and intergenerational language transmission, and Section 2.5 examines language, identity, and multilingual language practices. Finally, Section 2.6 considers language attitudes, language ideologies, and the relationship between these two concepts. Section 2.7 provides a summary and conclusion to the chapter.

2.2 Heritage/Community Languages

Non-dominant languages used by minority ethnic (or religious) groups in a given society alongside a majority language are most frequently referred to in the existing literature as either *heritage languages* or *community languages* (Lee and Wright 2014: 138; Hitchins Chik,

Carreira and Kagan 2017: 1).[7] The two terms are often considered largely synonymous, differing simply in their origins. In UK and Australian contexts *community language* is most commonly employed (Clyne 1991: 3; Wiley 2014: 19; Baker and Wright 2017: 226), whereas *heritage language* – originally used in Canada in the 1970s and more recently in the USA – tends to be used in North American contexts (Cummins 2005: 585; Montrul 2010: 4; King and Ennser-Kananen 2013: 1). However, a closer examination of these terms demonstrates that although the concepts overlap, they also diverge from each other in some important ways.

Heritage language is the more widely discussed and theorised of the two terms. Two definitions of heritage language have been proposed: narrow and broad (Polinsky and Kagan 2007). The narrow definition focuses on the individual's knowledge of the language: 'the first [language] in order of acquisition but […] not completely acquired because of the individual's switch to another dominant language' (Polinsky and Kagan 2007: 369-70). When more broadly defined, heritage language may refer to a language of an ethnic or religious group with which an individual has some form of affiliation, but knowledge or proficiency is not essential (Polinsky and Kagan 2007: 369). This broad definition aligns with the definition of heritage

[7] As summarised by Lee and Wright (2014), in addition to these two well-established terms, a number of other, partly synonymous terms have been used to refer to non-dominant societal languages, such as 'native language', 'ethnic language', 'minority language', 'ancestral language' (Baker and Wright 2017: 225), 'primary language', 'home language', and 'mother tongue' (Lee and Wright 2014: 139).

language proposed by Fishman (2001: 81): a language other than English (LOTE) that has a particular family relevance to a person. This broad, inclusive definition of heritage language is often employed by those concerned with language revitalisation, as it includes all individuals to whom the language is in some way relevant (Valdes 2001: 37-38)

Whether broadly or narrowly defined, the term heritage language – with its links to ancestry and cultural background – has been criticised for looking backwards and associating these languages with the past (Baker and Prys-Jones 1998: 509; Garcia 2005: 601; Wiley 2014: 19). In addition to the temporal distance implied by the term, heritage language may also imply a physical distance and a link to a country different to an individual's home country (Evans 2017); this is also problematic, especially where speakers of a minority language may be more recent migrants and thus less distanced from the country from which the language originates.

In the face of such criticisms of heritage language, the term *community language*, although less thoroughly theorised, can provide a useful alternative label for the minority languages present in a society. Community languages have been defined as those languages 'spoken by members of minority groups or communities within a majority context' (Evans 2017). Thus, community language implies that the language continues to be used by members of the minority

group; it does not carry the same connotations of belonging to the past which the term heritage language can evoke.

Following Hornberger (2005) and Lee and Wright (2014), in this thesis I use the composite term heritage/community language to refer to Ukrainian, as a more 'inclusive' and 'neutral' label that allows for the wide variety of connections individuals may have to a given language, which does not risk excluding those who do not fulfil certain criteria attributed to either term (Hornberger 2005: 102). Certainly, in the case of Ukrainian, the composite term is necessary. The term heritage language alone would exclude first-generation, second-wave migrants who have arrived in the UK relatively recently and to whom links with Ukraine and Ukrainian are less distant than the term implies. Heritage language – especially in its broader sense – is nevertheless a useful term in relation to descendants of earlier first-generation Ukrainians, as it allows for those who do not necessarily use Ukrainian but have some connection to it, as well as those who do know and use Ukrainian. In light of these tensions and the different ways in which either term can be applied to describe Ukrainian this project, heritage/community language (HCL) is, then, the most inclusive and appropriate designation of those available.

2.2.1 Heritage Speakers and Heritage Language Learners

It is also useful to distinguish between heritage speakers and heritage language learners. These two categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, nor necessarily overlapping: heritage speakers are not always heritage language learners, and heritage language learners do not have to be heritage speakers, but they can be (Montrul 2015: 18-19).

The broad and narrow definitions of heritage language outlined in the previous section can be mapped onto individuals with some form of connection to a given language (Montrul 2013: 170-71). Thus, under the broad definition of a heritage language, a heritage speaker might be any individual with an ancestral link to a language, regardless of their knowledge and proficiency. In contrast, under the more proficiency-based, narrow definition of a heritage language, a heritage speaker is defined as an individual with some proficiency in the heritage language (Montrul 2013: 171).

In this study, following the narrower definition, I consider as heritage speakers only those individuals with some form of proficiency in the heritage language. However, the range of individuals who can fall under this heading is still relatively broad. Proficiency-based definitions (Montrul 2010: 4; Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky 2013: 260) proposed in the existing literature vary in terms of heritage language acquisition and proficiency. Montrul (2015: 18) has provided the following list of typical characteristics of heritage speakers:

- A bilingual individual who grew up in a bilingual home and has proficiency in two languages.
- The first language, or one of the first languages, spoken at home is a sociolinguistically minority language (the heritage language).
- The bilingual individual is usually dominant in the societal majority language (although balanced heritage speakers also exist).
- The heritage language is often the weaker language.
- The degree of proficiency in the heritage language ranges from minimal and receptive ability to fully fluent and native-like.
- Proficiency in the societal majority language is typically native or native-like (depending on the level of education).

This list provides a flexible, broad range of characteristics and demonstrates how much heritage speakers can differ from one another. However, despite any differences among heritage speakers, a characteristic shared by all who fall under this heading is that 'they have achieved partial command of the family language, short of the native speaker level of their parents and peers raised in their home countries' (Montrul 2010: 4).

Similar to heritage speakers, heritage language learners comprise a broad range of individuals with varying levels of proficiency in, the heritage language, but who share similar learning motivations due to the cultural connection they have to it (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003: 221; Carreira 2004: 21). Wiley (2001: 35) has stressed the importance of paying close attention to how heritage language learners are defined – especially in relation to language maintenance and revitalisation – so as not to exclude potential

learners with a link to the heritage language. Hornberger and Wang (2008: 6) therefore propose an 'ecological view' of heritage language learners, which focuses on individuals' self-identification as heritage language learners, and thus is inclusive.

A number of scholars have sub-categorised heritage language learners in order to distinguish between the different kinds of individuals who fall under this broadly-defined heading. The distinctions between different types of heritage language learners tend to be made in relation to prior knowledge of the heritage language. For example, heritage language learners with a cultural connection to, but no prior knowledge of, the heritage language have been distinguished from those with knowledge of the heritage language. The former group has been referred to as 'learners with a heritage motivation' (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003: 222), or 'secondary heritage language learners' (Montrul 2015: 19-20), and Carreira (2004: 3-5) has further grouped such heritage language learners (HLLs) into three categories. HLL1s are learners previously involved in the heritage language community. HLL2s are those with no prior community involvement.[8] Heritage language learners with prior knowledge of the heritage language comprise Carreira's (2004: 5) third group of learners – HLL3s – also referred to as 'primary heritage language

[8] This category of heritage language learners is not particularly relevant to the present study and appears to have a lot in common with the concept of 'new speakers': 'individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual education programs, revitalisation projects or as adult language learners' (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015: 1).

learners' (Montrul 2015: 19-20), or simply 'heritage language learners' (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003: 222). These categories proposed demonstrate how heritage language learners are not always necessarily heritage speakers, as some learners do not have any prior knowledge of the heritage language before entering the classroom.

In this study, I apply the term heritage speakers to those who have been exposed to the heritage language since childhood. They may have varying levels of proficiency, but knowledge of the heritage language (however limited) is key. Heritage speakers only become heritage language learners if they decide to continue learning (or re-learn) the heritage language. Heritage language learners comprise a broader group of individuals than heritage speakers and are not necessarily always heritage speakers.

2.3 Complementary Schools

Complementary schools, such as the Ukrainian school studied as part of this thesis, have been defined as voluntarily-run schools which serve either specific, ethnic, linguistic, religious, or cultural communities (Creese and Martin 2006: 1; Creese and Blackledge 2008: 270). These schools operate outside the normal school day, at the weekends or on weekday evenings, and primarily focus on teaching a HCL to children of all school ages, although not all schools necessarily teach all ages (Creese 2009: 268).

A number of alternative terms are used to refer to such schools. In the North American context ‘heritage language schools’, and in the Australian context ‘community language schools’ or ‘ethnic language schools’ are terms often employed (Creese and Blackledge 2008: 270; Creese 2009: 267). They have also been referred to in the UK context as ‘supplementary schools’, although this term is now considered inexact, as not all of these institutions ‘supplement’ the National Curriculum (Issa and Williams 2009: vii). In this study, I shall follow the practice of recent research, e.g. Martin, Creese and Bhatt (2003) and Creese (2007), in preferring the term complementary schools to refer to such institutions. As Creese and Martin (2006: 1) explain:

> Defining these schools as complementary schools stresses the positive complementary function between these schools for those who teach or learn in them. It recognises the importance of these schools for participants and their contribution to political, social and economic life in the wider community.[9]

The history of complementary schools in the United Kingdom dates back to the nineteenth century. The first such schools were set up by Jewish, Polish and Italian communities with the aim of retaining the linguistic and cultural values of the group (Tomlinson 1984: 68; Issa and Williams 2009: 9-10). Since then, the number of complementary schools in the UK has proliferated, and they now represent a wide variety of ethnic and religious groups, responding to ‘the failure of the

[9] See also Bhatt et al. (2004); Creese and Blackledge (2008); Creese (2009); Blackledge and Creese (2010a).

mainstream education system to meet the needs of ethnic minority children and their communities' (Wei 2006b: 78). They are arguably also a response to a lack of support for bilingualism in mainstream education and a widespread ideology of monolingualism in the UK (Creese and Martin 2006: 1).

Li Wei (2006b) has identified three broad categories of complementary schools in the UK, which differ according to their histories and respective aims and objectives. The first category – also explored by Mirza and Reay (2000) – comprises schools set up by the Afro-Caribbean community in the late 1960s amid concerns that the mainstream education system was not providing adequate support to students of Afro-Caribbean heritage. The second category comprises religious (usually Muslim) schools, established in the 1970s and 1980s by members of religious groups, motivated by a desire for separate provision for their children. Although these schools are primarily religious, they also have a language element, for example teaching Arabic to enable students to read the Quran. The third category of school – established around the same time as the religious schools – consists of those set up by immigrant groups to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage. This category is the only one of the three that is deemed by Wei to be 'truly complementary', as it is the only one in which organisers and parents have not requested that students receive a completely separate education (Wei 2006b: 78). The Ukrainian schools, of which one example is examined in this

study, would appear to fall into this third category. However, as outlined in Chapter 1, Ukrainian complementary schools in the UK were established in the 1950s, and thus precede the other schools that fall into this category.

In the United Kingdom, it is estimated that there are 3,000-5,000 complementary schools, if following a wider definition (Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015: 3), and at one point, at least 61 heritage/community languages were reportedly taught in these schools (CILT 2005: 2). The majority of these schools rely on donations and membership fees paid by the students' parents (Issa and Williams 2009: 13-14).

2.3.1 Research on Complementary Schools in the UK

Research on complementary schools in the United Kingdom began in the 1990s. Since then, and especially since the mid-2000s, an increasing amount of attention has been paid to such institutions, arguably as a result of increased levels of multilingualism (and superdiversity; see Section 2.5.1), in the UK.

Issa and Williams (2009) explored the functions of complementary schools in London, and found that they made a significant contribution to the academic achievements of the 500 students in their sample. Similar research exploring the impact of complementary schools on pupils attending them has been conducted

on a broader, nationwide scale, such as that conducted by Maylor et al. (2010) and more recently by Evans and Gillan-Thomas (2015). These studies have found that the benefits of attending complementary schools are not just limited to educational attainment; they found that they increased confidence and self-esteem of the students and provided positive identity reinforcement (Maylor et al. 2010: 12; Evans and Gillan-Thomas 2015: 7).

Research conducted by Li Wei (1993, 1994) on the Chinese community in Newcastle in the North East of England is arguably the earliest example of research focusing on language and literacy in complementary schools. One part of this work entailed examining the social networks of complementary school students and those networks' impact on language maintenance (Wei 1993). Somewhat surprisingly, Wei found that Chinese was best maintained by students whose parents' social networks contained more non-Chinese ties than those whose parents' social networks were confined to the Chinese community, suggesting that parental insistence on the use of Chinese was more likely to lead to language shift than to language maintenance (Wei 1993: 211).

A Somali literacy course organised for young female members (aged 11-12 years old) of the Liverpool Somali community was the focus of ethnographic research conducted by Arthur (2003, 2004), which examined language practices and attitudes in the community. This research uncovered the bilingual language practices of the

students within this educational setting (Arthur 2003), and also found that Somali was deemed to have low prestige by members of the community in comparison to the other languages in their linguistic repertoires (English and Arabic). Consequently, parents and teachers interviewed struggled to provide reasons for the importance or value of Somali, which thus hindered language maintenance (Arthur 2004: 228).

Martin, Creese and Bhatt's (2003) ethnographic research investigated identity and linguistic practices in two Gujarati complementary schools in Leicester. The study identified three salient student identity positions that coexisted in the schools: *heritage*, *learner,* and *multicultural* (Creese et al. 2006). The first two identity positions – heritage and learner – were actively developed in the schools, whereas 'multicultural' identity was merely institutionally allowed (Creese et al. 2006: 25). The institutionally supported 'heritage' identity encouraged pupils to connect their Gujarati heritage with Gujarati language and culture (Creese et al. 2006: 32). The 'learner' identity that was developed in the complementary schools focused on students becoming successful learners (Creese et al. 2006: 35). The third identity position – multicultural identity – was identified in observations as well as interviews with complementary school pupils. Although not explicitly encouraged in the schools, students were able to explore their multicultural identities in this setting, which provides a safe space for such exploration:

> We have tried to show that one position taken up among the students attending complementary schooling is multicultural. Complementary schools are bilingual sites and provide students with a space to explore their multicultural lives. Although institutionally, the schools may not explicitly aim to develop a multicultural identity, they do provide a context for students to explore this. (Creese et al. 2006: 40)

As an illustration of this multicultural identity observed in the Gujarati schools, language use in the classroom involved the 'unproblematic and uncontested' juxtaposition of English and Gujarati (Martin et al. 2006: 18). These linguistic practices were employed by both students and teachers in the classroom and were considered beneficial to students for a number of reasons. They are 'inclusive and empowering', challenge 'the monolingualising ideologies of the wider environment' (Martin et al. 2007: 118), and thus promote bilingualism and biliteracy (Martin et al. 2006: 20).

Building on Martin et al.'s initial research in Leicester, a larger project *Investigating Multilingualism in Complementary Schools in Four Communities* investigated complementary schools in three additional cities in the UK: Bengali in Birmingham (Creese, Blackledge and Hamid 2007), Chinese in Manchester (Creese, Chao-Jung and Wei 2007), and Turkish in London (Creese et al. 2007). This project examined the significance of complementary schools to minority communities and wider society, as well as the interaction between language and identity in the schools. Publications from this project have focussed on language practices, ideologies and identities in the

schools (Blackledge and Creese 2008, 2009, 2010b; Creese and Blackledge 2010, 2011), as well as literacy teaching (Creese, Blackledge and Wu 2009; Lytra 2011), and multimodality[10] (Lytra et al. 2010).

Complementary schools serving the Chinese community in the UK are the most widely-researched to date. In addition to the earlier studies already noted, more recently Li Wei has examined flexible linguistic practices (Wei 2011b), pupils' linguistic and cultural knowledge (Wei 2013) and literacy teaching (Wei and Wu 2010) in Chinese complementary schools. Francis, Archer and Mau have also conducted extensive ethnographic research on Chinese complementary schools in the UK, and have investigated the various roles teachers, parents, and pupils consider such institutions to play (Francis and Archer 2008). Their research explored students' learning experiences in complementary schools, and found that although students felt they learnt 'best' in mainstream education, they still deemed attending Chinese school beneficial to their education, due to the smaller class sizes, the space to experiment with more 'playful' learner identities, and the approaches to teaching and learning adopted in the school (Archer, Francis and Mau 2008: 493).

In addition, pupils' perceptions of the benefits and purposes of attending complementary school were explored (Francis, Archer and

[10] Multimodality refers to the ways in which people use a range of semiotic resources available to them to communicate (Kress and Bezemer 2015: 13).

Mau 2009). The majority of pupils stated that learning the heritage language was the main function of complementary school attendance; they felt acquiring this linguistic knowledge had both social and cultural benefits and also had an impact on their identity (Francis, Archer and Mau 2009: 534). When teachers and parents were asked about the purposes of complementary schools, the responses provided were slightly different (Francis, Archer and Mau 2010b). Unlike the students, for whom the main purpose of attending complementary school was to learn the heritage language, parents and teachers referred to a whole host of purposes, especially relating to culture and identity. Thus, there appear to be intergenerational differences in the perceived purposes of complementary schools in the Chinese community in the UK.

As linguistic research on complementary schools in the UK has proliferated over recent years, issues such as language practices, teaching, and identity construction and negotiation have been explored using a variety of research methods, albeit primarily ethnographic. The research questions explored in many of these studies align with the aims and objectives of the present study, but, as is apparent in this review of the extant literature, Eastern European ethnic minority groups or those of former Soviet Union countries and their complementary schools have yet to be the focus of any such work. My ethnographic study of Nottingham Ukrainian Language

School (see Chapter 6) helps fill this gap by focussing on one such ethnic minority group.

2.4 Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Intergenerational Language Transmission

The context for the present study is one of language contact, predominantly between the heritage/community language (Ukrainian) and the societal majority language (English). Thus, in this exploration of the language practices, attitudes and ideologies of Ukrainians in the UK, language maintenance, language shift, and intergenerational language transmission are relevant. As we shall see, these phenomena are closely related and are all outcomes of language contact.

In this study, attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian are explored in Chapter 5, and in Chapter 7 the means through which Ukrainian is transmitted and maintained are examined. Further, in Chapter 6, data obtained from the ethnographic observations conducted at a Ukrainian complementary school – a context in which efforts are made to transmit and maintain Ukrainian – are presented.

2.4.1 Language Maintenance, Language Shift and Related Concepts

Language maintenance and language shift are, in essence, two sides of the same coin (Fasold 1984: 213). Language maintenance is 'the continued use or retention of an L1 [first language], minority or heritage language in one or more spheres of use' (Pauwels 2016: 20). For Baker and Wright (2017: 168) language maintenance comprises three features: (1) stability in the number and distribution of speakers of the language; (2) proficient use by children and adults; (3) its retention in specific domains.

Crucial to language maintenance is intergenerational language transmission, but, as has been stressed by Fishman (1991), it is important to distinguish between the two concepts. Intergenerational language transmission refers to the initial process of passing a language down to the next generations of members of a given community, whereas language maintenance refers to the continued use – and efforts to ensure the continued use – of the language following its transmission. Intergenerational language transmission is crucial to language maintenance, as '[T]hat which is not transmitted cannot be maintained' (Fishman 1991).

The term language shift describes the process through which a community's main language (often the heritage/community language) is gradually replaced by another language in various domains (Pauwels 2004: 719; 2016: 18). This process does not usually suddenly occur within a community (Pauwels 2016: 20); based on

research on ethnic minority groups in the United States, language shift is commonly considered to take place across three generations, with the third generation predominantly using and having higher proficiency in the societal majority language (Fishman 1966, 1972).

Two concepts related to language shift are language loss and language death. Language loss (sometimes referred to as language attrition) differs from language shift in that it refers to an individual's proficiency in a language decreasing (Extra and Verhoeven 1999: 47; Pauwels 2016: 20). Thus, focusing on an individual's declining proficiency in a HCL over time is a study of language loss, whereas studies focusing on a group's changing language use over time concerns language shift (Koen and Kroon 1993: 298). Widespread language loss within a community may be a factor promoting language shift. Language death is, essentially, the final outcome of sustained language shift within a community. In cases of language death, 'the language no longer exists as the living language of a community' (Baker and Prys-Jones 1998: 150), although the language may continue to exist and be used by members of other communities.

As will be discussed in greater detail in Section 2.5.3, postmodern conceptualisations of language no longer view languages as stable, bounded entities, and instead posit that individuals possess a flexible, dynamic linguistic repertoire. This poses challenges to the concepts of language maintenance and shift and how these can be examined (Pauwels 2016: 2). Pauwels (2016: 183-84) argues that the

concepts of language maintenance and shift could be reshaped or reconceptualised to more adequately reflect the 'new linguistic constellations affecting so many individuals and groups'. Thus, language shift could be considered as the process of an individual's linguistic repertoire narrowing, and language maintenance the broadening of this repertoire. However, Valdes (2017: 72-74) argues that although it is important to bear in mind changes in how language has been conceptualised by linguists, members of different ethnic groups do not necessarily conceptualise language in such ways. Instead, they may consider a given language to play an important role in their identity, thus research on language maintenance and shift remains worthy of attention.

In the existing literature on language maintenance and shift, factors influencing such processes tend to be split into two broad – but related – categories: individual and group. Individual language practices influence those at group level, or, as Potowski states (2015: 321), 'it is through individuals' speech behaviour that language is either maintained or lost in a family or broader society'. In the current study, in the examination of the linguistic practices and language attitudes and ideologies of members of the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom, factors – both individual and group – influencing the changing language practices of community members will be considered.

Individual factors that influence language maintenance or shift are the personal and sociodemographic characteristics of members of a given group which may influence their language behaviours (Potowski 2015: 322; Pauwels 2016: 100), including proficiency in the heritage/community language, language attitudes, generation, age, gender, and marital status (Potowski 2015: 322-23; Pauwels 2016: 84-90). We shall see in Chapter 4 that three of these factors are particularly relevant to Ukrainian in the UK: proficiency in the HCL, generation, and age, and in Chapter 5 attitudes towards language maintenance will be explored.

As for group factors which influence language maintenance and shift, a number of models are commonly employed to explore them (Clyne 1991; Pauwels 2004, 2005, 2016). In addition to providing taxonomies or typologies of group factors influencing language maintenance and shift, in some cases, those who have proposed such models have argued that they may even be able to predict the likelihood of language maintenance within a group (Pauwels 2016: 100). Three of these models – the Linguistic Marketplace, Core Value Theory, and Ethnolinguistic Vitality – will be briefly outlined here. Although none of the three models are directly employed in this study, these are still referred to when exploring language practices and matters related to intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance and shift.

First, Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) notion of the linguistic marketplace provides an economic metaphor which replaces the question of the 'meaning' of speech with that of its 'power' and 'value' (Bourdieu 1977: 646). This theory posits that in any given context (or on the linguistic marketplace), a language – or variety of language – has a particular value, which is often influenced by dominant groups and institutions. The use of a variety perceived as having a high value in a given linguistic marketplace allows an individual to acquire symbolic capital, and thus to profit socially from their language choice. Thus, speakers are likely to choose – where possible – to use the most profitable linguistic variety in the given context, and consequently, varieties that have less capital cease to be used. For instance, in the case of this study, the high value of English on the linguistic marketplace of the UK appears to be a reason one interviewee chose not to transmit Ukrainian to her children and decided to focus on and prioritise their proficiency in English.

Core Value Theory was developed by Smolicz (1981a, b, 1984), who examined linguistic and cultural maintenance within migrant groups in Australia. Core values are 'those values regarded as forming the most fundamental component of a group's culture', and it is through such values that a group continues to exist and distinguish itself from others (Smolicz 1984: 26). According to this theory, groups who emphasise language as a crucial, core value are more likely to maintain their language (Smolicz 1981a: 76). This assumption,

however, is arguably somewhat flawed. As will be discussed in Section 2.5.2, a language can continue to act as a symbolic marker of group identity even in cases in which language shift has taken place.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, first outlined by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977), posits that the higher the (perceived) vitality of a given group, the more likely the group is to maintain its language, usually the group's HCL. Three factors are believed to influence the vitality of a group: status, demographic, and institutional support (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308). Status factors include the economic, social, sociohistorical, and language status of the group; demographic factors the number of group members and their geographical distribution; and institutional support factors support given to the group by national, regional, and/or community institutions. Although an Ethnolinguistic Vitality framework has not been adopted in this study, some of the data presented in the Chapters 4-7 suggest that a number of these factors have influenced language shift in the community. For example, a lack of institutional support for Ukrainian (e.g. no available qualification in Ukrainian) is considered an obstacle to language maintenance in the community. In addition to influencing the processes of language maintenance and shift, the examination of the vitality perceptions of members of an ethnic minority group may also be able to predict whether language shift will take place in the future. For example, ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions of newly-arrived Eastern European migrants in East Anglia, UK (Rasinger

2010a) and second-generation Bangladeshis in London (Rasinger 2013a) have found that English is perceived to have high vitality by group members, while low vitality is ascribed to the respective HCLs of group members. It has been predicted that language shift within these groups is therefore likely.

2.4.2 Empirical Research on Language Maintenance and Shift

In addition to typologies and taxonomies of individual and group factors that influence language maintenance and shift, a number of empirical studies have explored and identified factors – both individual and group – that influence these processes. Research on language maintenance and shift in ethnic minority groups has also explored the different means through which members of these groups attempt to transmit and maintain the heritage/community language and the challenges faced in making such efforts. The present study adds to that body of research.

In terms of research on factors influencing language maintenance and shift, Alba et al. (2002) used large-scale survey data to examine patterns of language shift within ethnic minority groups in the USA. This study found that the neighbourhood in which members of such groups live plays an important role in language maintenance: those living in close proximity to other speakers of the heritage/community language are more likely to continue using the

language. An additional group factor influencing language maintenance and shift was identified in Clyne and Kipp's (1997) examination of language shift using Australian Census data. This study found that cultural distance from the majority language and culture had an impact on language maintenance and shift: those from predominantly Islamic or Eastern Orthodox cultures (e.g. Greek, Lebanese, Macedonian, Turkish) were more likely to maintain their heritage/community languages than those from Central and Western Europe (Clyne and Kipp 1997: 459).

Additionally, based on case studies of different ethnic minority groups in Australia, Pauwels (2005) has identified a range of factors – both individual and group – that promote language maintenance, many of which informed the design of the survey in this study and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. These include the presence of non-English speakers and family members in the community; visitors from and visits to the 'home' country; the arrival of new migrants; and access to various media in the heritage/community language (Pauwels 2005: 125-26). Further, in her examination of the Maltese community in Melbourne, Australia, Borland (2006) distinguished between factors that 'facilitated' and factors that 'motivated' intergenerational language transmission in the community. Facilitating factors are 'aspects of the social and political context in which language transmission is occurring', such as the accessibility of engagement with the homeland, whether virtual (online) or embodied

(via travel), and government policies supporting linguistic and cultural diversity (Borland 2006: 32). Motivating factors 'trigger critical decisions or choices at the individual/familial level that actively promote ILT', such as the desire for intergenerational community in the heritage/community language, the desire to maintain family ties with those in the homeland, and commitment to bilingualism (Borland 2006: 32).

Intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance efforts have been explored in research conducted on a number of ethnic minority communities. Interviews with parents have identified the means through which such efforts are commonly made, such as parental use of the heritage/community language in the home, providing access to various media in the language (e.g. books and films), and involvement in various cultural activities in the community (Park and Sarkar 2007: 231; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009: 86; Nesteruk 2010: 279). Further, Pauwels (2005: 128) has identified three strategies employed for successful maintenance of the heritage/community language: persistence of heritage/community language use, consistency of heritage/community language use, and parents' adoption of teaching methods and techniques in transmitting the heritage/community language.

The challenges and difficulties faced in language maintenance efforts have also been explored. A variety of issues were identified among various ethnic minority groups in Australia, such as parents'

proficiency in the heritage/community language; anxieties regarding the variety of language spoken in the community; attitudes of other community members towards language maintenance; and the large amounts of effort required to successfully transmit and maintain the heritage/community language (Pauwels 2005: 127). In connection to the latter challenge, parents interviewed by Nesteruk (2010: 281) described how the difficulties faced in attempting to maintain the heritage/community language subsequent to initial transmission efforts resulted in them adopting a more pragmatic position and having lower expectations of their children's proficiency in and use of the heritage/community language.

The various factors thought to influence the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of heritage/community languages that have been outlined in this section informed the design of questionnaire items and the interview guide used in this study. This helped to ascertain how Ukrainian is transmitted and maintained in the community, the various challenges and obstacles faced by community members to do this, and attitudes and ideologies towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian.

2.5 Theorising Language, Identity and Multilingualism

This section explores conceptualisations of the relationship between language and identity, the role that language can play in the formation

of identity, and multilingual language practices, all of which play a key role in many of the questions that this study addresses. First, Section 2.5.1 discusses 'fixed' and 'fluid' conceptualisations of the relationship between language and identity. Next, Section 2.5.2 focuses on the instrumental and symbolic roles language can play in the formation of ethnic identity. Finally, Section 2.5.3 discusses contemporary conceptualisations of language and bi-/multilingualism, and the influence of these on the examination of language use patterns. This is of particular relevance to the analysis of linguistic practices observed in the Ukrainian Complementary School (see Chapter 6).

Prior to these discussions, however, it is important to distinguish between ethnic identity and national identity, which are often considered synonymous. The key difference between national identity and ethnic identity is that national identity tends to incorporate a political element and a desire for self-government. Joseph (2004: 162-63) has argued that ethnic identity 'is more focused on common descent and cultural heritage shared because of common descent, than on political aspirations for autonomy', whereas national identity focuses on such aspirations for autonomy, and a national group is not necessarily ethnically homogenous.

In the case of the Ukrainian community in the UK, the question of ethnic and national identity is perhaps not as straightforward as in other cases, owing to the differences in the backgrounds of either wave. In the case of the first-wave Ukrainians, Ukrainian identity is

determined by rather primordial factors, as there are suggestions that ethnicity and language are key components of this identity. On the other hand, among second-wave Ukrainians in the UK, it would appear that Ukrainian identity is viewed in a more civic manner; that is, language and ethnicity are not necessarily considered as closely related or important components of Ukrainian identity. Perceptions of nationality and ethnicity among members of this wave may also be further complicated by the fact that in the Soviet Union, nationality and ethnicity were used synonymously in documents: *национальность (*natsional'nost', often translated as 'nationality') was used to mean 'ethnic group'. Despite such complexities regarding nationality and ethnicity in a Ukrainian context, in the present study, given that the focus is on Ukrainians in the UK – an example of an ethnic minority group – and this group is seemingly formed on the basis of shared cultural heritage, means that the focus of this study is arguably on ethnic identity, as opposed to national identity.

2.5.1 'Fixed' and 'Fluid' Conceptualisations of Language and Identity

There are two dominant approaches to the relationship between language and identity: these can be broadly referred to as 'fixed' and 'fluid'. In this section, I shall argue for the utility of combining both approaches when conducting sociolinguistic research.

Fixed approaches to language and identity assume that a one-to-one relationship exists between the two. This perspective is often referred to as ‘essentialism’, generally pejoratively (Joseph 2004: 90). This perspective views the relationship between language and identity as ‘fixed, ascribed, natural and unproblematic’ (Jaffe 2007: 58). Such essentialist ideologies, Bucholtz (2003: 40) explains, are based on the assumptions that (a) groups can be clearly delimited; and that (b) group members are more or less alike. Thus, this approach assumes that identity is inherited, uncontested, and difficult to change, and that groups (e.g. ethnic groups) are homogenous entities. The origins of this view of the fixed relationship between language and identity can be traced back to the formation of modern-day nation states in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe (Extra and Yagmur 2004: 15; Pulojar 2007: 71; Makihara 2010: 36; Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4; Lytra 2016: 134), when language was considered a vital component in the creation of the nation-state; Hobsbawm (1992: 21) describes how language was thought to be the ‘only adequate marker of identity’.

More fluid approaches to the relationship between language and identity have long coexisted alongside fixed approaches, but have only more recently – since the 1990s – gained prominence in such debates (Joseph 2004: 83-91). Related to poststructuralism and social constructionism, fluid conceptualisations of language and identity posit that identity is neither essential nor possessed, but is constructed and

performed through language (Joseph 2010: 14). This approach also views such identity construction as context-dependent and subject to various ‘cultural forces’ (Baxter 2016: 37). As De Fina (2016: 169) explains, this approach:

> Views identities as socially built in interaction and within social practices from inventories that are deployed according to contextual constraints. From this perspective, identities do not belong to people but are “done” and performed in that they involve discursive and strategic work.

More fluid conceptualisations hold that identity is negotiated through language and is therefore not a static entity; how identity is performed is also, therefore, influenced by the context in which it is being constructed.

Influential to the notion that identity is not fixed, but socially constructed, is Fredrick Barth’s (1969) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Karner 2007; May 2012). The central line of argument of this work is that the continued existence of an ethnic group primarily depends on the maintenance of the group boundary. Here, the ‘cultural stuff’ enclosed by the group boundary is not of primary importance, and it can change over time so long as the boundary is maintained (Barth 1969: 14-15). Thus, in the case of ethnic minority groups, although the linguistic practices of community members may vary considerably, group boundaries nevertheless persist and therefore the ethnic group continues to exist.

The increased attention paid to fluid – as opposed to fixed – conceptualisations of ethnic identity and the relationship between language and ethnic identity in recent decades can arguably be attributed to globalisation, increased migration flows, and consequently, increased levels of multiculturalism throughout the world, as has been discussed by Hall (1992: 598):

> The subject, previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented, composed not of a single, but of several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved, identities.

More recently, the term 'superdiversity' has been coined to refer to the 'transformative 'diversification of diversity' as a result of further increased globalisation, migration flows, and transnationalism from the 1990s (Vertovec 2006: 1). These conditions of so-called 'superdiversity' have, as we shall see in Section 2.5.3, resulted in research on language and identity shifting in its orientation and re-assessing the relationship between the two as fluid and unstable (Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Blackledge, Creese and Takhi 2012; Lytra 2016). This change in approach has in turn resulted in critiques of perspectives that consider language and identity to have a one-to-one, fixed relationship, as being discriminatory and limiting. For example, Jaffe (2007: 66) argues that they can potentially 'exclude and delegitimise the mixed codes and practices resulting from language domination, shift and revitalisation'. Omoniyi (2006: 17)

objects that they do not take into account hybridity, nor the fact identities may be contextually constructed.

Despite the problems that have been identified with fixed, essentialising approaches to the relationship between language and identity, it has also been argued that researchers cannot completely reject such conceptualisations of the relationship between the two. May (2005: 331; 2012) considers it 'extremely problematic' to reject the idea that language is not an important part of an individual's identity, citing three reasons: (1) there is 'considerable evidence' that language is still a significant feature of identity for many groups; (2) as proven by ethnonationalist movements, language can have a cultural significance to identity; and (3) although notions of language and identity may have been reconceptualised by scholars, that does not mean that languages are not important to individuals and groups (May 2012: 135-36). These reasons why language is still considered to play a key role in identity seem particularly pertinent in a Ukrainian context, especially in Ukraine itself where current language policy which aims to promote the status of Ukrainian posits that language plays an important role in identity (see Section 1.4.1.2).

Similarly, Sallabank (2013) has also argued against dismissing fixed, essentialist approaches to language and identity. Reflecting on her own experiences researching endangered languages, Sallabank describes how many of her participants – 'lay' people – do not view identity as fluid and constructed through language, and instead hold

more ‘traditional’ views of the relationship between the language and identity (Sallabank 2013: 79). Thus, regardless of current linguistic scholarship that conceptualises both identity and the relationship between language and ethnic identity as fluid, the link between language and identity remains real for research participants and therefore cannot be ignored wholesale by researchers (Sallabank 2013: 79).

This study therefore draws from both ‘fixed’ and ‘fluid’ approaches to language and identity. Whilst considering identity fluid, and constructed in a contextually dependent manner, we must also acknowledge the fact that (a) language may be considered an important part of respondents’ identity, following Joseph (2016: 25), who has stressed the need to keep in mind the dual sense of identity as ‘something we take to have an essential (but ungraspable) reality, yet recognise as being constructed based on perceptions that are only partial. Similarly, Lytra (2016: 142) argues:

> Rather than viewing them in binary opposition, future studies at the intersection of language and ethnic identity will benefit from examining further the interplay between fixed and fluid identity categories.

In summary, both approaches to language and identity have their relative strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, fixed approaches cannot be dismissed as many members of ethnic groups may consider language to play an important role in the formation of

their identity. In the current study, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, a number of informants considered Ukrainian to be an important part of Ukrainian identity, both in the community in the UK and in Ukraine. On the other hand, fluid approaches can be utilised in examinations of language and identity in the postmodern world, as they allow for an analysis of language and identity that takes into account the complexities of linguistic practices and identity positionings of individuals and groups. For example, in the analysis of language practices in the Ukrainian complementary school (Chapter 6), this fluid approach allows for a consideration of the ways through which the students employed various linguistic resources to index their Ukrainian identity, despite having only limited proficiency in Ukrainian.

2.5.2 Communicative and Symbolic Functions of Language in the Formation of Identity

Recognizing that fixed notions of the relationship between language and identity have their place, and considering language and identity 'ultimately inseparable' (Joseph 2004: 13), this section will focus on two of the roles that language can play in the formation of identity: communicative (or instrumental) and symbolic.

In any given society (or group within a society), a language may serve a communicative function, and, as outlined in the previous section, identity can be performed, constructed, and negotiated

through language. However, this communicative function is not the sole function of a given language (Eastman 1984: 274; Edwards 2009: 54; Edwards 2013: 19); language can also function as ‘an important symbolic resource in making social relationships and in identity formation’ (Makihara 2010: 36). A language may play a symbolic role in the ethnic identity of an individual or group: individuals may associate themselves with a language that they do not necessarily use on a frequent basis, or even possess knowledge of (Eastman 1984: 259).

These two functions of language – the communicative and symbolic – have been summarised by Edwards (2009: 55):

> The essence of distinction between the communicative and symbolic functions lies in a differentiation between language in its ordinarily understood sense as an instrumental tool, and language as an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying point.

Thus, language is a communicative tool that plays an instrumental role in identity formation, but it can also serve as a symbolic marker of ethnic identity, a part of the history and culture of a group (Edwards 2010: 6; Edwards 2013: 19). The remainder of this section will address the various levels of saliency of these functions of language to different groups in society, specifically to majority and minority groups.

For majority groups who are virtually always able to use the societal majority language, the communicative and symbolic functions of language are not separate from one another. Consequently, the link between language and identity is neither problematic, nor something that members of such groups pay much attention to (Edwards 2009: 55-56; Edwards 2013: 23). In contrast, for members of minority groups, often faced with the prospect of a split between the two functions of language, the link between language and identity is more salient (Edwards 2013: 23). The heritage/community language, therefore, may continue to play a symbolic role among members of the minority group, even if due to language shift it (partly or wholly) loses its communicative function.

The two functions of language are, then, separable (Edwards 2009: 56), as can be witnessed in existing research on language use and language attitudes in ethnic minority contexts. For example, interviews with children of Muslim Pakistani heritage in the West Midlands, UK, revealed that despite reported low levels of proficiency in the HCL(s) (Punjabi, Mirpuri, and Urdu) and use in only a limited number of domains, participants nevertheless reported that these languages played an important role in their identity (Mills 2001). Similarly, an examination of the language practices and attitudes of second generation teenagers of Sylheti-Bangladeshi origin in the UK identified high levels of identification with Bengali and Sylheti despite English being the language predominantly used by participants

(Rasinger 2013a). In the case of Ukrainian in this project – as Chapters 4 and 5 will demonstrate – a similar relationship between the communicative and symbolic functions of language was observed.

The fact that a language can continue to play a symbolic role in a minority group even if its communicative function is lost leads to debates about whether ethnic identity diminishes as a consequence of the associated language being used less. Eastman (1984: 275) argues that this issue is 'moot', as the only aspect of identity on which language shift has an impact is language use, 'a very low level manifestation of our cultural belief system'. Edwards also argues that the absence of the communicative function of the heritage/community language in a minority group may not lead to it losing its symbolic function, as it may continue to preserve the group's boundaries (Edwards 2010: 6). Thus, a language can still continue to play an important role in the formation of group members' ethnic identity, even if language shift has taken place. As outlined above, this can be the case with heritage/community languages, but in a Ukrainian context, this may also be the case in Ukraine, where although Ukrainian is not necessarily the main language used by all members of the population, but is nevertheless deemed an important symbol of Ukrainian identity (Kulyk 2013b, 2016b).

2.5.3 Language, Multilingualism, and Linguistic Practices

Over the course of the past two centuries – from the nineteenth century to the present day – attitudes towards multilingualism (and multilingual individuals)[11] have, for the most part, shifted considerably in the UK and the USA. From the early nineteenth century until the 1960s, attitudes towards multilingualism were negative; it was widely believed that multilingualism was detrimental to an individual's intelligence, and various studies, now considered methodologically flawed, sought to confirm such assumptions (Wei 2006a: 8; Baker and Wright 2017: 133). Since the 1960s, research on multilingualism has instead examined the potential benefits and 'additive effects' of individuals' knowledge of more than one language (Baker and Wright 2017: 137). Additionally, an increasing amount of scholarly attention has been paid to societal multilingualism in recent decades; the proliferation of such research has arguably been influenced by globalisation and increasing levels of diversity throughout the world (Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese 2012).

Just as societal changes resulting from globalisation and increased migration flows have altered the way in which sociolinguists view language and identity (Section 2.5.1), so too approaches to multilingualism and the linguistic practices of multilinguals have

[11] Multilingualism can refer to the presence of multiple languages (two or more) in a given society. A multilingual person is 'anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it actively (through speaking and writing) or passively (through listening and reading', thus including (rather than contrasting with) bilinguals (those with knowledge of two languages) (Wei 2008: 4).

changed. Recent approaches to these phenomena are of use in the analysis of language practices in the Ukrainian complementary school, where teachers and students negotiated their multilingual repertoires to communicate in the classroom (as we shall see in Chapter 6). Recently, calls have been made for sociolinguistic research to consider language as a dynamic set of resources, as opposed to viewing languages as immobile, separate, and bounded entities (Heller 2007: 2; Blommaert 2010: 102). Emphasizing individuals' use of communicative resources as opposed to use of bounded, named languages has been considered a more productive lens through which to analyse linguistic practices (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4).

Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have argued that languages are socially constructed, and that the commonly held view of languages as bounded entities is, for example, a result of nationalist projects (see Section 2.5.1). In the same way, phenomena such as bilingualism, multilingualism and codeswitching are – by default – equally socially constructed and simply reproduce the notion that languages are bounded entities; the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism are therefore 'at best a pluralisation of monolingualism' (Makoni and Pennycook 2007: 29). Garcia (2009: 55) has therefore argued that our perceptions of bilingualism also need to change, arguing that '[W]e need to move away from ways of looking at bilingualism as two separate languages', and proposing a model of 'dynamic bilingualism'. Here, bilingualism is viewed in a holistic

manner: individuals draw from the linguistic resources available to them in a given context. Thus, from this point of view, languages are not considered distinct entities (Garcia 2009: 53), and individuals are assumed to possess a single pool of linguistic resources which they can draw from to communicate (Garcia and Wei 2014). This pool of resources is often referred to as a 'linguistic repertoire', a term initially coined by John Gumperz (1964: 140) to refer to 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction'. 'Linguistic repertoire' is often employed to refer to an individual's linguistic resources without making a distinction between the different socially constructed (and recognised) languages possessed by the individual.

A variety of terms have been coined to describe and analyse linguistic practices from this perspective, including polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011), and flexible bilingualism, to which I return in Section 2.6.2 below (Creese and Blackledge 2011).[12] Although these terms are not completely synonymous, one feature they all have in common is that they consider language 'a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction' (Blackledge and Creese 2014: 2). One further term that has been adopted frequently in analyses of linguistic practices is translanguaging, a term initially coined by Cen Williams (1994) to refer to the bilingual

[12] For an overview of these and other terms, see Blackledge and Creese (2014: 2)

pedagogical practices adopted in Welsh schools from the 1980s, in which different languages were used for different classroom tasks or activities, e.g. one language would be used for reading, another for writing. The term has since been adopted and subsequently extended by sociolinguists to refer to language practices more generally, and not just in educational contexts. Garcia (2009: 44) defines translanguaging as the 'multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds'. The analysis of linguistic practices through a translanguaging lens focuses on the complex linguistic resources from an individual's linguistic repertoire used to communicate, and attempts not to focus on languages as bounded, separate units (Garcia and Wei 2014: 21).

On the surface, translanguaging would appear not to differ greatly from codeswitching. Codeswitching can be defined as 'the use of more than one language, variety, or style by a speaker within an utterance or discourse, or between interlocutors or situations' (Romaine 1992: 110). Analysis of language use from a codeswitching perspective adopts a structural or functional approach, and looks at how and why different languages are used and combined (Wei 2018). The fundamental difference between codeswitching and translanguaging approaches is ideological. Codeswitching implicitly accepts the notion of languages as separate, bounded entities (Lewis, Jones and Baker 2012: 659; Garcia and Wei 2014: 22), and assumes that the use of more than one linguistic resource is marked, and in

need of explanation (Bailey 2012).The concept of translanguaging, on the other hand, reflects an ideology that named languages are social constructs and seeks to undo such commonly held assumptions, to challenge boundaries between and hierarchies of language, and to normalise the negotiation of individuals' linguistic repertoires (Wei 2018).[13]

The analysis of linguistic practices in a Ukrainian Complementary school that will be presented in Chapter 6 will consider how classroom participants negotiate and draw from the various resources in their linguistic repertoires to create meaning and communicate with each other, thus considers language use in the classroom from the perspective of translanguaging. This follows the lead of existing research that examines the linguistic practices in UK complementary schools outlined in Section 2.6.2 (Creese 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010a), as well as other studies which have adopted more flexible approach to linguistic practices in various ethnic minority communities throughout the world. This includes, but is not limited to research on Italians in Canada (Giampapa 2001), Sri-Lankan Tamils in the UK, USA and Canada (Canagarajah 2012, 2013), and Chinese in the USA (He 2013) and the UK (Zhu 2008; Wei 2011a; Wei and Hua 2013). However, the analysis of linguistic practices in the Ukrainian Complementary School also considers some of the more pragmatic reasons for individuals' linguistic choices

[13] It should also be noted that translanguaging has faced criticism from scholars, for example Jaspers (2018) has critiqued the transformative limits of this term.

and practices in the schools, and the potential reasons for such (potentially deliberate) choices. I do not, therefore, reject the notion of separate bounded languages (which after all have a reality to speakers), but I use it alongside the notion of translanguaging; both have their place in this study, in the same way that the both the fixed and fluid concepts of identity each have their place.

2.6 Language Attitudes and Ideologies

As the title indicates, two key concepts in the present study are language attitudes and language ideologies, for they are notions that are central to much of the existing sociolinguistic research that seeks to understand, for example, language in contemporary Ukraine (Section 1.4.2), and complementary schools in the UK (Section 2.3.1). Although the two concepts of attitudes and ideologies are in some ways similar to one another, they nevertheless originate from different academic traditions and have some fundamental differences which mean that they cannot be used interchangeably, as I discuss below.

2.6.1 Language Attitudes

The present study investigates participants' language attitudes towards different languages and linguistic varieties present in the community, as well as attitudes towards the intergenerational

transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK. The study of attitudes originates from social psychology (Garrett 2010: 34); and language attitudes have been an object of study in linguistics since the influential work of Labov (1966) on linguistic variation in New York department stores. A familiar term in its everyday usage, attitude has been defined from a social-psychological perspective as:

> A mental or neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. (Allport 1935: 801)
>
> A disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event. (Ajzen 1988: 4)

There are two traditional approaches towards the study of attitudes: mentalist and behaviourist (Fasold 1984: 147; Appel and Muysken 1987: 16). The above definition provided by Allport (1935) follows the mentalist approach, which posits that attitudes are not directly observable but must be inferred through an individual's response to a given stimulus (Agheyesi and Fishman 1970: 138). Thus, attitudes differ from other attributes of an individual that are directly observable and therefore measurable, e.g. height or weight (Baker 1992: 10-11). The reliance on self-reported data and the need to infer participant attitudes when following this approach has been criticised for yielding potentially unreliable data (Fasold 1984: 147; Garrett 2010: 20).

In contrast, the behaviourist approach considers it possible to identify attitudes through observation, which means that the collection and analysis of attitudinal data is believed to be relatively straightforward – through observing human behaviour – and thus does not rely on self-reported data (Fasold 1984: 147-48). Accordingly, this approach views attitudes as context-dependent and thus shaped by the situation in which they were observed. This contrasts with the mentalist approach, which has argued that attitudes are less context-dependent and therefore more stable (Agheyesi and Fishman 1970: 138). However, the assumed stability of attitudes when following the mentalist approach has been criticised by Soukup (2012: 221), who has called for research on language attitudes to approach attitudes as contextually situated. In the present study, attitude data have been collected both through ethnographic observations (behaviourist approach) and through questionnaires and interviews (mentalist approach), but takes an approach to attitudes which treats these data as dependent on the context in which they were collected.

Mentalist and behaviourist approaches to attitudes also differ in how they view attitudes as being constituted. The behaviourist approach considers attitudes as single units, whereas the mentalist approach argues that attitudes are formed of three components: cognitive (knowledge), affective (evaluative), and conative (action), (Agheyesi and Fishman 1970; Baker 1992; Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003; Garrett 2010). The cognitive component concerns an

individual's thoughts and beliefs towards a certain object, e.g. 'Ukrainian is a useful language to know'. The affective component relates to feelings towards the object in question, such as feelings of strong dislike towards a language. Finally, the conative component concerns the inclination to act a certain way towards an object, e.g. enrolling in Ukrainian language courses.

I now turn to focus more specifically on language attitudes. Language attitudes are 'any affective, cognitive, or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties and their speakers' (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian 1982: 7). Studies of language attitudes can be broad in scope and explore a range of language-based phenomena.[14] For example, a number of studies have explored attitudes to linguistic variation in diasporic contexts, these include studies that have centred on ethnic minority communities in London, such as Lytra's (2012) ethnographic study of Turkish complementary schools that examined perceptions of Standard Turkish and Cypriot Turkish; Karatsareas' (2018) exploration of attitudes towards Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek in the Greek Cypriot community; and Yilmaz's (2018) research in Kurdish language classrooms, which analysed perceptions of two varieties of Kurmanji – Bohtan and Maraş. Further afield, attitudes towards Standard Modern German and regional varieties of German have been examined among German

[14] Language attitudes studies examine, for instance, attitudes towards language maintenance; language planning; dialect and speech style; language learning; language groups/communities/minorities (Fasold 1984: 148; Baker 1992: 29).

speakers in Canada (Dailey O'Cain and Liebscher 2011). Other studies have examined attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of heritage/community languages in various communities. Mainly conducted in a North American context, such research has studied Koreans in Montreal, Canada (Park and Sarkar 2007), the Chinese community in Philadelphia (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009), and Eastern Europeans in the USA (Nesteruk 2010). These studies all found that parents had positive attitudes towards language maintenance, as they considered it important for the maintenance of ethnic identity and culture and also provided their children with valuable language learning skills.

There are three broad approaches to the study of language attitudes: direct, indirect, and societal treatment (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003). In the present study – in which language attitudes are explored through all three data collection methods employed (questionnaires, interviews, and ethnographic observations) – two of these approaches are adopted: direct and societal treatment. The direct approach entails directly and explicitly asking informants about their attitudes, thus are elicited through the questionnaires and interviews (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003; Garrett 2010). The societal treatment approach ‘generally involves a content analysis of the ‘treatment’ given to languages and language varieties, and to their speakers in society’ (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003: 15); thus, this approach is adopted through the examination of attitudes

observed during ethnographic observations in the Ukrainian Complementary School. The advantages and disadvantages of employing such methods in sociolinguistic research are considered in the following chapter, but the starting point here is that the deliberately mixed methods research design in the present study makes possible more reliable and robust findings.

2.6.2 Language Ideologies

Research on language ideologies started to come together in the early 1990s. With its origins in linguistic anthropology, it has since been applied in a number of disciplines, and thus a core literature on language ideologies does not exist (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 56). Consequently, a range of definitions exist that differ in their focus.[15] One of the broader definitions of language ideology that is frequently cited deems language ideologies 'shared bodies of common-sense notions about the nature of language in the world' (Rumsey 1990: 346). A more recent, detailed definition of language ideology is that provided by Piller (2015: 920), who states:

> Language ideologies are […] best understood as beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language that are socially situated and relate language and society in a dialectical fashion: Language ideologies undergird language use, which in turn shapes language ideologies; and together, they serve social ends, in other words the purpose of language

[15] See Silverstein (1979: 193), and Irvine (1989: 255) for further examples of definitions of language ideology.

> ideologies is not really linguistic but social. Like anything social, language ideologies are interested, multiple, and contested.

Thus, language ideologies are shared between members of a given society (or group), they shape and are shaped by language practices, and they ultimately have social, as opposed to linguistic, aims. Further, being perceived as 'common-sense' ideas about language, language ideologies are often unquestioned, and individuals are not always conscious that they possess them.

Kroskrity (2010: 193-200) has argued that language ideologies are a 'cluster concept' that comprise four overlapping components. The first of these characteristics is that language ideologies are 'constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group', and thus serve a social as opposed to individual purpose (Kroskrity 2010: 193). Second, language ideologies are formed through individuals' social experiences and therefore are not evenly distributed throughout a group; factors such as age, gender, and ethnicity have the potential to shape language ideologies (Kroskrity 2010: 197). The third component pertains to individuals' awareness of language ideologies; members of a group possess different levels of consciousness of ideologies, and the higher the level of consciousness, the more likely an individual is to contest a given ideology (Kroskrity 2010: 198). Kroskrity's final characteristic of language ideologies is that they act as a bridge between sociocultural experiences and linguistic

resources, thus may influence how individuals talk about certain phenomena (Kroskrity 2010: 200).

Two related language ideologies are of particular relevance to Chapter 5 of this study, in which individuals' attitudes towards linguistic variation in the Ukrainian community are examined: the standard language ideology and an ideology of linguistic purism. First, the standard language ideology – a term coined by Milroy and Milroy (1985: 21) – is characterised by 'the belief that there is one and only one correct spoken form of the language, modelled on a single correct written form' (Milroy 1999: 174). Lippi-Green (1994: 166) defines the standard language ideology as:

> A bias towards an abstracted, idealised, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which takes as its model the written language. The most salient feature is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds.

Thus, the standard language ideology is the (often unconscious) belief that one variety of a given language (the 'standard' variety) – often imposed from above – is somehow superior to others, and aims to prevent variation within a given language (Milroy 2001, 2007; Piller 2015).

Related to the standard language ideology is the notion of linguistic purism, which seeks to protect the variety of language considered standard from either foreign borrowings or internal changes. Various definitions of linguistic purism exist, which differ in

terms of how narrow or broad they are; narrower definitions tend to focus only on protecting a given language from foreign elements (Trask 1999; Hohenhaus 2002), whereas broader definitions focus on resistance to variation and changes to a language more generally (Lodge 1993). The most commonly cited definition of linguistic purism is still that of Thomas (1991: 12):

> Purism is the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some selection of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements felt to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects, and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard language languages.

In the examination of attitudes towards linguistic variation in the Ukrainian community, we shall see that attitudes towards Ukrainian appear to be influenced by both of these ideologies, as some informants' perceptions of what constitutes Standard Ukrainian is a variety of Ukrainian free from Russian influences.

Another, related pair of language ideologies are also of relevance to this study, particularly to Chapter 6: those of 'separate' and 'flexible' bilingualism. Separate bilingualism rests on the assumption that languages should be used separately to avoid one language potentially influencing or even damaging the other, whereas flexible bilingualism does not. This pair of ideologies was identified

and outlined by Creese and Blackledge in their examination of language practices and ideologies in UK complementary schools (Blackledge and Creese 2010a; Creese and Blackledge 2011). First, the ideology of separate bilingualism was evident in some teachers' insistence that pupils use their languages separately and only used the heritage/community language in the complementary school classroom. The enforcement of this ideology is – Creese and Blackledge have argued – 'a response to anxiety about the potential loss of the community language, and the cultural knowledge it is considered to index' (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1206).

On the other hand, an ideology of flexible bilingualism was observed existing alongside that of separate bilingualism in the schools, evident in the flexible linguistic practices, or translanguaging of some teachers and students (see Section 2.5.3). These practices entailed pupils 'discursively negotiating paths for themselves which were in some ways contrary to the separate bilingual ideologies of the complementary schools' (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1206). We shall see in Chapter 7 that the coexistence of these two language ideologies encountered in the complementary schools is also evident in the ethnographic data collected at the Ukrainian Complementary School.

2.6.3 Language Attitudes and Language Ideologies

Language attitudes and language ideologies share some features but are not interchangeable concepts. This section will set out the key similarities and differences between the two.

First, language attitudes and language ideologies both explore matters related to language and how perceptions of language may influence processes such as language maintenance or shift, or patterns of language learning in a given society (Dyers and Abongdia 2010). Second, both language attitudes and language ideologies may differ between individuals, and neither are uniformly distributed throughout a given society (or group within a society); both are influenced by an individual's social, cultural, and economic background (Dyers and Abongdia 2010: 123). In sum, the two concepts focus on the same phenomenon and are not uniformly distributed across a given group.

One fundamental difference between the concepts of language attitudes and language ideologies is their disciplinary origins: language attitudes originates from social psychology, and language ideologies linguistic anthropology (Baker 1992; Garrett 2010). The two concepts, therefore, come from different research paradigms: language attitudes research originates from a discipline in which quantitative methods are commonly employed to obtain data, whereas language ideologies research is rooted in social constructivism.

Another difference between language attitudes and language ideologies, identified by Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 120), is how clearly either can be observed and identified. Language ideologies tend not to be hidden and are reflected in language practices and policies. Thus, language ideologies are observed through individuals' language practices (communication) and through policies implemented by authorities. Thus, studying language ideologies 'relates the microculture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality' (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 72). Conversely, language attitudes are not directly observable, even if an attitude is overtly expressed.

A further fundamental difference that has been identified between the two concepts is their social and individual nature: language ideologies tend to be shared across a given group or society, whereas language attitudes are a more individual phenomenon: 'while Lis [language ideologies] are always held by groups […] attitudes are mostly held by individuals' (Dyers and Abongdia 2010: 121). Further, the pervasive language ideologies present in any given society may play an influential role in the formation of individuals' language attitudes, and thus ideologies arguably precede attitudes: even if an ideology is rejected by an individual, it has still come before, and impacted on, the language attitude. The societal nature of a language ideology also implies that these are long-term and enduring (Dyers and Abongdia 2010: 121).

In brief, the relationship between language attitudes and ideologies can be summarised as follows:

- Language attitudes and language ideologies originate from different academic disciplines and research paradigms;
- Language ideologies are a 'macro-phenomenon', shaped by and shared across societies; language attitudes are held by individuals;
- Language ideologies – as a societal phenomenon – precede and influence language attitudes;
- Language ideologies are long-term and enduring across a (section of) society; language attitudes are more temporary and can change according to an individual's circumstances.
- Language ideologies are naturalised beliefs; language attitudes tend to be an individual's reaction towards a given stimulus.

In this study, both language attitudes and language ideologies have been important concepts. For instance, the use of quantitative research methods to explore informants' beliefs regarding language could be considered to align more closely with traditional language attitudes research. Further, paying attention to both language attitudes and language ideologies means that this study both focuses on individuals' perceptions and beliefs about language (language attitudes) and also explores the ideologies that underpin and influence such attitudes.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the key concepts, theoretical foundations, and existing knowledge base that underpin and inform this study. To summarise, Section 2.2 demonstrated that employing the term heritage/community language to describe Ukrainian within the Ukrainian community in the UK is the most suitable designation, as it captures the different linguistic experiences of community members. This section also emphasised the importance of distinguishing between heritage language learners and heritage language speakers, to also account for the diversity of the individuals to whom a given language is deemed a heritage language.

Section 2.3, placed the Ukrainian schools – introduced in Chapter 1 – in the wider context of complementary schools in the UK, and provided an overview of the existing research on such institutions. This research has identified complementary schools as sites of multilingualism, promotion of the heritage/community language, and identity formation for the young people attending them. Language maintenance, language shift, and intergenerational language transmission were the focus of Section 2.4, as were the factors thought to influence such processes, many of which (e.g. exogamy, access to resources in the heritage/community language) are relevant to the Ukrainian community in the UK, as we shall see in Chapter 7.

Section 2.5 argued for the relevance of both 'fixed' and 'fluid' conceptualisations of the relationship between language and identity to this study, and also outlined two of the ways language is considered to play a role in identity formation – communicative and symbolic. This section also explored how a shift towards more 'fluid' conceptualisations of language and identity have altered the ways in which multilingual linguistic practices are analysed in the literature, and demonstrated how the analysis of language use from a more fluid, translanguaging perspective is of use to examination of language practices in the Ukrainian complementary school. Finally, in Section 2.7, I argued for the value of both language attitudes and language ideologies, which despite sharing some features, are also in some respects fundamentally different, each have the potential to shed light on the status of Ukrainian (as well as other languages) in the Ukrainian community in the UK today.

Having set out these key concepts, in Chapter 3 I now turn to the research design and methodology employed in this study.

3 Research Design, Methodology, and Data Analysis Procedures

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the mixed methods research design and analytical techniques employed in this study in order to address the research questions listed in Chapter 1. As outlined, these questions aim to examine linguistic practices, language attitudes and ideologies, the relationship between language and identity, and intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance in the Ukrainian community in the UK. I begin, in Section 3.2, by examining the advantages, but also some of the challenges related to mixed methods research. I then describe and explain the quantitative (Section 3.3) and qualitative (Section 3.4) methods employed in this study. Sections 3.5 and 3.6 then discuss ethical considerations and issues related to researcher positionality encountered during the data collection process.

3.2 Mixed Methods Research

This study adopted a mixed methods research design that collected both quantitative and qualitative data through three different research methods: a questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic observations. The study also employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis to allow a thorough

exploration of the research questions. A key characteristic of such mixed methods research designs is their 'methodological eclecticism' (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2010: 6); such designs are defined by the collection of data through multiple methods which are then brought together at various stages of the research process, depending on the specific aims of the project (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 5).

Two key reasons motivated the decision to employ a mixed methods research design in this study. The first justification is 'completeness' (Bryman 2006): using mixed methods made it possible to gain a more detailed insight into the language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and the processes of intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance in the Ukrainian community in the UK, from different angles and perspectives, and thus has enriched this study (Ivankova and Creswell 2009: 136; Angouri 2010: 33; Creswell 2014: 4). For example, conducting ethnographic observations at a Ukrainian complementary school meant that data regarding language practices did not rely solely upon the self-reported data obtained through questionnaires and interviews.

The second justification for combining multiple methods was 'offset' (Bryman 2006); using more than one method is a means to offset some of the weaknesses of each respective method (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 12-13). For example, where questionnaire data could only scratch the surface of certain issues, the interviews provided an opportunity for further, more in-depth exploration of these.

Further, interviewees were able to elaborate more on their language choices than questionnaire respondents. However, the questionnaire allowed for larger quantities of data to be collected, which were more generalizable than those obtained through interviews and ethnographic observations. The ethnographic observations at a Ukrainian complementary school provided an opportunity to gather data, which, unlike the other two data sets, did not rely on respondents' self-reports.

The various types of mixed methods research designs employed by researchers differ in matters such as the timing of data collection, weighting of the data sets, and how they are integrated or combined (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007). This project most closely follows the convergent design (Creswell 2014; Tashakkori, Teddlie and Johnson 2015; Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). That is, the three data sets, although relatively independent of one another, were collected at around the same time – over a period of approximately 14 months – and are integrated where the overall results of the study are interpreted in Chapters 4-7 (Creswell 2014: 15; Tashakkori, Teddlie and Johnson 2015: 620; Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 65).

Although combining different research methods has helped to strengthen this project and has allowed for the thorough exploration of its various research questions, such mixed methods research is not without its challenges – both practical and philosophical. In terms of practical challenges, conducting mixed methods research was a time-

consuming endeavour; as it was necessary to develop a wide range of research skills, and then subsequently collect, organise, and analyse multiple data sets (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 14). Regarding philosophical challenges, in combining qualitative and quantitative research methods, mixed methods research brings together two sets of epistemological assumptions which some argue are not compatible with each other (Brannen 2005: 174). However such arguments – as reported by Bryman (2012: 629) – have been responded to convincingly by a host of mixed methods researchers, who endorse and adopt a pragmatic approach to research, and argue that the consequences of the research are of primary importance (Morgan 2007; Angouri 2010; Tashakkori, Teddlie and Johnson 2015; Creswell and Plano Clark 2018). This pragmatic approach, as adopted in this study, is 'not committed to any one system of philosophy and reality' (Creswell 2014: 11). Rather than debating whether or not the quantitative and qualitative methods employed in this study were compatible with one another, I instead adopted a pluralistic approach that was not tied to any one epistemological position, in order to collect a broad variety of data to address the research questions of this study.

3.3 Quantitative Data Collection

3.3.1 Questionnaire

It was decided to use a questionnaire in order to obtain data regarding the linguistic repertoires, language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and intergenerational language transmission strategies from members of the Ukrainian community in the UK. In this section, the reasons for the choice of the questionnaire, its design, and the relative strengths and weaknesses of this method of data collection will be outlined.

A questionnaire was chosen to collect the quantitative data for this study due to its ability to generate relatively large quantities of data in a relatively short space of time in comparison to other research methods, such as, for instance, interviews and ethnographic observations (Dörnyei 2007: 101; Rasinger 2010b: 60). This was especially the case because respondents were able to complete the questionnaire independently in their own time, rather than the questionnaire being administered in the form of a structured interview (Bryman 2006: 233-34). Respondents could either complete a paper copy of the questionnaire or an online version created using the Bristol Online Surveys software.[16] The online format allowed the questionnaire to be distributed to larger numbers of respondents and meant that it could be completed anonymously. (Details of the distribution of both forms of the questionnaire are given in 3.3.4

[16] This online software is now simply called Online Surveys: <https://www.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/>

below). Thus, the questionnaire made it possible to obtain data from a large number of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK as well as to collect data from community members from a range of backgrounds and to make the study as representative as possible.

The quantitative data collected through the questionnaire were predominantly obtained through closed-ended questionnaire items, so do not always provide an insight into the nuances and complexities of the sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community. Rather, these data were intended to provide a broad – as opposed to deep – insight into such matters (Dörnyei 2007: 35). It should also be noted that the self-reported data regarding informants' language practices and language attitudes may not necessarily be a true reflection of their behaviour and beliefs (Codo 2008: 159; Pauwels 2016: 62). The potential gap between questionnaire respondents' self-reported and actual language behaviour was one key factor in the decision to employ multiple research methods to explore such phenomena (Pauwels 2016: 12). As Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003: 28-29) have pointed out, two types of bias – social desirability and acquiescence – may have had an effect on the questionnaire data obtained. Social desirability bias is the tendency of respondents to provide socially appropriate responses to questions; for example, respondents might have reported using Ukrainian more often than they do in order to seem like 'better' members of the community. Acquiescence bias is the tendency of respondents to agree with a

questionnaire item even if it does not reflect their true feelings, for instance respondents might strongly agree that Ukrainian plays an important role in their identity, even if this is not necessarily the case.

Nevertheless, the overall purpose of the questionnaire employed in this study was to provide a broad overview of the language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and the intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance strategies of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK. Its use alongside two further research methods – semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations – made it possible to offset (in the sense of Bryman 2006) some of the possible shortcomings, however.

3.3.2 Questionnaire Design

One of the main concerns in the design of the questionnaire was to ensure that the right questions were asked in order to explore the research questions in the study. The design of the questionnaire items was informed through the examination of questionnaires employed in other research studies that explored similar issues to this project. In particular, many of the questionnaire items were based on a questionnaire distributed to Russian speakers in the Republic of Ireland, as part of a research project entitled *Russian Speakers in the Republic of Ireland: Who are they? A Sociolinguistic Study of Hybrid*

Identities see Smyth (2016) for more information.[17] It was also necessary to pay a great deal of care and attention to how the questionnaire items were formulated, to ensure that informants were able to understand and respond to all items (Rasinger 2010b). Thus, when formulating questionnaire items it was necessary to ensure that they were not too long, were written in clear, non-technical language, and were not in any way ambiguous (Dörnyei 2007: 108-09; Bryman 2012: 255-58).

Another issue that needed to be carefully considered in the case of this project was the language(s) in which to produce the questionnaire. Following the advice of Pauwels (2016: 51-52) regarding the design of research instruments for multilingual participants, I initially produced the questionnaire in three languages: English, Ukrainian, and Russian, those most widely-known by community members. The Ukrainian and Russian versions were checked by native speakers; and my own proficiency in the two languages enabled me to feel confident that respondents were receiving the same questionnaire, regardless of the language in which they had chosen to complete it. Despite initially producing the questionnaire in all three languages, once more sustained contact was made with the community, I was able to gain some preliminary awareness of their feelings about these languages, and the decision was made not to make the Russian version of the questionnaire

[17] Further information on this research project can also be found at: <https://www.tcd.ie/Russian/our-languages/> [accessed 14 May 2019].

available. It was feared that making the questionnaire available in a language to which some potential informants held strong negative feelings might be controversial and inhibit individuals from completing the survey. Thus, participants were able to complete the questionnaire in either English or Ukrainian. (The final versions of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A2 and Appendix B2).

The questionnaire comprised a total of 42 questions, the majority of which were closed-ended items that were fast and easy for participants to respond to, making processing and analysing the data relatively straightforward. The questionnaire also included 13 open-ended questions – often following a series of closed-ended items – to compensate for potential restrictions imposed on informants by the closed-ended items (Bryman 2012: 249-52). The open-ended items allowed respondents to provide additional information or elaborate on answers they had provided. This proved to be valuable, for instance, where respondents wanted to provide reasons for their patterns of language use, or to explain why they held certain opinions.

The questionnaire consisted of five sections, although these were not marked explicitly to informants. Section 1 elicited biodata: respondent age, gender, birth country, and their family history, in order to gain a picture of their respective backgrounds. Section 2 asked respondents about their linguistic repertoires and language biography: which languages they know, how well they know them, and how they would describe their languages. In Section 3, respondents

were asked to report their language preferences (in speaking, reading, and writing), and the languages they use in various domains and with different interlocutors, both in the UK and Ukraine. Section 4 focused on respondents' language attitudes, asking how strongly they agreed with a series of statements on a five-point Likert scale, a technique commonly employed in attitude measurement (Bryman 2012: 166). The five-point scale allows respondents who feel indifferent towards a given statement to express their neutral feelings towards it (Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003: 41).

The items that comprised Section 5 were – for the most part – only applicable to respondents with children (of any age), and asked about the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian. Informants were asked about their children's knowledge and use of Ukrainian and the efforts they have made to transmit Ukrainian to their children. The final question in this section (also the final question overall) was applicable to all informants, and asked them to report their outlook regarding the future of Ukrainian in the UK. At the end of the questionnaire, respondents were provided with space to leave any further comments related to the questionnaire, if they deemed it necessary to do so, as was the case with a number of informants.

3.3.3 Piloting the Questionnaire

Piloting the questionnaire was crucial to test the instrument for suitability and validity before distributing it to large numbers of participants, as if any weaknesses or errors had been subsequently identified, it would not have been possible to rectify them (Oppenheim 1992: 47; Rasinger 2013b: 59). The small pilot study was conducted between June and July 2016. Pilot copies of the questionnaire were distributed to members of the Ukrainian community in Derby – a city in the East Midlands – with whom contact was made through a member of the Ukrainian community in Nottingham. Paper copies of the questionnaire, as well as flyers with links to the online version of the questionnaire, were distributed during a visit to the Ukrainian Club in Derby on a Friday evening, a time when members of the community typically went to the club to socialise. All community members who I spoke to considered it more convenient for them to complete the paper version of the questionnaire whilst at the Ukrainian Club, which explains why nobody opted to complete the online pilot version of the questionnaire.

Overall, 16 copies of the pilot survey were returned; in all but one case, they were completed by second- and third-generation descendants of the first wave of migration. Since none of the pilot respondents chose to complete the online version of the questionnaire, data obtained from the paper copies were also transferred manually to the online version in order to check that both formats of the

questionnaire were identical. This pilot study identified a few minor issues with the questionnaire, all of which were subsequently rectified. Changes included making sure that the layouts of the questions to which informants were asked to respond on a five- or six-point scale were clearer. In the final version of the questionnaire all points were labelled. Minor changes to the wording of some items were also made. Further, following a comment made by a respondent, Section 5 was slightly altered in order to enable those with children aged 18 and above – as opposed to just those with children under 18, as in the original design – to complete this part of the questionnaire. This meant that all informants with children were able to provide information regarding their children's knowledge and use of Ukrainian, and the means through which informants transmitted and maintained the language across generations.

3.3.4 Data Collection and Sample Description

Once changes were made to the questionnaire and the final draft had been checked in both languages, paper copies and links to the online questionnaire were distributed to members of the Ukrainian community. Distributing paper copies proved to be relatively difficult, as it required making contact with members of Ukrainian communities in different parts of the UK and asking them to be responsible for distributing, collecting and returning the questionnaires via post, as it was not financially feasible to make multiple visits to Ukrainian centres

throughout the country. The only location in which it proved practicable to distribute paper copies of the questionnaire was Nottingham, as regular visits were made to the Ukrainian centre.

In contrast, it was comparatively more straightforward to promote the online version of the questionnaire. The links to the questionnaire, were shared on Facebook groups for Ukrainians living in the UK (such as those linked to different Ukrainian community centres); the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (AUGB) and the Ukrainian Institute in London also agreed to publicise my study on their social media pages and websites. The posts made on social media to advertise the questionnaire were titled ‘Help wanted for research on Ukrainian in the UK!’ and contained information about the project and my contact details. By distributing links to the online survey on a range of web pages, it was possible to access potential informants who might not be as directly involved in the Ukrainian community as those I met when visiting Ukrainian centres.

The online questionnaire was open for a period of five months, between October 2016 and February 2017. In order to recruit participants, convenience and snowball sampling procedures – both examples of non-probability sampling – were employed. Convenience sampling involves recruiting those available to take part in the study at any given time, and snowball sampling entails respondents being recruited via word-of-mouth (Bryman 2012: 174). Such recruitment methods might result in those with an interest in issues related to

language being more likely to complete the questionnaire, relying on individuals choosing to take part in the research. However, such recruitment methods are often the only possible ways to collect data from ethnic minority groups (Pauwels 2016: 49).

After the removal of outliers (predominantly members of Ukrainian communities outside of the UK), the total number of responses obtained from members of the Ukrainian community in the UK was 137. The vast majority of respondents (78.8%, n=108) chose to complete the survey in English; thus, the remaining 21.2% (n=29) of respondents completed it in Ukrainian. The percentage of respondents who opted to complete the questionnaire in English is slightly higher than the percentages of respondents who stated that they preferred English for writing (56.2%, n=77) and reading (50.7%, n=69), as will be discussed in Chapter 4. Thus, questionnaire language choice appears to be to some extent influenced by language preference, but may also have been influenced by informants' knowledge of the researcher's background (as inferred from my name, provided on the information sheet). Data obtained from various groups within the sample were analysed and compared in order to see whether there were significant differences between them, such as between the two migration waves. In Chapters 4 and 5 data obtained from all questionnaire respondents are presented, and Chapter 7 presents the data obtained from informants who reported having children.

3.3.4.1 Data Analysis

The collected data were coded and entered into Stata – a statistical software package – for analysis.[18] First, data were subject to descriptive statistical analyses (e.g. frequencies, means, medians) to provide an insight into the 'general shape or quality' of the data (Levon 2010: 70). Following this, data were further analysed by comparing subgroups within the sample (see Chapters 4, 5, and 7); inferential statistical analyses were conducted on these data to ascertain whether patterns observed in the data were statistically significant (Gorman and Ezra Johnson 2015: 214; Levon 2010: 70). In cases where categorical data were compared, Chi-square tests were employed. In cases where mean values were compared between two groups, Mann-Whitney U tests (the non-parametric alternative to independent samples t-tests) were used, and when comparing means between more than two groups, Kruskall-Wallis tests were used (the non-parametric alternative to the one-way ANOVA). Results where $p \leq 0.05$ were considered statistically significant, as is common practice in the humanities and social sciences (Gorman and Ezra Johnson 2015: 215; Levon 2010: 71).

[18] See < https://www.stata.com/>

3.3.4.2 Sample of Questionnaire Respondents: All Respondents

As noted above, Chapters 4 and 5 will present qualitative data obtained from all 137 questionnaire respondents and compares these results between different groups within this sample. First, data obtained from all respondents were examined; second, data obtained from respondents born in the UK and in Ukraine were compared; third, data obtained from three age categories within the UK-born group of respondents were examined. These comparisons mean that differences within and between migration waves within the sample could be explored. Data for Ukraine-born respondents were also initially compared between age cohorts, but the comparatively small number of respondents in this subsample (54 out of 137), and the uneven distribution of respondents across age cohorts (the majority of informants were in the two younger age categories), resulted in very few statistically significant results.

Overall, the sample of questionnaire respondents was neither balanced for gender (see Table 3.1), nor age (see Table 3.2); this is perhaps not surprising given the sampling techniques employed in the study. The majority of respondents were female (69.3%, n=95), and only 30.7%, of informants were male (n=42). The majority of respondents were aged 36-55 (45.3%, n=62), thus smaller percentages of informants were either aged 16-35 (29.9%, n=41) or 56+ (24.8%, n=34).

Table 3.1: Respondent Gender

	N	%
Female	95	69.3
Male	42	30.7
Total	137	100

Table 3.2: Respondent Age

	N	%
16-35	41	29.9
36-55	62	45.3
56+	34	24.8
Total	137	100

Those who disclosed where they currently live in the UK (all but two respondents) reported living in a wide range of cities and regions (see Table 3.3). Overall, 67.2% (n=92) of respondents reported living in one of four areas, either cities or counties: 27.0% (n=37) London, 16.1% (n=22) Nottingham, 13.1% (n=18) Manchester, and 11.0% (n=15) Yorkshire. These are the locations in which I found it easiest to make contact with members of the community and visited Ukrainian community centres, which presumably influenced response rates. Five respondents (3.7%) reported living in Scotland; thus, responses were not limited to just those living in England.

Table 3.3: Respondents' Stated Current Place of Residence in the UK

	N	%
London	37	27
South, other (excluding London)	11	8
Nottingham	22	16.1
Midlands, other (excluding Nottingham)	11	8
Manchester	18	13.1
Northwest, other (excluding Manchester)	10	7.3
Yorkshire	15	11
Scotland	5	3.7
No Answer	8	5.8
Total	137	100

Categorising Respondents by Place of Birth

To compare data obtained from respondents belonging to two identifiable migration waves, respondents were classified into two groups: ‘UK-born’ and ‘Ukraine-born’. All UK-born respondents are descendants of first-wave migrants (predominantly second- and third-generation), as confirmed by their responses to questionnaire items

about family history. The absence of responses from first-wave, first-generation Ukrainians can be explained by their small, ever-decreasing numbers in the UK, as they migrated approximately 70 years ago. All Ukraine-born respondents are second-wave migrants, who have moved to the UK since Ukraine gained independence in 1991.

Approximately 60% of respondents were born in the UK (60.6%, n=83), and the remaining 39.4% (n=54) reported their birth country either as Ukraine or the Soviet Union (see Table 3.4). A closer examination of the latter group of respondents revealed that 15 of 18 were born in various regions of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (77.8%), and the remaining three disclosed that they were born to Ukrainian families in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Thus, it was decided to combine these respondents to form one 'Ukraine-born' group. This group will be referred to as 'Ukraine-born' throughout the analysis, however it is worth bearing in mind that this category includes those respondents who reported their birthplace as Ukraine, the Ukrainian Soviet Social Republic, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (see Table 3.5). Although this may have made the analysis less fine-grained, this merging of the two groups made it possible to test for statistically significant differences between the two migration waves.

Table 3.4: Respondent Country of Birth

	N	%
UK	83	60.6
Ukraine	36	26.3
Soviet Union (Ukrainian SSR and RSFSR)	18	13.1
Total	137	100

Table 3.5: Birth Country Categories for Analysis

	N	%
UK-born	83	60.6
Ukraine-born[19]	54	39.4
Total	137	100

Although an analysis of the data according to where in Ukraine respondents are from was not feasible, the data obtained demonstrate that they were from various regions of Ukraine (see Table 3.6; Figure 3.1). The specificities of these different regional backgrounds are not of importance to this study, however these data demonstrate that these informants were from a wide range of regions of Ukraine, some of which are generally considered predominantly Ukrainian-speaking,

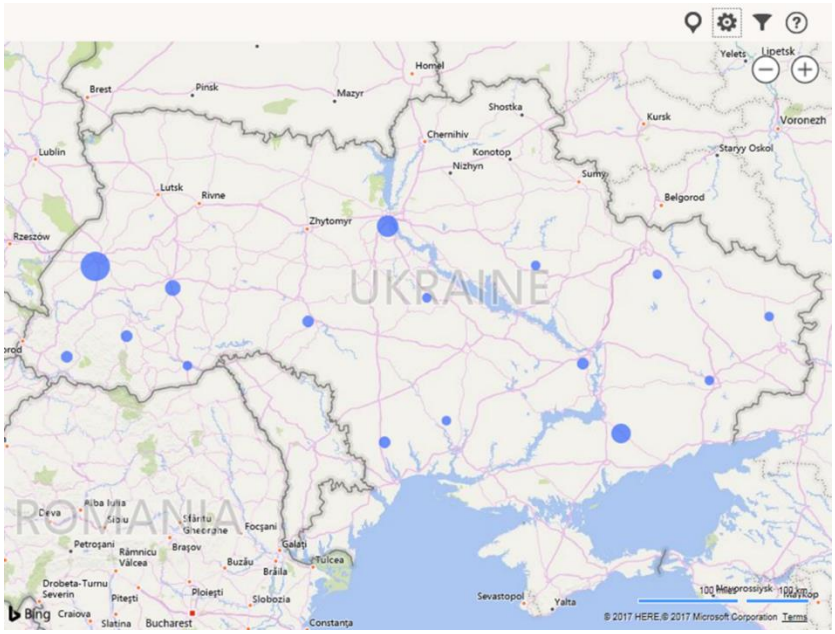
[19] This category comprises informants who reported being born in Ukraine and the Soviet Union (all of whom stated they were either born in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic or the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic).

and others predominantly Russian-speaking. Thus, these informants are arguably more linguistically diverse than first-wave informants, who – as outlined in Chapter 1 – tend to exclusively come from Western Ukraine.

Table 3.6: Birth Regions of Ukraine-Born Respondents

	N	%
L'vivs'ka	7	19.44
Kyivs'ka	5	13.89
Zaporiz'ka	4	11.11
Ternopil's'ka	3	8.33
Odes'ka	2	5.56
Zakarpats'ka	2	5.56
Dnipropetrovs'ka	2	5.56
Ivano-Frankivs'ka	2	5.56
Vinnyts'ka	2	5.56
Chernivets'ka	1	2.78
Cherkas'ka	1	2.78
Kharkivs'ka	1	2.78
Poltavs'ka	1	2.78
Donets'ka	1	2.78
Luhans'ka	1	2.78
Mykolaivs'ka	1	2.78
Total	36	100

Figure 3.1 Birth Regions of Ukraine-Born Respondents.
(Circle sizes correspond with the number of respondents from each region).



Categorising UK-Born Respondents by Age

Respondents were asked to state how old they were from a list of six age categories (16-25; 26-25; 36-45; 46-55; 56-65; 66+). However, to ensure that statistical tests could be carried out between age cohorts, these initial six categories were reduced to three: 16-35, 36-55, and 56+. Respondents were not equally distributed across these categories. The 16-35 category was the least well-represented (22.9%, n=19); similar numbers of respondents were aged 36-55 (39.8%, n=33) or 56+ (37.4%, n=31) (see Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Age Composition of Birth Country Groups

Age	N	%
16-35	19	22.9
36-55	33	39.8
56+	31	37.4
Total	83	100.0

3.3.4.3 Sample of Questionnaire Respondents with Children

The quantitative data presented in Chapter 7 were obtained from the 83 questionnaire respondents (60.6% of the overall sample) who have children. Among these respondents, 61.4% (n=51) are UK-born and 38.6% (n=32) Ukraine-born; thus, the majority of respondents in the subsample are first-wave Ukrainians (see Table 3.8). Over half of respondents (51.8%, n=43) had children over 18, 37.4% (n=31) under 18, and 9.6% (n=8) children of both ages, and one respondent did not disclose their children's age. For analytical purposes, when the data are examined according to children's age, the one non-response and the responses from those with children in both age categories are removed. As shown in Table 3.9, this results in 41.9% (n=31) of respondents who have children under 18 and 58.1% (n=43) over 18. The majority of Ukraine-born respondents had children under 18 (69.0%, n=20), whereas the majority of UK-born respondents (75.6%, n=34) had children over 18.

The data obtained from respondents with children were analysed according to parental birth country to identify whether any

differences between the two migration waves exist, and also among UK-born respondents to identify whether differences exist within the first wave of Ukrainian migration to the UK. Any differences identified between these groups within the subsample will be discussed in the analysis of these data.

Table 3.8: Subsample Details: Respondent Birth Country and Children Age

	% (N)
Respondent Birth Country	
Ukraine	38.6 (32)
UK	61.4 (51)
Child Age	
Under 18	37.4 (31)
Over 18	51.8 (43)
Both	9.6 (8)
No Answer	1.2 (1)
Child Age (Outliers Removed)	
Under 18	41.9 (31)
Over 18	58.1 (43)

Table 3.9: Children Age and Respondent Birth Country

	Respondent Birth Country	
Child Age	**Ukraine**	**UK**
Under 18	69.0 (20)	24.4 (11)
Over 18	31.0 (9)	75.6 (34)
Total	100.0 (29)	100.0 (45)

3.4 Qualitative Data Collection

3.4.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven members of the Ukrainian community between August 2016 and May 2017 - that is, before, during, and after questionnaire data were collected. The interviews provided a means to explore issues addressed in the questionnaire in more detail, including language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and language maintenance strategies.

Semi-structured interviews allowed for a range of topics to be explored and provided more flexibility than structured interviews, but were more consistent in structure than completely informal interviews; as described below, an interview guide was followed to ensure that all desired topics were covered during the interview (Richards 2009: 187; Bryman 2012: 471). The key reason for choosing this particular method to collect data was that it allowed for relatively in-depth data to be obtained on a broad range of topics (Silverman 2006: 120; Edley and Litoselliti 2010: 169). These data were also able to provide

insights into the sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community that the other research methods employed may not have been able to: the questionnaire data does not explore issues in as much depth (Richards 2009: 187); observational data may not uncover certain opinions and interpretations expressed in interviews (Copland and Creese 2015: 37).

An important consideration throughout the research process was that the interviews were not simply producing data that revealed objective truths; the research interview is not 'a simple mechanism for "harvesting" people's ideas and opinions' (Edley and Litoselliti 2010: 165). Concerns have previously been raised about the uncritical adoption of the interview method by researchers who consider it a straightforward means through which data can be obtained (Atkinson and Silverman 1997). Rather, data obtained through interviews are inevitably discursively constructed by the interviewer and interviewee (Edley and Litoselliti 2010: 160; Copland and Creese 2015: 35). Interviews should be considered as communicative events in which all participants play a role in shaping the interaction that takes place, and various social and contextual factors may influence how the interaction develops. This was taken into account in the analysis and interpretation of the interview data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

3.4.1.1 The Interview Guide

A guide was used in all of the semi-structured interviews to ensure that each interview covered the same topics. The interview guide also contained various prompts and pointers, such as ways to word questions (e.g. ‘could you tell me about’ as opposed to asking yes/no questions), and potential probe questions to help ensure the interview ran smoothly (Dörnyei 2007: 137). The interview guide was produced in all three languages interviewees could choose to use in the interview: English, Ukrainian and Russian; however, all seven interviewees chose to be interviewed in English.

The interview guides followed a relatively similar structure to the questionnaire, as the interviews aimed to explore similar topics to those covered in the questionnaire. In addition to these core topics covered in the guide, additional topics and questions specific to those with high levels of involvement in the community were added to the guide for two interviewees with involvement in Ukrainian community organisations and complementary schools. This ensured that specific issues could be covered with those who play specific roles in the community in addition to being members of it. (Full copies of the interview guide can be found in Appendix A4 and Appendix B4).

An initial pilot interview was conducted in August 2016 with a member of the Ukrainian community living in Nottingham. This interview was conducted with Taras (pseudonym), and as it did not result in any significant changes to the research method or interview

guide, the data obtained from this interview are included in the interview data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

3.4.1.2 Data Collection and Sample Description

As with questionnaire respondents, interviewees were recruited through convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Attempts were made to employ opportunistic sampling methods to conduct additional interviews whilst conducting observations at the school (i.e. before and after school, and during break times), but parents were often busy looking after students and would have to leave quickly at the end of the school day.

Of the seven interviews, five were conducted face-to-face in a location of the interviewee's choice, and two were conducted over Skype, as this was the most convenient arrangement for both interviewees: Dmytro and Bohdan. Interview lengths varied greatly, ranging from 22 minutes to over two hours (see Table 3.10). Six of the interviewees were second- or third-generation descendants of the first-wave of migration (four second-generation, two third-generation); only one interviewee was a second-wave Ukrainian migrant. This was not deliberate and was arguably a consequence of the non-probabilistic sampling methods employed. The second-wave interviewee (Olena) was also a teacher at the complementary school in which observations were conducted, and Myroslava is also heavily

involved in Ukrainian complementary schools in the UK. An overview of the interviews conducted can be found in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Summary of Interviews Conducted

Interviewee (Pseudnoym)	Length (hh:mm:ss)	Location	Details
Taras	00:22:12	Nottingham	1st wave; 2nd generation
Olena	00:32:28	Nottingham	2nd wave
Dmytro*	00:45:50	Scotland	1st wave; 2nd generation
Bohdan*	01:07:08	Manchester	1st wave; 3rd generation
Halyna	02:10:08	Nottingham	1st wave; 2nd generation
Natasha	01:11:17	Manchester	1st wave; 3rd generation
Myroslava	02:07:42	Manchester	1st wave; 2nd generation

* Interview conducted over Skype

3.4.2 Linguistic Ethnographic Observations at a Ukrainian Complementary School

The third method of data collection was ethnographic observations, which involved compiling a collection of field notes at a Ukrainian complementary school over a period of one academic year (September 2016 – May 2017). These observations followed many of the principles of Linguistic Ethnography. However, while much existing research in Linguistic Ethnography uses multiple data collection methods with the same group of informants, for instance combining observational data with interview data and collecting documents in the field (Copland and Creese 2015), in this project, school observations

were conducted independently from the questionnaire and interview data. These observations provided an opportunity to collect data that was not self-reported, as was the case with the questionnaire and interview data. The observations aimed to explore how language was used in a context in which members of the Ukrainian community regularly meet and interact with one another, and so to analyse the language practices and ideologies in a Ukrainian complementary school.

Linguistic Ethnography is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language and society that 'combines ethnographic and linguistic methodologies to study language use in a range of social settings' (Maybin and Tusting 2001). Bringing together the disciplines of ethnography and linguistics, it is argued, produces more robust research, as ethnography can benefit from methods of analysis used in linguistics, and linguistics from the reflexive sensitivity of ethnography (Rampton et al. 2004; Creese 2010). Of particular value to this research is Linguistic Ethnography's alignment with social-constructionist and poststructuralist epistemological positions (Creese 2010: 137), which consider language and society as 'mutually shaping' (Rampton et al. 2004: 2), as analysis of the observational data provided a means to explore how language choice, use, and ideologies in the Ukrainian community are influenced by history and other larger social structures. The ethnographic analysis thus makes it possible to link situated language use (the micro) to wider society (the

macro) and explore how they influence one another (Rampton et al. 2004: 2; Copland and Creese 2015: 26-27).

Conducting observations in the school involved the 'conscious noticing' of behaviours and actions in this naturalistic setting (Cowie 2009: 166), with the aim of producing an in-depth, 'thick' description of what was observed in the lessons at the Ukrainian school over an extended period of time (Heigham and Sakui 2009: 92; Starfield 2010: 57). Although time-consuming, the observations provided an opportunity to gain a detailed insight into language practices and ideologies in the Ukrainian School, and enriched the data collected for this research with an additional perspective alongside the self-reported data obtained through the questionnaire and interviews (Pauwels 2016: 71).

One important consideration whilst conducting the observations was the Observer's Paradox – the influence that the presence of the researcher has on the situation being observed:

> Observer's Paradox: the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation. (Labov 1972: 209)

Thus, in the analysis and interpretation of the field notes collected in the school, it was necessary to consider the impact of my presence on the behaviours and actions of participants. During the first few weeks of observations, I was aware that my presence in the classroom was

noticed, particularly by the teachers, and sometimes by the students. However, as the weeks passed and my presence in the classroom became more normal, the initial consciousness that I was observing the class appeared to be reduced; both the teachers and students did not appear to be as conscious of my presence in the classroom as before.

3.4.2.1 Selecting and Accessing the Research Site

A Ukrainian complementary school was the chosen site for conducting ethnographic observations for two reasons. First, this is a context in which members of the community convene weekly, thus providing ample opportunities to conduct repeated observations in the same setting and with the same participants. Second, and crucially, the school presented a site of intended language maintenance, and indeed a large percentage of survey respondents who have children (71.0%, n=44; see Chapter 7) stated that their children attend or have attended a Ukrainian complementary school.

Once this decision was made and ethical approval had been obtained (see Section 3.5), access to the research site was gained by identifying a ‘gatekeeper’ who was able to provide access to the school (Creswell 2014: 188; Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 178). In this case it was the then head of the school, who invited me to meet parents, teachers, and pupils and to explain the aims of my research.

This meeting allowed me to obtain informed consent from the parents before starting conducting observations.

3.4.2.2 Data Collection and Participant Details

Observations were conducted every Saturday during term time at the Ukrainian School between 09:30 and 12:30; during regular school holidays there were no lessons. The school day comprised three forty-five-minute lessons, with a short break between each lesson. In total, 19 weeks' worth of observations were conducted at the school. The main source of data was field notes; some documents such as textbooks and worksheets were also collected, but the scope of this thesis did not permit further analysis of these additional documents.

The type of observation conducted in the school can be termed 'open ethnographic observation'; I entered the field with a blank notebook and pen and set about documenting what I saw, heard, and felt in the classroom (Copland and Creese 2015: 38). In addition to documenting the complex web of actions observed, Copland and Creese (2015: 38) warn that field notes contain the researcher's opinions, feelings, and partialities when they were made, and are therefore by no means an objective account of what took place in the field. The field notes I made in the Ukrainian School are coloured by my own subjectivities, opinions, and beliefs. Further, it should be noted that my field notes evolved over the period of data collection. At

first I sought to observe and write down as many notes as possible, about anything I observed. However, as I spent more time in the classroom and started to identify what I felt was most relevant in terms of the aims and objectives of the research, I began to look more intensively at certain actions and behaviours (e.g. responses and reactions to students' linguistic choices) and consequently the field notes gradually became more narrow in focus, which may have led to some actions in the classroom not being noticed.

The Ukrainian Complementary School is a small complementary school – one of six in the UK – with a nursery group and two classes organised according to student age: students in Class 1 were aged roughly between five and seven years old, and students in Class 2 eight to ten years old. Observations were conducted in each of the two classes, often on alternate weeks. The backgrounds of the pupils attending the school were diverse: some were third-generation Ukrainians, whereas others were the children of second-wave Ukrainian migrants. Class 1 comprised five students (four girls, one boy), and Class 2 eight students (three girls, five boys). Further information about the students can be found in Chapter 6.

The field notes collected whilst observing the lessons comprised a series of notes, bullet points and drawings in English, Ukrainian, and (sometimes) Russian; they were often not organised in a chronological manner, and multiple scribbles and extra comments were left in the margins. These scribbled notes were therefore typed

up as soon as possible after the school day had ended, usually on the same Saturday afternoon, and were re-written into more cohesive, well-structured narrative accounts of what was observed, and any relevant observations that I did not manage to write down during the lessons were added. (An example of the field notes made during observations can be found in Appendix C).

3.4.3 Analysis of Qualitative Data

3.4.3.1 Preparing Qualitative Data for Analysis: A Note on Transcription from Interviews and Observations

An essential stage in preparing the interview data for analysis was to provide a written or graphic representation of these spoken data; without producing such transcripts, the systematic analysis of these data would not have been possible (Cameron 2001: 32). There is no one universal way to produce a written representation of spoken data; the transcription style and level of detail provided in a given transcription can vary considerably depending on the aims of the analysis (Cameron 2001: 43; Hammersley 2010: 565; Copland and Creese 2015). In this study, given that the interviews were analysed thematically – thus focussed on *what* informants said as opposed to *how* they said it – broad transcriptions were deemed sufficient.

In some cases in the interview data, and also when teachers and students were quoted in the school observation field notes, it was also necessary to translate and transliterate the data, and to make

explicit which language was being used by informants, either Ukrainian or Russian. Thus, in the interview and field note data presented in Chapters 4-7, the following transcription conventions are adopted:

[translate]	translated segment
<transliterate>	transliterated segment
bold font	Ukrainian
italic font	Russian
normal font	English

3.4.3.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis is often employed in qualitative research, even if seldom explicitly reflected on by scholars using it (Creswell and Plano Clark 2018: 14). The aim of Thematic Analysis is to identify, analyse, and gain an insight into patterns of meaning (or 'themes') that occur in the data, and to attempt to make sense of these patterns (Ryan and Russell 2003: 85; Braun and Clarke 2008: 57; Bryman 2012: 580). Boyatzis (1998: 5) has argued that the systematic nature of Thematic Analysis heightens the researcher's accuracy and sensitivity towards the data that they have collected, and thus in social research increases sensitivity towards the people, event or situation under analysis.

'Themes', as understood in Thematic Analysis, have been described by Braun and Clarke (2006: 82) as follows:

> A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some patterned response or meaning in the data set.

Themes can be generated from and identified in data in two ways: inductively and deductively (Braun and Clarke 2006: 79; 2008: 58). In an inductive approach, the researcher identifies themes from the raw data and without the researcher bringing in any pre-existing ideas of prior knowledge into the analysis. On the other hand, in a deductive approach, the researcher generates themes based on prior knowledge (Braun and Clarke 2006: 82). In my analysis of interview and ethnographic data, I followed common practice in using a combination of both inductive and deductive approaches in the identification of themes, as it is inevitable that researchers bring a priori knowledge and ideas into their analyses of any given data set (Boyatzis 1998: vii; Ryan and Russell 2003: 88). For example, a theme generated inductively during data analysis was 'negative attitudes towards contemporary Ukrainian', and an example of a deductively-generated theme, based on my prior knowledge, was 'negative attitudes towards Russian'; data relating to both of these themes are presented in Chapter 5.

The analysis of both sets of qualitative data entailed largely similar processes that incorporated multiple stages. The first stage involved reading through each set of data as though they were complete corpora; this enabled me to familiarise myself with all of the

data collected in the field (Braun and Clarke 2008: 58). The second read-through of both data sets involved a first phase of coding, that is, open-coding, i.e. a close-reading of all of the data identifying ‘any and all ideas, themes or issues they suggest, no matter how varied and disparate’ (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011: 171). As with all phases of the qualitative data analysis, coding was conducted manually, initially using printed versions of the data and highlighter pens to identify themes, and later on in the process using the highlight and comment functions in Microsoft Word. At first, attempts were made to use NVivo to analyse the data, but manually coding seemed the most suitable means of analysis, because it was the more time efficient and familiar means of organising and analysing the data. The initial stage of open-coding allowed for an in-depth analysis of all data collected after the first read-through of the data. Moreover, the open-coding phase meant that I was able to check to what extent the data aligned with the research questions that I aimed to explore, or whether the focus of the project needed to be realigned or altered in any way.

Following the first two phases of data analysis (initial read-through, open-coding), the data underwent a more focused analysis. Having established the ways in which the data aligned with the aims of the research, I was then able to analyse the data according to these aims to address the research questions. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011: 172) describe the phase of focused-coding as ‘fine-grained, line-by-line analysis on the basis of topics that have been identified as

being of particular interest'. Thus, matters relating to language knowledge, language use, attitudes and ideologies, as well as language maintenance, were the foci of this phase of analysis. In this phase, a more top-down approach to identifying themes was adopted, as advocated by Erickson (2004: 491):

> It usually works better to parse analytically from whole to part and then down again and again, successively identifying subsequent next levels of contrast, than it does to start by trying to identify parts first and then work up analytically from there.

In this phase of focused-coding, first macro themes were identified in the data, and extracts were organised according to these themes. The data were then further analysed and grouped into more narrow, focused themes. This process was repeated, and the focus narrowed, and thus various themes and sub-themes were identified in both of the two qualitative data sets.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

The social nature of the research conducted in order to collect the data for this project meant that ethical considerations had to be borne in mind. Hammersley and Traianou (2012: 16-17) have defined ethics as:

> A set of principles that embody or exemplify what is good or right, or allow us to identify what is bad or wrong. […] … the phrase 'social research ethics'

> means ‘the set of ethical principles that should be taken into account when doing social research’.

Silverman (2017: 57) has listed some of the most important principles researchers need to bear in mind in order to ensure that they are conducting ethical research. These principles include: ensuring participation is voluntary and that participants are protected; respecting respondent privacy; and avoiding deception and harm. Prior to entering the field and collecting data, ethical approval was obtained from the Faculty of Arts Ethics Committee at the University of Nottingham. Separate information sheets and consent forms were produced in both English and Ukrainian for each of the three research methods employed to obtain data (see Appendices A and B). The hard copies of the questionnaire started with a coversheet that allowed participants to provide informed consent, as did the first page of the online questionnaire. In both cases, the language of this page was that chosen by the respondent to complete the questionnaire. Interviewees were provided with an information sheet and consent form prior to the interview (in the case of Skype interviewees via e-mail), which allowed them to ask any questions that they had about the project in advance. The aims of the research were stated, but were deliberately kept quite vague on the informed consent forms (‘[T]his project aims to examine the role that language plays in the Ukrainian community in the UK’) to minimise the possibility of

respondents providing potentially unreliable responses that they considered socially desirable (see Section 3.3.1), for example.

For the ethnographic observations at the Ukrainian complementary school, it was necessary for the parents of all students to provide their consent. Before starting fieldwork in the school, as described in Section 3.4.2, I was invited to speak to parents and teachers at the start of the school day to discuss my research and why I was planning to observe lessons. This meeting provided parents with the opportunity to ask any questions they had about the project. It also allowed me to build initial rapport with parents and teachers and to distribute the informed consent forms. Following this meeting, all parents and teachers gave their consent for me to start conducting observations the following week.

Even after participants (or their parents) consented to taking part in the research, it was important to continue to observe ethical considerations throughout the duration of the research process (Rallis and Rossman 2009: 269; Hultgren, Erling and Chowdhury 2016: 258). This was especially pertinent in the case of the school observations, as data collection continued over the course of an academic year and I was observing students who were minors. Consequently, I made sure that parents and teachers were aware that they could ask me any questions they had about the project, and we would often discuss my research in general terms at break times.

3.6 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

When conducting research that involves working with others, or making others the subject of the research – as is the case in this project – it is important, as a researcher, to be aware of how one's subjectivities and multiple identities might have had an impact on the research. The process in which the researcher does this is called reflexivity (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003: 32). Various facets of a researcher's identity, such as ethnicity, gender, social status, class, and the language that they use can have an impact on relationships with research participants and, ultimately, the data collected (Baker 1992: 19; Coffey 1999: 57; Garrett, Coupland and Williams 2003: 29). Extending this argument about the role of researchers when conducting social research, Giampapa (2016) has argued that the researcher's various identities play an important role not only when collecting data, but throughout all stages of the research process.

In this study, at least two aspects of my identity might have affected the research: my position as an 'outsider', with no ancestral links to Ukraine; and my status as a researcher from a university attempting to make contact with a community with which I have no connections. People might have questioned my motivations for conducting such research, which would have ultimately made accessing and recruiting participants more difficult. Further, my educational background – having learned Russian since secondary

school, long before I started to learn Ukrainian, and having studied Russian in Ukraine – was another factor that caused me anxiety regarding the recruitment of participants. Although I am now proficient in Ukrainian (and was proficient upon entering the field), I was wary that my status as a Russian-speaker would prevent people from participating in my research. However, people reacted positively to my interest in the community.

Further, the data collected – especially the qualitative data – have been co-constructed by the researcher and the research participants. As discussed in Section 3.4.1, it is important to consider data from the interviews not as objective truths that have been uncovered, but instead as data from a discursively co-constructed conversation in which both participants played an active role.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the reasons for the research design for this study, the methods employed to address its various research questions, and the data analysis procedures. The mixed methods research adopted (using a questionnaire, interviews and ethnographic observation) meant that my research questions could be addressed from multiple perspectives. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods employed provided different insights into the sociolinguistic situation in the Ukrainian community. Whilst the scope

of the questionnaire was broad, the semi-structured interviews yielded more detailed data, and the ethnographic observations ensured that the project did not rely solely on self-reported data. In this chapter, I have also considered research ethics and researcher positionality and how these had a bearing on this project.

Chapters 4 to 7 now turn to the analysis and interpretation of the data collected.

4 Linguistic Repertoires and Language Practices

4.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the first group of research questions outlined in Chapter 1:

> 1a) What are the linguistic repertoires of Ukrainian community members?
>
> 1b) Which languages do Ukrainian community members use in different domains?
>
> 1c) Is Ukrainian maintained in certain domains more than others? Are there any signs that language shift is taking place?

That is, this chapter explores the linguistic repertoires and language practices of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, in order to gain an insight into the languages used by community members, the contexts in which they use their languages, and how frequently they use them. The majority of the data presented in this chapter are quantitative data obtained through the questionnaire. As outlined in Chapter 3, the questionnaire data presented in this chapter were obtained from all 137 questionnaire respondents. Throughout the chapter, the quantitative data will – where relevant – be supplemented by qualitative data obtained through open-ended questionnaire items and interviews.

First, Section 4.2 presents data regarding respondents' linguistic repertoires, and Section 4.3 their language preferences.

Following this, Section 4.4 focuses on the self-reported linguistic practices of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, first, more generally (Section 4.4.1), and then in a variety of domains and with different interlocutors both in the UK and Ukraine (Section 4.4.2). Section 4.5 concludes the chapter, providing a summary of the data presented and analysed.

4.2 Language Knowledge

The first language-related questionnaire item (Question 11) asked:

Which languages do you know? (Select all that apply)

Across the sample, English, Ukrainian and Russian were the three most widely-known languages. All respondents stated that they know English, 98.5% (n=135) Ukrainian, and 52.6% (n=72) Russian; besides these, 46.0% (n=63) of respondents reported knowledge of additional languages, such as French, German, and Spanish (see Table 4.1; Figure 4.1).

All 54 Ukraine-born respondents reported knowing all three of English, Ukrainian and Russian, whereas the only language known by all UK-born respondents was English, suggesting that Ukraine-born respondents have broader linguistic repertoires. All but two UK-born respondents (97.6%, n=81) – both of whom were aged 36-55 – stated that they know Ukrainian. Only a small percentage of UK-born respondents (21.7%, n=18) reported knowing Russian; the difference

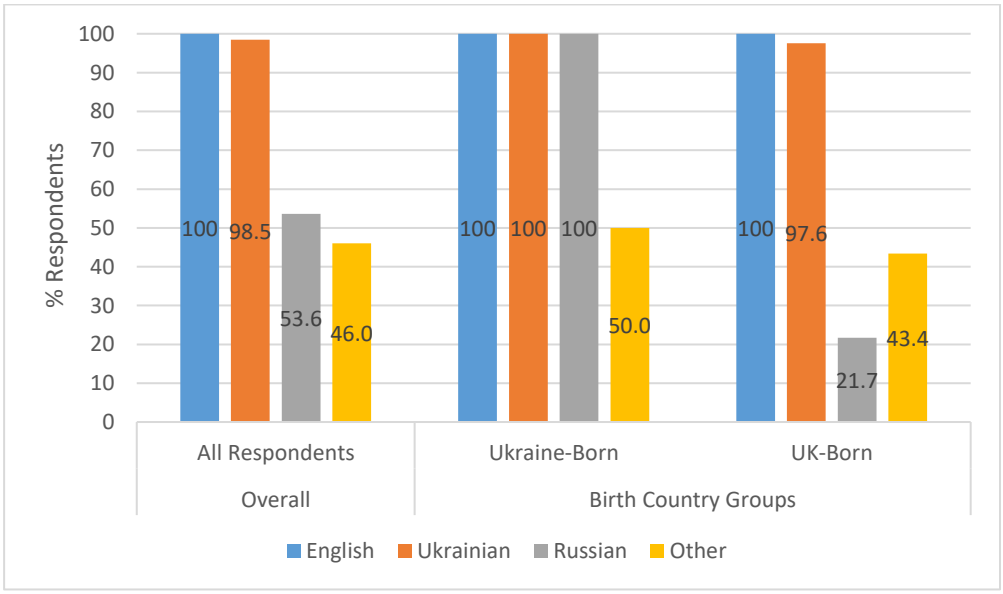
between this number and the number of Ukraine-born respondents reporting such knowledge was statistically significant ($p \leq 0.001$).

Table 4.1: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you know?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N).

	English	Ukrainian	Russian	Other
All Respondents	100.0 (137)	98.5 (135)	52.6 (72)	46.0 (63)
Birth Country (All Ages)				
Ukraine-Born	100.0 (54)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (54)***	50.0 (27)
UK-Born	100.0 (83)	97.6 (81)	21.7 (18)***	43.4 (36)
UK-Born Age Cohorts				
16-35	100.0 (19)	100.0 (19)	31.6 (6)	36.8 (7)
36-55	100.0 (33)	93.9 (31)	12.1 (4)	39.4 (13)
56+	100.0 (31)	100.0 (31)	25.8 (8)	51.6 (16)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Figure 4.1: Languages Known by Respondents



Respondents reported knowing an average of 3.2 languages, and there was a significant ($p \leq 0.001$) difference between the average number of languages known by respondents in each birth-country group (see Table 4.2). Ukraine-born respondents reported knowing an average of 3.8 languages, compared to 2.8 among UK-born respondents.

Table 4.2: Mean Number of Languages Known by Respondents

	N	M	SD
All Respondents	137	3.2	1.3
Birth Country (All Ages)			
Ukraine-Born***	54	3.8	1.1
UK-Born***	83	2.9	1.3
UK-Born Age Cohorts			
16-35	19	2.7	0.7
36-55	33	2.7	1.5
56+	31	3.2	1.3

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Respondents were also asked to report their proficiencies in their respective languages (Question 12):

Of <u>all</u> the languages you know, how well do you know them?

Respondents reported their proficiencies on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 ‘Excellent’ to 6 ‘Very Poor’, from which means have been

calculated.[20] Self-reported proficiencies in English, Ukrainian, and Russian were all relatively high; respondents reported having the highest proficiency in English (1.5), followed by Russian (2.0) (see below), and Ukrainian (2.2) (see Table 4.3).

Unsurprisingly, UK-born respondents reported higher proficiency in English than Ukraine-born respondents; Ukraine-born respondents reported higher proficiency in Ukrainian and Russian (all $p \leq 0.001$). Proficiency in English was generally very high; the mean for UK-born respondents was 1.2, and for Ukraine-born respondents 1.9. Ukraine-born respondents reported 'very good' Ukrainian proficiency (1.4), whereas a mean of 2.8 was obtained for the UK-born group, suggesting – perhaps unsurprisingly – comparatively low proficiency levels in Ukrainian. Strikingly, on average, Ukraine-born respondents reported higher proficiency levels in Russian than in Ukrainian, a finding that might be explained by the fact that some people choose not to use Ukrainian in contemporary Ukraine due to fears they might use a variety of Ukrainian not considered 'pure' enough by others (Bilaniuk 2005: 143; Kulyk 2011: 78).

[20] Means closer to 1.0 indicate 'Excellent' reported proficiency and closer to 6.0 'Very Poor' proficiency in a given language.

Table 4.3: Responses to Questionnaire Item:
Of all the languages you know, how well do you know them?
(1.0 'Excellent' – 6.0 'Very Poor')

	English			Ukrainian			Russian		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	133	1.5	0.9	132	2.2	1.3	74	2	1.6
Birth Country (All Ages)									
Ukraine-Born	53	1.9***	1.1	53	1.4***	0.9	53	1.2***	0.4
UK-Born	80	1.2***	0.5	79	2.8***	1.3	21	4.2***	1.2
UK-Born Age Cohorts									
16-35	19	1.1	0.2	19	3.0	1.3	6	3.5	1.4
36-55	32	1.3	0.6	32	2.8	1.4	7	5.0	0.8
56+	29	1.1	0.4	28	2.5	1.1	8	4.1	1.1

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

A key finding from the data presented in this section is that Ukraine-born respondents have broader linguistic repertoires than UK-born respondents. The relatively high levels of multilingualism observed among Ukraine-born respondents reflect widespread Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism in Ukraine. Further, the dominance of the English language throughout the world as a lingua franca and the fact that these informants reside in the UK makes it, in many respects, inevitable that Ukraine-born respondents know at least three languages. The average proficiency in English of this group does appear to be particularly high, however, which might suggest relatively high levels of education among these informants. Although informants

were not asked to disclose their level of education in the questionnaire, many second-wave Ukrainians I encountered whilst conducting this research had been educated at university level, thus were highly-educated individuals. Such levels of multilingualism also seem high when compared with statistics on language knowledge in the UK; for example, research conducted by the European Commission (2012: 15) found that 61% of the population of the UK were unable to speak a language other than English.

4.3 Language Preferences

4.3.1 Speaking, Writing, and Reading

Respondents were asked to disclose information regarding their language preferences for three language skills: speaking, reading, and writing (Question 16):

Which language(s) do you prefer to use? (Select all that apply)

As with questionnaire items regarding language practices (discussed in Section 4.4), respondents could answer listing multiple languages. For the purposes of analysis, responses listing two or more languages were grouped under the headings 'Ukrainian and Other(s), 'English and Other(s)', and 'Russian and Other(s)'. For example, if a respondent listed English, Russian, and German, this response is grouped under two headings: 'English and Other(s)' *and* 'Russian and Other(s)'. In cases where respondents cited English and Ukrainian as

their two preferred languages, the response is included in ‘English and Other(s)’, ‘Ukrainian and Other(s)’, *and* ‘English and Ukrainian’. Due to this overlap, the data presented in the tables may not necessarily add up to – and will instead in some cases exceed – the total number of responses obtained to the given questionnaire item.

Across the whole sample and for all three skills, approximately half of respondents expressed a preference for using English only: in speaking, 45.6% (n=62); writing, 56.2% (n=77); and reading, 50.7% (n=69) (see Table 4.4; Table 4.5; Table 4.6). A number of participants responded with two or more languages. In many of these cases, English was cited as a preferred language: for speaking and reading 39.7% (n=54) and for writing 35.8% (n=49). Small percentages of respondents reported that Ukrainian (between 3.7% and 7.4%) or Russian (between 2.9% and 5.2%) was their sole preferred language.

There were significant differences between the language preferences of UK-born and Ukraine-born respondents (all at $p \leq 0.001$; see Figure 4.2). For all three skills, the majority of UK-born respondents listed English as their sole preferred language: in speaking 63.4% (n=52); writing 71.1% (n=59); and reading 72.3% (n=60). In contrast, comparatively small percentages (between 17.0% and 33.3%) of Ukraine-born respondents provided this response. By contrast, half or more of Ukraine-born respondents listed English as one of two or more preferred languages: in speaking 53.7% (n=29); writing 50.0% (n=27); and reading 60.4% (n=32), significantly higher

than the number of UK-born respondents who listed more than one preferred language (speaking and writing $p \leq 0.01$; reading $p \leq 0.001$). Ukraine-born respondents seldom reported Ukrainian as their sole preferred language; more of these respondents reported preferring to use just English than just Ukrainian (see Table 4.4; Table 4.5; Table 4.6). These data suggest that, whilst still exhibiting relatively strong preferences towards using English (albeit alongside other languages), Ukraine-born respondents have more diverse language preferences than UK-born respondents. The fact that this group of respondents expressed such preferences towards using English – along with their high reported levels of proficiency in English – provides a further suggestion of the average education level of this group, and their confidence in using English. The low levels of preference for only Ukrainian across all three skills, and the fact that it is often listed as one of two or more preferred languages, suggest that Ukrainian may be seldom used in the UK by respondents.

Table 4.4: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which languages do you prefer to use? Speaking.
Percentages and frequencies shown, N (%)[21]

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	7.4 (10)	9.3 (5)	6.1 (5)	10.5 (2)	0 (0.0)	9.7 (3)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	37.5 (51)	48.2 (26)*	30.5 (25)*	26.3 (5)	31.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English Only	45.6 (62)	18.5 (10)***	63.4 (52)***	63.2 (12)	68.8 (22)	58.1 (18)
English + Other(s)	39.7 (54)	53.7 (29)**	30.5 (25)**	26.3 (5)	31.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English + Ukrainian	25.7 (35)	31.5 (17)	22.0 (18)	15.8 (3)	21.9 (7)	25.8 (8)
Russian Only	5.2 (7)	13.0 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	9.6 (13)	24.1 (13)***	0.0 (0)***	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

[21] Please note that in response to questionnaire items that asked which languages informants prefer to use or mainly use in various situations, it was possible to list multiple languages. In the analysis of these data, a response in which two or more languages were listed can be included in more than one of the response categories. For example, a response which cited English, Ukrainian and Russian has been included in the following categories: 'English + Other(s)', 'Ukrainian + English', 'Ukrainian + Other(s)', and 'Russian + Other(s)'. Consequently, due to such overlaps, the data presented from such questionnaire items throughout this chapter may not necessarily add up to – and will in some cases exceed - the total number of responses obtained.

Table 4.5: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which languages do you prefer to use? Writing.
Percentages and frequencies shown, N (%)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	3.7 (5)	5.6 (3)	2.4 (2)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.2 (1)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	32.9 (45)	42.6 (23)*	26.5 (22)*	21.1 (4)	30.3 (10)	25.8 (8)
English Only	56.2 (77)	33.3 (18)***	71.1 (59)***	73.7 (14)	69.7 (23)	71.0 (22)
English + Other(s)	35.8 (49)	50.0 (27)**	26.5 (22)**	21.1 (4)	30.3 (10)	25.8 (8)
English + Ukrainian	22.6 (31)	30.5 (17)	25.9 (14)	15.8 (3)	24.2 (8)	19.4 (6)
Russian Only	2.9 (4)	7.4 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	11.0 (15)	27.8 (15)***	0.0 (0)***	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

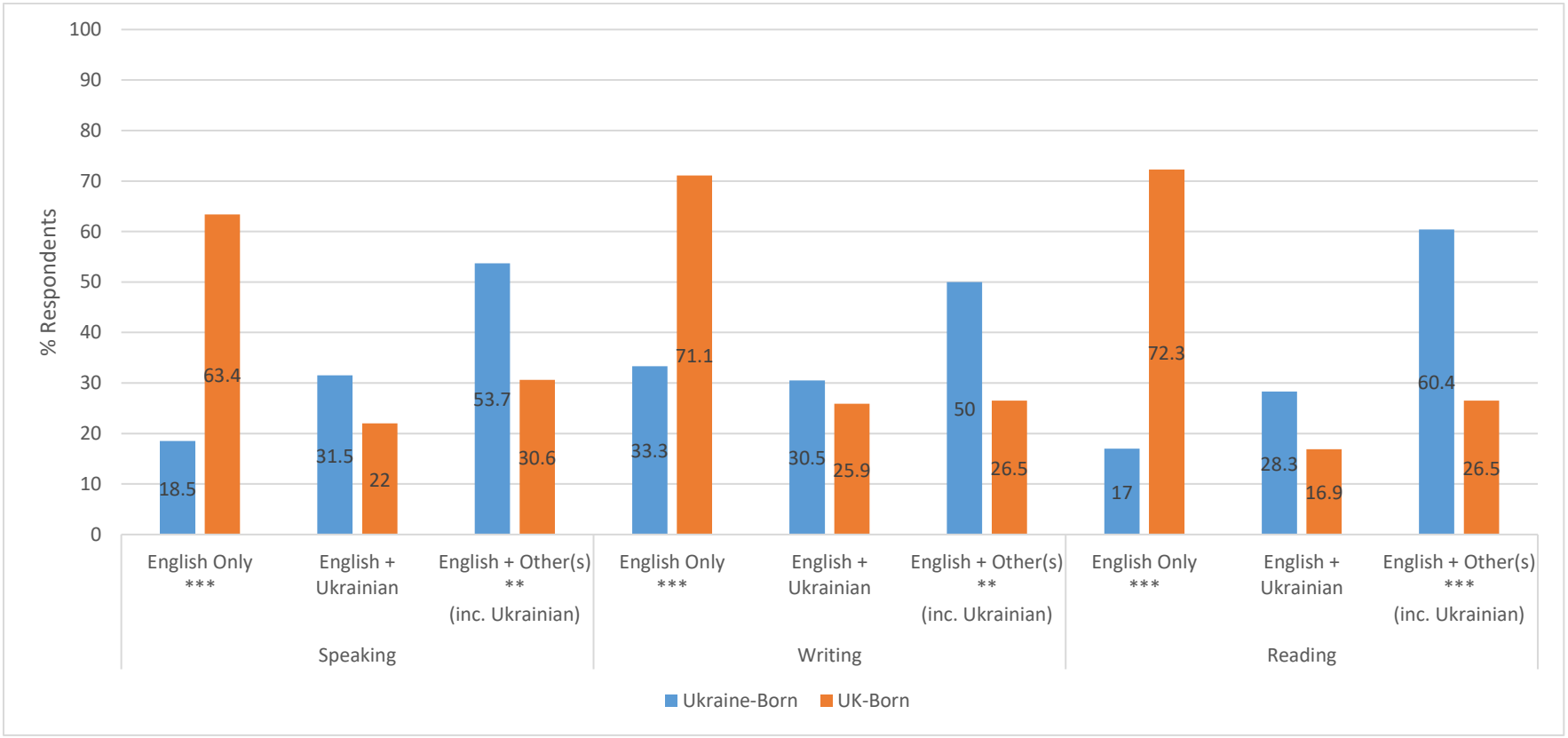
* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.6: Responses to questionnaire item,
Which languages do you prefer to use? Reading.
Percentages and frequencies shown, N (%)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	4.4 (6)	9.4 (5)	1.2 (1)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	36.8 (50)	52.8 (28)**	26.5 (22)**	21.1 (4)	27.3 (9)	29.0 (9)
English Only	50.7 (69)	17.0 (9)***	72.3 (60)***	73.7 (14)	72.7 (24)	71.0 (22)
English + Other(s)	39.7 (54)	60.4 (32)***	26.5 (22)***	21.1 (4)	27.3 (9)	29.0 (9)
English + Ukrainian	21.3 (29)	28.3 (15)	16.9 (14)	10.5 (2)	18.2 (6)	19.4 (6)
Russian Only	3.7 (5)	9.4 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	14.7 (20)	35.9 (19)	1.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.23 (1)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Figure 4.2: Respondent preferences for English (speaking, writing, reading)
Birth Country Group Comparisons



*significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

4.3.2 Language Preferences Influenced by Proficiency

Respondents were invited to elaborate on their linguistic preferences (Question 17):

> *Please use this space to add any further comments about the language(s) you prefer to use.*

Only a small number of responses (n=6) were obtained from this optional questionnaire item, all of which were provided by UK-born respondents of various ages and therefore represent various generations within the first migration wave. All of these responses disclosed information regarding respondents' preference for English. The reasons provided by respondents for this preference were all related to their proficiencies in English and Ukrainian; respondents' higher proficiency in English coincides with their preference to use English. One point of note here is that the response provided by the informant in the youngest age category (Questionnaire Response 4.3) expresses that it is her lack of ability to use Ukrainian that prevents her from using Ukrainian, rather than her greater ability in English, which suggests that she has less of a choice than the two other informants:

Questionnaire Response 4.1

> I can speed read in English, so this affects my responses.
> *Participant 019, 36-55, Female, Nottingham*

Questionnaire Response 4.2

> Easier to use English.
> *Participant 028, 56+, Female, Nottingham*

Questionnaire Response 4.3

> [I] don't know enough Ukrainian to be able to have a conversation, so [I] use the language I can understand fully.
> *Participant 074, 16-35, Female, Huddersfield*

Alongside this, a number of respondents simultaneously expressed positive attitudes towards Ukrainian and suggested that they would like to use it more, were it not for their comparatively high proficiency in English. The following respondents juxtaposed this positive attitude towards Ukrainian with their proficiency level in English:

Questionnaire Response 4.4

> I like speaking Ukrainian, though my preference is English because I am fluent in it.
> *Participant 068, 56+, Male, Rochdale*

Questionnaire Response 4.5

> I prefer to use English because it's easier as I was born and bred in England. However, when surrounded by Ukrainians for a few hours or when in Ukraine, [I] realise that I prefer Ukrainian as it's a more beautiful, melodic, passionate language.
> *Participant 090, 56+, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 4.6

> If I was as fluent in Ukrainian as I am in English then maybe some or all of my answers would be different.
> *Participant 098, 56+, Male, Huddersfield*

These responses demonstrate how the language preferences of UK-born respondents may not necessarily reflect the language that they wish to use, but their lack of proficiency in Ukrainian, and the ease with which they can use English, even in the oldest age group.

Having examined the linguistic repertoires and language preferences of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, I now turn to an examination of their self-reported language practices.

4.4 Respondents' Reported Language Use

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the examination of respondents' reported language use. First Section 4.4.1 presents data regarding more general language use, and Section 4.4.2 explores reported language use in a variety of domains.

4.4.1 Language Use I: General Language Use

Question 14 of the questionnaire asked:

> *How would you describe your languages? (Select all that apply)*

Respondents were presented with a list of various descriptions, some of which were related to language use, and were asked to list which language(s) (if any) they felt best fitted these descriptions. In this

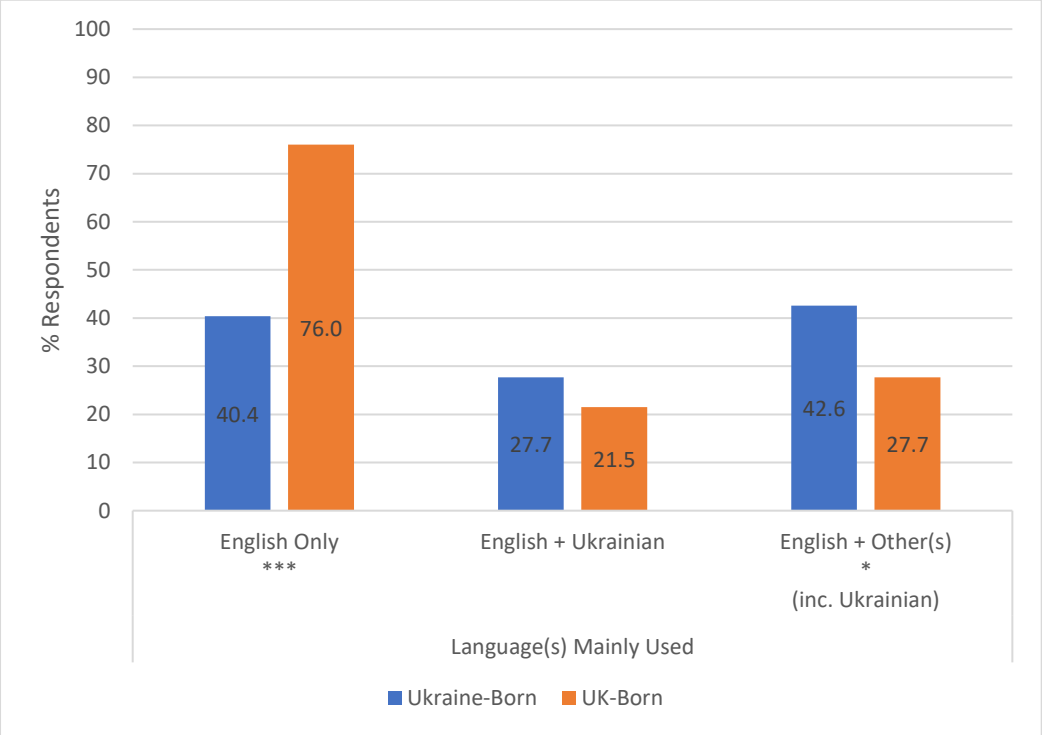
section, data obtained for the descriptions ‘the language I mainly use’ and ‘a language I sometimes used’ will be presented.[22]

Overall, 126 participants (91.2% of the sample) provided a response to the descriptor ‘the language I mainly use’. The majority (62.7%, n=79) stated that English was the only language they would describe in this way (see Table 4.7). Of the remaining 47 responses, 37 (29.4%) described English as one of two or more languages they ‘mainly use’. Only eight respondents (6.4%) described Ukrainian as the language they ‘mainly use’ – six of whom were Ukraine-born. Only two respondents (1.6%) – both Ukraine-born – described Russian as the language they ‘mainly use’.

Among UK-born respondents, just over three quarters (76.0%, n=60) described English as the language they ‘mainly use’. Of the remaining UK-born respondents, 21.5% (n=17) described both English and Ukrainian in this way, and two respondents (2.5%) – perhaps somewhat surprisingly – described Ukrainian as the language they ‘mainly use’. Relatively fewer, but still a substantial proportion, of Ukraine-born respondents described English as a language they ‘mainly use’: 40.4% (n=19) listed it as the only language, and 42.6% (n=20) as one of two or more languages – significantly different compared to the UK-born respondents ($p \leq 0.001$ for English only; $p \leq 0.01$ for English as one of two more languages; see Figure 4.3).

[22] In Chapter 5 another possible descriptor (‘a part of who I am’) is discussed.

Figure 4.3: English described as a/the language ‘mainly used’ by respondents.
Birth country group comparisons.



*significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

Of Ukraine-born respondents, 29.8% (n=14) described Ukrainian as a language they ‘mainly use’, and 12.8% (n=6) as the only language they would describe in this way. A small number cited Russian: 10.6% (n=5) described it as one of two or more languages they ‘mainly use’, and two respondents listed it as the only language. Thus, although English is widely used by all respondents, Ukraine-born respondents were more likely to list two or more languages as those they ‘mainly use’, which – in line with their higher levels of multilingualism (see Section 4.2) – suggests their linguistic practices are comparatively

more diverse than UK-born respondents, most of whom only cited English in response to this question.

No statistically significant differences were identified between the three age categories of UK-born respondents. However, notably, a lower percentage of respondents aged 56+ (66.7%, n=20) described English as the only language they 'mainly use' than respondents aged 16-35 (79.0%, n=15) and 36-55 (83.3%, n=25). Instead, those aged 56+ were more likely to describe both Ukrainian and English in this way. These data suggest – unsurprisingly – that the younger UK-born respondents have more of a tendency to use only English, suggesting that language shift is taking place across generations.

Of all 137 respondents, 103 provided a response to the description 'a language I sometimes use'. Most respondents described Ukrainian in this way: 63.1% (n=65) as the sole answer to this question, and a further 10.7% (n=11) as one of two or more languages they would describe as one they 'sometimes use' (see Table 4.8). A significantly higher number of UK-born respondents (75.8%, n=47) described Ukrainian as a language they 'sometimes use' – rather than 'mainly use' – compared to 43.9% (n=18) of Ukraine-born respondents who cited Ukrainian as a language they 'sometimes use' ($p \leq 0.001$). English was seldom described in this way, by only nine respondents, four of whom listed English as one of two or more languages 'sometimes' used: Five respondents (4.9%)

listed English as the only language, and a further four respondents (3.9%) as one of two or more languages ‘sometimes’ used.

In summary, English is a language the majority of respondents would describe as one they ‘mainly use’. UK-born respondents are on the whole more monolingual in their linguistic practices than Ukraine-born respondents; Ukraine-born respondents exhibited more of a tendency to describe two or more languages in this way than UK-born respondents; they do not merely know more languages on average (see Section 4.2), but they report using more too. In other words, Ukraine-born respondents appear more multilingual both in their linguistic repertoires and linguistic practices than UK-born respondents.

Table 4.7: Responses to questionnaire item:
How would you describe your languages? 'The language I mainly use' (n=126).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	6.4 (8)	12.8 (6)	2.5 (2)	5.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.3 (1)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	24.6 (31)	29.8 (14)	21.5 (17)	15.8 (3)	16.7 (5)	30.0 (9)
English Only	62.7 (79)	40.4 (19)***	76.0 (60)***	79.0 (15)	83.3 (25)	66.7 (20)
English + Other(s)	29.4 (37)	42.6 (20)*	21.5 (17)*	15.8 (3)	16.7(5)	30.0 (9)
English + Ukrainian	23.8 (30)	27.7 (13)	21.5 (17)	15.8 (3)	16.7 (5)	30.0 (9)
Russian Only	1.6 (2)	4.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	4.0 (5)	10.6 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.8: Responses to questionnaire item
How would you describe your languages? 'A language I sometimes use' (n=103).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	63.1 (65)	43.9 (18)***	75.8(47)***	72.7 (8)	83.3 (20)	70.4 (19)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	10.7 (11)	17.1 (7)	6.5 (4)	18.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	7.4 (2)
English Only	4.9 (5)	4.9 (2)	4.8 (3)	0.0 (0)	4.2 (1)	7.4 (2)
English + Other(s)	3.9 (4)	4.9 (2)	3.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)
English + Ukrainian	1.9 (2)	0.0 (0)	3.2 (2)	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)
Russian Only	6.8 (7)	17.1 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	9.7 (10)	22.0 (9)	1.6 (1)	9.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

4.4.2 Language Use II: Domain Analysis

In order to address research question 1b (Which languages do Ukrainian community members use in different domains?), I turn now to responses to the following three questionnaire items:

> *Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? (Select all that apply)*
> (Question 18)
>
> *Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? (Select all that apply)*
> (Question 20)
>
> *How often do you use Ukrainian in the following situations?*
> (Question 22)

In these questions, respondents were asked about their language practices with a variety of interlocutors and situations, such as with children, family members, and friends both in the UK and Ukraine, as well as at social events, in the Ukrainian community, and at church. In the case of the first two questions, respondents were able to list multiple languages in response, so that various combinations of languages could be provided as answers (as with the data presented in Section 4.3). The third question asked respondents to report how often they use Ukrainian on a six-point scale:

1. Always
2. Very Often
3. Often
4. Sometimes
5. Seldom
6. Never

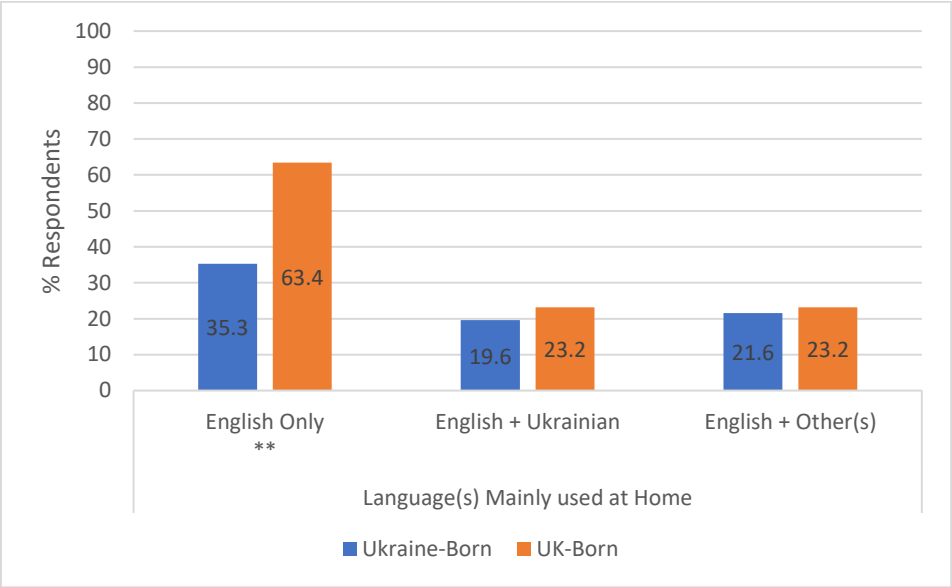
From the data obtained from these questions, mean values for the frequency of Ukrainian use were calculated.[23] In addition to these quantitative data, where relevant, this section also draws on qualitative data obtained through interviews.

4.4.2.1 Language Use in the Home

Approximately half of respondents (52.6%, n=70) cited English as the language they mainly use in the home (Table 4.9). In both birth country groups, this was the response most frequently provided (UK-born: 63.4%, n=52; Ukraine-born: 35.3%, n=18), but a significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) higher percentage of UK-born respondents reported such language use (see Figure 4.4). A relatively small percentage of respondents (17.3%, n=23) cited Ukrainian as the (only) main language used in the home. More Ukraine-born respondents (23.5%, n=12) gave this answer than UK-born respondents (13.4%, n=11), but this difference was not statistically significant. Approximately a quarter of respondents (24.8%, n=33) reported mainly using two or more languages in the home, of whom 21.8% (n=28) stated that they mainly use English and Ukrainian. Ukraine-born respondents provided a broader range of responses to this question than UK-born respondents (Table 4.9), and over a fifth of them (21.5%, n=11) included Russian.

[23] Means closer to 1.0 indicate that Ukrainian is 'Always' used, and closer to 6.0 that it is 'Never' used.

Figure 4.4: English reported as a/the language 'mainly' used by respondents in the home. Birth country group comparisons.



* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

Only 60 respondents (43.8% of the sample) responded to a question regarding language use with housemates. Although it is perhaps natural to assume that the majority of these responses were provided by younger respondents, responses were spread quite evenly across the three age categories: 22 (36.7%) were aged 16-35, 20 (33.3%) 36-55, and 18 (30%) 56+. Thus, it could be that some respondents interpreted 'housemates' as any person with whom they live and therefore these data could include family members too. The overwhelming majority of participants (88.3%, n=53) stated that they mainly use English with their housemates, and there were no statistically significant differences within the sample (e.g. regarding age profile and birth country) (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.9: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? at home (n=133).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	17.3 (23)	23.5 (12)	13.4 (11)	16.7 (3)	15.2 (5)	9.7 (3)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	24.1 (32)	25.5 (13)	23.2 (19)	27.8 (5)	21.2 (7)	22.6 (7)
English Only	52.6 (70)	35.3 (18)**	63.4 (52)**	55.6 (10)	63.6 (21)	67.7 (21)
English + Other(s)	22.6 (30)	21.6 (11)	23.2 (19)	27.8 (5)	21.2 (7)	22.6 (7)
English + Ukrainian	21.8 (29)	19.6 (10)	23.2 (19)	27.8 (5)	21.2 (7)	22.6 (7)
Russian Only	5.3 (7)	13.7 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	3.0 (4)	7.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.10: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with housemates (n=60).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	10.0 (6)	11.1 (3)	9.1 (3)	0.0 (0)	12.5 (1)	12.5 (2)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English Only	88.3 (53)	85.2 (23)	90.9 (30)	100.0 (9)	87.5 (7)	87.5 (14)
English + Other(s)	1.7 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	1.7 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

4.4.2.2 Language Use in the Family

Language Use with Partner

114 respondents provided answers to the question regarding language use with their partner, and the majority (69.3%, n=79) stated that they mainly use English in this context. Ukrainian was the second most frequent response but was provided by a considerably smaller percentage of respondents: 15.9% (n=18). Of the remaining responses, all but seven (6.1%) – all of whom were Ukraine-born and had stated that they mainly use Russian with their partner – provided responses that listed two or more languages (see Table 4.11).

The majority of UK-born respondents (81.5%, n=53) stated that English is the one language they mainly use with their partner, as did over half of Ukraine-born respondents (53.1%, n=26) – a significantly lower percentage ($p \leq 0.01$). In both groups, relatively few respondents stated that they mainly use Ukrainian with their partner: 22.5% (n=11) of Ukraine-born and 10.8% (n=7) of UK-born respondents. All five (7.7%) of the remaining UK-born respondents reported using both English and Ukrainian. The language practices of the remaining Ukraine-born respondents were more varied; their responses included various combinations of English, Ukrainian, and Russian (see Table 4.11). Despite the seemingly widespread reported use of English across the sample, UK-born respondents again report more monolingual practices than Ukraine-born respondents in this context.

Ukrainian as a 'Secret Language'

The interviews also provided insights into respondents' language practices with their partners. In two of the seven interviews, informants described how they considered Ukrainian a 'secret language' they are able to use with their partner when they do not wish to be understood by others in public. The two interviewees who discussed this particular function of language were from different backgrounds: Halyna is a first-wave, second-generation Ukrainian (aged 56+), whereas Olena (aged 36-55) belongs to the second wave of migration.

Halyna, when asked about her linguistic practices with her husband (also a first-wave, second-generation Ukrainian), responded in the following way:

Interview Extract 4.1

Interviewer:	Do you use it [Ukrainian] with your husband at home?
Halyna:	It's our secret language.
Interviewer:	Do you use it in the home?
Halyna:	Not a lot, but we use it out and about if we don't want somebody to understand. It can be quite useful.

Despite the fact that Halyna, like most UK-born respondents, suggests that she mainly uses English with her partner, her discussion of how she and her husband will employ Ukrainian in cases where they do not wish to be understood by others identifies one particular context in

which they do use Ukrainian. This reported use of Ukrainian demonstrates that it is chiefly for strategic purposes; specifically, not to be understood by others.

In contrast with Halyna, who reports *only* using Ukrainian as a 'secret language', Olena (second-wave, 36-55) describes how her language practices with her husband (also a second-wave Ukrainian) tend not to include English, using rather both Ukrainian and Russian:

Interview Extract 4.2

Olena: So, with my husband, I think, maybe it was mostly Russian in the beginning, but I think gradually it's been getting more into Ukrainian. But, I mean, we just use a mixture of both, and it was never an issue.

Although the use of Ukrainian and Russian is seemingly the norm for Olena and her husband (as well as with their family members; see below), she nevertheless also indicates that these languages function as secret languages in public settings:

Interview Extract 4.3

Olena: It was interesting in Japan, we had a few incidents like this, we just grew so relaxed about the fact that nobody around us understood any Russian or Ukrainian we'd just keep speaking it all the time, because it was our secret language. It's fantastic, it's great. You can speak about somebody in front of you, and they don't understand you! But then, it just became so natural, so I think once we

> actually got home [Ukraine], we suddenly realised that we're in Ukraine and everybody understands. So, I think at one point we actually had to go to Japanese.

Olena discusses how both Ukrainian and Russian almost accidentally ended up functioning as 'secret' languages for her and her husband when living in Japan (for her husband's work). Thus, in comparison with Halyna, Ukrainian is perhaps less consciously employed to fulfil this function, but instead is a function that Ukrainian (and Russian) has adopted as a result of circumstance. However, Olena's reported use of Japanese (learnt as a result of living there for several years) with her husband when in Ukraine appears to be a more deliberate attempt to communicate in a secret language, much like Halyna's use of Ukrainian in the UK with her husband.

These data illustrate how, for the interviewees in question, Ukrainian functions as a 'secret language', but the ways in which either interviewee reports using Ukrainian in this manner differ. Halyna's use of Ukrainian with her husband as a 'secret language' seems more deliberate, given that she does not report using Ukrainian in any other context, whereas Olena and her husband appear to mainly use both Ukrainian and Russian anyway, and so these languages fulfil this 'secret language' function largely by chance.

Table 4.11: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with partner (n=114).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	15.8 (18)	22.5 (11)	10.8 (7)	0.0 (0)	13.8 (4)	11.5 (3)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	7.0 (8)	6.1 (3)	7.7 (5)	10.0 (1)	13.8 (4)	0.0 (0)
English Only	69.3 (79)	53.1 (26)**	81.5 (53)**	90.0 (9)	72.4 (21)	88.5 (23)
English + Other(s)	8.8 (10)	10.2 (5)	7.7 (5)	10.0 (1)	13.8 (4)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	6.1 (7)	4.1 (2)	7.7 (5)	10.0 (1)	13.8 (4)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	6.1 (7)	14.3 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	1.8 (2)	4.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Language Use with Children and Parents

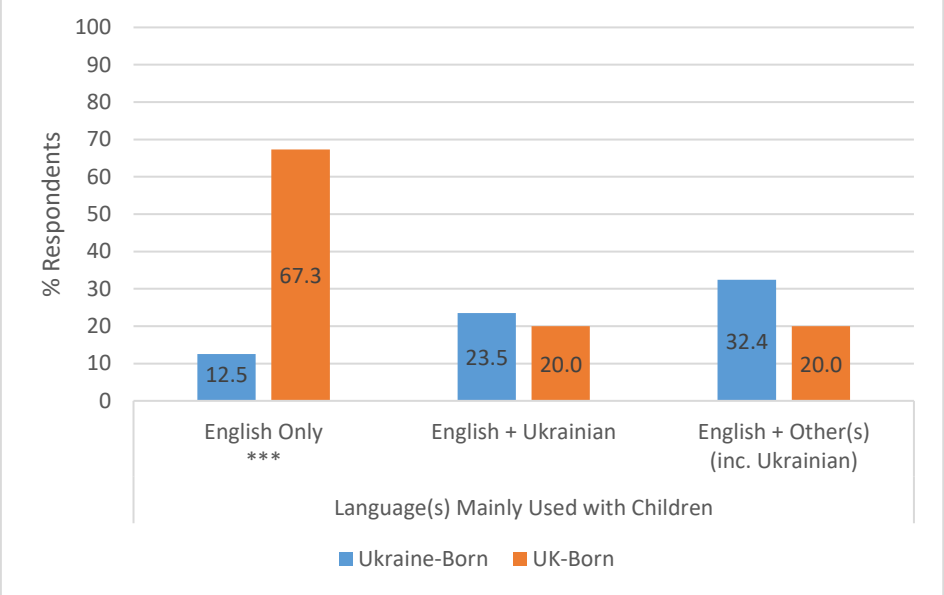
Data regarding respondents' language practices with their children (of all ages) and parents (if applicable) provide an insight into intergenerational language practices between family members in the Ukrainian community.

89 participants (64.9% of the sample) responded to the question regarding the language(s) they mainly use with their children (see Table 4.12). Overall, just under half of respondents (47.1%, n=41) stated that English is the language they mainly use with their children, and a further 24.7% (n=22) that English is one of two or more languages they use in this context. A slightly lower number (22.5%, n=20) cited Ukrainian only; and a small number of respondents – all of whom are Ukraine-born – cited Russian as the language (5.6%, n=5), or one of two or more languages (2.3%, n=2) that they mainly use.

A comparison of the data obtained from UK- and Ukraine-born respondents uncovers differences between the two groups, and practices which may affect the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian within the community. There was a significant difference ($p \leq 0.001$) between the two groups: 67.3% (n=27) of UK-born respondents but only 12.5% (n=4) of Ukraine-born respondents reported that they mainly use only English with their children (see Figure 4.5). A significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) higher percentage of Ukraine-born respondents (38.2%, n=13) reported that the language they mainly use with their children is Ukrainian compared

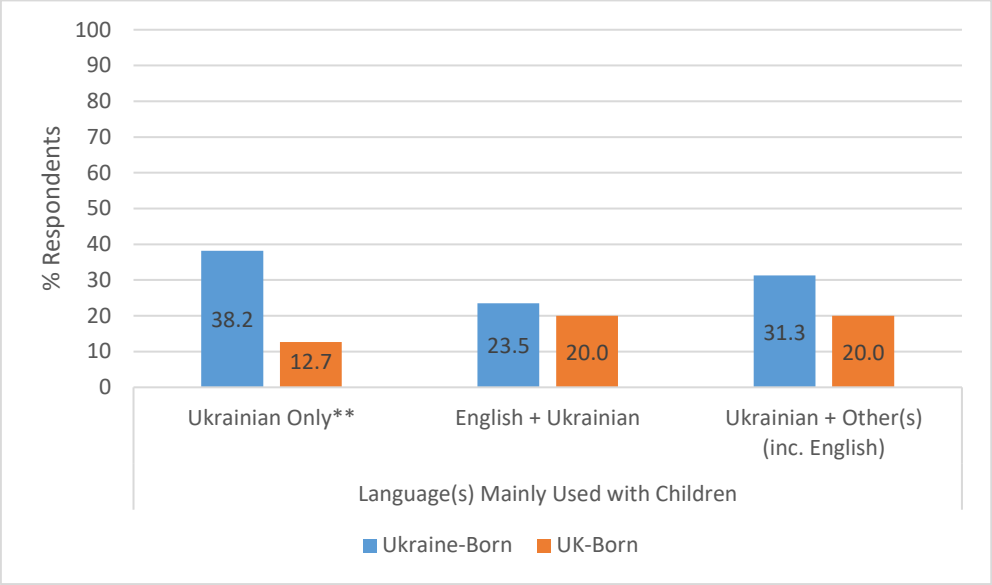
with UK-born respondents (12.7%, n=7; see Figure 4.6). Further, as demonstrated in Table 4.12, Ukraine-born respondents also reported a more diverse range of language practices with their children, and, in some cases, Russian was also cited as a language used. All of these factors combined indicate that UK-born respondents' language practices with their children are generally more monolingual – with a strong leaning towards English.

Figure 4.5: English reported as a/the language 'mainly' used by respondents with their children.
Birth country group comparisons.



* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

Figure 4.6: Ukrainian reported as a/the language 'mainly' used by respondents with their children.
Birth country group comparisons.



* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

A question regarding respondents' language practices with their parents in the UK was primarily aimed at UK-born respondents, and a question regarding language practices with parents in Ukraine at Ukraine-born respondents. Response rates to these two items were relatively low: 75 responses were provided to the former question and 61 to the latter. There was, however, some overlap and 21 respondents answered both questions, which suggests that they disclosed information regarding the language(s) they mainly speak to their parents in when in either the UK or Ukraine. All but 10 of the 75 respondents who answered the question regarding language use with parents in the UK were UK-born. Overall, 54.7% (n=41) of respondents stated that they mainly use Ukrainian with their parents, although 29.3% (n=22) reported mainly using English. A further 13.3%

(n=10) of respondents listed both Ukrainian and English as the languages they mainly use, and the remaining two respondents (2.7%) – both Ukraine-born – reported Russian as the language they mainly use.

There were some statistically significant differences between the three age categories within the UK-born group. In the 36-55 group, 72.7% (n=16) reported Ukrainian as the main language they used with their parents in the UK., as did a similar number of those aged 56+ (73.9%, n=17); in contrast, only two respondents (10.5%) of those aged 16-35 reported using Ukrainian with their parents. Instead, as shown in Table 4.13, a significantly higher ($p \leq 0.05$) number of those aged 16-35 listed English as one of two or more languages they mainly use with their parents in the UK.

The majority of respondents who answered the question regarding their language practices with their parents in Ukraine were Ukraine-born (46 of 61). Overall, 67.2% (n=41) of respondents stated that the language they mainly use in this context is Ukrainian, but just over a quarter of respondents (26.2%, n=16) reported that they mainly use Russian. Of the four remaining respondents (6.6%), three listed Ukrainian and Russian, and one Ukrainian and English as the languages mainly used with their parents in Ukraine.

A significantly higher ($p \leq 0.05$) percentage of UK-born respondents (93.1%, n=14) – the majority of which presumably

reported the language that they use when in Ukraine with their parents – than Ukraine-born respondents (58.7%, n=27) reported that they mainly use Ukrainian with their parents in Ukraine. The remaining Ukraine-born respondents stated that they mainly use Russian (36.4%, n=16) or a combination of Ukrainian and Russian (6.5%, n=3) with their parents in Ukraine.

Table 4.12: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with children (n=89).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	22.5 (20)	38.2 (13)**	12.7 (7)**	33.3 (1)	8.0 (2)	14.8 (4)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	24.1 (21)	31.3 (10)	20.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	24.0 (6)	18.5 (5)
English Only	47.1 (41)	12.5 (4)***	67.3 (27)***	66.7 (2)	68.0 (17)	66.7 (18)
English + Other(s)	24.7 (22)	32.4 (11)	20.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	24.0 (6)	18.5 (5)
English + Ukrainian	21.4 (19)	23.5 (8)	20.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	24.0 (6)	18.5 (5)
Russian Only	5.6 (5)	14.7 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	2.3 (2)	5.9 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.13 : Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with parents in the UK (n=75).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

		Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
	All Respondents	**Ukraine-Born**	**UK-Born**	**16-35**	**36-55**	**56+**
Ukrainian Only	54.7 (41)	54.6 (6)	54.7 (35)	10.5 (2)***	72.7 (16)***	73.9 (17)***
Ukrainian + Other(s)	13.3 (10)	9.1 (1)	14.1 (9)	31.6 (6)*	4.6 (1)*	8.7 (2)*
English Only	29.3 (22)	18.2 (2)	31.3 (20)	57.9 (11)*	22.7 (5)*	17.4 (4)*
English + Other(s)	13.3 (10)	9.1 (1)	14.1 (9)	31.6 (6)*	4.6 (1)*	8.7 (2)*
English + Ukrainian	13.3 (10)	9.1 (1)	14.1 (9)	31.6 (6)*	4.6 (1)*	8.7 (2)*
Russian Only	2.7 (2)	18.2 (2)	0 (0.0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.14: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with parents in Ukraine (n=61).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	67.2 (41)	58.7 (27)*	93.3 (14)*	75.0 (3)	100.0 (4)	100.0 (7)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	6.6 (4)	6.5 (3)	6.7 (1)	25.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English Only	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English + Other(s)	1.64 (1)	0.0 (0)	6.7 (1)	25.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	1.64 (1)	0.0 (0)	6.7 (1)	25.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	26.2 (16)	34.8 (16)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	4.9 (3)	6.5 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

First-Wave Ukrainians' Intergenerational Language Practices

Three of the interviews conducted shed further light on intergenerational language practices in the Ukrainian community in the UK. All three informants, Taras, Myroslava, and Bohdan (all of whom are first-wave Ukrainians), discussed language practices between grandparents and grandchildren: Taras and Myroslava (both first-wave, second-generation, 56+) discussed their own children's' (third-generation) language practices with their (the children's) grandparents (first-generation). Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) discussed his own language practices with his grandparents (first-generation). Additionally, Taras also discussed his own language practices with his granddaughter (fourth-generation).

In the extract below, Myroslava discusses how in the past, when her children were growing up, one context in which her children's use of Ukrainian was maintained was with their grandparents, particularly in their grandmother's (Myroslava's mother's) house:

Interview Extract 4.4

Myroslava: Once my children were growing up and things like that, you wouldn't dream of speaking English to my mum in her house, and neither did they [Myroslava's children]. They spoke Ukrainian to her. […] It was just one of those unwritten rules. You go into baba's house – into grandma's house – and that world is Ukrainian.

Myroslava describes how the use of Ukrainian in her mother's house was almost obligatory, and that English in this context was simply not an option for her children; her children (third-generation) had to use Ukrainian with their grandmother (first-generation). Similarly, when describing his children's (third-generation) language use with their grandparents (his parents, first-generation), Taras indicated that the use of Ukrainian is a necessity:

Interview Extract 4.5

Taras:	It's only because of their grandparents that they speak the language more. It's when they're at home and when [their] grandparents are around. So they speak to their grandparents in Ukrainian, yes. They [the grandparents] haven't a full knowledge of English, so it's the other way around. The kids have problems in Ukrainian, but the grandparents have problems in English, so they have to speak to each other in Ukrainian and they do understand each other.
Interviewer:	Ok, so there's an understanding between the two of them even though the languages each of them use –
Taras:	– it's broken, it's broken, but they get by.

Taras states that it is only with their grandparents (his parents) that his children have maintained some use of Ukrainian, due to the grandparents' limited knowledge of English, and indicates that they have not maintained Ukrainian in any other contexts. It also seems

that communication between them is far from unproblematic, given his children's seemingly limited proficiency in Ukrainian. Thus, although in this case Ukrainian is used for intergenerational communication between grandparents and grandchildren, Taras' children's lack of proficiency in Ukrainian means that this communication is, in his words, 'broken'.

Third-generation Bohdan also discusses how his grandparents (first-generation) are interlocutors with whom his use of Ukrainian has been maintained. He describes how his grandmother and (now late) grandfather would use Ukrainian with him:

Interview Extract 4.6

Interviewer:	So, growing up with your grandparents, did they speak both languages to you?
Bohdan:	I'd say almost entirely Ukrainian.
Interviewer:	And that was for most of your childhood?
Bohdan:	Yeah, even still now. As they got older and they spent more time [in the UK], particularly when they had carers, particularly when they were using English more, they started to speak English more to me, but generally speaking it was almost all Ukrainian, unless we were in English company, for example. But I'd say more often a conversation would start in Ukrainian, always, with me anyway.

Bohdan explains how even as his grandparents' proficiency in English increased, Ukrainian remained his primary language of communication with them. Thus, unlike with Taras' children – who are also third-generation Ukrainians – the use of Ukrainian between

Bohdan and his grandparents was not the sole possible means of communication, but the preferred language. Bohdan later describes how weekly phone conversations with this grandmother are one way that he maintains his Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 4.7

Bohdan: I ring my gran every week and I'll have a half an hour to forty-five-minute chat with her on the phone.

In the interview with Taras, he also briefly discusses his and his wife's (also a second-generation Ukrainian) language use with their two-year-old, granddaughter (fourth-generation):

Interview Extract 4.8

Taras: I've got a grandchild from one of my daughters and we speak to her in Ukrainian and English, because her dad's English, you see, and my daughter is Ukrainian, so obviously she speaks to her partly in Ukrainian. But as grandparents we tend to – sometimes we use the least line of resistance, which is speaking English – but we do try to put sentences into [Ukrainian] for her, because she's only two, so we're trying to teach her to speak Ukrainian and to understand Ukrainian.

Taras' use of English and Ukrainian with his granddaughter is reflects the fact that second-generation migrants tend to be bilingual in the heritage/community language and the societal majority language, as outlined in Fishman's (1966, 1991) three generation model of

language shift. Although Taras presents using English as dispreferred – ‘the least line of resistance’ – the use of English as well as Ukrainian with his granddaughter is justified by the fact that her father is English. Further, as Taras describes using Ukrainian with his granddaughter, there is a suggestion that Ukrainian is not used as the main language – ‘we do try to put sentences into [Ukrainian] for her’ – and instead words and sentences in Ukrainian are used symbolically and inserted sporadically within their communications with their granddaughter.

This small sample of data evidences how linguistic practices between grandchildren and grandparents may differ depending on the generation of either interlocutor. In the case of interactions between first-generation grandparents and third-generation grandchildren, Ukrainian appears to be predominantly used, whether it be out of necessity, or through choice. In contrast, in Taras’ discussion of language use with his granddaughter, despite the sporadic and symbolic use of Ukrainian, there are signs of language shift taking place across generations, as English is used more frequently in intergenerational exchanges

Language Use with Other Family Members

Data regarding respondents' linguistic practices with other family members (thus with family members other than partners, children, or parents) both in the UK and Ukraine were obtained from the question regarding language(s) mainly used with various interlocutors (see Table 4.15 and Table 4.16). The question regarding how often respondents use Ukrainian asked respondents to report their Ukrainian use with family members (a general label, including all family members) in the UK and Ukraine (see Table 4.17).

Overall, nearly two-thirds (65.7%, n=67) of respondents stated that they mainly use only English with other family members in the UK, with very similar patterns of response in each birth country group: 65.3% (n=49) of UK-born respondents and 66.7% (n=18) of Ukraine-born respondents (see Table 4.15). A further 17.7% (n=18) of respondents stated that English is one of two or more languages they mainly use with other family members. Thus, in total, 83.4% (n=85) of respondents cited English in response to this question.

A relatively small number of respondents (14.7%, n=15) stated that they mainly use only Ukrainian with other family members. A higher percentage of Ukraine-born respondents (22.2%, n=6) reported such linguistic practices than those born in the UK (12.0%, n=9); however, the difference between the groups was not significant. Besides the reported use of English or Ukrainian only with family members in the UK, the remaining 21.3% (n=16) of UK-born

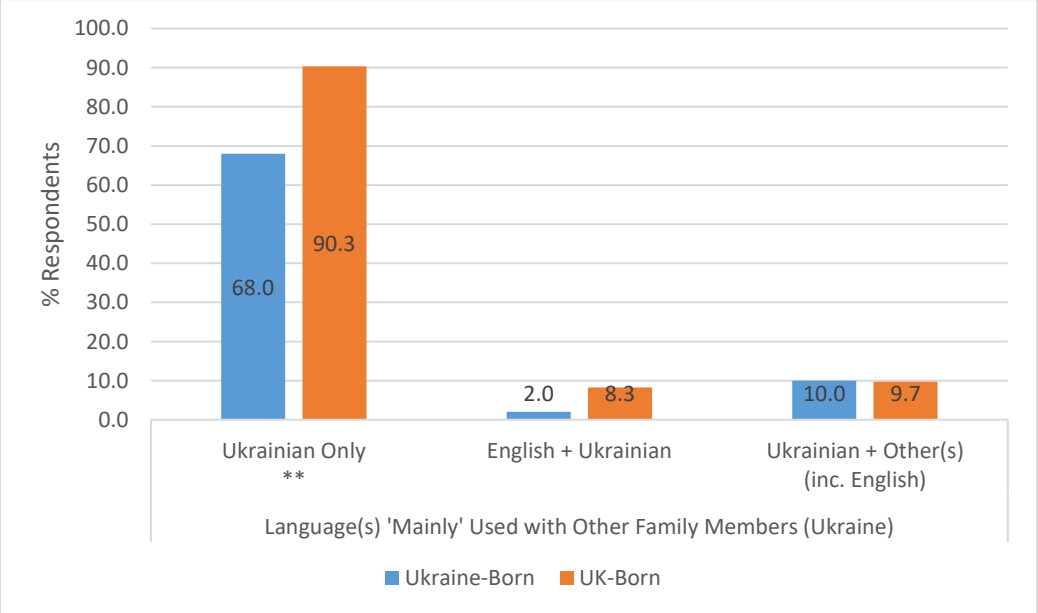
respondents listed English and Ukrainian as the two languages they mainly use in this context, only one Ukraine-born respondent gave this answer (a significant difference, $p \leq 0.05$).

The data obtained from the item regarding Ukrainian use with family members in the UK also suggest that Ukrainian is not used particularly often. The overall mean calculated from the responses provided on the six-point scale was 3.3, indicating that Ukrainian is used 'often' (3.0), but not 'very often' (2.0) by respondents. A comparison between the two groups' reported use of Ukrainian with family members in the UK did not identify a statistically significant difference between them, as there was only a minimal difference between the two means; the mean for UK-born respondents was 3.2, compared to 3.5 for Ukraine-born respondents (see Table 4.17).

The majority of respondents (81.2%, n=99) stated that Ukrainian is the language they mainly use with other family members (all apart from partners, children, and parents) in Ukraine, and a further 9.8% (n=12) listed it as one of two or more languages they mainly use in this context. All of the remaining 9.0% (n=11) of the sample – all of whom were Ukraine-born – reported Russian as the language they mainly use with other family members in Ukraine (Table 4.16). A significantly higher percentage ($p \leq 0.01$) of UK-born respondents (90.3%, n=65) stated that Ukrainian was the one language they mainly use with other family members in Ukraine, compared to Ukraine-born respondents (68.0%, n=34; see Figure 4.7).

Ukraine-born respondents also cited Russian as a language mainly used; in addition to the 22.0% (n=11) of respondents who listed it as the sole language mainly used in Ukraine, a further 8.0% (n=4) stated that it was one of two or more languages they mainly use with other family members in Ukraine. The number of respondents who reported that Russian is one of two or more languages they use in this context explains the difference between the number of Ukraine-born respondents that reported using English and Ukrainian (2.0%, n=1) and Ukrainian alongside one or more languages (10.0%, n=5) with family members in Ukraine (see Figure 4.7); those who did not report using English and Ukrainian instead cited both Russian and Ukrainian as languages used.

Figure 4.7: Ukrainian reported as a/the language 'mainly' used by respondents with other family members in Ukraine.
Birth country group comparisons.



* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

There were no statistically significant differences between the three age cohorts within the UK-born group of respondents, but it is striking that none of the respondents in the 56+ age category stated that English is a/the language they mainly use with other family members in Ukraine, whereas small numbers of respondents in the other age cohorts – 18.8% (n=3) of those aged 16-35 and 11.5% (n=3) of those aged 36-55 – did (Table 4.16).

The mean obtained from the whole sample regarding frequency of Ukrainian use – 1.8 – with family members in Ukraine demonstrated that Ukrainian is used very often in this context. UK-born respondents also reported Ukrainian significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) more often than Ukraine-born respondents with family members in Ukraine, as a mean of 1.5 was reported from the former group and 2.2 for the latter. This initially surprising difference is presumably explained by the fact that some Ukraine-born respondents also use Russian with family in Ukraine, as suggested by the data regarding the language(s) mainly used with family in Ukraine (Table 4.17).

The use of Ukrainian and/or Russian in Ukraine by Ukraine-born respondents – thus, second-wave migrants – was discussed in the only interview conducted with a second-wave member of the community, Olena. Olena described how her linguistic practices with both family members and friends in Ukraine do not involve the exclusive use of Ukrainian. Instead, her linguistic practices in these contexts appear to be unmarked and flexible, incorporating both

Ukrainian and Russian, with the question of which language is being used by either interlocutor not being experienced as a significant issue.

Interview Extract 4.9

Olena:	I've forgotten to mention it, that at home, with my parents, I mostly use Ukrainian when I speak to my dad and my mum keeps speaking Russian at home.
Interviewer:	And what do they speak to each other?
Olena:	They keep speaking different languages, but they seem to understand. Well, I mean, it's no problem understanding each other. In my family there was never a question of which language to use, or 'you have to speak Russian because I don't understand Ukrainian', or things like that, we always understood and spoke both

Olena's description of language use within her family demonstrates how the language used by a given interlocutor is not necessarily especially important; members of her family are able to use Ukrainian and/or Russian as they wish, and the language used by an individual is not an issue. Olena describes similar practices in her husband's family, too, further evidence that such bilingual, non-accommodating linguistic practices may be common in contemporary Ukraine (Bilaniuk 2005):

Interview Extract 4.10

Olena:	I think in his [Olena's husband's] family it is also a bit similar because I think his dad prefers speaking Russian, whereas [his] mum mostly uses Ukrainian, so it's a bit similar.

Olena also describes her language use with friends in Ukraine. Although in this case she does not make any reference to non-accommodating linguistic practices, she provides a further insight into the bilingualism that is prevalent in Ukraine, and the ease with which she can negotiate the resources within her linguistic repertoire to communicate:

Interview Extract 4.11

Olena: I never had any problem talking to my friends. Some people would prefer speaking Russian and I would speak Russian to them, and some other friends mostly speak Ukrainian and they obviously had trouble finding Russian words, so I would switch to Ukrainian.

This insight into the linguistic practices of a second-wave Ukrainians with family and friends in Ukraine demonstrates the prevalence of bilingualism in Ukraine and the flexible linguistic practices that Ukraine-born respondents are likely to be familiar with. Thus, these data may help to explain why reported frequency of use of Ukrainian in Ukraine among such respondents is relatively low compared to the UK-born respondents.

In summary, the data indicate that the use of English is relatively common among respondents, and Ukrainian is used comparatively less often, with a decline in use of Ukrainian across age cohorts and generations. Although Ukrainian is, counter-intuitively,

used less by Ukraine-born respondents with family members in Ukraine, this is a reflection of the fact that some of those respondents have Russian in their repertoire, and may use it with family members.

Table 4.15: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with other family members in the UK (n=102).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	14.7 (15)	22.2 (6)	12.0 (9)	11.1 (2)	13.3 (4)	11.1 (3)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	16.7 (17)	3.7 (1)*	21.3 (16)*	33.3 (6)	20.0 (6)	14.8 (4)
English Only	65.7 (67)	66.7 (18)	65.3 (49)	55.6 (1)	66.7 (20)	70.4 (19)
English + Other(s)	17.7 (18)	7.4 (2)	21.3 (16)	33.3 (6)	20.0 (6)	14.8 (4)
English + Ukrainian	16.7 (17)	3.7 (1)*	21.3 (16)*	33.3 (6)	20.0 (6)	14.8 (4)
Russian Only	1.0 (1)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.16: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with other family members in Ukraine (n=122).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	81.2 (99)	68.0 (34)**	90.3 (65)**	81.3 (13)	88.5 (23)	96.7 (29)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	9.8 (12)	10.0 (5)	9.7 (7)	18.8 (3)	11.5 (3)	3.3 (1)
English Only	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English + Other(s)	5.7 (7)	2.0 (1)	8.3 (6)	18.8 (3)	11.5 (3)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	5.7 (7)	2.0 (1)	8.3 (6)	18.8 (3)	11.5 (3)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	9.0 (11)	22.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	3.3 (4)	8.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.17: Responses to questionnaire item:
How often do you use Ukrainian in the following situations? with family in the UK; with family in Ukraine.
(1.0 'Always' – 6.0 'Never')

	Family in UK			Family in Ukraine		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	114	3.3	1.7	124	1.8	1.5
Birth Country Groups (All Ages)						
Ukraine-Born	35	3.5	2.1	54	2.2**	1.8
UK-Born	79	3.2	1.5	70	1.5**	1.1
UK-Born Age Cohorts						
16-35	19	3.2	1.4	15	2.1**	1.3
36-55	31	3.2	1.6	25	1.3**	1
56+	29	3	1.6	30	1.3**	0.9

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

4.4.2.3 Language Use outside the Family

Having examined respondents' reported language use with different family members, this section now turns to exploring Ukrainian community members' reported language practices with friends, socially, at work, and in consuming media.

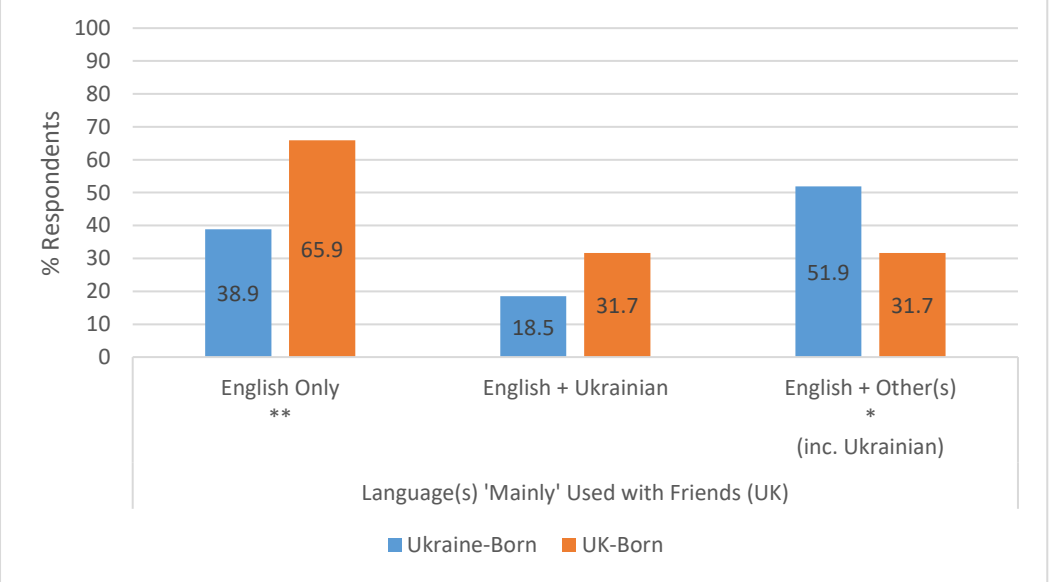
Language Use with Friends

Just over half of respondents (55.2%, n=75) stated that the language they mainly use with friends in the UK is English. The majority of the remaining responses to this question comprised various combinations of two or more languages, and only seven respondents (5.2%) reported that Ukrainian is the only language they mainly use with their friends in the UK (Table 4.18).

A significantly higher percentage ($p \leq 0.01$) of UK-born respondents (65.9%, n=54) cited English as the one language they mainly use in this context, compared to Ukraine-born respondents (38.9%, n=21; see Figure 4.8). Of the remaining responses obtained from UK-born respondents, 31.7% (n=26) reported mainly using both English and Ukrainian, and only two respondents (2.4%) mainly using just Ukrainian with friends in the UK. The reported language practices of Ukraine-born respondents were comparatively more diverse than those of UK-born respondents. Besides responses from members of this group who reported that they mainly use English with friends in

the UK, the majority of Ukraine-born respondents listed various combinations of two or more languages, including English, Ukrainian, and Russian (see Table 4.18). Similar to UK-born respondents, only a small number (9.3%, n=5) of Ukraine-born respondents stated that the language they mainly use with friends in the UK is Ukrainian.

Figure 4.8: English reported as a/the language 'mainly' used by respondents with friends in the UK.
Birth country group comparisons.



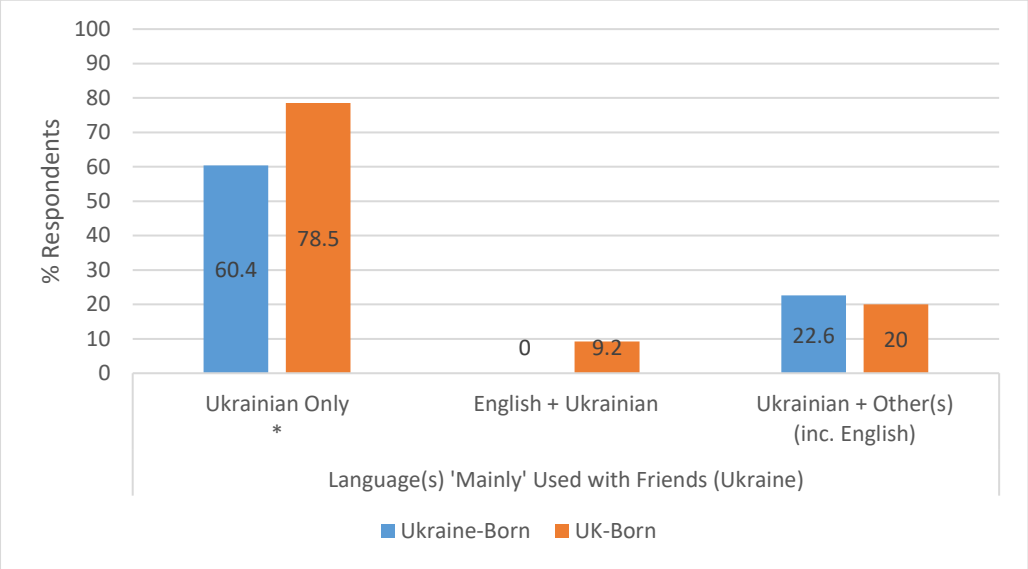
* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

Alongside the English-dominant practices reported with UK-based friends, as we might expect, respondents reported mainly using Ukrainian with friends in Ukraine. Overall, 91.5% (n=108) cited Ukrainian as the/a language mainly used in this context: 70.3% (n=83) mainly use Ukrainian, and a further 21.2% (n=25) of respondents cited Ukrainian as one of two or more languages used with friends in

Ukraine; of these 25 responses, 19 listed Russian alongside Ukrainian, and six English (see Table 4.19). A small number of respondents (7.6%, n=9) – all of whom were Ukraine-born – stated that Russian is the language they mainly use with friends in Ukraine; one respondent (UK-born, aged 16-35) stated that they mainly use English in this context.

Significantly more UK-born respondents reported mainly using Ukrainian with friends in Ukraine than Ukraine-born respondents ($p \leq 0.05$). Overall, 78.5% (n=51) of UK-born respondents stated that they mainly use Ukrainian, compared with 60.4% (n=32) of Ukraine-born respondents (see Figure 4.9). Instead of the exclusive use of Ukrainian with friends in Ukraine, Ukraine-born respondents also reported mainly using Russian in this context: 22.6% (n=12) stated that Russian is the language they mainly use, and a further 17.0% (n=9) stated that they mainly use Ukrainian and Russian. This mirrors the finding about language practices with family members in Ukraine.

Figure 4.9: Ukrainian reported as a/the language 'mainly' used with friends in Ukraine. Birth country group comparisons.



* significant at p ≤ 0.05; ** significant at p ≤ 0.01; *** significant at p ≤ 0.001

A significantly higher (p ≤ 0.05) percentage of UK-born respondents in the 56+ age group reported that Ukrainian is the main language used with friends in the UK than the two younger age cohorts. In total, 92.9% (n=26) of those aged 56+ reported such language use, compared to 61.5% (n=8) of those aged 16-35 and 70.8% (n=17) of those aged 36-55. Instead, respondents in the younger age cohorts reported using English – mostly alongside Ukrainian, but in one case it was identified as the only language mainly used in this context – whereas none of the respondents in the oldest age cohort reported mainly using English with friends in Ukraine. These reported practices are yet further evidence suggesting that language shift is taking place across generations.

Table 4.18: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with friends in the UK (n=136).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

		Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
	All Respondents	**Ukraine-Born**	**UK-Born**	**16-35**	**36-55**	**56+**
Ukrainian Only	5.2 (7)	9.3 (5)	2.4 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	6.5 (2)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	35.3 (48)	40.7 (22)	31.7 (26)	33.3 (6)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English Only	55.2 (75)	38.9 (21)**	65.9 (54)**	66.7 (12)	69.7 (23)	61.3 (19)
English + Other(s)	39.7 (54)	51.9 (28)*	31.7 (26)*	33.3 (6)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English + Ukrainian	26.5 (36)	18.5 (10)	31.7 (26)	33.3 (6)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
Russian Only	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	13.2 (18)	33.3 (18)***	0.0 (0)***	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.19: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with friends in Ukraine (n=118).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	70.3 (83)	60.4 (32) *	78.5 (51)*	61.5 (8)*	70.8 (17)*	92.9 (26)*
Ukrainian + Other(s)	21.2 (25)	22.6 (12)	20.0 (13)	30.8 (4)	29.2 (7)	7.1 (2)
English Only	0.9 (1)	0.0 (0)	1.5 (1)	7.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
English + Other(s)	5.1 (6)	0.0 (0)	9.2 (6)	23.1 (3)	12.5 (3)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	5.1 (6)	0.0 (0)	9.2 (6)	23.1 (3)	12.5 (3)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	7.6 (9)	17.0 (9)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	16.1 (19)	22.6 (12)	10.8 (7)	7.7 (1)	16.7 (4)	7.1 (2)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Language Use at Social Events in the Ukrainian Community

Overall, just over half (51.9%, n=67) of respondents stated that Ukrainian is the language they mainly use at events that take place in the Ukrainian community. A further 33.3% (n=43) reported Ukrainian as being one of two or more languages that they mainly use in this context. Thus, overall, 85.2% (n=110) of respondents cited Ukrainian as the/a language used in this context. Only a relatively small percentage of respondents (13.2%, n=17) listed only English as the language that they mainly use at events in the Ukrainian community (see Table 4.20).

A significantly higher percentage ($p \leq 0.05$) of Ukraine-born respondents (66.0%, n=31) than UK-born respondents (43.9%, n=36) stated that Ukrainian is the language they mainly use at events within the Ukrainian community. Of the remaining responses provided by UK-born respondents, they either stated that they mainly use both English and Ukrainian (36.6%, n=30) or just English (19.5%, n=16) in this context. Here, the number of UK-born respondents who stated that English is the language they mainly use is significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) higher than the single Ukraine-born respondent who provided this response (2.1%, n=1).

There were no statistically significant differences between age categories within the group of UK-born respondents, but a higher percentage of respondents aged 56+ (58.1%, n=18) listed Ukrainian as the one language they mainly use at events in the Ukrainian

community than in the two younger age categories (16-35: 27.8%, n=5; 36-55: 39.4%, n=13), following the same pattern seen above in language practices with family and friends.

Similar to the data obtained regarding language use at Ukrainian community events, the majority of respondents (64.6%, n=71) stated that Ukrainian is the language they mainly use at church or other places of worship (see Table 4.21). A further 21.8% (n=24) of respondents cited English as the language mainly used, and the remaining 13.6% (n=15) of responses listed two or more languages (including English, Ukrainian and Russian) as those mainly used at church or other places of worship.

Although there were not any statistically significant differences between the two birth country groups, there were two interesting – and unexpected – differences between the data obtained for either group. First, a higher percentage of UK-born (54.3%, n=19) than Ukraine-born respondents (34.3%, n=12) stated that they only use Ukrainian in church or places of worship. Second, a higher percentage of Ukraine-born respondents (34.3%, n=12) than UK-born respondents (16.0%, n=12) reported only English as the language mainly used at church or other places of worship. The use of English in this context by Ukraine-born respondents may indicate that such respondents are relatively well-integrated, and are comfortable using English, as was also suggested through the language preference data presented in Section 4.3.

Further, while there were also no statistically significant differences between the three age cohorts of UK-born respondents, the vast majority of respondents aged 56+ (80.7%, n=25) stated that Ukrainian is the language they mainly use at church or other places of worship, whereas a comparatively low 66.7% (n=10) of those aged 16-35 and 58.6% (n=17) of those aged 36-55 reported such language practices (it should also be noted that respondents were not obliged to answer this question, thus if a respondent did not attend church they did not have to report their language practices in this context). While not significant, viewed in combination with the other evidence presented above, these data nevertheless contribute to the picture of Ukrainian use decreasing across generations.

Changing Language Practices within the Ukrainian Community

Data from three of the interviews, in which language practices within the Ukrainian community were discussed, illuminate the indications presented above that language choice is often dependent on the age/generation or the migration wave to which their interlocutor belongs. The interviewees also demonstrated an awareness that the use of Ukrainian in the Ukrainian community has decreased over time, and the use of English has increased.

In the interview with Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), when asked whether he uses Ukrainian at his local Ukrainian Club, he responds as follows:

Interview Extract 4.12

Interviewer:	How about at the Ukrainian Club – do you use it [Ukrainian]? Do you hear it much?
Taras:	The Ukrainian Club, you do, predominantly more with the older ones. I mean, our generation, we tend to speak to each other in English. […] But because we've also got what we call the Ukrainians coming in from Ukraine who don't speak English very well, we tend to speak to them more in Ukrainian, so we do still speak the language.

In describing how Ukrainian is used with both 'the older ones' (first-wave, first-generation) and 'the Ukrainians coming in from Ukraine' (second-wave), Taras suggests that Ukrainian is mainly used with those interlocutors most 'rooted' to Ukraine. These two groups – both the first generation of their respective migration waves – share (to some extent) fairly similar backgrounds, as both were born and brought up in Ukraine. Further, in reporting that English is used by his generation (first-wave, second-generation), Taras suggests that language shift has taken place in this context, despite it being a context in which those with a shared Ukrainian background or heritage meet.

Similarly, Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), also discussed how in community contexts he predominantly uses Ukrainian with second-wave Ukrainians:

Interview Extract 4.13

Interviewer:	Do you speak Ukrainian much when you're at the club in Manchester now, or not as much?
Bohdan:	It depends who I'm speaking to. If I'm speaking to sort of newly-arrived Ukrainians, then yes. They'll usually speak in English, and I will ask them if they can speak Ukrainian, and they're usually quite upfront with correcting you if you're wrong, so that helps.
Interviewer:	Yes, that's always useful.
Bohdan:	And, obviously, our priest is from Ukraine. His English is really good, but if you speak Ukrainian, he will too.

Similar to Taras, Bohdan states that Ukrainian is his language of choice when speaking to 'newly-arrived Ukrainians'. However, his reason for doing so differs from that provided by Taras, who appears to use Ukrainian in cases when it is necessary to do so. In contrast, Bohdan appears to use Ukrainian with such interlocutors as a means to practise and refine his Ukrainian and seems to appreciate them correcting any mistakes he might make.

Similarly, Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), also describes how she uses Ukrainian with a second-wave friend as a means for her to practise and maintain the language:

Interview Extract 4.14

Natasha:	I've just made friends with a Ukrainian girl quite recently who has got engaged to one of the guys, and she's a Ukrainian from Ukraine and she's just managed to get a visa to come over here, she's just got married.
Interviewer:	Where in Ukraine is she from?

Natasha: She's from L'viv, so she taught at the Ukrainian language school over there as well, that's where she met the guy that she's married to, but she's Ukrainian and I pretty much speak Ukrainian to her and that's probably about it.

In addition to discussing their use of Ukrainian with second-wave Ukrainians, Bohdan and Natasha, like Taras (in Interview Extract 4.12), also allude to the fact that English is the language mainly used within the community. For example, Bohdan explains how in the choir that he is a member of, although they sing Ukrainian songs, English is predominantly used by members to communicate with one another:

Interview Extract 4.15

Bohdan: I've just been at choir today where all the songs we sing are in Ukrainian, but then all of the conversation in between [singing] is predominantly in English.

Following this, Bohdan discusses the lack of proficiency in Ukrainian among those of a similar age to him (16-35 years old) in the choir:

Interview Extract 4.16

Bohdan: There are lads who sing in our choir who have to have everything transliterated, and I'd say maybe two or three, maybe even four or five of the best dancers in the dance group don't know a word.

Bohdan notes that even some of the more prominent members of certain groups in the community, e.g. ‘the best dancers in the dance group’, lack a knowledge of Ukrainian. This suggests such knowledge is not a prerequisite for community involvement, and is further evidence that English is often used within the organised community. This is something that Natasha has also experienced:

Interview Extract 4.17

Natasha:	I’m part of two committees at the moment and we do most of our meetings in English. Most of the communication goes out in Ukrainian, but we do most of that in English anyway because that’s the easier form for everyone to be able to understand. We’ve got some people in our committees that only speak English and have a very limited use of Ukrainian so it’s just the prevalent language for us to be able to use.

The data presented in this section indicate that English is mainly used within the Ukrainian community, despite it being a domain in which the majority of participants are of Ukrainian background. These data also suggest that the use of Ukrainian is restricted to a limited number of situations within this domain: first, with first generation (either first- or second-wave) Ukrainians; and second, for seemingly symbolic purposes in communications. Thus, these data suggest that language shift is taking place within the community. This shift is further evident when contrasted with recollections from the past, as Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) discusses how Ukrainian was the

language used the vast majority of the time at Ukrainian Summer School when she was a child:

Interview Extract 4.18

Myroslava:	I would say ninety per cent of people who came to camp understood and spoke Ukrainian well.
Interviewer:	I was just going to say, was that language you used more at the camp?
Myroslava:	Yes, so in the sixties I don't remember any of our instructors using English for us.

Myroslava's recollection of the language practices at the Ukrainian Summer Camp some fifty years ago, compared to the reported current language practices reported, highlights that language shift has taken place even within this domain, despite it being a UK context in which the vast majority of possible interlocutors share a Ukrainian heritage.

Table 4.20: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? at Ukrainian events (n=129).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	51.9 (67)	66.0 (31)*	43.9 (36)*	27.8 (5)	39.4 (13)	58.1 (18)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	33.3 (43)	27.7 (13)	36.6 (30)	55.6 (10)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English Only	13.2 (17)	2.1 (1)**	19.5 (16)**	16.7 (3)	30.3 (10)	9.7 (3)
English + Other(s)	31.8 (41)	23.4 (11)	36.6 (30)	55.6 (10)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
English + Ukrainian	31.0 (40)	21.3 (10)	36.6 (30)	55.6 (10)	30.3 (10)	32.3 (10)
Russian Only	1.6 (2)	4.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	2.3 (2)	6.4 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.21: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? at church/other place of worship (n=110).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	64.6 (71)	54.3(19)	69.3 (52)	66.7 (10)	58.6 (17)	80.7 (25)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	10.9 (12)	2.9 (1)	14.7 (11)	13.3 (2)	20.7 (6)	9.7 (3)
English Only	21.8 (24)	34.3 (12)	16.0 (12)	20.0 (3)	20.7 (6)	9.7 (3)
English + Other(s)	13.6 (15)	11.4 (4)	14.7 (11)	13.3 (2)	20.7 (6)	9.7 (3)
English + Ukrainian	10.9 (12)	2.9 (1)	14.7 (11)	13.3 (2)	20.7 (6)	9.7 (3)
Russian Only	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	1.8 (2)	5.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Language Use at Work

The work domain was covered in the question regarding language use in various situations as well as the question regarding language use with different interlocutors. Thus, respondents were asked to report their language practices in the workplace and with colleagues. The work domain is relatively public; language use may be influenced by various workplace constraints, such as company policy. These two factors need to be taken into account in the analysis of these data.

The data obtained for both of these questions were very similar and demonstrated that English was the language mainly used by respondents (see Table 4.22 and Table 4.23). In each case, similarly high proportions reported that English is the language they mainly use at work: ‘with colleagues’ 86.6% (n=110), and ‘at work’ 85.1% (n=102). Perhaps unsurprisingly, very few respondents provided different answers to these questions.

Table 4.22: Responses to questionnaire items:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? at work (n=127).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	1.6 (2)	2.0 (1)	1.3 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.9 (1)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	6.3 (8)	7.8 (4)	5.3 (4)	0.0 (0)	9.4 (3)	3.9 (1)
English Only	86.6 (110)	76.5 (39)**	93.4 (71)**	100.0 (18)	90.6 (29)	92.3 (24)
English + Other(s)	9.5 (12)	15.7 (8)	5.3 (4)	0.0 (0)	9.4 (3)	3.9 (1)
English + Ukrainian	4.7 (6)	5.9 (3)	4.0 (3)	0.0 (0)	9.4 (3)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	2.4 (3)	5.9 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	0.8 (1)	2.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.23: Responses to questionnaire items:
Which language(s) do you mainly use when talking to the following people? with colleagues (n=121).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

		Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
	All Respondents	**Ukraine-Born**	**UK-Born**	**16-35**	**36-55**	**56+**
Ukrainian Only	2.5 (3)	2.0 (1)	2.8 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	8.0 (2)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	9.9 (12)	16.3 (8)	5.6 (4)	6.3 (1)	9.7 (3)	0.0 (0)
English Only	85.1 (102)	75.5 (37)*	91.7 (66)*	93.8 (15)	90.3 (28)	92.0 (23)
English + Other(s)	11.6 (14)	20.4 (10)*	5.6 (4)*	6.3 (1)	9.7 (3)	0.0 (0)
English + Ukrainian	5.0 (6)	6.1 (3)	4.2 (3)	6.3 (1)	6.5 (2)	0.0 (0)
Russian Only	0.8 (1)	2.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	5.8 (7)	14.3 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Language Use: Media

Respondents were asked about their language use when accessing a range of different media resources, primarily because access to such resources in the heritage/community language is considered to play a role in language maintenance (Pauwels 2005). Just under half of respondents (47.4%, n=63) reported that English was the language they mainly use when reading literature and (print) newspapers. Few respondents – all of whom were in the Ukraine-born group – reported accessing such resources either in Ukrainian (1.5%, n=2) or in Russian (4.5%, n=6). Other responses gave various combinations of two or more languages as preferred languages for reading literature and newspapers (see Table 4.24).

A significantly higher ($p \leq 0.001$) percentage of UK-born respondents (65.0%, n=52) than Ukraine-born respondents (20.8%, n=11) cited English as the language mainly used for literature and newspapers. In contrast, the majority of Ukraine-born respondents reported mainly using two or more languages – including English, Ukrainian and Russian – when reading literature and newspapers; in total, 35.9% (n=19) of such respondents reported that they mainly use just one language (Ukrainian only, English only, Russian only; see Table 4.24). Yet again, then, Ukraine-born respondents report using a wider variety of languages than those born in the UK.

Respondents were also asked to report how often they accessed Ukrainian-language print newspapers and books; for both,

the mean response was 3.9, indicating that on average, Ukrainian is sometimes used in these contexts (see Table 4.26). Ukraine-born respondents reported reading books and newspapers in Ukrainian significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) more frequently (mean 3.5) than UK-born respondents (mean 4.2). There were no significant differences by age in the UK-born cohort.

Approximately half of all respondents (53.4%, n=71) reported mainly using only English online (see Table 4.25). The majority of other responses listed various combinations of two or more languages, including English, Ukrainian, and Russian. Only seven respondents (all Ukraine-born) reported that either Ukrainian (3.0%, n=4), or Russian (2.3%, n=3) is the language they mainly use online. Overall, as with print media, UK-born respondents adopt more monolingual practices when using the internet compared with Ukraine-born respondents. Approximately two-thirds of UK-born respondents (65.4%, n=53) stated that English is the language they mainly use online, significantly higher ($p \leq 0.01$) than for the Ukraine-born group (34.6%, n=18). In contrast, when combining responses obtained from Ukraine-born respondents, the majority (55.7% in total) listed two or more languages as those mainly used on the internet.

Respondents reported using Ukrainian on news and social networking websites on average somewhere between ‘often’ and ‘sometimes’ (means of 3.5 were reported for both media; see Table 4.26). In the case of both media, the mean obtained from Ukraine-

born respondents was 2.9 (‘often’) and for UK-born respondents 3.8 (‘seldom’), and the difference between these two means was found to be significant ($p \leq 0.001$). Respondents did not report using Ukrainian very often to access television and radio: a mean of 4.2 (‘sometimes’) was obtained for television, and 4.8 (‘seldom’) for radio. There were no significant differences between birth-country groups, nor between the three age cohorts of UK-born respondents (see Table 4.26).

Ukrainian-Language Media: A Passive Means of Engagement

Although the quantitative data appear to imply that access to Ukrainian media is somewhat limited among members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, in two interviews (with Dmytro, first-wave, second-generation, 56+; and Bohdan, first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), access to Ukrainian-language media resources for language maintenance purposes was discussed.

Dmytro describes how accessing Ukrainian-language media has always been a way for him to gain exposure to Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 4.19

Dmytro: I spent a lifetime of reading the Ukrainian newspapers, the journals, listening to radio broadcasts and just generally soaking up the language, which I’m really pleased about, and three years ago I was asked to teach beginners’ Ukrainian at a university’s evening classes, and so I phoned up and said ‘yes I’m quite happy to do that’, and they said, ‘well

send us your qualifications', and I said, 'all the qualifications [I have] have been taken in my youth. […] I wrote to Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv, and I said, 'look, I would like a certificate to say that I can speak Ukrainian'. […] I did spend about six months actually brushing up on my vocab, my grammar, and listening to live Ukrainian on the radio.

Dmytro describes his exposure to various Ukrainian-language media as a means through which he has 'soaked up' the language, and how he accessed such resources when he was preparing for a qualification in Ukrainian, alongside the more formal vocabulary and grammar exercises he used as a revision tool. Later, Dmytro elaborates on the role that Ukrainian radio plays in helping him to maintain – and improve – his Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 4.20

Dmytro: When I want to brush up, I go into Radio Ukraine and just listen to all the programmes. Just like BBC, it's got a variety of programmes for all sorts of listeners.

Bohdan also describes how he accesses various forms of Ukrainian-language media for language maintenance purposes:

Interview Extract 4.21

Bohdan: Particularly with the field of work I do [journalism], and the methods that I use to try and keep my Ukrainian sharp. Obviously a lot of the source material is coming from Ukraine,

> so I'm listening to Ukrainian music, I'm watching Ukrainian news. It's the first thing I do when I wake up. I'll cover the main UK papers, but I'll also have the Ukrainian news on for half an hour just so I can hear something.

As for Dmytro, the maintenance and use of Ukrainian is relevant to Bohdan's career. His knowledge of, and ability to understand, Ukrainian enables him to access Ukrainian news, but it is also through accessing such resources that he ensures that his proficiency in Ukrainian does not decline. However, Bohdan also accesses various non-career-related media resources, such as television and music, including English-language television shows dubbed into Ukrainian:

Bohdan: And then, as I said, its Ukrainian news, [I] try and read as much as I can online, watch as much TV as I can, and watch the news, generally speaking. And then there's some TV shows that I'll keep up to date with and things like that. I also watch American TV shows dubbed into Ukrainian, so things like Family Guy and South Park. It's just as funny and I understand it, it's just slightly different voices. Game of Thrones as well. It's never anything formal, I suppose.

Bohdan's use of Ukrainian in this domain, alongside his conversations with his grandmother (see Section 4.4.2.2) appear to have had an impact on the varying levels of proficiency across his language skills, something which he discusses at a later point in the interview:

Interview Extract 4.22

Bohdan:	I'd say speaking Ukrainian is a lot easier for me than writing. Reading is fine as well. Reading and speaking are fine and understanding.

For both Bohdan and Dymtro, the means through which they engage with and attempt to maintain Ukrainian are generally rather passive. Instead of contexts in which Ukrainian is actively used by the informants (apart from Bohdan's conversations with his grandmother), both interviewees engage with Ukrainian in contexts in which they do not necessarily have to produce the language. This may be due to a lack of opportunity to practise or use it elsewhere. It is also striking that in both cases the motivation to seek means to maintain their knowledge of Ukrainian appears to be career-related, whether it be to accept an offer to teach Ukrainian, or in order to pursue a career in journalism.

Table 4.24: Responses to questionnaire items:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? reading literature and newspapers (n=133).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	1.5 (2)	3.8 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	43.6 (58)	56.6 (3)*	35.0 (28)*	33.3 (6)	31.3 (10)	33.3 (6)
English Only	47.4 (63)	20.8 (11)***	65.0 (52)***	66.7 (12)	68.8 (22)	60.0 (18)
English + Other(s)	45.9 (61)	62.3 (33)**	35.0 (28)**	33.3 (6)	31.3 (10)	40.0 (12)
English + Ukrainian	28.6 (38)	24.5 (13)	31.3 (25)	33.3 (6)	25.0 (8)	36.7 (11)
Russian Only	4.5 (6)	11.3 (6)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	15.0 (20)	35.9 (19)***	1.3 (1)***	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.3 (1)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.25: Responses to questionnaire item:
Which language(s) do you mainly use in the following situations? online (n=133).
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine-Born	UK-Born	16-35	36-55	56+
Ukrainian Only	3.0 (4)	3.9 (2)	2.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	6.1 (2)	0.0 (0)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	36.1 (48)	42.3 (22)	32.1 (26)	44.4 (8)	27.3 (9)	30.0 (9)
English Only	53.4 (71)	34.6 (18)**	65.4 (53)**	55.6 (10)	66.7 (22)	70.0 (21)
English + Other(s)	40.6 (54)	53.9 (28)*	32.1 (26)*	44.4 (8)	27.3 (9)	30.0 (9)
English + Ukrainian	24.8 (33)	19.2 (10)	28.4 (23)	38.9 (7)	24.2 (8)	26.7 (8)
Russian Only	2.3 (3)	5.8 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	13.5 (18)	32.7 (17)***	1.2 (1)***	5.6 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 4.26: Responses to Questionnaire Item:
How often do you use Ukrainian in the following situations? various media resources.
(1.0 'Always' – 6.0 'Never')

	Reading Books			Reading Newspapers			Online News Sites			Social Networking Sites			Watching Television			Listening to Radio		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	132	3.9	1.3	132	3.9	1.4	135	3.5	1.5	130	3.5	1.5	128	4.2	1.5	122	4.8	1.3
Birth Country Groups (All Ages)																		
Ukraine-Born	54	3.5**	1.4	52	3.7	1.5	54	2.9***	1.6	54	2.9***	1.5	51	3.9	1.6	46	4.6	1.5
UK-Born	78	4.2**	1.2	80	4	1.2	81	3.8***	1.4	76	3.8***	1.4	77	4.4	1.4	76	4.9	1.2
UK-Born Age Cohorts																		
16-35	19	4.4	1.6	17	4.2	1.6	18	4.2*	1.7	19	3.4	1.7	19	4.1	1.6	18	4.6	1.5
36-55	29	4.3	1.1	32	4.2	1.2	32	4.1*	1.4	29	4.2	1.6	30	4.7	1.1	29	5.2	1.2
56+	30	4	1	31	3.7	1	31	3.3*	1	28	3.6	0.9	28	4.3	1.4	29	4.8	1.1

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

4.5 Summary and Conclusion: Linguistic Repertoires and Language Practices in the Ukrainian Community in the UK

This chapter has examined the linguistic repertoires and reported language practices of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, drawing from both qualitative and quantitative data collected through questionnaires and interviews.

In terms of the linguistic repertoires of community members, it would appear that although, overall, multilingualism was common across the sample and the vast majority of respondents reported knowledge of at least two languages, the Ukraine-born group of respondents have broader linguistic repertoires than the UK-born group. This former group of respondents reported knowledge of at least three languages (English, Ukrainian, and Russian), and also reported high proficiency levels in all three languages. Further evidence of the high levels of multilingualism among the Ukraine-born group of respondents was also evidenced by their reported linguistic preferences, as in many cases two or more languages – usually including English – were cited as preferred languages. In comparison, informants belonging to the UK-born group reported more monolingual preferences, and often cited English as their sole preferred language.

The data obtained regarding respondents' reported linguistic practices provides evidence to suggest that the use of Ukrainian is limited to certain domains, and that English is frequently used by informants. Thus, this would suggest that language shift is taking

place in various domains in the community. The data presented on language practices indicate that in various contexts and with different interlocutors in the UK, English appears to be the language predominantly used by community members, whereas in Ukrainian contexts, higher percentages of respondents reported using Ukrainian. This pattern of language shift from the heritage/community language to English in UK contexts is similar to that observed in research conducted in other ethnic minority groups in the UK (Papapavlou and Pavlou 2001; Lawson and Sachdev 2004; Wright and Kurtoglu-Hooton 2006; Canagarajah 2008; Ferguson 2013; Rasinger 2013a).

However, the data presented regarding language practices in the Ukrainian community also indicated that there are significant differences between the UK- and Ukraine-born groups of informants. Similar to the data regarding linguistic repertoires, the reported practices of the Ukraine-born group of respondents largely appear more multilingual, and those of the UK-born group of respondents more monolingual. UK-born respondents reported strong preferences for and high levels of use of English, while the reported language use of Ukraine-born respondents was more likely to include more than one language, but nevertheless often did involve English, too. Another notable difference between the two groups concerns their reported language practices in Ukraine. While UK-born respondents again seem to be more monolingual in this context, and Ukraine-born more multilingual, it is striking that UK-born respondents report more

frequent, exclusive use of Ukrainian. This difference is due to the fact that some Ukraine-born respondents also reported using Russian in Ukraine. Thus, the language practices of Ukraine-born respondents seemingly mirror those in contemporary Ukraine, in which bilingual language practices are the norm.

The analysis of the UK respondents by age indicate, where there are significant differences between groups (such as with parents in the UK), that the younger generations in this group have more of a tendency to use English than the older cohorts, suggesting that a typical pattern of three-generation language shift has taken place (Fishman 1991). This impression was further supported by the reflections on intergenerational language practices within this group of Ukrainians (the first wave of migration) in the UK.

Having examined the linguistic repertoires and language practices of members of the Ukrainian community in the UK, Chapter 5 will now turn its attention to the language attitudes and language ideologies of members of this group.

5 Language Attitudes and Ideologies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores language attitudes and language ideologies in the Ukrainian community in the UK, with a particular focus on understanding the relationship between language and identity in this community.[24] As in Chapter 4, the data presented are quantitative questionnaire data combined with qualitative data obtained through open-ended questionnaire items and semi-structured interviews. The chapter addresses the following research questions:

> 2a) What are community members' attitudes towards the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian?
> 2b) What are community members' attitudes towards the different languages and linguistic varieties present in Ukraine and the Ukrainian community?
> 2c) What are the language ideologies that underpin these attitudes?
> 3) What role does the Ukrainian language play in the formation of Ukrainian identity?

Section 5.2 explores attitudes towards intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance within the community. Section 5.3 then examines community members' attitudes towards linguistic variation, and towards the different languages and linguistic varieties present both in the Ukrainian community in the UK and in Ukraine itself. In the examination of individual

[24] On the distinction between attitudes and ideologies, as well as areas of overlap between the two concepts, see Section 2.6.3.

community members' attitudes towards such phenomena, the language ideologies underpinning and influencing these attitudes are also discussed. In Section 5.4, community members' perceptions of their own identity, and of the relationship between language and identity, are explored.

5.2 Attitudes to Intergenerational Language Transmission and Language Maintenance

One closed-ended questionnaire item, the final of such questions, asked informants for their beliefs about the maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK:

> *Do you feel that the Ukrainian language will continue to be used by Ukrainian communities in the UK in the future?*
> (Question 40)

On the whole, respondents appeared to be relatively confident that Ukrainian would be maintained in the future: 63.5% (n=87) answered 'Yes', and only a very small number (4.4%, n=6) answered 'No' to this question (see Table 5.1; Figure 5.1). Thus, just under a third of respondents (32.1%, n=44) were not sure about the future of Ukrainian in the UK.

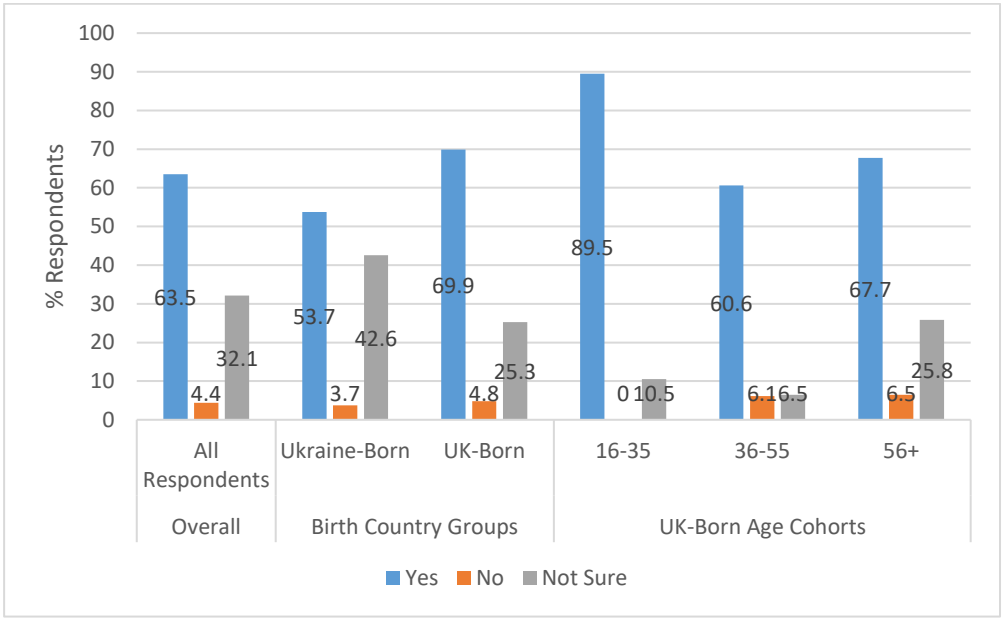
A higher percentage of UK-born (69.9%, n=58) than Ukraine-born (53.7%, n=29) respondents stated that they felt Ukrainian would continue to be used in the future in the UK, as did a higher percentage

of UK-born respondents aged 16-35 (89.5%, n=17) than those in the two older age categories (36-55: 60.6%, n=20; 56+: 67.7%, n=21). Although none of these differences are statistically significant, the data are noteworthy, because UK-born respondents – particularly those in the younger age cohort – are precisely those who appear to use Ukrainian comparatively less often (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, their responses to this question suggest that they are most confident (or at the very least, no less confident than others) about the continued maintenance of the language in the UK.

Table 5.1: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you feel that Ukrainian will continue to be used by Ukrainian communities in the UK in the future?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Yes	No	Not Sure
All Respondents	63.5 (87)	4.4 (6)	32.1 (44)
Birth Country Groups (All Ages)			
Ukraine-Born	53.7 (29)	3.7 (2)	42.6 (23)
UK-Born	69.9 (58)	4.8 (4)	25.3 (21)
UK-born Age Cohorts			
16-35	89.5 (17)	0.0 (0)	10.5 (2)
36-55	60.6 (20)	6.1 (2)	33.3 (11)
56+	67.7 (21)	6.5 (2)	25.8 (8)

Figure 5.1: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you feel that Ukrainian will continue to be used by Ukrainian communities in the future?



Another questionnaire item (Question 24) asked informants to report how strongly they agreed with a series of statements, three of which intended to elicit attitudes towards intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance:

> *Please state how strongly you agree with the following statements:*
>
> - *'It is important to know Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture'*
> - *'It is important to speak Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture'*
> - *'it is important for future generations in the UK to know and speak Ukrainian'*
>
> ,

Respondents disclosed their strength of agreement with the statements on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 ‘strongly agree’ to 5 ‘strongly disagree’. Means were calculated to ascertain respondents’ average strength of agreement.

Overall, respondents reported relatively strong levels of agreement with all three statements, with means of either 1.5 or 1.6, with standard deviations of either 0.8 or 0.9 (see Table 5.2). There were only minimal (thus not statistically significant) differences between the two birth country groups and among the three age cohorts within the UK-born part of the sample. Despite this, it is worth noting that for all three statements, the age cohort that least strongly agreed was the 16-35 group, and the cohort that reported the strongest levels of agreement was the 56+ group. This is especially interesting given that the younger age group seemed most sure that Ukrainian would continue to be used in the UK in the future (see Table 5.1).

To summarise, the perceived importance of the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian is slightly decreasing across the generations of UK-born respondents, whereas the confidence that it will continue is, if anything, stronger among the younger and UK-born respondents.

Table 5.2: Responses to questionnaire Item:
Please state how strongly you agree with the following statements: Language maintenance statements
(1.0 'Strongly Agree' – 5.0 'Strongly Disagree')

	It is important to know Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture			**it is important to speak Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture**			**It is important for future generations of Ukrainians in the UK to learn and speak Ukrainian**		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	137	1.5	0.8	137	1.6	0.9	136	1.5	0.8
Birth Country Groups (All Ages)									
Ukraine-Born	54	1.4	0.8	54	1.5	0.9	54	1.6	0.9
UK-Born	83	1.5	0.8	83	1.7	0.9	82	1.5	0.7
UK-Born Age Cohorts									
16-35	19	1.7	0.8	19	1.7	0.9	19	1.6	0.9
36-55	33	1.6	0.8	33	1.7	0.9	32	1.4	0.6
56+	31	1.3	0.7	31	1.6	0.9	31	1.4	0.6

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Qualitative data obtained through interviews and open-ended questionnaire items demonstrated that community members' attitudes towards the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian were mixed; some informants expressed positive attitudes, one informant exhibited a negative attitude, and some appeared to hold ambivalent attitudes.

In the interview with Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), he suggested that he considered language maintenance in the UK Ukrainian community important for the preservation of Ukrainian culture and identity:

Interview Extract 5.1

Taras	So the problem is that if we don't use it [Ukrainian], we'll lose it and that's a sad thing that we notice more. […] Sadly if we don't use it, and we have to maintain it, and between us we do occasionally speak to each other in Ukrainian just to keep ticking over [sic].

Taras expresses fear and regret over language shift in the community, calling it 'a sad thing'. His use of the deontic construction 'we *have to* maintain it' emphasises the importance he places on such maintenance. Later, Taras elaborates:

Interview Extract 5.2

Taras	I'm worried we might we lose it [Ukrainian], we could lose it. It's very important, very important,

because at the end of the day we're foreigners, we're Ukrainians. I've got Ukrainian blood. Both my parents are Ukrainian, so to me that's important because the way my parents have brought us up with the church, the community and everything else. It's important that we carry that on.

In Interview Extract 5.2, Taras states that he considers the Ukrainian language a part of a wider Ukrainian identity inherited from his parents, which includes cultural customs and religion. This sense of inherited identity and language forming a part of this identity is evident in the rationale he provides for the importance of language maintenance, 'we're foreigners, we're Ukrainians', a statement which also provides an insight into how Taras identifies as Ukrainian (discussed further in Section 5.4.2).

One of the two reasons Olena (second-wave, 36-55) gave for the importance of the maintenance of Ukrainian in the community is that she considered it important for the maintenance of Ukrainian culture and identity:

Interview Extract 5.3

Olena: In all respects it's always better to know another language and, you know, especially that this is something more than just a language, it is part of you, it's your culture, it's your history, even though you go here to English school, and most of your friends speak English. But it sort of broadens your horizons,

and, well, it's been scientifically proven so many times that children who speak many languages, they're always better at doing many things.

However, this extract shows that in addition to linking language maintenance to the maintenance of Ukrainian culture and identity, Olena also considers language maintenance important because she perceives bilingualism as beneficial for an individual's development more generally. This attitude towards bilingualism is potentially influenced by ideologies about the general benefits of bilingualism, also in academic circles (Cooke and Simpson 2012), to which Olena would have been exposed in her education: she studied English at university and trained as an English language teacher in Ukraine.

Both Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) and Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) expressed similar positive attitudes towards bilingualism. Like Olena, they both studied languages at university, and Myroslava taught languages (French and Russian) in secondary schools in the UK; so it seems plausible that similar ideologies about the benefits of bilingualism, to which their education exposed them, may also have influenced their attitudes.

Interview Extract 5.4

Myroslava: I think growing up bilingual is such an advantage, and if you've seen it in other people you'll know what I mean. It's this flick of

a switch. It's like when I was growing up – I might have been at senior school by then – there was a family across the road from us, dad was Ukrainian, mum was Italian, and they obviously lived in England, and by the time they [their children] spoke three languages. […] It's excellent, and I'm very pro extra languages.

Myroslava describes how she has witnessed first-hand the benefits she believes a bilingual upbringing provides, and expresses her admiration for the way in which people negotiate the resources in their linguistic repertoires. Similarly, Natasha reflects on her own bilingual upbringing – having acquired Ukrainian at home before starting school and subsequently acquiring English – how she developed her language-learning skills:

Interview Extract 5.5

Natasha: I'm glad that I learnt Ukrainian first because that's been able to broaden my mind a little bit more to be able to speak another language and therefore that's made it easier for me to be able to pick up other languages like Russian. I think just for a communicative kind of sense I'm glad that I learnt it to be able to communicate with people when I go over to Ukraine, but I could have come into that community and not spoken a word of it [Ukrainian] and I don't think it would have made that much of a difference.

In Interview Extract 5.5, the first advantage of learning Ukrainian Natasha discusses is that it has 'broadened her mind', similar to one of the benefits of bilingualism asserted by Olena. Further, she also credits her bilingual upbringing for providing her with skills that have allowed her to acquire additional languages, such as Russian, which she studied at university. Notably, Natasha mentions these *before* discussing another benefit of being able to communicate with people *specifically* in Ukraine, (but not within the Ukrainian community in the UK – see Chapter 4). It seems that Natasha does not consider Ukrainian important for participation in the community in the UK, but sees it as a communicative tool that she can use when in Ukraine (but even then does not consider this *that* important). This reinforces the suggestion from the data presented in Chapter 4 that first-wave Ukrainians primarily employ Ukrainian when in Ukraine.

In contrast to the positive attitudes towards bilingualism expressed by Olena, Myroslava, and Natasha, a more negative attitude towards bilingualism was expressed by Halyna (first-wave, second-generation, 56+). Halyna is of similar age and background to Myroslava (both are first-wave, second-generation, and aged 56+), and she also trained as a teacher (albeit not in languages), but her attitude appears to have been informed by more traditional (and, in academic circles, now outdated) ideologies which take monolingualism as the ideal and norm, and present multilingualism as problematic in the UK (Wei 2006a: 8; Baker and Wright 2017: 133)

Interview Extract 5.6

Halyna	We made a policy decision that they [Halyna's children] would speak English first, because as an English teacher I'd taught a lot of children who came from bilingual backgrounds and always, regardless of their intelligence, their grasp of English wasn't as good as it should have been, so we decided that they would speak English first.

Halyna's perception of the English proficiencies of students she taught with bilingual backgrounds strongly influenced her decision not to transmit Ukrainian to her children. In addition to reflecting an ideology of monolingualism and an ideology that bilingualism is detrimental to language proficiency in the majority language, Halyna's decision to ensure that her children's proficiency in English – the language which seemingly considers it most important for her children to know – was as 'good enough as it should have been' may also have been influenced by the perceived economic capital of English compared to Ukrainian on the linguistic marketplace in the UK, although she does not make this explicit. However, the fact that she describes making a 'policy decision' does suggest an awareness of language hierarchies and the value of different languages in a linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu 1977). Further, her reference to this as a 'policy decision' is also worth noting given that 'Family Language Policy' is an emerging

area in linguistic research (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008; Caldas 2012; Curdt-Christiansen 2018).

While some interviewees exhibited clearly positive attitudes to bilingualism in Ukrainian and English, and while Halyna's view was more clearly negative, there were other instances in which informants expressed more ambivalent attitudes towards the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian. In such cases, informants acknowledged the important role Ukrainian can play in identity, but did not consider it either an essential feature of Ukrainian identity, or something crucial for participation in the Ukrainian community in the UK.

In addition to Interview Extract 5.5, there were other points in the interview with Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) in which she expresses, and thus reinforces, the opinion that she does not consider knowledge of Ukrainian essential for community participation or a crucial component of Ukrainian identity:

Interview Extract 5.7

Natasha	I've met some people that don't speak a word of Ukrainian and they're no less Ukrainian than anyone else.

Interview Extract 5.8

Natasha	I could quite happily be part of that Ukrainian community and not speak a word of Ukrainian. I'd probably have struggled a little bit, but I could probably get by with it absolutely fine. I

> can be part of the dance group and not speak a word of Ukrainian, I can go to Ukrainian summer camps and not speak a word of Ukrainian.

In responses to open-ended questionnaire items, some informants express similar attitudes, that Ukrainian was an important but not an essential component of Ukrainian identity in the UK.[25] One questionnaire respondent of a similar age and background to Natasha (both reported living in Manchester, for example) expressed very similar opinions to those expressed by Natasha. First, she echoes the idea that Ukrainian is important but not essential; second, she discusses the advantages of being brought up bilingually:

Questionnaire Response 5.1

> My opinion is that a person does not have to know or speak Ukrainian in order to be able to enjoy and be a part of Ukrainian culture, especially in the diaspora. […] I believe knowing Ukrainian enhances your experience of Ukrainian culture, but is by no means necessary.
> *Participant 053, 16-35, Female, Manchester*

Questionnaire Response 5.2

> Feel that learning two languages from a young age gives you life skills that cannot be as easily gained

[25] Such responses were predominantly to the open-ended item that followed the series of Likert Scale statements, and the final questionnaire item which invited respondents to leave any further comments related to the questionnaire (see Appendix A2 and Appendix B2).

> later on in life, and being born as a second generation diaspora [member] certainly gives you a one-up in this area. However, I feel it is the community and culture more than anything that are an important part of diaspora communities, rather than the language. Language gives us more of an understanding of the culture, however, being in the diaspora, the steady decline of the native language in relation to English is inevitable, and I feel that language should not be a deciding factor of how 'Ukrainian' someone is.
> *Participant 053, 16-35, Female, Manchester*

While this attitude is perhaps not that surprising among a generation where – as we saw in Chapter 4 – language shift has largely taken place, two older, first-wave Ukrainians also do not consider knowledge of Ukrainian essential, although conceding it is (or would have been) desirable:

Questionnaire Response 5.3

> I wasn't encouraged to learn Ukrainian as a child, and with hindsight, have some regrets about that. However, I have promoted Ukrainian culture and heritage in the UK and don't believe that it is essential to know the language to succeed at this, although I feel that knowing the language would be beneficial.
> *Participant 112, 36-55, Male, Nottingham*

Questionnaire Response 5.4

> Always important to preserve and learn the Ukrainian language but Ukrainian culture can still be preserved, promoted and understood without understanding the

language.
Participant 098, 56+, Male, Huddersfield

The data presented in this section suggest that positive attitudes towards the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian appear to have been influenced by two different language ideologies: first, the idea that the maintenance of the Ukrainian language plays an important role in the maintenance of Ukrainian identity (Taras and Olena); second, beliefs about the benefits of bilingualism (Olena, Myroslava and Natasha). These two reasons provided for the importance of language maintenance in the community mirror those identified in research conducted on other ethnic minority groups (Park and Sarkar 2007; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009; Nesteruk 2010). Traditional, ideologies – largely considered outdated in academic circles, but often still widely-held by non-linguists – regarding bilingualism appear to underlie Halyna's more negative attitude towards the transmission of Ukrainian which informed her decision not to use it with her children. Finally, in addition to positive and negative attitudes, a number of informants exhibited more ambivalent attitudes towards the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK. These informants did not consider the maintenance of Ukrainian essential, but also acknowledged that it does have some value. Thus, these informants appear to be quite accepting and pragmatic of the language shift that appears to be taking place in the Ukrainian

community in the UK, as is demonstrated through the data presented in Chapter 4.

In addition to making decisions regarding whether or not to transmit the heritage/community language and the various factors influencing such decisions, a further issue regarding language transmission and maintenance facing second wave members of the Ukrainian community in the UK – whose linguistic background differs considerably from those belonging to first-wave Ukrainians in the UK – is also the matter of which language(s) to transmit across generations. In the interview with Olena (second-wave, 36-55), when matters related to intergenerational language transmission and maintenance were discussed, she expressed a desire to transmit both Ukrainian and Russian to her children. This desire arguably stems from Olena's upbringing in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the fact that her family members in Ukraine use both Ukrainian and Russian (as outlined in Chapter 4).

In addition to the extract presented above regarding the intergenerational transmission of Ukrainian, at another point in the interview, Olena discussed how her motivation to transmit Ukrainian to her daughter increased because of the political troubles and ongoing conflict in Ukraine. Prior to this, her daughter was exposed to

Ukrainian when visiting family members in Ukraine,[26] but conscious efforts were not made to transmit it to her:

Interview Extract 5.9

Olena	Her first language was Russian, but then every time we would go back to Ukraine, she would talk to our parents – her grandparents – and she would be exposed to Ukrainian, so she was able to understand Ukrainian although she didn't really speak it, but she heard it a lot. So then when this conflict started we [Olena and her husband] were more conscious about which language she uses at home and we started to try and give her more Ukrainian.

Olena's attitudes towards Ukrainian altered; she started to consider the relationship between language and identity more closely intertwined after the outbreak of the conflict, and thus decided to make a more concerted effort to transmit Ukrainian to her daughter. The re-evaluation of the importance of Ukrainian for Ukrainian identity was perhaps as a result of Ukrainian identity and independence being threatened by the conflict and the Russian annexation of Crimea, for example. This reaction and re-evaluation differs from the impact of the conflict on national identity and language use in contemporary Ukraine observed by researchers there; although national identity has become

[26] The region of Ukraine that Olena and her husband come from – Zakarpattia – is particularly linguistically diverse, as it borders Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. The linguistic diversity of this region has been the focus of research conducted by Dickinson (2010).

more salient in Ukraine, Russian-speakers have not altered their language practices and switched to Ukrainian (Kulyk 2016a, 2018). Thus, in Ukraine – as outlined in Chapter 1 – Ukrainian continues to play a symbolic role in Ukrainian identity, but use of it has not increased.

Olena also discussed her motivations for transmitting Russian to her children, and linked this to providing her children with cultural capital:

Interview Extract 5.10

Olena	I would like him [her son] to be able to understand both [Ukrainian and Russian] because that was one of my things with my daughter, I really wanted her to be able to read some of the beautiful Russian literature in the original, because, you know, imagine Pushkin translated into Ukrainian – no no no no! Yeah, so I still want him to understand both.

Here, it is notable that Olena considers Russian – and not Ukrainian – the language of cultural capital, and suggests that she thinks Ukrainian does not possess as much prestige and cultural value as Russian. Her desire to transmit Russian is thus not linked to the transmission of any aspect of identity, something which Olena confirmed at another point in the interview, when asked whether she

would consider taking her children to a Russian complementary school:

Interview Extract 5.11

Interviewer	Would Russian school ever be an option?
Olena	No, no. I mean if it was probably just about the language, maybe I would consider it, because it's still a chance for her to use the language, but to be honest when I googled, and saw some pictures or the events and everything, it's not just about the language, it's also so much about the culture and everything. When I saw all the traditional Russian costumes and other events that they're having, it's just a bit too much. […] Although if she's just speaking Russian like she does sometimes with Larysa [Olena's daughter's friend who attends Ukrainian school (see Chapter 6)] because they go to the same school, sometimes they meet in the playground and they speak Russian to each other, and I think that's absolutely fine, I mean if it's just communication.

For Olena, her children 'just speaking Russian' and 'just communication' are 'absolutely fine' – Russian is a communicative tool. However, she rejects the idea of sending her children to a Russian complementary school because of the link between language and identity that she feels the school promotes – it is more than 'just about the language'. Whereas she considers Ukrainian language and identity to be interconnected, Olena wants the Russian language, but

not the Russian identity, for her children. The fact that Olena wishes to transmit Russian – in addition to Ukrainian – to her children also appears to be influenced by the perceived importance of Russian in Ukraine as a 'language widely understood in Ukraine and beyond' (Kulyk 2017: 324). Thus, this indicates that as a second-wave Ukrainian in the UK – and in contrast to those belonging to the first wave of migration – Olena's attitudes towards language (and her language practices) resemble those in contemporary Ukraine.

In summary, Olena's motivations for the transmission of Ukrainian differ considerably. The transmission of Ukrainian is connected to the transmission of culture and identity; this stance that Ukrainian language and identity are closely intertwined contrasts with the observed relationship between language use and identity in contemporary Ukraine. In contrast, the transmission of Russian is not related to the transmission of identity, and instead is related to a desire to impart cultural capital, and in some ways, this separation between language and identity in the case of Russian does somewhat resemble how the relationship between the two is perceived in contemporary Ukraine (Kulyk 2016b; Arel 2017; Kulyk 2018). Thus, Olena's attitudes towards Ukrainian and Russian in some ways mirror and in other ways differ from those in contemporary Ukraine. Her desire to transmit both Ukrainian and Russian to her children illustrates the linguistic differences between the two migration waves, as outlined in Chapters 1 and 4, and that Russian commonly forms a

part of the linguistic repertoires of second-wave Ukrainians in the UK, primarily as a result of policies implemented in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to promote the use of Russian, which have had a profound impact on language use in contemporary, post-Soviet Ukraine.

5.3 Attitudes to Linguistic Variation

Having examined attitudes to the maintenance of the community language(s), this section turns to the community's attitudes towards linguistic variation, both within the Ukrainian community itself and within Ukraine. Section 5.3.1 explores attitudes towards two varieties of Ukrainian, which I have labelled 'Diaspora Ukrainian' and 'Contemporary Ukrainian', and Section 5.3.2 attitudes towards the use and status of Russian both in the UK and in Ukraine. Although I have applied the labels 'Diaspora Ukrainian' and 'Contemporary Ukrainian' to these two varieties of Ukrainian, the distinction between them is something that – as we shall see – members of the Ukrainian community in the UK are aware of, even if they do not refer to them using these exact terms.

The analysis of the data presented in this section will, where relevant, draw from Gal and Irvine's (1995: 973-75) model of three semiotic processes through which individuals construct their ideological representation of linguistic differences between groups; the

model has also been usefully employed by Yilmaz (2018) in her analysis of linguistic variation among Kurds in London. The three semiotic processes are iconisation, fractal recursivity, and erasure.

Iconisation 'involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic practices, features or varieties and the social images with which they are linked' (Gal and Irvine 1995: 973). For instance, if a statement such as 'diaspora Ukrainian is archaic' was made, this may imply that speakers of this variety are also seen as archaic or out of touch. Fractal recursivity entails 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level' (Gal and Irvine 1995: 974). This process involves the 'othering' of a group on the basis of one difference; perceived linguistic differences between two different groups could be projected onto, for instance, cultural practices. Erasure is 'the process in which ideology, in simplifying the field of linguistic practices, renders some persons or activities or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible', thus in processes of erasure, internal variation within a given group is dismissed (Gal and Irvine 1995).

5.3.1 Diaspora Ukrainian and Contemporary Ukrainian

In this section, I use the term Diaspora Ukrainian to refer to the variety of Ukrainian brought to the UK by the first wave of migration which took place after World War II, which has subsequently been passed

(to varying degrees) across generations (see Chapter 1). As outlined in Chapter 1, the vast majority of this wave originated from the western regions of Ukraine, which did not become part of the Soviet Union until 1945; consequently, this variety of Ukrainian had not been subject to Soviet policies of Russification and efforts to make Ukrainian more similar to Russian. In contrast, Contemporary Ukrainian – that spoken by second-wave Ukrainians, and also currently in Ukraine – has inevitably been influenced by Russification policies implemented during the Soviet era (as well as by the kinds of changes likely to be observable in any language over a period of several decades).

Overall, attitudes towards these varieties of Ukrainian were mixed, but internally consistent: those who exhibited positive attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian were often more negative towards Contemporary Ukrainian, and vice versa. For example, over the course of the interview with Halyna (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), she appeared to exhibit a positive attitude towards Diaspora Ukrainian and a negative attitude towards Contemporary Ukrainian. In, Interview Extract 5.13, Halyna discusses some of the differences between these two varieties of Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 5.12

Halyna	Speaking to Ukrainians when we were there last time, I said to them 'OK, how do you identify us so quickly?', and they said that it

> was the accent, it's not just the vocabulary, although there is that. One of the obvious differences is we say '**дев'ятдесят** <dev'iatdesiat> [ninety]' and they say '**дев'яносто** <devianosto> [ninety]' for ninety, and words like that, you know, which are much more Russified.

Here, Halyna discusses some of the differences between the two varieties of Ukrainian, and cites the example of the different words for 'ninety'. Both words can be used in contemporary Ukrainian, but the latter, *дев'яносто*, is a cognate of the Russian word, and thus is presumably a product of Russification policies. Halyna's description of the vocabulary used by speakers of Contemporary Ukrainian as 'much more Russified' is key to this extract, as this, combined with her attitudes towards Russian, implies a negative attitude towards this variety of Ukrainian, due to its Russian influence. Further, the processes of fractal recursivity and erasure appear to be taking place in this extract, as Halyna refers to speakers of Diaspora Ukrainian 'us' and Contemporary Ukrainian 'them' and disregards any internal variation among speakers of either variety.

Additionally, when discussing the variety of Ukrainian his parents brought to the UK (what I term Diaspora Ukrainian) Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) appears to display a more positive attitude towards this variety:

Interview Extract 5.13

Taras	The Ukrainian language that we speak here is different from the Ukrainian language back in Ukraine, because when our parents left Ukraine in the early forties their language was very basic, it's what I call village language. My parents were from the Lvov [sic] region, which meant that their Ukrainian was very clear. There was a lot of clarity within the language – the Ukrainian within our family and a lot of the people who are actually in this country. In the eastern side of Ukraine it was more Russified, so there was a lot of Russian mixed in there, and you still get that.

Although initially describing Diaspora Ukrainian as 'very basic' and 'village language', which seem intended as negative judgements, in proceeding to describe it also as 'very clear' and possessing 'a lot of clarity', Taras signalled a positive attitude towards Diaspora Ukrainian. 'Clear' is itself ambiguous – it could be intended in the sense of being easy to understand, but may also imply that Taras considers this variety clear in the sense that it has not been clouded by any 'foreign' influences. The latter interpretation of Diaspora Ukrainian as unclouded is arguably supported by his comment on the Ukrainian of Eastern Ukraine as being Russified. The juxtaposition of these two descriptions may imply that Taras considers this 'more russified' variety a less clear, and thus more clouded, less pure variety of Ukrainian. Despite this, however, it is striking that Taras himself refers

to the region his parents were from using the Russian name ‘Lvov’, as opposed to the Ukrainian ‘L’viv’.

Similarly, a questionnaire respondent belonging to the first wave of migration also exhibited a negative attitude towards Contemporary Ukrainian and a positive attitude towards Diaspora Ukrainian (Questionnaire Response 5.5), describing Contemporary Ukrainian as ‘tainted by Soviet and Russified developments’, implying that the variety is contaminated and less pure than Diaspora Ukrainian.

Questionnaire Response 5.5

> Post-war diaspora language is also different to the new diaspora as it has not been tainted by Soviet and Russified development in language and alphabets.
> *Participant 008, 36-55, Female, London*

Such negative attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian appear to be influenced by an ideology of linguistic purism (Thomas 1991; see discussion in Chapter 2); informants reject Russian influences in Ukrainian as a threat to its integrity as a language. This variety of Ukrainian – which I am calling Contemporary Ukrainian here – is, with its Russian influences, considered by some purists in Ukraine to be a mere variety of *Surzhyk* – the term used to refer to varieties of language that combine both Ukrainian and Russian (Bilaniuk 2004:

418). In particular, as outlined in Chapter 1, because Contemporary Ukrainian is distinguished from Diaspora Ukrainian by the influence of Soviet language policies, Contemporary Ukrainian would appear to most closely align with the 'Sovietised Ukrainian' variety of *Surzhyk* (Bilaniuk 2004: 415). Purists who consider Contemporary Ukrainian a variety of *Surzhyk* argue that pre-Soviet Ukrainian (to which Diaspora Ukrainian is closer) should be reinstated as the standard language, despite the fact that people in Ukraine habitually use Ukrainian that was influenced by Soviet language policies (Bilaniuk 2005: 100-01). Thus, the negative attitudes towards the Contemporary Ukrainian variety held by some members of the Ukrainian community in the UK resemble those held by purists in Ukraine. Further, the fact that it is specifically the Russian influences that are seemingly the problem with Contemporary Ukrainian may also imply that in addition to an ideology of purism, an anti-Russia(n) ideology is also implicated in some cases. (Attitudes to Russian are discussed in Section 5.3.2 below).

In addition to discussing the linguistic differences between the two waves of Ukrainian migrants in the UK, Taras and Halyna both also appear to extend the linguistic differences observed to other cultural differences between first-wave Ukrainians and other Ukrainians (both second-wave and those residing in contemporary Ukraine):

Interview Extract 5.14

Halyna	I think it's different now, there are people I know who've got children at *shkola* [lit. 'school', i.e. Ukrainian Complementary School] who – they were born and brought up here, so we're talking second-, third-generation, and they're in the same class – one assumes – as the children who have come over from Ukraine. So you've got not just mixed ability, you've almost got two different languages going on, and certainly two different cultures, because they behave differently in church as well, for example.

Interview Extract 5.15

Taras	If you want an honest opinion from the point of view of me being a British-Ukrainian, compared to a Ukrainian-Ukrainian, we don't have the same, we're not on the same wavelength necessarily with our Ukrainian brothers, their way of living is different from the way that we live, and it's sometimes very hard.

In outlining some of the other differences that they perceive between the two migration waves – 'their way of living is different', 'they behave differently in church' – the processes of fractal recursivity and erasure are arguably taking place in these two extracts. Here, differences between the two groups 'us' (first-wave) and 'them' (second-wave) are outlined by both informants, without acknowledgement of any variation that exists within either group. Thus, in addition to exhibiting negative

attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian, Halyna and Taras also seem to hold generally quite negative attitudes towards members of this group, based on a number of factors, and consider them quite different despite having a shared heritage.

In contrast, three of the seven interviewees – Dmytro (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), Bohdan and Natasha (both first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) – exhibited more negative attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian and correspondingly more positive attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian. For example, in Interview Extract 5.16, Dmytro discussed either variety of Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 5.16

Interviewer	When you first communicated with the newly-arrived people, did you ever think 'wow, this sounds completely different to what my dad would speak to me'?
Dmytro	Yes. Yes, very much modern language. When we went back in 1991 people found my father's language quite quaint. I mean, really old-fashioned, and heavily Polonised [influenced by Polish]. Now you've got Ukrainian that is up to the mark, you know, like French 'le sandwich', 'le weekend'. Ukrainians have got the same modern phrases, and really, again, by listening to Radio Kyiv you have to catch up on the ever-changing phraseology.
Interviewer	So, have you brought yours [Ukrainian] forward over time by listening to the radio, you've kind of modernised your Ukrainian?

Dmytro	This is going to sound like academic snobbery, but I do not speak the same Ukrainian as my dad did for two reasons: one because he left school when he was 14, I've never left school. Also I listen to modern Ukrainian and I don't have any hang-ups about their phrases. He used to have real hang-ups about Russification of the language 'we don't use this word', 'don't use this word with me', whereas I'll use it. If I think it's up to date, I'll use it.

Here, Dmytro describes Contemporary Ukrainian as 'Ukrainian that is up to the mark', by which he appears to mean that it is adapted to the modern world, including influences from other languages, which he apparently considers typical of a modern language, drawing comparisons with anglicisms in French – which, it should be noted, are the kind of such anglicisms that are rejected by some French speakers (Walsh 2016). In contrast, Dmytro describes how speakers of Contemporary Ukrainian perceived his father's diaspora Ukrainian to be 'quite quaint' and 'really old-fashioned'; thus, by implication, Dmytro presents his father's Ukrainian as out-of-date compared to Contemporary Ukrainian. Dmytro further emphasises his more positive attitude towards Contemporary Ukrainian by contrasting it with his father's negative attitude towards Russification – reminiscent of the attitude exhibited by Halyna

Similar to Dmytro, Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) also implies that Diaspora Ukrainian is somewhat old-fashioned and

out-of-date through his description of Diaspora Ukrainian as ‘backwards, forties, village yokel Ukrainian’ (Interview Extract 5.17).

Interview Extract 5.17

Interviewer	Do you think the newly-arrived Ukrainians sound different?
Bohdan	Oh yeah, absolutely. We talk like backwards, forties, village yokel Ukrainian, and I mean, some of them speak similarly, but I notice the difference a lot when I’m in Ukraine.

Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) also suggests by implication that Diaspora Ukrainian is out of date, and not particularly useful or relevant compared to Contemporary Ukrainian. Natasha recalled various incidents in which her use of Diaspora Ukrainian has resulted in her not being understood and has seemingly caused her embarrassment:

Interview Extract 5.18

Natasha	This is the thing, it’s all such archaic Ukrainian. We’ve had discussion [in the community] about this before. Essentially, the type of Ukrainian that we’ve learnt isn’t prevalent anymore in Ukraine, we need to update our language to be able to survive out there. The type of Ukrainian we speak is so specific to our little group of diaspora people that I went over to L’viv last summer and I was trying to speak Ukrainian to my mum’s family who were

with us and they just laughed at me and were like ‘what are you saying?’, and I was just like ‘is this not Ukrainian?’. It’s because if you speak Ukrainian in the Ukrainian community everyone understands you and everyone responds to you and its fine. You go to Ukraine and you try and speak the same language and they’re literally just like ‘what are you saying?’

Interview Extract 5.19

Natasha	My grandma [first-wave, first-generation] just makes up words. So they’ll [her generation] just combine English and Ukrainian, so for the majority of my life I thought a fridge in Ukrainian was a ‘**фріджу**' <fridzhu> because that’s what my grandma called it and I don’t know any different. […] So that’s why we have issues in Ukraine as well – when you think a word is Ukrainian and it isn’t Ukrainian, it’s just an adapted version of English.

Natasha’s negative attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian as being poorly-adapted to the modern world are indicated in both of these extracts. In Interview Extract 5.19, the way in which Diaspora Ukrainian has developed and modernised independently from Contemporary Ukrainian is clearly demonstrated through her grandmother’s use of English borrowings for modern phenomena.

In addition to instances in which Natasha has not been understood when using Diaspora Ukrainian in Ukraine, she also

recalled moments in which others in the community have experienced similar issues when speaking it even within the UK Ukrainian community:

Interview Extract 5.20

Natasha	Even some of our teachers are struggling to speak to them because their Ukrainian is so much older than what they're currently speaking so there is a bit of a language barrier there.

Interview Extract 5.21

Natasha	My sister and my friend only speak [diaspora] Ukrainian and they were trying really hard but there were some times where certain words that they would use and it was just, like, even I could tell they were archaic Ukrainian and they [people in Ukraine] weren't going to understand them [Natasha's friends] kind of thing so I just had to repeat it with the Russian word.

In Interview Extract 5.20, Natasha describes how at the annual Ukrainian Summer Camp that takes place for three to four weeks every summer, teachers (first-wave Ukrainians) who spoke Diaspora Ukrainian had difficulties communicating with the visiting children from Ukraine, and thus a language barrier is created. In Interview Extract 5.21, Natasha recalls how other first-wave, third-generation friends of

hers had similar experiences to her own when using Diaspora Ukrainian in Ukraine. Such instances parallel the experiences of Ukrainians from North America observed by Satzewich (2002: 199):

> When diaspora Ukrainians who consider themselves to be reasonably competent speakers of Ukrainian go to Ukraine, they are sometimes made to feel they are using a quaint, but ossified and corrupted form of the language that has not kept with the times.

Reflecting on the issues that she and others in the community have encountered in using Diaspora Ukrainian, Natasha suggests one potential solution: teaching and learning Contemporary Ukrainian in the community instead:

Interview Extract 5.22

Natasha	I think our style of Ukrainian is very much dying out and if it does continue in that style of Ukrainian it's going to be completely unrecognisable to actual Ukrainians eventually, which means diaspora Ukrainians are really going to struggle if they try to go to Ukraine and speak Ukrainian which means that we're all going to have to pretty much learn two languages if that makes sense. I think eventually, unless we start making more of an effort to actually learn modern Ukrainian, the type of Ukrainian that we have is just going to completely disappear.

The suggestion that Contemporary Ukrainian ought to be taught in schools is proposed by Natasha as a solution to language shift within the community, reflecting her sense that Diaspora Ukrainian is so outdated as to be virtually useless outside the community. One of her reasons for the promotion of Contemporary as opposed to Diaspora Ukrainian is the need to be understood in Ukraine itself, in line with the data presented in Chapter 4, that community members chiefly use their Ukrainian when in Ukraine.

This section has demonstrated that attitudes towards the two varieties of Ukrainian are mixed. First, negative attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian and positive attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian are based on perceptions of Diaspora Ukrainian as not being adequately developed and adapted to the modern world, particularly for use in Ukraine. In contrast, positive attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian appear to coincide with negative attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian and are influenced both by linguistic purism and, in some cases, anti-Russia(n) ideologies. I turn now to a fuller discussion of this question of attitudes to Russian in the Ukrainian community.

5.3.2 The Use and Status of Russian

The use of Russian by Ukrainians (both in Ukraine and in diasporic contexts) is widespread; as outlined in Chapter 1, Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism is common in contemporary Ukraine, and as demonstrated through the language use data presented in Chapter 4,

it is used by second-wave members of the Ukrainian community in the UK. In a number of interviews conducted, informants discussed the use of Russian by Ukrainians (both in the UK and Ukraine) as well as the status of Russian in Ukraine. Informants' attitudes towards Russian were mixed, and individuals' attitudes seemed to be influenced by their perceptions of the relationship between the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian identity.

Halyna (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) exhibited the most overtly negative attitudes towards Russian, and Natasha (first-wave, second-generation, 16-35) also recalled incidents of community members expressing attitudes similar to those of Halyna. Halyna's negative attitude was expressed when recalling various incidents in which she encountered people speaking Russian in Ukraine:

Interview Extract 5.23

Halyna	I remember watching the rehearsal for the military parade and next to us was a chap, probably in his forties, with a daughter in her early teens and they were speaking in Russian, but they were thrilled, they were Ukrainians who were really proud of being Ukrainian, but why can't they speak Ukrainian?
Interviewer	Do you think that when you hear Ukrainians?
Halyna	Yeah, I do. I want them to speak Ukrainian – **мова то найважніше** <mova to naivazhnishe> [language is the most important]. Actually, while we were there, we saw a little [pro-Ukrainian language] demonstration coming up Khreshatyk [the main street in Kyiv], you know,

people with big banners, you've got to keep your own language, and you have to.

Interview Extract 5.24

Halyna — My husband had a huge row with the people at this tourist place where they were selling tickets. There was a trip to a monastery and it was a coach trip and you went around the monastery and so on, and we'd bought tickets and then quite by chance – I don't know how it happened – but they revealed the trip was guided but guided in Russian, and we said 'hang on a minute. We don't speak Russian, we're Ukrainian'. So, the guy said 'no, no', so my husband said, 'well you can do it in both languages then, you can do it in Russian and then in Ukrainian', and no, he was just going to do it in Russian. So, my husband, who is well known for losing his temper, went berserk at him and said, 'we're in Ukraine, and you're telling me I can't have a guided tour in Ukrainian – **стидав би ся** <stydav by sia> [you should be ashamed of yourself], so we didn't go.

Interview Extract 5.25

Halyna — In Kyiv, the last time we [Halyna and her husband] were there, we were in one shop – oh, I know where it was – it was the Holodomor Museum,[27] ironically, and one of the women on reception where you pay to go in or whatever, we were speaking to her and she spoke in Russian and we kind of

[27] Holodomor was an artificial famine in Soviet Ukraine, engineered by the Soviet authorities between 1932 and 1933. It should also be noted that Halyna's comment that it was 'ironic' that people were speaking Russian in the Holodomor Museum is rather strange, given that many of the regions affected by Holodomor are those in the south and east, and thus are largely Russian-speaking areas.

> insistently spoke in Ukrainian and she said something to us and we said ‘no we don’t understand that, we only speak Ukrainian, we don’t know Russian’. We don’t, and we won’t do it, and I wouldn’t want to speak Russian on principle.

In all of these incidents, Halyna expresses her dissatisfaction towards the use of Russian by people in Ukraine, and often links this back to the fact she feels Ukrainians should use Ukrainian; Halyna therefore indicates that she believes the Ukrainian language (and the use of it) is an important part of Ukrainian identity. Thus, she appears to exhibit a quite traditionally nationalist (one nation, one language) view of the relationship between language and national identity; she indicates that she believes people should speak Ukrainian, because they are (living) in Ukraine. This is conveyed through phrases such as ‘they were really proud of being Ukrainian, but why can’t they speak Ukrainian?’ (Interview Extract 5.23) and ‘we don’t speak Russian, we’re Ukrainian’ (Interview Extract 5.24). Further, Halyna and her husband’s insistence that their interlocutors should speak Ukrainian to them (accommodating to their language use), differs considerably from observed (and accepted) practices of non-accommodation in contemporary Ukraine (Bilaniuk 2005). Halyna’s negative attitude towards Russian and rejection of the use of it by Ukrainians contrasts with practices and attitudes in contemporary Ukraine.

Besides discussing her frustration at Russian being used in Ukraine, Halyna was asked later in the interview how she would feel if she were to encounter people speaking Russian in the Ukrainian Club. Her response mirrored the negative attitudes she expressed towards the use of Russian in Ukraine, and also reinforces the idea that Halyna believes that the use of Ukrainian is crucial for Ukrainian identity:

Interview Extract 5.26

Halyna	I would find that a bit offensive. I don't like it. You're Ukrainian, you're in the Ukrainian Club.

Additionally, Halyna explained why she felt knowledge of Ukrainian is important for Ukrainian identity:

Interview Extract 5.27

Interviewer	Do you think using it [Ukrainian], or just being able to use it if someone speaks it to you, or do you think it should be something –
Halyna	– All of it, and also it enables you, it gives you access to the culture, to the songs, to the poetry, to the literature, because you can translate all of that and there are quite good translations of Shevchenko and stuff, but it's not the same as Ukrainian.

Halyna adds that she also considers Ukrainian important because of the access it provides to Ukrainian culture (and thus cultural capital) – such as literature – and asserting that translated materials cannot compete with those in the original. Parallels can be made with this statement made by Halyna and that made by Olena (second-wave, 36-55) regarding her decision to transmit Russian to her children (see Section 5.2). Here, Halyna's argument for the importance of Ukrainian (providing cultural capital) mirrors that made by Olena regarding the transmission of Russian. Further, this reason provided by Halyna is particularly interesting when considered alongside her decision not to use Ukrainian at home with her children (see Section 5.2). Thus, although Halyna seems insistent that Ukrainians should use Ukrainian as opposed to Russian as an expression of loyalty to a Ukrainian identity and culture, there is a seemingly irreconcilable tension between this and her own attitudes and practices regarding the intergenerational transmission of Ukrainian.

Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), reports having observed similar attitudes to those expressed by Halyna within the Ukrainian community, particularly in reaction to her and a friend's decision to study Russian at university in the UK. In Interview Extract 5.28, Natasha's recollection of the 'sly little digs' and being called '*moskaly*' (a derogatory term used in Ukraine and Belarus to refer to Russians or Russian-speakers) suggests Halyna's negative attitudes towards Russian are not uncommon within the Ukrainian community.

Interview Extract 5.28

Natasha	I think there were a few people that turned their noses up at the fact that me and my friend were studying Russian. […] Sometimes it was little side digs about the fact we were speaking Russian, and literally the amount of times we've been called *moskaly* and stuff like that.

Natasha considers that community members deem Ukrainian to be of great importance to Ukrainian diasporic identity and believes that this influences their attitudes towards the use of Russian:

Interview Extract 5.29

Natasha	The Ukrainian people – probably more the diaspora than the Ukrainian people – because the Ukrainian language is such a link for us to our home country, they think that the Ukrainian language is the one thing we need to hold on to.

Besides Halyna, two other first-wave second-generation interviewees discussed the place of Russian, and voiced somewhat different attitudes. As we shall see, both exhibited a slightly less negative attitude towards Russian and demonstrated an understanding of why some Ukrainians might use Russian, although they both also

simultaneously expressed the opinion that the Ukrainian language should be promoted in Ukraine for state-building purposes.

In Interview Extract 5.30, Dmytro describes his attitudes towards Russian-speaking Ukrainians, and contrasts them with those of his (late) father. Here, he explicitly states that he does not deem Russian-speakers unpatriotic, implying that he does not assume a particularly close link between language and national identity. He contrasts his view with his father's extremely negative attitude towards Russian and his dismissal of Russian-speaking Ukrainians, which is closer to the attitude exhibited by Halyna, despite her being a second-generation Ukrainian, unlike Dmytro's father who was first-generation.

Interview Extract 5.30

Dmytro — My father would not speak to anyone in Russian. If they spoke Russian to him he would say to them, 'if you can't speak my language, we can't have a conversation'. So, the difference in attitude is with me, I'm happy to speak Ukrainian to someone and let them talk to me in Russian, because in eastern Ukraine they are so heavily Russified and it doesn't mean that they're not patriotic. […] When I speak to Ukrainians who speak to me in Russian, I'm happy enough if I think they are patriotic Ukrainians who can't learn Ukrainian, but my father had almost a total almost racist disregard for someone's language. […] He was furious at the street language [Russian] in Kyiv. So, from that moment on he made a purpose of saying '**я вас не розумію** <ia vas ne rozumiiu> [I do not understand you]**'** as soon as they spoke to him in Russian –

almost forcing them to attempt to speak Ukrainian.

Although Dmytro indicates that he does not consider the use of Ukrainian essential for Ukrainian identity (with the important caveat that the non-Ukrainian speakers should be, in his opinion 'patriotic Ukrainians'), at other points, he discusses the importance of language policy in Ukraine for nation-building. To that extent, then, Dmytro does appear to recognize a link between the Ukrainian language and national identity.

Interview Extract 5.31

Dmytro	In a nation-building context like Ukraine has been in in the last couple of decades, re-establishing the language that was supressed is a very, very tough shift, and there are people who still think 'why should we promote Ukrainian? Why shouldn't we be teaching English – the international language?'. What I'm pleased to say is my observations are that Russian has not become the primary importance [sic], [the] Ukrainian language is now being given that primary importance.

Interview Extract 5.32

Dmytro	Now at my particular age [56+], looking back and looking into the future, I do want to see Ukrainian established as the national language, I do not want to see Russian given equal status.

Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) also discussed language policy in Ukraine. She too professes to understand why some Ukrainians are Russian-speakers, but also asserts that language policy in Ukraine should promote and support the development of Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 5.33

Myroslava	It seems to go in waves. There was this big push for Ukrainian, and then it fell away a bit, and now they're trying to push again, obviously because of the war in the east [2014-present] and things like that, and people are saying, 'well what's wrong with people who speak Russian?', and I'm saying there's nothing wrong with people who speak Russian, because in the Soviet Union it was everybody in the fifteen nations had to speak Russian. If you wanted to speak to your grandma in the village in Ukrainian that's fine, if you wanted to take your exams at university [in Ukrainian], you've got to be kidding, you're not doing them in Ukrainian, you have to do them in Russian. That was the sort of demoralising and pushing away of Ukrainian, whereas that has grown a lot better now. […] [But there has been] a push and it's a case of demanding that city councils, or universities, or schools, or shops, or banks, actually provide a service in Russian. Well, excuse me, I wouldn't expect in Britain, if I was French, I wouldn't expect to walk into a bank and for somebody to speak French to me. […] There

has to be some sensible kind of rule [in Ukraine], but none of the presidents, none of the people in parliament in twenty-five years have ever pushed it – what are they so scared of?

Dmytro and Myroslava exhibited an acceptance of Russian-speakers in Ukraine, unlike Halyna. However, both assert that language policy in Ukraine should promote Ukrainian (particularly above Russian) for nation-building.

The two interviewees who were most accepting of the use of Russian in Ukrainian contexts were the two youngest interviewees, Natasha and Bohdan (both first-wave, third-generation, 16-35). Natasha, who studied Russian at university, was particularly accepting of Russian. For example, in Interview Extract 5.34, Natasha recalls an incident in which a community member expressed a negative attitude towards Russian, and the embarrassment she felt in response:

Interview Extract 5.34

Natasha: We had a film screening at the Ukrainian Club, and this is something that has just stuck in my head so much. Afterwards they had a question and answer session with the director, and a member of the community stood up and asked this question which was like ‘so, if this is all about Ukrainian nationalism and fighting for Ukraine, then why were half the people in this film speaking Russian?’ And I was just, you know when you’re just like this guy has come

> over to showcase his film and you are picking on something so minuscule as the fact of the language they were speaking. […] It doesn't matter what they're speaking, they're on that film and they have given their lives for Ukraine and you're picking on what language they're speaking. What the hell does it matter? […] It just made me so embarrassed. I literally just wanted to walk out of there. I was like, this guy has come over and showcased this film about fighting for the freedom of Ukraine, and you've just proved how archaic we are [in] our thoughts and mind-sets over here.

Whereas Halyna's husband (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) 'went berserk' over the use of Russian in Ukraine (Interview Extract 5.24), Natasha (a generation younger) appears completely accepting of the use of Russian by Ukrainians, and deems the language choice of Ukrainian as 'something so minuscule as the fact of the language they were speaking', and states that she does not consider the language used by a Ukrainian important. The contrast between the beliefs of the two informants is striking: Halyna considers language choice of crucial importance to Ukrainian identity, whereas for Natasha, language choice is not at all important. Further, in Interview Extract 5.35, Natasha expresses the opinion that Russian-speakers should not be excluded from the Ukrainian community in the UK, because Ukrainian identity should not be defined by the language used by an individual.

Interview Extract 5.35

Natasha	It's almost like there's no place for them [second-wave Ukrainian migrants] unless you come from Western Ukraine and you speak Ukrainian, there's no place for them in the Ukrainian community, which is just really sad. Just because you speak Russian doesn't mean that you should be alienated from that. It's like they don't belong to the Russian community because they're not Russian, but they don't belong to the Ukrainian community because diaspora Ukrainians speak Ukrainian and not Russian, and it's like it [speaking Russian] doesn't make them any less Ukrainian.

Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) also exhibited a relaxed attitude towards and an acceptance of Russian-speaking Ukrainians:

Interview Extract 5.36

Interviewer	Do many of the new Ukrainians speak Russian? How does that go down?
Bohdan	I think it used to be more of a problem than it is now. It's one of these things – I'm going to sound really snobby here – but I think for the few of us that are a bit more enlightened and travel to Ukraine a bit more, we're not bothered by it. Personally, I'm not bothered by it.

Here, Bohdan attributes his more relaxed attitudes towards Russian to being more 'enlightened'. He also indicates that the fact he has

travelled to Ukraine more than others has also helped to shape this attitude. This might be understood to mean that he has encountered Ukraine's widespread bilingualism and regional differences in language use, and thus has a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic situation in contemporary Ukraine, influencing his acceptance of the use of Russian by Ukrainians. Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) also expresses a very similar view, that those who have spent more time in Ukraine and visited different parts of the country are more understanding of Russian-speaking Ukrainians.

Interview Extract 5.37

Natasha	I think the people that have travelled more [in Ukraine] are more open-minded about it, whereas the people that have literally been to Ukraine once and it's Kyiv or L'viv – like most of the diaspora community goes to L'viv because they like it there because they speak Ukrainian and they don't speak Russian, whereas they're reluctant to go to Kyiv because people speak Russian in Kyiv as well and they think they're not going to be understood and they think it's going to be more Russian and Soviet over there.

Both Bohdan and Natasha appear to suggest that greater awareness of the linguistic situation in Ukraine today leads to a rejection of the ideology that Ukrainian language and identity are inextricably linked, and so to an acceptance of Russian-speaking Ukrainians.

To summarize, the interviews analysed here reveal widely differing, and indeed sometimes diametrically opposed attitudes towards the use and status of Russian in Ukrainian contexts. Halyna (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) – who exhibited the most negative attitude towards Russian – assumes that the Ukrainian language is an integral part of Ukrainian identity, and that using Russian is a betrayal of that identity. This view appears to contrast with the current situation in Ukraine, as although national identity has increased in saliency since the outbreak of conflict in 2014, the use of Ukrainian has not increased, which suggests that on the whole language use is not considered as crucial a component of Ukrainian identity in contemporary Ukraine (Kulyk 2016a, b). Myroslava and Dmytro (both first-wave, second-generation, 36-55) are less hostile to Russian, but assert that Ukrainian needs to be promoted ahead of Russian in Ukraine for nation-building processes. This view seems to most closely resemble that held by Ukrainian-speakers in Ukraine with regards to language policy, as they 'would like to see their language dominant in all domains but are ready to put up with the widespread use of Russian provided that their own right to use Ukrainian is not questioned and the titular language retains the priority status' (Kulyk 2013b: 280). Bohdan and Natasha (both first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), by contrast, are wholly accepting of Russian in Ukrainian contexts, and attributed their greater acceptance, compared to others in their community, to having a more informed understanding of

linguistic variation in contemporary Ukraine. To them, language does not define national or even cultural loyalty or identity, and thus appears to more closely mirror attitudes towards the relationship between language use and Ukrainian identity in contemporary Ukraine (Kulyk 2016a, b)

5.4 Ukrainian, Language, and Diasporic Identity

5.4.1 The Relationship between Language and Identity

The previous section has already raised the question of the relationship between language and identity, both in the Ukrainian community in the UK and in Ukraine itself. In this section, I present quantitative data obtained from questionnaire items that specifically probed this relationship in the context of the Ukrainian community in the UK. Respondents were asked to respond to the following four statements by disclosing how strongly they agreed with each statement on a 5-point Likert Scale (1 ‘strongly agree’ – 5 ‘strongly disagree’):

- *‘The Ukrainian language is an important part of my identity’;*
- *‘The English language is an important part of my identity’;*
- *‘The Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK’;*

- *'Knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture'*
  (Question 24)

Means were calculated from the data obtained from respondents; these are presented in Table 5.3. Overall, respondents reported relatively strong agreement to the statement 'the Ukrainian language is an important part of my identity' (1.4), with UK-born respondents (1.3) agreeing slightly more strongly than Ukraine-born respondents (1.5), though not significantly so. A slightly lower mean (1.9) was identified for the statement 'the English language is an important part of my identity', but still indicated agreement. Perhaps unsurprisingly, UK-born respondents reported significantly ($p \leq 0.001$) stronger levels of agreement (1.7) than Ukraine-born respondents (2.3). Respondents also reported relatively strong levels of agreement with the remaining two statements. A mean of 1.6 was obtained for the statement 'knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture', and 1.8 for 'the Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK'.

There were no significant differences between the means for the three age cohorts of UK-born respondents. However, it is worth noting that compared to the two younger age groups, respondents aged 56+ showed a slightly higher level of agreement with the statement about the importance of Ukrainian to their identity, and

slightly lower agreement with the statement about the importance of English to their identity (see Table 5.3). Similarly, older UK-born respondents also agreed slightly more strongly than the two younger groups of UK-born respondents that 'the Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK' and that 'knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture'. While the individual differences are not significant, the pattern of results hints at what we might expect, given patterns of language shift (Chapter 4): that identification with the Ukrainian language is decreasing slightly across generations within the first wave.

In response to the statement that 'the Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK', similar means were obtained for each birth country group: UK-born 1.6 and Ukraine-born 1.5. A slightly larger – albeit not statistically significant – difference was observed between these groups' strength of agreement that 'knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture' – UK-born (1.6) and Ukraine-born (2.1).

The questionnaire item 'How would you describe your languages?' (Question 14) was already discussed in part in Chapter 4; here I analyse responses to the invitation to indicate which of their languages they would describe as 'a part of who I am', which was intended to elicit the language(s) respondents considered part of their identity. As with the elements of the question analysed in the previous

chapter, respondents were able to list as many languages that they wished. In total, 91.9% (n=114) of respondents described Ukrainian as ‘a part of who I am’, made up of 50.8% (n=63) who cited it as the only language, and a further 41.1% (n=51) who gave it as one of two or more languages (see Table 5.4). By contrast, only very few respondents described either only English (5.7%, n=7) or only Russian (2.4%, n=3) in this way. Similar percentages of respondents in each birth country group cited Ukrainian: 51.9% (n=41) of UK-born and 48.9% (n=22) of Ukraine-born respondents listed only Ukrainian, and a further 41.8% (n=33) of UK-born and 40.0% (n=18) of Ukraine-born respondents listed it as one of two or more languages they would describe as ‘a part of who I am’. Although only small numbers of respondents in each group cited only English, a significantly higher percentage of UK-born respondents listed English as one of two or more languages they would describe as ‘a part of who I am’ ($p \leq 0.05$; see Table 5.4). This indicates that UK-born respondents are more likely to consider English a part of their identity than Ukraine-born respondents.

Although no statistically significant differences were identified between the three age groups of UK-born respondents, it is perhaps worth noting that none of the respondents in the youngest age group (aged 16-35) described only English as ‘a part of who I am’. A slightly higher percentage of respondents in this group (57.9%, n=11) cited only Ukrainian in response to this question than in the two older age

categories (see Table 5.4). The difference is not significant, but the very fact that result is not lower is itself striking, given that the data presented in Chapter 4 suggesting that language shift is taking place among UK-born respondents. These data indicate that for this younger group of respondents, Ukrainian plays more of a symbolic – as opposed to instrumental – role in the formation of identity, but is nevertheless considered part of the identity of this group of respondents.

Table 5.3: Responses to questionnaire item:
Please state how strongly you agree with the following statements: Language and identity statements
(1.0 'Strongly Agree' – 5.0 'Strongly Disagree')

	The Ukrainian language is an important part of my identity			**The English language is an important part of my identity**			**The Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK**			**Knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture**		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	136	1.4	0.8	135	1.9	0.9	137	1.8	1.1	137	1.6	0.9
Birth Country Groups (All Ages)												
Ukraine	54	1.5	1	54	2.3***	1	54	2.1	1.4	54	1.5	0.9
UK	82	1.3	0.6	81	1.7***	0.8	83	1.6	0.9	83	1.6	0.9
UK-Born Age Cohorts												
16-35	19	1.4	0.8	19	1.7	0.8	19	1.8	1	19	1.9	0.9
36-55	33	1.4	0.7	33	1.7	0.9	33	1.8	1	33	1.6	0.9
56+	30	1.1	0.4	29	1.8	0.9	31	1.4	0.7	31	1.5	0.8

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 5.4: Responses to questionnaire item:
How would you describe your languages? 'A part of who I am'.
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	All Respondents	Birth Country Groups (All Ages)		UK-Born Age Cohorts		
		Ukraine	UK	16-35	36-55	56+
A part of who I am (n=124)						
Ukrainian Only	50.8 (63)	48.9 (22)	51.9 (41)	57.9 (11)	51.6 (16)	48.3 (14)
Ukrainian + Other(s)	41.1 (51)	40.0 (18)	41.8 (33)	42.1 (8)	38.7 (12)	44.8 (13)
English Only	5.7 (7)	4.4 (2)	6.3 (5)	0.0 (0)	9.7 (3)	6.9 (2)
English + Other(s)	35.5 (44)	26.7 (12)*	40.5 (32)*	42.1 (8)	38.7 (12)	41.4 (12)
English + Ukrainian	33.1 (41)	22.2 (1)*	39.2 (31)*	42.1 (8)	35.5 (11)	41.4 (12)
Russian Only	2.4 (3)	6.7 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)
Russian + Other(s)	5.7 (7)	15.6 (7)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

5.4.2 Reflections on Identity

While the questionnaire did not give scope for comments on identity without reference to language, some interviewees reflected on identity in a more general sense, and not just the relationship between language and identity. Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) discussed his identity in quite an absolute, essentialised manner, and identified only as Ukrainian:

Interview Extract 5.38

Taras	My name's Taras Bondarenko, obviously by the name I'm Ukrainian.

Interview Extract 5.39

Taras	I've got Ukrainian blood. Both my parents are Ukrainian, so to me that's important because the way my parents have brought us up with the church, the community, and everything else. It's important we carry on that, we can't change it. I can change my name by deed poll, but I can't change my feelings, I can't change how I view Ukrainianism.

In Interview Extract 5.38, Taras identifies himself as Ukrainian, and only Ukrainian in an absolute – as opposed to hybrid or plural – manner in stating that his name indexes his Ukrainian identity. In Interview Extract 5.39 – part of which was also discussed above in Section 5.2 – Taras declares that he has 'Ukrainian blood' and refers to community members in similarly absolute terms – 'foreigners',

‘Ukrainians’ – both of which are, in his opinion, defining features that cannot be changed (‘we can’t change it’).

Similarly, in Interview Extract 5.40 Halyna (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), discussed how she primarily identifies as Ukrainian, prioritising this above any other potential identity positionings she could adopt:

Interview Extract 5.40

Halyna	I feel more Ukrainian than British, although I am really grateful for the upbringing I’ve had here and the life I’ve had here, but I think, in my heart, yes, I’m Ukrainian first.

Although Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), also does not identify as British to any extent – arguably influenced by his father being Canadian, in addition to his Ukrainian heritage – he discussed the various ways in which he identifies. In Interview Extract 5.41, he described how despite an affinity with the parts of Britain he has lived in, so that to an outsider he would probably appear British, he does not necessarily identify as British. This is despite the fact that he declares that in some respects he is ‘probably as British as anyone that I know’, which suggests that he is perhaps slightly reluctant to adopt this label. Rather, he considers having Canadian, European, and Ukrainian parts of his identity; thus, he differs from Taras and Halyna in that he considers his identity more hybrid and plural.

Interview Extract 5.41

Bohdan	I feel more Canadian than I do British, I don't know what it is. I have a very strong affinity to where I live now and my hometown, and I feel European, but I don't particularly feel especially British. I'd say in terms of my general identity, I'd say it's more of a European – with obviously heavily swayed towards Ukrainian. I'm also – it's odd – because I've not been around my Canadian family to have as much of an upbringing, but I certainly feel a lot more Canadian than I do British. But, it's really odd because I have these traits, but then I'm sort of British in sort of my music taste, my general – the way I dress and talk, the way I – maybe not the way I behave, but I mean in the sense that culturally I'm probably as British as anyone that I know.

Olena (second-wave, 36-55) is more explicit in her discussion of identity as hybrid: she discussed her daughter's hybrid identity, and the way in which she would seamlessly negotiate and move between different parts of her identity with ease. In Interview Extract 5.42, Olena expresses her admiration for the way in which her daughter fluidly adopts different identity positions – Ukrainian, English, and Japanese (her daughter's birth country). Olena describes her daughter as being 'three in one' – a statement which aptly captures the hybrid nature of her identity.

Interview Extract 5.42

Olena	I think children are amazing, so because she [her daughter] was born in Japan she already has this strong connection with Japan and she realises that this is an important part of who she is. So, you know, for me as an adult I find it sometimes difficult to talk about identity, where I belong at this moment in life, but for her it's just so easy. I find she probably has three identity hats, and she just changes them whenever she needs one of them, so talking about 'yes, I'm Ukrainian', 'I live in England now, I go to English school, so I'm English', that's so natural [to her], and because she was born in Japan, she's also Japanese. She's three in one!

Although Olena attributes her daughter's comfortably fluid identity to her age, Dmytro (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), also describes how he considers his identity to be comprised of two equally important parts, a Ukrainian part, and a British part. In Interview Extract 5.43, Dmytro states that he considers having a multiple – as opposed to singular – identity an asset as it has broadened his mind and granted him access to two cultures.

Interview Extract 5.43

Dmytro	There's this kind of Ukrainian part of me that becomes Ukrainian when I'm with Ukrainians, and then there's this English part of me that is English, British, Scottish, or whatever, when I'm with people from this country. So there is a dual personality about it – I don't know about

> others, but I do have – or I consider to have – two sides to my personality and both are equally important. Neither of them is dominant. […] When I was a small boy and I mean obviously with a foreign surname I'd get a lot of hassle from some kids, racist families that lived round about us, and my dad used to say 'well you should laugh at them because they're only one person and you're two'. He meant you have access to two cultures, So you see life from both sides, from both cultures, and it really is an excellent coordination, and it helps me appreciate what I have in my life.

Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) also considers the hybrid identity that can come with being a member of the Ukrainian diaspora community to be advantageous and life-enhancing in Interview Extract 5.44, where she recalls a talk that she once gave to members of the Ukrainian community in the US. However, in slight contrast to Olena and Dmytro – who conceive of hybrid identities as one whole comprising multiple parts – Myroslava considers both identities as being whole. Her declaration 'don't be half and half, get 200 per cent out of life' emphasises her opinion that not identifying in absolute, singular terms is life-enhancing.

Interview Extract 5.44

Myroslava	So there was a sort of 'who are you?' thing, so I said to people 'if you're asked, say you're called Kravchuk or Malinovskiy or something like that and people say to you 'oh, what nationality are you?' what do you answer?' […]

> some said ‘oh, I don’t know, I’d say half and half’, and I said ‘well, fair point, but why be half?’. I said ‘I was born in Britain, I have had every ounce out of the English world, I’m 100% British, I carry a British passport. I am Ukrainian, and I’ve had 100% out of my Ukrainian life because of the way I was brought up, the way I brought my children up, and the way I wish to continue’. So I said ‘I’m 100% British, 100% Ukrainian. Don’t be half and half – get 200% out of life’. I said ‘the person you’re sitting next to in your American school is not even offered this opportunity, so why would you throw away half of each? Be 200%’. And that is what being Ukrainian gives you, you have so much more to do.

The data presented in this section have explored the different ways in which community members identify as Ukrainian; some in more singular, absolute terms, and others in more flexible, hybrid ways, and even, in the case of Myroslava, exhibiting an almost ideological commitment to the value of a hybrid identity, expressed in her mathematically impossible, but symbolic, encouragement to have ‘200 per cent’ of identity, and thus get ‘200 per cent’ out of life.

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has explored the language attitudes of community members, the language ideologies underpinning these attitudes, and the perceived relationship between language and identity in the Ukrainian community in the UK.

Surprisingly, given the evidence of language shift presented in Chapter 4, the majority of questionnaire respondents reported that they felt confident that Ukrainian would continue to be used in the UK in the future, and attitudes towards its maintenance were generally positive. Even the younger UK-born respondents, those who report using Ukrainian comparatively less often (see Chapter 4), appear no less confident than others about the continued maintenance of the language in the UK.

The qualitative data presented also uncovered community members' positive attitudes towards the maintenance of Ukrainian. Interviewees discussed how they considered the maintenance of Ukrainian important for the maintenance of Ukrainian identity, in some cases – especially among those with some relevant university education – underpinned by a belief in the advantages of bilingualism of any kind as a reason to transmit and maintain Ukrainian. These reasons for the importance of language maintenance accord with those identified in other studies exploring the maintenance of heritage/community languages such as that on Eastern Europeans in the US (Nesteruk 2010), Koreans in Canada (Park and Sarkar 2007), and Chinese in the US (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009). Those who expressed more ambivalent attitudes towards the maintenance of Ukrainian felt that knowledge of the heritage/community language was not crucial for participation in the community, which by association suggested that they did not consider Ukrainian to be important for

Ukrainian (diasporic) identity. This appears somewhat at odds with the idea held by other members of the community that language maintenance and the maintenance of Ukrainian culture and identity are closely related.

Attitudes towards different varieties of Ukrainian as well as of the use of Russian within the community are very varied, and to some extent at odds with each other. Negative attitudes towards Contemporary Ukrainian, especially among the older interviewees, appear to be influenced by an ideology of linguistic purism, as informants took issue with the Russian influences on Ukrainian. By contrast such respondents seemingly, by association, considered Diaspora Ukrainian a purer – thus potentially superior – variety of Ukrainian. Meanwhile, respondents who were more positive towards Contemporary Ukrainian simultaneously exhibited quite negative attitudes towards Diaspora Ukrainian. Generally younger, these informants perceived Contemporary Ukrainian to have greater utility and relevance, compared to Diaspora Ukrainian, which they did not consider a modern variety of Ukrainian suitable for use in Ukraine. Attitudes to Russian were very different with the community. Negative attitudes towards Russian appear to be linked to an underlying ideology that language use indexes identity, and indeed loyalty to a state, so that Ukrainians should speak Ukrainian and not Russian. Those who were more accepting of the use of Russian are younger, more familiar with contemporary Ukraine, and thus equipped to

challenge this ideology, in the light of their own experience of Ukraine, where it is possible to be Ukrainian but to be Russian-speaking and unable to speak Ukrainian; nevertheless they accept that promotion of Ukrainian over Russian as part of nation-building.

Despite the clear evidence that Ukrainian is not used especially often by community members in a variety of domains, Ukrainian is nevertheless considered an important part of Ukrainian identity by some members of the community. Given the evidence that Ukrainian is in fact little used in community situations, and decreasingly, so this finding must be taken as an indication that would therefore suggest that Ukrainian language is imagined as having has a symbolic – as opposed to communicative – function within the community.

Having explored language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and the relationship between language and identity in the Ukrainian community through self-reported data, the next chapter examines these phenomena through the lens of ethnographic observation in a Ukrainian complementary school.

6 Language Practices, Ideologies, and Identity in a Ukrainian Complementary School

6.1 Introduction

This chapter (like Chapters 4 and 5) explores language practices, language attitudes and ideologies, and the relationship between language and identity. However, to complement the analysis of the self-reported data presented in the previous two chapters, this chapter presents and analyses data obtained through ethnographic observations at a Ukrainian complementary school. It helps address the following research questions, all with a particular focus on the complementary school context:

> 1b) Which languages do Ukrainian community members use in different domains? (In this case, particularly in the complementary school environment).
>
> 2b) What are community members' attitudes towards the different languages and linguistic varieties present in Ukraine and the Ukrainian community?
>
> 3) What role does the Ukrainian language play in the formation of Ukrainian identity in the Ukrainian community in the UK?

After a brief overview of the research site and the data collection process (below), the following sections present the data collected over the course of the academic year spent observing lessons at the Ukrainian complementary school. Section 6.2 explores the

ways in which Ukrainian identity – here, the heritage identity for the pupils – is developed and promoted in the Ukrainian complementary school. Section 6.3 examines the linguistic practices of both students and teachers and looks at the different ways individuals' linguistic resources are employed in the classroom. In Section 6.4, the focus turns to language attitudes and ideologies; attitudes towards Russian are explored, as are ideologies of language use observed during lessons. Section 6.5 summarises and concludes the chapter.

As already described in Chapter 3, linguistic ethnographic observations were conducted for one academic year (September 2016 – May 2017) at a Ukrainian complementary school. Lessons took place between 09:30 and 12:30 on Saturday mornings, and 19 weeks of lessons were observed. The school comprised a nursery and two classes, Class 1 and Class 2, which were organised by age. Observations were conducted in both classes; in total, eight observations were conducted in Class 1, and eleven in Class 2. Class 1 comprised five students aged approximately five to seven years old and was taught by Tetiana; all but one are the children of second-wave migrants; Class 2 comprised seven students aged eight to ten years old and was taught by Olena; five of the seven are children of second-wave migrants. Both Tetiana and Olena are second-wave Ukrainians; the backgrounds

of the pupils are summarized in Table 6.1, and are referred to where relevant in the discussion below.[28]

Table 6.1: Complementary School Student Details

Class 1 (Tetiana's Class), aged 5-7	
Student Name	**Background**
Inna	1st wave, 3rd generation; both parents 2nd generation.
Anastasiia	Olena's daughter; 2nd wave, 2nd generation; both parents 2nd wave.
Larysa	2nd wave, 2nd generation; both parents 2nd wave.
Nataliia	2nd wave, 2nd generation; father 2nd wave; mother Polish.
Vitalii	Father 2nd wave; mother 1st wave, 2nd generation.
Class 2 (Olena's Class), aged 8-10	
Student Name	**Background**
Roman	Inna's older brother; 1st wave, 3rd generation.
Kateryna	Larysa's older sister; 2nd wave, 2nd generation.
Taras	Vitalii's older brother; father 2nd wave; mother 1st wave, 2nd generation.
Petro	Mother 2nd wave; father British.
Maksym	Petro's older brother; mother 2nd wave; father British.
Iuliia	2nd wave, 2nd generation; parents 2nd wave.
Anton	1st wave, 3rd generation; parents 1st wave, 2nd generation.

6.2 The Promotion of Ukrainian Identity in the Complementary School

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Ukrainian complementary school in which the observations were conducted was held in a Ukrainian

[28] Both teachers were relatively new to teaching in the Ukrainian complementary school; Tetiana had taught at the school over the course of the previous academic year, and Olena started teaching there the same week I conducted my first observation.

community centre. Upstairs in the community centre, three rooms were used exclusively for Ukrainian School on a Saturday and were not used at any other point in the week. As described below, in both classrooms in which lessons were observed, through decorations on the walls, and other items and teaching materials employed by both teachers, Ukrainian identity was frequently explicitly indexed, and thus it appears that in addition to teaching the Ukrainian language to the students, the school also aims to maintain, promote and develop Ukrainian identity. A connection between language maintenance and promoting Ukrainian identity mirrors the connection that was made by some informants in the data presented in Chapter 5.

Such a link between the teaching of the heritage/community language and the development and promotion of the heritage culture and identity has also been observed in other complementary schools in the UK. For example, in Gujarati schools in Leicester, Creese et al. (2006: 25) found that the 'heritage identity' was 'institutionally developed', and observed this identity position being promoted through the use of various texts and classroom materials employed by teachers. Subsequent research conducted on Gujarati, Bangladeshi, Turkish, and Chinese schools in the UK likewise found that the heritage identity was promoted: 'it is clear that while the main activity is language teaching, the teaching of affiliation to the homeland is one of the motivating principles of the schools' (Blackledge and Creese 2009: 471). Research conducted on parents' and teachers'

perceptions of the aims and functions of Chinese complementary schools also found that such institutions were valued for their promotion of Chinese identity as well as the teaching of the heritage/community language (Archer, Francis and Mau 2010; Francis, Archer and Mau 2010b).

In the Ukrainian complementary school, one way in which Ukrainian identity was indexed was through the various posters and decorations adorning the walls of both classrooms. In Tetiana's classroom (Class 1), posters such as the Ukrainian alphabet and a map of Ukraine were on the walls, alongside a poster bearing the words *Україна – моя Батьківщина* ('Ukraine – my homeland'). In Olena's classroom (Class 2), although the walls were barer, a poster in blue and yellow – the colours of the flag of Ukraine - bore the words *Бог і Батьківщина* ('God and the homeland'). In both cases, the reference to Ukraine as the homeland indexes the students' heritage, but also perhaps promotes a relatively singular, fixed notion of identity, leaving little room for any more flexible, hybrid notions of identity. It should also be noted that these posters appeared to be relatively old-fashioned, and had seemingly been on the walls of the classroom for some time, however, the fact that they had not been taken down or removed would suggest that in parts of the Ukrainian community, at least, there is also a religious aspect of Ukrainian identity – something which was not explored in any great depth in this study.

Additionally, throughout the course of the year, efforts were made to develop a school identity; for example, towards the end of the academic year, the students were given new folders and bags, which, in addition to creating a school identity, also indexed and promoted Ukrainian identity:

Fieldnote Extract 6.1 (Class 2)

> Olena enters the classroom and starts talking to the students in English and tells them 'I've got something cool for you'. She goes into her bag and gets a pile of folders out of it. The students are given a folder in a colour of their choice, followed by an insert that has their name written on it in Ukrainian and is decorated in Ukrainian-style patterns.

Fieldnote Extract 6.2 (Class 2)

> Olena starts the lesson by showing the students the new school bags they are going to get. The bags are blue rucksacks with a new yellow motif on it that has been designed for the school.

First, in the case of the folders the sense of a Ukrainian identity – in addition to a school identity – is indexed and promoted through the use of the Cyrillic script, and the Ukrainian embroidery pattern – ***вишивка*** (vyshyvka) – on them (see Figure 6.1). Second, the colours of the bags – yellow and blue – are the colours of the Ukrainian flag and thus also index Ukrainian identity.

Figure 6.1: A typical example of Ukrainian embroidery, ***вишивка***



Teaching materials employed by both teachers also indexed, and thus sought to transmit, Ukrainian identity during the lessons. For example, Olena would often refer to Ukrainian folk stories, or use them as teaching materials. (See Figure 6.2 for the worksheet referred to in Fieldnote Extract 6.4):

Fieldnote Extract 6.3 (Class 2)

> The students become quite competitive whilst they are going through the list of animal vocabulary, and always want to be the first to provide the correct answer. As they work through the list, Olena asks the students questions about the Ukrainian words For example, when they encounter the word **коза** <koza> [goat] on the list, she asks whether they are familiar with the folk story **коза-дереза** <koza-dereza> [The Bully Goat].

Fieldnote Extract 6.4 (Class 2)

> Olena stands up and signals the start of the next part of the lesson in Ukrainian '**так, добре** <tak, dobre> [yes, good]**'**. She proceeds to hand the students a new worksheet which has a Ukrainian folk story, **ворона та рак** <vorona ta rak> [the crow and the crayfish] printed on it.

As well as folk stories, other classroom activities and teaching materials sought to teach the students about Ukraine, for example through map jigsaws and reading descriptions of places of interest:

Fieldnote Extract 6.5 (Class 2)

> Olena places a jigsaw on the table. The jigsaw is a relatively detailed map of Ukraine and everything on it is written in Ukrainian. Olena tells the students in English that the puzzle is their 'warm up', and they start to work out how to complete it, inspecting various pieces of it.

Fieldnote Extract 6.6 (Class 1)

> The lesson begins with Tetiana giving the students a jigsaw of a map of Ukraine. The students work together to complete it, and Tetiana helps them whilst they do this, talking to them in both Ukrainian and English.

Fieldnote Extract 6.7 (Class 1)

> The page that Tetiana has instructed the students to turn to features a text about Kyiv. Before they start to read it as a class, Tetiana asks the students to tell her what they know about Kyiv.

Such evidence from the Ukrainian school of efforts to create an affiliation to the homeland, its religion, folk culture, as well as its national colours and geography, corroborates existing findings from other complementary schools in the UK that such institutions do not merely function as sites for the teaching of the heritage/community language, but also as spaces for the development and/or promotion of a heritage identity (Blackledge and Creese 2009). This context is relevant, too, to understanding the linguistic practices and attitudes in the school, to which we now turn.

Figure 6.2: Worksheet referred to in Fieldnote Extract 6.4

Name: _____

ВОРОНА ТА РАК

УКРАЇНСЬКА НАРОДНА КАЗКА

рак - crayfish
печера - cave
дзьоб - beak
краще взятись – get a better grip
непереливки – in trouble
цупко - firmly
пускатись на хитрощі – go for tricks
розтуляти – open
моторна - lively
переважила – be better
стішитись – get pleased
піддурити - outsmart
облесливий - flattering
поблизу – nearby



Якось-то виліз на землю рак із своєї печери, а ворона поблизу стрибала, побачила та й ухопила його. Вхопила, держить у дзьобові міцно та й думає, як би то за нього краще взятися, щоб із'їсти. Бачить рак, що непереливки, та й пустився на хитрощі. Каже вороні:

– Ой, вороно, вороно! Знав я твого батька – що ж то за Хороший птах був! Розумний який, Боже!

– Угу, – каже ворона, а сама так цупко держить рака, не розтуляє дзьоба ні трішки.

– Ой, вороно, вороно! – промовляє знову рак. – Знав я й твою матір, і що ж то за мила та моторна птаха була – куди іншим воронам до неї!

– Угу! – знову обережно проказує ворона.

– Ой, вороно, вороно! – таки одно править рак, – знав я й братів твоїх та сестер; що ж то за гарні та вдатні були! Сказано – хорошого роду!

– Угу! – все однаково відмовляє ворона.

– Але ж, – каже рак, – ти всіх їх переважила: такої розумної, такої прехорошої, такої премилої птахи і в світі нема! Правда ж?

Від тих слів ворона так стішилася, що забула за все та й гукнула:

– Еге!

Мовивши тее, ворона і розщепила рота; рак тоді – плюсь у воду! Тільки його й бачила ворона! Отак-то піддурив рак ворону, а чим: облесливим словом! Велику силу має воно…

1. *Вставте пропущені прикметники. Fill in the blanks with the following adjectives:*
   гарні хороший розумної моторна вдатні
   мила прехорошої розумний премилої
2. *Випишіть персонажів казки. Write down the main characters. Підберіть до кожного прикметник. Pick an adjective for each character.*

_____
_____
_____
_____

6.3 Language Practices in the Ukrainian Complementary School

The observational data on the linguistic practices of complementary school participants offer an insight into the 'messiness of actual usage' of language (Heller 2007: 25), alongside the self-reported data analysed in the previous chapters. Despite the 'messiness', it was possible to identify some patterns and tendencies in the linguistic practices of both the teachers and students, although the practices of teachers and students differ.

Overall, in both classes, the students were observed predominantly using English to communicate, both with each other and with their teacher, as has also been observed in other research conducted on complementary schools in the UK (Arthur 2003; Martin et al. 2006; Ferguson 2013). Students – even those with higher proficiency levels in Ukrainian (mostly second-wave students) – seldom used Ukrainian without being prompted by the teacher. Both teachers (both of whom are second-wave Ukrainians) used Ukrainian more frequently than the students: Olena (Class 2) had a tendency to use Ukrainian alongside English, whereas Tetiana (Class 1) appeared to try to use Ukrainian as much and English as little as possible whilst communicating with the students. In addition to English and Ukrainian, both classes contained students from the second wave with knowledge of Russian: in Tetiana's class Anastasiia and Larysa, and in Olena's class Kateryna; and the use of Russian was also occasionally witnessed during observations.

Within these broad trends regarding the use of English, Ukrainian, and sometimes Russian, in the classroom, the following sections analyse more closely the ways in which both teachers and students employed different resources from their multilingual repertoires to communicate in the classroom, and also for identity work. First, Section 6.3.1 explores how teachers and students are creative with their linguistic resources and cases in which Ukrainian is employed in a somewhat symbolic manner. Section 6.3.2 examines reciprocal and non-reciprocal language practices in the classroom, and Section 6.3.3 teachers' multilingual practices and strategies to explain activities and provide instruction to the students.

6.3.1 Linguistic Creativity and the Symbolic Use of Ukrainian

Throughout the observations, teachers and students employed their communicative resources creatively in order to negotiate and construct various classroom activities. Additionally, despite English being the language predominantly used by students, there were also instances in which they were observed employing Ukrainian within predominantly English utterances for seemingly symbolic purposes, which could be considered a way in which the students – through the adoption of such linguistic resources – constructed and indexed their Ukrainian identity. The employment of such 'flexible' bilingual, or translanguaging, practices, in the classroom thus provided a means through which Ukrainian was taught and learnt, and also allowed for

identity to be performed and therefore discursively constructed through language. The use of such flexible linguistic practices mirror those observed by Creese and Blackledge (2010: 112) who considered complementary school teachers and pupils employing such practices 'for identity performance as well as the business of language learning and teaching'.

In Olena's Class (Class 2), much attention was paid to learning vocabulary. One way in which this was done was through activities that resembled 'bilingual label quests': the teacher provided a word in one language (typically, the heritage/community language) and required the students to provide feedback (a translation) in English (Martin et al. 2006: 11; Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1200). During such exercises, both Olena and the students employed resources from their linguistic repertoires playfully and creatively, albeit in slightly different ways. For example, as shown in Fieldnote Extract 6.8, Olena tries to help the student deduce the English translation of a given vocabulary item, and employs various communicative resources to do this:

Fieldnote Extract 6.8 (Class 2)

> Olena continues to help students with any unfamiliar words that are written on the sheet and gives them various clues. One word that they have an issue with is **баклажан** <baklazhan> [aubergine], and they spend some time trying to work out what it means. Olena gives them a clue in English, 'it's a vegetable'.
>
> Olena provides a similar clue when trying to get the students to work out the meaning of another word, 'it's

a **ягода** <iahoda> [berry]'. Throughout this task, Olena uses English and Ukrainian words, as well as gestures, to help the students identify the meaning of the words on the sheet.

Olena helps the students identify the fruit and vegetable vocabulary they are learning by employing various communicative resources: she provides one clue in English, another combining English and Ukrainian, and also uses different gestures to help the students work out the translation. In another instance, Olena tries to develop the students' linguistic knowledge and awareness to help them translate another word from Ukrainian to English:

Fieldnote Extract 6.9 (Class 2)

One student asks Olena what **уважати** <uvazhaty> [to pay attention] means, and she encourages the class to try and work out the meaning themselves and starts giving them both verbal and non-verbal clues to do so. Olena refers to their previous lesson, in which the word **увага** <uvaha> [attention] was mentioned and tells the students that **уважати** <uvazhaty> [to pay attention] is the verb that is related to this noun and prompts them to guess the meaning of this word using this linguistic knowledge. At this moment, the bell to signal the end of school rings, which prompts the students to get ready to leave, even though Olena has not yet set the students their homework. In attempt to get the students' attention, Olena draws on the vocabulary discussion by telling their students 'one more minute of **увага** <uvaha> [attention], please!'.

In addition to providing clues through gesture to help the students deduce the meaning of *уважати* (‘to pay attention’), Olena also helps the students by providing them with the related noun *увага* (‘attention’), which they encountered in the previous lesson. In demonstrating that there is a link between the two items, Olena helps to develop the students’ linguistic awareness. Further, she also provides the students with repeated exposure to these vocabulary items, using *увага* (‘attention’) again when asking the students to pay attention, and thus places further emphasis on and exposure to this word. Thus, in helping the students to familiarise themselves with new vocabulary items, Olena employs various strategies that develop their linguistic knowledge and awareness more generally.

Olena’s students were also creative with new vocabulary items they encountered and often learnt through bilingual label quests. In some cases, the students simply thought that certain words sounded ‘funny’, and discussed them whilst linking them back to English words that they thought were similar-sounding, as in Fieldnote Extract 6.10 and Fieldnote Extract 6.11:

Fieldnote Extract 6.10 (Class 2)

> Once the students have worked through the vocabulary list, Olena starts asking them to translate various words from it from English into Ukrainian. When they are asked to translate ‘parrot’ into Ukrainian, they work out that the word they are looking for is **папуга** <papuha> [parrot]. They find this

word quite amusing, and one student keeps saying 'papaya' instead, which makes them all laugh.

Fieldnote Extract 6.11 (Class 2)

The final word on the list is **вудка** <vudka> [fishing rod], which none of the students know. The students ask Olena what it means, and whilst doing this realise that **вудка** <vodka> [fishing rod] sounds like [Russian] ***водка*** <vodka>[29] and start to make jokes using both of these words.

Another way in which students were playful with new vocabulary was to employ newly-encountered items within predominantly English utterances whilst talking to their classmates. An example of this is provided in the following extract, when a student uses newly-learnt ***свиня*** ('pig') to jokingly insult a classmate:

Fieldnote Extract 6.12 (Class 2)

At one point while the students are chatting and messing around a little, one of the boys tells the other, 'you're a pest, you're a **свиня** <svynia> [pig]'.

Similarly, students in both classes were observed employing Ukrainian in seemingly symbolic ways. Despite their linguistic practices being dominated by the use of English, and some students only possessing relatively low levels of proficiency in Ukrainian, students nevertheless employed some Ukrainian – often the sporadic

[29] The Ukrainian word for 'vodka' is 'горілка'; however, English 'vodka' is a cognate of Russian '***водка***', which perhaps explains why the students made this association.

use of single words – to discursively index and construct their Ukrainian identity. In many respects, such practices mirror those discussed in the interview conducted with Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+), when he reported on his language use with his young granddaughter and indicated that he employs Ukrainian in a similar way to this (see Chapter 4).

Fieldnote Extract 6.13 (Class 2)

> The students are in the classroom before Olena, and as they are getting ready for her to arrive and the class to begin, they notice that there is a Monopoly set on the table. One student picks up some of the Monopoly money, waves them around, and tells his classmates that he has some **гривня** <hryvnia> [Ukrainian currency].

Fieldnote Extract 6.14 (Class 2)

> Olena hands the students another sheet with more exercises that involve revising numbers. On the sheet is a menu for '**бабусина кухня**' <babusyna kukhnia> [Grandmother's Kitchen]'. As Olena passes these sheets to the students, Kateryna [second-wave] jokes to her that it is a menu for '**пузата хата** <puzata khata> [a well-known Ukrainian restaurant chain]'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.15 (Class 1)

> As the students get on with writing in their books, they chat to each other about their stationery, 'I'm going to use this pencil', 'I got this pencil from **Україна** <Ukraina> [Ukraine]', and complain about having to write in Ukrainian 'I'm really bad at writing in **українська** <Ukrains'ka> [Ukrainian]**'**.

In the first two extracts (Fieldnote Extract 6.13 and Fieldnote extract 6.14), the students (one first-wave, one second-wave) use Ukrainian words when referring to Ukraine-specific phenomena, the currency and a restaurant chain (see Figure 6.3). In the third extract (Fieldnote Extract 6.15), the students (of mixed backgrounds) use the Ukrainian words for ‘Ukraine’ and ‘Ukrainian’ when talking to one another. In all three cases, the students’ use of Ukrainian appears symbolic, but nevertheless provides a way in which students discursively construct (or perform) Ukrainian identity through the (limited) resources within their linguistic repertoires.

As previously mentioned, such language use has been observed in other complementary school classrooms in the UK, and has been considered as flexible bilingual practice, or translanguaging – accessing and employing a range of resources from their linguistic repertoires to create meaning (Blackledge and Creese 2010b: 16); see also Blackledge and Creese (2010b); Creese and Blackledge (2010, 2015). The language practices presented above are examples of teachers and students translanguaging in the Ukrainian complementary school classroom. Such language practices, particularly those in which the students use Ukrainian, could also be considered as examples of ‘self-styling’ (Canagarajah 2012). Self-styling refers to the way in which the students strategically appropriate ‘the language tokens associated with their in-group for in-group

identity work, even though they are not proficient in the heritage language' (Canagarajah 2012: 126). Thus, self-styling arguably views such practices as less flexible than translanguaging, in that the speaker employs resources strategically. However, both translanguaging and self-styling are similar in approach in that they consider language a set of 'mobile resources' (Blommaert 2010: 43), and identity as constructed and performed through language, thus, adopt a more 'fluid' approach to language and identity (Baxter 2016; De Fina 2016).

Thus, whether considered translanguaging, self-styling, or, as I would argue, both, the language practices presented in this section demonstrate how teachers and students in the Ukrainian complementary school negotiate and employ the various resources from their linguistic repertoires both for communicative and identity purposes; these practices aid the teaching and learning of Ukrainian, but also provide a means for students both to construct and perform Ukrainian identity.

Figure 6.3: Worksheet referred to in Fieldnote Extract 6.14



5

МЕНЮ

Перші страви

Борщ український
(буряк, м'ясо, капуста, картопля, морква, цибуля, томатна паста, часник, сметана).

До борщу додають пампушки і поливають часниковим соусом

Борщ зелений
(щавель, сметана, яйце, цибуля)

Суп гороховий

Гарніри

Картопля смажена
Картопля молода
Макарони в соусі

М'ясні страви

Котлета домашня
Ковбаса домашня
Відбивна

Салати

Салат „Смачний"
(курка, гриби, сир, яйце, майонез)

Салат „Олів'є"
(ковбаса варена, картопля, яйце, морква, майонез, огірок, зелений горошок)

Борошняні вироби

Млинці з м'ясом
Млинці з сиром
Вареники з картоплею
Вареники з капустою
Вареники з м'ясом

Напої

Сік томатний
Сік яблучний
Сік апельсиновий
Вода мінеральна
Солодка газована вода

Чай
Кава

„Бабусина кухня"

33

6.3.2 (Non)-Reciprocal Language Practices

Non-reciprocal language practices were nonetheless a common feature of communication between teachers and students in both classrooms. Such linguistic practice, where the teacher initiates in the heritage/community language and the students respond in English, has also been observed in other complementary school settings in the UK (Arthur 2003; Martin et al. 2006; Creese 2007; Creese and Blackledge 2011: 10). In cases where such non-reciprocal interactions took place in the Ukrainian complementary schools, the students had often understood the teachers' use of Ukrainian, but nevertheless responded in English, as in the following extracts:

Fieldnote Extract 6.16 (Class 2)

> One of the boys asks Olena what '**каша** <kasha> [porridge]' means, so she provides them with a translation. She then proceeds to ask the boys (Taras and Roman) in turn, '**любиш кашу?** <liubysh kashu?> [do you like porridge?]', and both respond to her in English despite having understood the questions. She continues to ask them similar questions in Ukrainian containing words on the vocabulary list on the sheet. They both answer all of the questions in English, which is accepted by Olena.

Fieldnote Extract 6.17 (Class 2)

> Olena asks the students '**скільки тобі років?** <skil'ky tobi rokiv?> [how old are you?]', and they all seem to want to respond in English at first. Kateryna [second-wave] is the first to attempt to respond in Ukrainian, after initially answering the question in

English, telling Olena that she is ‘nine and three quarters’, before repeating this in Ukrainian.

Fieldnote Extract 6.18 (Class 1)

Tetiana realises that Nataliia does not have her book and asks her, ‘**де твоя книга?** <de tvoia knyha> [where is your book?]’. Nataliia responds to Tetiana’s question in English, explaining why she does not have her book.

Fieldnote Extract 6.19 (Class 1)

Tetiana starts the lesson by telling the students in Ukrainian that they are going to revise the days of the week and months of the year in Ukrainian. Tetiana asks the students ‘**хто знає який сьогодні день?** <khto znae iakyi s’ohodni den?> [who knows what day it is today?]’. Anastasiia, having understood her question, responds in English, telling her it is Saturday today.

Such non-reciprocal language practices suggest a discrepancy between students’ productive and receptive proficiencies in Ukrainian; the students understand the teacher but are either unable or reluctant to respond in Ukrainian. Although responding in English as opposed to Ukrainian, the students nonetheless demonstrate a receptive knowledge of Ukrainian. Canagarajah (2012: 126) considers such non-reciprocal interactions – in addition to the symbolic use of the heritage/community language – another way in which those with limited knowledge of the heritage/community language can index and

construct their heritage identities, self-styling as Ukrainian in such linguistic exchanges.

Non-reciprocal exchanges were frequently observed in both classrooms, but in Tetiana's classroom (Class 1) there were instances in which students accommodated to Tetiana's use of Ukrainian – something which was not observed at all in Olena's Class (Class 2). In the following extracts from Class 1, the students (both second-wave) reciprocate and use Ukrainian:

Fieldnote Extract 6.20 (Class 1)

> As the lesson resumes after the break, Larysa is sitting in the corner of the classroom on the floor. She doesn't appear to want to join in with the lesson. Tetiana approaches her and asks her in Ukrainian why she is sitting in the corner of the classroom. Larysa responds to her in Ukrainian, telling her that she wants to see her older sister, who is in Olena's class.

Fieldnote Extract 6.21 (Class 1)

> Tetiana greets the students in Ukrainian. Anastasiia starts talking to Tetiana in Ukrainian as she takes her lunchbox out of her bag and decides to show Tetiana the croissants her mother has baked for her. She explains to Tetiana that '**мама спекла**' <mama spekla> [mum has baked these]', and they chat to each other in Ukrainian for a few moments.

These examples of the students conversing in Ukrainian suggest that the students who accommodated to the use of Ukrainian (both of whom are second-wave Ukrainians) – although younger – may have

higher proficiency in Ukrainian than those in Class 2. Thus, proficiency in Ukrainian may be a factor influencing language practices in the classroom. Additionally, the students in Class 1 – as the younger of the two classes – having spent comparably less time in the mainstream education system than the students in Class 2, may be less reluctant to use Ukrainian in an educational setting as they might less strongly associate English with educational contexts. Arthur (2003: 98-99) similarly interpreted the use of English by students attending Somali language and literacy classes as something that 'might well be expected in an educational context which, although 'after school', closely replicates the environment of mainstream schools classrooms, so strongly associated […] with exclusive use of English'. In light of the fact that students in both classes engaged in non-reciprocal interactions, and thus displayed some knowledge of Ukrainian, reluctance to actively employ Ukrainian (or to at least attempt to) may, in my view, result in their predominant use of English in the complementary school classroom.

6.3.3 Bilingual Instruction and Explanation

Both teachers used both English and Ukrainian, either alongside each other or one after the other, to explain and instruct. These linguistic practices can be considered as translanguaging or flexible bilingual practices, similar to those observed in other complementary school classrooms in the UK (Blackledge and Creese 2010b; Creese and

Blackledge 2010, 2011). Viewed as translanguaging, such linguistic practices are understood as speakers negotiating and employing various resources from their linguistic repertoire to communicate, an analytical approach, which 'places the speaker at the heart of the interaction' and considers language an unbounded social resource (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1197). This perspective – rather than, say, a code-switching approach – liberates the analyst from the need to 'explain' non-monolingual practices, which, it is argued, may simply be unmarked and have no further 'meaning' (Bailey 2012). However, I shall argue below that in some of the practices observed, the teachers in the Ukrainian school are not, in fact, adopting flexible and fluid linguistic practices, but instead, are intentionally adopting linguistic practices that incorporate both English and Ukrainian for a range of different purposes,.

Olena and Tetiana certainly were sometimes observed seemingly quite 'naturally' providing explanation and instruction to students using both English and Ukrainian. These practices, as exemplified in the Fieldnote Extracts presented below, could be considered through a translanguaging lens; the teachers negotiate and select resources from their linguistic repertoires to communicate with the students:

Fieldnote Extract 6.22 (Class 2)

> Olena gets her laptop out and introduces the first part of today's lesson in English and Ukrainian, saying 'today we will talk about **прикметники** <prykmetnyky> [adjectives]'. She then proceeds to translate **прикметники** <prykmetnyky> [adjectives]' into English so that the students have all understood what the focus of the lesson will be. In English, Olena then asks the students whether they know what an adjective is, and if they know any Ukrainian adjectives.

Fieldnote Extract 6.23 (Class 2)

> The students return to the classroom after their break and get ready to start the second lesson. Once they have sat down and are ready, Olena starts talking to them in Ukrainian, '**повторимо весь одяг, а тепер**… <povtorymo ves' odiah, a teper…> [we will revise the clothing vocabulary, but now…]', and starts handing out a sheet about possessive pronouns to the students. Olena starts to explain what possessive pronouns are to the students in both English and Ukrainian, and ends this introduction to them in English, summarising 'and that's possessive pronouns'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.24 (Class 1)

> When the students have finished the translation activity (Ukrainian to English), Tetiana asks them in Ukrainian to turn to page fifteen in their textbooks. She then immediately repeats the instruction in English. Vitalii has forgotten his book and tells Tetiana this in English. Tetiana tells him off in English, and then goes on to repeat her initial instruction to turn to page fifteen in Ukrainian.

Fieldnote Extract 6.25 (Class 1)

> There is a word in the text that Tetiana is not sure the students will be familiar with, and she asks them,

‘**мив – що значить?** <myv – shcho znachyt?> [washed – what does it mean?]’. Anastasiia responds by providing an English translation of the word, and then Tetiana proceeds to explain to the class that this word is the past tense of the verb ‘**мити**' <myty> [to wash], and starts telling them in Ukrainian how the past tense of the verb is formed. She explains this to the students in both English and Ukrainian.

At first glance, these linguistic practices could be considered as the teachers flexibly employing resources from their linguistic repertoires, in an unmarked way, thus as translanguaging. However, when considered alongside other instances in which teachers employ both English and Ukrainian to communicate with students, there is evidence that the teachers are making decisions regarding their language practices for pragmatic and practical purposes. For example, in Olena’s class, students were observed responding to instructions that were initially provided in Ukrainian stating that they did not understand what has just been said to them. Consequently, it was necessary for Olena to repeat her instructions in English, but she does so by interspersing the English after each Ukrainian sentence.

Fieldnote Extract 6.26 (Class 2)

Olena tells the students in Ukrainian what the plan for today’s lesson is. Roman has not understood her and asks her in English what they will be doing over the course of the day. Olena repeats what she told them in Ukrainian, but speaks a little more slowly and pauses between each sentence to translate what she

has just said into English to make sure they have all understood her.

Thus, Ukrainian still comes first, but is deliberately juxtaposed with a 'parallel translation' to support the pupils' decoding of the Ukrainian. In Tetiana's class (Class 1), another linguistic practice was sometimes observed which suggests deliberate choices being made between languages, as Tetiana would often provide instructions in both English and Ukrainian, but targeted the use of either language towards different students: some students would usually be addressed in Ukrainian, and others – usually those with lower proficiency in Ukrainian – in English. Such language use is illustrated in Fieldnote Extract 6.27, in which Tetiana uses Ukrainian with Anastasiia, Larysa, and Vitalii (all of whom have at least one second-wave parent), and English with Inna (whose parents are both first-wave, second-generation Ukrainians).

Fieldnote Extract 6.27 (Class 1)

Once the students all have a copy of the book in front of them, Tetiana starts to ask the students in Ukrainian what they remember about the text that they had to read for their homework. She then turns to Inna and asks her a question about the text in English. Inna answers Tetiana's question correctly in English. Tetiana then turns to Vitalii and asks him a question about the text in Ukrainian. She continues asking the students questions, asking Anastasiia, Larysa, and Vitalii questions in Ukrainian, and switching to English when addressing Inna.

Thus, while it might be possible to examine teachers' language practices when providing explanation and instruction to the students combining English and Ukrainian from a flexible bilingual, or translanguaging, perspective, there were also moments observed in both classrooms in which these practices appeared to be employed deliberately by the teachers, in specific and targeted ways. Both teachers appear to use both English and Ukrainian intentionally and for practical purposes; Olena and Tetiana need to use both languages due to their students' varying levels of proficiency in Ukrainian, meaning that instructions provided entirely in Ukrainian are not always necessarily understood by all students. In providing instruction using both languages, the teachers ensure that the students have understood them, but also that the students have still been exposed to Ukrainian, the privileged language in the Ukrainian school. The teachers thus adhere to an ideology which privileges Ukrainian in this context, despite making many accommodations to their pupils' linguistic knowledge. In the next section, I return to the question of the teachers' ideologies about language use and teaching.

6.4 Language Attitudes and Ideologies

This section will now focus on the language attitudes and ideologies observed in the Ukrainian complementary school that underlie the

language practices observed. First, data will be presented that builds on the discussion in Chapter 5 of attitudes towards Russian, providing further evidence of negative attitudes towards Russian in the Ukrainian community in the UK. Second, teachers' ideologies of language use in the classroom will be explored. Here we shall see that, the teachers exhibit an ideology of separate bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2011) and a belief in the maximum use of and exposure to the target language in the classroom.

6.4.1 Student Attitudes towards Russian: The Transmission of an Anti-Russia(n) Ideology?

In Olena's class (Class 2), there were indications that some students held negative attitudes towards both Russia and Russian. The students who were observed displaying such attitudes were often those who had at least one first-wave parent, such as in the following Fieldnote Extracts, in which Taras (one first-wave, one second-wave parent) and Roman (two first-wave parents) are completing a jigsaw puzzle of the map of Ukraine.

Fieldnote Extract 6.28 (Class 2)

> As the students work on completing the puzzle as a group, Roman and Taras continue talking to one another in English about Putin, making comments such as 'Putin dies, we will celebrate'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.29 (Class 2)

> The students start to group the jigsaw pieces by colour, and one of the boys picks one up and reads aloud the word '**київська** <Kyivs'ka> [Kyiv, adj.]' that is written on it. He then remarks in English how this place is 'probably part of Russia or something, they think they own everything'. By now, the students only have one more piece of the puzzle left to complete it, but none of them can find it. Roman uses this as an opportunity to continue some of his earlier narratives relating to Putin and Russia, and in English proclaims, 'Russia has taken part of Ukraine'. He then stands up and walks around the room for a while shouting, 'Putin, hands off Ukraine!', whilst the other students finish the jigsaw and get ready for the next activity.

These extracts, in which Roman and Taras were referencing the current political tensions between Ukraine and Russia, demonstrate a negative attitude towards Russia, particularly the Russian government and President Putin. Such statements suggest that some negative attitudes towards the Russian state are transmitted across generations within the Ukrainian community. (It is striking that these comments come only from the two first-wave migration children in the class, in line with the more hostile attitudes exhibited by older first-wave community members discussed in Chapter 5.) There were also indications that these students also held negative attitudes towards the Russian language:

Fieldnote Extract 6.30 (Class 2)

> As the lesson is about to start, Roman announces to the class in English that he knows a Russian word.

> Kateryna (the daughter of two second-wave Ukrainians who speaks Russian) asks him what the word is. Roman responses with something that sounds like ‘sklaska’. Kateryna is not entirely sure what he has said and asks him whether he was trying to say ‘*сказка* <skazka> [fairy tale]’. Both Kateryna and Roman are confused now, and she asks him what the word means in English. He replies, telling her it means ‘thank you’, and Kateryna tells him that he must have meant to say ‘*спасибо* <spasibo> [thank you]’. She tells him that she also goes to Russian school and teaches him the Russian word for ‘please’, ‘*пожалуйста* <pozhaluista> [please]’. Roman responds to Kateryna by telling her that ‘Russian is bad’.

In this extract, the differences between the two waves of Ukrainian migration to the UK and their use of and attitudes towards Russian (as presented in Chapters 4 and 5) are further highlighted.– the daughter of second-wave Ukrainians – uses her knowledge of Russian to help Roman remember a Russian word he has recently encountered. She takes the opportunity to share her linguistic knowledge with him, teaching him more Russian words. However, the matter-of-fact manner of Roman’s response, that ‘Russian is bad’, suggests that the statement is something that does not need to be questioned, evidence that an anti-Russian ideology – something that is also exhibited by informants in Chapter 5 – is being transmitted across generations within the first-wave of Ukrainians in the UK.

By contrast, Kateryna’s demonstration of her knowledge of Russian in Fieldnote Extract 6.30 may suggest that among the second

wave of migration, their language practices and attitudes are more reflective of the linguistic reality of contemporary Ukraine, in which Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism is widespread. Thus, the data suggest the continued linguistic and ideological differences between the two waves of Ukrainian migrants and their descendants in the UK more generally.

6.4.2 'In Ukrainian, Please!': Teachers' Ideologies of Language Use in the Classroom

I turn now to the teachers' reactions and responses to students' language choices. As we have seen, various language practices that incorporated different resources from teachers' and students' linguistic repertoires – most often English and Ukrainian – were employed in the classroom, but there were many instances in which both teachers insisted that the students only use Ukrainian. Thus, the teachers appeared to exhibit what Creese and Blackledge (2011: 1200-01) have referred to as an ideology of 'separate bilingualism', which calls for language separation, and often manifests itself in the teachers instructing students to only use the heritage/community language in the classroom. Further, the teachers' calls for students to use Ukrainian also accord with the historically widely-held belief among teachers and scholars of Modern Foreign Languages in the need for maximum use of the target language in the classroom (Krashen 1982; Gass and Madden 1985; Cook 2001; Turnbull and Arnett 2002).

In both classrooms, the use of Russian was sometimes observed. Such linguistic practices were predominantly observed in Tetiana's classroom, where two students– Anastasiia and Larysa – know Russian; in Olena's classroom only one student, Kateryna, knows Russian. All three students have second-wave parents, and sisters Larysa and Kateryna also attended a Russian complementary school on Sundays. In most instances, students' use of Russian was commented on and/or corrected by the teachers, but in some cases this did not happen, and the use of Russian was simply not acknowledged – sometimes the students were ignored, other times teachers responded to the students without commenting on their use of Russian. In one single case I observed over the course of an academic year, Tetiana accommodated to a student's use of Russian, using Russian herself, as is shown in Fieldnote Extract 6.31, the only instance in which the use of Russian was actively and explicitly accepted by a teacher.

Fieldnote Extract 6.31 (Class 1)

> Once Tetiana has finished talking to Inna, Larysa approaches her with her sheet and shows her something she has written down on it. Tetiana is unable to understand what Larysa has written and tells her this in Ukrainian. Larysa responds and starts talking to Tetiana in Russian; Tetiana then switches to Russian for a short while to continue the conversation with Larysa.

In other cases, in both classes the use of Russian was not explicitly rejected by the teacher, but was not commented on:

Fieldnote Extract 6.32 (Class 2)

> There is a knock at the door, and Anton – a student who attends the school less frequently than the others – walks into the classroom. He apologises for being late in Russian '***извините*** <*izvinite*> [excuse me, sorry]' Olena talks to him in Ukrainian, asking how he is and how his week has been as he goes to sit at the table. Anton sits in the chair furthest away from Olena, and she instructs him in Ukrainian to move closer to the front of the classroom.

Fieldnote Extract 6.33 (Class 2)

> Once the video Olena has made about noun gender in Ukrainian has finished playing, Olena talks to the students in Ukrainian, asking them whether they would like to use the Powtoon software [30] for a homework project. She repeats this in English to make sure that all of the students have understood her. Kateryna then asks Olena whether she will need to create an account to use the software and uses the Russian '***тебе нужно***…<tebe nuzhno> [do you need to]', whilst talking to her. Olena answers Kateryna's question in Ukrainian, not commenting on her use of Russian.

Fieldnote Extract 6.34 (Class 1)

> Whilst Nataliia continues to read, Anastasiia sneezes. Tetiana acknowledges this by saying '**будь здоровий!** <bud' zdorovyi> [bless you!]' to her. Anastasiia replies with '***спасибо*** <spasibo> [thank you]'. Tetiana does not react at all to this use of

[30] Powtoon is computer software that can be used to make animated presentations and videos. < https://www.powtoon.com/home/?>

Russian, and continues to focus on Nataliia, who is still reading aloud.

Fieldnote Extract 6.35 (Class 1)

Tetiana gives the books out to the students, and she instructs them, in Ukrainian, to write their '**ім'я** <i'mia> [name]', and '**фамілія** <familiia> [surname]' on the new exercise books she has just given them, as well as '**зошит з пис'ма** <zoshchyt z pys'ma> [writing book]'. Larysa responds in Russian to Tetiana's instructions, stating '*я не могу сама написать* <ia ne mogu sama napisat'> [I can't write it by myself]'. In response to this, Tetiana goes over and helps her write on her book.

The two cases of Olena not responding to a student's use of Russian (Fieldnote Extract 6.32 and Fieldnote Extract 6.33) comprise two of the four times students were observed using Russian in her classroom. In the first case, Anton's use of Russian when entering the classroom is surprising, given his first-wave background and no other indications of him having any knowledge of Russian being observed over the course of the academic year. In all of the other examples above, the students using Russian are second-wave Ukrainians. In all four cases, the fact that Tetiana and Olena do not object to the use of Russian may indicate that the teachers are accepting of such language use in the classroom. However, neither teacher – despite possessing knowledge of Russian – accommodates to the students' use of Russian, and Olena continues the exchange in Ukrainian. This

suggests that the use of Russian in the Ukrainian complementary school, even among Russian speakers, is not endorsed or promoted.

Further, in the other two cases in which the use of Russian was observed in Olena's class, Olena reacted to and corrected such language use, and provided the students with Ukrainian translations of some of the Russian words they had used:

Fieldnote Extract 6.36 (Class 2)

> Olena starts asking the students questions about the text they have taken turns to read aloud. First, she asks them to translate some of the vocabulary that they have encountered into English. She then asks a few comprehension questions in Ukrainian; those who respond tend to do so in Ukrainian. Kateryna responds to many of the questions and at one point uses the Russian '*потому, что* <potomu, chto> [because]', and is corrected by Olena who advises her to use the Ukrainian '**тому, що** <tomu, shcho> [because]'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.37

> The lesson is interrupted by a knock at the door. The person knocking is Olena's daughter – Anastasiia – who has come to ask her mother for her folder. Anastasiia asks Olena, '*можно мой фолдер* [31] *пожалуйста*? <mozhno moi folder pozhaluista?> [Could I have my folder please?]',. Olena responds to her daughter's question in Ukrainian, telling her she does not understand what she has just said. Anastasiia responds to her mother saying '*мой фолдер* <moi folder> [my folder]', and Olena hands it to her, advising her to use the word '**будь ласка**

[31] Anastasiia appears to have borrowed this word from English, as opposed to using Russian 'папка'.

<bud' laska> [please]', as opposed to '*пожалуйста* <pozhaluista> [please]'.

Notably, in the second of these extracts (Fieldnote Extract 6.37), Olena corrects her daughter's use of Russian, despite the fact that Russian is a language that Olena reports using in her family (Chapter 4) and that she hopes to transmit to her children (Chapter 5). In correcting Anastasiia's use of Russian in this instance, Olena signals that Russian is not an acceptable language to use in the Ukrainian complementary school, and sets an example to Anastasiia and the other students by not accommodating to this use of Russian. In both instances, rather than explicitly advising the students not to use Russian and to use Ukrainian, Olena provides Ukrainian translations and (falsely) claims not to understand the students' use of Russian. Thus, again, Olena's practice signals to the students Russian is not encouraged or accepted in the complementary school, and instead promotes and encourages the use of Ukrainian.

Despite the one case of accommodation and instances in which Tetiana did not react to the use of Russian in her classroom, Tetiana was observed correcting students' use of Russian more often than Olena. During lessons, Anastasiia was the student observed using Russian most often, and Tetiana frequently reacted to and corrected her linguistic choice.

Fieldnote Extract 6.38 (Class 1)

> Tetiana addresses the students in Ukrainian and shows them their new textbook. Tetiana notices that Anastasiia is quite distracted at this point, and to get her attention, starts asking her questions in Ukrainian. In response to some of these questions, Anastasiia responds saying '***да*** <da> [yes]', to which Tetiana responds by correcting her and telling her to say '**так** <tak> [yes]' instead.

Fieldnote Extract 6.39 (Class 1)

> After Anastasiia starts to read the text, she sneezes. Tetiana responds to this by saying '***будь здоровий***' <bud' zdorovyi> [bless you]' and Anastasiia thanks her, saying '*спасибо* <spasibo> [thank you]'. Tetiana advises her to use '**дякую** <diakuiu> [thank you]' instead. Anastasiia sneezes again, and this time responds to Tetiana's '**будь здоровий** <bud' zdorovyi> [bless you]' by thanking her in Ukrainian.
>
> Inna is the next student to read part of the text. While she is reading, Anastasiia asks Tetiana in Ukrainian whether she can borrow a pen. Tetiana passes her a pen, and Anastasiia thanks her in Russian, '*спасибо* <spasibo> [thank you]', and Tetiana corrects her again, but also laughs at the fact Anastasiia has used Russian again.

Fieldnote Extract 6.40 (Class 1)

> Tetiana overhears Anastasiia talking to herself, saying '*что, что, что* <chto, chto, chto> [what, what, what]. She corrects her and advises her to say '**що, що, що** <shcho, shcho, shcho> [what, what, what]' instead.

In these extracts, Tetiana responds to Anastasiia's use of Russian using the same strategy as Olena – by providing Ukrainian translations of what she has just said. Thus, as with the instances in

which students used Russian in Olena's class, Tetiana indicates, without explicitly stating it, that Russian is not an acceptable linguistic variety in the complementary school, even in cases in which the student is using it when talking to themselves.

Another way in which Tetiana responded to the use of Russian was to remind the student speaking Russian to use Ukrainian instead:

Fieldnote Extract 6.41 (Class 1)

> Anastasiia responds to some of Tetiana's questions using Russian. Tetiana notices this and reminds her to speak Ukrainian '**по-українськи, будь ласка** <po-ukrains'ky, bud' laska> [in Ukrainian, please]'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.42 (Class 1)

> Anastasiia is the first student to enter the classroom and is wearing a pair of Harry Potter glasses and waving a wand around. Tetiana starts to talk to her in Ukrainian about her glasses, and Anastasiia replies in Russian. Tetiana tells Anastasiia that she should be talking '**по-українськи** <po-ukrains'ky> [in Ukrainian]'.

In these extracts, the explicit instruction to use signals that the students are expected to use Ukrainian in the complementary school

To summarize, the use of Russian in the Ukrainian complementary school is something that is neither encouraged nor accepted, despite the fact that Russian is part of teachers' and (some) pupils' linguistic repertoires and that of the wider Ukrainian second-wave migrant community. Although both teachers have knowledge of

Russian, they virtually never used Russian themselves. They either did not react to the use of Russian, or, when they did, used both implicit and explicit strategies to signal that Russian is not an acceptable linguistic choice in their classroom. It is important to note that whereas some of the first-wave pupils, like their parents, reject Russian because of its associations with Russia, these teachers – both of whom can speak Russian themselves – reject it for a different reason. For the teachers, Russian is not acceptable *in the context of Ukrainian school* (and so Olena even pretends with her own daughter not to understand a language that they use in the family). They enforce an ideology of separate bilingualism, imposing clear boundaries between Russian and Ukrainian, in ways that are at odds with the pupils' spontaneous practice, and thus are complicit in transmitting such an ideology to the children.

Just as Russian is rejected in Ukrainian school, the teachers were also observed rejecting English and instructing students to use Ukrainian instead. This is further evidence of the teachers displaying an ideology of separate bilingualism in the classroom, in contrast with the mixed linguistic practices observed in the school, as presented in Section 6.3. Although this ideology was present in both classrooms, in some cases the teachers exhibited this in slightly different ways, and in different contexts.

First, both teachers imposed an ideology of separate bilingualism in relation to the completion of different tasks and

activities. Olena mainly insisted on Ukrainian only when completing particular tasks:

Fieldnote Extract 6.43 (Class 2)

> Once all of the students have taken it in turns to read the text aloud, Olena tells them that they now need to retell the story. She tells them this in Ukrainian first, and then in English. One of the boys starts to retell the story in English, and Olena immediately stops him to tell him that he needs to do this in Ukrainian.

Fieldnote Extract 6.44 (Class 2)

> The students and Olena return to the classroom after the break and Olena has a game ready for them to play. She has a packet of cards with pictures on them, and the student needs to say what the picture is in Ukrainian and then work out which gender the word is. Olena explains this game to the class in English, but when she is talking about word genders, uses the Ukrainian words for the genders. The students are split into two teams and Olena gives each one a card. The game begins, and the students say what the picture is in Ukrainian, but have the tendency to say the gender of the word in English. Olena encourages them to use Ukrainian instead.

In both of these extracts, Olena provides the students with explanations and instructions using both English and Ukrainian, thus drawing on the different resources in her linguistic repertoire to ensure that the students have understood her (as in Section 6.3.3). However, once the students start to complete these tasks and use English,

Olena advises the students to use Ukrainian instead, and thus complete the task monolingually in Ukrainian.

There were also several instances in which the students would ask Olena about the language they needed to use to complete a given task. In response to such questions, Olena would always respond telling them that they need to complete the task in Ukrainian, monolingually:

Fieldnote Extract 6.45 (Class 2)

> Olena starts to demonstrate the next activity – drawing a family tree – and asks the students '**як ми малюємо дерево?** <iak my maliuemo derevo?> [how do we draw a tree?]', and continues her explanation in Ukrainian. One of the boys questions the language that they have to complete the task in, 'do we have to do it in Ukrainian?'. Olena responds to him in English saying, 'yes, of course'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.46 (Class 2)

> The students have been watching an animated presentation that Olena has made to teach them about adjectives in Ukrainian. The video ends and Olena asks the students in English whether they might like to make similar animations. The students seem very keen to do this, and Olena tells them that if it is something they would like to do at home, she is happy for them to do this, and will write a letter to their parents explaining what they need to do. The students seem excited and ask Olena a series of questions about this in English. Olena responds to these questions in English, and then suggests they could all make cartoons about a Ukrainian folk story of their choice. She is then asked by a student

> whether they will complete their projects in English, and Olena responds in English, telling them, ‘no, it’s Ukrainian school’.

In Fieldnote Extract 6.45 Olena explains the activity to the students using English and Ukrainian, and in Fieldnote Extract 6.46, she explains the proposed homework project entirely in English. Despite her own mixed and monolingual English practices, Olena nevertheless insists on the monolingual Ukrainian completion of these tasks. In both cases, the nature of her response to the students’ questions, ‘yes, of course’ and ‘no, it’s Ukrainian school’ suggest that she considers it almost a given that the tasks need to be completed in Ukrainian. The fact that the students do not find it obvious that there is a time to use Ukrainian only demonstrates that they might also be somewhat influenced by their teacher’s practice. Further, this expectation of such monolingual Ukrainian task completion is at odds with the linguistic practices of both Olena and her students in her classroom, and it is interesting to note that the students do not find this distinction obvious between language use for communicative purposes (monolingualism not required) and language use for task completion in the Ukrainian school (monolingualism imposed).

Like Olena, Tetiana was also observed instructing the students to complete specific tasks and activities in Ukrainian, as in Extract 6.47:

Fieldnote Extract 6.47 (Class 1)

> Tetiana starts to ask the students in Ukrainian what they remember about the text that they had to read for their homework. She asks Vitalii a question about the text in Ukrainian, he understands what she has asked him, and responds to her in English. Tetiana responds to this by telling him in Ukrainian that he needs to answer her in Ukrainian.

This extract mirrors those taken from the observations in Olena's classroom. Here, Vitalii has understood the comprehension question that Tetiana asked him in Ukrainian but responds to her in English, adopting a non-reciprocal language practice of the kind widely observed in both classrooms (see Section 6.3.2).Tetiana does not consider English suitable for the completion of the set task, and advises Vitalii to answer her question in Ukrainian instead.

There were also moments in which Tetiana advised the students to use Ukrainian in contexts slightly more loosely related to the completion of tasks:

Fieldnote Extract 6.48 (Class 1)

> The students continue practising writing the various fruits and vegetables they encounter on their worksheets on the whiteboard. Inna gets up from filling in the word '**гарбуз** <harbuz> [pumpkin]' on the sheet, and walks over to the board announces to the class in English that she is going to write the word pumpkin on the board. Tetiana responds to what Inna has just said, and corrects her for using English, saying in Ukrainian '**це ні** *pumpkin*, **це гарбуз** <tse ni

> pumpkin, tse harbuz> [‘it is not a pumpkin (English), it’s a pumpkin (Ukrainian)]’.

Here, Tetiana corrects Inna’s use of English and implies that she should be using Ukrainian to discuss the vocabulary learning activity. However, it could also be argued that the student’s casual reference to which word she is about to write on the board is not as directly related to task completion as in the data previously presented, as it does not affect her ability to write in Ukrainian on the board. Thus, this correction suggests that in addition to expecting students to complete tasks monolingually in Ukrainian, Tetiana also expects the students to use Ukrainian as much as possible in the classroom.

Both teachers were observed instructing the students to use Ukrainian when chatting to each other in the classroom more generally. Olena did so only once during the eleven weeks of observation in her class:

Fieldnote Extract 6.49 (Class 2)

> Having completed the final exercise on the worksheet, the boys start to mess around and talk to one another in English. Olena notices that the boys are messing around and tells them in Ukrainian to speak to one another in Ukrainian.

In contrast to this one observed case of Olena instructing the students to speak to each other in Ukrainian, Tetiana instructed the students to use only Ukrainian more frequently:

Fieldnote Extract 6.50 (Class 1)

> Tetiana enters the classroom and speaks to the students in Ukrainian straight away. Inna turns to Tetiana and talks to her in English about her birthday party; Tetiana responds in Ukrainian. Next, Nataliia starts chatting to Tetiana in English, and Tetiana immediately responds to her with the instruction, '**говори по-українськи** <hovory po-ukrains'ky> [speak in Ukrainian]'.

Fieldnote Extract 6.51 (Class 1)

> One word from the text that Tetiana asks the students to translate is '**щастя** <shchastia> [happiness]'. Anastasiia immediately knows what this word means and starts singing 'if you're happy and you know it' in English. Tetiana responds to this by singing in Ukrainian to the tune of the song about how Anastasiia should be using Ukrainian instead of English in the Ukrainian school.

Fieldnote Extract 6.52

> As Larysa is reading the text aloud, the students encounter the word '**Дніпро** <Dnipro> [Dniepr]', and one of them asks what this means. Tetiana explains that this is a river, and consequently the students start talking in English about the River Thames in London. At this point, Tetiana interrupts and tells them in Ukrainian that they ought to be talking about this in Ukrainian because they are at Ukrainian school.

In Fieldnote Extract 6.50, Tetiana starts the lesson talking to the students only in Ukrainian, and does not accommodate to the students' language practices when they only use English. Eventually, she directs Nataliia to use Ukrainian instead of English, using the imperative construction *говори по-українськи* (speak in Ukrainian). Similarly, in Fieldnote Extract 6.51, although Anastasiia demonstrates that she knows what the English translation of *щастя* (happiness) is by singing, Tetiana prompts her to sing in Ukrainian instead. In Fieldnote Extract 6.52, Tetiana considers the students' use of English to converse with each other unsuitable, and signals that they should use Ukrainian instead because they are at Ukrainian school. Thus, these extracts further demonstrate that an ideology of separate bilingualism is present in Tetiana's classroom.

The data presented in this section evidence an ideology of separate bilingualism in both classrooms of the Ukrainian school, but also that this ideology exists alongside, and in tension with, the more flexible, mixed language practices observed. The ideology of separate bilingualism held by Olena appears for the most part to relate to the completion of specific language-learning tasks and activities (vocabulary exercises, comprehensions tasks); she makes a distinction between general classroom communication and task completion. In contrast, Tetiana imposes this ideology of separate bilingualism more strongly than Olena, insisting more often on the

monolingual use of Ukrainian more generally, and does not reserve this only for the completion of tasks.

6.5 Summary and Conclusion

The data presented in this chapter have demonstrated that – as in other complementary schools – the Ukrainian complementary school fulfils two seemingly contradictory functions simultaneously: providing a safe space for teachers and students to engage in multilingual practices, but also providing a space for the teaching of the heritage culture and identity in conjunction with the language, a focus on language teaching in which there is often an insistence that languages be kept separate (Blackledge and Creese 2010b: 6; Creese and Blackledge 2011).

The first part of the chapter presented evidence that the Ukrainian complementary school aimed to develop the 'heritage identity' (Creese et al. 2006) alongside the teaching of the heritage/community language. This aim of the school was suggested through various items in the classroom and given to students, as well as through materials employed by teachers such as Ukrainian folk stories and materials related to Ukraine.

Next, the chapter examined the linguistic practices observed in the Ukrainian complementary school, supplementing the self-reported language use data obtained through questionnaires and interviews.

We have seen that although students had a tendency to predominantly use English, and teachers used Ukrainian more frequently than the students, both negotiated and utilised resources from their linguistic repertoires – thus engaging in seemingly flexible bilingual practices, or translanguaging – when communicating with each other in the classroom. Such seemingly flexible linguistic practices aided teaching and learning in the classroom, and also allowed the students to construct Ukrainian identity through their language use despite lacking proficiency in Ukrainian, a practice referred to by Canagarajah (2012) as 'self-styling'.

Although it is possible to examine the linguistic practices through a translanguaging lens, the analysis of the teachers' language practices when providing instruction and explanation to the students also demonstrated that their choice of English, Ukrainian, or both in the classroom was often intentional, and a strategy employed by teachers to ensure that all students – regardless of their proficiency in Ukrainian – understand the instructions, whilst also providing them with exposure to the heritage language, and at least some tasks where they were forced to use Ukrainian. Even if such practices that incorporated the use of English and Ukrainian are less flexible and spontaneous than the translanguaging approach often assumes, the students are nevertheless exposed to multilingual practices, and the complementary school setting provides a space for such flexible, multilingual practices.

However, alongside evidence for an ideology of flexible bilingualism, and the teachers' own flexible practice, an ideology of separate bilingualism was also present in the Ukrainian complementary school, and was often imposed by teachers on pupils, requiring pupils to distinguish carefully between their languages depending on the task, and in ways that the pupils evidently did not always find predictable. Russian was also firmly rejected in the context of Ukrainian school, despite it featuring in both teachers' and some pupils' repertoires. The coexistence of these two ideologies of language use has also been observed in other complementary schools in the UK (Blackledge and Creese 2010b; Creese and Blackledge 2011). The ideology of separate bilingualism also reinforces assumptions of monolingualism and language separation that are present in mainstream schools, and is at odds with the more flexible bilingual practices observed in the complementary school.

This chapter has demonstrated how the Ukrainian complementary school appears to simultaneously function as a space in which the heritage/community language and the heritage identity are taught, but also provide a space in which the students can participate in flexible bilingual practices, and experiment with their multilingual linguistic repertoires. Some of the data presented in this chapter also build on those presented in Chapters 4 and 5, and thus contribute to a more complete understanding of language practices and attitudes in the Ukrainian community in the UK. The students'

symbolic use of Ukrainian mirrors some of the reported symbolic uses of Ukrainian presented in Chapter 4, such as communication between grandparents and grandchildren, and in the communications of different community organisations. These data have also demonstrated that negative attitudes towards Russian appear to be transmitted across generations within the first wave of migration, and that even the teachers (second wave) exhibit negative attitudes, despite it being a language they know, and, in the case of Olena, a language she wishes to transmit to her children, as was outlined in Chapter 5.

In the next chapter, I will now turn my attention back to the questionnaire and interview data in order to explore matters related to intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance within the Ukrainian community in the UK.

7 The Intergenerational Transmission and Future Maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK

7.1 Introduction

The previous three chapters have examined language practices, language attitudes, and language ideologies in the Ukrainian community in the UK, as well as in a Ukrainian complementary school – an (intended) site for the transmission and maintenance of the heritage/community language. In this final analysis chapter, and in light of the analysis in Chapters 4-6, I turn now to examine the future of Ukrainian as a heritage/community language in the UK. This chapter presents quantitative and qualitative data obtained through questionnaires and interviews to address the following research questions:

> 4a) What efforts (if any) are made by community members to transmit, and subsequently maintain, Ukrainian across generations?
> 4b) What are the difficulties and challenges faced in attempting to do this?

We also return to research question 1b, here with a focus on the reported language practices of informants' children:

> 1b) Which languages do Ukrainian community members use in different domains?

As outlined in Chapter 3, the questionnaire data presented in this chapter was obtained from the respondents who reported having children. The chapter draws on the questionnaire data regarding respondents' children's use of Ukrainian: 'How often do your children speak Ukrainian to the following people?' (Question 32) and 'How often do your children use Ukrainian in the following situations?' (Question 33), to which respondents answered on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 'Always' to 6 'Never'. Respondents who reported actively encouraging their children's knowledge of Ukrainian (see Section 7.2) were also asked to disclose which resources – from a list provided – they employed to do this (Question 36).

First, Section 7.2 presents some of the more general data obtained regarding the intergenerational transmission of Ukrainian in the community. Section 7.3 explores informants' children's reported use of Ukrainian in UK and Ukrainian contexts, and examines how contact with Ukraine is considered to promote language maintenance as well as the different barriers and challenges to maintaining Ukrainian in the UK. Next, Section 7.4 examines the Ukrainian community and different Ukrainian organisations, and Section 7.5 Ukrainian-language media resources and the role that these play in the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian. Finally, Section 7.6 concludes the chapter, providing a summary of the data presented.

7.2 The Intergenerational Transmission and Maintenance of Ukrainian

Of the 83 respondents who had children, the vast majority (74.7%, n=63) answered 'Yes' to the question 'Do you actively encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?'; 13.3% (n=11) answered 'No', and 12.1% (n=10) 'Not Sure' (see Table 7.1; Figure 7.1). There were no significant differences between UK and Ukraine-born respondents, and between those with children under or over 18.[32] The 63 respondents who answered 'Yes' to this question were then invited to report the means through which they have encouraged their children's use of Ukrainian; these data are presented throughout the chapter.

A high, but somewhat lower, percentage of respondents (67.5%, n=56) reported that their children can in fact speak Ukrainian, and again there were no significant differences between groups (see Table 7.2). Perhaps unsurprisingly, given their more recent ties to Ukraine, a higher percentage of Ukraine-born (75.0%, n=15) than UK-born (54.6%, n=6) respondents with children under 18 stated that their children could speak Ukrainian, though this difference was not significant. Among UK-born respondents with children over 18 (76.5%, n=26), more reported that their children could speak Ukrainian than those with younger children, suggesting that later generations of the first wave of migration are less likely to have transmitted Ukrainian to

[32] As mentioned in Chapter 3, when comparisons are made by children's age, the eight respondents with children in both age categories and the one respondent who did not disclose their children's age are removed from the sample. Otherwise, data from all respondents with children are analysed.

their children than their older UK-born counterparts, or indeed, than Ukraine-born respondents.

A still lower percentage of respondents (43.4%, n=36) stated that their children are currently learning Ukrainian, although it should be noted that 75.6% (n=34) of the UK-born respondents have children over 18, who are thus less likely to be in language education of any kind. Of the UK-born respondents with children under 18, 72.7% (n=8) reported that their children are currently learning Ukrainian (compared to 29.4%, n=10 of those with children over 18). Similarly, 70.0% (n=14) of the 20 Ukraine-born respondents with children under 18 stated that their children are currently learning Ukrainian. Ukrainian is, then, being widely learnt, in some sense, by children in this younger age category. However, when considering the data presented in Chapter 6, the question of what it means to 'learn' Ukrainian to community members is something that perhaps is not completely clear.

The views of the two interviewees who have been involved in the teaching of Ukrainian in complementary schools are worth noting here. Both Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) and Olena (second-wave, 36-55) discussed how the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian require persistence, something that Pauwels (2005) has identified as a challenge facing families attempting to transmit and maintain the heritage/community language. In Interview Extract 7.1, Myroslava reflects on the language transmission and maintenance efforts she made with her own children

(who are now adults) and recalls a conversation with another mother who commented on Myroslava's children's use of Ukrainian compared to that of her own children. The advice Myroslava provided to this mother – 'don't cave' – encapsulates her belief in the persistence required, as does her final remark, 'this isn't luck, you have to work at it'.

Interview Extract 7.1

Myroslava	When I had the nursery class and my youngest daughter was in there, if I spoke to her in Ukrainian she spoke back [in Ukrainian], and one of the other mums – she had two boys a similar age – she said to me, 'my husband is Ukrainian, both families are Ukrainian', and she said 'oh you're so lucky your children want to speak Ukrainian, I can't seem to get mine to now they're going to English school, I can't get them to do it'. So I said, 'well what language do you speak to them in?' I said 'don't cave, even if they speak to you in English, stick to the Ukrainian. If they're giving you an answer, they've understood it'. […] and she said 'aren't you lucky?' and I thought to myself 'this isn't luck, you have to work at it'.

Similarly, Olena discussed the challenges she anticipates to ensure the successful transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian with her young children, currently aged two and eight. In Interview Extract 7.2, Olena indicates that she feels she will need to be persistent and vigilant to ensure that her children use Ukrainian with each other and

that she has tried to explain to her daughter why she must use her family languages – in this case Ukrainian or Russian. Olena's anxiety does not appear unjustified, as, for example, Nesteruk's (2010: 282) research on Eastern European immigrants in the USA found that parents found it difficult to maintain the heritage/community language in the family, as siblings had strong preferences towards using English with one another; this is something that was in part attributed to the dominance of English in the mainstream education system, a factor Olena comments on here too:

Interview Extract 7.2

Olena	I'll just keep an eye on how both of them communicate at home because from all of the stories of our bilingual friends that I hear, as soon as the siblings start communicating, and English is obviously the language of socialising for them at schools, nurseries and everything, they start speaking English at home. So, at the moment I'm getting ready for tackling this situation and trying to make sure that they speak Ukrainian or Russian with each other at home as much as possible. I've talked to my daughter already and I tried to explain to her that at this moment it's quite important that she speaks Russian and Ukrainian to him so that he understands it better.

Table 7.1: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you actively encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Yes	No	Not Sure
All Respondents with Children	74.7 (62)	13.3 (11)	12.1 (10)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All			
UK-Born	74.5 (38)	11.8 (6)	13.7 (7)
Ukraine-Born	75.0 (24)	15.6 (5)	9.4 (3)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18			
UK-Born	81.8 (9)	9.1 (1)	9.1 (1)
Ukraine-Born	80.0 (16)	10.0 (2)	10.0 (2)
UK-Born Respondent: Children Age			
Under 18	81.8 (9)	9.1 (1)	9.1 (1)
Over 18	79.4 (27)	8.8 (3)	11.8 (4)

Figure 7.1: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you actively encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?

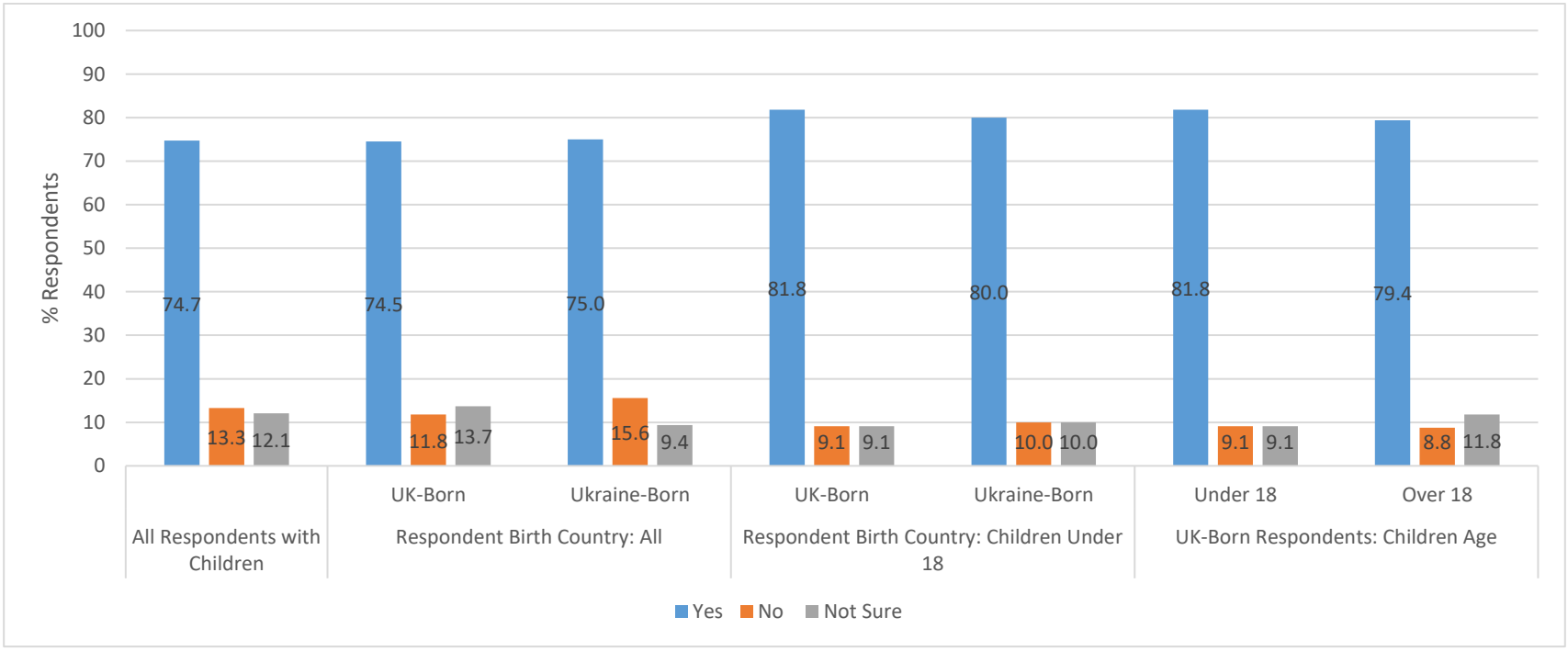


Table 7.2: Responses to questionnaire items:
Are your children currently learning Ukrainian?; Do your children speak Ukrainian?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Currently Learn Ukrainian	**Speak Ukrainian**
All Respondents with Children	43.4 (36)	67.5 (56)
Parent Birth Country Groups: All		
UK-Born	37.3 (19)	66.7 (34)
Ukraine-Born	53.1 (17)	68.8 (22)
Parent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18		
UK-Born	72.7 (8)	54.6 (6)
Ukraine-Born	70.0 (14)	75.0 (15)
UK-Born Parent: Children Age		
Under 18	72.7 (8)*	54.6 (6)
Over 18	29.4 (10)*	76.5 (26)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

7.3 Ukrainian in Ukraine, English in the UK

Access to and contact with those in the homeland is considered important for the facilitation of the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of the heritage/community language (Borland 2006). We have already seen in previous chapters that the use of Ukrainian is predominantly restricted to Ukrainian contexts, and that in the UK it is relatively seldom used. The data obtained regarding use of Ukrainian with children mirrors that picture.

Respondents reported their children using Ukrainian most frequently with friends in Ukraine, and with family in Ukraine. Overall, though, respondents reported their children using Ukrainian in these contexts only 'often', with means of 3.1 for family and 3.3 for friends on the six-point scale (see Table 7.3). Ukraine-born respondents reported their children using Ukrainian more frequently with both of these groups of interlocutors than UK-born respondents, and a significant ($p \leq 0.05$) difference was identified between the reported use of Ukrainian with family members in Ukraine (see Table 7.3).

The two methods reported as those respondents most used to encourage their children's knowledge of Ukrainian were those linked most closely to Ukraine: 82.3% (n=51) reported using trips to Ukraine, and 79.0% (n=49) contact with Ukrainian relatives (see Table 7.4). Over 90% of Ukraine-born respondents reported employing such means, compared to approximately 70% of UK-born respondents (see Table 7.4). A significant ($p \leq 0.05$) difference was identified between

the percentages of respondents in either group who used contact with Ukrainian relatives to encourage their children's knowledge of Ukrainian (see Table 7.4).

In the qualitative data from interviews and open-ended questionnaire items, informants discussed how trips to Ukraine have encouraged their children to use Ukrainian, as in Questionnaire Response 7.1, where the respondent (a first-wave Ukrainian) discussed how in Ukraine her children are effectively forced to use Ukrainian, so that their use of and proficiency in Ukrainian increased.

Questionnaire Response 7.1

> My children attend Ukrainian language school in L'viv every summer (for the past five years). This gives them greater exposure to the language and forces them to use it all the time. Their language skills improved immensely since they started visiting Ukraine on a regular basis.
> *Participant 085, 36-55, Female, Manchester*

Similarly, in Interview Extract 7.3, Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) responded to being asked whether he encouraged his children to speak Ukrainian when visiting family in Ukraine stating, 'well they had no choice'.

Interview Extract 7.3

Taras	We've been [to Ukraine] several times. We went to a couple of weddings in Ukraine, some

	funerals in Ukraine, and just visiting, you know, holidays.
Interviewer	Did you encourage your children to practice Ukrainian when they were there?
Taras	Yes, well they had no choice.

Myroslava (like Taras, first-wave, second-generation, 56+) also discussed how trips to Ukraine helped her to encourage her children to use Ukrainian. In Interview Extract 7.4, she recalls the first time she took her children to Ukraine, and how it made the use of Ukrainian relevant, as she describes it as the moment 'that opened the door' to it all.

Interview Extract 7.4

Myroslava	I think the first time we took our children to Ukraine I was doing an English summer school in L'viv. […] I had three sessions each morning, three forty-five-minute sessions. I took some board games, so they were playing Cluedo and Monopoly, and it was easy to put one of my children in each class, so then they'd have to explain what was going on in Ukrainian to these children so they could play along. So they were getting something out of it as well, and that's when the door was open.

The qualitative data suggest that Ukraine provides a context in which individuals are effectively forced to use Ukrainian as opposed to English; however, it could be argued (though none of the respondents makes this point) that promoting the use of Ukrainian through trips to

Ukraine and contact with Ukrainian relatives, reinforces the notion that Ukrainian is only something that is relevant *in* Ukraine.

Table 7.3: Responses to questionnaire item:
How often do your children use Ukrainian with the following people? Interlocutors in Ukraine
(1.0 'Always' – 6.0 'Never')

	Family in Ukraine			Friends in Ukraine		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	76	3.1	2.1	67	3.3	2.1
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All						
Ukraine-Born	32	2.4*	2	29	2.7	2
UK-Born	44	3.5*	2.1	38	3.7	2.1
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18						
Ukraine-Born	20	2.3	1.7	17	2.2	1.8
UK-Born	9	3.2	1.7	9	3.4	1.9
UK-Born Respondent and Children Age						
Under 18	9	3.2	1.7	9	3.4	1.9
Over 18	29	3.5	2.2	24	3.4	2.2

Table 7.4: Response to questionnaire item:
Do you use, or have you ever used, any of the following resources to encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Trips to Ukraine	**Contact with Ukrainian Relatives**
All Respondents with Children	82.3 (51)	79.0 (49)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All		
UK-Born	73.7 (28)	71.1 (27)*
Ukraine-Born	95.8 (23)	91.7 (22)*
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18		
UK-Born	77.8 (7)	77.8 (7)
Ukraine-Born	100.0 (16)	100.0 (16)
UK-Born Respondents: Children Age		
Under 18	77.8 (7)	77.8 (7)
Over 18	70.4 (19)	66.7 (18)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

In UK contexts, even when children are communicating with other members of the Ukrainian community in the UK (including their own family), informants did not report their children using Ukrainian particularly often, in most cases they reported that they 'sometimes' or 'seldom' used Ukrainian, as means between 3.7 and 4.6 were reported (see Table 7.5). In the UK, their children were most likely to use Ukrainian in the home (3.7), followed by with friends (4.1), family (4.2) and siblings (4.6). In all four contexts, Ukraine-born respondents reported that their children use Ukrainian more frequently than UK-born respondents, though significantly so only for children's Ukrainian use in the home ($p \leq 0.001$) (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Responses to questionnaire items:
How often do your children use Ukrainian with the following people?; How often do your children use Ukrainian in the following contexts?
(1.0 'Always' – 6.0 'Never')

	Home			Siblings			Family in UK			Friends in UK			Mainstream School		
	N	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents with Children	81	3.7	1.8	64	4.6	1.6	67	4.2	1.7	76	4.1	1.8	57	5.7	0.7
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All															
UK-Born	50	4.1**	1.6	43	4.9	1.3	48	4.2	1.6	47	4.6	1.5	35	5.5**	0.8
Ukraine-Born	31	3.0**	1.8	21	4.1	1.9	19	4.3	2.0	29	3.5	1.9	22	6.0**	0.2
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18															
UK-Born	10	3.8	1.9	9	4.7	1.9	9	4.0	1.6	9	4.1	1.8	9	5.1*	1.2
Ukraine-Born	19	2.8	1.6	15	3.7	1.8	13	4.2	2.1	19	3.5	1.8	16	5.9*	0.3
UK-Born Respondent: Children Age															
Under 18	10	3.8	1.9	9	4.7	1.9	9	4.0	1.6	9	4.1	1.8	9	5.1	1.2
Over 18	34	4.0	1.6	29	4.8	1.1	33	4.1	1.6	32	4.5	1.5	20	5.5	0.7

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Qualitative data revealed some of the potential factors influencing the relatively infrequent use of Ukrainian in the UK by respondents' children, exposing some of the potential barriers to language maintenance and causes of language shift. A small number of informants presented mixed marriages and the consequent multi-ethnic/multilingual composition of families, as a potential barrier. Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) discussed such matters, as is shown in Interview Extract 7.5:

Interview Extract 7.5

Natasha	You can't force it upon the kids anymore. We spoke it from when we were very young, but people just don't have that anymore because they have mixed Ukrainian-English marriages and you can't have one parent speaking in Ukrainian to the kid and they don't understand what the other parent is saying or half and half. So it can make it quite difficult I think.

While Natasha discussed the issue in abstract terms, a questionnaire respondent with a wife with Estonian heritage notes the difficulties in maintaining 'a complex ethnic background' (Questionnaire Response 7.2).

Questionnaire Response 7.2

> My middle son has had Estonian lessons, and […] all three boys attend Ukrainian summer school camps in the UK. Sustaining a complex ethnic background at a

> meaningful level is a challenge and we aim not to push things so hard that they don't enjoy their activities.
> *Participant 112, 36-55, Male, Nottingham*

Informants also discussed the perceived negative influence on language maintenance of the mainstream education system. Bohdan (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) described how mainstream school extra-curricular commitments prevented his attendance at Ukrainian complementary school (Interview Extract 7.6), and Questionnaire Response 7.3 makes the same point.

Interview Extract 7.6

Bohdan	I stopped [attending Ukrainian school] in my early teens. I think I was about 12 or 13, because then things at schools – like, normal school […] I started playing rugby on Saturday and then there were lots of out of school activities and stuff and going to Ukrainian school became less of a priority for me at that sort of time.

Questionnaire Response 7.3

> One child attended Nottingham [Ukrainian School] for a year however this became too difficult to fit in with English school activities.
> *Participant 066, 36-55, Female, Doncaster*

Beyond the practicalities of scheduling, though, the influence of monolingual English language practices in mainstream schools in the

UK (with the exception of Wales) were also discussed. Mainstream schools were seen to lead to a decrease in children's use of Ukrainian and an increase in their use of English, a perception confirmed by quantitative questionnaire data, in which respondents reported their children virtually never using Ukrainian in mainstream school (mean 5.7 on the six-point scale; see Table 7.5).

In her interview, Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) – who has taught in Ukrainian complementary schools – recalled observing a group of teenage complementary school students communicating with each other entirely in English (Interview Extract 7.7). Here, she viewed the students having spent ten years in the mainstream education system as having had a profound influence on their language practices, as they chose to talk to each other in English despite being proficient in Ukrainian.

Interview Extract 7.7

Myroslava	There were eleven children doing the exam [that the students take in their final year at Ukrainian school] and I think about – no word of a lie – maybe three of them were born here, the rest arrived as toddlers. […] I walked into this room, and what happened was, well what I would expect to hear off second- and third-generation families. All the children would be speaking in English. All their parents came from Ukraine, they were born in Ukraine, and after ten years of Ukrainian school, I walked into the room and everybody was speaking English, completely assimilated, all speaking

> English. […] So they've been ten years at English school, and they were happy speaking to each other in English, waiting for an exam in the Ukrainian school. They could all speak to me in perfect Ukrainian, but they chose to be speaking English. […] So I'm saying [that is] the impact of being ten years in an English school.

Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35), offers a first-hand account of this transition (Interview Extract 7.8):

Interview Extract 7.8

Natasha	I mean by the time we got to high school and stuff English was the primary language that we spoke all the time.

Another factor connected to the mainstream education system that was deemed a hindrance to the maintenance of Ukrainian was the lack of formal qualification (GCSE, A-Level) in Ukrainian (not possible since 1997), cited by three questionnaire respondents.

Questionnaire Response 7.4

> [It is a] backwards step in that there is now no longer a GCSE qualification now when there was one in past years.
> *Participant 008, 56+, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.5

> Зокрема, коли буде можливість здавати державні іспити з української (GCSE).
> [Particularly, if it would be possible to sit state/national exams in Ukrainian (GCSE).]
> *Participant 127, 56+, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.6

> It wold be of utmost importance to make Ukrainian at least a GCSE language, preferably A-Level. It is beyond me that this has not happened so far and all attempts have led to nowhere.
> *Participant 018, 56+, Female, London*

One factor not yet considered in the question of language maintenance and shift is that of parents' confidence in their own Ukrainian and hence in their ability to transmit it to their children. In her interview, Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) recalled two cases in which parents have decided to attend either Ukrainian complementary school classes or Ukrainian evening classes to improve their Ukrainian and gain confidence in using the language in order to aid their children's learning of – and thus maintenance of – Ukrainian (Interview Extract 7.9, and Interview Extract 7.10):

Interview Extract 7.9

Myroslava	A few years ago now, one of the mums said – her daughter was probably only [in] third or fourth year – she said 'I never had the opportunities to do all the other subjects like history, literature, geography and this kind of

thing', and she said 'I'm afraid that when she gets into upper school – from year six – that I won't be able to keep up, I won't have the knowledge'. And so she said 'can I do my tenth class here?'. So she joined in seventh class, she did seven, eight, nine and ten.

Interview Extract 7.10

Myroslava: There's one lady who comes, her husband speaks better Ukrainian than she does, but it was getting to the point where the children were speaking better Ukrainian than her, so she said 'I've got to gain the confidence', and so she came along [to Ukrainian evening classes].

7.4 The Ukrainian Community

The data presented in Chapter 4 indicated that even within the organised Ukrainian community (e.g. at Ukrainian centres, at meetings for different Ukrainian community organisations) Ukrainian was not used especially frequently, Despite this, there are some suggestions that the Ukrainian community can play an important role in language maintenance. For example, Natasha (first-wave, third-generation, 16-35) discussed how her use of Ukrainian has decreased as a result of her spending less time in the community (Interview Extract 7.11).

Interview Extract 7.11

Natasha	Now I don't spend as much time at the Ukrainian club or in the community just because of work and stuff like that, and then I've got none of my grandparents left either, so it's kind of like, I'm struggling to find sources, ways to output that Ukrainian if that makes sense. There aren't many opportunities for me now to actually speak Ukrainian.

Taras (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) also suggested that the community plays an important role in the maintenance of Ukrainian language and culture. In Interview Extract 7.12, he compares his generation with that of his children, who participate less in the community because they are more likely to attend university and thus move away from home. Indeed, previous research has found that groups who are less geographically spread are more likely to maintain the heritage/community language (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977; Alba et al. 2002).

Interview Extract 7.12

Taras	Well, the problem was, you see, is because our generation, not many of us went to university. A lot of us, when we finished school went to college and then we got jobs. So, most of us were in the vicinity of Nottingham, so we then carried on being within the community from that younger age, through school, through Ukrainian school up to tenth class. […] And so the situation was that we were always

> close to the community. Now, our kids' generation, the next generation, the problem is that most of them have gone to university. So when they finished school they then went straight through into university, well of course then they're away from home for three years, or four years, depending, and then they go off and do their own thing. So their cultural participation in the community hasn't been as much as our generation.

The following sections will explore the role that both Ukrainian complementary schools (Section 7.5.1) and Ukrainian community organisations more generally (Section 7.5.2) play in the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK, both of which are commonly drawn on by parents in attempt to support their children's use of the heritage/community language, as demonstrated in various research on language maintenance and transmission (cf. e.g. Park and Sarkar 2007; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009; Nesteruk 2010), and in the growing body of research on complementary schools (Arthur 2003; Martin et al. 2006, 2007; Archer, Francis and Mau 2008; Creese 2009; Archer, Francis and Mau 2010; Blackledge and Creese 2010a).

7.4.1 Ukrainian Complementary Schools

A large percentage of respondents – 71.0% (n=44) – reported that Ukrainian complementary schools were a means through which they

encourage their children's use of Ukrainian (see Table 7.7). Across the sample, a significantly ($p \leq 0.01$) higher percentage of UK-born (84.2%, n=32) than Ukraine-born (50.0%, n=12) respondents reported this, and among those with children under 18 there were similar – but not statistically significant – differences between the two birth country groups (see Table 7.7).

Ukrainian complementary school is the UK-based context in which respondents reported their children using Ukrainian most frequently, but the reported mean of 3.4 (on the six-point scale) indicates that it is used (on average) somewhere between often and sometimes (see Table 7.6). The mean reported frequency for Ukraine-born respondents (3.1) was higher than for UK-born respondents (3.7), but the difference between these two means was not significant. In the qualitative data from interviews and open-ended questionnaire items, informants discussed some of the issues they have encountered with complementary schooling. In the interviews with Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) and Olena (second-wave, 36-55) – both of whom have taught in Ukrainian complementary schools – they both described some of the difficulties they have faced in teaching Ukrainian, primarily the different backgrounds of the students, and that they come to Ukrainian complementary schools with varying levels of proficiency in Ukrainian.

In Interview 7.13, Myroslava discusses how the home language practices of children belonging to either migration wave tend to differ

considerably (also indicated in the data presented in Chapter 4). Some parents appear to almost entirely rely on the Ukrainian complementary school for language transmission and maintenance – something that Fishman (1991) has warned against – and she observes that the mixed abilities of the students result in it being difficult to teach Ukrainian.

Interview Extract 7.13

Myroslava: You can be immersed in Ukrainian and there are people who still do that now, but [it is] a lot rarer. I mean, it has probably turned itself around. I would think maybe ten or twenty per cent will speak Ukrainian at home, and eighty per cent speak English in the English world and then bring their children to Ukrainian school and expect the school to do the lot for them, which is very difficult because you get quite a mixed bunch. You've got new families arriving from Ukraine whose children will be speaking Ukrainian, [and] depending on what age they are they may not have been introduced to the English world yet, so their English will be sort of on a back-burner, and you have children who are born here with families that have got two or three generations behind them and the children are speaking Ukrainian, and then you've got maybe fourth generation here now, some of them are trying, but some of them are not, and they think everything can be done at the Ukrainian school three hours a week.

In Interview Extract 7.14, Olena also comments on the impact of home language practices on students' proficiencies in Ukrainian, commenting that the need to accommodate students with such varying abilities in her lessons makes her role as teacher more difficult.

Interview Extract 7.14

> Olena It's just the gap between the levels that is really striking and it makes it really difficult because for some children like Kateryna, she uses the language at home, she's absolutely fluent, she could be doing the national curriculum for schools in Ukraine, but no, she's stuck in this class with some children who don't speak the language at home at all so for whom the language is basically a foreign language. So, you're in a position where you have to entertain or engage all of those children of absolutely different levels with something that they all can do.

Like the teachers, some first-wave parents of students who attend – or have previously attended – complementary schools discussed the differences between the language proficiencies of children belonging to either migration wave, and judged the style of teaching unsuitable for their children. They indicated that they expected Ukrainian to be taught as a foreign language, but that schools do not always meet these expectations.

Questionnaire Response 7.7

> There is a conflict in language learning throughout Ukrainian Saturday Schools in the UK. Those who have just come from Ukraine expect a similar level of learning as in schools in Ukraine but this teaching is unsuitable for the older post-war diaspora children and grandchildren.
> *Participant 008, 36-55, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.8

> They [my children] hated Ukrainian school as the teachers and most other children were from Ukraine so went too fast and didn't make it fun.
> *Participant 090, 56+, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.9

> Ukrainian schools are often geared at picking up the standard of the current level of education level in Ukraine rather than learning as a foreign language.
> *Participant 008, 36-55, Female, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.10

> Ukrainian schools are not set up to teach the Ukrainian language from scratch which as a consequence was a waste of time trying to teach my children Ukrainian.
> *Participant 081, 36-55, Male, London*

Similarly, in Interview Extract 7.15, Bohdan (first-wave, third generation, 16-35) explains that his decision about whether to send any children he might have in future to complementary school would

be influenced by whether Ukrainian is taught there as a foreign language.

Interview Extract 7.15

Interviewer	If you have kids in the future, will they go to Ukrainian school?
Bohdan	If there's one nearby, depending on where I live, then yeah. I'd want to bring them up to be bilingual, but there's a part of me that's a little bit torn, because I don't know how it's taught now in Ukrainian schools, but I got the impression looking back that we were taught as Ukrainian children, rather than being taught Ukrainian as a foreign language.

These data – all taken from first-wave Ukrainians – strongly suggest that there is an expectation among first-wave members of the community that Ukrainian ought to be taught 'as a foreign language' in complementary schools. It is interesting that the informants have decided to refer to this teaching style (in which they are expected Ukrainian to be taught from scratch) in this way, as opposed to using the label 'second language' – as Jenkala (1991) does below – as it appears they are happy to use the label 'foreign' language for a language that many consider an important part of Ukrainian identity. Further, already in 1991 Jenkala (1991: 166-67) judged that in Ukrainian schools there was 'not enough emphasis on teaching Ukrainian as a second language', and called for radical changes to be made to approaches to teaching in Ukrainian complementary schools:

> A radical change will need to be made in approaches to Ukrainian language teaching; provision will be necessary both for teaching Ukrainian in an attractive way as the first language to those children who have begun to learn it at home, and as a second language to children who have no Ukrainian linguistic background.

The data presented above demonstrate that, although such calls for changes to the teaching of Ukrainian in complementary schools were made over twenty years ago, similar problems still exist in Ukrainian complementary schools today, despite the fact that teachers are seemingly aware of such issues (see comments made by Myroslava and Olena above). Arguably, these issues have been further exacerbated since Jenkala's call for changes to the teaching of Ukrainian by the introduction of more children belonging to the new, second wave of Ukrainian migration into the schools.

The second-wave Ukrainian interviewed (Olena) voices different expectations of Ukrainian complementary schools compared to first-wave informants. Rather than relying on them for language transmission and maintenance, Olena (second-wave, 36-55) considers them to provide a space in which her daughter can explore this part of her linguistic repertoire. She does not necessarily expect the school to aid her daughter's language acquisition or teach Ukrainian in a formal manner, but to provide a space in which her daughter can use Ukrainian.

Interview Extract 7.16

Olena	Here in the UK when we heard about this Ukrainian club and Ukrainian school we thought this could be a good opportunity to motivate her a little bit with her Ukrainian. […] So I think this school is actually a good push, a good motivation for her because just literally a few weeks ago I noticed when she speaks at home, she would use more Ukrainian words […] I think what this school mainly gives her is not probably that much sort of grammar and writing, but the environment where she can use her basic Ukrainian and her language skills, so that's quite important because other than home, she's not getting any chance to use it.

The data presented here suggest that two distinct groups of heritage language learners attend Ukrainian complementary schools. Students belonging to the first wave of migration, whose parents are seeking teaching of Ukrainian as a 'foreign language', in their words, appear to be heritage language learners, but only become heritage language speakers upon starting at the schools; they are 'learners with heritage motivation' (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003: 222), or 'secondary HLLs' (Montrul 2015: 19-20). In contrast, students from the second wave of migration usually start complementary school with prior knowledge of Ukrainian; they are heritage language speakers as well as heritage language learners. This poses an inevitable challenge for small schools seeking to meet the needs of pupils with very different proficiencies whose parents also have very different expectations.

7.4.2 Other Community Organisations

Respondents were also asked whether Ukrainian summer schools held in the UK – usually organised by various Ukrainian community organisations – are another means to encourage children's knowledge of Ukrainian., but only 25.8% (n=16) of respondents reported making use of these (see Table 7.7). Slightly higher percentages of UK-born than Ukraine-born respondents reported using summer schools to encourage their children's knowledge of Ukrainian. Overall, 34.2% (n=13) of UK-born, compared to just three (12.5%) of the Ukraine-born respondents with children employed this means of encouragement. A small number of informants commented on the role that other Ukrainian community organisations play in promoting Ukrainian to the younger generations in the community. One questionnaire respondent commented that PLAST – the Ukrainian Scouting Organisation – promoted Ukrainian, as it provides a context in which the language is made more relevant to its participants (Questionnaire Response 7.7).

Questionnaire Response 7.11

> PLAST through its encouragement for Ukrainian language and camps with kids from different countries of the diaspora gives kids a good platform to make Ukrainian relevant.
> *Participant 018, 56+, Female, London*

Myroslava (first-wave, second-generation, 56+) judged in her interview that community organisations and groups such as dance groups and choirs also play a role in the promotion of Ukrainian (Interview Extract 7.11), .as they provide exposure to the language, and thus are a means to acquire passive knowledge of Ukrainian.

Interview Extract 7.17

Myroslava	If you're coming dancing, if you're, I mean singing helps a lot, they learn the language, if you explain the songs to them and things like that, but that's not quite the same, it's passive, it's soaking it up.

Table 7.6: Responses to questionnaire item:
How often do your children use Ukrainian in the following situations?
(1.0 'Always' – 6.0 'Never')

	Ukrainian School		
	N	**M**	**SD**
All Respondents	48	3.4	2
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All			
Ukraine-Born	21	3.1	2.1
UK-Born	27	3.7	1.8
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18			
Ukraine-Born	14	3.1	1.9
UK-Born	9	3.0	1.5
UK-Born Respondent and Children Age			
Under 18	9	3.0	1.5
Over 18	15	4.1	1.9

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

Table 7.7: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you use or have you previously used, any of the following to encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Ukrainian Complementary Schools	Ukrainian Summer School
All Respondents	71.0 (44)	25.8 (16)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All		
UK-Born	84.2 (32)**	34.2 (13)
Ukraine-Born	50.0 (12)**	12.5 (3)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18		
UK-Born	88.9 (8)	33.3 (3)
Ukraine-Born	56.3 (9)	18.8 (3)
UK-Born Respondent and Children Age		
Under 18	88.9 (8)	33.3 (3)
Over 18	81.5 (22)	37.0 (10)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

7.5 Ukrainian-Language Resources

One additional factor thought to influence the promotion of language maintenance in ethnic minority groups is access to media in the heritage/community language (Pauwels 2005). Such resources have been cited by parents as means through which they attempt to transmit the heritage/community language to their children and subsequently maintain it (Park and Sarkar 2007; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe 2009; Nesteruk 2010). Overall, 80.7% (n=50) of questionnaire respondents who encouraged their children's knowledge of Ukrainian reported employing at least one media resource (of books, television, films, and the internet) as a means of encouragement. A significantly ($p \leq 0.05$) higher percentage of Ukraine-born (95.0%, n=23) than UK-born (71.1%, n=27) reported using one or more of these media. The resource used by the highest percentage of respondents was books (59.7%, n=37), closely followed by the internet (56.5%, n=35), films (53.2%, n=33), and television (37.1%, n=23; see Table 7.8). In all cases, Ukraine-born respondents were more likely than UK-born respondents to use such resources to support their children's knowledge of Ukrainian, significantly so for books ($p \leq 0.05$) and films ($p \leq 0.01$). Among those with children under 18 the same pattern is apparent; significantly higher proportions of Ukraine-born respondents reported using films, and television (both $p \leq 0.01$).

The qualitative data suggest that one reason why higher percentages of respondents did not use Ukrainian media resources is the lack of suitable resources available to them. Asked whether she shows her children Ukrainian cartoons, Olena (second-wave, 36-55) states that she deems a large portion of the Ukrainian cartoons she has encountered poor in quality (although she did not clarify what exactly she meant by 'quality' here), especially in comparison with those available in Russian (Interview Extract 7.3), and her decision to employ such resources depends on their quality.

Interview Extract 7.18

Olena	The problem with cartoons, I mean, once again, most of the good quality ones are in Russian. But I found recently, the studio, what was it called? Anima, something like that, they made a few episodes of **Котигорошко** <Kotyhoroshko>, a popular character from Ukrainian folk tales. There is a folk tale called **Котигорошко** <Kotyhoroshko> but they made a few episodes about him and his friends and they've made it a little bit more like a kind of superhero interpretation of the folk tale, but it's still quite traditional. So this is in Ukrainian and my daughter loves it, she's watching it. Yes, so whenever there is something of decent quality, I would.

A questionnaire respondent (also second-wave), like Olena, comments on the suitability of available cartoons, commenting that they are relatively old and difficult to understand, but she considers

the more modern Ukrainian cartoons unsuitable for her children because the level of Ukrainian is too high.

Questionnaire Response 7.12

> My children are at that age when they need cartoons. Unfortunately, the existing Ukrainian cartoons are either too old (the sound is not great, and it is difficult to understand what the characters are saying), or they are new but aimed at children who have a rich Ukrainian vocabulary already. I am still searching for suitable Ukrainian cartoons for my children. It seems that Peppa Pig has the best simple vocabulary.
> *Participant 045, 16-35, Female, Ukraine-born*

Two other questionnaire respondents considered that a lack of Ukrainian-language resources, both online and offline, hinders the transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK (Questionnaire Response 7.13 and Questionnaire Response 7.14).

Questionnaire Response 7.13

> There is a lack of good Ukrainian language CDs or online games for kids.
> *Participant 012, 36-55, Male, London*

Questionnaire Response 7.14

> Not enough resources or places to learn Ukrainian. Keeping the language alive is important in the UK, however the lack of resources both online and locally

has an impact and hinders language take-up/development. Nothing is being done about this. *Participant 077, 36-55, Male, Yorkshire*

Table 7.8: Responses to questionnaire item:
Do you use or have you previously used, any of the following to encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?
Percentages and frequencies shown, % (N)

	Any Media	Books	Television	Films	Internet
All Respondents with Children	80.7 (50)	59.7 (37)	37.1 (23)	53.2 (33)	56.5 (35)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: All					
UK-Born	71.1 (27)*	47.4 (18)*	31.6 (12)	39.5 (15)**	55.3 (21)
Ukraine-Born	95.0 (23)*	79.2 (19)*	45.8 (11)	75.0 (18)**	58.3 (14)
Respondent Birth Country Groups: Children Under 18					
UK-Born	55.6 (5)	55.6 (5)	11.1 (1)**	22.2 (2)**	22.2 (2
Ukraine-Born	93.8(15)	87.5 (14)	56.3 (9)**	87.5 (14)**	50.0 (8)
UK-Born Respondent and Children Age					
Under 18	55.6 (5)	55.6 (5)	11.1 (1)	22.2 (2)	22.2 (2)
Over 18	74.1 (20)	44.4 (12)	37.0 (10)	44.4 (12)	62.3 (17)

* significant at $p \leq 0.05$; ** significant at $p \leq 0.01$; *** significant at $p \leq 0.001$

7.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has examined intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance in the Ukrainian community in the UK, and has focused on the reported Ukrainian use of informants' children, the means through which efforts are made to transmit Ukrainian, and the challenges faced by community members in doing so.

Relatively high percentages of respondents reported making efforts to transmit Ukrainian to their children (74.7%, n=62), and informants largely reported that their children were able to speak Ukrainian (67.5%, n=56). However, there was also an acknowledgement that transmission and maintenance efforts required hard work and persistence. Despite the relatively high frequency reported of children's reported ability to speak Ukrainian, the data suggest that they do not, in fact, use the heritage/community language particularly often. The reported means for the domains in which respondents were asked to report such language use ranged from 3.1 to 5.7 (where 3 is 'often', and 6 is 'never'). According to the respondents, children used Ukrainian most often in Ukraine (with family, with friends), reinforcing the suggestion made in previous chapters that the use of Ukrainian is primarily associated with being in Ukraine itself. The context in which Ukrainian was reported being used least often was at mainstream school, which – along with other data presented in this chapter, and in line with previous research–

suggests that this space is primarily monolingual and does not embrace or support students' multilingual repertoires.

As for the means used to encourage children's knowledge of Ukrainian, those most frequently reported were those most closely related to Ukraine – trips to Ukraine, and contact with Ukrainian relatives - especially among second-wave Ukrainians, who arguably have the closest links to Ukraine (as outlined in Chapter 1). However, first-wave informants reported that trips to Ukraine have helped to encourage their children's knowledge of Ukrainian, both because they are 'forced' to use the language, and because it provides a space in which the language is made more relevant. This, though, again reinforces the idea that Ukrainian is predominantly for use in Ukraine, and less so in the UK.

Ukrainian complementary schools appear to be considered particularly important for language transmission and maintenance, and high percentages of respondents reported that their children have attended one (71.0%, n=44). However, despite their popularity, informants reported that the mixed abilities and different backgrounds of the students make it difficult to teach the language, and parents belonging to different migration waves clearly have different expectations of the schools. First-wave informants expect Ukrainian to be taught as a 'foreign language' (by which they seem to mean 'without assuming prior knowledge'; the casual use of the label does not appear to undermine the status of Ukrainian as the

heritage/community language). Meanwhile, second-wave Ukrainians' children are more likely to attend complementary school with prior knowledge of Ukrainian, and view the school as a space to support the acquisition that happens at home and/or elsewhere. The tension between these needs noted by Jenkala (1991) almost three decades ago remains, and has, if anything, grown with the influx of second-wave children.

It was noted by some informants that exogamy can also hinder language transmission, as it may be more difficult to try to maintain a mixed or complex ethnic background. Other barriers and challenges to transmitting and maintaining Ukrainian include a lack of suitable Ukrainian-language resources for children learning the language. The mainstream education system appeared to hinder such efforts, in practical terms, as extra-curricular commitments might prevent complementary school attendance, but also because mainstream schools were considered a widely monolingual English space, whose ideology and practices inevitably impacted on language choice and use outside of the school. The lack of a formal qualification in Ukrainian was also noted as a barrier. These factors combined reflect a lack of institutional support for the maintenance and development of Ukrainian in the UK. A final issue encountered in language transmission and maintenance efforts that was reported was a lack of suitable resources which thus made it difficult for informants to

engage their children and provide them with Ukrainian-language cartoons and books, for example.

8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has provided the first detailed sociolinguistic examination of the Ukrainian community in the UK. The study has demonstrated the value of a mixed methods approach, combining questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and ethnographic observations at a Ukrainian complementary school. This approach made it possible to examine the linguistic repertoires and language practices, language attitudes and ideologies of community members, as well as matters related to the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of the heritage/community language, both through reported data and through first-hand observation.

This conclusion summarises the key findings of the study, addressing the research questions outlined in Chapter 1, and discusses its contributions to knowledge as well as the implications of the findings of this research on policies regarding support for heritage/community languages in the UK (Section 8.2). It also considers the limitations of the project and suggests possible directions for future research (Section 8.3).

8.2 Summary of Findings

The data presented in Chapter 4 regarding the self-reported linguistic repertoires and language practices of members of the Ukrainian

community in the UK (RQs 1a, b, c) provided a clear indication that, overall, language shift is taking place in the community. In UK contexts in particular, the data demonstrated that Ukrainian is, in general, used relatively seldom by informants. Although the linguistic repertoires and language practices of second-wave informants (categorised in the questionnaire data as 'Ukraine-born') are more multilingual than those of first-wave ('UK-born') Ukrainians, they too nevertheless reported using English in many UK-based contexts (albeit often alongside other languages). The data obtained from some interviewees suggest that the use of Ukrainian in UK contexts is often largely symbolic, such as the use of Ukrainian alongside English in communications distributed by community organisations, and the insertion of Ukrainian words and phrases in conversations between grandparents and grandchildren (as shown in Chapter 4). Such symbolic use of Ukrainian was also observed first-hand in the Ukrainian Complementary School (see below).

As for domains of use (RQs 1b, c), throughout the thesis, there were clear indications that Ukrainian is reserved primarily for use in Ukraine. It was there that Ukrainian was reported being used most frequently by informants. However, as with linguistic repertoires and language practices more generally, even in Ukrainian contexts, second-wave Ukrainians reported more multilingual practices than first-wave Ukrainians. In this case, instead of English, first-wave Ukrainians reported predominantly using only Ukrainian, whereas

those in the second wave also reported using Russian alongside or instead of Ukrainian. Thus, the linguistic practices of second-wave Ukrainian informants appear to resemble those in contemporary Ukraine, where bilingual Ukrainian-Russian practices have been observed to be the norm (Bilaniuk 2005).

Despite the seemingly limited use of Ukrainian, the data presented – especially those in Chapter 5 – indicate that community members overall consider Ukrainian to play an important (in some cases, crucial) role in both shaping and reflecting Ukrainian identity (RQ 3). This, when considered alongside the relatively limited use of Ukrainian in the community, suggests that Ukrainian plays a largely symbolic – as opposed to communicative - role in Ukrainian identity. Thus, the data presented in this thesis which indicate that Ukrainian is an important component of Ukrainian identity suggest that Ukrainian can, to some extent, be considered a 'core value' (Smolicz 1981a, b; 1984) in the Ukrainian community in the UK. However, despite its status as a 'fundamental component of the group's culture' (Smolicz 1984: 26), Ukrainian has nevertheless lost its instrumental function and therefore its status as a core value of the community has not prevented language shift from taking place. Thus, the data demonstrate that a language being considered a core value of a group's culture does not necessarily result in language maintenance. Interestingly, the symbolic function of Ukrainian in the community also appears to somewhat resemble the role the Ukrainian language is

considered to play in Ukraine itself, as has been suggested by Kulyk (2016a, b). In the case of the Ukrainian community in the UK, however, the loss of the communicative function of Ukrainian means that English is the predominant language of communication, whereas in Ukraine the primarily symbolic function of Ukrainian in some cases is due to the acceptance of the use of Russian in a variety of domains (e.g. public life, media). In the case of second-wave Ukrainian migrants in the UK, the accepted communicative function of Russian may be an additional factor restricting the use of Ukrainian to a largely symbolic function in the community, even for this group who are, unlike many younger members of the first-wave community, still confident speakers of Ukrainian.

This study has also demonstrated considerable linguistic diversity within the Ukrainian community in the UK. It is not simply the case that the societal majority language (English) and the heritage/community language (Ukrainian) are present; instead, members of either wave of migration use different varieties of Ukrainian (labelled in this study as 'Diaspora Ukrainian' and 'Contemporary Ukrainian'), and second-wave Ukrainians also use Russian. Data presented in Chapter 5 revealed community members' diverse range of attitudes towards these different languages and varieties present in the community (RQ 2b), which further adds to the complexity of the linguistic situation in the Ukrainian community in the UK. Thus, this study has provided further evidence of linguistic

diversity within ethnic minority communities in the UK, and contributes to the growing body of research attending to such linguistic variation within ethnic minority groups (Lytra 2012; Huang 2016; Karatsareas 2018; Yilmaz 2018), which have, until recently, often been treated as being largely linguistically homogeneous.

The observations conducted at a Ukrainian complementary school provided the opportunity to gain a different insight into language practices (RQ 1b), and language attitudes and ideologies (RQ 2b, c) in the Ukrainian community than that provided by the self-reported questionnaire and interview data adding to existing work that has examined language practices, ideologies, and identities in complementary schools in the UK (Martin, Creese and Bhatt 2003; Creese 2007; Francis and Archer 2008). The data presented in Chapter 6 corroborate the findings of previous studies on complementary schools: although students did not use Ukrainian particularly often in the classroom, and instead largely used English, they nevertheless communicated multilingually, drawing from the resources in their linguistic repertoires. Such multilingual practices – employed also by teachers – stood in opposition to an ideology of 'separate bilingualism' (Creese and Blackledge 2011) exhibited by teachers, who called for language separation and often for the exclusive use of Ukrainian, rejecting not just the use of the societal majority language (English), but also Russian, in ways that would largely not be deemed problematic in contemporary Ukraine.

In data presented in Chapter 7, informants discussed some of the issues they have encountered with complementary schools, especially regarding teaching style (as a 'first language' or as a 'foreign language') and the mixed abilities of students (RQs 4a, b). Given the limited use of Ukrainian by students in the Ukrainian school, and competing views regarding the teaching and learning of the language, one solution would be to reframe the complementary school as a space for students to explore multilingualism and parts of their identity that they may not otherwise be able to in other contexts, especially the mainstream education system. However, it should also be noted that one potential difficulty in any attempt to shift the focus of complementary schools from the explicit teaching of the language to a site of linguistic and identity exploration is that some informants (primarily those belonging to the first wave of migration) seemed to have expectations that the complementary school is primarily responsible for the transmission of Ukrainian across generations. Thus, in order to promote such a change in focus, it would also be necessary to consider (and manage) the expectations of parents as well as the reality of what happens in the complementary school. A further challenge facing any attempt to alter the focus of complementary schools is that obtaining funding or support for something that does not have any explicit language attainment outcomes, but instead endeavours to support linguistic and identity exploration may prove difficult. However, in providing a space for such

exploration, complementary schools have the ability to contribute to social cohesion and the wellbeing of the young people attending them. The Good Childhood Report (2013: 32) identified that a priority for the wellbeing of young people in the UK is ensuring that they 'have a positive view of themselves and an identity that is respected'; this is something that such institutions can contribute to.

Besides the challenges facing complementary schools, this study has also identified a range of other barriers and challenges faced in attempts to transmit and maintain Ukrainian in the UK (RQ 4b). First, this thesis sheds light on the role played by the family in the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK – a domain that Fishman (1991: 181) considered crucial for the maintenance of heritage/community languages. Overall, the data presented in Chapters 5 and 7 of the thesis suggest that the role of the family in the maintenance of Ukrainian is somewhat limited. These data indicate that informants' use of Ukrainian in the home and within the family is limited and demonstrate the widespread use of complementary schools in transmission and maintenance efforts. However, despite the family being considered to play an important role in language maintenance in heritage/community language contexts, this is something that has not been extensively explored in the existing research on heritage/community languages in the UK. Future research on ethnic minority groups and their languages should

therefore seek to pay closer attention to the language transmission and maintenance efforts employed within families.

Further, the data presented in Chapter 7 explored additional barriers to language maintenance in the community. One reason provided by informants is the (well-documented) lack of institutional/state support for heritage/community languages in the UK, particularly those languages that are not spoken by large numbers of people (as is the case with Ukrainian, although it is not known how many Ukrainian speakers live in the UK; see Chapter 1). The data presented in this chapter also suggest that the mainstream education system has a monolingualising effect; that is, once children start mainstream school their use of Ukrainian decreases rapidly. This could be in part due to the influence of predominantly English-speaking peer groups of young people, but also because their multilingual identity is neither recognised nor valued in the mainstream education system. In recent years, large-scale research projects have started to address matters regarding the treatment of and attitudes towards multilingualism in the mainstream education system in the UK and throughout society more generally, such as the MEITS (Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Society) and Cross-Language Dynamics projects.[33] It is vital, moving forward, that such initiatives continue in order to encourage societal cohesion as well as the wellbeing of individuals in society.

[33] More information about these projects can be found at <http://www.meits.org/> and <https://crosslanguagedynamics.blogs.sas.ac.uk/>.

In addition to examining the barriers and challenges to the intergenerational transmission and maintenance of Ukrainian that were reported by informants in questionnaires and interviews, their language attitudes and ideologies (explored in Chapter 5) may also have the potential to reduce language maintenance and thus promote language shift within the community. First, the mixed nature of the attitudes exhibited by informants towards language maintenance act as a potential further barrier to the maintenance of Ukrainian. The fact that some informants were ambivalent towards language maintenance, considering it important but not essential, while others exhibited a relatively negative attitude, suggests that there is not widespread, strong support for language maintenance throughout the community, and this may contribute to language shift. Similarly, the mixed (and somewhat conflicting) attitudes towards the two varieties of Ukrainian – Diaspora Ukrainian and Contemporary Ukrainian – may also act as a factor that could further reduce the maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK, particularly in cases in which Ukrainian complementary schools are considered a key facilitator of language maintenance. This is in part because the teaching of one particular variety of Ukrainian towards which some community members might hold negative attitudes may discourage parents from sending their children to complementary school. It is also because teachers may correct students' use of a variety of Ukrainian that is not promoted in the complementary school, thereby rejecting, or at least questioning the

validity of, that student's variety of Ukrainian. The diverse range of language attitudes exhibited by community members, and the fact that these attitudes often conflict, may therefore directly lead to a negative impact on the maintenance of Ukrainian in the UK.

Further, this thesis, in addition to demonstrating the value of mixed methods research in sociolinguistics (as outlined above), has also highlighted the value of considering language and identity – as well as the relationship between the two – from both 'fixed' and 'fluid' perspectives, as has been advocated by both Joseph (2016) and Lytra (2016). This study has demonstrated that the Ukrainian language is an important part of the identity of community members; thus, as other scholars have previously argued, more fixed notions of the relationship between language and identity should not be rejected by researchers, as these links are 'real' to members of ethnic minority groups (May 2012; Sallabank 2013). However, considering the relationship between language and identity from a more fluid perspective was of particular use in the examination of language practices in the Ukrainian complementary school, as it allowed for an analysis of how individuals constructed and performed identity through language. Thus, this study has provided further evidence for the utility of combining these two approaches.

8.3 Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

One limitation of this study was the fact that no recordings were made during the observations in the Ukrainian complementary school. Although these observations enhanced the study by providing an insight into *actual* – as opposed to self-reported – language practices in the community, the data collected could have been improved by recording classroom interactions. However, it proved impossible to gain ethical approval to record minors. This limitation demonstrates how research projects may be impeded by practical considerations. In order to address this potential shortcoming of this part of the research, it was essential to ensure that field notes were particularly detailed and typed up as soon as possible after the observations so that no crucial information was forgotten or omitted. The study may also have been enhanced by observing language use in a wider range of domains, such as in Ukrainian clubs and church activities.

Further, as became clear in Chapter 5 in particular, there are differences in levels of education between informants (and also, anecdotally, between migration waves, with the second-wave migrants seemingly typically more highly educated overall), and these differences seem, on some points, to play a role in shaping practices, attitudes and ideologies. In retrospect, then, it would have been valuable to gather data about informants' levels of education, which could potentially have made the analysis more fine-grained, especially when it came to trying to understand the high levels of proficiency in

English of second-wave Ukrainians, and the ease with which they appear to use English. Knowledge of informants' education levels might also have contributed to a more nuanced understanding of informants' language attitudes, and the ideologies underpinning those attitudes, for example as informants' education may have impacted on their attitudes towards bilingualism.

Although this is the first empirical study of the sociolinguistic situation within the Ukrainian community in the UK and questionnaire data were collected from 83 first-wave and 54 second-wave Ukrainians in the UK, this study would also have been enhanced by the participation of more second-wave Ukrainians. The majority of questionnaire respondents belonged to the first wave of migration, as did all but one interviewee. Although the data obtained did reveal some fundamental differences between the two migration waves, this analysis would have been further strengthened by the participation of more members of the community belonging to the second wave of migration. However, the non-probability sampling techniques employed in order to recruit as many participants as possible in a relatively short space of time meant that informants were largely self-selected, and fewer second-wave Ukrainians made the decision to participate.

This study has only scratched the surface of linguistic and sociolinguistic variation in both the Ukrainian community in the UK and in Ukraine. Future research exploring the similarities and differences

of these two varieties of Ukrainian as well as attitudes towards them both in the Ukrainian community in the UK and in Ukraine itself would be particularly valuable, as would more research on the use and status of Russian in Ukrainian and other diasporic contexts. Future research on the second wave of Ukrainian migration to the UK would also be of particular interest, given their recent migration history and the linguistic complexity of this group, as we increasingly recognize the diversity within diversity of the UK's community languages. Such research would also allow for comparisons to be made between the Ukrainian community and other post-Soviet diaspora communities in the UK and beyond.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Informed Consent Forms and Research Instruments (English)

Appendix A1: Questionnaire Informed Consent Form

This project aims to examine the role that language plays within the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom.

The survey should take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. You will be asked to provide some basic information about yourself, and then you will be asked a series of questions about the languages you know, and the languages you use in a range of situations and with different groups of people. You will also be asked some questions about your attitudes towards language.

Your participation in the survey is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw at any time without any prejudice or negative consequences.

The data collected from this survey will be stored safely, and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). All data will be anonymous, and any personal details will only be accessible to the researcher. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to and that I have understood it	
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and they have been successfully answered	
I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without consequence	
I understand that all data are anonymous and there will not be any connection between the personal information provided and the data	
I confirm that I have read and understand the above information and that I agree to participate in this study	
I confirm that I am over 16 years of age	

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date** ……..

Appendix A2: Questionnaire

1. Age
   16-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐
   66+ ☐

2. Gender
   Female ☐ Male ☐

3. Where do you live?
   .....

4. Which country were you born in?
   Ukraine ☐ United Kingdom ☐ Soviet Union ☐ Other ☐

   If you selected Other, please specify:
   .....

If you were born in Ukraine, please answer questions 5-7.
If you were born elsewhere, please answer questions 8-10.

5. Where in Ukraine were you born? (region/town/village)
   .....

6. When did you move from Ukraine?
   .....

7. Please use this space to add any further comments about yourself and your connections to Ukraine.
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

8. Where were you born? (country/city/town)
   .....

9. Please provide some information about your Ukrainian family members (if known):

	Ukrainian relative (select all that apply)	Where in Ukraine are they from?	When did they move from Ukraine?
Mother	☐		
Father	☐		
Grandmother	☐		
Grandfather	☐		
Other	☐		

10. Please use this space to add any further comments about your family history that may be relevant.

……
……
……
……

11. Which languages do you know? (select all that apply)
Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Russian ☐ Other ☐

If you selected Other, please specify:
.....

12. Of *all* the languages you know, how well do you know them?

	Please list *all* the languages you know in the row that best sums up how well you know them.
Excellent	
Very Good	
Good	
Not Bad	
Poor	
Very Poor	

13. Please use this space to add any further comments about the languages you know.

……
……
……
……
……
……

14. How would you describe your languages? (select all that apply)

	Ukrainian	English	Other languages
My first language	☐	☐	
My second language	☐	☐	
A part of who I am	☐	☐	
A foreign language	☐	☐	
The language of my education	☐	☐	
The language I mainly use	☐	☐	
A language I sometimes use	☐	☐	
A language I use out of necessity	☐	☐	
Other	☐	☐	

15. Please use this space to add any further comments about how you would describe your languages.
……
……
……
……

16. Which language(s) do you prefer to use? (select all that apply)

a. Speaking
Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐

If you selected Other, please specify:
.....

b. Writing
Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐

If you selected Other, please specify:
.....

c. Reading
Ukrainian ☐ English ☐ Other ☐

If you selected Other, please specify:
.....

17. Please use this space to add any further comments about the language(s) you prefer to use.

……
……
……
……
……
……

18. Which language(s) do you *mainly* use when talking to the following people? (select all that apply)

	Ukrainian	English	N/A	Other	If you selected Other, please specify
Partner	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Children	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Parents (in UK)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Parents (in Ukraine)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Other family members (in UK)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Other family members (in Ukraine)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Friends (in UK)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Friends (in Ukraine)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Housemates	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Work colleagues	☐	☐	☐	☐	

19. Please use this space to add any further comments about the languages you use with different people.

……
……
……
……
……
……

20. Which language(s) do you *mainly* use in the following situations? (select all that apply)

	Ukrainian	English	N/A	Other	If you selected Other, please specify
Home	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Work	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Ukrainian events	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Social events	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Church/other place of worship	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Online	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Reading literature/newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐	

21. Please use this space to add any further comments about the language(s) you use in various situations.

……
……
……
……
……
……

22. How often do you use Ukrainian in the following situations?

	Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	N/A
with family in UK	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
with family in Ukraine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading books	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
reading newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
watching television	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
listening to radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
on online news sites	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
on social networking sites	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. Please use this space to add any further comments about when and how often you use Ukrainian.

……
……
……
……
……
……

24. Please state how strongly you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The Ukrainian language is an important part of my identity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The English language is an important part of my identity.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is important to know Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is important to speak Ukrainian in order to preserve Ukrainian culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am proud of my Ukrainian heritage.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is important for future generations of Ukrainians in the UK to learn and speak Ukrainian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The Ukrainian language distinguishes Ukrainians from other minority groups in the UK.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Knowing Ukrainian allows a person to learn more about their heritage/culture.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. Please use this space to add any further comments relating to the above statements.

……
……
……
……
……
……

26. Do you have children?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If you answered yes, please answer questions 27-37
If you answered no, please answer questions 38-39

27. Where were your children born?

Ukraine ☐ UK ☐ Other (please specify) ☐

If you selected Other, please specify:
.....

28. How old are they?
Under 18 ☐ Over 18 ☐

29. Please specify your children's age(s):
.....

30. Are your children currently learning Ukrainian?
Yes ☐ No ☐

31. Do your children speak Ukrainian?
Yes ☐ No ☐

32. How often do your children speak Ukrainian to the following people?

	Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	N/A
Parents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Siblings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other family members in UK	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Family members in Ukraine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ukrainian friends in UK	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends in Ukraine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. How often do your children use Ukrainian in the following situations?

	Always	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never	N/A
Home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
School	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Family events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ukrainian school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

34. Please use this space to add any further comments about your children's use of Ukrainian.
……
……
……

……
……
……

35. Do you actively encourage your children's knowledge of Ukrainian?
    Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Sure ☐

36. If yes, do you use or have you previously used, any of the following to encourage them?
    ☐ Ukrainian Saturday Schools ☐ Contact with relatives in Ukraine
    ☐ Trips to Ukraine ☐ Books
    ☐ Television ☐ Films
    ☐ Internet ☐ Music
    ☐ Ukrainian Summer School ☐ Other

    If you selected Other, please specify:
    .....

37. Please use this space to add any further comments about whether or not you encourage your children to learn Ukrainian, and the ways in which you do this.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

38. If you were to have children in the future, would you encourage them to learn Ukrainian?
    Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Sure ☐ N/A ☐

39. Please use this space to add any further comments on this matter.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

40. Do you feel that the Ukrainian language will continue to be used by Ukrainian communities in the UK in the future?
    Yes ☐ No ☐ Not Sure ☐

41. Please use this space to add any further comments regarding your thoughts and feelings towards the future of the Ukrainian language in the UK.

    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

42. Please use this space to add any further comments you may have about this survey.

    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

    Survey Complete!
    Thank you for your participation.

Appendix A3: Interview Informed Consent Form







This project aims to examine the role that language plays within the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom.

In this interview you will initially be asked to provide some information about yourself and your family history. This will then be followed by a more general conversation about issues regarding language, including language use and attitudes towards language. The interview should take approximately 30-45 minutes.

Your participation in the interview is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw at any time without any prejudice or negative consequences.

The data collected from this interview will be stored safely, and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). All data will be anonymous, and any personal details will only be accessible to the researcher. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

	Yes
I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to and that I have understood it	
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and they have been successfully answered	
I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without consequence	
I understand that all data are anonymous and there will not be any connection between the personal information provided and the data	
I consent to my data being transcribed and wish to be referred to anonymously in written forms of dissemination	
I confirm that I have read and understand the above information and that I agree to participate in this study	
I confirm that I am over 16 years of age	

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date** ……

Appendix A4: Interview Guide

Background.

First, would you please tell me a bit about yourself…
Tell me a bit about…

- Where were you born and where you grew up.
- Your childhood, and who you grew up around.

If born in UK:

Tell me a bit about…

- your links to Ukraine
- your Ukraine relatives
- the part of Ukraine they're from, what it's like there
- their move to the UK, when it happened, potential reasons why
- the kind of contact you had with relatives in Ukraine/elsewhere when you were growing up, any visits to Ukraine etc.

- the role Ukrainian language/culture played in your upbringing/childhood.
- the languages you spoke and learnt when you were growing up
- any involvement you had in the Ukrainian community when growing up
- your friends when you were growing up (Ukrainians, British friends etc.)

If born in Ukraine:

Tell me a little about

- where you're from; where you grew up and what it was like there
- the languages you spoke and used whilst growing up
- the relatives you grew up around, the role they played in your childhood/upbringing
- your move to the UK

Language Knowledge, Use, Attitudes

I'd like to know more about the languages you know, the languages you speak, and your feelings towards certain languages…

Tell me a little about…

- the languages you know/speak
- the first language you spoke
- whether or not you prefer to use a certain language (in certain situations/with certain people)
- the language(s) you might speak with… (for example) Partner/Children/Parents/Other family members/Friends/Colleagues
- the languages you might use (for example)… at Home/Work/Ukrainian events/Social events/Church/Online/ Newspapers
- when you might typically use Ukrainian, and how often you tend to use it
- any obstacles that may prevent you from using a language you want to use more often

- If you have children, tell me a little about them, and whether they speak/use Ukrainian.
- How you might encourage them to learn Ukrainian.

- Whether or not you think it is important, as a Ukrainian, to know/speak the language.

- How you see the future of the language in the diaspora.

Teachers

I'd like to know more about how you started working at the Ukrainian school and your experiences teaching Ukrainian…

Would you please tell me about…

- When and why you started to teach Ukrainian.
- Whether or not you have a teaching background
- How important you consider teaching the younger generations Ukrainian to be
- Your experiences of teaching Ukrainian
  - Student interest/motivation
  - Difficulties/challenges
  - Students' knowledge skills – do they differ much from student to student?
  - A typical lesson at Saturday school: what you do, what you teach etc.

Appendix A5: Classroom Observation Informed Consent Form: Parents

Research Information Sheet
Language and Identity in the Ukrainian Diaspora of the United Kingdom

I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham in the school of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. This research project aims to examine the role that language plays within the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom. In order to thoroughly examine the way language is used, and how it is taught to the younger generations of Ukrainians in the United Kingdom, I will be observing lessons at Ukrainian Saturday school over the course of the next academic year (2016-17).

Participation in this study is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw your child at any time and without any negative consequences.

During the lessons, I will be making notes on how Ukrainian is taught, and when and how often it is used. The note-taking will be discrete and will not directly affect your child or the lesson in any way.

The data collected from these observations will be stored safely and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). All data will be anonymous, and any personal details will only be accessible to the researcher. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

I hope that this research will make a contribution to literature on the teaching of heritage languages and bilingualism in education in the United Kingdom.

If you or your child have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

Please tick the following statements as appropriate:

I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to and that I have understood it	
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and they have been successfully answered	
I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that my child is free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without consequence	
I understand that all data are anonymous and there will not be any connection between the personal information provided and the data	
I confirm that I have read and understand the above information and that I allow my child participate in this study	

Signed ……. (parent)

Print name……. Date…….

Appendix A6: Classroom Observation Informed Consent Form: Teachers

Research Information Sheet
Language and Identity in the Ukrainian Diaspora of the United Kingdom

I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham in the school of Cultures, Languages and Area Studies. This research project aims to examine the role that language plays within the Ukrainian community in the United Kingdom. In order to thoroughly examine the way language is used, and how it is taught to the younger generations of Ukrainians in the United Kingdom I will be observing lessons at Ukrainian Saturday school over the course of the next academic year (2016-17).

I would like to invite your school to take part in the study described above. Participation in this study is voluntary, and you are able to withdraw at any time and without any negative consequences.

During the lessons I will be making notes on how Ukrainian is taught, and when and how often it is used. The note-taking will be discrete and will not directly affect the lesson in any way.

The data collected from these observations will be stored safely and will only be accessible to those involved in the research (researcher, supervisors). All data will be anonymous, and any personal details will only be accessible to the researcher. There is a chance that the data collected will be used by the researcher in future publications, such as books and articles.

I hope that this research will make a contribution to literature on the teaching of heritage languages and bilingualism in education in the United Kingdom.

If you have any questions about the study, you can contact me at Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

Please tick the following statements as appropriate:

I confirm that the purpose of the study has been explained to and that I have understood it	
I have had the opportunity to ask questions and they have been successfully answered	
I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without consequence	
I understand that all data are anonymous and there will not be any connection between the personal information provided and the data	
I confirm that I have read and understand the above information and that I agree to participate in this study	

Signed …… (participant)

Print name…… Date…….

Appendix B: Informed Consent Forms and Research Instruments (Ukrainian)

Appendix B1: Questionnaire Informed Consent Form







Метою цього проекту є дослідити роль мови в групах українців у Великобританії.

Опитування триватиме приблизно 15-20 хвилин. На початку анкети буде декілька загальних питань про себе, потім Вам будуть запропоновані питання про мови, які Ви знаєте, і про мови, які Ви вживаєте у різних ситуаціях і з різними людьми. Вам також будуть запропоновані питання про ваше ставлення до мов.

Ваша участь в цьому опитуванні є добровільною і Ви можете відмовитися від участі в опитуванні на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.

Всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні та доступні лише організаторам опитування. Є можливість, що дослідник буде вживати ці дані у наступних публікаціях, наприклад у книгах або статтях.

Якщо у Вас є будь-які питання щодо цього дослідження, Ви можете їх задати особисто автору анкети і досліднику вищевказаної теми, Кейті Харрісон: Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

Я підтверджую, що мені ясно цілі цього дослідження, і я їх розумію.	
Я мав(ла) можливість задати питання і я отримав(ла) на них відповіді.	
Я розумію, що моя участь в цьому опитуванні є добровільною, і я можу відмовитися від участі в опитуванні на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.	
Я розумію, що всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні і не буде ніякого зв'язку між особистими даними та іншими даними.	
Я підтверджую, що я прочитав(ла) і зрозумув(ла) наведену вище інформацію, і я згоден(а) брати участь в цьому опитуванні.	
Я підтверджую, що мені є більше 16-ти років.	

Підпис ..... (учасник)

Ім'я..... **Дата** .....

Appendix B2: Questionnaire

1. Вік
   16-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐
   66+ ☐

2. Стать
   Жінка ☐ Чоловік ☐

3. Де Ви живете?
   .....

4. У якій країні Ви народились?
   Україна ☐ Великобританія ☐ СРСР ☐ Інший ☐

   Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
   .....

Якщо Ви народилися в Україні, будь ласка, дайте відповідь на питання 5-7.
Якщо Ви не народилися в Україні, будь ласка дайте відповідь на питання 8-10.

5. Де в Україні Ви народились? (область/місто/село)
   .....

6. Коли Ви переїхали з України?
   .....

7. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про себе або ваших родичів.
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

8. Де Ви народились? (країна/область/місто)
   .....

9. Будь ласка надайте деяку інформацію про ваших українських родичів (якщо Ви знаєте про них):

	Український родич (виберіть всі підходящі варіанти)	Звідки вони?	Коли вони переїхали з України?
Мати	☐		
Батько	☐		
Бабуся	☐		
Дідусь	☐		
Інший	☐		

10. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про свою сімейну історію.
……
……
……
……
……
……

11. Які мови Ви знаєте? (виберіть всі підходящі варіанти)
Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Російська ☐
Інший ☐

Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
.....

12. Як гарно Ви знаєте *всі* свої мови?

	Будь ласка, напишіть *всі* мови, які Ви знаєте в рядку, що відповідає вашому рівню.
Відмінно	
Дуже добре	
Добре	
Непогано	
Погано	
Дуже погано	

13. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про мови, які Ви знаєте.
……
……
……
……

……

14. Як Ви описуєте Ваші мови? (виберіть всі підходящі варіанти)

	Українська	Англійська	Інші мови
Моя перша мова	☐	☐	
Моя друга мова	☐	☐	
Частина мене	☐	☐	
Іноземна мова	☐	☐	
Мова моєї освіти	☐	☐	
Мова, яку я найбільше вживаю	☐	☐	
Мова, яку я іноді вживаю	☐	☐	
Мова, яку мені треба вживати	☐	☐	
Інший	☐	☐	

15. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про те, як Ви описуєте свої мови.
……
……
……
……
……
……

16. Якій мові/яким мовам Ви надаєте перевагу у вживанні? (виберіть всі підходящі варіанти)

a. Розмовляти
Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інший ☐

Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
.....

b. Писати
Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інший ☐

Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
.....

c. Читати
Українська ☐ Англійська ☐ Інший ☐

Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
.....

17. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про мови, яким Ви надаєте перевагу у вживанні.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

18. Яку мову/які мови Ви зазвичай вживаєте, розмовляючи з наступними людьми? (виберіть всі підходящі варіанти)

	Укр.	Анг.	Н/П	Інший	Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь ласка:
Партнер	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Діти	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Батьки (в Великобританії)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Батьки (в Україні)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Інші родичі (в Великобританії)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Інші родичі (в Україні)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Друзі (в Великобританії)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Друзі (в Україні)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Сусіди по квартирі	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Колеги	☐	☐	☐	☐	

19. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про мови, які Ви вживаєте, розмовляючи з різними людьми.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

20. Яку мову/які мови Ви зазвичай вживаєте в даних ситуаціях?

	Укр.	Анг.	Н/П	Інший	Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
Вдома	☐	☐	☐	☐	
На роботі	☐	☐	☐	☐	
На українських подіях	☐	☐	☐	☐	
На соціальних подіях	☐	☐	☐	☐	
В церкві/на місці поклоніння	☐	☐	☐	☐	
В інтернеті	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Читаючи книжки/газети	☐	☐	☐	☐	

21. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про мови, які Ви вживаєте в різних ситуаціях.
……
……
……
……

22. Як часто Ви вживаєте українську мову в даних ситуаціях?

	Завжди	Дуже часто	Часто	Іноді	Рідко	Ніколи	Н/П
з родичами (в Великобританії)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
з родичами (в Україні)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
читаючи книжки	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
читаючи газети	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
дивлячись телевізор	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
слухаючи радіо	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
на новинних сайтах	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
у соціальних мережах	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про своє вживання української мови, наприклад в яких ситуаціях і як часто Ви вживаєте її.
……
……
……
……
……
……

24. Уточніть як сильно Ви погоджуєтеся з наступними твердженнями.

	Повністю згоден(а)	Згоден(а)	Важко сказати	Не згоден(а)	Повністю не згоден(а)
Українська мова – важлива частина моєї ідентичності.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Англійська мова – важлива частина моєї ідентичності.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Важливо знати українську мову, щоб зберегти українську культуру.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Важливо розмовляти українською, щоб зберегти українську культуру.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Я пишаюся моїм українським спадком.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Важливо, що молоде і наступне покоління українців у Великобританії будуть вивчати й вживати українську мову.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Українська мова відмежовує українців від інших груп меншин у Великобританії.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Знання української мови дозволяє людям знати більше про свій спадок і свою культуру.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію, яка відноситься до вищезгаданих тверджень.
……
……
……
……
……
……

26. Чи є у вас діти?
Так ☐ Ні ☐

Якщо Ви відповіли «так», дайте відповідь на питання 27-37
Якщо Ви відповіли «ні», дайте відповідь на питання 38-39

27. Де народились ваші діти?
    Україна ☐ Великобританія ☐ Інший ☐

    Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь-ласка:
    .....

28. Скільки їм років?
    До 18 років ☐ Старше 18 років ☐

29. Уточніть, будь-ласка, скільки їм років:
    .....

30. Чи вони тепер вивчають українську мову?
    Так ☐ Ні ☐

31. Чи вони розмовляють українською?
    Так ☐ Ні ☐

32. Як часто вони вживають українську мову, розмовляючи з наступними людьми?

	Завжди	Дуже часто	Часто	Іноді	Рідко	Ніколи	Н/П
Батьки	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Брат/Сестра	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Інші родичі в Великобританії	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Родичі в Україні	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Українські друзі в Великобританії	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Друзі в Україні	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. Як часто ваші діти вживають українську мову в даних ситуаціях?

	Завжди	Дуже часто	Часто	Іноді	Рідко	Ніколи	Н/П
Вдома	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Школа	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Сімейні події	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Українська школа	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

34. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про вживання вашими дітьми української мови, наприклад в яких ситуаціях і як часто вони вживають її.
……
……
……
……
……
……

35. Чи підтримуете ви їхнє знання української мови?
Так ☐ Ні ☐ Не впевнений(а)☐

36. Якщо Ви відповіли «так», як Ви їх підтримуєте або підтримували?
☐ Українська Школа ☐ Взаємодія з українськими родичами
☐ Поїздки в Україну ☐ Книжги
☐ Телевізор ☐ Фільми
☐ Інтернет ☐ Музика
☐ Літня школа ☐ Інше

Якщо Ви вибрали Іншу, уточніть будь ласка:
.....

37. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію про те, чи Ви заохочуєте ваших дітей вчитися українською мовою, і як Ви їх заохочуєте.
……
……
……
……
……
……

38. Якщо в майбутньому у Вас є будуть діти, чи Ви б хотіли, щоб вони вивчили/знали українську мову?
Так ☐ Ні ☐ Не знаю ☐ Н/П ☐

39. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію, яка стосується цієї теми.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

40. Чи Ви думаєте, що українці в Великобританії будуть продовжувати вживати українську мову в майбутньому?
    Так ☐ Ні ☐ Не впевнений(а) ☐

41. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-яку додаткову інформацію стосовно ваших думок і почуттів до майбутнього української мови в Великобританії.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

42. Тут, якщо бажаєте, Ви можете надати будь-які додаткові зауваження по цій анкеті.
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

    Велике дякую за вашу участь!

Appendix B3: Interview Informed Consent Form







Інформація про дослідження
Мова та ідентичність в українській діаспорі Великобританії

Метою цього проекту є дослідити роль мови в групах українців у Великобританії.

На початку інтерв'ю Вам будуть запропоновані питання про себе та Вашу сімейну історію. Після того, ми взагалі говоритимемо про мову – наприклад про Ваше вживання мови та Ваше ставлення до мови. Інтерв'ю триватиме приблизно 30-45 хвилин.

Участь в інтерв'ю є добровільною і Ви можете відмовитися від участі на будь-якому етапі без будь-яких пояснень.

Всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні та доступні лише організаторам опитування. Є можливість, що дослідник буде вживати ці дані у наступних публікаціях, наприклад у книгах або статтях.

Якщо у Вас є будь-які питання щодо цього дослідження, Ви можете їх задати особисто автору анкети і досліднику вищевказаної теми, Кейті Харрісон: Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

	Так
Я підтверджую, що мені ясно цілі цього дослідження, і я їх розумію.	
Я мав(ла) можливість задати питання і я отримав(ла) на них відповіді.	
Я розумію, що участь в цьому опитуванні є добровільною, і учасники можуть відмовитися від участі в опитуванні на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.	
Я розумію, що всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні і не буде ніякого зв'язку між особистими даними та іншими даними.	
Я даю згоду на переписування даних і я хочу бути передані анонімно у наступних публікаціях.	
Я підтверджую, що я прочитав(ла) і зрозумув(ла) наведену вище інформацію, і я згоден(а) брати участь в цьому опитуванні.	
Я підтверджую, що мені є більше 16-ти років	

Підпис …… (учасник)

Ім'я …… **Дата** ……..

Appendix B4: Interview Guide

Довідка Інформація

По перше, розкажіть мені, будь ласка, про себе...

- Де Ви народились?
- Де Ви виростали?
- З якими родичам Ви виростали?

Якщо учасник народився в Великобританії:

- Що ваш св'язок з Україною?
- Які ваші родичи із України?
    - Мати/Батько/Батьки/Бабусья/Дідусь
- Звідки вони?
- Коли вони переїхали в Великобританію? Чому вони переїхали?
- Якщо Ви маєте родичів в Україні, чи Ви мали взаємодію з ними коли Ви були дитина? Чи Ви їх відвідали?
- З якими родичами Ви провели час коли Ви були дитина?
- Чи українська мова та культура важні частини вашего виховання?
    - Чи українська мова перша мова, яку Ви знали?
    - Чи Ви відвідали школу?
    - Чи ви відвідали будь-які інші українські події?
    - Чи ваші найближчі друзі були українські?

Якщо учасник народився в Украині:

- Звідки (в Україні) Ви?
- Чи украінська мова Ваша перша мова? Які мови Ви зазвичай вживали в Украіні?
- Коли Ви переїхали в Великобританію?

Знання і Вживааня Мови, та Ваше Ставлення до Мови

Я хотела би знати більше про мови, які Ви знаєте та якими Ви розмовляете, и Ваше ставлення до мов(и)...

- Які мови Ви знаєте?
- Як добре Ви знаєте Їх? (рідна, перша, друга)
- Яка мова була ваша перша мова?
- Якій мові/Яким мовам Ви надаєте перевагу говорити/читати/писати? Чому?
- Яку мову/яки мови Ви зазвичай вживаєте, розмовляючи з...
    - Партнерам/дітьми/батьками/іншими родичами/друзями/колегами
- Яку мову,які мови Ви зазвичай вживаєте...
    - Вдома/на роботі/на українських подіях/на соціальних подіях/в церкві/в інтенетш
- Як часто Ви вживаєте українську мову?
- Чи Ви хочете більше вживати українську мову? Чому? Чому ні?

- Чи є у вас діти? Розкажіть мені про них...
    - Скільки їм (йому/їй) років?
    - Де вони (він/вона) народились?
- Чи Ви підтримуете їхне знання української мови?
    - Так... Як Ви їх підтримуете?
    - Ні... Чому ні? Вони зробили щось ще український?
- Чи Ви думаєте, що знання українській мови важлива частина українській ідентичності?
- Чи Ви думаєте, що українці в Великобританії будуть продовжувати вживати українську мову в майбутному?

Вчителі

Я хотела би більше знати про те, як Ви почнали працювати в українській школі та Ваші досвіди...

- Коли Ви почнали навчити українську мову?
- Чи ви вчитель, або Ви в минулому навчили?
- Чому Ви вирішили працювати у школі?
- Чи Ви думаєте, що важливо навчати молоде покоління українську?
- Ви можете описувати ваш(і) досвід(и) навчання українській мови?
    - Чи студенти мотивовані та зацікавані?
    - Чи у вас труднощі коли ви навчаете?
    - Чи є різници між знанням ваших студентів?
    - Чи є можливо одне уміння, яке важче навчати?
    - Як ви описуете типовий урок?
        - Ви тільки приделяете навчанню мови?

Чи ви також навчати історію та культуру України?

Appendix B5: Classroom Observation Informed Consent Form: Parents

Інформація про дослідження
Мова та ідентичність в українській діаспорі Великобританії

Я аспірантка у Ноттінгемському університеті у кафедрі іноземних мов. Метою цього проекту є дослідити роль мови в групах українців у Великобританії. Щоб більше дізнатися про вживання мови в українській діаспорі у Великобританії та дізнатися як викладається мова молодому поколінню, я спостерігатиму уроки в українській суботній школі протягом наступного академічного року (2016-17).

Участь в дослідженні є добровільною і Ви можете відмовитися Вашу дитину від участі на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.

Під час уроків, я буду робити нотатки про викладання української мови, та як і як часто люди вживають українською мовою. Я буду робити нотатки розсудливо, та мої спостереження не будуть безпосередньо впливати на Вашу дитину або уроки.

Всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні та доступні лише організаторам опитування. Є можливість, що дослідник буде вживати ці дані у наступних публікаціях, наприклад у книгах або статтях.

Сподіваюся, що це дослідження зробить внесок в літературу про викладання мов і білінгвізм у освіті у Великобританії.

Якщо у Вас або Вашої дитини є будь-які питання щодо цього дослідження, Ви можете зв'язатися зі мною: Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

Я підтверджую, що мені ясно цілі цього дослідження, і я їх розумію.	
Я мав(ла) можливість задати питання і я отримав(ла) на них відповіді.	
Я розумію, що участь в цьому опитуванні є добровільною, і я можут відмовитися мою дитину від участі в опитуванні на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.	
Я розумію, що всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні і не буде ніякого зв'язку між особистими даними та іншими даними.	
Я підтверджую, що я прочитав(ла) і зрозумув(ла) наведену вище інформацію, і я дозволяю моій дитині брати участь в цьому опитуванні.	

Підпис …… (родитель)

Ім'я ……. Дата …….

Appendix B6: Classroom Observation Informed Consent Form: Teachers (Ukrainian)



Інформація про дослідження
Мова та ідентичність в українській діаспорі Великобританії

Я аспірантка у Ноттінгемському університеті у кафедрі іноземних мов. Метою цього проекту є дослідити роль мови в групах українців у Великобританії. Щоб більше дізнатися про вживання мови в українській діаспорі у Великобританії та дізнатися як викладається мова молодому поколінню, я спостерігатиму уроки в українській суботній школі протягом наступного академічного року (2016-17).

Я хотіла б запросити Вашу школу брати участь у вищевказаному проекті. Участь в дослідженні є добровільною і Ви можете відмовитися від участі на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.

Під час уроків, я буду робити нотатки про викладання української мови, та як і як часто люди вживають українською мовою. Я буду робити нотатки розсудливо, та мої спостереження не будуть безпосередньо впливати на уроки.

Всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні та доступні лише організаторам опитування. Є можливість, що дослідник буде вживати ці дані у наступних публікаціях, наприклад у книгах або статтях.

Сподіваюся, що це дослідження зробить внесок в літературу про викладання мов і білінгвізм у освіті у Великобританії.

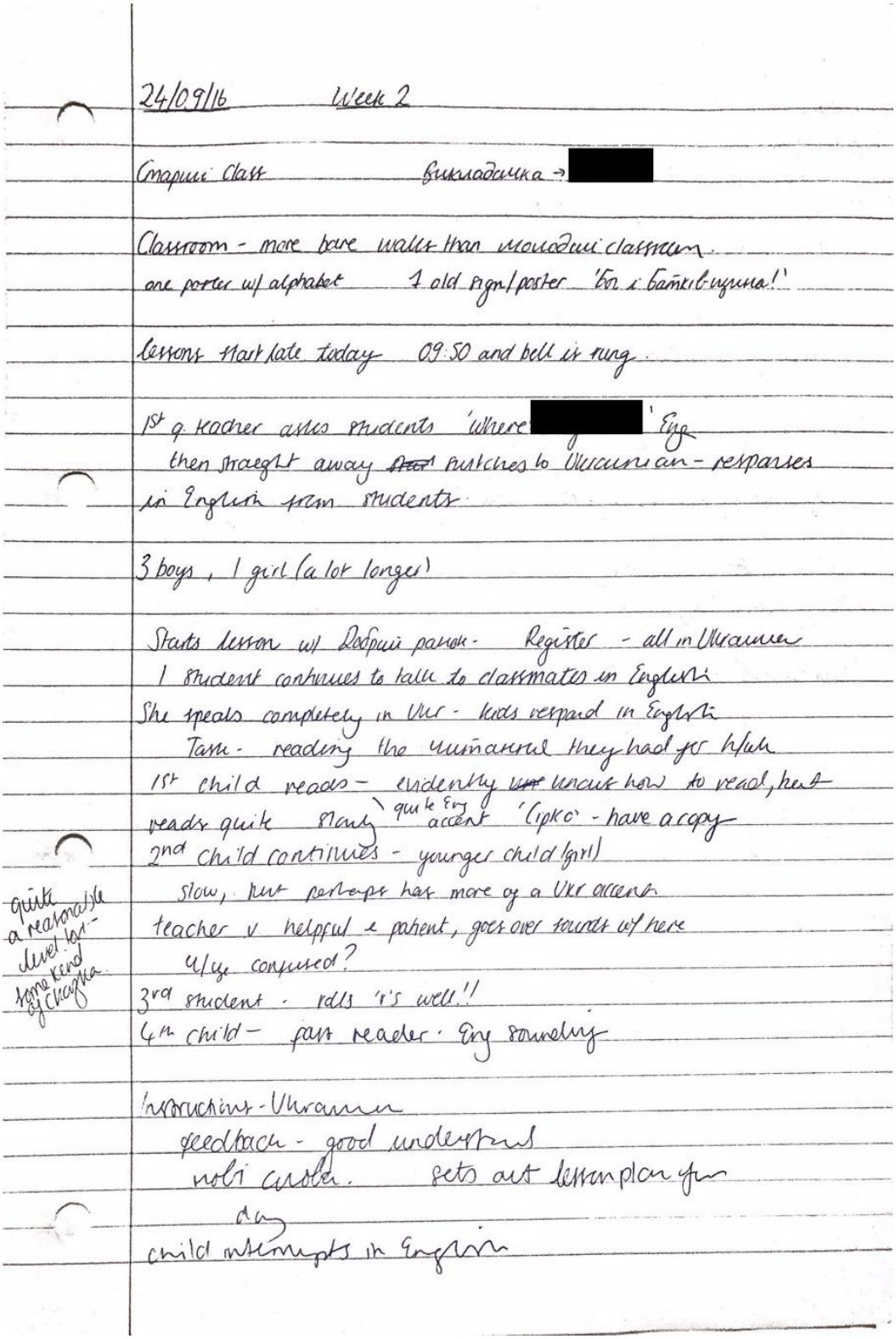
Якщо у Вас є будь-які питання щодо цього дослідження, Ви можете зв’язатися зі мною: Katie.Harrison@nottingham.ac.uk

Я підтверджую, що мені ясно цілі цього дослідження, і я їх розумію.	
Я мав(ла) можливість задати питання і я отримав(ла) на них відповіді.	
Я розумію, що участь в цьому опитуванні є добровільною, і учасники можуть відмовитися від участі в опитуванні на будь-якому етапі заповнення анкети без будь-яких пояснень.	
Я розумію, що всі зібрані дані будуть строго анонімні і не буде ніякого зв'язку між особистими даними та іншими даними.	
Я підтверджую, що я прочитав(ла) і зрозмув(ла) наведену вище інформацію, і я згоден(а) брати участь в цьому опитуванні.	

Підпис …… (учасник)

Ім’я …… Дата ……

Appendix C: Example Field Notes



24/09/16 Week 2

Старші class Викладачка → [redacted]

Classroom - more bare walls than молодші classroom.
one poster w/ alphabet 1 old sign/poster 'Бо і Бантіг-ігуана!'

lessons start late today 09:50 and bell is rung.

1st q. teacher asks students 'where [redacted]' Eng
then straight away switches to Ukrainian - responses in English from students.

3 boys, 1 girl (a lot longer)

Starts lesson w/ Добрий ранок - Register - all in Ukrainian
1 student continues to talk to classmates in English
She speaks completely in Ukr - kids respond in English
Task - reading the чинанчик they had for h/w
1st child reads - evidently uncut how to read, but reads quite many quite Eng accent 'Сірко' - have a copy
2nd child continues - younger child (girl)
slow, but perhaps has more of a Ukr accent
teacher v helpful & patient, goes over sounds w/ here
u/s confused?
3rd student - rolls 'r's well!!
4th child - past reader - Eng sounding

quite a reasonable level for - some kind of Chagha.

Instructions - Ukrainian
feedback - good understand
noli carolo. sets out lesson plan for
day
child interrupts in English

Teacher - Holi aroba
crosses and given to children.
Children responding in English
word matching w/ English
children 'I can'

'know tone but not other
teacher in English 'starts w/ one you know?'

'Whats 'p' in English?'

Going through this together in English, discussing it.
|
it is a word-matching exercise, to understandable,
Boys quite lively, girls know 2 in class, late arrival/ quite quiet

Tiaponnab - problem word; teacher separates
Tiapo - nnab
emphasises this

'What's a cbunna?' 'You're a cbunna!' - creating w/ words
Boys ask lots of q. in English
Bakwakwa - another problem word - messing around and trying to guess what bakwakwa means: clue - it's a vegetable.
What's a zyals? 'zay - yats'
Whats a nonyunya - teacher 'it's a koala?'

Whats an eagle? ⊗ clues given throughout until they guess them.
Girls v. quiet, boys more interactive/loud.

Clues given in Eng / Ww / w/ gestures

Середня
18²⁰

Only 3 students in [redacted] class today [redacted]

[redacted] starts by asking them what date it is in Ukrainian & they use some of the posters near the board around them. Someone then asks for a 'ручка' and [redacted] sorts this out in Ukr.

[redacted] asks 'Як писати суботa?' 'Пункт # написання' and writes суботa on the board so that they can copy it down.

[redacted] then does the attendance list & chats to herself in Ukrainian.

[redacted] looks through the students' folders to check for work [redacted] then continues to talk to them in Ukr.

1st task is having to write words that the tells them to say - gives all instructions in Ukr. checks their writing as they do it - then writes it on the board so they have correct spelling of 'меню'.

Next word 'наклейка' - instructs them in Ukrainian again - explains - none of them have written it w/ a ukrainian знак - and explains it in Ukr to them.

[redacted] asks in Ukr how many words they'll have to spell - [redacted] responds in Ukr. [redacted] then goes onto the next word 'сніданок' [redacted] keep engaging in conv w [redacted] in Ukrainian. [redacted] points out diff between 'и' & 'і' to the students - 1st in Ukr & then switches to Eng

there's a knock on the door & it's [redacted] asks можна мені зробити нотатки?

[redacted] responds in Ukr. & says she doesn't understand. [redacted] says 'зробити' again & [redacted] corrects her 'нотатки' (pudа) saying she should use 'бути'...

next word - they write it down.

Next word - обідній → they have forgotten what it means, so [redacted] explains.

[redacted] 'я не знаю 'ґ'')
[redacted] - 'Ukrainian ґ is just like English 'g'.
[redacted] explains in Ukr how it can be spelt ґанок or ґелґіп
next word 'ґуля' - ('ми пишемо ~~г~~ ґ')
'ґ is just like English g'
then they talk about how to write it.
[redacted] asks to write it on the board & [redacted] shows them
all on the board how to write 'ґ' in a joined up way
- next word 'ґлодзіно' - decided that 1st
to write it correctly can write it on board
[redacted] writes 'looblue', ~~then~~ on board, then
[redacted] hier [redacted] then goes & writes it correctly on
the board.
next 'цікавий' - [redacted] translates it correctly
[redacted] як написати 'ц'? [redacted] directs them to the poster of
the alphabet. [redacted] goes to write it - struggles w/ adjectival
'ий' ending - [redacted] goes & finishes the word.
[redacted] then writes it in red underneath to make sure they've
seen the correct form
часи. → 'гарний' [redacted] goes & writes it correctly on the board
[redacted] then asks Nina a q. about word.
'оспаний... → super deadly challenge.'
[redacted] goes & writes it on the board
[redacted] then says the word ~~they~~ he wants them to spell
бутерброд - [redacted] writes it & quickly jumps up to ask to
write it on the board
[redacted] 'What's a бутерброд? [redacted] 'grape' (quickly responds).

L
Що ми починаємо...? Читання або...'
'so - shall we start w/ grammar or reading?'

[redacted] grammar so we can get it over & done w/.
grammar's my nemesis.

Appendix D: Examples of Teaching Materials used in the Ukrainian Complementary School

Plural of nouns - Множина іменників

Match words from columns A and B. З'єднайте слова з колонок A і B

A	B
медичний	мова
маленька	чай
смачне	кімната
українська	університет
гарячий	троянда
червона	яблуко
цікавий	небо
синє	фільм

Study the example: Уважно прочитайте:

	♥	♥♥♥
Чоловічий рід M	Помідор_ Ключ_	Помідор**и** Ключ**і**
Жіночий рід F	Сестр**а** вишн**я**	Сестр**и** вишн**і**
Середній рід N	Вікн**о** Мор**е**	Вікн**а** мор**я**

Read and practise the conversation. Прочитайте і відпрацюйте діалог.

A: Ти любиш сало?

B: Так, я дуже люблю сало. А ти?

A: А я не дуже. Я люблю картоплю.

Жін. Рід (Кого? Що?)
Кава – каву
Картопля – картоплю

Складіть діалоги. Make conversations using the words below.

A: Ти любиш _____?

B: Так, я дуже люблю _____. А ти?

A: А я не дуже. Я люблю _____



1. Чай, кава
2. Вареники, макарони
3. Гриби, помідори
4. Сметана, сир
5. Риба, шинка

Match the words

Борщ _____	1. milk
Суп _____	2. bread
Вареники _____	3. soured cream
Картопля _____	4. ice cream
Макарони _____	5. lard
Курка _____	6. butter
Риба _____	7. biscuit
Салат _____	8. potato
Молоко _____	9. mushrooms
Сир _____	10. tea
Сметана _____	11. varenyky
Хліб _____	12. borsch
Шинка _____	13. salad
Сало _____	14. coffee
Гриби _____	15. pasta
Морозиво _____	16. fish
Печиво _____	17. chicken
Чай _____	18. ham
Кава _____	19. cheese
Масло _____	20. soup

Визначте рід іменників і впишіть у відповідну колонку. Identify the gender of the following nouns and write them into an appropriate box.

чол. рід -___ / -ь	жін. рід -а / -я	сер.рід -о / -е	множина -и / -і

MATCH THE WORDS

Жаба	Horse
Виноград	Pepper
Вівця	Frog
Редиска	Turkey
Індик	Pear
Лисиця	Owl
Перець	Cabbage
Машина	Grapes
Яблуко	Apple
Папуга	Goat
Качка	Cherry
Кінь	Car
Капуста	Parrot
Лев	Lion
Гарбуз	Radish
Коза	Duck
Квітка	Flower
Груша	Pumpkin
Сова	Fox
Вишня	Sheep

2. Location, direction – WHERE TO? NEAR
Місце положення, напрям руху – КУДИ? БІЛЯ

A: Привіт, ти куди йдеш?
B: Я йду до школи.
A: А далеко твоя школа?
B: Ні, зовсім близько, біля лікарні.



Вставте пропущені слова і розіграйте діалоги. Fill in the blanks and roleplay the conversations.

а) Церква, бібліотека

A: Привіт, ти куди йдеш?
B: Я йду до _____.
A: А далеко твоя _____?
B: Ні, зовсім близько, біля _____.

б) Бабуся, магазин

A: Привіт, ти куди йдеш?
B: Я йду до _____.
A: А далеко твоя _____?
B: Ні, зовсім близько, біля магазину.

в) _____, _____

A: Привіт, ти куди йдеш?
B: Я йду до _____.
A: А далеко твій/твоя _____?
B: Ні, зовсім близько, біля _____.

3. Container/part of... Ємність/частина ...

A: Я йду на базар. Нам щось потрібно купити?
B: Так, візьми, будь ласка, бутилку олії, кілограм цукру і пачку рису.



Вставте пропущені слова і розіграйте діалоги. Fill in the blanks and roleplay the conversations.

а) Молоко, сир, гречка

A: Я йду на базар. Нам щось потрібно купити?
B: Так, візьми, будь ласка, бутилку молока, кілограм сиру і пачку гречки.

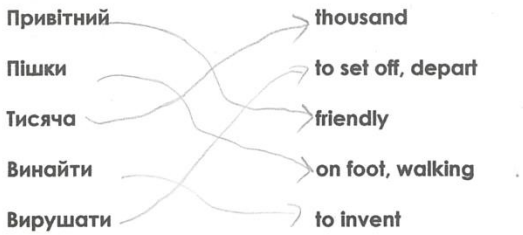
б) _____, _____, _____

A: Я йду на базар. Нам щось потрібно купити?
B: Так, візьми, будь ласка, бутилку горілки, кілограм _____ і пачку _____.

Пиво пива

WATCH, LISTEN, SAY

Match the words with their meanings. Добери до слова його значення.



Watch the video and listen attentively. Raise your hand when you hear the key word. Write down the sentence or a phrase the key word is used in the video. Study the uses of key words. Уважно подивіться відео. Підніміть руку, якщо почуєте нове слово. Запишіть вираз, в якому слово було вжито у відео.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____