Exploring the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace: A Case of University Students' Language Capital, Choice, and Attitudes

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1 November 2020

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This letter now confirms that your research project entitled: **Exploring the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace: A case of university students' language capital, choice and attitudes** has been approved by the Graduate School of Education Ethics Committee of Nazarbayev University.

You may proceed with contacting your preferred research site and commencing your participant recruitment strategy.

Yours sincerely

Dr Michelle Bedeker

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Abstract

Exploring the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace: A Case of University Students' Language Capital, Choice, and Attitudes

Language is the central conduit or resource for meaning-making in most societies. However, not all languages are equal, particularly social, economic, and cultural values. Accordingly, it has become essential to explore the current Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace to identify the value or status of the Kazakh, Russian and English languages. Therefore, this thesis focuses on university students and how they position their language choice, language capital, and attitudes.

This thesis investigates university students' perceptions about their language capital/s and their language choices in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. Therefore, the following research questions guided this qualitative research study: 1) How is linguistic capital positioned in the current Kazakh linguistic marketplace?; 2) How do these positionings impact students' language choice and linguistic capital?; 3) What market, societal, and language socialization domains impact students' language choices and attitudes?. The participants were 10 bachelor and master's students from the Eurasian National University (ENU) with different geographical and linguistic backgrounds. In addition, three research instruments such as qualitative questionnaires, interviews, and linguistic portraits underpinned this research project.

The findings revealed that the Kazakh linguistic capital had value in the family domain and national identity. Furthermore, the Russian linguistic capital had high capital in social and education fields. In contrast, the English language is emerging as a valuable resource in the world of work, and students viewed it as offering social mobility upward.

Key terms: linguistic capital, linguistic marketplace, language choice.

Аңдатпа

Қазақстандық Лингвистикалық Нарықты Зерттеу: Университет Студенттерінің Тілдік Капиталы, Таңдауы мен Көзқарасы Кейсі

Тіл - қарым-қатынас құралы ретінде пайдаланылатын қоғамның негізгі бөлігі. Алайда, кейбір тілдер белгілі бір қоғамда әлеуметтік, экономикалық және мәдени қол жетімділігі тұрғысынан басқа тілдермен салыстырғанда басымырақ келеді. Сәйкесінше, лингвистикалық нарықтағы белгілі бір тілдің лингвистикалық капиталы қоғамның сол тілді қолданушыларының әлеуметтік, экономикалық және мәдени қажеттіліктерін қанағаттандыра алу мүмкіндігін көрсетеді (Бурдье, 1991). Осыған орай, Қазақстандық лингвистикалық нарықта қазақ, орыс және ағылшын тілдерінің орналасуларын зерттеу мақсатында, университет студенттерінің тіл таңдауын, капиталын және көзқарастарын анықтау маңызды болды.

Қазақстандық лингвистикалық нарықта университет студенттерінің тілдік капиталы мен олардың тіл таңдауға деген түсініктерін зерттеу үшін сапалы зерттеу әдісі қолданылып, негізгі үш сұрақ бағытқа алынды: 1) Қазіргі қазақ лингвистикалық нарығында лингвистикалық капитал қалай орналасқан?; 2) Бұл тілдік орналасулар студенттердің тіл таңдауына және лингвистикалық капиталға қалай әсер етеді?; 3) Қандай нарықтық, әлеуметтік және тілдік әлеуметтену орындары студенттердің тіл таңдауына және көзқарасына әсер етеді?. Бұл зерттеу әдісі үш зерттеу құралын қолдана отырып жүзеге асты: сапалық сауалнама, сұхбат және лингвистикалық портрет. Зерттеу жобасының қатысушылары әртүрлі географиялық және лингвистикалық тәжірибесі бар Еуразия ұлттық университетінің (ЕҰУ) 10 бакалавр және магистратура студенттерінен тұрды және бұл зерттеу тақырыбын әр түрлі тұрғыдан қарастыруға көмектесті.

Мәліметтер жиынтығы қазақ лингвистикалық капиталының отбасылық тіл және ұлттық бірегейлікті білдіретін капитал ретінде қолданылатынын, орыс тілдік капиталының әлеуметтік және білім беру салаларымен тығыз байланысты екенін, ал ағылшын тілдік капиталының еңбек әлемінде жоғары бағаланатынын анықтады. Зерттеулер нәтижелері қазақ тілдік капиталының тілдік қолданыстың бірнеше салаларында орыс тілдік капиталына қарағанда үстемдігінің төмен екенін көрсетті. Бұл мәселе ұлттық даму барысында жасалып жатқан бағдарламалардың сәйкесінше жүзеге аспауының немесе Қазақстанның жас мемлекет ретінде дамудың бастапқы сатысында тұрғанының белгісі. Демек, білім беруде, әлеуметтік және жұмыс орындарында қазақ тілдік капиталының даму жолдарын анықтау үшін негізгі шектеулерді тереңірек зерттеу өте маңызды.

Кілт терминдер: лингвистикалық капитал, лингвистикалық нарық, тіл таңдау.

Абстракт

Изучение Казахстанской Языковой Площадки: Кейс Языкового Капитала, Выбора Языка и Отношения к Языкам Студентов Университета

Язык - это значимая для общества единица, которая используется в качестве ресурса для общения. Однако, некоторые языки более доминируют в определенном сообществе, что демонстрирует их более высокую социальную, экономическую и культурную значимость. Таким образом, лингвистический капитал языка на конкретном лингвистическом рынке демонстрирует его способность удовлетворять больше социальных, экономических и культурных потребностей общества, по сравнению с другими (Бурдье, 1991). Соответственно, в контексте Казахстана было важно изучить текущее состояние казахстанского лингвистического рынка, чтобы определить позиции казахского, русского и английского языков, основываясь на выборе языка, языкового капитала, отношения к этим языкам студентов университетов.

Для изучения мнений студентов университетов, связанных с их языковым капиталом и их выбором языка на казахстанском лингвистическом рынке, при проведении качественного исследования использовались следующие вопросы с применением трех исследовательских инструментов, таких как качественная анкета, интервью и лингвистический портрет: 1) Как лингвистический капитал позиционируется на нынешнем казахстанском лингвистическом рынке?; 2) Как такое положение влияет на выбор языка учащихся и лингвистический капитал?; 3) Какие области рынка, общества и языковой социализации влияют на выбор языка и отношение учащихся? Участниками исследовательского проекта стали 10 студентов бакалавриата и магистратуры Евразийского Национального Университета (ЕНУ) из разных местностей

и с разными языками обучения, что позволило взглянуть на тему исследования с разных сторон.

Результаты исследования показали, что казахский лингвистический капитал связан с семейной сферой и национальной идентичностью, русский лингвистический капитал связан с социальной сферой и образованием, тогда как английский лингвистический капитал высоко ценится в мире труда. Результаты показали, что меньшее преобладание казахского лингвистического капитала в нескольких сферах использования языка, по сравнению с русским лингвистическим капиталом, можно отнести к низкому уровню процесса построения национальной идентичности или к тому, что Казахстан находится на ранней стадии своего развития в качестве молодого государства. Следовательно, крайне важно исследовать ограничения казахстанского лингвистического капитала более детально в сферах образования, социальной жизни и на рабочем месте, чтобы определить потенциальные пути его развития.

Ключевые термины: лингвистический капитал, лингвистический рынок, выбор языка.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Language is central to society because we use language to negotiate meaning through speech, writing, and other communication forms. However, some languages have more value than others; the hegemony of English as a global language has increased its value. Therefore, language has capital and often state-mandated official language/s govern language choices, status, and value associated with its social uses (Bourdieu, 1991). For this reason, language choices and linguistic practices are being viewed in terms of a linguistic market that "creates the conditions for an objective competition in and through which legitimate competence can function as linguistic capital, producing a profit of distinction on the occasion of each social exchange" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 55). We can see this linguistic competition occurring in the Kazakh landscape (Smagulova, 2008). First, the Russian language, which used to be dominant and prestigious for decades, is losing its capital and former status. Secondly, the Kazakh language holds linguistic profit since it has gained official status in all spheres of administration, education, and social life. Accordingly, in the context of Kazakhstan's independence, the concept of a linguistic marketplace holds relevance.

Since independence, one of the significant policies associated with national and state languages, a Trilingual Education policy, was presented in 2007 by Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev. This policy aimed to develop a trilingual generation that could contribute towards Kazakhstan's prosperity in the world arena (Nazarbayev, 2007). According to the road map of the Trilingual policy for 2015-2020 (Ministry of Education and Science (MoES), 2015), the trilingual school system is presented with two languages as a medium of instruction, specifically, Kazakh (KMI) and Russian (RMI), including English for science subjects.

Moreover, the introduction of Kazakh as one of the official languages creates the conditions for a linguistic marketplace. For instance, research highlights how the governments' renewal of the Kazakh language establishes a market for the Kazakh and Russian languages to gain or lose value (Fierman, 1998). Additionally, implementing the Trilingual Policy signaled market discourses associated with Kazakhstan's goal to become competitive in the global economy. For instance, new capital entered the linguistic marketplace that highlighted the value of the English language in the Kazakh language domain. For this reason, Kazakhstani people would identify with the acquisition of all three languages: Kazakh as a state language, Russian as a language of international communication, and English as the global lingua franca signaling local, national, and global upward social mobility (Nazarbayev, 2007). As a result, it is essential to explore ethnic Kazakhs experience of the new linguistic marketplace and their perceptions of what functions as linguistic capital and linguistic profit to navigate the Kazakh linguistic market successfully.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

In post-independent Kazakhstan (1991), the dynamics of language use in educational institutions favored Kazakh-medium schools and universities (MoES, 2017). Government initiatives such as the Trilingual Education Policy propagated the importance of Kazakh as the national language to raise its status and prestige. However, numerous contextual issues could limit the potential of the trilingual policy. First, the legacy of Russification might impact Kazakh attitudes and beliefs about language status, prestige, and choice. Secondly, the value of the Russian language can remain dominant associated with powerful domains of use. Finally, English as a global language and the promise of upward social mobility might impact the Kazakh language's value. Therefore, this research project explores students' perceptions

about language capital, choice, and prestige in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace after independence.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to explore university students' attitudes associated with their language capital/s and their language choices in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. Therefore, the study will illustrate students' perceptions of language capital, language choice, and prestige. This research draws on a linguistic marketplace lens to shed light on students' perceptions related to the market-value of Kazakh, Russian and English languages (Bourdieu, 1991). For this reason, the participants are from a university that has students with diverse geographical backgrounds and who display the following characteristics: 1) registered undergraduate and postgraduate students at the Eurasian National University (ENU) located in the city of Nur-Sultan; 2) be a native speaker of the Russian or/and Kazakh languages. It is anticipated that these participants can provide rich data about their linguistic perceptions in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace.

1.3. Research Questions

To explore the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace, the following research questions will guide the study:

1. *How is linguistic capital positioned in the current Kazakh linguistic marketplace?*
2. *How do these positionings impact students' language choice and linguistic capital?*
3. *What market, societal, and language socialization domains impact students' language choices and attitudes?*

1.4. The Rationale and Significance of the Study

Current studies in Kazakhstan regarding language status, choice, and attitudes point out that the citizens have different perspectives towards the Kazakh and Russian languages (Akanova, 2017; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015). These studies reveal an increase in the number of young Kazakhs who are beginning to identify the need to raise the Kazakh language status. However, the new linguistic marketplace associated with "Kazakhization" negatively impacts Russian-speaking Kazakhs because their low proficiency in the Kazakh language impacts perceptions about their Kazakh identity (Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015). Interestingly, the research studies have primarily been focusing on the Russian linguistic capital in Kazakhstan. Even more interestingly, only one research study has conceptualized the trilingual policy as creating a linguistic marketplace; thus, my findings will contribute to this literature in the Kazakhstani context (Akanova, 2017).

1.5. Definitions of Key terms

Linguistic capital, a term presented by French sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, is described as a form of cultural capital, including one's linguistic skills that demonstrate one's position in a specific society.

The linguistic marketplace is defined as a market value of a language that brings social and economic benefits to its speakers.

1.6. Chapter Outline

This study consists of five chapters. First, the introduction chapter presents information about the linguistic background of Kazakhstan, followed by the purpose and significance of the research and the research questions that will guide this work. Then, in Chapter Two, the literature review section introduces the existing literature on linguistic capital, comparing

perceptions of several countries towards the linguistic marketplace, capital and language choice, and finally translanguaging in the context of Kazakhstan. The third chapter, the methodology section, focuses on qualitative research as a method, the research tools, and data analysis that frame the work, including ethical considerations. Chapter Four presents the data, the data analysis, and a discussion of the findings revealed in the data. Lastly, Chapter Five, the conclusion chapter, summarizes the research findings, makes recommendations for follow-up research and situates the limitations of the project.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter One provided the background about the research purpose, problem statement, significance, and research questions associated with the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. I explained the changing context of trilingualism and its impact on the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. This chapter illustrates the theoretical underpinnings that guided the research project and its findings. First, in section 2.1, I present insights about the linguistic market in different contexts linked to Bourdieu's work. Secondly, in section 2.2, I introduce the linguistic marketplace in several countries, specifically about the hegemony of English in Malaysia, Nepal, the United Kingdom (UK), and other European countries. Section 2.3 focuses on linguistic capital in various contexts, such as work, media, and education. Finally, in section 2.4, I review various research studies about language and national identity, relating them to the Kazakhstani context.

The current state of language policy and planning in Kazakhstan was shaped by previous Soviet ideologies that aimed to weaken minorities' linguistic, cultural, and other national practices (Fierman, 2006). Following this period, the independent Kazakh government has intended to create conditions for establishing a new linguistic market that recognizes a Kazakh national identity. For this reason, "the official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its social uses" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). As a result, after the collapse of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991, Kazakh language policy and planning focused on reconstructing a national identity that values Kazakh linguistic and cultural practices.

Several initiatives associated with Kazakh nation-building focused on national identity first to raise the status of the Kazakh language. The new Trilingual Education Policy stipulated that trilingualism for the Kazakhstani younger generations is highly desirable to improve the

prospects for the country in the world arena. Therefore, one can see the emergence of a "unified linguistic market" in the Kazakh government's approach to giving equal status to members of different linguistic capitals (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45). Nonetheless, such a unified linguistic market can maintain diverse linguistic practices, meaning that the languages could be in constant competition. In fact, research studies have illustrated that even though the government has taken initiatives to make the Kazakh language more prestigious, the Russian language is still dominant in powerful domains (Aryn, 2009; Aydıngün, 2008; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015; Smagulova, 2008). Consequently, despite the official policy mandates, the Russian language seems to impose itself as the primary legitimate language because 1) it still has a high value in the labor market, and 2) it could still be perceived as the language of power or prestige. As a result, the study draws on a linguistic marketplace lens as theorized in the work of Pierre Bourdieu to shed light on linguistic capitals in Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1991).

2.1. Bourdieu and the Linguistic Market

To shed light on how the Kazakh context functions as a linguistic market, this study views language as a social semiotic system that is part of a "special kind of field since it … transverse many social fields at the same time" (Grenfell, 2011, p. 51). For example, language is at the center; it makes communication possible; thus, each field legitimizes forms of utterance and ways of speaking, which is "defined in terms of the dominant forms … within it" (Grenfell 2011, p. 51). Bourdieu coined the concept of "market" to explain legitimate forms of language and defined market as "a system of relations of force which determines the price of linguistic products and thus helps fashion linguistic production" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 47). Therefore, the linguistic market creates the conditions to evaluate and sanction linguistic

practices, with some having more value than others based on the social and economic conditions within a specific field. As a result, it creates a competition where different stakeholders participate for a position where those who lack the legitimate competence "are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required or are condemned to silence" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 55).

Like any other market, the linguistic marketplace consists of products; thus, consumers in the linguistic market need capital to "purchase" the appropriate languages, utterances, and practices. For example, in the Kazakhstani market, student perceptions of language choice and status would be illuminating the language/s of power, prestige, and status as "signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated, and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 66). For this reason, Bourdieu (1986) argues for various forms of capital to participate in the market, which are "economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital" (p. 84). First, economic capital refers to the money or wealth individuals are born into or acquire over their lifespan, giving participants access to prestigious forms of language. Secondly, social capital refers to individuals' social connections through birth, family, or work; thus, they are born and socialized into prestigious linguistic practices. Finally, cultural capital is "… convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and maybe institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 84).

In addition, Bourdieu (1991), in *Language and Symbolic Power*, illustrates how language has capital and how it functions as a form of wealth. In this book, he sheds light on his conceptualization of linguistic capital and its relationship to the power and maintenance of legitimate languages. Therefore, he highlights that access to certain linguistic capitals reflects the broader socio-economic context of power relations in society. In Kazakhstan, the language debate is about the status and positionings of Kazakh and Russian languages in various

domains of use and often includes different cultural, political, and economic attitudes (Smagulova, 2006). The concept of linguistic capital in the current globalized world is essential because it raises questions about "What language, for which purpose and in which domain." For example, to enter a professional career requires the ability to speak and write at a prestigious, high function level; thus, linguistic capital is a symbolic resource that can be converted into economic capital. Hence, linguistic capital can be a marker of social class and position in society because students' language varieties are often ignored and seen as deficits in acquiring the standard and formal language (Bourdieu, 1991).

Furthermore, the acquisition of educational qualifications is mainly dependent on the knowledge of specific linguistic skills and registers of schooling predisposed to standard and formal language usage (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Therefore, the registers of schooling function as linguistic capital because it legitimizes and gives authority to the language use of dominant social groups in society (Gal, 1989; Woolard, 1985). Accordingly, the concept of linguistic capital is an indicator of power because those with appropriate linguistic capital can access prestigious schools and can occupy better positions in society (Bourdieu, 1996). As a result, an investigation into Kazakhstani students' language choices and their perceptions about what counts as language capital are vital because they can demonstrate the current state of the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace.

2.2. Research and the Linguistic Marketplace

Migration, transnational flows, and the spread of English as a global language can shape perceptions of a linguistic marketplace. For example, when immigrants enter any English domain, this linguistic marketplace could favor monolingual English as "legitimate speakers" of English, which places them in dominant positions where they are privileged and

enjoy higher status and credibility than those with multiple linguistic repertoires (Bourdieu, 1991). Furthermore, a linguistic marketplace creates competition for resources associated with English proficiency in many countries where English is a foreign language. In Nepal and Malaysia, the literature shows the linguistic marketplace valuing English linguistic capital, thus creating a threat to their national identity (Abdullah & Chan, 2003; Sah & Li, 2018).

Moreover, Francis et al. (2009) explored Chinese complementary schools in England. They highlighted that if a language does not provide opportunities to the labor market, it is valueless in the linguistic marketplace because it offers limited access to economic capital. The study showed that, although the Chinese language has one of the broadest linguistic markets globally, it remained the language of culture and national identity for Chinese-British minorities in England. This finding was interesting since the Chinese language does not possess much linguistic capital in the context of Britain. Therefore, a closer look at how context, space, and place shape notions of a linguistic marketplace is vital for my study. First, it can illustrate perceptions of linguistic capital as devaluing non-dominant linguistic repertoires. Then it can shed light on the linguistic marketplace associated with national identity. Finally, it can highlight the linguistic practices that result in some languages being more valued than others.

Zschomler (2019) explored the lived experience of adult immigrants and their perceptions of the linguistic marketplace in the UK. The study focused on immigrants' acquisition of the "national language" or "state language" and their experiences when facing challenges accessing the appropriate linguistic resources. The article focuses on migrant language learners in London. This case study research has shown that English proficiency offers the highest linguistic capital to boost participants' success in the labor market. The findings highlighted that the participants experienced exclusion in various domains in their

new country. Also, linguistic capital was not associated with any variety of English, and that it was standard English that possesses the most buying power for upward mobility. As a result, the marketplace devalues their linguistic repertoires from their home countries.

In addition, Flynn (2013) focused on the difficulties that Polish students encounter after migration to the UK. In this context, the English curriculum functioned as a linguistic marketplace associated with teachers' perceptions about Polish students' linguistic capital. This qualitative case study included interviews and revealed that the market devalues other languages because the multilingual repertoires of the students were ignored in the curriculum design, teacher professional development, and the limited multilingual resources. As a result, this study illustrated the migration challenges associated with newcomers' lack of linguistic capital.

Another study focused on the English language proficiency of nationals and new populations entering the European Union (EU) countries (Gerhards, 2014). The purpose of this study was to compare the English language proficiency in 27 EU countries. The quantitative survey confirmed Bourdieu's assumption about the influence of class on linguistic capital because the results showed that the upper and middle classes outperformed their immigrant counterparts in English. Another finding showed that half of the EU citizens have a basic English level, although huge differences exist between and within the countries.

In the Asian context, Abdullah and Chan (2003) focused on the importance of English language proficiency in Malaysia. They illustrated the perceptions of three ethnic groups about the threat that English holds for their national languages. The study followed a quantitative survey design that included three ethnic groups: Malay, Indian, and Chinese. Interestingly, the results highlighted that despite the opposition against English language expansion, it would remain the language of industrialization and globalization. The study recommended that

effective home language resource development is appropriate to the national language to counteract potential threats.

In addition, Sah and Li (2018) offered another example of English linguistic capital as a potential threat to home languages in Nepal. This study followed a qualitative case study design with three ninth-grade teachers and four students at a government-funded public school. This research investigated the English medium of instruction (EMI) implementation and its impact on teaching and learning processes within the school. The data included interviews with teachers and a focus group discussion with students. They found that the English language provides symbolic capital associated with prestige and honor and economic and cultural capital inextricably connected with the linguistic market. The researchers recommend utilizing the national language as the foundation for learning, but that the English language is necessary for global success.

Finally, the perceptions of the linguistic marketplace associated with migration and hegemony of English showed that English linguistic capital has a high value in most countries since it can fulfill people's economic, cultural, social, and symbolic needs compared to local languages. Therefore, the studies mentioned above have revealed that the English language has the most value even in those countries where English linguistic capital is new. For this reason, the perception that "legitimate" speakers of English have more status, credibility, and communicative advantages becomes a natural and common-sense discourse.

2.3. What Counts as Linguistic Capital?

Bourdieu (1991) coined the concept of linguistic capital, and since then, it has been interpreted and conceptualized in different ways across various contexts. For example, Sullivan (2001) defines linguistic capital as the ability to speak a legitimate language, while

Morrison and Lui (2000) view it as proficiency in a dominant language with economic, social, cultural, and political power and status. As a result, the concept of linguistic capital captures the opportunities a language can provide in social, economic, and cultural domains.

Li et al. (2020) indicated that linguistic capital originates from economic capital because those with financial wealth have access to high and prestigious forms of linguistic capital that afford them advantages in various powerful domains. This research project investigated the understanding of linguistic capital in the context of China to shed light on the economic opportunities associated with the multilingual resources of Hani minority citizens. The findings revealed that Mandarin's dominant language is associated with the highest upward mobility and capital. As a result, any indigenous language, such as Hani, a minority language, is devalued and is not considered linguistic capital because it is not used in education, offering limited currency to access the opportunities in the workplace.

2.3.1. Linguistic Capital in the World of Work

According to Li et al. (2020), using a language in education, workplace, and social domains demonstrates the dominance of a language in society. The study investigated the possibility of minority language transfer from linguistic capital into economic capital, particularly for Hani people who are the ethnic minorities of the Yunnan area in China. This mixed-method study included 1500 participants using questionnaires, focused interviews, and ethnographic observations. The findings revealed that utilizing an indigenous language in submarkets such as local tourism and regionally-specific products can help transfer multilingual resources into economic capital. As a result, the study showed that minority and majority languages could coexist in one society.

Silver (2005) conducted a discourse analysis of the Singaporean policy statements, drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of *capital* and *field*. The study explored the impact of English

language capital, which became a crucial part of human resource development in Singapore. The analysis highlighted that the policy discourses created a linguistic market that assigns capital to home languages associated with identity and heritage. At the same time, English became the "language with higher economic and symbolic capital" (p. 62). As a result, English achieved high linguistic capital, which then devalues the home language to less powerful domains.

In the UK, Roth (2019) focused on linguistic capital and bilingual-speaking workers' positioning in global aid organizations. This qualitative study included 57 interviews with monolingual and multilingual aid workers to illustrate the role of language and linguistic capital in their workplace domain. The results of the study revealed the presence of negative attitudes towards speakers for whom English is a second language. For example, monolingual English speakers occupied higher positions in the organization, and their attitudes to bilingual speakers demonstrated linguistic discrimination that devalued multilingual speakers' home languages as linguistic capital.

Furthermore, Smits and Gundüz-Hoşgör (2003) explored the relationship between the linguistic capital of non-Turkish citizens and their socio-economic condition. The data included the results of the 1998 Turkish Demographic and Health survey. They revealed that immigrants who cannot speak the dominant language of Turkey have less access to all linguistic resources, specifically those associated with securing official jobs, thus remaining dependent on other family members for socio-economic stability. For this reason, due to the lack of language proficiency in the dominant Turkish language, most Kurdish and Arabic women remain dependent on their husbands. In contrast, participants with high levels of education had access to better linguistic resources that provide upward mobility into professional careers and higher economic advantages.

Finally, Harrison (2009) focused on the impact of language politics on bilingual social workers' personal and professional identities. This qualitative exploratory study included individual semi-structured interviews with 18 bilingual practitioners living in Australia. The purpose of the research was to explore the advantages and disadvantages of using more than one language in social work, their perspectives on the language rights of bilingual speakers, and the influence of the English language in their work domain. The results indicated that the participants viewed bilingualism as an asset in the workplace but equally aware of the advantages of English linguistic capital in local, national, and global domains. Therefore, English signifies powerful capital that shapes social work epistemologies, which create opportunities to exclude other beliefs about what counts as social work knowledge.

2.3.2. Linguistic Capital in the Media Domain

Mass media institutions appear natural and value-free, but they can shape language ideologies associated with status, prestige, and linguistic capital. For Bourdieu (1991), language use in the media provides a symbolic representation of reality, shaping and maintaining social relations because the media can reinforce and devalue language capital. For example, ways of speaking can shape audience perspectives about what counts as prestige and linguistic practices associated with the social functions of language. For this reason, it is an important domain that needs interrogation in its role of shaping language choice about which dialects count as language capital in the linguistic market.

Media and language ideologies associated with standard language and standardization can significantly shape the linguistic marketplace. For example, Moschonas and Spitzmüller (2010) focused on the standardization practices related to the Greek and German media contexts. The study found strikingly similar linguistic standardization in both countries; the press foregrounded standard dialect pronunciation that perpetuates linguistic variation as a

threat to be eradicated to ensure linguistic and national unity. Similarly, in the Spanish context, Paffey (2012) investigated mass media newspaper discourses and found that the Spanish language was represented in market terms as a commodity associated with economic and linguistic profit in a global linguistic marketplace.

Technology and the rise of social media are also powerful modes that can shape perceptions of linguistic capital. Merchant (2001) focused on language use and language change in internet chatrooms to analyze how it shapes language capital in the millennial era. This qualitative study included in-depth interviews with six teenage females and observed their linguistic practices in chatrooms. The findings revealed that chatrooms could change perceptions of linguistic capital since internet users are changing some writing forms such as shortening words or phrases, thus developing their linguistic capital when interacting with different communities in chatrooms. It appears that social media offers the potential to merge languages, which can be influential in shaping what counts as linguistic capital.

In addition, Popp (2006) investigated how discourses signal the linguistic marketplace and linguistic capital in two different types of texts. The method of analysis included discourse analysis of *Dora the Explorer* and *The Passion of the Christ.* The results showed that the film, *The Passion of the Christ,* demonstrated a point of honor to the historical authenticity by using ancient Aramaic and Latin languages without subtitles. In contrast, the cartoon *Dora the Explorer* highlighted the significance of bilingualism. The results showed a shift in perceptions of multilingualism because Spanish parents started requiring their children to learn English. As a result, thus, *Dora the Explorer* made a significant impact on the English linguistic marketplace in Spain.

2.3.3. Linguistic Capital in the Education Domain

Bourdieu (1991) noted that the educational domain has the highest impact on the linguistic marketplace and shapes perceptions about linguistic capital. Ernst-Slavit (1997) researched the function of classrooms as linguistic markets and illustrated how teachers build a reward system for standardized linguistic responses. The study included four different teachers working with first-grade Mexican or Mexican-American bilingual students. The data consisted of five observational segments that focused on the teachers' discursive practices in English-Spanish classrooms. The findings demonstrated different perceptions by teachers in each of the five observations. For instance, segment one illustrated that teachers were not acquainted with their learners' home language. In contrast, in segment two, the teachers validated the multiple linguistic repertoires of their learners, while in the remaining segments, the use of the learners' home languages was banned or rejected. As a result, these classes functioned as marketplaces where some learners' linguistic repertoires had more value than others. More importantly, this study pointed to the advantages when teachers include their bilingual learners' home repertoires as linguistic capital.

In addition, Shin (2012) investigated the linguistic capital of Korean transnational migrant students in Toronto. This qualitative study included interviews with 34 participants. It drew on sociolinguistic ethnography to shed light on the students' attitudes about linguistic inequality and their intention to build an alternative market from the dominant one. The results showed that the participants' linguistic discrimination correlated with their minority nationality and the perceptions of them being non-legitimate speakers of English. The participants mentioned that Korea's economic position in the global world offers opportunities to oppose linguistic inequality by building an alternative linguistic market to position themselves as international subjects of a "global" market. Similarly, Fang (2011) explored South Asian

minorities' linguistic capital in Hong Kong primary schools. The findings indicated that to guarantee better access to schools and tertiary educations, the government must provide and implement effective policy initiatives that foster linguistic equality across diverse communities.

Furthermore, Grayson (2008) focused on the linguistic rights of bilingual speakers and the influence it could have on students' academic performance. The quantitative survey with 513 Canadian- and foreign-born students of York University showed the connection between students' linguistic and cultural capitals, social class, and parents' education level. The data also revealed that the Canadian English students showed more significant English language capital than Canadian bilingual students. Finally, the bilingual students had less access to education, and that the linguistic discrimination they faced from English students contributed to the low academic achievement of minority students.

Moreover, in South Africa, the shifting language attitudes of "black" students in previously "white" South African universities illustrated how domain and space hold implications for the linguistic market (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007). This qualitative study included four individual interviews: focus group interviews and informal gatherings with 15 "black" students. The study results illustrated that when students' cultural capital does not correspond with the dominant speakers', the minority language speakers are forced to shift and socialize in the prevailing institutional legitimate language. Furthermore, the results showed that the South African "black" students had a low English language proficiency level. Thus they face challenges not only in cultural capital but also with accessing linguistic capital.

Interestingly, Klapwijk and Van der Walt (2016) explored a new linguistic capital emerging in the South African higher education context, called English-plus multilingualism. The quantitative study was conducted at two universities in the Western Cape Province with

201 students to explore their perceptions of English as a medium of instruction. The results demonstrated that the participants realized the importance of English opportunities in the linguistic market, but not at the exclusion of their home languages. For this reason, although they acquire English to be successful in their future job career, they view the new linguistic capital as English-plus multilingualism, not English-only as the linguistic capital.

2.4. Linguistic Capital and Identity

Several studies have investigated that national identity plays a vital role in the linguistic marketplace of any country. For instance, Sandel (2003) explored the perceptions of parents, grandparents, and young adults towards the language policies in Taiwan and their impact on students' home languages and identity. The qualitative study drew on semi-structured interviews with 17 bilingual Mandarin and Tai-gi speakers; Bourdieu's notions of *habitus* and *field* informed the analytical framework and data analysis. In Taiwan, the participants mentioned that Tai-gi minority speakers associate their mother tongue with a robust national identity despite the national language ideology that undervalues other dialects or minority languages. The study's findings demonstrated that implementing the language policy placed restrictions on communicating in the Tai-gi language Mandarin at schools. As a result, the official policy weakens the Tai-gi language that hampered the fostering of a positive Tai-gi *habitus*.

In addition, Francis et al. (2009) investigated the relationship between linguistic capital and the national identity of British-Chinese pupils in England. This was a qualitative study that included 60 participants from Chinese complementary schools. The results revealed that British-Chinese pupils use their mother tongue mostly with their family members while using English with other people, sometimes even with Chinese friends from their schools.

Furthermore, the participants explained that due to the diminished Chinese linguistic capital out of their homes, they are interested in learning Chinese only as a sign of identity and "who am I?". However, they mentioned that Chinese language proficiency could be beneficial in a curriculum vitae (CV) as an additional language and entering other geographical domains in Hong Kong or other Chinese cities for work or study. Finally, the geographical location seemed vital because they would continue using Chinese as a home language in England only since it is not required or valuable in the English linguistic market.

Finally, in Kazakhstan, various researchers also highlighted the relationship between the Kazakh language and national identity. For instance, since independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has been reconstructing a national identity and has implemented different language policies and initiatives (Aydıngün, 2008; Fierman, 1998; Smagulova, 2008). However, despite the government's plan to create the conditions for Kazakh to become the dominant language in all spheres of development, most research studies pointed out a strong national identity, but that the Kazakh language still carries low status and prestige (Aydıngün, 2008; Pavlenko, 2006; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015; Smagulova, 2008; Zardykhan, 2004). For this reason, it is important to understand students' perceptions of linguistic capital, their language choice, and domains of use in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace.

2.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter presented various insights into linguistic capital and the marketplace from different perspectives. In sections 2.1-2.3, I introduced linguistic market and linguistic marketplace in the contexts of multiple countries, using Bourdieu's work; discussed linguistic capital in various domains as work, media, and education. Lastly, in section 2.4, I focused on the interrelation of language and national identity in Kazakhstan and other

countries. The next chapter will provide the research design, data collection tools, sample and site selection, and ethical considerations that guided this study.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

The previous chapter introduced the literature that underpins this study. I reviewed research studies from different contexts connected with the research purpose, which focuses on which language choice, attitudes, and status in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. This chapter focuses on the research method, instruments, and site used to explore students' attitudes about language choice and linguistic capital.

3.1. Qualitative Research Design

The study focused on university students' language capital, choice, and attitudes in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. For this reason, I chose a qualitative research design because it focuses on "…exploring a problem and developing a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon" (Creswell, 2014, p. 30). Accordingly, the qualitative research design provided rich descriptions of Kazakh students' beliefs and underlying values associated with language choice and prestige.

3.1.1. Case Study Research

To examine university students' linguistic capital and language choices, a single case-study design was used for "an in-depth exploration of a "case" or bounded system" (Creswell, 2014, p. 493). For instance, among the scholars who researched the linguistic capital, market, and language choice, Sah & Li (2018) conducted a qualitative case study "to understand the on-the-ground practice and effects of the EMI policy" at one of the schools located in a suburb of the Kathmandu Valley (p. 114). With the help of this case study research, they identified the goals and motivations for EMI in Nepal and their perspectives on EMI implementation at the school. Respectively, a case study design made visible how students take up positions in

the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace and provided a holistic and in-depth account of a research phenomenon.

3.2. Sampling

Creswell (2014) states that sampling refers to the decisions researchers have to make about the settings and participants to include in their studies. These aspects are essential as the choice of who and how many individuals (population) the researcher for the study because it has ramifications for the study's reliability and validity. This study drew on a purposeful sampling method because it can contribute to participants and research sites that are information-rich, thus using limited resources (Patton, 2002). For this reason, ten university students over the age of 18 participated in the study. They were selected from a particular university in Kazakhstan whose students represent the urban-rural divide. Thus, the respondents provided an opportunity to understand their past and current linguistic capital, positionings, and impact on their language choice.

As was noted above, the participants were selected from an information-rich research site that is considered to be the process of convenience sampling. Convenience sampling is also known as opportunity sampling, meaning that the researcher will select the closest people to assist as respondents until the necessary sample size has been attained (Cohen et al., 2007). Researchers who use this type of sampling typically base their selection on those who have easy access. Additionally, this type of sampling may be valid if the researcher is not concerned with generalizations, as the sample does not represent any group other than itself (Creswell, 2014). Subsequently, convenience samples are a common sampling strategy used for case studies, which is why this study selected convenience sampling as its sampling strategy.

3.2.1. Participants and Research Setting

The students of the ENU in Nur-Sultan city participated in the study since the university is a state educational organization whose students are from different parts of Kazakhstan. Therefore, this site allows exploring the respondents' language capital, choice, and attitudes on an appropriate level and identifying the reason for their language choice. As a result, a qualitative case approach highlighted the students' thoughts, opinions, perceptions, and behavior from this research site. It was anticipated that they would better understand their linguistic capital, language choices, and attitudes.

3.3. Data Collection Procedures

Before conducting the data sets, the respondents studied the Informed Consent form in detail with a clear description of the study's purpose, participants' rights, risks, and benefits, followed by the researcher's contact information. They gave their permission to participate, and then we discussed the appropriate dates and times that suited them. Thus, ten bachelor and master's students participated in the study via Zoom and WhatsApp due to the Covid-19 restrictions in Kazakhstan. At the beginning of each data collection phase, the participants could choose the language for interaction, and I asked for permission to record our interviews. Also, I reassured the respondents that they had the right to ask any additional questions or refuse to answer or that they could withdraw from participating in this study.

3.4. Research Instruments

Collecting qualitative data requires deep thinking about the research purpose, and it is not just "deciding on whether you will observe or interview people" (Creswell, 2014, p. 226). Accordingly, to reach the study's purpose, one of the main tools of qualitative data collection, interviews in an instrumental case-study design that "serve the purpose of illuminating a

particular issue," were used (Creswell, 2014, p. 493). Therefore, data collection instruments included qualitative questionnaires, semi-structured face-to-face online interviews, and linguistic portraits.

First, the qualitative questionnaire's objective was to shed light on the historical, economic, societal, and language socialization processes that might have impacted (or still impacts) participants' attitudes about language capital and choice. For example, the advantages of questionnaires in Grayson's (2008) and Gerhard's (2014) studies helped illustrate their participants' language capital and choice. These questionnaires included open-ended questions to activate participants' sense-making of their language attitudes because it is "ideal for interviewing participants who are not hesitant to speak, who are articulate, and who can share ideas comfortably" (Creswell, 2014, p. 240).

Secondly, the interviews' purpose was to explore students' attitudes about the past and current linguistic market. Most of the articles on the linguistic marketplace, capital, and choice used semi-structured interviews to explore participants' perceptions of certain concepts since the research instrument gives broad information. For instance, Sandel (2003) used the qualitative semi-structured interview to research the attitudes of adult family members on the market value of indigenous Tai-gi and Mandarin languages and could reach a deep understanding of the research topic. In the same way, to get more insights regarding the linguistic capital of Polish children in county settings following EU accession and identify the reasons for the challenges they face, Flynn (2013) also provided in-depth interviews with teachers. Moreover, these types of questions were an opportunity for participants to "best voice their experiences unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher" (Creswell, 2014, p. 240).

Finally, the linguistic repertoire of a group "cannot be solved solely by observing interactions within the group [but their] own theory of linguistic repertoire and speech must be taken into account" (Busch, 2012, p. 510). For this reason, I included linguistic portraits to highlight participants' language ideologies and how they make meaning of their linguistic capital and choices (Busch, 2010, 2017). At the same time, linguistic portraits prompted a deeper reflection and brought to the surface how language socialization processes have impacted participants' language attitudes.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedure

The qualitative questionnaires and linguistic portraits were sent and received by WhatsApp, while interviews were audio-recorded with the participant's permission. After that, the data was transcribed in written form and coded. Then, I identified the initial codes and categories to analyze further and select essential themes of the data about the different linguistic capitals and domains of language use.

3.6. Anonymity and Confidentiality Procedures

The research closely followed ethical considerations since it involves a sensitive issue. The students' names were kept anonymous, and the documents were saved on my private laptop, which any other people cannot access. To ensure an appropriate level of confidentiality, the participants had an opportunity to peruse the Informed Consent form, specifically, the ethical considerations, participants' rights, and the risks and benefits of the study. Also, I informed the respondents' that their responses, the audio recordings, and the linguistic portraits would only be used for this research project.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the research design, research site, data collection instruments and procedures, data analysis, and research ethics. Sections 3.1-3.6 provided information about the chosen research design and overall data collection process. The next chapter will present the data analysis of the qualitative questionnaire, interviews, and linguistic portraits.

Chapter 4: Presentation, Analysis, and Discussion of Findings

The previous section focused on the methodology, the research instruments, and ethical considerations that support this study. As mentioned in Chapter Three, this research is based on a qualitative research method to provide an in-depth exploration of the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. As a result, the research instruments, qualitative questionnaire, interview, and linguistic portraits, provide validity and reliability to the project.

This chapter presents the data analysis of the qualitative questionnaire that explored the participants' linguistic background (4.1), the interview (4.2), which focused on the participants' language choice and their perceptions of linguistic capital. Finally, this chapter presents the linguistic portraits that illustrate the positionings of languages in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace (4.3) and discusses the findings (4.4).

This study consisted of ten participants from one university in Kazakhstan. The participants were named Participants 1-10 to protect their anonymity and safeguard their privacy rights to adhere to research ethics.

4.1. Questionnaire Analysis

The questionnaire consisted of 13 questions that gathered information about the respondents' linguistic backgrounds, language choice, and user domains. The questionnaire presents ten bachelor and master students from one university in Nur-Sultan city (see Table 1).

Table 1

The Participants' Personal Background

№	Age	Sex	Nationality	City	Specialty
P1	17	Female	Kazakh	Kyzylorda	BA in IT 1-year
P2	17	Male	Kazakh	Oral	BA in IT 1-year
P3	17	Male	Kazakh	Oskemen	BA in IT 1-year
P4	19	Female	Kazakh Tatar	Shymkent	BA in Tourism 3-year
P5	23	Female	Kazakh	Taldykorgan	MA in Constructions 2-year
P6	21	Male	Kazakh	Arkalyk	BA in IT 4-year
P7	20	Male	Kazakh	Nur-Sultan	BA in Tourism 3-year
P8	22	Female	Kazakh	Shymkent	MA in Information Security 2-year
P9	20	Female	Kazakh	Almaty	BA in Mechanics 4-year
P10	23	Female	Kazakh	Aktau	MA in IT 2-year

Note. The abbreviations used in the table refer to P – participant; BA – Bachelor of Arts, MA – Master of Arts.

As shown in Table 1, the participants' ages range between 17-23; nine participants were Kazakh, and one undergraduate bachelor identified herself as half Kazakh and Tatar. In addition, five participants registered in the Information Technology program; two participants are Tourism students, while the other participants registered for the Construction, Information

Security, and Mechanics program. Also, the participants were from different regions of Kazakhstan: five are from the south of Kazakhstan, two from the west, the other two from the north, and one from the east part of Kazakhstan.

Table 2

The Participants' Language Learning Background

№	L1	L2	L3	L2/3 learning at age of
P1	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 8 L3 – 11
P2	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 4 L3 – 11
P3	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 4 L3 – 11
P4	Russian	Kazakh	English	L2 – 10 L3 – 17
P5	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 4 L3 – 11
P6	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 8 L3 – 11
P7	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 4 L3 – 8
P8	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 7 L3 – 7
P9	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 8 L3 – 18
P10	Kazakh	Russian	English	L2 – 10 L3 – 11

Note. The abbreviations used in the table refer to P – participant; L1 – first language, L2 – second language; L3 – third language.

Table 2 illustrates the language learning background of the participants and shows that nine participants chose the Kazakh language as their first language (L1), whereas one

respondent chose Russian. Moreover, the Russian language was their second language (L2), and eight participants indicated English as their third language (L3). In addition, the nine participants chose the Russian language as their L2; they started Russian language learning in either pre-school and primary school in different grades. They indicated that the English language (L3) had been a subject for them from the 5th grade in most Kazakhstani schools.

Table 3

Domains of Language Use

№	Domains of use			Language with parents	Language with friends	Language at university
	L1	L2	L3			
P1	Home	Shopping malls Cafes Restaurants	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 90% Russian 10%	Kazakh
P2	Home	Gadgets Russian neighbors	Video-games	Kazakh	Kazakh 90% Russian 10%	Kazakh
P3	Home Friends	Home friends Social places	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 50% Russian 50%	Kazakh Russian
P4	Home Relatives Shops	Everywhere	English course	Russian	Russian	Russian
P5	Relatives from villages	Everywhere	English course Instagram	Russian	Kazakh 10% Russian 90%	Russian
P6	Home Friends	Some friends	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 55% Russian 45%	Kazakh
P7	Home Friends	Some friends	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 50% Russian 50%	Kazakh

P8	Home Friends	Work	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 40% Russian 60%	Russian
P9	Home Friends Relatives	University Social places	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 50% Russian 50%	Russian
P10	Home Friends Relatives	Fitness center Work	English course	Kazakh	Kazakh 50% Russian 50%	Kazakh

Note. The abbreviations used in the table refer to P – participant; L1 – first language, L2 – second language; L3 – third language.

The questions associated with domains of use (see Table 3) revealed that most participants (8 out of 10) speak the Kazakh language in family domains. In contrast, the Russian language is used predominantly in social domains such as restaurants, cafes, fitness centers, and shopping malls. Interestingly, the Kazakh language appears to have some capital in the university domain since six participants indicated that Kazakh is the language primarily used at university. Furthermore, nine respondents highlighted that the English language is used only during the English language courses in their bachelor's or master's degrees.

4.1.1. Emerging Themes

The questionnaire revealed a linguistic market at play in the Kazakhstani context because linguistic choice and practices resembled the production of language capital related to "What language, for which purpose and in which domain" directly connected with the stipulations of the Trilingual Policy mandating that 1) Kazakh is a state language; 2) Russian is the language of international communication, and 3) the English language is the way to successful integration into the global world economy. Therefore, the Trilingual Policy resulted in the price formation of language/s because it signals access to symbolic resources or profits.

Interestingly, the questionnaire illustrated that Kazakh was the L1 for most participants. It functioned as linguistic capital, yet the domain of use associated with family, heritage, and national identity renders the Kazakh language currency weaker when compared with the Russian language. For example, the questionnaire revealed that the Russian language has higher linguistic capital because participants were exposed during early education. It was used in economic fields such as shopping malls, restaurants, workplaces, social media, and various other social domains or, as Participants four and five indicated, "everywhere." Therefore, the questionnaire revealed that the Russian linguistic capital has a higher value because the purpose of communication and the domains of use function as symbolic "signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated, and appreciated" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 66). Finally, the English language is gaining value as a linguistic capital because students have indicated that it is necessary for English courses in the higher education domain. However, what was noteworthy is that six participants illustrated using the Kazakh language at the university, but only for communicating with administration and possibly with fellow students. However, the questionnaire revealed some evidence of translanguaging (see Participants 3, 8, 9 & 10), which was not made explicit as linguistic capital in previous studies. Nonetheless, the questionnaire highlighted that linguistic capital associated with purpose and domains of use reflected cultural, political, and economic attitudes (Smagulova, 2006).

I now present data from interviews conducted with four participants, which were purposefully selected based on their responses and their year of study.

4.2. Interview Analysis

This section presents the data from interviews conducted with four respondents to illustrate their language choice, language use domains, and perceptions of what counts as

linguistic capital. The interview consisted of seven open-ended questions to understand participants' linguistic choice, purpose, and environments of use to shed light on how language capital is positioned in the Kazakhstani linguistic market. The four interviewees are from different regions of Kazakhstan, aged between 17 and 23, of which two are bachelor students (Participants 1 and 7 in the questionnaire) and two master's students (Participants 5 and 10). The selected Participants one, seven, and 10 are L1 Kazakh speakers, while Participant five indicated the Russian language as her L1.

4.2.1. Language Choice and Domains of Use

As previously mentioned, the Trilingual Policy stipulates that the Kazakh language is the state language of Kazakhstan. At the same time, it noted that the country's citizen has free choice to use their native language. Therefore, the Kazakhstani linguistic market encourages language diversity associated with Kazakh as the state language, Russian for international communication, and English as the language of the global economy. However, if a language does not provide access to the labor market, it is valueless in the linguistic marketplace because it offers limited access to economic capital. Accordingly, the first section of the interview focused on participants' language choice and what it reveals about linguistic capital and upward social mobility.

Firstly, the data highlighted that their linguistic choice is relational to their geographical location and language use in the family domains. For example, they prefer speaking Kazakh since it is their native language.

One respondent indicated,

> *Kazakh. Because of my surroundings. I live in Kyzylorda, and it's a totally Kazakh-speaking place. I speak Kazakh with my family members, relatives, neighbors, and friends, with everyone (Participant 1, February 2021).*

Another one's response revealed,

> *Kazakh. My parents are Kazakh; they were born in China. They speak Russian but not so fluent, so we speak only Kazakh at home (Participant 7, February 2021).*

Furthermore, one said that,

> *Kazakh, because it is my native language and my surroundings are more Kazakh-speaking since I live in Aktau. With my family and relatives, neighbors I speak Kazakh (Participant 10, February 2021).*

However, Russian as a language choice also emerged.

The respondent answered,

> *Russian. We are all Kazakhs in my family… My parents speak both of the languages, but I speak to them in Russian, and they answer to me in Russian, too. I can say that 90% I speak Russian at home (Participant 5, February 2021).*

From these extracts, linguistic choice in the Kazakh context is flexible and fluid because it was influenced by either geographical location and the family domain. For example, they are being raised in predominantly Kazakh-speaking regions, and their geographical language repertoires impact their language choices. As a result, the data highlighted that the participants disregard the notion of languages as national categories or bounded entities (Busch, 2012).

Secondly, in the educational domain, respondents illustrated that their linguistic choice shifted between Kazakh or Russian, depending on the context and location. For example, Participant one reported,

> *I study in a KMI group at university. But with 10% of my groupmates who are from the North or Central Kazakhstan, Russian-speaking regions, I speak Russian. And some course materials are given in Russian, they are more understandable (February 2021).*

Finally, Participant 10, who is from a predominantly Kazakh-speaking region, answered,

> *I studied in a KMI school and university in Aktau, they are totally Kazakh-speaking places. And now I'm doing Master's in a KMI group at ENU, which is located in Nur-Sultan city, and here we speak 50% Kazakh, 50% Russian. (February 2021).*

Interestingly, the above extracts illustrated that the participants' language choice in education favored the Russian language regardless of the medium of instruction and their linguistic backgrounds. Domain, location, and context seemed to impact their language choice, giving more value to the Russian language in a KMI educational context. Reasons for their language choice and assigning a higher value to Russian were attributed to material resources such as books and access to IT careers. As a result, the educational domain seems to create market conditions that evaluate and sanction linguistic practices. Russian has more value than Kazakh, which implies social and economic conditions within this domain.

Thirdly, in the social domain, respondents also highlighted the influence of location on their linguistic preference. Interestingly, in this domain, the data illustrated that their linguistic choice can be linked to their sense of national identity because they "always try to speak Kazakh more." In addition, they were moving between languages depending on their location and social relationships.

Participant 7 indicated,

> *50% Kazakh, 50% Russian. I am from Astana. As you know, it is a more Russian-speaking place, and my friends are fluent in Russian. But we always tell each other to speak Kazakh and always try to speak Kazakh more. (February 2021).*

Also, Participant 1 answered,

> *I speak Kazakh with 90% of my friends since they are mostly from my hometown. Others are my Russian-speaking university friends (February, 2021).*

Finally, Participant 5 responded,

> *My friends are Russian-speaking. But in Nur-Sultan, I have one friend from Shymkent, which is a more Kazakh-speaking city. I speak only Kazakh with her (February 2021).*

The previous extracts highlighted the influence of the domain, location, and strengthening of a Kazakh identity as the rationale for their linguistic choices. Also, it is noteworthy that the respondents associated the social domain with their friends. However,

when asked about social spaces, all the participants pointed out that they preferred the Russian language in restaurants, cafes, fitness centers, and language courses regardless of their geographical location. As a result, the participant responses indicated fluidity in the personal relationship space. However, they showed a clear preference for the Russian language in more powerful domains such as economic and business fields.

4.2.2. Linguistic Capital as Practiced

When asked about their language preference and linguistic capital associated with education, the respondents highlighted factors such as problems with translations of course materials into the Kazakh language and a lack of Kazakh-speaking professors and information for their academic success.

Firstly, the interview revealed that the Russian language had high linguistic capital with more value in education than the English language. At the same time, Kazakh is devalued as not academic or not a scientific language for their disciplines.

One respondent reported,

> *I'm studying in a KMI group. For some of my groupmates who do not speak Russian at all, it is very difficult to understand the tasks which are given in Russian, so we usually help them. (Participant 1, February 2021).*

Another one indicated,

> *However, I know that the KMI group of our specialty, who are our friends, sometimes could ask us for some information or books in Russian because they couldn't find good quality translations of the texts given, or even if they had them, they couldn't understand properly. For example, in the process of writing a thesis, they always searched for information in Russian, then translated them into Kazakh. It is too much work (Participant 5, February 2021).*

Furthermore, Participant 7 also said,

> *Last semester on the course of English language, our professor couldn't speak Kazakh, and she was forced to conduct the lesson in Russian. As in our group, there are some students from totally Kazakh-speaking regions, they had some difficulties with it (February 2021).*

Secondly, Russian has higher linguistic capital than Kazakh associated with their specialties such as information technology and tourism.

Participant 10 indicated,

> *Although it would be better for me to understand in Kazakh, I'm doing my Master's in IT and IT books and materials are easier to understand in Russian or in English (February 2021).*

Another one said,

> *I am a student of Tourism in a KMI group, so we have books and materials in Kazakh, but the problem is that some of them are not understandable, so we search for them in Russian. (Participant 7, February 2021).*

The previous extracts illustrate that education "has monopoly over the reproduction of the market on which the value of linguistic competence depends" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652). For example, the participants preferred Russian as linguistic capital because of opportunities in their careers, limited resources such as books, and professors' linguistic repertoires (Russian) that decrease Kazakh's value at a KMI university. Therefore, the acquisition of educational qualifications impacts students' language choice because they valued Russian linguistic registers that legitimize and give authority to the Russian language that reflects the broader socio-economic context of power relations in the Kazakh linguistic market. As a result, Russian signifies powerful capital that shapes academic epistemologies and creates opportunities to exclude other beliefs about what counts as academic knowledge.

4.2.3. Linguistic Capital and Workplace Domains

Interestingly, the data revealed participants' preference for the English language despite their medium of instruction being Kazakh or their preference for the Russian language at university. Despite English being their L3, one respondent indicated,

> *IT books, programming or even career require the English language. So I think if I studied in an EMI group, it would be more useful than the KMI (Participant 1, February 2021).*

Another one said,

> *Maybe it is about English, that I am not practicing English a lot can negatively affect my professional career since tourism requires English (Participant 7, February 2021).*

Also, Participant 10 responded,

> *I think that I'm practicing Russian and English can affect positively because I'm improving my language skills. In my opinion, language skills are very important in a career (February 2021).*

The above extracts highlight the perceptions of English as linguistic capital in the workplace, which demonstrate a growing dominance of the English language in the Kazakh linguistic market. In addition, the participants displayed an understanding that linguistic capital originates from economic capital because those with financial wealth have access to high and prestigious forms of linguistic capital that afford them advantages in various powerful domains. Therefore, English was viewed as the language "with higher economic and symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 62). For instance, participants indicated the value of English capital associated with career specialties such as tourism and information technology. Therefore, the data illustrated that English could be related to the language of job opportunities or commercial purposes to "fulfill more capital needs" (Silver, 2005, p. 24). As a result, the data highlighted a growing dominance of English linguistic capital in the Kazakh market with potential threats for raising the status of the Kazakh language.

4.2.4. Linguistic Capital and Translanguaging

Interestingly, the Kazakh linguistic market revealed an unexpected yet relevant capital (not accounted for in Bourdieu's notion of a linguistic market) which was the notion of

translanguaging. The participants have indicated the fluidity and flexibility of languages in various personal, social, and educational domains.

One respondent indicated,

> *Professors explain topics in Kazakh, but sometimes books used are in Russian. Actually, it is easier to understand IT in Russian (Participant 1, February 2021).*

Another said,

> *When our professors gave us books in Kazakh, we were forced to find them in Russian to understand the concepts, ideas of the author properly (Participant 7, February 2021).*

Also, Participant 7 indicated,

> *50% Kazakh, 50% Russian. (February 2021).*

Participant 10 said,

> *And now I'm doing my Master's at ENU in a KMI group, and here we speak 50% Kazakh, 50% Russian. (February 2021).*

The data revealed that the usage of Russian linguistic capital in this context functioned as a translanguaging resource, which means Russian is used "as a resource that can deepen their understandings" (Burton & Rajendram, 2019, p. 40). Respectively, translanguaging here can demonstrate a language as a meaning-making resource, not as a language-as-problem.

4.3. Emerging Themes from Interviews

The data highlighted that in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace, linguistic capital was "tied to an individual's life" and "the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker" (Blommaert, 2009, pp. 423-424). For instance, all the participants indicated how geographical location, family language policies, and practices impact their language choice. Their position in the family (child to parents) affects language capital in the Kazakh linguistic marketplace. In addition, language choice in the family domain was closely connected to parents, family,

and community; thus, it demonstrated the value of heritage and national identity (Silver, 2005). However, the data illustrated that the Kazakh linguistic capital was rendered valueless in more powerful domains such as education, economics, and the world of work.

Furthermore, the participants indicated that they valued Russian as linguistic capital in the educational domain, regardless of the university's medium of instruction. In fact, students showed that Russian was often the meaning-making resource since students use the language "to communicate effectively" (García, 2012, p. 1) and "extend their knowledge" (Burton & Rajendram, 2019, p. 40).

Moreover, in the social domain, the data repeatedly found the impact of students' geographical space influencing their language choice as the language of friends. Russian was perceived as the linguistic capital most highly valued in the social domain and interaction in social places.

Finally, the interview data revealed that the English language was highly valued as linguistic capital in the workplace domain. Therefore, the value of English linguistic capital in the workplace suggested that participants perceived this linguistic capital as providing access to economic capital and access to high and prestigious forms of linguistic capital that afford them powerful advantages in specific domains.

I now move on to the presentation of the participants' linguistic portraits.

4.4. Presentation and Analysis of Linguistic portraits

The Linguistic portrait drew on Busch (2010) and aimed to reveal participants' positionings of languages depending on their importance and frequency of use by "eliciting narratives on language practices" (p. 286). Even though 10 participants participated in the research project, only four respondents were purposefully selected for interviews, and thus, I

present the linguistic portraits of these four respondents. The respondents who received the body silhouette (Busch, 2012) were requested to create their linguistic portraits on their mobile phones and forward the completed portrait with their reflections about each color and placement on the map. The focus was on the three dominant languages respondents indicated as language choices in the questionnaire and interview (Kazakh, Russian and English). I now present the linguistic portraits and then discuss the themes.

Figure 1

The Linguistic Portrait of Participant 1

Participant 1

Blue – Kazakh

Red – Turkish

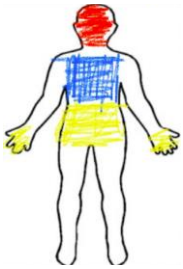
Green – English

Yellow – Russian

Kazakh – because it is the language I have been using since my birth, my mother tongue.
Russian and English – the languages that will help me in my professional career. Especially English, because I am a future IT specialist and English is highly required language in the sphere of IT.
Turkish – because I am proficient in Turkish, but I hardly ever use Turkish in Kazakhstan, only with my school friends. And I don't know where I can use Turkish in Kazakhstan.

Figure 2

The Linguistic Portrait of Participant 5



Participant 5

Red – Russian

Blue – Kazakh

Yellow – English

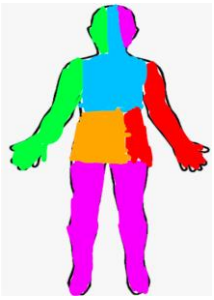
Red is Russian because I mostly speak Russian, and it has been in my mind from my childhood.

Blue – Kazakh, and it is in the center of my body because Kazakh language associates for me as my soul close to my heart since it is my native language. Despite the fact I am more Russian-speaking, I like using Kazakh in some situations. I would like to use Kazakh more.

Yellow – English. I sometimes use English words unconsciously, kind of parasite words or chic words from Instagram or the Internet. And I want English to become a big part of my language skills.

Figure 3

The Linguistic Portrait of Participant 7



Participant 7

Blue – Kazakh

Red – Chinese

Orange – Turkish

Green – Russian

Purple – English

Blue – Kazakh, because it is the color of our flag, and it covers my mind and heart, which are associated with my mother tongue.

Red – Chinese. It is the color of Chinese flag and it covers one of my hands because China is our neighbor, and we will definitely work with them, and we usually work with our hands.

Orange – Turkish, because I speak Turkish little bit and it will definitely be useful if I travel to Turkey or even in KZ there are a lot of Turkish companies to work.

Green – Russian. One of my hands is covered with the green color. The reason is the same as the color red. And some part of my head, because I sometimes think in Russian and speak.

Purple – English. It covers my legs, because as English language is an international language, it provides a lot of opportunities and it can help me to go and reach those opportunities.

Figure 4

The Linguistic Portrait of Participant 10

Red – Kazakh. It is the color of my heart and 70% of my head since it is my mother tongue and the language which I use for 70% of my life. One of my legs is covered with the red color because I usually go to Kazakh places. Also my stomach, because I eat Kazakh cuisine. One of my arms, because while working I often use Kazakh.
Blue – Russian. 20% of my head, because in some situations I think in Russian. Some part of one leg and one arm is blue because when I go to karaoke, restaurants, fitness centers I use Russian since there are members of different nationalities, and also at work, I sometimes use Russian.
Green – English 7% of my life. It covers some part of one leg and one arm, because I am an IT specialist, I go (leg) and work (arm) in IT company, where programmers use English terms often. So I need English. And the green color covers little part of my head because I speak English on an Intermediate level and use English often at work.
Yellow – Arabic 2%. As I have started learning Arabic recently, it covers a small place close to my heart. The reason of learning the language is I am a Muslim and want to be able to read and understand the Quran easily to educate myself. And I hope that in the future I will be fluent in Arabic.
Black – Turkish, 1%. Black because I couldn't find another color). I started learning Turkish during the quarantine to understand Turkish series, which I like most. It is only because of my interest. Now I have finished A1 and A2 levels because Turkish language is so similar to Kazakh, so it is easy to learn.

4.4.1. Language Choice

The data relating to the participants' linguistic repertoire, language choice, and positionings presented in the body silhouette found the English language valuable in Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. English linguistic capital is associated with job opportunities and the future. In detail, the respondents marked English with different colors. They covered several parts of their body, especially legs, describing how proficiency in English will open new ways in their professional career (see below).

> *I want English to become a big part of my language skills in the future (Figure 2). It covers my legs, because as English language is an international language, it provides a lot of opportunities and it can help me to go and reach those opportunities (Figure 3).*
> *It covers some part of one leg and one arm, because I am an IT specialist, I go (leg) and work (arm) in an IT company, where programmers use English terms often. So I need English (Figure 4).*

In addition, the value of the Russian linguistic capital in the Kazakhstani labor market emerged in the linguistic portrait of Participant 1,

> *Russian and English – the languages that will help me in my professional career. Especially English, because I am a future IT specialist and English is a highly required language in the sphere of IT (Figure 1).*

As a result, the data revealed that English linguistic capital is valuable in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace and associated with new opportunities for professional careers. According to the respondents' answers (see Figures 1 and 4), another indicator is that the English language is considered as one of the essential requirements of job applications, especially in information technology. Even though participants referred to the English language as having a value in the workplace in both the interviews and the questionnaire, what was strikingly similar was the placement of English on the body (legs, hands, and head) indicative of movement and cognitive capabilities.

4.4.2. Language and Identity

The portraits brought to the surface the participants' representation of their language repertoires and choices. Three of the four respondents associated the Kazakh language with a blue color, which is the primary color of the Kazakh national flag covering their upper body, significantly their hearts and head.

> *Because it is the language I have been using since my birth, my mother tongue (Figure 1). Because it is the color of our flag, and it covers my mind and heart, which are associated with my mother tongue (Figure 3).*

In addition, Participant 10 colored 70 percent of her body red.

> *The red color is the color of my heart. As I am Kazakh and it is my mother tongue, I think and use the Kazakh language. Kazakh language covers 70% of my head, one arm, one leg, even my stomach since I eat Kazakh cuisine (Figure 4).*

Furthermore, the participants marked the Russian language in four different colors such as yellow (see Figure 1), red (see Figure 2), green (see Figure 3), and blue (see Figure 4). Two Kazakh-speaking respondents (see Figure 3 and 4) colored the Russian language covering some part of their head and explained,

> *Some part of my head, because I sometimes think in Russian and speak (Figure 3).*
> *20% of my head, because in some situations, I think in Russian (Figure 4).*

Interestingly, one Russian-speaking participant highlighted Kazakh as her first language despite her low proficiency in Kazakh.

> *Kazakh and it is in the center of my body, because Kazakh language associates for me as my soul close to my heart, since it is my native language. Despite the fact I am more Russian-speaking, I like using Kazakh in some situations (Figure 2).*

Therefore, in all the respondents' body maps, the Kazakh language is identified as the language of national identity, commonly covering their heads, hearts, and other significant parts of their bodies. As a result, the linguistic portraits illustrated associations with language and identity that represented the Kazakh language as heritage, pride, and national identity.

4.4.3. Domains of Use

It is noteworthy that the Russian language placement on the body is similar to the English placement (arms, legs, hands). The respondents painted their arms and legs, describing that they usually work with hands and go to places where language choice is also significant. More specifically, three of them associated their arms and legs with the Russian language indicated below.

> *Russian … the language that will help me in my professional career (Figure 1).*
> *I sometimes use Russian at work and go to places such as fitness centers, restaurants, karaoke bars where I speak Russian because of the members of different nationalities there (Figure 4).*

Accordingly, the linguistic portraits revealed that the Russian language is associated with workplace and social domains. More precisely, the respondents highlighted the importance of Russian in professional careers, working with neighboring countries, and social spaces such as fitness centers, restaurants, and karaoke bars.

4.5. Emerging Themes in Linguistic Portraits

As a multimodal method, the language portrait provides two data sets that reveal how the respondents interpret their linguistic repertoire: a visual and a narrative. Therefore, both modes offered meaning in the linguistic portrait that illuminated the respondents' linguistic repertoires as represented on their bodies. First, the use of color and its placement on their portraits gave prominence to English, whereas the questionnaire and interview data emphasized the Russian language more. Their reflections revealed that Kazakh is the language of national identity associated with their upper body, hearts, and head, mostly colored in blue, which is connected with the flag of Kazakhstan. Therefore, both modes offered meaning which elaborated or extended their linguistic repertoires on their body maps. Also, their linguistic portraits illustrated the importance of Russian, marked with different colors commonly located on the arms and legs since they use it in social and workplace domains. Finally, it was interesting that English appeared to have the highest capital because it was the language that provides access to successful careers, new opportunities, and international prospects, similarly represented on their body silhouettes.

4.6. Findings Across the Research Instruments

This study included three research instruments to achieve data triangulation. These three data sources, the questionnaire, interviews, and the linguistic portraits revealed that the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace is flexible and allowed for translanguaging practices and opportunities for "…different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief, and ideology…" (Li Wei, 2011, p. 1223). Thus, the data sets revealed that binary classifications of language did not underpin the Kazakh linguistic market but showed linguistic capital as a fluid, dynamic, and social semiotic resource.

Interestingly, linguistic capital in the Kazakhstani linguistic market was relational to family, geographical spaces, and powerful domains such as educational and workplace fields. For instance, in the questionnaire, the respondents illustrated the languages showing the influence of their family and geographical location. Similarly, the interview data highlighted the priority of the languages in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. Finally, the linguistic portraits also showed the positionings of the three linguistic capitals depending on their significance in the linguistic market.

4.6.1. Kazakh Linguistic Capital: Identity and Heritage

Three data sets revealed that Kazakh linguistic capital is associated with national identity and family domain. Moreover, geographical location also impacted the participants' linguistic repertoires in that the respondents from Kazakh-speaking regions preferred the Kazakh. At the same time, Russian-speaking surroundings also influenced the language choice of the respondents in the same way. However, the Kazakh language was the language of the home and national identity because; 1) the questionnaires revealed that the participants use the Kazakh language in a family domain predominantly regardless of their geographical background and surrounding, 2) the interviews showed that the respondents try to expand the use of the Kazakh language, and 3) the linguistic portraits highlighted the strong national identity; one participant (Participant 5) indicated the Kazakh language as L1 despite being Russian-speaking. Finally, the data highlighted that the Kazakh linguistic capital has value in less powerful domains such as the family and heritage language. However, it was often devalued and portrayed as having limited buying power in more powerful fields because the respondents felt that it offered limited social or economic upward mobility.

4.6.2. Russian Linguistic Capital: Domains of Power

The data instruments highlighted that the Russian linguistic capital has dominance in educational and social domains compared to other linguistic capitals. Therefore, the Kazakhstani linguistic market foregrounds the dominance of the Russian language in educational domains because even in this KMI university, there was a lack of material resources to raise the status of Kazakh as an academic language. For instance, 1) the questionnaires revealed that the Russian linguistic capital is highly valued in powerful social spaces such as cafes, restaurants, fitness centers, and karaoke bars, 2) the interviews indicated some issues that resulted in the maintenance, dominance, and increase in the Russian language status related to the inappropriate translations of course materials, and 3) the linguistic portraits also highlighted the dominance of the Russian linguistic capital in education domain that the issue with the lack of Kazakh reading materials and lecturers in educational organizations which are limited in the Kazakh language proficiency.

4.6.3. Linguistic Capital and Domains of Use

The three data instruments revealed that linguistic capital was dependent on the domain of use. For example, 1) the questionnaire revealed that the Kazakh language is related to the family domain, 2) the interview highlighted that the Russian linguistic capital had buying power in education and workplace domains such as higher education organizations and professional career, and 3) the linguistic portrait illustrated the Russian with different colors marking the arms and legs to account for social and workplace domains. Moreover, the interviews and linguistic portraits showed another linguistic capital that played an essential role in the workplace domain, the English linguistic capital, because the participants indicated that it provides new opportunities in the Kazakhstani and global labor market.

4.6.4. Translanguaging as Linguistic Capital

According to García and Li Wei (2014), translanguaging is when speakers use different languages purposefully to meet their communicative needs and to get a deeper understanding in a particular context. The use of the Russian language in educational domains cannot be seen as a language-as-problem because the findings showed practices associated with translanguaging use as a resource. In all data sets, Russian is used to extend their knowledge and respondents' perceptions about the limitations of the available information in Kazakh and weak Kazakh translations.

4.7. Discussion of Findings

This study explored how Kazakhstani students' language choice in particular domains creates perceptions of linguistic capital, language status, and prestige in the Kazakh linguistic market. Three research instruments, that is, the qualitative questionnaires, interviews, and linguistic portraits, offered methodical triangulation (Denzin, 2012). First, the questionnaires demonstrated participants' linguistic repertoires and domains of use. In contrast, the interviews showed that their language choices depended on geographical location and domains of use. Finally, the linguistic portraits illustrated the significance of English linguistic capital not explicitly clear in the other two research instruments. In this section, I will discuss the findings of the study associated with the three research questions, which were:

1. How is linguistic capital positioned in the current Kazakh linguistic marketplace?
2. How do these positions impact students' language choice and linguistic capital?
3. What market, societal, and language socialization domains impact students' language choices and attitudes?

4.7.1. How is Linguistic Capital Positioned in the Current Kazakh Linguistic Marketplace?

The study's main findings show that the Kazakh linguistic capital is associated with the family domain and national identity. As mentioned before, national identity is commonly defined as a complex of national symbols, language, and history. For this reason, the participants valued the symbolic, linguistic, and historical characteristics of being Kazakh "through distinguishing and differentiating the nation from other nations or ethnic groups" (Triandafyllidou, 1998, p. 593). The idea of national identity in Kazakhstan, first introduced after gaining independence from the USSR, includes the rise of Kazakh language status in several spheres, especially in the public sphere (Fierman, 1998). However, the findings showed that the Kazakh language is still considered the home and national identity, with limited value in the public sphere. According to various research studies, in colonial and post-colonial countries, a language of a family domain is mainly believed to be a less dominant one, such as the Tai-gi language in Taiwan (Sandel, 2003), the case of Chinese students in Britain (Francis et al., 2009) and Korean migrant students in Toronto (Shin, 2012). Also, the situation of Kurdish and Arabic women in Turkey (Smits & Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2003) and minorities in Hong-Kong primary schools (Fang, 2011) support the statement mentioned above.

The three data sets revealed that the respondents had a strong national identity associated with Kazakh linguistic capital, despite their low or high proficiency in the Kazakh language and geographical location, which also greatly influenced their choice of linguistic repertoires. A similar outcome was noticed in the study of Aydıngün (2008), which investigated the construction of the Kazakh nation and national identity through building national symbols. The author highlighted that "the symbolic significance that the interviewees accorded their mother tongue was quite strong" (p. 151). In addition, the researcher pointed

out that the current state of the Kazakh language, which is about being only the language of a family domain and national identity, cannot be seen as a negative outcome since the Kazakh national identity construction is at a very early stage and in the process of development (Aydıngün, 2008).

4.7.2. How do these Positionings Impact Students' Language Choice and Linguistic Capital?

Another finding of the study was the dominance of Russian linguistic capital in social and educational domains. With the introduction of Kazakhization, the Kazakh language started to be used in official documents, administration, science, and social life to raise the status of the titular language (Smagulova, 2008). Despite the independent Kazakh government creation of national identity and the revival of culture and language that was "suppressed and damaged during more than two centuries of Russian domination over the Kazakh lands" (Zardykhan, 2004, p. 61), the Soviet legacy associated with the use of Russian language remains substantial (Pavlenko, 2006). In detail, the Russian language was predominantly being used in the public sphere and administration, marketing, advertising, media, and higher education (Aydıngün, 2008; Pavlenko, 2006; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015; Smagulova, 2008). Smagulova (2008, p. 444) pointed out that "Russians were not just a demographic majority, they were also a dominant group politically, economically and culturally," which directly affected the current situation in the Kazakhstani market where there is a slow shift towards Kazakh. In addition, Aydıngün (2008) argues that the "ethno-demographic structure of Kazakhstan" and "the success of the Soviet regime in Russianization" could explain the dominance of the Russian language in the Kazakhstani market (p. 151). As a result, there has been no significant transformation in the market because Russian remains the language of value and power in social and educational domains over the last 15 years.

Furthermore, the findings revealed that Russian linguistic capital in the educational domain, especially in higher education, is seen as a translanguaging resource. As was mentioned earlier, translanguaging is the process of using one more language for meaning-making, not only mixing two languages or choosing another language due to the lack of appropriate vocabulary (García & Wei, 2014). The data sets found that university students of KMI groups prefer books and course materials in the Russian language because of the clarity of information. There are some challenges with Kazakh translations of the materials. Respectively, the Russian language in Kazakhstan higher education is viewed not as a problem, contrary as a resource in students' learning, as it enriches their understanding of a particular context (Burton & Rajendram, 2019).

4.7.3. What Market, Societal, and Language Socialization Domains Impact Students' Language Choices and Attitudes?

The last finding of the study highlighted the emerging value of the English linguistic capital in a workplace domain in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. Three data sets revealed that the English language is associated with job opportunities and that it has a high value in the labor market of Kazakhstan, especially in such professions as information technology and tourism. The literature illustrated that the global spread of English because it is viewed as the language of economy, business, and science that automatically raise the importance of English in many countries (Abdullah & Chan, 2003; Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; Harrison, 2009; Sah & Li, 2018; Silver, 2005). Gerhards (2014) also highlighted how globalization, industrialization, and internationalization contribute to the hegemony of the English language that impacts local linguistic capitals and markets. Therefore, the English language has become popular as a medium of instruction in many education systems. The findings of this study showed that students' discourses were associated with English as an

international language that offers them access to opportunities in the labor market and upward social mobility in their professional careers.

The findings showed that the value of the English language in Kazakhstan is growing because of globalization. However, the data sets also illustrated that the relationship between the English language and titular languages differs from the situation in Kazakhstan. For instance, English was only considered linguistic capital for access to some careers, which does not threaten respondents' national language or identity (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; Sah & Li, 2018). Thus, the data demonstrated that the English linguistic capital in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace was not a threat to national identity.

To conclude, this study mostly showed similar findings regarding the Kazakh and Russian linguistic capitals and their domains of use in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The previous chapter focused on the study's findings and discussed the results in the Kazakhstani market. This final chapter summarizes the main conclusions. The purpose of the study was to explore Kazakhstani university students' language choice, capital, and attitudes in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace, using three data instruments: qualitative questionnaire, interview, and linguistic portraits. The project participants were ten bachelor and master's students of the Eurasian National University in Nur-Sultan city, with different geographical and linguistic backgrounds, which helped achieve a deeper understanding of the research topic. The study's main conclusions were: 1) the Kazakh linguistic capital associated with the family domain and national identity, 2) the Russian linguistic capital related to education and social domains, and 3) the English linguistic capital, which has a higher value in the workplace domain. Furthermore, this chapter presents the implications of the results, the study's limitations and provides recommendations for further research.

5.1. Kazakh Linguistic Capital in the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace

The data sets highlighted three linguistic capitals in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace: the Kazakh, Russian, and English linguistic capital. The Kazakh language is associated only with the home and national identity language, regardless of university students' background. According to Aydıngün (2008), the current low prestige and status of the Kazakh language is an expected process in the development of the young independent government, while other researchers (Pavlenko, 2006; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015; Smagulova, 2008) viewed it as the limitation of nation-building initiatives. However, the findings revealed that university students have a strong national identity irrespective of their geographical or linguistic background and language proficiency.

5.2. Russian Linguistic Capital in the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace

The study indicated that the Russian linguistic capital is highly valued in several domains of use in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. The data sets revealed that university students prefer the Russian language in social fields such as cafes, restaurants, karaoke bars, fitness centers, shopping malls, and higher education domains. However, the participants explained that the Russian linguistic capital's dominance was due to the limitations of Kazakh translations of books and courses. Nonetheless, the Russian language was dominant in public spaces and had value because it offered access to different valuable resources in social and education domains (Fierman, 1998; Sabitova & Alishariyeva, 2015; Smagulova, 2008).

5.3. English Linguistic Capital in the Kazakhstani Linguistic Marketplace

In the era of globalization, the spread of English worldwide shows its significance in the global economy. As stated by the former president of Kazakhstan (2007), the Kazakh language is the state language, Russian for international communication, and English is the language of integration into a global economy. The data sets revealed that the Trilingual language policy influenced university students' interest in English language proficiency to be competitive in their professional careers, highlighting the value of the English linguistic capital in the Kazakhstani and global labor market.

5.4. Significance of the Study

The triangulation of the study allowed exploring the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace in the case of university students' language choice, capital, and attitudes from different perspectives. Accordingly, the data sets focused on the Kazakh, Russian, and English linguistic capitals in the context of Kazakhstan. They identified the language positionings in

several domains and university students' perceptions of the linguistic market. Another significance of the study is the focus on the Kazakh linguistic market which is underexplored in the literature.

5.5. Implications of the Findings

The findings hold various implications, such as exploring strategies associated with the status and prestige of the Kazakh language in the education domain. Also, the results illustrated the need for appropriate translations of academic materials and academic staff's linguistic proficiency, especially when Kazakh is the medium of instruction. Also, the findings showed the importance of focusing on English language development in primary and secondary school contexts.

5.6. Recommendations for Further Research

The study results suggest that the linguistic market lens needs to be explored in Kazakhstan's different contexts and regions. This is especially important because some areas of the country are predominantly Kazakh-speaking, while other parts are more Russian dominant. Accordingly, research in each Kazakhstan region can show the current state of the Kazakh and Russian linguistic capitals in the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace to find potential ways for future language development initiatives.

Another recommendation is related to the Kazakh linguistic capital issue associated with the language of family domain and national identity. Future research studies could explore limitations of the Kazakh linguistic capital, which has less dominance in education, social, and workplace domains, to identify the reasons for these challenges, resulting in expanding the Kazakh language use.

5.7. Limitations of the Study

Firstly, the study was a small-scale research project conducted with 10 participants from one university. For this reason, although I used three research instruments to explore the research topic from different perspectives, the results cannot be generalized as the whole Kazakhstani higher education students' view on the Kazakhstani linguistic marketplace. Accordingly, the project only showed the state of the Kazakh, Russian and English linguistic capitals in the context of the chosen university.

Secondly, the Covid-19 pandemic restrictions also influenced the data collection process. For example, face-to-face interviews became online meetings with the participants. This mode change forced me to alter the planned order of the research instruments. The linguistic portrait about the linguistic background and domains of participants' language use through the coloring of a body silhouette became the last research instrument.

5.8. Conclusion

The research project was challenging and exciting at the same time in connection with the difficulties of the research process and its significance in the context of Kazakhstan. In the beginning, the local and foreign research studies helped me to identify and structure the research topic. Then the participants allowed me to explore the linguistic capitals in the Kazakh linguistic market. Finally, during the data analysis process, I understood the importance of the study properly, seeing the whole picture of my research journey, which taught me to realize the value of research work in the development of any sphere.

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Appendix A: Qualitative Questionnaire

1. Age: _____
2. Sex: Male/Female
3. Nationality: _____
4. City: _____
5. Specialty: _____
6. What is your first language? _____.
7. What language do you speak as a second language?

   _____.

   No, I do not speak.
8. What language do you speak as a third language?

   _____.

   No, I do not speak.
9. If you answered 7 and 8th questions, please, indicate the age you started learning these languages:

   Second language: _____.

   Third language: _____.
10. In what domains do you prefer speaking your first, second, and third languages?

    _____
11. What language do you use with your parents?

    _____
12. What language do you use with your friends?

    _____

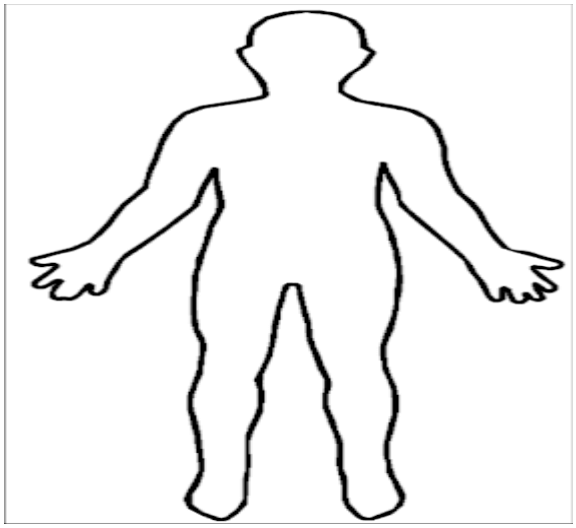
13. What language do you use at university (with professors, administration, and others)?

_____

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1. What language do you prefer speaking in your family? Why?
2. What language do you speak with your friends and why?
3. Describe what language is better for your studies (course materials)? Why?
4. Have your surroundings influenced your language preference? How?
5. How can you position the languages you speak?
6. What challenges do you face concerning your language choice?
7. Do you think your language choice position can positively or negatively affect your studies/job/career/daily life? How?

Appendix C: Linguistic Portrait



Students had to complete a language portrait by coloring in a body silhouette, using different colors to represent other elements of their linguistic dispositions, and eliciting narratives on language practices.