

**SYMPOSIUM ON IDEOLOGIES, ATTITUDES, AND POWER
IN LANGUAGE CONTACT SETTINGS**

Stockholm University, May 16-17 2019

Geovetenskapens hus

THURSDAY, May 16

8:00-8:30 Registration (in Geovetenskapens hus).

8:30-8:45 Opening remarks

8:45-9:45 Plenary I, in Room DeGeerslan

Helen Kelly Holmes, University of Limerick

**'This argument shows up here at least twice a year': The role of technology in
language policing in multilingual contact situations**

There has recently been much attention paid to the role of online media in spreading hate, nationalism and racism, with the terms such as 'cyber-racism' and 'cyber-nationalism' being coined to refer to the particular features and enablers of online technology in relation to individual and collective behaviours and discourses. In recent years, as the context for the study of language ideological debates and language policing has inevitably shifted from traditional to online spaces and texts, social media have provided invaluable corpora and forums for all of those interested in understanding language ideologies. In this paper, I would like to question whether our tools, methods, and research questions for studying these online debates have taken sufficient account of such technological features and enablers and how we might respond to the new and urgent focus that is being put on technology in relation to spreading differentiating and discriminating ideologies. Using the example of a recent Twitter thread about the 'correct' term of address for mothers in Ireland, I explore how our study of online language ideologies might be enhanced by a greater focus on the role of technology and engagement with wider debates about cyber-racism and -nationalism.

SESSION 1, 10:30-10:30, U28

**Family language policy in Singapore: A mirror of the asymmetric power relations
between English and Malay**

Seyed Hadi Mirvahedi

Nanyang Technological University

Since its independence in 1965, Singapore's language management has been enveloped by different narratives and ideologies (Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005). While the city-state's language policies, in particular its English medium plus one mother tongue policy, have been praised for Singapore's successful racial harmonization, economic development and contributing to achieving a competitive edge in international markets (Bolton & Ng, 2014), recent research supported by census data points to the increasing use of English in the private spheres, such as within the family, and the concomitant language shift across all ethnic groups (Bokhorst-Heng & Silver, 2017; Cavallaro & Ng, 2014; Low & Pakir, 2018; Tan, 2014). Applying family language policy (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Luykx, 2003) as the theoretical framework, this study draws on ethnographic observations, interviews, and recordings of naturally-occurring familial interactions (90 hours) to investigate Malay-English bilingual families' linguistic ideologies and practices in the home. While the interviews shed light upon the parental ideologies and reported linguistic practices at home, the observations and recordings illuminate language socialization patterns, the "real" (Spolsky, 2009:4) and "practiced" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) language policies. The analysis of the data sets shows that while some parents wholeheartedly adopt English-only policy – both at ideological and practical levels – at home, others attempt to strike a balance between Malay and English use at home. However, though the latter desires to promote bilingualism at home, what takes place in practice is socialization *through* and *into* English, especially when certain activities, such as homework or siblings' play, are in progress. The findings suggest that, on the one hand, the asymmetric power relation between English and Malay, and on the other hand, the parents' laissez-faire language policies, apparently emanating from their lack of knowledge of how to raise children bilingually, has made home vulnerable to the infiltration of English. The research contributes to our understanding of how asymmetric power relations between languages are enacted through mundane daily activities, "the warp and woof of human sociality" (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002:342).

SESSION 1, 10:30-11:00, U28

Power through dialectology: Reflections on ideological motivations for linguistic classification and description

Soung-U Kim

SOAS University of London

This talk traces my ongoing exploration of my own ideological underpinnings while producing a grammatical description of Jejuan spoken in Jeju Province, South Korea: on the general level, I wish to understand the role of South Korean linguistics in developing, propagating and re-iterating ideas of power in society through the act of linguistic classification, and grammatical description. As a descriptive linguist, then, I ask what influences my descriptive work has on such power dynamics, aiming to become aware of my responsibilities towards re-enforcing or (hopefully so) altering such dynamics.

In the South Korean case, linguistic classification and description are intimately connected: the country is notorious for its monolingualist, one-nation-one-language ideology (Park, 2010; cf. Cooke & Simpson, 2015) where the linguistic homogeneity of a (South) Korean ethno-nation has been emphasised throughout its existence (Harkness, 2015; Song, 2012), and has given birth to the construct of ‘the Korean language’, accompanied by rigorous linguistic standardisation efforts (Park, 2008). Within this context, Jejuan is considered a dialectal division (Sohn, 1999; Yeon, 2012). Traditionally, only dialectologists would be looking at matters concerning Jejuan and other regiolects. Against this, especially the UNESCO classification of Jejuan as a ‘critically endangered language’ (Moseley, 2010) was indicative of a new line of thought along which Jejuan is regarded a member of a Koreanic language family. Such work very much emphasises the absence of mutual intelligibility between Jejuan and Korean (O’Grady, 2015), or focuses on grammatical differences between the two (Yang & Kim, 2013).

With myself working along this novel ideological trend, I argue that dialectological classification is essentially a projection of socio-political power inequalities into the realm of linguistics: in South Korea, resulting dialectological research outcomes are discursive power tools to co-create and sustain the contiguity of a Korean nation-state in time and space. In other words, dialectology itself depends on the construct of a monolithic roof language, and doing dialectological research relies on the adherence to linguo-nationalist premises that led to that roof construct in the first place. Interestingly, comprehensive descriptions of Korean are ubiquitous, whereas the description of Jejuan never reaches an equal level of autonomy and comprehension, which is why I – largely inspired by Heinrich (2012) – suggest that this is precisely because nationalist-monolingualist views act as ideological filters that narrow down areas and aspects of linguistic relevance, ultimately serving the goal of authorising the ideological status quo.

If so, then linguists and their descriptive linguistic practice – that is, my own research on Jejuan – cannot be removed from socio-political dynamics: therefore, a process of ‘ideological clarification’ à la Kroskrity (2009) is in order to understand currently prevailing ideological perspectives and explore their ramifications in society. While I intend to show some qualitative data suggesting that South Korean monolingualism has been homogenising language use at the expense of regiolectal variation, I will close the talk with more cautious thoughts on whether ‘diversifying-multilingual ideologies’ would be a viable alternative

SESSION 1, 11:00-11:30, U28

Linguistic capital in Serra da Lua, Roraima, Brazil

Vidhya Elango, Susi Lima, Isabella Coutinho

University of Toronto, Universidade de de Roraima

Serra Da Lua is a region in northern Roraima, Brazil which borders the Rupununi region of Guyana, and contains 17 mixed Macuxi-Wapichana (Carib and Arawak) Indigenous communities. The region is highly multilingual; Macuxi, Wapichana, Guyanese Creole English and Brazilian Portuguese (the dominant state language) are all spoken. In September 2017, the first two authors conducted a sociolinguistic survey with 30 participants in three communities in Serra Da Lua, examining Indigenous language vitality, as well as language attitudes, rural-urban migration, and ethnic identity. We found that multilingualism is broadly supported by community members as a goal in itself ; “You have to learn all languages” was a common refrain through our interviews. Yet, what does this support for multilingualism mean in a context where language shift toward Brazilian Portuguese is occurring (MacDonnel, 2005; Pearson & Amaral, 2014), in a borderland where Indigenous labour migration and cross-border migration are frequent (Ferri, 1990; Carvalho, 2015)?

In this presentation, we seek to investigate the social meanings of each language as discursively represented by our interview participants, with special attention paid to the English spoken in the region, as little work has examined its use among Indigenous speakers on the Brazilian side of the border. We found that the Wapichana and Macuxi languages are valued by many community members for their perceived inherent link to ethnic identity, while Portuguese and English are rarely linked to identity. Knowledge of Portuguese is viewed as necessary for economic opportunities, as well as interacting with the state and non-Indigenous people, while English is valued for its status as a global language of technology and its utility for communication with people from outside the community. In this context, Pierre Bourdieu’s notions of the linguistic marketplace and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1991) are useful for understanding these

different valuations and social meanings of the languages in Serra Da Lua. This theory allows us to throw light on the power differentials between the European languages and Indigenous languages, especially the power that Brazilian Portuguese carries and the social capital and economic opportunities that it affords its speakers. Both Portuguese and English were often linked to ideas of mobility and migration, suggesting that mobility is understood by Indigenous community members as being deeply bound with linguistic capital in this multilingual border region.

SESSION 1, 11:30-12:00, U28

**"Hablo pocha, no?": Linguistic terrorism and linguistic insecurity
in the US/Mexico borderlands**

Katherine Christoffersen

University of Texas

The sociolinguistic history of US/Mexico borderlands and persistent racial, class and linguistic conflict have resulted in linguistic terrorism (Anzaldúa, 1987), especially the delegitimization of local border and bilingual language varieties. Such pervasive negative perceptions of bilingual language varieties result in linguistic insecurity (Zentella, 2007). This narrative analysis is based on sociolinguistic interviews from the Corpus Bilingüe del Valle [Bilingual Corpus of the Valley] (Bessett & Christoffersen, 2018) in the Rio Grande Valley, Texas and the Corpus del Sur de Arizona [Corpus of Southern Arizona] (Carvalho, 2012-) in Tucson, Arizona. The three level positioning framework (Bamberg & Georgekopolou, 2008) allows the analysis of the storyworld, the story-telling world, and broader societal discourses.

In the first narrative, Ana describes her language as 'pocha', a derogatory term for Chicano Spanish referring to the use of Spanish and English in the same conversation exchange, thereby presenting her language as negatively esteemed and lacking prestige. Ana engages in "dialect dissing" (Zentella, 2002) as she criticizes her cousins' and sister's bilingual varieties. She also elevates the status of so-called standard Spanish while diminishing the value of Mexican American varieties of Spanish when she states that she wants to learn 'español bien,' referring to a variety of Spanish without any aspects of English.

In the second narrative, Tomás both enacts and rejects "linguistic terrorism." By acknowledging the existence of "different Spanishes" in the Rio Grande Valley, he rejects hegemonic language ideologies. Yet, at the same time, Tomás states, 'we don't speak Spanish Spanish.' When Spanish is repeated as an adjective in this way, it suggests the existence of a 'true Spanish' or 'real Spanish,' harkening notions of linguistic purism (Dorian, 1994) and standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2011; Rosa, 2016). Later in

the narrative, Tomás describes certain varieties as “correct” but repairs his statement saying “I don’t know if correct is the right word” and revises his statement to “different.” In the final narrative, Elizabeth provides an example of an active site of confrontation, where she acknowledges the normative standard language ideologies but rejects them, instead enacting language pride (Martínez, 2006) in her bilingual, bicultural, and binational identities. She states, “the powerful societal discourses, stating, “Why should I choose? I am from both places, born in America but with family in Mexico. I can combine [languages]. I have an identity of both instead of an identity of one.”

The present analysis demonstrates how language ideologies of linguistic insecurity are enacted and accepted but also rejected, subverted, and reconstituted by bilinguals in the US/Mexico borderlands, and by extension, how such ideologies reflect power asymmetries. Educators have a vital role in countering “linguistic terrorism” in the Borderlands. In particular, this can be addressed through adopting a critical pedagogy, whereby educators can highlight the relationship between language and sociopolitical issues and provide opportunities for students to critically examine dominant linguistic practices and hierarchies (Leeman, 2005; Valdés, 1995).

SESSION 2, 10:00-10:30, U29

An anthropological linguistic cross-cultural examination of “balanced literacy” in educating emerging bilinguals in school districts networked through North-South transborder migration

Jennifer Reynolds

University of South California

This paper showcases a cross-cultural audio-visual ethnographic method for grappling with the complex of language ideologies that inform the natural language ecologies shaping the social geographies within which young children of mobile indigenous families dwell. These children and their families hail from Western provinces in Guatemala where the Mayan languages Mam and K’ichee’ are widely spoken in addition to Spanish. They also form a growing population of the Mayan Diaspora within the Southeastern United States where different varieties of English and Spanish are also spoken. The ethnographic point of entry is through school districts which, positioned at different ends of the network, strive to implement the educational reforms advanced by corresponding regional and national ministries of education that hold opposed national language ideological projects and policies. Schools become institutional nodes within the network that are charged with offering different kinds support and opportunity to children. The method was originally developed by Tobin et al. (1989) to draw cross-

cultural comparisons of educational systems and involved the selection of non-networked case study societies and schools. After having conducted a short period of participant observation at each school, video-recordings of a “typical day” are made. The footage from each is edited into an ethnographic video shortcut which is then used as a rich visual cue to guide interviews with teachers and staff at the school as well as specialists in that area of education around the country and finally, educators in other countries in the study. The aim of the interviews is to identify and interpret key and provocative issues in early childhood education and note patterned similarities and differences when drawing the cross-cultural comparisons. Tobin and colleagues also used this method to make intracultural comparisons of how both rural and urban preschools schools from across the United States were coping with the challenges of transnational migration and adapting to the needs of new immigrant families. My anthropological linguistic iteration of the method directly links school districts across international borders bringing the network into focus (see Zentella, 1997). Interviews in particular probe how teachers, administrators and specialists perceive and interpret the educational reforms surrounding bilingual education in Guatemala, instruction of English for English language learners in the United States as well as social constructivist approaches to language learning and literacy acquisition through interacting with audio-visual cue. The method additionally opens the possibility for critical intercultural dialogue amongst participants who have a vested interest in serving the particular needs of this group of children (Reynolds, under review). One key finding foreground in this presentation is that even though very different national language projects underpin the goals and policies of kindergarten language education, the hegemony of storybook reading (Heath, 1982) shaping language and literacy instruction is held in common. It has been repackaged and branded as “balanced literacy” and disseminated to some Western highland school districts through a USAID development initiative implemented in early childhood education aimed at reducing future migration to the United States.

SESSION 2, 10:30-11:00, U29

Eija Hetekivi Olsson's *Miira* as a battlefield of language ideologies

Heidi Grönstrand

Stockholm University

This paper discusses the relationship between power and language in Eija Hetekivi Olsson's novel *Miira* (2016). *Miira* is a sequel to Hetekivi Olsson's *Ingenbarnsland* (2012), which was received with great interest and nominated for the Swedish August Prize. The protagonist and narrator, Miira, is a second-generation Finnish immigrant who refuses to adopt a position on the margins of society, a position she feels she is forced into because of her family background. By drawing on the concept of language ideology, the paper demonstrates how the novel modifies the images of the Finns as a silent and almost invisible minority group in Sweden. Language ideology is understood as a system of everyday practices of how linguistic phenomena are considered in a frame of social and political values.

In *Miira*, a new type of language with its own kind of vocabulary and grammatical rules is one important way to re-organize and diversify the contemporary linguistic order. The innovative vocabulary, which mixes Gothenburg slang, Finnish and self-invented words, marks linguistic belonging and exclusion from a fresh and bold perspective. Another relevant aspect is the theme connected with the school milieu. The classroom environment functions as an important scene for the battle of different language ideologies. For Miira who begins in high school in the city centre of Gothenburg, the language used in the classroom is connected with a monolingual norm and also with social codes which are foreign to her. There is no place for her language use that is marked by her immigrant background and life in suburbs of Gothenburg. But instead of keeping quiet, she actively resists the oppressive language practices and, thus, Miira differs for example from the protagonist of Antti Jalava's *Asfaltblomman* (1980), one of the classic novels of Swedish Finnish literature. A list of Finnish words, a kind of a dictionary, which she provides with explanation in Swedish for her classmates, can be regarded as a demand for a change in the hierarchical order of languages. In a broader sense, the whole novel, which tells the story from Miira's perspective actively challenges the dominant power relations between languages in Sweden and in its literary field.

SESSION 2, 11:00-11:30, U29

The 23rd language: EU Official Status for Irish as Portrayed in the Republic of Ireland's English-Language Press

Antony Hoyte-West
University of Vienna

On January 1 2007, Irish became the 23rd official language of the European Union (EU). Despite the Republic of Ireland having been an EU member state since 1973, Irish had previously been used exclusively as a treaty language. Following the 2004 EU enlargement, the number of official languages increased from eleven to twenty, including several which had previously not been considered international conference languages. In the case of Malta, which like the Republic of Ireland has English as an official language, the government made a special request for Maltese to be recognised at the EU level. Hence, the Irish government petitioned for Irish, as the first country's official language, to also be accorded EU official status. Due to a lack of qualified translators and interpreters, however, Irish is currently subject to a derogation. As a result, there are restrictions on its use in the European institutions subject to the sourcing of appropriate linguistic personnel, a situation which aims to be remedied by 2022 (European Parliament, 2018). Even amidst the linguistic diversity that characterises modern Europe, the Irish language represents a special case. It is important to note, however, that the position of Irish as the Republic of Ireland's first language belies its tumultuous history (Cronin, 2003). The sole Celtic language amongst the European Union's 24 languages, it is also the only official EU language that features on UNESCO's List of Endangered Languages (Moseley, 2010). Under British colonial rule, centuries of repression restricted its usage to the rural fringes of society, a state of affairs that an independent Ireland has, with limited success, aimed to improve through linguistic revitalisation programmes. Given the dominance of English as the country's main language of habitual use, the few current native speakers of Irish are also native speakers of English, a situation which brings with it a variety of sociolinguistic and ideological issues (Ó Riain, 2009).

Bearing in mind this complex historical and sociocultural background, this paper will analyse how recognition of EU official status for Irish has been portrayed in the Republic of Ireland's English-language print media. This builds on previous research in the field, which examined the views of language professionals regarding EU status for Irish (Hoyte-West, in press), and also highlights the importance that media can play in setting specific sociocultural and linguistic agendas (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The data will be obtained by a content analysis of the online archives of the three major Irish English-language newspapers from January 1 2007 to the present day. The method will be qualitative in approach, aiming to illustrate whether any specific economic, cultural, or

historical arguments are advanced in support of or against the use of Irish as an EU official language. Given current geopolitical events, the findings raised will be of particular relevance not just to those interested in the current situation on the island of Ireland, but also to all who are interested in less-widely spoken languages and their usage at European level.

SESSION 2, 11:30-12:00, U29

Language making and ownership from the perspective of writing creoles

Angela Bartens

University of Turku

In this paper, I examine the ideologies and policies around writing creoles as examples of hitherto mostly agraphous languages especially from the perspective of language making (cf., e.g., Makoni & Pennycook, 2005) and language ownership. According to post-colonial discourses, writing is perhaps not necessary and might actually impede the preservation of the vitality and creativity of a creole (cf. Freeland, 2004). This is, of course, true to the extent that choosing one specific variety and not allowing for, e.g., regional variation, especially in the initial phase of graphicization, may alienate speakers from writing (cf. Koskinen, 2010; Sorba, 2017).

However, I have argued elsewhere (Bartens, forthcoming) that writing is crucial taking into account the prevalent “Western” ideologies of what constitutes a language. What is more, whereas language is above all a (socio)political concept and it would often be preferable to speak of varieties, in specific contexts of language minorization clear-cut boundaries, labels, names, and norms are a necessity (cf. Hüning & Krämer, 2018).

In defining what is a language, orthographies and the actors behind them play a crucial role to the effect that, for example, certain graphemes have heavy sociopolitical connotations which may emphasize the question of language ownership. I will discuss the orthographies of Haitian (McConnel-Laubach, Pressoir, current official; e.g. Schieffelin & Charlier Doucet) and Western Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (particularly Belize, Nicaragua, San Andrés, and Limón; e.g. Belize Creole Orthography Project, 1994; Crosbie et al., 2009; Zuñiga & Thompson, 2018) and their evolution over the past decades in order to address these issues.

SESSION 1, 13:15-13:45, U28
**Not Chinese or Filipino, but Chinese Filipino:
 Identity creation and linguistic practices**
 Wilkinson DW Gonzales
 University of Michigan

This presentation focuses on the Chinese minority in the Philippines by highlighting one particular group – the Chinese Filipinos. Although their ancestors historically originated from southern China, this ethnic Chinese group gradually diverged and grew distinct from the contemporary mainland Chinese due to several political events, including the travel restrictions to and from mainland China in the 1940s partially due to the Red Peril Scare (Tan, 1993) as well as the 1973 Mass Naturalization decree (Letter of Instruction 2760) that aided in naturalizing or ‘de-Sinicizing’ the Chinese in the Philippines (Ang See, 1990). Simultaneously, this group has not completely assimilated into the general Philippine population despite having lived, if not being born and raised in the Philippines for decades. This can be attributed to sociopolitical events like the exclusion acts that marginalized the Chinese in the 1900s. Another would be the attempt of the Philippine government to eliminate, restrict, and control Chinese schools in the 1950s on the grounds of un-assimilation (Tan, 1993), which could have led to distrust and hostility between peoples (Uytanlet, 2014).

Situated at the peripheries of both Chinese and Philippine societies, this group formed a distinct identity – the Chinese Filipino identity – one that is not simply Chinese or Filipino, but both. The objectives of this presentation are two-fold. First, it aims to illustrate the (current) situation of the Chinese Filipinos in Philippine society by pointing out between their relationship with the Filipinos and recent “wave-6” mainland Chinese immigrants (Gonzales, 2017:200). I begin with a brief metropolitan-Manila-centric overview and sociohistory of the different Chinese populations and identities in the Philippines, after which I will point out cases and examples where the Chinese Filipino identity is negotiated and reinforced. Second, this presentation hopes to highlight the role of language in mediating between Chineseness and Filipinoness. The Chinese Filipino community is situated in an area of intense language contact; English, Tagalog, Hokkien, and Mandarin are some of the many linguistic resources available. Still considered by some social pariahs, but also a community of economic power (stereotypically at times), the community can use language (resources) to navigate being Chinese Filipino.

Before delving into linguistic practices, I explore the linguistic repertoire, ideologies, and attitudes of the Chinese Filipinos. Then, I discuss six aspects of language practice in the Chinese Filipino community: (1) general linguistic landscape in the two established Chinese enclaves, (2) language/variety status, (3) first language use, (4)

language mixing practices (e.g. Hokkien-Tagalog-English ‘Hokaglish’ code-switching and Philippine Hybrid Hokkien), (5) Sinitic orthography, and (6) media of instruction (i.e. English-Tagalog-Chinese triple curriculum).

In all six aspects, I demonstrate that the Chinese Filipinos have been engaged in linguistic practices that draw influence from both historically Chinese and Philippine languages, which reflect the Chinese Filipino identity. Caught in between the Chinese and Filipino identities, Chinese Filipinos are often compelled to take up stances via language practices. Indeed, it appears that the Chinese Filipinos have not only created a new identity, they have also began initiating practices and taking ownership of these linguistic conventions.

SESSION 1, 13:45-14:15, U28

When “bad subjects” talk balk:

Gitan students' challenge to heritage language socialization in Perpignan, France

Emily Linares

University of California, Berkeley

The field of language socialization emerged with the recognition of the centrality of language in childhood development (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004, p. 349). Language socialization researchers discerned that the process of acquiring a language—and ideologies concerning locally “appropriate” linguistic practices—is implicated in the process of becoming recognized as a competent member of a particular community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984, p. 277). The field initially focused on ‘good’ (i.e., obedient) subjects and ideal outcomes of socialization in white, middle-class families of Western “literate” societies (Cochran-Smith, 1986; de la Piedra & Romo, 2003). Researchers have since “elegantly struggled with the tension of continuity and change that permeate even the most normative of developmental trajectories” while overlooking other possible outcomes of socialization (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 160). This trend persists even as researchers have shifted their attention to more “heterogeneous, multilingual, and culturally syncretic settings” (p. 160).

Drawing on ten months of ethnographic fieldwork, I contribute to this gap in research by examining language socialization in a context of linguistic and cultural contact: namely, the process by which Gitan (Roma) learners in Perpignan, France—who were born in France but speak a variety of Catalan that they refer to as ‘Gitan’ as a first language—are socialized to French and Catalan at school. In this presentation, I focus specifically on Catalan lessons introduced in a second/third grade classroom. In this ‘zone of contact’ (Pratt, 1992), marked by different languages and linguistic varieties, asymmetrical power dynamics are salient in classroom interactions, particularly during

discussions concerning the relationship between language and identity. Although the Catalan instructor systematically defines students' language as 'Catalan' and attempts to align herself with the children as fellow Catalans, tensions arise when their language practices diverge from her expectations. The instructor's reproduction of a standard language ideology leads her to define, both implicitly and explicitly, learners' home variety as erroneous or non-existent, and to oppose it to "real" Catalan. These lessons illustrate how good intentions to foster language diversity in the classroom can have unintended consequences, "unwittingly [identifying] minority children as culturally different and exotic" (García-Sánchez, 2016, p. 294). In particular, the data demonstrate how Gitan students are socialized, during lessons in a 'heritage' language, to and through discourses that reflect unfamiliar ways of speaking and conceptualizing language, and how they are discursively positioned as ethnic Others when their speech diverges from that of a prototypical, monolingual Catalan speaker. Yet, as language socialization researchers have reminded us, socialization is a bi-directional process, and learners who are framed as 'bad subjects' can resist pressure to adopt "normative" linguistic practices. Importantly, these interactions reinforce that children are not helpless or blindly obedient subjects; rather, they exercise their agency to challenge instructors' practices and underlying ideologies.

SESSION 1, 14:15-14:45, U28

Standard Cairene Arabic: Identity and ideology in relation to contact and competition

Reem Bassiouney

American University in Cairo

Over the last five years, there have been intense debates regarding the role of Egypt as a cultural hub in relation to the Egyptian media. This is due to the increasing threat from other emerging cultural hubs—such as Dubai and Lebanon—both of which have greater financial resources and allow the use of other Arabic dialects. This paper explores the relation between language ideology and identity of non-Egyptian celebrities who moved to settle in Egypt from other parts of the world, especially the Arab world. These celebrities usually perform in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), mostly standard Cairene Arabic, SCA. They are also forced by the Egyptian media in interviews to take a stance towards SCA and Egypt, and engage in the ongoing dialogue concerning Egypt's cultural role.

Data for this study includes television interviews with non-Egyptians, as well as newspaper interviews and articles in which Egyptian identity and language are highlighted. There is also reference to films, songs and performances of non-Egyptians. The data includes artists from other Arabic countries, some of whom refuse to switch to

SCA or refuse to code switch between SCA and their dialect and instead opt to utilise another Arabic dialect. I depend on what Jaffe terms the ‘cumulative patterning’ of stance (2009:19) – that is, I study the same individual over a period of time and in different public contexts to understand the display of stance that also constructs an identity. Methods used to reflect this stance, such as dialogicality, are also examined.

As Heller (2007:15) argues, language can be defined as a set of resources that, like all resources, is distributed in unequal ways, depending on the social networks and ‘discursive spaces’ of individuals. The indexes of these resources are related to the ‘social organizations, historical conditions, and political situation of a community’ (Heller 2007:15). The concept of an ‘unequal distribution of power’, as related to access to a standard language and other dialects and/or languages, has previously been referenced in the work of both Heller and Chambers (Heller, 2007:15; Chambers, 2009:267). However, in the case of Egypt, there is a struggle for power and dominance on both a linguistic and meta-linguistic level. It is not the case that SCA is still the most dominant code in the Arab media, but it *is* the case that the Egyptian media is still hanging on to its previous position of unrivalled power in a struggle for dominance, which, in fact, is increasingly slipping away, given the wide access to other codes throughout the Arab world.

This study is the first of its kind to explore the role of immigration, code choice and stance-taking in the Arab world in relation to celebrities. It also concentrates on the struggle of access to linguistic resources as a reflection of a wider sense of national identity – that is, it correlates identity with access to linguistic and meta-linguistic resources by analysing novel sources of data.

SESSION 1, 14:45-15:15, U28

Discourses about a global intranet:

Language ideologies and attitudes in an international company

Mona Blåsjö, Carla Jonsson and Sofia Johansson
Stockholm University

Language ideologies are enacted and reconstructed in everyday communication at international workplaces, and thereby integrated with power relations and distribution of agency between languages, work groups and individuals with different language use (cf. Blackledge, 2008). In a sub study in the project ‘Professional Communication and Digital Media – Complexity, Mobility and Multilingualism in the Global Workplace’, we have collaborated with an international commercial company in the process of developing and launching a global intranet. English is the corporate language of this company, but in the different countries local languages are used parallel to English. In deciding about which languages to translate to, and which content to translate and how, issues of power,

language policy and linguistic justice were raised. Our focus here concerns how language ideologies and attitudes are remediated (Prior & Hengst, 2010) or resemiotized (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) by professionals in the company in interaction with researchers. We also wish to discuss how these methodologies can be used in the analysis of our data: workshop interaction, interviews, and visual sketches of imagined structures for the process of language choice and translation made by the participants during the interviews (cf. Prior & Shipka, 2003). There are also document data of PowerPoint presentations, print screens of the developing intranet, individual writings of the workshop participants and a style guide for the intranet, making it possible to relate the interaction data to wider contexts. In the analysis, we map the discourses and ideologies circulated by the participants and observe how these relate to different scales of national/international, local/global, individual/collective etc. (cf. Blommaert, 2007; Hult, 2015; Källqvist & Hult, 2016). A preliminary result is that discourses of commercialism/managerialism (cf. Ledin & Machin, 2016) and inclusion or linguistic justice intersect in the data. As expected, global and local scales are used, with an awareness of the plurality of English(es) (e.g. Kachru, 2017).

SESSION 2, 13:15-13:45, U26

Language ideology as emergence with stance-taking: Metalinguistic discourse on Singlish in an online Taiwanese ethnic enclave

Tsung-Lun Alan Wan
University of Edinburgh

Colloquial Singaporean English (CSE), usually known as Singlish, was framed as a corrupted English variety by the government of Singapore. The top-down discourse accused Singlish of intervening foreigners from understanding local people in this globalised city. Previous studies have shown that foreigners' language attitude or ideology of Singlish (Kang, 2012; McKay, 2013), to some degree, is shaped by their social class and occupation in Singapore. This research extracts data from naturally occurring metalinguistic discourse on Singlish, in an online Facebook group where Taiwanese migrants gather. To explore how the loss of Singlish is framed as an 'ungrievable' death (Butler, 2009; Priven, 2008), the study aims to show how metalinguistic discourse is not a set of language ideologies fixed with a certain social category. Instead, the study highlights that metalinguistic discourse born from language contact is a product of stance-taking within the migrant community. The virtual ethnic enclave functions as the real ethnic enclave where Taiwanese diaspora seek social support and at the same time Taiwanese Singaporeans and local Singaporeans also have access. The analysis in this

study shows that the circulation of certain language ideologies should be discussed in relation to properties of the ethnic enclave.

In a broader theoretical context, this study aims to respond to Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010) recent idea of 'metrolingualism', which emphasises the relationship between language practice and urban space. Their intellectual project sees 'linguaging' as a practice constituted in the locality and language ideologies are how the practice is viewed locally. The current study sees online groups, the virtual urban space, as a site where multiple language ideologies are produced and reproduced. Through such a lens, the analysis attempts to conceptualise burgeoning online groups of migrants in relation to the language ideologies emergent from language contact.

Practically, this study complements the previous studies on the contact of Englishes in Singapore with naturally occurring data. The analysis in this study helps language policy makers understand how foreigners' language attitude about Singlish is constructed within their communities from the bottom. In addition, the case of Taiwanese migrants in Singapore not only involves the contact between World Englishes, but also offers interesting phenomena in which the contact between Global Chinese is relevant to the birth of language ideology concerning Singlish.

SESSION 2, 13:45-14:15, U26

It takes two to... speak Portuguese: A virtual linguistic ethnography analysis

Eduardo Alves Vieira

Leiden University

Due to the internationalization of Portuguese and to its economic potential (Reto, 2012; Reto et al, 2016), numerous studies about the expansion of the language have been recently published (Moita-Lopes, 2014; Spolsky, 2018). Since this diffusion process calls for efficient promotion strategies, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries has created a main agent to support such a venture, namely, the International Institute of the Portuguese Language. Not only is Portuguese growing as an economic business language that fosters social and professional mobility, but it is also breaking the internet and the digital world (de Oliveira & Morello, 2013), since it is the fifth most used language in the web (Internet World Users by Language: Top 10 languages, 2017). Thence, this presentation focuses on the language policies developed by that community and how they are promoted by the abovementioned agent and two other different representatives, specifically the *Camões* and *Machado de Assis* institutes. In order to provide the reader with more information on the expansion of Portuguese worldwide and the policies which favor it, a virtual linguistic ethnography study is conducted (Kelly-Holmes, 2015). The main objective of this work is to explore from a language ideology perspective what the

internationalization of the language means to two Portuguese-speaking countries, Portugal and Brazil. As Kelly-Holmes (2015, p. 130) describes, the Web is a place for linguistic practices and policies, and institutions are free to do as they please in the *borderless cyber-space*. Consequently, we contrast the engagement of those two countries and question their efforts to promote Portuguese worldwide by analysing three different official websites. Our results show that whereas some stakeholders are more inclined to work for the expansion of the language, others do not have the same commitment and expectations as for the benefits of due internationalization project. Additionally, by exploring the language policies for the expansion of Portuguese and ethos of the sites here analysed, we conclude that the lack of synchronicity between all these agents leads us to an intriguing question: which Portuguese is being internationally promoted?

SESSION 2, 14:15-15:45, U26

**Racial boundary making in São Tomé:
The use of Portuguese as a marker of Whiteness**

Marie-Eve Bouchard
Stockholm University

This article examines the construction and maintenance of racial boundaries in São Tomé through the lens of raciolinguistic ideologies. It demonstrates that the racializing discourses held by Forros regarding Angolares and Cape Verdeans and their use of creole are part of the processes of categorization which contribute to the enactment of societal exclusion in relation to linguistic practices and racial categories. This analysis reveals that the Portuguese language is used to mark a distinction between Forros and the other racial groups, perpetuating raciolinguistic ideologies from the colonial times, and pointing to a continued rearticulation of Whiteness as a structural position.

SESSION 2, 14:45-15:15, U26

The greeting of the dairy cow(s): Ideologies and methodological issues in interspecies communication research

Leonie Cornips
Maastricht University

This presentation focusses on my new research project examining interspecies communicative practices. Drawing on fieldwork in Dutch dairy farms, the aim is to find out how human and non-human animals, that is, farmers and cows, communicate with each other to make successful farming possible with wellbeing for both 'specie(s)'. Research into interspecies communicative practices provide a new lens on the concept of

language and speaker/hearer: instead of asking which species have language, the question rises of how may language actually work? (De Waal and Ferrari, 2010).

In this presentation, I will report on a verbal speech act by dairy cows, namely the cows' greetings (Duranti, 1997) of humans which is context-situated. Power dynamics and language ideologies prevent farmers from recognizing that 'their' cows greet and/or from greeting back. Moreover, cows are severely restricted in their greeting behaviour since within their barn space they cannot move to perform 'close salutations' through body contact (Mondada, 2018; Schegloff, 1972). The second part of the presentation will be devoted to methodological problems in conducting fieldwork among intense dairy farms (counting about 120 cows) which are linked to debates of animal rights, ownership and the farmers' attitude as being independent ('own boss'). Until now, I have been observing for five days in three different farms, collected many pictures and audio/video-recordings (about 5 hours).

This project is part of the animal turn in the posthuman enterprise (Cederholm, 2014; Haraway, 2016) that questions 'the assumed universality of human experience and asks how and why we draw particular distinctions between humans and other animals (Pennycook, 2018). Language sciences, in particular, contribute(d) deeply to the construction of difference between human and non-human animals. In Western notions of mind and self (Argent, 2012; Meijer, 2017), language is considered as what makes us human. Moreover, power dynamics result in conceiving non-human animals like cows as property and farmers as owners (Gary & Charlton, 2017:29) and, in considering cows as only meat and milk producers. These power dynamics strengthen the ideology that human and non-human animal interests and language(s) are not alike. However, as Kulick (2017:373) argues, research into interspecies communication "expands what can count as language, beyond grammar and words" and will challenge the ideology that humans are better in language than animals and that animals are deficient language users (see also Meijer, 2017). In a broader context, research into interspecies communication questions our treatment of animals which presents "a range of ethical and political concerns that are deeply interconnected with struggles around neoliberalism, racism, gender equity, forced migration and many other forms of discrimination and inequality" (Pennycook 2018: 3, see also Pedersen, 2014).

SESSION 3, 13:15-13:45, U29

Re-enregistering Cypriot Greek in London's Greek Cypriot diaspora

Petros Karatsareas

University of Westminster

In this contribution, I explore the ways in which language ideologies that index relations of power inequality between (groups of) speakers that use 'good' linguistic forms and structures and (groups of) speakers that use 'bad' ones are transformed and reshaped when they are transplanted to new geographical and social contexts. As a case-in-point, I look at ideologies towards Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek among London's Greek Cypriot diaspora.

In the context of Cyprus, the two varieties have traditionally been viewed as two discrete and mutually exclusive linguistic entities that form a binary diglossic opposition *à la* Ferguson (1959) with Standard Greek being the High code and Cypriot Greek being the Low code (Moschonas, 1996, 2002; Arvaniti 2006/2010). More recent proposals, however, describe a register continuum (Tsiplakou, Papapavlou, Pavlou & Katsoyannou, 2006; Papapavlou & Sophocleous, 2009). At the one end, we find an acrolectal register that incorporates a high number of lexical, phonological and grammatical features (thought to be) found in the standard variety as it is spoken in Greece. At the other end, we find a basilectal register that incorporates a high number of features originating in the regional varieties spoken in Cyprus. The main label that Cypriot Greek speakers use to describe this register is *xorkátika* (*cipriaká*) 'villagey (Cypriot)', associating it with notions of rurality and a general lack of sophistication and manners captured collectively under the related label *xorkaθcó* 'peasantry'.

Data collected as part of a larger ethnographically-oriented investigation of language practices among London's Greek Cypriot diaspora show that, in London and as a result of being transplanted from a rural to an urban context where the majority language is English, Cypriot Greek was re-enregistered (in the sense of Agha, 2003, 2007) on the basis of ideological conceptualisations of non-standard varieties of English *vis-à-vis* Standard English. Evidence in support of this thesis is found in the fact that, in addition to the known label *xorkátika* (*cipriaká*), British-born speakers of Cypriot Greek, who are dominant in English, describe their heritage language as '(Greek) slang' and also as *spazména* (*elliniká*) 'broken (Greek)', and attribute their use to laziness—a set of notions unknown to the context of the Cyprus homeland. In these novel categorisations, we see the re-conceptualisation of Cypriot Greek in terms of the ideological schemata of properness, correctness and deviance from the standard as part of the development of the transnational identities of the speakers and their experiences of and exposure to ideologies of (non-)standard English. We also see the recognition of the informality and orality of

Cypriot Greek as well as of the ways in which it challenges social and linguistic conventions.

As a result of these diaspora-internal transformations, negative perceptions that Cypriot Greek is an inferior form of language are both reproduced and transformed in the context of London, reinforcing its stigmatisation as an undesirable semiotic system.

SESSION 3, 13:45-14:15, U29

Language attitudes and ideologies and negative perception of MLE by heritage language speakers of Bamboutos, Division of Cameroon

Herbert Rostand Ngouo
University of Dschang

Language attitudes and ideologies (Gardner, 2002; Baker, 2006; Irvine, 2006; Riagáin and Lüdi, 2003) are determiners of minority heritage language maintenance and preservation, just as they are pregnant factors in speakers' decision making regarding which language should be used and taught in education in a multilingual context. Cameroon stands out with its linguistic diversity since it is host to a bit more than 270 languages (Ethnologue, 2017; Rosendal, 2008). However, the constitution consecrates English and French as official languages. After more than 50 years of exclusion of heritage languages from the education in favour of French and English, heritage languages are now tolerated, thanks to a new language in education policy which was adopted in 1998.

This paper looks at how two groups of respondents: basic school teachers on the one hand, parents and children on the other hand (all of them speakers of Ngomba, Ngiemboon and Ngombale) envisage the place of their heritage language in education on the backdrop of a new language-in education policy that tolerates the teaching of non-official languages. Malone (2003) in Mckenzie (2009) have discussed heritage language speakers' negative perceptions of multilingual language education (MLE) and have associated it to language ideology.

In a quantitative approach, the data were collected using two questionnaires comprising both close-ended and open-ended questions and administered to 140 teachers and 600 HL speakers ranging in age between 13 and 65. The data were analysed using Sphynx, and correlations were made between the respondents' propensity towards utilitarian values and their attitude towards MLE.

The results show that 62% of teachers to develop literacy in English or French rather than in their heritage language. On the other hand, when the heritage language was seen as having the potential of facilitating their access to a job, they were more likely to consider improving their literacy. Furthermore, parents and children (50%) do not reject totally the idea of heritage language in education, but would rather prefer to be educated

or that the children be educated in French or English. Socioeconomic reasons were seen to account for the negative language ideology and attitude towards the use of heritage language in schools. They were not perceived as capable of guaranteeing social mobility as French and English would do.

SESSION 3, 14:15-14:45, U29

**Language use and investment among children and adolescents
of Somali heritage in Sweden**

Christina Hedman & Natalia Ganuza
Stockholm University

What is the language use and the valorisation of languages among children and adolescents of Somali heritage in Sweden? What are the possibilities for the adolescents to use their languages and how is the mother tongue instruction perceived? The aim of the study was to gain a deeper understanding of language use and investments among young individuals of Somali-speaking heritage in Sweden. The research questions were answered using data from interviews with 13 adolescents in the 9th grade and background data on the language and literacy practices of 120 6–12 year old students, all of Somali-speaking background. Our findings indicate that there are incentives to invest in Somali language learning considering the reported language use patterns and the expressed positive attitudes towards Somali mother tongue instruction. The Somali language was perceived to be ‘naturally’ linked to Somali identity and to being able to claim ‘Somaliness’, not only by the adolescents but also by the surroundings. Thus, advanced Somali language proficiency was perceived as necessary for being able to pass as ‘culturally authentic’ (Jaffe, 2012). Furthermore, being perceived as unproficient in Somali or unable to transmit the language to future generations was experienced as guilt-provoking. Nevertheless, the adolescents articulated a compliance with the dominant linguistic order in Sweden, and their school’s assimilatory language rules (‘Swedish-only’). This compliance was associated with good manners and moral behaviour, thus reflecting the potentially harmful and pervasive nature of assimilatory language ideology and policy for individual students. The findings exemplify in many ways the struggles it entails to maintain and develop a minoritized language in a majority language context and the complex ‘ideological enterprise’ of language learning with its educational and ethical dilemmas.

SESSION 3, 14:45-15:15, U29

Language ideologies, transnational families and multilingual practices in contemporary Britain

Kinga Kozminska & Zhu Hua
University of London

Today, thanks to new communicative technologies and cheaper means of transportation, we live in the times of ‘deterritorialized communicative entanglement of local, national, transnational and diasporic networks’ (Jacquemet, 2019). How do mobility and on-going technological, socio-political and other changes impact circulating ideas about language as well as linguistic practices within contemporary multilingual transnational families? How are particular family language policies shaped, established and negotiated in everyday life? And how are they embedded in local discourses on the value of multilingualism, national identity and migration?

This paper aims to answer such questions by looking at preliminary results from the ongoing ESRC-funded Family Language Policy project in the UK. Thanks to the multilevel investigation into existing family language policy, we first look at circulating ideas about multilingualism in contemporary British society, obtained through national survey. We then briefly examine discourses on language, multilingualism and belonging in UK’s now largest migrant community, the Polish-speaking community. Here we draw on the community profiling part of the project: interviews with grassroots organizations and selected transnational families, and digital ethnography. This allows us to show how linguistic resources and multilingualism are understood at the community level and how these ideas are embedded in existing diasporic infrastructure. Finally, we turn to one English-Polish-Italian-speaking family that we observed during our linguistic ethnographic fieldwork in the Greater London area between November 2017 and June 2018. By presenting anonymised video-recording material, we show how the family’s own conceptualization of their linguistic resources is embedded in larger discourses on multilingualism and how their described family language policy is enacted in real interactional events.

The multilevel analysis employed in the project allows us to reflect on the role of sociocultural conditions and political changes, i.e. Brexit, for language maintenance in this transnational context. The paper furthers our understanding of the dynamics of the contemporary multilingual minority communities and the asymmetries of power in contact settings.

15:15-15:45

Poster presentations

- > Imposing standard language: Language regulation in digital everyday interaction. Anna Heuman.
- > Political Positioning through a Prepositional Choice in Russian Media. Tomas Samuelsson.
- > Duels of dual monolingualisms: Discursive erasure and fractal recursivity in Swedish higher education. Luke Holmes.
- > Everyday Nationalism: Flagging Russian Nation in the Semiotic Landscape of Sevastopol. Natalia Volvach.
- > Romani – a language for education only? Using corpus linguistics tools to analyze attitudes toward a minority language. Irene Elmerot.
- > Swiss-German dialect and standard German in political memes. Fabia Hultin Morger.

SESSION 1, 15:45-16:15, U28

Implicit attitudes towards white accents among young coloured English and Afrikaan speakers in the South African context

Pedro Alvarez Mosquera
Universidad de Salamanca

In South Africa, the persistence of profound ethnic lines and the difficult co-existence of the 11 official languages appear to play an important role in its citizens' daily lives (Kamwangamalu, 2003; Painter & Dixon, 2013). In such multilingual contexts, language and ideology are fundamental to identity formation and the development of intergroup relations (Adams et al. 2012). This study investigates how Standard South African English and Afrikaans-accented English are cognitively processed by 84 young Coloured English and Afrikaans speaking participants. With the use of an adapted version of IAT (Implicit Association Test; see Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), we have been able to demonstrate that the accents' indexicality on its own can trigger statistically significant implicit positive attitudes towards Standard South African English speakers. In addition, a post-IAT sociolinguistic survey on participants' linguistic background, language exposure and intergroup social distance levels, among other social factors, was used to study the role of a number of social variables in triggering or hindering such attitudes. Separate ANOVAS were performed using the IAT reaction times as a dependent variable and sociolinguistic variables as factors. Results revealed that more positive attitudes towards Standard South African English are correlated with the dominant languages

spoken in their places of origin and the social distance levels with the white group. Finally, important methodological and sociolinguistic implications will be discussed.

SESSION 1, 16:15-16:45, U28

Racialized bilinguals in US Spanish language learning classrooms

Aris Clemons

University of Texas

Throughout much of US educational history, language decisions have been made primarily to maintain and uphold established 'English-Only' norms in classroom spaces (Lippi-green 2012). However, and not surprisingly, the number of Spanish language speakers in the United States has seen a steady increase with a population of over 37 million speakers over 5 years of age (Pew Hispanic Center, 2016). Though Spanish has been marked as the "fastest-growing" language in the United States, with a 233% increase since 1988, its growth has been contextualized not only by increased Latinx immigration and population growth, but also by the number of non-Hispanics who are beginning to use Spanish at home and in professional settings (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). Despite the growth in Spanish language learning and use, dominant race and language ideologies that circulate in formal educational spaces often mark Spanish heritage speakers as highly racialized and unassimilable, while praising Anglo-American Spanish language learners as progressive innovators for the future (Rosa, 2016). This puts Spanish-English bilinguals in precarious positions when it comes to Spanish language maintenance and development in the United States. Many have argued that Spanish language programs – second language, dual-language, immersion, and bilingual– are not designed with bilingual students in mind (Garcia, 2011; Bartlett, 2011; Martinez, 2013, 2018). In order to more fully understand these assertions, the primary goal of the present study is to survey the orientations and ideologies of various language programs in the United States towards Spanish-English bilingual students. In addition, this study focuses on how Spanish-English bilinguals position themselves within the programs.

I first ask whether Spanish-language programs in the United States are geared toward the maintenance and development of Spanish language for bilingual students. Next, I ask in what ways Spanish-English bilinguals understand their presence and language production in these classroom spaces. Separating Spanish language programs into four types – Second-language, heritage language, dual-language, and immersion – I employ an online survey tool to question the ways that bilingual students have been placed into, how they experience, and how they perform in each type of program. Data is then analysed based on a variety of social variables such as age, generation, education, and self-identified language variety provided by the participants in the survey. Lastly, in

a series of semi-structured interviews, I examine the classroom experiences of 10 Spanish-English bilinguals, focusing on the structure of their language programs, processes of classroom placement, and achievement (formulated by their academic orientation toward language study, grades and the potentiality for instrumentalization of their language knowledge). Using a raciolinguistic perspective (Rosa & Flores, 2017) to frame the data, I contend that Spanish-English bilinguals are situated in relation to dominant racial and linguistic ideologies that understand their linguistic behaviours as "deficient", "incomplete", and "inauthentic". Further, I argue that Spanish-English bilinguals internalize these notions and incorporate them into their academic orientations towards Spanish-language learning.

SESSION 2, 15:45-16:15, U29

Scaling the nation: The languages of politics in a decentralizing Indonesia

Adam Harr

St. Lawrence University

This paper examines the discursive construction of "local" and "national" sociolinguistic scales in an eastern Indonesian polity. Sociolinguistic scale as an analytic concept highlights the fact that human communicative behavior inevitably indexes and enacts differential, hierarchically ordered magnitudes of space, time, and sociality (Blommaert, 2015; Carr & Lempert, 2016). Scale-making processes are intrinsically ideological insofar as they "constrain which aspects of social life deserve attention" (Gal, 2016). This paper shows some of the ways in which sociolinguistic scale emerges in language contact through the alternation and mixing of different languages. Data is drawn from three cases: a mass address celebrating Indonesian national independence, a stump speech by a district-level political candidate, and a contract transferring land use rights from village to district. In each case, the interpenetration of multiple languages can be seen to create the conditions for scale-making between Lio, a "local language" (*bahasa daerah*) and Indonesian, the "national language" (*bahasa nasional*).

This mixing of languages in Indonesian official discourse is a relatively recent consequence of Indonesia's political restructuring in the early to mid-2000's. Following the 1998 collapse of Suharto's authoritarian New Order regime, the Indonesian government instituted IMF-led democratizing and decentralizing reforms. One unexpected consequence of these reforms has been a widespread revival of local identities in Indonesia's new regional politics. Relatively unnoted within this revival is the emerging importance of local languages in district level elections. Increasingly, politicians and bureaucrats who had been accustomed during the New Order to addressing their

publics solely in a bureaucratic register of the Indonesian language find it necessary to intersperse the Indonesian national language with languages that index local ethnolinguistic identities (Goebel, Cole, & Manns, 2016). Drawing on linguistic and ethnographic data collected with speakers of the Lio language in central Flores between 2006 and 2016, this paper argues that political performances and legal texts that interpenetrate multiple languages constitute “scalar visions” (Gal, 2016) in which semiotic relations between nation, district, and village are publicly imagined and contested.

SESSION 2, 16:15-16:45, U29

Between translation and repetition within a Jewish and Palestinian Israeli community
Liat Tuv

In July 2018, the Israeli Knesset passed “Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People”, also known as the “Nation State Bill”, into constitutional law. The bill put into legislature several processes that had already been informally disadvantaging Israel’s Palestinian minority in economic, political and sociocultural spheres (Jamal, 2007, 2009). Of particular relevance to this paper, is the bill’s downgrading of Arabic from official state language to one with a ‘special status’. Regardless, Arabic has never been treated as official state language. Evidence of the dominance of Hebrew ranges from its socio-economic necessity in education, business, health, transportation and banking (Amara & Spolsky, 1986) to the cultural devaluing of Arabic, reflected in the kinds of words Jewish Israelis adopt into Hebrew (Mar’I, 2013) and attitudes towards Arabic and speaking styles associated with Arabic (Katriel, 1986, 1991, 2004; Lefkowitz, 2001, 2004). Even institutions aimed at fostering equality between Jewish and Palestinian citizens of Israel through language, like the handful of bilingual primary schools in the country, end up being primarily Hebrew-speaking environments (Bekerman, 2005). That these institutions also replicate linguistic inequality raises the question: what are the limits of using language as a tool for equality?

To address this question, this paper draws on 17 months of ethnographic research conducted within a community of Jewish and Palestinian Israelis who have chosen to live together in peace and equality, and have attempted to create a bilingual space as part of that life-project. The very name of the community is a product of this bilingual aim, *Wahat al-Salam - Neve Shalom*, which translates to ‘Oasis of Peace’ in Arabic then Hebrew. Much thought has been given to acts of translation in this community, and the ways in which these acts can both challenge inequality and reproduce it.

This paper aims to contribute to the understanding of language ideologies and attitudes in multilingual settings by proposing one way of analysing translation in a context of inequality. First, the paper will examine the role of translator as mediator, not

only between languages of unequal positions, but also between audiences of unequal positions. Then, it will examine the tension between accusations of misrepresentation and expressions of frustration with hearing oneself repeated. This frustration at being repeated is part of a constant dilemma, faced by bilingual Palestinian Israelis, concerning whether to favour content (having their message understood by non-Arabic-speaking Jewish Israelis) or form (being able to express themselves in Arabic). This paper builds on anthropological insights into power and language ideology in cases where multilingual individuals engage in translation in front of an audience of fellow multilingual speakers (Gal, 2015; Jaffe, 1999; Swigart, 2000). It proposes that analysing the use of translation as a tool to tackle inequality requires attention to two elements of translation; directionality and substance.

16:55-17:55 Plenary II, in Room DeGeerslan

Lingual life histories and the (re-)production of language ideological assemblages in two multilingual native American communities

Paul Kroskrity

University of California, Los Angeles

This presentation explores the convergence of several ongoing problems and concerns in the linguistic and anthropological study of transforming multilingual language communities and their speakers. One of these is the need to rebalance the representation of linguistic individuals, and their *lingual life histories* (Kroskrity, 1993) in a way that allows us to analyse the interplay of structure (political-economic) and agency and its impact on individuals' sense-making of their changing social worlds. Using data from my two long-term field sites, The Village of Tewa, on First Mesa of the Hopi Reservation in NE Arizona and the Western Mono communities of Central California, I consider the lingual life histories of two individuals as realized in the (re-)production of their respective language ideological assemblages. Both communities have experienced a precolonial movement from their original homelands and the need for a multilingual adaptation to new environments that included both new eco-zones and neighbouring languages. Ancestors of the Village of Tewa abandoned their Rio Grande location in New Mexico in the wake of the Second Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish in 1696 and moved west more than 300 miles to their current location on First Mesa of the Hopi Reservation in NE Arizona. Moving from irrigation based agriculture to dry farming, the Tewa would need to add Hopi to a linguistic repertoire that would also eventually include English by the early 20th C. For the Western Mono, most accounts interpret them as formerly located near Mono Lake on the Eastern side of the Sierra Nevada Mountains but relocating to the western side under pressure from Eastern Mono, Owens Valley Paiute and other Great Basin

Indians. Moving into the California Cultural Area provided access to acorns as a food staple and the need for cooperation with other hunting and gathering tribes like the Chukchansi Yokuts and Southern Sierra Miwok. Like other California Indians, Western Monos intermarried with members of these neighbouring groups, added their languages to a regional linguistic repertoire, and later experienced massive language shift to English. More specifically, I explore the interplay of structure—colonization, racism, political economic subordination—and agency in regard to their heritage languages for Dewey Healing (Tewa) and Rosalie Bethel (W. Mono). Using resources and managing impediments found in their respective community's *language ideological assemblage (LIA)* (Kroskrity, 2018), both of these individuals were able to effect outcomes that they desired in the name of heritage language documentation or revitalization. To better understand and represent the language ideological change experienced by these speakers and their communities over the past century, I turn to LIA—rather than isolated language ideologies—as the locus of dynamic change and contact. LIA focuses attention on the juxtaposition of ideologies, discourses, and linguistic practices that occur within and across communities and provide an especially useful analytical resource for examining emergent forms of multilingualism and language contact.

FRIDAY, May 17

SESSION 1, 8:30-9:00, U28

Starman or Sterrenman? Methodological challenges to measuring attitudes towards English in Flemish elementary school children

Eline Zenner, Laura Rosseel, Dirk Speelman
University of Leuven

This study aspires to complement research in three disciplines: (1) developmental sociolinguistics, aiming to chart the way in which the social meaning of language variants and varieties is acquired (see Smith et al., 2013, Nardy et al., 2013); (2) contact linguistics, aiming to discover how young children evaluate the presence or absence of English loanwords in Belgian Dutch (see Zenner et al. 2015, and see Matras 2009 on the importance of prestige for lexical borrowing); (3) psycholinguistics, aiming to overcome methodological challenges when conducting attitudinal research in children (see De Vogelaer & Toye 2017).

Specifically, we report on a within-subject experiment conducted with 204 Belgian Dutch-speaking elementary school children from three age groups (7-, 9- and 11-year olds,

balanced for gender). In the experiment, the children are presented with a new cartoon in two guises: (1) a Dutch-only guise; (2) a guise with English alternatives for 15 Dutch nouns in the script, pretested for interchangeability (see Fragment 1 for an extract).

Fragment 1:

Hallo [*guys/jongens*]! Ik ben [*Star Man/Sterrenman*]. Samen met mijn [*sidekick/hulpje*] [*Planet Kid/Planeetkind*] strijd ik tegen [*Dark Moon/Duistermaan*] en z'n [*gang/bende*]. Verdorie, daar is ie! [*Brains/Brein*], onze [*inventor/uitvinder*], steekt onze [*backpack/rugzak*] nog snel vol met [*gadgets/snuffjes*] zodat we aan de [*battle/strijd*] kunnen beginnen. Klaar? Daar gaan we!

Following the tradition of matched guise experiments (Lambert 1968), the children are asked to evaluate the two superheroes after listening to both fragments (balanced across respondents for order of presentation). Specifically, the children rate the two heroes on child-proof versions of the traditional language attitude scales solidarity and prestige, and for the newer scale 'dynamism' (see Grondelaers & Van Hout, 2013). Additionally, children are asked to motivate their general preference for either guise in an open answer field. Next, children are presented with a picture naming task to verify their receptive vocabulary knowledge of the words presented in the script (compare De Wilde et al., 2017). Finally, the parents of the children were offered a questionnaire on the children's exposure to English in the family home (see also Zenner & Van de Mieroop, forthcoming).

Overall, the preference for the English hero increases as children grow older. Additionally, in line with the findings of De Vogelaer & Toye (2017), factor analyses and IRT-analyses reveal how the dimensions shaping children's sensitivity to the prestige of English become more structured and nuanced as children grow older. Finally, our results show that the degree of language awareness, mediated through the receptive knowledge of English, also strongly influences children's preference for the English or Dutch guise.

SESSION 1, 9:00-9:30, U28

**Language ideologies in the Dutch Caribbean:
Language use, language attitudes, and identity in Aruba**

Ellen-Petra Kester & Samantha Buijink

Utrecht University

In this paper, we present the results of a survey that was conducted on Aruba, one of the Leeward islands of the Dutch Caribbean. The majority of the Aruban population speak Papiamentu, a Creole language with a lexicon based on Portuguese and Spanish, as their mother tongue. Dutch, however, has been the only officially recognized language for

centuries, dominating the administrative and educational systems, as well as other formal domains of the public sphere. Global languages such as British/American English and Spanish play an important role as well, due to migration, tourism and the increasing influence of the media (television, the internet). The language situation is complex and so are the attitudes toward the individual languages, as language attitudes are largely determined by intergroup relations and stereotypical opinions about speech communities and their individual members (Lambert et al., 1960; Giles et al., 1977, and subsequent work).

Attitudes toward Papiamentu are generally positive and the language is considered to be a strong marker of Aruban identity, but to a certain extent Papiamentu is also perceived as threatened by the presence of English and Spanish on the island (Carroll, 2009, 2015). Attitudes toward Dutch are ambivalent or negative due to the influence of the colonial history of unequal power relations. Additionally, critical attitudes toward Dutch are fuelled by the use of Dutch as the only language of instruction in the Aruban education system, which is argued to be one of the causes of the high failure rates (Dijkhoff & Pereira 2010). The language of instruction has been an issue of fierce political and societal debate for decades throughout the Dutch Caribbean islands. An in-depth study concerning the actual language use in the communities, as well as attitudes toward language and identity is important to recast these debates in more scientifically grounded and less polemical terms, in order to facilitate the development of a system to better meet the educational needs of Caribbean students.

We will present the results of a survey (inspired by Baker, 1992 and Garrett, 2008) that was conducted among more than 800 informants, belonging to different generations and representing groups with different (parental) birthplaces. Preliminary results indicate that attitudes toward Papiamentu are overall very positive and the language is used very frequently in different domains by speakers of different age groups, belonging to local as well as migrant families. The use of other languages (Dutch, English and Spanish) is much more restricted, but younger informants tend to speak English more often than older informants, particularly outside their homes. Furthermore, younger informants tend to find Papiamentu more important (as compared to older generations) for activities related to achievements, such as passing exams, getting a job and earning money. These results can make a significant contribution to the development of a sustainable education system, aiming at balanced multilingualism in order for Aruban students to achieve their full potential.

SESSION 1, 10:00-10:30, U28

**The relation of attitudes, agency and intergenerational transmission reconsidered:
Language socialization and educational beliefs in Yucatán, Mexico**

Melanie Uth & Eriko Yamasaki
University of Cologne

In this talk we discuss the role of language attitudes for intergenerational transmission based on ethnolinguistic interviews with 20 monolingual and bilingual Maya speakers in the Yucatán peninsula, Mexico.

In the literature on language ideologies and revitalization, the high importance of language attitudes for the intergenerational transmission of endangered languages is largely uncontroversial (e.g. Fishman, 1991, 2006; Sallabank, 2010: 66; Tsunoda, 2005; UNESCO, 2003). Similarly, scholars working on the (re)vitalization of Yucatec Maya often assume a direct causal relationship between speakers' attitudes towards the endangered language and language behaviour including intergenerational transmission (e.g. Cru, 2014; Montemayor Gracia, 2017; Otto, 2009). However, researchers are often confronted with the seemingly paradoxical situation that, despite their positive attitudes and perceived need for revitalization, many interviewees do not transmit the endangered language to their children. As a reaction to this, the corresponding authors stress the pivotal role of the speech community's agency and conclude that the most important measures in language revitalization are those targeting at the linguistic attitudes of the speakers.

In this talk we argue, first of all, that the wide-spread interpretation of a paradox should be questioned: The discrepancy between the desire for societal change, on the one hand, and the lack of (pro-)active behaviour, on the other, is an entirely normal antagonism, which is also particularly common in the materialist and growth-oriented societies many revitalization proposals originate from. Also, a careful examination of the data from the Yucatán peninsula suggests that the relation between language attitudes and intergenerational transmission is anything but clear-cut.

Relying on ethnolinguistic interviews with 20 monolingual and bilingual Maya speakers in the Yucatán peninsula, we then suggest that the pivotal role of language attitudes in the context of intergenerational transmission is way less evident than presupposed by many researchers, and we will analyse in detail one of the several intervening factors: the culturally rooted beliefs of the adult speakers regarding language socialization and cognitive development (Kulick, 1992).

As most important point in our line of argumentation, our data confirm the observation made in previous studies that child development is predominantly conceived of in the Mayan culture as an innate process of gradually unfolding understanding, and

(linguistic) knowledge is considered as unfolding in the child, rather than accumulating due to explicit child-directed instructions (e.g. Cervera Montejano, 2008, 2016; Euan & Cervera, 2009; Gaskins, 1996, 2000; Pfeiler, 2007, 2012). For example, when being asked if he taught Yucatec Maya to his son, a participant of our study responded "nosotros nunca le (...) le enseñamos la maya, nada más en, en que escucha" ('we never teach him to speak Maya, [he learns] by listening only'). Against this background, we argue that revitalization proposals should try to avoid imposing the 'occidental' concepts of agency and instruction-based education, or, at least, explicitly discuss the cultural differences in modes of socialization as a central issue, instead of tacitly expecting the main protagonists to follow 'occidental' "impact beliefs" (De Houwer, 1999; Lam, 2017) that are based on the credo of highest educational formability.

SESSION 1, 10:30-11:00, U28

Language ideologies, attitudes and power in language contact settings of Cyprus, Estonia, and Sweden

Natalia Ringblom, Sviatlana Karpava, & Anastassia Zabrodskaja
Dalarna University, University of Central Lancashire, & University of Tartu

Attitudes towards language is a complex phenomenon that depends on speakers' linguistics beliefs, intercultural communication (Saville-Troike, 1990; Baker, 1992; Brown, 2006), speakers' behaviour towards languages and language varieties (Agheysi and Fishman, 1970; Giles and Coupland, 1991; Brown, 2006). According to Kristiansen (2004, 2009, 2011), there are official, conscious and subconscious attitudes. Standard language ideology is a 'set of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structures and use' (Silverstein, 1979:193). Woolard (1998:5-7) defines standard ideology as a 'mental phenomenon' that is associated with language prestige and status. Language ideology affects the attitudes of language users (Milroy, 2001).

This study investigates the role of language ideologies, attitudes and power in shaping minority/majority identities, language use, maintenance and transmission as well as family language policy in language contact settings of Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden. Multilingual families were in the scope of our research: 50 in Cyprus, 20 in Estonia and 50 in Sweden. We examined whether language ideologies, attitudes and power affect linguistic behaviour of bilingual/multilingual Russian-speaking children and their parents in Cyprus, Sweden and Estonia, at home, at school and in the society.

Using parental written questionnaires with the focus on general background, socio-economic status and language proficiency, as well as oral semi-structured interviews, our study attempts to describe how language ideologies, attitudes and power

are reflected in family language policy (FLP) in multilingual Russian-speaking families in three different cultural and linguistic environments.

Our results show both differences and similarities among Russian-speakers in the three countries, not only in their family language practices, but also in their attitudes towards fluidity of language, language repertoires, translanguaging and Russian-language literacy. Russian-speakers incorporate a wider range of language repertoires for their everyday lives. Sometimes, such language contacts generate power struggles and the language ideological dimension becomes a key terrain to explore how speakers feel about the need to effectively attain a degree of multilingualism. Multilingualism and the maintenance of the Russian language and culture are usually encouraged and parents often choose the OPOL approach at home. However, not all of the efforts result in successful home language transmission. Not all the families are making a conscious choice towards a specific FLP and have a so-called *laissez-faire* attitude to the languages in the family.

We show how FLP and child-directed translanguaging can support, expand and enhance dynamic bilingualism/multilingualism, reinforce and integrate minority language in a wider context – societal and educational.

SESSION 2, 8:30-9:00, U29

New Basque speakers as creators of colloquial registers of Basque

Hanna Lantto

University of Eastern Finland

During the last three and half decades, the Basque Country has gone through a period of fast revitalization. The minority language has entered domains where it was not used before. Education, in particular, has become a stronghold for the Basque language. The Basque linguistic universe that used to be divided into *euskaldunak*, ‘Basque speakers’ and *erdaldunak*, ‘non-Basque speakers’, has seen a further division with the emergence of the new categories *euskaldun berriak*, ‘new Basques or new Basque speakers’, ie. those who speak Spanish or French as the language of their primary socialization and have learned Basque in classrooms, and *euskaldun zaharrak* ‘native or old Basque speakers’ (Urla, 1993). In urban areas, such as the city of Bilbao, new speakers now outnumber the native Basque speakers. Earlier studies on the ideologies surrounding new Basques show that even though the aim of the revitalization movement has been to make Basqueness, being *euskaldun*, an inclusive identity that anyone can acquire through one’s linguistic choices (Urla, 2012: 72-73), new Basques seem to consider themselves to be fundamentally different from native speakers (Ortega et al., 2015). *Euskara Batua*, the standard variety that new Basque speakers mainly use, is perceived as artificial and formal (Urla et al.,

2016). Authenticity is connected with native Basque speakers and their vernacular speech forms (Echeverria, 2003, Urla et al., 2016), and access to native speaker networks and Basque vernacular varieties seems to be an important factor predicting new speakers' later language use (Ortega et al., 2015).

This paper examines how new speakers of Basque construct colloquial registers of Basque in the city of Bilbao. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork and metalinguistic group discussions that were conducted in Bilbao in 2016 and 2017 with over 50 new Basque speakers. The standard variety that they have learned in classroom is considered too formal for informal interactions. New Basque speakers are often subject to purist pressures (Lantto, 2018), and Basque vernacular varieties are associated with the native Basque speakers. Yet most new speakers adapt linguistic resources from Spanish and Basque vernacular varieties and/or create new linguistic innovations to make their speech more informal in conversations outside of the classroom. The paper presents an overview of the diverse strategies of de-standardization that the new Basque speakers use in order to integrate into the Basque-speaking community.

SESSION 2, 9:00-9:30, U29

Monoglossic echoes in multilingual spaces:

Language narratives from a Vietnamese community language school in Australia

Anne Reath Warren

Uppsala University

This presentation reports on language narratives in the ecology of a Vietnamese Community Language School (VCLS) in Australia (Warren, 2018). The study takes a dialogical perspective, where the stories about language that informants in the research setting tell are understood to shape and be shaped by the contexts in which they are told. Systematic analysis of deictics, reported speech and evaluative indexicals (Wortham & Reyes, 2015) in stories told during 19 interviews with 34 students, teachers and administrators (20 hours, 53 minutes) was conducted to investigate how informants talk about language and language use and how this impacts on the language learning environment in that context. Results show narratives both echo and contest ideas about language and language planning in the wider context. The *narrative of separate multilingualism* echoes monolingual views of language, advocating separate spaces for the use and development of different languages. In contrast, the *narrative of flexible multilingualism* frames multilingual practices as a natural part of daily life and at the VCLS, but constrained in other spaces. The study illustrates the gap between multilingual practices and monolingual ideologies and approaches to language education in Australia,

where standard Australian English is the dominant and high-status language of power. It contributes to the literature investigating the relationship between language ideology, policy and practice and might be of interest to language educators and language planners in other contexts where community language education is conducted on the spatial and ideological periphery.

SESSION 2, 9:30-10:00, U29

**Who are the activists anyway, and what do they want?
Insights from contemporary Nynorsk, Scots, and Catalan language activism**

James Konrad Puchowski
University of Edinburgh

'Language activism' remains a rather underdeveloped and broad term to describe a range of activities and discourses related to various language varieties and their place, status and role in society and in the minds of language users. From the point of view that this 'activism' largely refers to organised efforts by individuals, groups and/or institution to contribute to discourses about language with an overt ideological and/or attitudinal message, language activist movements and organisations are understood to be a contributing factor to metapragmatic and metalinguistic discourses which inform language ideologies and attitudes from the ground-up (Duranti, 2009: 16, Karlander, 2017:25, Perez-Milans & Soto, 2016:55; cf. Linn, 2010).

Based on a grounded linguistic ethnography (Puchowski, 2018) that examines activities and ideologies amongst young Norwegian Nynorsk 'language activists' in the Norwegian Language Youth (Norsk Målungdom) and the Norwegian Language Society (Noregs Mållag), a cross-comparison with similar—though definitely not identical—organisations and movements in Catalonia and Scotland may allow us to develop a refined definition for this phenomenon in a western European and *medium-sized* language context (Vila & Bretxa, 2013:3).

In this talk, I introduce to what extent Nynorsk fits into a theoretical grouping of *medium-sized* language varieties and highlight brief, non-exhaustive examples from Catalan in Catalonia and Scots in Scotland to suggest we could develop a theoretical framework to study language activism in cases of such language communities. The Scots and Catalan linguistic communities each exist within different political and social contexts, yet their relationship with their respective acrolects and the recognition they have within the framework of the nation-state allows us to see how Nynorsk activism lines up with its counterparts in other territories.

One particular, if not common attitudinal trope shared by these medium-sized activisms is to engage in a discourse which means that the majority of the wider community tolerates the current linguistic culture; languages are kept if they are seen to

have value, and if a language has fewer urban demographic strongholds there can then emerge active efforts to maintain favourable sociolinguistic conditions (cf. Wardhaugh, 1987:17-19). This presentation illustrates where Nynorsk, Scots and Catalan language activism displays this—amongst other ideological standpoints—through a rudimentary content analysis of press statements, articles and publications from a range of organisations and movements in each territory.

SESSION 2, 10:00-10:30, U29

Why a language dies. The case of Bathari of Oman

Fabio Gasparini

University of Naples

The present talk gives an account over the sociolinguistic situation of Baṭḥari (Modern South Arabian, Semitic), an extremely endangered language spoken by less than 15 elders in the eastern part of the governorate of Dhofar, Oman. Using data and observations collected during fieldwork in the area between 2016 and 2017 (Gasparini, 2017), community and speakers' attitudes will be specifically addressed in order to explain why the Baṭāḥira tribe switched almost completely to the dominant Arab Bedouin identity, leading the Baṭḥari traditional heritage towards unavoidable disappearance.

While the influence of colonialism and the growth of Arab nationalism since the start of the XX century played a crucial role in shaping the contemporary cultural landscape of the Middle-Eastern area (Grandguillaume, 1983; Khalidi et al., 2001; Miller, 2003), Dhofar (and so its people and cultures) has remained almost untouched and poorly known to outsiders until the 70s, when Oman was unified and went through a fast process of Arabization.

Before this happened, Dhofari people were organized in semi-nomadic tribes hierarchically related to each other according to their power and prestige, whose echoes can still be seen in the assets of the contemporary society. The Baṭāḥira tribe used to be at the lowest level of this tribal social scale. They lived in a desertic, remote area in the easternmost area of Dhofar, with poor (albeit constant) contacts with neighbouring tribes (Morris, 1983, 2017). After the unification of Oman, the Baṭāḥira have undergone a massive process of identity replacement. The strong will to integrate into the newborn Omani society and to improve life conditions inevitably meant to get rid of any easily recognizable symbol of belonging to the tribe, in order to avoid stigma. Thus, the Baṭāḥira embraced the local Bedouin Arabic culture (that of the neighbouring Janayba tribe).

In this context, the position of language is critical. Arabic (both in its vernacular and standard varieties) has by now replaced Baṭḥari in every social domain within the local community as a consequence of tacit ingroup language practices and behaviours. In

fact, those who today are the last Baḥari speakers do not feel neither the need nor the will to speak the language, which their descendants do not understand – nor they have any interest in doing so. The narrative identity the younger members of the tribe have been building up makes recurrent reference to the bedouin tradition of the Janayba and completely rewrites their tribal history.

11:00-12:00 Plenary III, in Room DeGeerslan

Don Kulick, Uppsala University

What actually dies when a language dies

What Tolstoy wrote about happy and unhappy families applies equally to languages: all living languages are alike; each dying language is dying in its own way. Because the death of a language is a particular death, the death of *this* language and not some other one, the story of its demise has to be a specific story. For the past thirty years I have conducted research on an isolate Papuan language in the lower Sepik region of Papua New Guinea. The language, called Tayap, currently has fewer than fifty active speakers. My talk will sketch the reasons for the impending death of Tayap and ask what, in fact, will be lost when the language gives up the ghost.

SESSION 1, 13:30-14:00, U28

Boundaries of ideology: Linguistics and political aspects of conflict/contact zone

Esther Schely-Newman

The Hebrew University

French Hill in East Jerusalem is a multilingual, multigenerational, and multinational community, composed of Jewish Israelis, Palestinian Israelis, East Jerusalem Palestinians, and EU and UN officials (fig. 1; Shtern & Yacobi, 2018). The small commercial center - a supermarket, banks, women's clothing, beauty parlors, cafes, and restaurants - is thus a hub of activities, and a locus for the study of communication patterns expressing complex identities (e.g. Lindenfeld, 1990). This daily coagulation of people in a specific site is the focus of a current ethnographic study of communication patterns. The mixture of codes used on a daily basis, nevertheless allows people with different language repertoires and ideologies to communicate.

The paper focuses on the linguistic aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Mar'I, 2013; C. Suleiman, 2017; Y. Suleiman, 2004). More precisely in the local linguistic practices, aural and visual, i.e., linguistic landscape (fig. 2; Blommaert, 2013; Scollon & Scollon, 2003; Shohamy & Ben Rafael, 2015). We wish to argue that language use serves as a mode

of connecting, separating, and marking boundaries between people, while allowing a level of civility and communal behaviour overriding other divisions - religious, national, political, and ideological. The research attempts to reveal explicit and implicit attitudes to the languages and ideologies implied in these usages.

Given the special status of Jerusalem, the ongoing asymmetrical conflict, and language policies, our analysis of data uses a multimodal approach (Kress, 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Spolsky, 2014). Data collected in interviews, observations of encounters, linguistic landscape, and the variety of sounds typical of busy commercial venues, allows for a nuanced analysis of practices that concurrently may reflect resistance, cooperation, and cooptation.

Figure 1. Visual identification. At the ATM



Figure 2. Store signage



SESSION 1, 14:00-14:30, U28

**Breaking the cycle in language ideology (re)production:
Empowerment and middle ground in France**

Aurélie Joubert

University of Groningen

Language policies foster the emergence of certain ideas about language(s) and language uses. These ideologically and discursively transmitted ideas or beliefs are reflected in the attitudes of speakers (Blommaert, 2005). This movement from policies to speakers' attitudes can be envisaged as top-down types of influence.

In opposition, language planning has identified early on the need to take into account and further encourage grassroots movements to change attitudes and challenge some widely accepted beliefs about the worthiness (or lack of) of smaller languages (Crystal, 2000; Sallabank, 2013). This has led to authority-building measures for minority communities and to a move towards empowerment (Edwards, 2011).

The top-down/bottom up conceptualisation entails the representation of society as a hierarchical structure with the legislative and executive powers amassed at the top and the less influential and powerless masses at the bottom. While we can easily grasp the practicality and effectiveness of this representation, we can also present its limits: the oversight of new mobilisation structures or a sort of middle ground gathering momentum and influencing language revitalisation efforts (Harrison & Joubert, 2018).

The present paper offers an approach to language ideologies and attitudes grounded in the field of critical sociolinguistics and aims to assess the discourse of language advocacy coalitions (Cole & Harguindéguy, 2014) which work in parallel to institutional structures and gather some authority-building initiatives. The critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995) of interview data with some speakers of minority languages in France will contrast the perception of mainstream ideologies and declaration of alternative attitudes.

This will allow a clarification of the way in which counter-ideologies, or ideologies which go against the mainstream culture, circulate. In the case of new speakers of an endangered language (Jaffe, 2015), this provides a glimpse into the possibilities to challenge existing ideological paradigms: becoming a speaker of a minority language is a choice. At the same time as losing an essentialist approach to language and identity, a new alternative discourse appears: respect of the region, importance of local traditions, redistribution of power, and disbelief in the establishment. This discourse does not form part of a nostalgic view of past tradition but is one looking to the future and is based on the defence of egalitarian principles of human rights and a strong rejection of established structures of power. Associations gather, speakers exchange views online and do not need to go through the institutionalised channels to find their joint voice. The success of associative schools in France also points out to the existence of a level that is not controlled or funded by the state, and starts to represent an alternative order of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003). One striking and recent example of this trend is the ‘yellow vest’ movement in France which, whilst refusing to assign a political leader, has been influential in denouncing social injustice and a neglect of the local sphere. The implications of the movement are wide and include claims towards a decentralisation of powers and arguably also a debunking of ideologies.

SESSION 1, 14:30-15:00, U28

**Language ideologies and the verbal art of everyday culture in the occupied territories
(West Bank & East Jerusalem)**

Keith Walters

Portland State University

Drawing largely on undergraduate research from the Occupied Territories, this presentation examines the ways that language ideologies (Irvine & Gal, 2000) manifest themselves in a situation that is both multilingual (English, Hebrew, but primarily Arabic) and diglossic (Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the Palestinian Arabic (PA)). Obviously, the political situation here creates unequal relations of power in all domains of life, and one’s place in society is constructed by numerous structural forces influencing

access to and use of various linguistic codes. Our primary focus is verbal art (Sherzer, 2002) in what we term “everyday culture” —hiphop lyrics, performance poetry, and the subtitles of US movies and television programs, as well as the linguistic landscape (Blackwood et al., 2017), specifically, billboards and signs.

A major theme of our presentation is the work that Arabic diglossia does in and through everyday cultural practices. While there has been much research on the changing nature of Arabic diglossia and related language ideologies, there has, as best we can determine, been no research on these issues with regard to Arabic in the Occupied Territories and certainly not on the specific topics treated here (but see Suleiman, 2004, on the regional context). The research on which this presentation is built shows, for example, that strategic MSA lexical choices function differently in hip-hop lyrics than in subtitled movies. Subtitles in scenes involving obscenities are bleached: the MSA terms used have none of the visceral impact of the original English or their PA equivalents. In contrast, in hip-hop lyrics about women in a patriarchal society, MSA lexical items rely on the gravitas indexed by the high variety while simultaneously critiquing tradition and religious authority, with which MSA is also linked. Likewise, MSA and PA in local billboards construct very different notions of identity while also serving to indicate multinational versus local companies, simultaneously. Similarly, the use of markedly dialectal PA forms in lyrics and performance poetry in English points to different, local constellations of values than those reported in studies of monolingual style-shifting, even that involving a stigmatized and a more standardized variety of English (e.g., Morgan, 2002 on AAE).

As for multilingualism, though a frequent source of PA borrowings, English shows up rarely in billboards and permanent signs. Following the '67 War, Hebrew is ubiquitous in everyday life: nearly every product in the grocery store is labeled primarily (or uniquely) in Hebrew though Hebrew-language literacy is quite restricted. Not surprisingly, French occurs in the signage of shops selling cosmetics and Western but not Islamic fashion.

As our research demonstrates, the Occupied Territories are predictably a location of languages in great conflict even as verbal art is an ideal site for examining these conflicts. If this abstract is accepted, we will work to make it possible for one or two of the young women who conducted much of the research cited to co-present the paper and speak from their lived experience, pending funding and success in obtaining the necessary visas for them, as Palestinians, to travel.

SESSION 1, 15:00-15:30, U28

**Promoting the 'Standard French' in French classes at the Université de Moncton:
Expressions of linguistic neoliberalism in Acadia**

Samuel Vernet

University of Grenoble

The Université de Moncton, in New Brunswick's Acadia, is the main francophone higher education institution in the French-speaking minority regions of Canada. Acadia is a historical francophone minority region in the Eastern Canada. These lands were colonized at the beginning of the 17th century by the French, before being ceded to the British in 1713. Nowadays, vernacular French in Acadia is characterized by morphological, lexical and phonetical marks of traditional Acadian (i.e. those of the first French settlers) and English, due to the secular contact with the anglophone majority. In this context, the Université de Moncton explicitly claims, in its mission, to teach its audience in French¹. Consequently, all the students must take a French test before starting university. The results of this test will determine the number of compulsory French courses that the students will have to complete during their bachelor. These courses aim to give to the students a complete mastery of Standard French both written and oral; a variety of French which is difficult to define but mostly characterized by the linguistic uses recommended in the textbooks and dictionaries published in France (or in Quebec). That is why, one way or another, vernacular practices are banned (Vernet, in press), which is not without stimulating a linguistic insecurity – well known in Acadia (since the works of Boudreau & Dubois, 1992). French teachers are aware of this situation, so they set a series of discourses up to promote and justify the teaching of this “standard” variety, related to what Heller and Duchêne (2012) called a discourse of profit: a discursive construction which insists on the potential symbolic and material benefits for students to learn and use Standard French. This presentation will try to show how this kind of discourse is set up in class, through what kind of pedagogical tools and discursive strategies?

Our presentation is based on a year-long ethnographic inquiry, in the compulsory French courses, conducted during a whole semester at the Université de Moncton. We will especially analyze the spontaneous interactions in class, and the pedagogical material.

We aim to show that the discursive strategies set up to justify the teaching of the Standard and to motivate the students, are related to what we could call a “linguistic neoliberalism”: which means a commodification of language practices, relying on a semantic field which is that of liberal economy and individualism. We want to show how this discursive construction contributes in the domination of the exogenous Standard

¹ <https://www.umoncton.ca/umcm-fass-langues/node/2>

French over the vernacular French, while preparing the students minds to the inevitability of this domination and, therefore, its acceptance.

SESSION 2, 13:30-14:00, U29

Language ideologies in the drawings of "Finnish language"

Heidi Niemelä

University of Helsinki

In my paper, I explore drawings on 'Finnish language' by primary school pupils and teacher trainees. 11–13 year old pupils from Oulu and Helsinki and teacher trainees from Oulu were asked "to draw Finnish language".

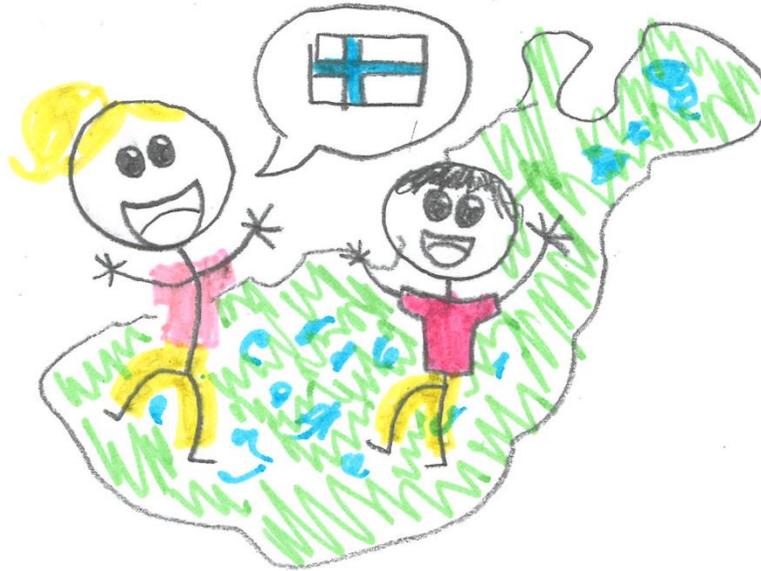
Drawing task is a scientific method previously used for example in the studies of education to study teacher identities and in the studies multilingualism to explore the identities of multilingual children (Kalaja et al., 2008; Nevgi & Löfström, 2014; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Drawing as a method works with children in studies where abstract matters are being explored (Briell et al., 2010). In my study, I consider the drawings as ideological representations of Finnish language: the drawings show how the pupils and teacher trainees make sense out of the world. Based on previous studies, it can be assumed that the elements in the drawings are based on experience (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015) and ideological schemas.

I will concentrate on the qualities Finnish language is given in the drawings and the elements it is connected with. On the basis of the data, I will also deal with the question of who are considered to be Finnish-speaking, and what kind of language ideologies the drawings seem to elicit.

The drawing task data set is part of my ongoing PhD study which examines the existing and developing language ideologies in Finnish basic education. Ideological approaches to Finnish language are of importance to study in the contemporary situation, in which the mainly Finnish speaking schools are constantly growing more multicultural and multilingual. I explore the power structures language ideologies build and maintain in Finnish education, and how they may influence the linguistic equality of students with different backgrounds.

The analysis indicates that in the drawings number of different elements are connected to Finnish language. As drawn, Finnish language is given diverse qualities, of which the most common ones are Finland and Finnishness. Out of all the symbols present in the drawings, flag of Finland as well as the map of Finland are among the most frequently drawn items. Many drawings also include people. Based on the overall drawing data, it seems that the pupils and teacher trainees seem to connect Finnish language with an ethnolinguistic assumption: Finland is emphasized as a place where

(ethnic) Finnishness and Finnish language are tightly connected. This raises questions on the ideological structures between people, nation and language, and the ways these should be dealt with in different levels of education. Who are considered as Finnish and Finnish-speaking, why, and why not?



SESSION 2, 14:00-14:30, U29

Language ideologies for the masses: Prescriptivism live on Croatian national television

Andel Starčević

University of Zagreb

The mass media have long been one of the most effective channels for the propagation and normalization of various ideas and beliefs from positions of power, including language ideologies. By reaching a huge (national and transnational) audience, television and radio programs can easily portray subjective, political, and unfounded beliefs about language use as 'objective', 'neutral', and 'scholarly' – in other words, as 'incontestable knowledge' and 'truth'. This study uses a multimodal critical discourse approach (Verschuere, 2012, Machin & Mayr, 2012, Fairclough, 2015) in order to analyze the promotion and commonsensicalization of the ideology of the standard language (Milroy, 2001), the monoglossic ideology (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015), and related ideas and sets of ideas about language and languages on Hrvatska radiotelevizija (Croatian Radio and Television). It focuses on the afternoon television show *Dobar dan, Hrvatska* (Good afternoon, Croatia), which is broadcast on weekdays (approx. 50 minutes) on HRT-HTV 1 (TV Channel 1) and is later available on the broadcaster's digital platform (HRTi). The

program deals with various general-interest topics and includes live reports and studio interviews, while the final segment (approx. 5-8 minutes) features a 'language expert' who has observed and taken notes on the participants' language production. Within the established and normalized frame of the standard language ideology, the 'language expert' then explains what was 'wrong', 'incorrect', 'improper', etc. in the participants' language use. The questions which the study aims to answer are the following: (1) what (language) ideologies are promoted by the 'language expert'? and (2) what verbal and non-verbal strategies does the 'language expert' employ in the promotion of these ideologies? The results suggest a strong presence of (1) the ideology of the standard language and (2) the monoglossic ideology, including (3) the ideology of literal meanings, (4) the ideology of the source language, (5) the ideology of monosemonymy (one form ~ one meaning), (6) the ideology of false analogy, and (7) the ideology of zero redundancy. In addition, (8) trivial formal variation is stigmatized, and (9) legitimate linguistic data is erased (Irvine & Gal 2000). Criticism is directed at media professionals and average speakers, who are blamed for corrupting Croatian, while strategies include verbal and non-verbal stigmatization of common non-standard and supposedly non-standard forms through sarcastic rhetorical questions and disapproving comments about the low quality of media content, unprofessionalism, and impoliteness, as well as non-verbal signs of irritation, disgust, etc. on the part of the 'expert'. The study demonstrates that a more rational and scholarly approach to language is required in the mass media so that unfounded and exclusionary ideas are not promoted and normalized as 'objective' and 'neutral', all of which can only heighten Croatian speakers' (both linguistic and extralinguistic) insecurity, feelings of incompetence, and their reluctance to participate in public discourse, resulting in increased asymmetries of power and access to resources within Croatian society.

SESSION 2, 14:30-15:00, U29

**Simultaneity, double consciousness, and indexical force:
Serbian language ideologies on multilingual social media**

Rachel George
Whitman College

The paper examines the multilingual and multiscriptal social media practices of young people in Belgrade, Serbia in light of the recent history of ethnic conflict, international stigma and isolation, and regime change in the country. I argue that young people make use of various types of *simultaneity* (e.g., of codes, writing system, or indexes) to assert both participation and fluency in, as well as distance from, both local and global cultural and political worlds; their mixed-language and mixed-orthographic practices signal a *refusal to choose* between undesirable political and cultural categories – the globalist,

Westernized dupe, or the embarrassing and provincial nationalist. The posts I describe exhibit at least two types of simultaneity: 1) *Bivalency* (Woolard 1998), the use of linguistic features that point to more than one language at once; and 2) Indexical simultaneity: that is, they both work within and attempt to alter or challenge dominant ideological associations between language and identity (e.g., that English is a sign of cosmopolitanism, while Serbian – and particularly Cyrillic – signifies tradition and nationalism).

I argue that such practices must be examined in light of Serbia's recent history of war and international isolation, as well as its potential future in the European Union. Many Serbs continue to feel resentful about their perceived negative international reputation (Greenberg, 2011), the legacy of nearly a decade of sanctions under the Milošević regime, the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999, and the political hurdles to European Union candidacy. In my own ethnographic research, I found that many Belgrade residents of all ages felt tension as they hoped to engage economically and culturally with the rest of the world without sacrificing their own traditions or dignity. Many citizens, especially those who participated in student uprisings against Milošević in the 1990s, felt trapped, politically, between those who espoused extreme nationalism and those who seemed ready to sell Serbia to the highest international bidder.

In this context, young people's use of English and Serbian – and the ways in which such use does or does not conform to dominant language ideologies – is consequential not just for the construction of their personal style or identity, but also for the international image they wish to promote, for themselves and for their nation. Long plagued by *double consciousness* (Du Bois, 1903), the (politicized) need to see oneself through the eyes of others, many young Serbs find social media a place where they can craft their image carefully, using a wide variety of linguistic and other semiotic resources. This raises questions, however about an individual's ability to control the indexical force (Duranti, 2012) of their speech, given the multiple audiences at multiple scales (Blommaert, 2015) positioned to receive and evaluate it.

The paper, then, considers how seemingly mundane and irreverent social media posts can both use and challenge existing language ideologies to carve out new political identities and categories while considering the role of an uncertain, dispersed and often global audience in negotiating such semiotic moves.

SESSION 2, 15:00-15:30, U29
**Unravelling and commodifying ideologies of nativeness
 in Indian transient communities**

Giuliana Regnoli
 University of Naples

Recent research on the Indian diaspora has raised the question of the extent to which linguistic differences inform our understanding of community structures, attitudinal orientations and identity development (Sharma, 2017; Hundt & Sharma, 2014). However, little attention has been given to Indian 'transient communities', i.e., short-lived contexts in which people from diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds come together around a shared activity (Mortensen & Fabricius, 2014). The present work intends to focus on the relationship between local and global language ideologies, language attitudes and folk awareness in a transient multilingual community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data collected through sociolinguistic interviews, surveys and accent identification tasks, the work will report on the importance of attending to native awareness as an ideological dimension and on speakers' attitudes toward regional varieties of Indian English. Reported results demonstrate that the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor in the fostering of in-group affiliations and distance and that speakers' constant need to renegotiate identity is indexed in their willingness (or not) to shed their regional, linguistic and ethnic identities in deference to their pan-Indian ones depending on the community's fluid sociolinguistic circumstances.

SESSION 1, 16:00-16:30, U28
A mental mapping approach to the study of ideologies in a contact setting
 Gabriela Alfaraz
 Michigan State University

The aim of this presentation is to discuss mental mapping as a methodological tool to study the language ideologies of bilinguals in a language contact situation. This methodology builds on work in geography that used cognitive mapping to study behaviour and spatial perceptions (Gould and White, 1986; Lynch, 1960). Preston (1986, 1996, 2002) adapted the mental mapping methodology of geographers to the study of regional dialects. Preston's method involved using blank maps of the United States on which participants drew dialect areas and added comments encapsulating their beliefs about the areas. This direct approach to the study of dialectology and attitudes rendered two types of findings: the lines drawn around regions showed the location of perceptual

isoglosses, and the metalinguistic comments in descriptors provided data about language and social ideology.

I argue here that in language contact situations, the mental map method can be used to probe ideologies. Geographers have successfully used it to study how ethnicity and culture influences perceptions of the spatial environment. In a study of ethnic groups in the city of Los Angeles, Orleans (1973) found that the groups' mental maps of the city were notably different. Fuller and Chapman's (1974) study of residential desirability showed that Americans and Asians had different perceptions of regions. More recently, Gillespie (2010) found that children raised in traditional religious homes drew distinctly different maps of the surrounding neighbourhood than their non-religious peers.

To show that the mental mapping method can be productively applied to the study of language ideologies and attitudes, I discuss research that used the approach from perceptual dialectology to study bilinguals' knowledge of and beliefs about regional dialects of American English. The study included 115 early Spanish L1 bilinguals, raised in Spanish-speaking homes, who learned English in early childhood, and 148 English monolinguals. The participants were asked to draw on a blank map where they believed different speech regions were located and write comments about them. The map-drawing study showed that bilinguals and monolinguals differed in their knowledge of dialects and regional stereotypes. An analysis of the metalinguistic comments in the descriptors of regions in the mental maps indicated that bilinguals did not have the same type of knowledge of stereotypes as the monolinguals, whose written descriptions revealed mastery of expansive knowledge about regions and their associated linguistic and social stereotypes.

Thus, through the use of the mental mapping technique, a previously unknown, and unexpected, feature of the competence of bilinguals was revealed. The reasons why early Spanish-English bilinguals in the contact situation in the United States have different knowledge of language ideologies than monolinguals raise important research questions about, for instance, contact with and exposure to sources of transmission of ideologies.

SESSION 1, 16:30-17:00, U28

"Everyone will speak the same idiom" The utopia will become reality!" Languages and ideologies in the Swedish workers-Esperanto movement

David Karlander
Stockholm University

Ideas about artificially perfected language have long presented alluring solutions to innumerable human predicaments (see Eco, 1994). In such visions, language – from sacred speech and mother tongues to multilingualism and translanguaging – is readily ascribed utopian potentials. This tendency has been particularly pertinent in appraisals of the

purported transformative capacity of constructed auxiliary languages, with Esperanto being the supreme example (Forster, 1982; Heller, 2017). Esperanto, as the name implies, comes with a humanistic hope for peace and universal understanding. Such hopes notwithstanding, Esperantist promises of human unity have remained largely marginal dreams. Esperanto tends to remain a comparatively marginal type of self-imposed multilingualism. A critical engagement with Esperanto-related practices can, nevertheless, offer privileged insights into how people make sense of linguistic and social relations of power.

This is the point of departure for the present paper. Exploring notions of marginality, artificiality, as well as the political foundations and implications of marginal linguistic thought, it engages analytically with the use of Esperanto in the Swedish labour movement in the early 20th century. In these times of ensuing social democratic hegemony, which were concomitant with a reassertion of a nation-state agenda, worker-Esperantist organisations faced political and ideological marginalization. Nevertheless, they mounted a challenge to the shift toward a nation-centred politics that unfolded during the interwar period, attacking Swedish nationalism, as well as the rise of fascism in continental Europe, and of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. Envisioning a forthcoming mode of universal human unity, the worker-Esperantists navigated the conceptual space of *sennaciismo* (non-nationalism; see Lanti, 1928), which construed Esperanto as a means for denationalising the global working class and which thereby would pave the way for a utopian, egalitarian society. Although this dream attracted several thousand Swedish workers in the early 1930s, it soon succumbed to ideological conflict and marginalisation. Yet, its contingent existence presents a versatile vantage point for grasping language ideological struggles over utopian ideals, as well as the ideals themselves.

The present paper tackles these issues from a critical historical point of view. It offers an analysis of archival material and published texts from the Swedish segments of the international worker-Esperanto movement, as well as of publications by the movement's main theorists (e.g. Lanti, 1928, 1931). Arguably, the ideas articulated in these marginal spaces of engagement speak to larger questions of the conceptual foundations and political possibilities of linguistic thought.

SESSION 1, 17:00-17:30, U28

The impact of semilingualism: Towards a historically-aware sociolinguistics

Linus Salö

KTH Stockholm

For half a century or more, “semilingualism” has been a controversial – much debated and much derided – idea. This paper traces the formation and early circulation of the idea in its original context: Sweden’s nascent fields of bilingualism research and minority education. From the late 1950s, it here it featured prominently in language ideological debates on language politics and linguistic competence, and subsequently began to function as a policy-driver in national debates on linguistic minority education. In particular, the paper is concerned with the historical relationship between the mobile idea of semilingualism and the policy innovation of mother tongue instruction (MTI), which was implemented in the national Swedish school in 1977. Envisioned as a ‘traveling idea’ (Morgan 2010), the paper accordingly explores the ways in which semilingualism moved through networks of actors comprised of academics, the general public, press actors, politicians, and policy-makers. To this end, it presents a historical discourse analysis of a set of texts – journalistic and non-journalistic material, motions and minutes from the Swedish parliament, as well as on a range of academic texts – through which the idea was prefatorily forged, subsequently mobilized, acted upon, and finally contested. Ample attention is drawn to the early advocacy work of the Swedish Finno-Ugricist Nils Erik Hansegård (1918–2002), and his campaigning for an increased use of Finnish in the schools of the historically multilingual area of Tornedalen, situated in the borderland valley between northern Sweden and Finland. In this context, critiquing the then prevalent Swedish-only language regime, Hansegård developed the idea of semilingualism as a purported rump-competence among bilingual individuals whose acquisition and mastery of any of their languages was seen as ‘incomplete’. The paper shows how this concern was subsequently picked up by national media, where the implications of the idea also came to encompass newly arrived immigrants to Sweden. Semilingualism also attracted attention from a range of political actors, and so moved into the stage of national politics. Importantly, it was appropriated by the Immigrant Commission, ongoing 1968–1974, which in its final report advocated “home language instruction”, the forerunner of MTI, much as a remedy for semilingualism. In this vein, the paper demonstrates empirically that the idea of semilingualism played an integral part in shoehorning MTI Sweden’s national curriculum. While most linguists have come to dismiss semilingualism as a scientifically flawed concept, the paper thus shows that it had nevertheless a decisive impact in policy making: MTI in Sweden thus owes its existence much to semilingualism as an impactful idea. As such, the case it presents duly illustrates

some of the ways in which the language sciences contribute to the formation of languages ideologies, but also to the transformation of those previously at work. The societal impact of this sociolinguistic idea, as well as the lasting consequences thereof, points to the importance of a reflexive, historically-aware sociolinguistics, capable of grasping the power relations it engages with, the knowledge it produces, and the poignant effects that this production engenders.

SESSION 2, 16:00-16:30, U29

Analyzing ideological and implementational spaces for multilingual educational policies in Swedish primary and upper secondary schools

Christina Hedman & Ulrika Magnusson
Stockholm University

In this paper, local ideological and implementational spaces (Hornberger, 2002; see also Cassels Johnson, 2010, 2011) are identified and discussed in relation to Swedish pluralistic language education policy in two educational contexts: a primary school and an upper secondary school. The pluralistic language education (macro) policy here refers to the school subjects Mother Tongue (MT) and Swedish as a Second Language (SSL), as well as the educational provision aimed at newly arrived students regarding study guidance in their first language. Drawing on fieldwork done over a period of more than a year that yielded fieldnotes, audiorecordings from classroom observations as well as interviews (here with a focus on MT teachers in the primary school and an SSL teacher and students in the upper secondary school), we discuss how, and to what extent, the multilingual macro language policies open an ideological space for multilingual education and/or for a resource perspective on multilingualism at the local level. This entails analyses of teacher (and student) agency as “language educators and language users must take advantage of this space by implementing multilingual educational practices” (Cassels Johnson, 2011, p. 129). Findings show that the MT teachers adapted the (inflexible) macro language policy in the primary school context in order to better cater for the students’ multilingual practices and language educational needs. In upper secondary school, the SSL teacher took advantage of the SSL curriculum’s overarching, but briefly formulated goal to contribute to the strengthening of the students’ multilingualism. This appeared to be of particular importance as Mother Tongue instruction was an underused resource at this level and study guidance remained unprovided for by the school. These findings underscore previous research on the importance of investigating and acknowledging the role of teacher agency for language policy processes (Cassels Johnson, 2010, p. 62), that is, the vital role of ethnographic fieldwork for critical policy research, including how educators’ appropriations are manifested in various educational contexts to better benefit multilingual students.

SESSION 2, 16:30-17:00, U29

**Investigating language ideologies in bilingual settings with a web surveys:
Methodological, epistemological, and ethical challenges**

Johan Järlehed

University of Gotenburg

This presentation discusses language ideologies at two levels: as reflected in bilingual displays in public space and hence operating in the unequal distribution of power within societies, and as enacted in sociolinguistic research practice. The context is contemporary Galicia and Basque Country – officially bilingual regions in Spain, and a sociolinguistic ethnography of the production and reproduction of Galicianness and Basqueness in the semiotic landscape. As part of the investigation, and following field trips with observations, photo documentation and interviews, I made a web survey with photo elicitation using different instances of bilingual displays. The aim of the survey was to complement earlier findings and to elicit reactions to bilingual displays from a random selection of the Galician and Basque populations, to examine the language ideologies that inform the consumption of public bilingualism.

I got 104 answers in the Galician survey and 102 in the Basque one. Almost all the respondents declared themselves as bilingual. However, attitudes towards bilingual signage varied between the two cases, with 78% of the Basques favouring bilingual signage and 56% of the Galicians rejecting it. At the same time, a majority of both groups thought that it was important to differentiate between the two languages with graphic means.

I also received two instances of criticism on the design of the Galician survey, one from a renowned Galician sociolinguist and one from a renowned Galician graphic designer who had served as a key informant during my fieldwork. The first criticized the monolingual Spanish format of the survey instructions and questions: the critic saw this as a methodological and ideological problem and argued the whole survey should be bilingual since it was directed to a bilingual community (the design allowed answers in anyone of the two languages). The second criticism concerned the overarching theme of the survey, i.e. visual bilingualism, which was frankly rejected with the argument that Galician is 'transparent' to anyone living in Galicia and neighbouring countries.

Interestingly, while both criticisms came from people who identified themselves with the minorized Galician language and culture and had dedicated their lives to counter Spanish hegemony, the first of them defended public bilingualism but expressed a desire to keep the two languages a part, whereas the second rejected public bilingualism and expressed a desire for Galician monolingualism.

The aim with this presentation is fourfold. 1. To discuss the ethical and methodological issues raised by the web survey and the criticism it provoked. 2. To better understand the critics and learn from them in dialogue with the participants of the symposium and their professional experiences – i.e. practice ‘epistemic reflexivity’ (Salö, 2018). 3. To develop an ethically and methodologically viable way to use the survey responses as valid data for the sociolinguistic ethnography. 4. To present the design and results of the survey and discuss what they say about the language ideologies entangled in public bilingualism in contemporary Galicia and Basque Country.

SESSION 2, 17:00-17:30, U29

Triangulating data types: An investigation of explicit and implicit language ideologies of Yurakaré-Spanish bilinguals

Sonja Gipper

University of Cologne

This paper reports an investigation of the discursive construction of linguistic ideologies among people who self-identify as Yurakaré. The group’s original language is a linguistic isolate spoken by around 2,000 people in central Bolivia. Most speakers of Yurakaré are bilingual with Spanish, while most younger people are at present monolingual in Spanish (Plaza Martínez, 2011:243-245). Given that the Yurakaré people handle two languages in their everyday lives, the question arises of how these two languages are conceptualized ideologically. Silverstein (1979:193) defines language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”. In addition to this cognitive component of language ideologies, Valle (2007:20) points out that they also have a discursive element, in that they are reproduced through linguistic practice. Investigating various types of interactions between speakers can thus reveal how they negotiate and reproduce linguistic ideologies in different situations. Three types of video-recorded data are used to investigate this: A corpus of everyday conversational data (around 10 hours, 10 speakers), a set of sociolinguistic interviews on different aspects of language attitudes (around 20 hours, 28 speakers), and a corpus of classroom discourse collected during a workshop where adult speakers of Yurakaré taught other adult speakers about Yurakaré literacy (around 10 hours, 20 speakers). This combination of different data types demonstrates that ideologies surface in different ways in different situations: While ideologies emerge to a large extent implicitly in everyday conversation as part of the negotiation of identity and language norms among speakers, in sociolinguistic interviews people formulate their attitudes much more explicitly, being pushed toward a higher awareness of this topic. In classroom discourse, we can observe a mixture of the two. The analysis of the different data types

reveals that the Yurakaré language is perceived as an important component of Yurakaré identity, while Spanish is not considered to form part of this identity although everybody speaks it. This observation even holds for younger people who do not speak Yurakaré in their everyday lives. It is concluded that a triangulation of data types can help to reveal different aspects of the negotiation and discursive construction of language ideologies. In addition, it is argued that it is important to take the context of the data collection into account: The conversational data were collected as part of a documentation project of the Yurakaré language, probably reinforcing attitudes of language purism among the participants. The other two corpora were collected during a workshop on orality and literacy in the Yurakaré language, a context that also probably boosted people's awareness of their linguistic identification.

17:30 Closing remarks

19:30 Conference dinner