

## ABSTRACTS and REFERENCES

*Communication in the “Country of Babel”: Language Ideological Debates on Contact Varieties*

### KEYNOTE SPEECHES

**‘None of that “am, eh, like, tá, much?” crap some people come out with’: Conflicting ideologies around the Irish language in contact in new media spaces, *Helen Kelly-Holmes***

In this paper, I wish to look at the possibilities that emerge when language ideologies come into contact with each other in new media spaces. Not only have digital technologies created the potential for more content in more languages (Danet and Herring 2007), they have also enabled more spaces, ‘publics’ (Gal and Woolard 2001) for discussing language and for language ideological debates (Blommaert 1999; Thurlow and Mroczek 2011)). These spaces can bring together texts and actors with opposing and conflicting language ideologies who may in previous media eras have been kept separate, and can give a voice to practices and ideologies that may have been erased. They are also characterized by ‘messy data’ (Blommaert 2015), which prove to be highly productive for examining the complicated and contradictory language ideologies at work in complex bi- and multilingual situations such as that of Irish. The particular example I will be talking about is a YouTube site on which an encounter between a mother and son around learning Irish is viewed, liked, commented on, played with, subverted, and debated. Through the conjuncture of ideologies enabled by the multi-modal interaction on the YouTube site, surprising ideologies around authenticity, anonymity, and public language (Woolard 2008) are revealed.

**Visualizing Language Ideologies: The Tenacious Case of Texting, *Crispin Thurlow***

*Text-speak: Language Evolution or Just Laziness?*  
*The Telegraph, 03 April 2013*

Somewhat expectedly, this headline comes from a socially conservative newspaper in Britain. Perhaps what is more surprising, however, is that journalists are *still* writing stories like this. Is this really newsworthy? These are, in fact, the kinds of mediatized representations of new media language (or digital discourse) that I’ve been studying for over a decade, with a particular concern for the way young people are depicted. Here, we find some people’s ways of speaking coming into contact with – and apparently into conflict with – other people’s ways of speaking. And all framed by the usual language-ideological tussles. In this presentation I want to extend the field a little by turning to look at how these language-ideological tussles are often depicted visually. For this, I draw on convenience samples of

local and international newspaper reports about texting and its more racy manifestation, sexting. Importantly, this media data includes both verbal and visual content, specifically, the kind of stock-image photographs that commonly accompany news articles about texting/sexting. With the help of these and other materials, I want to shift from my usual analysis of language ideologies to examining the overlapping, co-constitutive *media ideologies* and *semiotic ideologies* at work. Just as varieties do not map neatly onto nation-states or ethnicities, ideologies are never simply verbal or mono-modal.

### **Standardisation and destandardisation in folk performances, Richard J. Watts and Franz Andres Morrissey**

Cotterton (1988) argues that social memory is ‘sedimented, or amassed’ in the individual body through two kinds of social practice, an ‘incorporating practice’ in which information is imparted by means of the participants’ ‘current bodily activity’, e.g. in ritual performances, and an ‘inscribing practice’ which stores and retrieves information ‘long after the human organism has stopped informing’. For him, ‘[t]he transition from an oral culture to a literate culture is a transition from incorporating practices to inscribing practices’ (1988: 75). With respect to oral cultures, Cotterton maintains that ‘in [those] cultures most of the formal recognition takes the form of performances repeatedly recited by the custodians of memory to those who hear of it. These large-scale performative utterances have to be cast in a standardised form if there is to be any chance of their being repeated by successive generations ...’ (1988: 76). I shall argue in this lecture that what we understand as ‘standard language’ is derived from inscribing practices, but that we need to consider another form of ‘standard language’ developed to allow for the inter-generational transmission of socio-cultural memory through incorporating practices. I shall argue that the performance of ‘folk song’ in the English-speaking world from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present displays evidence of increased pressure from the inscribed standard on the oral standard of performance which results in a recent tendency to retain the features of orally standardised language but to destandardise features that are perceived to constitute the inscribed standard. To begin with, I need to point out that ‘folk song’ does *not* refer to a ‘song of the people’ or a ‘national song’ (although of course it may do) and thus should not be taken to be a song genre. It refers to any song through which local communities of practice can be constructed and through which a non-time-/non-place-bound discourse community can emerge (cf. Watts and Morrissey forthcoming). Its major function is thus that of social bonding within local groups. Singing (even singing in the shower!) is a form of performance and when that performance involves an appropriate performance context with an audience, it becomes a ritualised social process, i.e. ‘a rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of social significance’ (Lukes 1975: 289–308). I begin by discussing a sociolinguistic conundrum facing the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century folk song collectors, then use sound files from traditional singers of the 1940s and the 1950s to show that dialect was their normal and natural mode of communicating with others but a form of oral song standard their normal mode of performing – which does not mean that the language of the songs was a form of ‘inscribed standard English’. I shall close by looking at YouTube videos of late-modern contemporary singers in performance to show that while the features of the oral standard are retained, there appears to be a quite deliberate effort made to ‘localise’ the language by destandardising phonological features. I conclude that the attempt to destandardise may index opposition to the transition from incorporating practices to inscribing practices.

## Still movement: Sedentarism in sociolinguistic research on dialect diffusion, *David Britain*

The past 15 years have seen the emergence of a 'new mobilities' paradigm across the social sciences, one of the fundamental claims of which is that society has predominantly been theorised from a *sedentarist* ideological perspective. Sedentarist approaches see *place* as the 'phenomenological starting point for geography', as a 'moral world, as an insurer of authentic existence and centre of meaning for people...mobility is often the assumed threat to the rooted, moral, authentic existence of place' ... playing 'second fiddle to the overriding concern with place' (Cresswell 2006: 30-31), 'the often implicit underbelly of the place' (Cresswell 1997: 361). In this paper, I will suggest that some of the theoretical assumptions that underlie sociolinguistic approaches to the study of dialect diffusion and spread clearly also embed sedentarist ideologies (see Britain, in press, for a consideration of sedentarism in dialectology more generally).

I look specifically at (arguably the main) two theoretical considerations of dialect diffusion in the literature:

1. The urban hierarchy/cascade model of dialect diffusion, which suggests that innovations spread down an urban hierarchy from city to town to village. This model often relies on quantitative gravity models, which aim to predict the geographical route a change will take as it diffuses. This approach had (and still retains) a venerable tradition, not just in dialectology, but also in (certain forms of) geography.
2. More recently, and influentially, Labov has proposed a theoretical distinction between the community-internal 'transmission' of change and community-external 'diffusion' (Labov 2007). He goes on to argue that 'the primary source of diversity is the transmission (and incrementation) of change *within* the speech community, and that *diffusion is a secondary process of a very different character*' (Labov 2010: 309, my emphasis).

In each case, I will argue that these models reveal an underlying sedentarist ideology through the ways in which they both see place as the filter through which to imagine diffusion and ignore mobility, see it as a threat, or present it as 'playing second fiddle' to place. Despite being centrally concerned with how linguistic structures move, dialectology then is shown to theorise diffusion from a fundamentally static position. Movement, therefore, is theorised from an underlying ideology of stability.

## PANEL PRESENTATIONS

### **Linguistic outtakes: ideologies of the unpleasant and the incomprehensible in language, *Andrea Hollington, Anne Storch, Nico Nassenstein and Christiane Bongartz***

Linguistic descriptions tend to present language as structure, with data as accessible and transparent as possible. This involves what one might term ‘data scrubbing’; i.e. the deliberate editing out of all elements that don’t fall within the focus of the descriptive effort. Elimination of such ‘noise’ reflects, we propose, at least to some extent, ideological concepts in linguistics. This is also reflected in the reactions of participants, who correct data, keep linguistic specimen pure from loans, etc. (Perley 2012).

Our paper deals with the outtakes of linguistic fieldwork and analysis: noise, languaging that appears to make no sense, mistakes and stammering. By turning our gaze to the unpleasant and incomprehensible, language without meaning that is – as data – usually thrown away, we demonstrate that these parts of communicative practice are meaningful, in particular in an ideological sense; or, to put it differently, the very fact of their omission via data scrubbing itself must be considered an ideologically motivated choice. In other words, what linguists tend to consider noise rather than linguistically relevant data is full of meaning to the speakers themselves.

We show in case studies that the incomprehensible utterances in our corpora are not just ‘mistakes’, but ideologically meaningful mimetic interpretations of Otherness (Taussig 1993). This Otherness emerges through contact and is framed by coloniality, power, and gender. It becomes manifest in the creative construction of ‘new languages’, the expression of metalinguistic knowledge and concepts of sociolinguistic differences: in multilingual Nigerian societies, women insert invented language into their tales and mimic the Other. At the same time they signify that this Other is also them, as wives who have been married from outside.

Batwa people in Uganda, by reacting to images of ‘purity’, ‘traditionalism’, and to their social marginalisation, in sessions during linguistic fieldwork construct a ‘new language’ – Rutwa, characterized by fuzziness of expression, thematic inaccuracies and noise, which make the recording, as a strategy of deliberate ‘obfuscation’, unintelligible.

Such practices are also artistic statements: in Jamaican Dancehall music, the artists deliberately incorporate unintelligible elements, noises, or ‘linguistic trash’ into their vocals. These appear as mimetic Othering, coughing, laughing, sighing, or ad-libs. These elements are meaningful and driven by ideologies of differentiation and representation (Irvine 2001).

In educational contexts, strategies of non-cooperation and non-understanding can effectively block all interaction in diverse classrooms. Non-participation in other-initiated activities serves as a tool to counteract the defining power of classroom language and the teacher as representative thereof. What is not usually noted in class transcripts prepared for linguistic analysis are abandoned or fragmented student-teacher exchanges and the role of translanguaging in overcoming linguistic boundaries, all acts of indexicality and ideologically framed.

We claim, by discussing these case studies, that the speakers’ unwillingness to produce comprehensible language is an agentive strategy of reflecting ascribed subaltern identities. We will critically evaluate the language ideologies of linguists, and how they give way to loss of epistemic power, precisely when they are confronted with a refusal of structure and order (Sullivan & Tuana 2007, Mignolo 2000).

## **Language practice and language ideologies in Swiss Biel/Bienne: Bilingualism vs. multilingualism?**

**Claudio Scarvaglieri**

OUTLINE: The talk investigates the interrelationship between language ideologies and language practices in Swiss Biel/ Bienne. Biel/ Bienne is officially conceived of as bilingual German/ French, even though overall it shows a very high degree of linguistic diversity that is due to the 100 nations represented among its 52'000 inhabitants. While existing literature has concentrated exclusively on the city's autochthonous bilingualism (cf. Conrad & Elmiger 2010), thereby mirroring and reinforcing existing language ideologies, our focus is on the interplay between the two 'official languages' and the city's rich migration induced multilingualism.

METHODS: We document actual language practice in Biel/ Bienne's public space and reconstruct language ideologies on this basis. Data discussed stem from ethnographic observations on streets, public places and playgrounds, from the linguistic landscape (cf. Blommaert 2013) and the new linguistic field of "linguistic soundscapes" (Scarvaglieri et al. 2013, Pappenhagen et al. forthcoming).

RESULTS: Findings concern on the one hand the relationship of German vs. French and the status of autochthonous and allochthonous languages on the other hand (Scarvaglieri & Pappenhagen in prep.). First it is shown that German and French are used differently. Whereas German is used strictly for communicative purposes – i.e. to get information across that is crucial for successful cooperation between speakers and recipients – French is often used for actions like welcoming, greeting or naming – actions that are designed to establish an interaction system between speakers and recipients. Since, in contrast, it is not often used for complex, crucially important actions, we find that French mostly serves symbolic purposes, demonstrating a general appreciation of the francophone language group and a certain willingness to cooperate in more than one language. Secondly we show that languages besides German and French seem to get pushed aside, as they are seen, heard or mentioned in official publications much less than would be expected based on the overall distribution of family languages amongst the city's population. Furthermore, we point to evidence that English seems to be regarded as a threat of German-French bilingualism and detail the special role of Italian in Biel/ Bienne.

DISCUSSION: On the basis of these findings about language practice in Biel/ Bienne, the notion of a "bilingualism ideology" and its characteristics are discussed. The question is tackled to what extent such a "bilingualism ideology" possibly mirrors traditional monolingualism ideologies related to the nation state (cf. Blommaert 2006).

## **"High German is the first foreign language I've learned": Ideological debates on dialect and Standard German in German-speaking Switzerland, *Susanne Oberholzer***

German Swiss are confronted with two varieties of German in their daily life: Swiss German, the dialect(s), on the one hand and Standard German on the other. In 1959, Ferguson described the language situation of German-speaking Switzerland as a diglossic one (Ferguson 1959) and several linguists still regard *diglossia* as the appropriate concept to describe the coexistence of two varieties of German in this area (e.g. Haas 2004, Sieber 2010, Petkova 2012). There is an ongoing discussion, however, especially among Swiss linguists, if the situation should not be described more correctly as *bilingualism* (e.g. Ris 1990, Werlen 2004, Berthele 2004), as the standard language is spontaneously called a «**Fremdsprache**» (foreign language) by most Swiss laymen according to Berthele (2004: 127; bold in the original).

In the public (newspapers, radio, television and online media), the status and the roles of the two varieties have (also) recently been debated intensively – and against the background of different ideologies. On the one hand, the dialect is taking more and more domains where Standard German has dominated for decades, on the other hand, there are also demands for promoting a self-confident «Swiss Standard German» within Switzerland. The public discussion is about – among others – the following questions: Which variety should be taught at kindergarten and (primary) school? Which variety is the right one for broadcasting? Does Swiss German evolve from a mainly spoken towards a (fully) written variety? Crucial factors in the debate are the increasing immigration of German people, the Swiss national multilingualism and the recollection of the (German) Swiss identity in a globalized world.

The present paper deals with language attitudes towards Swiss German and Standard German of a particular group of German Swiss, namely pastors and priests of the two big national churches. These speakers represent an interesting group of informants by being part of the whole linguistic community of German-speaking Switzerland and – at the same time – a kind of linguistic role models when practising their profession (especially when preaching). They therefore potentially help form the public discourse about the two varieties. Finally, they have as a rule a distinctive language awareness because of the importance of the word in church overall and because of their education containing the studies of different ancient languages.

In the paper it will be shown by means of the results of a concluded empirical study which ideologies this group of informants have, how they answer the above-mentioned, publicly discussed questions about status and role of Swiss German and Standard German and how they judge the varieties in their professional life. It will be pointed out that the claim of Standard German being the first foreign language for most German Swiss is not the main attitude of this group of informants; the attitudes towards the varieties are very complex and (partly) apparently contradictory. It will be discussed how such contradictions can be resolved.

**Language contact, conflict, rights and the clash of national discourses in Catalonia and beyond,  
*Eduardo Faingold***

This paper studies the devolution of linguistic rights to Catalan-speakers in Spain and in the autonomous region of Catalonia. Since the late 1970s, as a result of new language rights legislation, the use of Catalan grew rapidly in the autonomous region of Catalonia. A language training scheme was established to teach Catalan to civil servants who were expected to acquire a higher level of Catalan oral and written proficiency in order to earn promotion. This was the first step towards an ambitious revitalization project for the Catalan language which aimed to insure that it is spoken by government officials, to achieve active and literate bilingualism in the schools, to provide access to language training on demand for adults, and to motivate the population of Catalonia to participate in the recovery of the public use of the language. Legal discourses as stated in Catalonia's Statutes of Autonomy of 1979 and 2006, the Spanish Constitution (1978), and the 2010 decision of Spain's Constitutional Court, which specify in detail which powers may or may not be transferred from the central government to autonomous communities (regions and stateless nations) in Spain, are closely examined in regards to Catalan language education and access to public services; communications in Catalan with Catalonia's public and with Spain's national state institutions; dissemination of Catalan language and culture in Spanish regions that share a Catalan cultural and linguistic heritage (Valencia,

Balearic Islands); the use of Catalan in the media; language rights within the European Union. Under similar linguistic contexts and devolution regimes, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking minorities living in parts of Wales in the UK and the Southwest of the United States, respectively, are also deemed subject to linguistic rights. The reason is that they are all indigenous minority groups who suffered conquest through armed struggle with a powerful neighbor, followed by social and economic displacement, while, at the same time, maintaining significant distinct cultural values and identities, including their own languages. All Catalan, Welsh, and Mexican American institutions and societies existed in their respective lands well before their incorporation into Spain, the UK, and the United States respectively. While they were defeated, conquered and occupied, these indigenous minorities never stopped fighting to protect the rights to their own ancestral cultures and languages. Lessons learned from the study of diverse political and legal systems may help to produce a language rights theory conducive to protecting the language rights of indigenous and immigrant minorities in the European Union, the United States, and other countries (Faingold, 2004, 2006, 2007, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2015, in press, in preparation).

### **Essentialist language ideologies and the Kurdish language television channel, *Anne Schluter***

An essentialist perspective that associates national language practice with national character was the basis for much of Europe's language planning strategy during the nation-state era; this vision of a "natural link between a nation and its language" still features prominently in some of the language ideologies of today (Auer 2007:2). Through its state-mandated attempts at purging non-Turkish words from its vocabulary and discouraging the use of non-Turkish languages among its citizens, early language policy in the young Turkish Republic followed this tradition of using language to unite the country and forge a new national identity (Çoşkun, Derince, and Uçarlar 2011; Uçarlar 2009; Lewis 1999; Landau 1990). Since the founding of Turkey, the open use of Kurdish has, to varying degrees and in certain contexts, been perceived as a challenge to Turkish national unity.

The opening ceremony of the state-run Kurdish television channel (TRT6) which featured the prime minister offering his best wishes for success in Kurdish, appeared to present a bold solution to the Kurdish language problem; moreover, media reports and public discourse about this development reflected a similar point of view. Nevertheless, the TRT6 audience falls far short of the 15-20 million estimated Kurds in Turkey due to its frequent Kurdish-Turkish code-mixing and its omission of Kurdish political content (Erdim 2009). TRT6, in fact, represents the object of many jokes within the Kurdish community. Common constructions of TRT6 programming by the target population index recognizably state-censored messages delivered in a variety of Kurdish that relies heavily on Turkish loan words and Turkish-influenced constructions.

The current study analyzes interview data from twenty Istanbul-resident Kurdish migrants [aged 25-45] to identify the discourses used to describe the television station, its target audience, and the station's positioning within the larger socio-political context. These discourses, in turn, provide insight into the participants' language ideologies. Although Kurdish-Turkish code-mixing represents an extremely common characteristic of Kurdish spoken throughout Turkey, and many Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals have shown a tendency to use the two varieties in complementary ways to enhance pragmatic meaning when addressing other Kurdish-Turkish bilinguals (Schluter 2014), it is this mixing of the two languages that persists as a primary complaint about TRT6. These findings suggest that the

essentialist vision of the Turkish language has also found its place in resident Kurds' construction of language and identity.

### **Talk Shows and Language Attitudes: A sociolinguistic investigation of language attitudes towards Taiwan Mandarin among Chinese Mainlanders, *Chun-Yi Peng***

This study looks at how televised media influence the formation of identity and give indexical meanings to linguistic features. Many southern varieties of Mandarin (e.g. the varieties spoken in Hong Kong and Taiwan) are considered non-standard—if not stigmatized—because of the substratum influence from the local vernaculars. However, some of these varieties have been assigned new social and indexical meanings. China's continuing economic reform since the late 1970s heralded the country's many drastic social, cultural and ideological changes. As China embarked on the path of market-fundamentalism and embraced the value of free economy, the Chinese diaspora (i.e. Chinese living outside of Mainland China) was also fueling the transformation. Overseas Mandarin varieties have therefore been given new social meanings. For example, many standard Mainland Mandarin (i.e. Northern Mandarin) speakers working for international companies in Beijing have adopted linguistic features associated overseas Mandarin varieties in order to index a more global and cosmopolitan identity (Zhang 2005).

Following such a trajectory, the present study examines the effects of televised media on Northern Mandarin speakers' perception of non-standard syntactic variables (i.e. postverbal *gei*-phrase and aspectual *you*) associated with the variety of Mandarin spoken in Taiwan, and how these syntactic variables acquire new social and indexical meanings in a non-local context. These two variables have similar geographical distributions—possibly due the substrate influence from the local vernaculars—but very different regional association. For many northern Mandarin speakers, the aspectual *you* variable is only exclusively associated with Taiwan mandarin even though it is by many other southern Mandarin varieties. This paper aims to test the hypothesis that televised media together with lived experiences create indexicality.

Data were collected through an online survey consisting of a grammaticality judgment task, a matched-guise task, and demographic questions. Results from the online grammaticality judgment task shows that people who have media exposure to Taiwanese TV programs rated sentences with the aspectual *you* variable more favorably than speakers without the exposure. For the postverbal *gei*-phrase, however, no effect was found, as speakers are not aware of the fact that the postverbal *gei* is also associated with Taiwan Mandarin. The results suggest that media exposure raises speakers' awareness to the innovative form, but does not contribute to positive perception, nor does more exposure give rise to higher grammaticality ratings. Finally, I will discuss the emerging social and indexical meanings of the target variables and role of televised media in creating those meanings.



## **Linguistic diversity and standardisation: The revitalization of Moldavian Hungarian in North-East Romania, *Csanád Bodó and Noémi Fazakas***

A recurrent issue of the strategies aiming to maintain languages declining due to language shift is whether it is necessary and effective to link revitalization with standardisation. On the one hand the standard is considered the token of the survival of languages, on the other the standard creates a hierarchy in which it is placed above other variants of language, hence contributing to the reduction of dialectal diversity (Sallabank 2011). According to this approach the determining factor of linguistic diversity is the maintenance of plurilingualism. However the efforts to achieve this are necessarily aimed not at ‘the object called “language”’ (Agha 2007) but at influencing the *ab ovo* multi-layered practices of language use. In other words they attempt to achieve “linguistic diversity” through the re-regulation of the diversity of language use practices. Consequently standardisation as the object of linguistic revitalization can be interpreted as aiming to preserve certain languages and not linguistic heterogeneity. If the concept of diversity is understood from this narrow (language-oriented) perspective, then standardisation should be viewed not from the aspect of its result, viz. standard language, but needs to be grasped in the changes of communicative practices, viz. the progress of linguistic standards (Joseph 1987).

The development in the practices of linguistic heterogeneity is examined regarding the revitalization of the Hungarian language in Moldavia. In Hungary, Moldavian–*Csángó*–Hungarian is a well-known minority variety of Hungarian. Its reputation is connected with speculations about its future and the imagined past of the Hungarian language. First, the ongoing language shift to Romanian in Moldavia has been commonly regarded as epitomising the foreseeable fate of minority varieties of Hungarian in the countries neighbouring Hungary, meaning that the *Csángó* dialect’s fate is seen as a signpost marking future directions for Hungarian language revitalization. Second, this dialect is a symbol of the Hungarian linguistic past. The extent of civil support behind the revitalization programme shows that “sociolinguistic nostalgia” (Bucholtz 2003) has been widely echoed by ordinary Hungarian citizens—the so-called godparents—who support the ‘saving’ of the most ‘pure’ and ‘archaic’ Hungarian as spoken in Moldavia. In order to achieve this goal, the godparent undertakes the sponsorship of a Moldavian child and subsidizes his/her participation in the Hungarian teaching programme.

In our analysis we show that revitalization is organized along the ideological expectations of the godparents from Hungary; the representative events set up for them by the programme (performances, private letters or video messages sent by the children etc.) create a language use which sometimes is structurally unregulated at the level of phonetics and grammar, but sometimes overregulated because not showing the lexical and pragmatic heterogeneity of Hungarian-Romanian bilingualism. The control mechanisms thus result in an “authentic”—or intended to be authentic—Hungarian language use; it is a mediatized *Csángó* language undergoing standardisation, which contributes to the maintenance of linguistic diversity in creating previously non-existent forms of language use. This standardisation in the practices of Moldavian linguistic revitalization means forms of speech that falls into the category of what Agha (2011) calls commodity registers.

**"Croats can't speak Croatian": Dominant language ideologies in Croatian usage guides and media, Anđel Starčević, Mate Kapović and Daliborka Sarić**

Language ideologies can be defined as “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds” (Kroskrity 2004:498), e.g. the ideology of the standard language (Milroy 2001) or the monoglossic ideology (García and Flores 2012). Research into language ideologies enables us to analyze ‘commonsensical’, taken-for-granted ideas about varieties and their speakers which individuals in positions of authority often use to promote schizoglossia (Haugen 1962), language anxiety, and thus (un)intentionally work towards delegitimizing and excluding large numbers of speakers from the public sphere. This paper deals with currently dominant language ideologies in (a) popular Croatian usage guides written by language professionals and (b) language-focused programs on Croatian television and radio. Such sources have been subjected to critical discourse analysis (Verschueren 2012) and their claims have been compared to findings from descriptive linguistics. The results indicate that the Croatian public sphere is dominated by several types of language ideologies: (1) ideology of the standard language, (2) ideology of constant standard language use, (3) the monoglossic ideology, (4) ideology of purism, (5) etymological fallacy, (6) ideology of discrete literal and metaphorical meanings, (7) ideology of invisible dialects, (8) ideology of excessive meanings, (9) ideology of zero redundancy, and (10) ideology of classical languages (Greek and Latin). More precisely, the Croatian language is portrayed as preferably static and identified with the standard variety (which is to be used at all times), separate from other languages in theory and in use (borrowing and code-switching are framed as negative phenomena). Meanings perceived as older are preferred to those perceived as newer ones, while metaphorical extensions of literal meanings are seen as incorrect. Some non-standard varieties close to the standard are not perceived as dialects but as deformed, illegitimate versions of the standard, and some other non-standard varieties are considered valid as long as they are not used in the public sphere. Some lexical elements and meanings are regarded as an unnecessary psycholinguistic burden for speakers, while some structures are proscribed as repetitive and insufficiently concise. Finally, elements perceived as non-Croatian are portrayed as undesirable (Czech being the sole exception), and classical languages are perceived as a more beneficial influence on Croatian than other, modern languages. All of these findings indicate that the way in which language issues are presented to the general public promotes prescriptive, linguistically unfounded views, collective language insecurity, as well as intolerance among speakers of Croatian, which calls for a more frequent presentation of scholarly perspectives on language both in schools and in the media.

**"It's a dialect, it has never been the original": Ideology in the treatment of non-standardized and standardless languages in Croatian educational contexts, Lucija Šimičić and Klara Bilić Meštrić**

There are 20 minority languages with official status, over 20 dialects, and 11 vernaculars protected as cultural heritage in Croatia. However, despite the intensity of discourses on the need to protect linguistic diversity, both in the EU and Croatia, the standard language ideology, which suppresses it mostly, is still all pervasive.

Croatian legislation regulates education in the minority language through one of the three educational models. In the first one all subjects are conducted in the minority language, in the second one, science subjects are taught in Croatian and social sciences and humanities are in the minority language, while

the third one presupposes learning a minority language and culture in up to five lessons a week. Dialects are not regulated in education and the monoglot ideology (Silverstein 1996) favouring the standard still seems to dominate Croatian schools. Even standard varieties taught through minority education models rarely function as first languages, as it is far more common that children first learn a local or regional variety of a language, which is often quite removed from the standard variety due to geographic distance or historical depth.

The aim of this contribution is to compare discourses and linguistic practices in the teaching of minority, but also majority, children and youth whose language is distant from the standard variety. Furthermore, we want to examine how these approaches relate to their habitus. Their linguistic practices can be analysed as marked when compared to the hegemonic position of the unmarked speakers of the standard language (Bucholtz & Hall 2004). The analysis is based on narratives, individual and group interviews as well as observation of linguistic practices of community members in the Eastern Slavonia, the capital of Zagreb, and the Croatian coast.

While the possibility of providing the education for minorities in their first language is a prominent issue in the EU, national and sometimes regional legislations, the question of the variety in which formal instruction is to be conducted is usually overlooked, intentionally neglected or assumed to be self-evident favouring the promotion of the standard variety of a minority language in question. The same is applicable to majority community children speaking a dialect, as the standard they learn in school is superimposed on their linguistic practices. What is treated as illegitimate language in either majority or minority contexts then, often becomes perceived as such by the speakers themselves. Although their claims may sound favourably disposed towards their language, the process of legitimation of only very particular forms of language, albeit not always overtly present in public and institutional discourses, is ultimately reflected in their covert attitudes and linguistic practices in the long run. We examine how the specific institutional treatment of different types of contact varieties leads to their annulment by rendering their speakers devoid of the agency necessary to 'handle' their language(s) in the way that institutional discourses often purport.

### **Erasure and fractal recursivity in the standardization of Vlach, *Monica Huțanu and Annemarie Sorescu-Marinković***

The Vlachs are a minority of Eastern Serbia ethnographically and linguistically related to the Romanians, speaking an archaic variant of the Romanian language. Within the Vlach community there are divergences on whether or not they belong to the Romanian nation and whether or not they should merge with the Romanian minority in the Province of Vojvodina. Language plays a central role in this debate, as on the territory of former Yugoslavia and wider in the Balkans, it has been considered a core element in the process of identity and nation building.

Since 2012, Vlach has been undergoing a process of normalization, which reminds of the similar processes of grammatization occurring between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in the western European culture (Auroux 1989-1992). The year 2012 saw the adoption of an official system of transcription of the Vlach variety by the Vlach National Council, with the subsequent printing of the first publications in Vlach: dictionaries, grammar, story books etc. In 2013, the first optional classes in Vlach were introduced in elementary schools, while a year later the first Vlach textbook was published: *The Vlach speech with elements of national culture*, and a curriculum for teaching the Vlach speech adopted.

In this paper, we will discuss the semiotic processes of erasure and fractal recursivity (Irvine, Gal 2000) as seen in the recent attempts of standardizing Vlach. Due to the prolonged contact with the Serbian language, this Romanian variety has been subject to a strong influence of the Serbian language, which is mainly reflected in the vocabulary. However, lately, the Vlach activists have been trying through erasure to emphasize the difference between their mother tongue and the (standard) Romanian language. Despite the specialists' opinion that Vlach is only an archaic variant of Romanian, we are witnessing its transformation into a language of its own, based on the process of fractal recursivity. The emergence of the Vlach standard should be analyzed in the context of the new emerging languages out of one standard, Serbo-Croatian. Namely, the nominal death of the Serbo-Croatian language resulted in the equally nominal birth of Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin and Serbian (Greenberg 2004, Thomas 2003). Thus, on the territory of former Yugoslavia, the establishing of a new national language seems to play a fundamental role in the process of nation building. This linguistic development among South Slavic speakers has definitely influenced, encouraged and shaped the nation building process among the Vlach population in Serbia.

**Global tourists, transient 'locals' and mobile 'voices' in Queenstown, New Zealand: Contesting official language policies through semiotic landscapes and the commodification of place, *Kellie Gonçalves***

Under the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2004), all places are considered to be dynamic and regarded as 'places of movement' that are changing and in constant flux (Cresswell 2004; Massey 1997). Although these geographical places do not physically move, places are mobile because they "change and shift shape over time as new building constructions, transport systems, and patterns of migration alter the physical, cultural and linguistic landscape of the site" (Stround and Jegels 2013). Changes in landscapes are brought about by different social actors, whose often invisible yet traceable constitutive activities are done through space ownership, control, contestation or abandonment resulting in a layered simultaneity of outcomes, which lay the foundations for future outcomes and developments (Jaworski 2014: 530; Blommaert 2013).

This study explores official language 'policing' (Blommaert et al. 2009) and language practices within the world's top adventure capital, Queenstown, New Zealand. With over 2 million tourists passing through annually (van Uden: 2013), Queenstown continues to experience the effects of transiency and global mobility within the era of late modernity (Beck 1992; Giddens 2002).

I employ a mixed methodological approach that hinges on two different data sets. The first consists of 556 interviews carried out with tourists, locals as well as tourism and town officials. The second data set contains 1,650 pictures of the semiotic landscapes of Queenstown's marketplace (Kallen 2010). One of the major actors investigated in this study is Vanessa van Uden, Queenstown's current mayor and macro-level agent responsible for language policy and planning within Queenstown's commercial district. Her strict adherence to "English-only" presupposes that such a policy is not only out of date, but does not actually correlate to the country's official language policy. Despite Queenstown's language regulations on sign sites within public space, other actors suggest that multilingual signs should be welcome due to Queenstown's global reputation and international visitors, while some locals have begun to take matters into their own hands by contesting the town's official language policy and planning regulations.

## Caught between Aristotle and Miss Marple... - a proposal for a perceptual prototype approach to 'Estuary English', *Ulrike Altendorf*

"Come now, Miss Marple," said Colonel Melchett good-humouredly, "haven't you got an explanation?"

"Oh, yes, I've got an explanation," said Miss Marple. "Quite a feasible one. But of course it's only my own idea. Tommy Bond," she continued, "and Mrs. Martin, our new schoolmistress. She went to wind up the clock and a frog jumped out."

(Agatha Christie, *The Body in the Library*)

More than thirty years after the term was coined by David Rosewarne (1984), linguists have not come anywhere near to agreeing on a linguistically sound definition of the concept of 'Estuary English' (EE). One could therefore argue that it was time to lay it to rest. However, there are at least two reasons for not doing so. For one, EE has come to stay (e.g. Deterding 2005, Kerswill 2006, Eitler 2006, Hickey 2007, Kristiansen 2008, Bonness 2011). The second reason for not giving up on the concept yet is its rather "annoying" habit of raising theoretical and methodological questions which I consider more important than the concept itself. The most important of these questions is of epistemological nature and concerns the categorization of linguistic experience.

In this paper, I will argue that EE is a heuristic conceived of and popularized by linguistic laypeople and not by expert linguists. These laypeople react to what they perceive as a strikingly recurring pattern in an inherently complex linguistic situation that they seek to simplify whereas linguists seek to understand it in its complexity. Following Taylor (2003, 75), I will suggest describing the resulting folk category in terms of the graded structure/prototype approach (for the role of prototypes in social dialectology, see Kristiansen 2008 and Pustka 2009). In terms of prototype theory, David Rosewarne (1994, 4) succeeded in identifying attributes, such as T Glottalling, L Vocalization, Yod Coalescence and ST Palatalization, that have a high frequency of occurrence in all members of the category. Unfortunately, they also have low cue validity. That the category nevertheless seems to function is probably due to a conceptualization of the core that relies not only on the presence but also – unconsciously – on the absence of certain attributes, such as post-vocalic non-prevocalic /r/. I will concede that this makes EE a less than perfect prototype category in the eyes of experts. However, following Putnam's (1975) "division of linguistic labor", it is a scenario typical of the construction of meaning by non-experts.

In support of the prototype hypothesis, I will present data from an on-going project in perceptual dialectology. It includes judgements of gradience of membership of about 150 speakers from the South-East of England, the Midlands and Scotland. Asked to rate the recordings of three young middle-class speakers from three south-eastern towns with regard to how typical they think they are of EE, these speaker-listeners are remarkably consistent in their responses. Almost everybody considers the speaker from Canterbury to be least typical whereas the speakers from Colchester and London receive similarly high prototypicality ratings. These perceptual results tally with the phonetic analysis of these speakers' speech samples which show a decrease in the frequency of "EE" variants in the speech of the Canterbury speaker (see Altendorf 2003).

## **Language ideologies in the writing of non-standard varieties: the case of written British Creole, *Liis Kollamagi***

Creoles and other varieties of English are often referred to as non-standard. This is the direct legacy of colonial discourses which established the superiority of the civilized and written English language (and culture) in relation to more primitive and often oral varieties (Irvine & Gal 2000; Romaine 2005). Consequently, language ideology has treated some varieties as incorrect dialects, referred to as “bad” or “broken” English, like the case of Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles (Holm 2000: chap.1).

The opposition between oral and written is crucial in studies on standardization, which admit standardization being fully achieved only in the written medium, especially in printing (Trudgill 1999; Milroy 2001, p. 543). Consequently, writing and orthographic choices become ideologically powerful means to create language independence and convey social meaning. In this case orthography is considered a social practice, for it implies conscious decisions by the writer and its visual effect emphasizes deviations from the standard unveiling language attitudes and prestige (Sebba 2007).

My paper will focus on Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles with examples from Jamaican Creole and British Creole. The latter is often referred to as Black British English or Patwa/Patois by their speakers and is a contact variety between Jamaican Creole and London English, spoken by British born Caribbeans. Both Creole varieties have not adopted a standardized written form, but at the same time are widely used in writing both in more informal text types like computer communication and also in highly regulated printed texts.

I will discuss two main aspects of non-standard orthographies: orthographic choices determined by notions of standardization and ideology (Sebba 2007) and their indexicality of the status of the variety and its speakers (Jaffe 2000; Romaine 2005). For this purpose, I will treat orthographic and spelling choices as a type of discourse drawing upon Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the research aims to uncover ideologies and power relations underlying such choices.

Firstly, linguistic debates on non-standard writing tend to interpret the orthographic choices in relation to the standard form, i.e. deviating from it or being conform to the standard. At the same time the general goal of these varieties is presumed to be achieving standardization and thus legitimizing the language. However, writing practice doesn't produce necessarily standardization, as the high inconsistency of spelling and orthography in creole writing shows. Rejection of standard and fixed norms in favour of more freedom and fluidity can be the real character of “non-standard” varieties.

The second point concentrates on the indexicality of non-standard orthographies which reflect the nature and the status of the variety and its speakers the same way spoken speech does. Furthermore, written language becomes even more powerful due to its visual aspect. The examples will show that creole in writing is employed to express the covert prestige of its speakers, as well as to stigmatize them.

My case studies are Zadie Smith's *White Teeth* and Andrea Levy's *Small Island*, where the authors employ British Creole spelling, which not only characterizes the literary speakers, but has a wider symbolical meaning. The qualitative analysis of the texts is based on CDA methods including a descriptive stage of the discourses (orthographic choices) and in a subsequent interpretation and explanation of the ideologies behind such choices (Fairclough 2001).

## **The power of linguistic ideologies on speakers and vice versa: the ambivalence of Bislama, creole and national language of Vanuatu (Melanesia), Leslie Vandeputte-Tavo**

Since gaining its independence in 1980, Vanuatu has recognized three official languages: English, French and Bislama. In this rich, endogenous linguistic environment – more than a hundred languages are spoken throughout the archipelago (François, 2011) - Bislama is used as the main medium of communication, particularly in urban context. Bislama, an English-based creole, is also the country's national language. Despite this democratic legitimation, English and French continue to be the highest currency of the Vanuatu "linguistic market" (Bourdieu, 1982) while vernaculars are seen as languages that convey identities. Consequently, Bislama appears to have an "unrecognized recognition" position. Examining a multilingual environment, this presentation seeks to analyze urban social actors who speak Bislama as a first language. How those speakers manage to price their first language while it has been denied for decades and is still considered as a "broken english"? How do they adapt to language practices to the "linguistic market"? How those everyday practices (*in vivo* practices as Calvet called them, 1999) are influenced by linguistic ideologies? And at the end is their linguistic adaptations are affecting linguistic ideologies?

Through discourses and practices' analyses of creole speakers, I want to show how linguistic ideologies (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskisty, 1998; Schieffelin and Makihara, 2007) are impacted speakers everyday language choices and practices as well as how speakers are contributing to change those language ideologies. Using ethnographic examples from my fieldwork in Port-Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, I want to will point out how speakers find ways to adapt their practices by using language variation, lexical creation and code-switching.

## **"The Hebrew word is of course more modern!" Do language ideologies shape the linguistic choices of Jews in Germany? Esther Jahns**

This paper discusses the in-group speech of Jews in contemporary Berlin and answers the question to what extent language ideologies account for the linguistic variation within the Jewish community in today's Germany.

Since the 6th century B.C. Jewish communities have been living more or less permanently in a multilingual environment. Eventually, a triglossic pattern emerged in the various exiles with clear functions for the respective languages: Hebrew-Aramaic remained the sacred language for religion, the territorial languages were used for the communication with non-Jews and quite often on the basis of the territorial language a third language developed which served as a vernacular and in-group speech (Spolsky & Benor 2006). In linguistics the latter are often labeled 'Jewish languages' and have been investigated since the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century also from a comparative perspective (mainly under the name of 'Jewish intralinguistics').

Although contemporary 'Jewish languages' are in general less distinct from their co-territorial languages than historical ones, Benor (2011) and Lebenswerd (2013) show in their respective studies about American and Swedish Jews that these communities do make use of a "distinctive Jewish linguistic repertoire" as Benor (2008) puts it. These repertoires consist mainly of loans from former Jewish languages (e.g. Yiddish) and Hebrew and might to a lesser extent also display distinctive grammatical features.

In the framework of my PhD thesis and based on interviews conducted with personalities of Jewish life in Berlin I provide evidence that German Jews in contemporary Germany also make use of a distinctive Jewish linguistic repertoire and that inter- and intra-speaker variation exists. Speakers' use of features vary in quantity, but also in terms of preferring one source language (i.e. Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic) to the others.

Even if there is no public debate about this new (?) variety as it is hidden in private networks, the interviews reveal attitudes towards the use of loans from one or another source language and towards the overall status of this repertoire (e.g. 'slang'). The aim of this paper is therefore to discuss if the linguistic choice of the speakers just as their interpretation of the different use by others is 'only' indexing alignment to a subgroup within the community or if this reveals underlying ideologies towards the source languages and the values these are emblems for (Blommaert 1999).

### **Speaking the Camel-Dung Language: Ideologies for understanding Arabic-Hebrew contact phenomena, Nancy Hawker**

The press in and around Israel is spreading the rumour that a new language has emerged: “aravrit” in Hebrew, “al-‘arabriya” or “al-ba‘ariya” in Arabic, rendered as “Arabrew” in English. This variety reportedly constitutes a mixture of the languages of the groups perceived as two monolingual nations otherwise known for their seemingly intractable conflict (Haaretz 2008; al-Arabiya 2009; al-Watan 2009; Bokra 2012; MBC 2012; NRG 2014, Haaretz 2015). The rumour is based mostly on the detailed research into Modern Hebrew borrowings and codeswitching in Palestinian Arabic by two Palestinian academics in Israel, Muhammad Amara (1999) and Abd el-Rahman Mar‘i (2013). Academics in other disciplines have picked up on the idea of “Arabrew” as an established code (Pappé 2011: 113, 275; Svirsky 2012: 148). From the press it has been disseminated further by bloggers who, like the journalists and the academics, posit that the “hybrid” language is the manifestation of an underlying transformation in the ethnographic, political or psychological identification of Palestinians and other Arabs in Israel as opposed to those who are not citizens (Philologos 2008; Elder of Ziyon 2009).

Normative reactions have been various, including the establishment of an Academy of the Arabic Language in Israel in 2007 in order to counter Hebrew “interference”, among other aims (Kayyal 2011), and the claim that the linguistic mixing subverts Israeli dominance over Arabs (Pappé 2011: 275; Henkin-Roitfarb 2011: 91) or heralds the revision of Hebrew into a “post-zionist” language (Hever 1987, 2012), which negates the association of the mixed code with the trope of the subservient “Good Arab”, echoed in the commonly used borrowing from Hebrew to Arabic “b’seder”, meaning “okay” (Cohen 2006 (2011)). One of the Arabic terms for this code, “al-ba‘ariya”, appears to reference the word for “camel dung”: “ba‘ara”.

As awareness of this contact phenomenon grows, so grows the need for an intervention in the debate that moves the frame away from the nationalism-premised conflict that clutters the field of vision, and incorporates *ideologies* in the explanation. What this intervention offers is a three-fold exploration: firstly, into the ordering of meta-linguistic comments on Hebrew-Arabic mixing (comprising codeswitching and borrowing) according to language ideologies on the basis of material found in the written sources and in recent original fieldwork on Arabic speech in Israel (Hawker 2015); secondly, into the connection between language ideologies and *ideologies* more broadly conceived of as ways of thinking about the experienced world and its relations of power, and about the speakers’s position in these (Vygotsky 1962; Hasan 2004, Dean 2014); and thirdly, into possible non-nationalist ideological



underpinnings of Hebrew uses in Arabic such as consumerism (associated with youth slang) or resilience (linked to professional and technical terms) requiring subtle analysis of different registers of Arabic speech in contact with Hebrew, which “Arabrew” does not capture. While acknowledging that nationalism exerts powerful influence on language practices as well as attitudes, dissociating language contact from questions of national identity is necessary in order to enable a non-normative analysis and explanation for linguistic phenomena in the Palestinian-Israeli contexts.

### **Palestinian Arabic in a state of turmoil, *Uri Horesh***

The aggregate of dialects labelled for convenience as “Palestinian Arabic” are as complex from a meta-linguistic perspective as are linguistically the lexical and structural changes they have been undergoing in the past few decades. Lacking a sovereign state to call their own, Palestinians are scattered in three parts of historic Palestine (the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the territory that has come to be known as “Israel”), as well as in neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, and farther afield in the Arabian Peninsula, Europe and the Americas.

Focussing on the Palestinian dialects spoken in historic Palestine proper, this study draws from sociolinguistic fieldwork conducted in 1999, 2004-05 and 2015 in various localities. Examining a combination of lexical and structural borrowings from Hebrew into Arabic, alongside speakers’ explicit (and, occasionally, implicit) attitudes towards language use, language in education and matters related to the fabric of the speech community, this study sheds light on both theoretical and practical aspects of language contact.

Structurally, a variety of features have been found to diffuse across the two languages. These include consonant mergers, loss of length distinctions for both consonants and vowels, morpho-phonological changes and extensive code-switching. Yet these grammatical changes are coupled with a shift in ideology. Older speakers occasionally lament the apparent decline of Arabic in favour of a rising use of Hebrew. Younger speakers often acknowledge, albeit with some reluctance, that their language – and indeed their community – have been relegated to a minority status and in some cases even cherish the opportunity to speak, study and educate one’s offspring in the new majority language.

This is not true throughout the greater Palestinian speech community, as West Bank and Gaza Palestinians often have a very different experience with Hebrew than their counterparts who are citizens of Israel. While both groups suffer from marginalisation and oppression, these negative treatments of the Palestinian population by Israeli authorities come in varying flavours and degrees in each of these three regions. Many West Bank and Gaza speakers, for instance, have only learned Hebrew during their experiences as political prisoners in Israeli jails. Others are former day workers in Israel, who are no longer permitted to leave their immediate regions of residence.

In this paper, I attempt to present a taxonomy of the sociolinguistic and meta-linguistic prototypes in Palestine, discuss the challenges and controversies prevailing in each of them, and tackle some of the practical implications of a sociolinguistic survey of Palestinian Arabic, most notably in the field of educational choices. This will be done through examples from the data collected, as well as a broader analysis based in part on other studies of language contact in areas of conflict.

## **Multilingual practices and meta-language discourse of adolescents in Maputo, Mozambique: Construction of identities and translanguaging space, *Torun Reite***

Since independence in 1975 the number of Portuguese speakers in Maputo has increased radically and Portuguese is entering into new spaces expanding beyond the institutional and formal settings where it dominated during colonial times. One result of this process is an increase in bilingualism and multilingualism in the Mozambican society, particularly in urban areas and above all in the capital, Maputo. This process has been fuelled by an increase in mobility and large foreign investment with an inflow of capital and people.

The present study takes as a point of departure previous studies on use of codes and linguistic repertoire and the social practice of *linguaging* in multilingual settings (ref. Möller & Jørgensen, 2009). The study is synchronic and in real time and focuses on the use of codes and the social practices of *linguaging* between adolescents in Maputo. The aim is to assess the relevance of findings in previous studies to multilingual post-colonial settings and to identify specificities related to *linguaging* and the construction of identities in multilingual post-colonial settings with particular emphasis on translanguaging space and the construction of Maputo youth peer group identities (ref. Wei, 2011). The analyses include meta-language discourse on use of codes, language ideologies and *linguaging*. *Linguaging* is defined as all use of codes within the linguistic repertoire; code switching, code mixing, translanguaging and poly-linguaging in line with definitions applied in former work (Jørgensen et al. 2011, Wei, 2011). The study focuses on assessing the importance of overlapping linguistic repertoires for creativity, identifying changes in the construction of identities pointed out by speakers in their meta-language discourse on *linguaging*. The meta language discourse will also be related to the social practices of *linguaging* observed.

The corpus applied includes notes from observations of peer-group interaction, semi-structured interviews, meta-linguistic discussions, questionnaires on language ideologies and language use and linguistic diaries of 21 adolescents from Maputo between 18 and 22 years old (Reite & Alvarez, 2015). All participants have similar social profiles and are either bi- or multilingual, speakers of Portuguese, Changana and Ronga.

Preliminary observations point towards Portuguese, English, Changana and Ronga entering into new spaces, expanding multi-lingual practices and imploding former boundaries between what were predominantly mono-lingual segregated spaces. In parallel the social practice of *linguaging* is changing with greater integration in the use of codes, including more transgression. At the present stage of analyses the meta language discourse points to an expressed valorisation of codes of Bantu origin as part of the used linguistic repertoire, and the use of these codes to index “mozambicanity”. This preliminary observations are consistent with translanguaging space being seen as one of several important strategies in the construction of peer group identity and “mozambicanity” among youth in Maputo.

## **Ideologies, variation, and change in the Portuguese of São Tomé, *Marie-Eve Bouchard***

This presentation focuses on the variety of Portuguese spoken in São Tomé, the capital of São Tomé and Príncipe. São Tomé and Príncipe is characterized by its great linguistic diversity, and has been called a “labyrinth and laboratory of languages” (translated from Hagemeyer forthcoming). The official language of the country is Portuguese; it cohabits with three native creole languages, Forro, Angolar, and Lung’ie,

as well as the Tonga language, and Cape Verdean creole. Portuguese and the creole languages were for many decades in a diglossic situation that favored the maintenance of the creoles. However, with the independence of the country in 1975, Portuguese became a symbol of national unity and came into more widespread use. As a consequence, a process of linguistic shift has been taking place in São Tomé and Príncipe. Children are now growing up with the local variety of Portuguese as their first language. São Tomé and Príncipe is actually, or will soon be, the only African country where most of the population speak Portuguese as a first language, and therefore have the necessary conditions for the emergence of a new variety of Portuguese.

The creole languages are receding in São Tomé and Príncipe, but a wide range of creole features are being incorporated into this local variety. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to discuss the emergence of a Santomean variety of Portuguese (STP), with special reference to those features not found in European Portuguese (EP), and to examine the interaction between Portuguese and Forro. Among those features are the absence of nominal (1) and verbal agreement (2), and the pronunciation of the alveolar flap /r/ as the uvular fricative /ʁ/ (3):

- (1) STP: *dura uns quatro ano\_*  
 ENG: last some.PL four year.SG  
 “It lasts for about four years” (Figueiredo 2008: 28)
- (2) STP: *eu sabe jogar*  
 ENG: I know.3PS play  
 “I know how to play” (Lorenzino 1996: 15)
- (3) STP: *tu és professora* (pronounced [pʁɔfesoʁɐ])?  
 EP: *tu és professora* (pronounced [pɾufisore])?  
 ENG: you are teacher  
 “Are you a teacher?” (Bouchard forthcoming)

In a larger context, this paper also examines the social and ideological phenomena that explain the linguistic choices in São Tomé. For example, why do Santomeans choose to speak Portuguese to their children? What ideologies are related to creoles, Santomean Portuguese, and European Portuguese (the standard variety)? Why are the creoles threatened and prestige associated to Portuguese in São Tomé, while in Cape Verde, the use of creole is vigorous and noticeable in all domains by people of all ages?<sup>1</sup> The results of the sociolinguistic interviews conducted with twenty native speakers of Santomean Portuguese show a complex reality in which Santomeans consider Forro to be their mother and cultural tongue although many do not speak it natively and do not transfer it to their children, and in which many consider their variety of Portuguese to be *errado* “wrong” and EP to be *certo* “right”.

### **On the future of Pidgin English in West Africa, Maria Mazzoli**

Different forms of West African Pidgin English (WAPE) are spoken today along the West African coasts in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria. Although local forms of WAPE differ sensibly they also share many common features and enjoy a certain degree of mutual intelligibility. De facto, a huge population of more than 100 millions of Africans uses WAPE as a lingua franca in Anglophone West

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<sup>1</sup> Cape Verde is an ex-Portuguese colony that has a similar sociohistorical background as São Tomé.

Africa. Nigeria's overwhelming dominance in terms of population makes her variety of English the prototype for WAPE. As Görlach (1984: 39) points out, "the future of English in West Africa will more or less be decided by what forms and functions it will take in this state, whose population and economic power surpasses [sic] those of all neighbouring coastal states taken together." Nigerian Pidgin English is a language transcending regional, ethnic and social boundaries (Wolf 2001: 43). Faraclas (1996: 1) estimates that it is spoken by more than 40 million people as an L2 and more than 1 million as an L1. Although Nigerian Pidgin is unanimously recognized as a full-fledged language in linguistic research (among others, Faraclas 1987 and 1996, Balogun 2013, Mazzoli 2013 and 2015), most of the speakers do not fully recognize its potential in terms of unifying power. Instead, some sparse communities in Southern Nigeria use it as first language with great investment of identity (e.g. the community of Ajegunle in Lagos, Mazzoli submitted).

In this contribution I will discuss the content of 10 qualitative interviews made to Nigerian asylum seekers resident in Bologna (Italy) since no more than 2 years, and who are mediated in pidgin English during their asylum application. I will concentrate on ideological issues related to their language use, focusing on their attitude towards Nigerian Pidgin. The deep survey of linguistic attitudes related to newly emerging contact varieties will help in assessing the new language needs emerging alongside.

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