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Keynote:
From dialects and languages to contested languages

Ulrich Ammon
(University of Duisburg-Essen)

The presentation begins with the explication of concepts which are fundamental and which have to be defined with sufficient clarity for the following thoughts, because terminology and concepts vary widely in the relevant literature. As to the basic distinctions and relations, languages are conceived here as sets of varieties subdivided (among numerous other possibilities) into non-standard and standard varieties, with dialects being a subset of the former. These dialects can be subclassified further into regional and social, of which the former are particularly relevant for the following thoughts.

Languages mainly relate to (regional) dialects, either comprising or not comprising them, on the basis of the two relationships of linguistic distance and of roofing (German *Überdachung*). The latter is especially needed to divide dialect continua, if they stretch over a medium linguistic distance. The following proposals are limited to languages for whose definition standard varieties are essential, i.e. to standard languages, in opposition to vernacular languages whose conceptual clarification will not be discussed here. For the general definition of a standard language, it will be suggested that this comprises at least one standard variety together with all the dialects (and other non-standard varieties) which this standard variety roofs and which have no more than medium linguistic distance from it. In the case of several standard varieties which have but small linguistic distance from one another (are linguistically very similar), all of them, together with all the dialects they roof, belong to the same pluricentric language. All the terms mentioned will be specified as to their logical relationships and the possibilities for their operationalisation (for empirical research). It will then also be made clear how standardisation entails roofing and why standard varieties can roof non-standard varieties (especially dialects), but cannot roof other standard varieties, while non-standard varieties cannot roof any varieties at all.

It will also be shown why speakers, or their communities, are interested either in incorporating certain dialects into a language, shifting them to another or upgrading them to an (autonomous) language, depending on economic, political or ideological and religious preferences and circumstances. The objects of such interests and endeavours are what can be called “contested languages”, i.e. linguistic systems whose status of dialect or (autonomous) language or membership of a language are or have been disputed or controversial. Such conflicts will be illustrated with respect to the following linguistic systems (languages or dialects) and their relationships, with glances at others, especially in Spain and The Balkans (though not necessarily in the following order):

German – Dutch, Dutch – Afrikaans, Dutch – West Frisian, German – Luxembourgish, German – Alsatian, French – Alsatian, (High) German – Low German, German – North Frisian, Germany’s German – Swiss German – Austrian German, German – Sorbian.

This paper is based, among other sources, on the author’s recent book *Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt* [The status of the German language in the World] (Ammon 2015).

The “small Renaissance” of Ligurian and the obstacles it faces

Andrea Acquarone
(Associazione “Che l’inse!”)

Vittorio Dell’Aquila
(Centre d’Études Linguistiques pour l’Europe)

In the last five years a “small Renaissance” is ongoing in the Italian region of Liguria concerning the interest and the activities related to the historical language: Ligurian (ISO code LIJ, traditionally called “Genoese”).

The signs of this dynamic are many. A weekly TV program in Ligurian on the main regional channel (*Primocanale*), called *Liguria Ancheu* (‘Liguria Today’), started in 2013 and quickly became the second program for share of the channel. The main regional newspaper (*Il Secolo XIX*) started publishing a weekly page in Ligurian in February 2015, with great success among the general public; this led to the publication of a book (*La lingua della Liguria*, in Italian, but with parts in Genoese without translation) that sold out in three days in December 2015. Some realities that traditionally excluded the regional language (e.g. the *International Festival of Poetry* in Genoa; the publishing industry, etc.) are giving more and more space. The society as a whole shows interest and activism: we register several initiatives of “Ligurian lessons”, a lot of new shops or commercial activities choose a Ligurian name, and so on. Only the University of Genoa is still disconnected from this mutated context, and in Genoa the topics of “Ligurian language”, “Ligurian literature”, “Ligurian philology”, etc., still do not exist.

Politicians, for decades guiltily disinterested in the theme, are now trying to capitalize on this new issue: at the moment (December 2017) there are three different law proposals on the table of the Culture Commission of the Regional Government, and a declaration of the City Council of Genoa, voted by unanimity, that requires the Mayor of the regional capital to address the issue of the Ligurian language.

This positive situation, unique in the Italian context – except the regions in which the historical language is recognized by the State – is probably a reflection of the terrible crisis affecting the different Ligurian varieties. We estimate that only 400,000 people are able to speak Ligurian out of a total population of 1.6 million, while another half million is made up by “latent speakers”. Of course, the most part of these 400,000 speakers is concentrated in the oldest part of the population, and in geographical terms, in the medium-small towns of the coast; almost 100% of the youngest generation of Genoa (the regional capital) is unable to speak the historical language.

Ligurian society is therefore pushed to undertake actions to preserve its natural language: grandparents go to schools to “teach” Ligurian, public personalities call not to lose the cultural inheritance, etc. However, Ligurian faces several problems on its struggle to survive:

- (1) Lack of institutional recognition
- (2) Lack of an agency that provides scientific supervisions and coordinated actions
- (3) Lack of cooperation between linguists, activists and politicians
- (4) Lack of a general and widespread linguistic awareness

Our presentation deals with these four problems, by considering them typical of societies that start to think about the theme of their historical language, want to do “something”, but do not know what to do and how to do it.

The current status of Low German and its use in kindergartens

Astrid Adler, Andrea Kleene & Albrecht Plewnia
(Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim)

Low German is a regional language spoken in the Northern parts of Germany. It displays linguistic distance from standard German and it (still) has a substantial number of speakers. Also, Low German is present in written and audio-visual media, in a very vivid theatre scene as well as in recent years (due to restoration programmes) in kindergartens and primary schools in Northern Germany.

To detect current language competence and language use of Low German as well as attitudes towards it, in 2016, the Institute for the Low German Language and the Institute for the German Language conducted a survey in Northern Germany (cf. Adler et al. 2016). This survey is representative for the resident population in Northern Germany at the age of 16 and above (n=1,632).

In our talk we will discuss Low German's status as a contested language as well as present the attitudes of the respondents on that matter (e.g. 39.0% say Low German is a *language* while 59.2% say it is a *dialect*). We will also depict the current status of Low German and compare the results of the 2016 representative survey to the results of older surveys. In contrast to the last poll (cf. Möller 2008), the total number of speakers seems to be stable. However, competence in Low German seems to correlate with age and geographical regions. Overall, almost half of the Northern Germans currently understand Low German (*very well*), while only 15.7% speak it (*very well*). As the use of Low German in families is diminishing its transmission in educational institutions (such as kindergartens and schools) is getting more important. Furthermore, the results show that attitudes towards Low German are mainly positive, e.g. towards Low German kindergartens. More than half of the respondents would register their children at a Low German kindergarten. Unfortunately, we do not know much about Low German kindergartens.

Thus, in 2017 we conducted an additional study of Low German kindergartens by means of an online-survey (n=95). In our talk, we will present data on e.g. numbers and regional distribution of Low German kindergartens and methods of transmission of Low German (staff, frequency, material). Finally, we will connect the findings of the two surveys and show their relations to each other.

The presence and role of the Romani language in the identity formation of young Roma

Márton András Baló

(Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

In my paper, I would like to focus on the relationship of young Romani people to their language, whether they speak it or not. The main question is how language is linked to their own Romani identity and what their attitude is to Romani in relation to their own personal progress in life or their progress as a group, both in a globalised world and on a local level. I would also like to investigate the question whether identity is a distinctive function of language, because linguistic identity seems to be a category that blurs the dichotomy between communication and representation, the two traditional functions of language. If we only concentrate on these latter two, we abstract away from something vital, the people themselves (Joseph 2004).

Romani, a New Indo-Aryan language, the only one spoken outside the Indian subcontinent, is a cluster of heterogeneous varieties (Halwachs 2003), whose speakers often consider it a set of closely related but different language forms (Matras 2013). Naturally, the diversity of the language and the speakers' diversified approach to it can be considered the result of the lack of a standard variety or any form of official standardising attempts.

Inter-group diversity presents itself in the mutual unintelligibility of the diverse Romani dialects, the extent of which may often depend on one's attitude towards the other group. Apparently, Romani does not usually function as a common platform with other Romani groups, it is restricted for intimate, intra-group communication (Halwachs 2003).

The question of linguistic identity is being made more complicated by the considerable language shift taking place among the Romani people in Hungary. Many of the young generation do not speak Romani any longer. This natural process is counterbalanced by the promotion of Romani by activists, including its official recognition as a minority language, attempts at language codification, revitalisation, and its introduction as an optional language at school, which can be chosen regardless of one's ethnic background.

Although the attitude of the middle generation to the Romani language is ambiguous, with a bias towards the idea that it hinders social progress, we know much less about the attitude of young Romani people to the same questions. In today's more globalised environment, the significance of being able to speak more than one language, whatever those languages are, has definitely increased. I presume that this can have beneficial influence on the way Romani is considered, and the younger generation might think more positively about the learning and relearning the language of their ancestors. Even more so, if we think about the role language might play in forging a transnational Romani identity, where we can witness a bottom-up approach to the formation of common language practices (Matras 2013).

In the research connected to the paper I would like to explore the interaction of these internal and external effects in the formation of the identity of young Roma in Hungary. By internal effects, I mean the experience and inheritance brought about by family relations, while external effects are composed of the influence of all forms of Romani activism.

The method of research for the paper involves fieldwork in the form of face-to-face interviews with Romani youths (between the ages of 16 and 25). The pool ranges from people living in a rural environment to people participating in tertiary education. The language skills of the participants should also vary from a native level to a complete lack of knowledge.

The paradoxes of being a new speaker of Frisian: Understanding motivation, authority and legitimacy in Frisia

Guillem Belmar, Nienke Eikens, Daniël de Jong, Willemijn Miedma & Sara Pinho
(University of Groningen)

'New speakers' have become quite a common field of study, especially in research concerning minority or 'lesser-used' languages. The survival of these languages very often depends on non-speakers learning the language and adopting it as their own, or at least being able to understand it.

Much of this research has been done on Celtic languages (e.g. Hornsby 2015 on Breton; Nance et al. 2016 on Scottish Gaelic; Ó hIfearnáin 2015 on Manx; O'Rourke & Walsh on Irish; Robert 2009 on Welsh), Basque (e.g. Ortega et al. 2015), Catalan (e.g. Pujolar & Puigdevall 2015), Galician (e.g. O'Rourke & Ramallo 2015) and Occitan (e.g. Costa 2015). However, there has been little research done on new speakers of other languages, such as Frisian. Therefore, this research aims to fill this gap in the literature by tackling some issues commonly linked in the literature to new speakers of minority languages from the Frisian context.

This presentation will first outline some general characteristics of the Frisian context as well as a basic profile of the new speaker of Frisian. After that, the results of an ongoing qualitative research project will be presented. This project consists of a series of open-ended interviews to learners of Frisian as well as teachers of the language (both native and non-native). Through the analysis of these interviews, the challenges and perspectives of new speakers of Frisian will be discussed. Issued like motivation, authority and legitimacy will be dealt with, as well as the multiple indexicalities often linked to them and the consequences these have for social identities and hierarchies.

Motivation will be analysed based on the work developed by Lambert and Gardner in the late 1950s suggesting a two-part model to explain the motivation for learning a second language (i.e. instrumental or integrative), relating both motivations to the globalized world of today and the increasingly multilingual and multicultural nature of current societies (as cited in Robert 2009: 113).

Languages and cultures in contact (?): What place for Upper Sorbian new speakers and learners in Lusatia (Germany)?

Nicole Dołowy-Rybińska
(Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Cordula Ratajczak
(Serbski institut/Sorbisches Institut)

The paper presents the results of a research project concerning the way young people from German-speaking homes who attend the Upper Sorbian Grammar School in Bautzen/Budyšin (Germany) acquire Sorbian language competence, and how they create an identity in relation/opposition to their Sorbian-speaking peers.

Upper Sorbs are a Slavonic minority living in the eastern part of Germany. The number of Upper Sorbian speakers is diminishing, although the community with stable language transmission still exists with about 10,000–12,000 Upper Sorbian speakers. The Upper Sorbs, the majority of which are Catholics, have a strong ethnic identity based on language, faith, and tradition, and they are rather closed community in relation to the surrounding Germans. Nevertheless, there are fewer children who learn the language through family transmission today. To counteract the process of language loss and to be able to provide education in the Sorbian language, the Sorbian immersion pre-school education programme 'Witaj' was established at the end of the 20th century. The idea behind it was to introduce classrooms with children from both German- and Sorbian-speaking families. 'Witaj' is continued through the '2plus' bilingual model of education in which (in theory) native Sorbian speakers and learners from German-speaking homes are expected to learn together to facilitate gaining language competence and to break the existing ethnic boundaries. The realization of this concept meets numerous problems resulting from the Sorbian Grammar School teaching system, and from the attitudes of both groups (Sorbian and German speakers) towards each other. The German-speaking pupils often feel unmotivated to learn Sorbian and are often rejected by the Sorbian-speaking community as its (potential) members.

In our paper we will present the results of our sociolinguistic observations conducted in the school in 2017, as well as an analysis of interviews with both native speakers, learners and new speakers of Upper Sorbian. We will concentrate on the relation between language practices and necessary conditions for minority language active use by learners and new speakers and on the need of some sort of 'communities of practice' for minority language learners and new speakers essential for them to become a member of a group. Through analysis of our respondents' words we will try to answer the question, is there a place in Upper Lusatia for Upper Sorbian new speakers and under what conditions? We believe that the example of the Upper Sorbian Grammar School will also shed light on some universal problems concerning the phenomenon of new speakers.

From above and from below, to the right and to the left: Exploring contested perspectives on language transmission within the Esperanto movement

Guilherme Fians
(University of Manchester)

The stability of the Esperanto speech community is something that cannot be taken for granted. Despite its sizeable community scattered over the world, virtually nobody is required to speak this language, and the continuity of this speech community cannot rely on Esperanto's intergenerational transmission, since this is not the most popular way of transmitting or acquiring this language. For this reason, the most effective manner of attracting new speakers for this community is through the activism of those who work for the Esperanto movement. However, how is this propaganda for Esperanto made, and how can different ways of promoting it shape the profile of the Esperanto speakers?

My paper will explore, through a socio-anthropological approach, some of the perspectives held by Esperantists about how to promote Esperanto and how to engage with the language and with the philosophical and political programme often linked to it. Through a long-term fieldwork carried out mostly in France and in the Netherlands – which included archive research, interviews and participant observation – I will present and debate the perspectives and actions supported by some institutions that work for advancing Esperanto, such as the Universal Esperanto Association (UEA, based in Rotterdam), the World Non-National Association (SAT, headquartered in Paris) and the political party Europe-Democracy-Esperanto (EDE, with some national branches across Europe, one of its most active ones being situated in Paris).

On the one hand, UEA claims to support the neutral Esperanto movement, this neutrality meaning that both this association and Esperanto would welcome all of those who are interested in engaging with it. In this way, it makes use of a discourse on internationality and inclusiveness as a way of attracting individuals and institutions to Esperanto. SAT, on the other hand, underplays neutrality on behalf of a conception of political engagement oriented towards a left-wing perspective: despite its interest in advancing Esperanto, its main goal is to use Esperanto as a tool to create a social forum in which political issues could be debated internationally, through a non-national language. By following an alternative direction, the political party EDE also articulates Esperanto with politics, but aims at promoting this language not through individual adhesion, but through the official support of the European Union and other European institutions.

These different perspectives on how to advance the language lead us to a debate on political activism: should Esperanto be promoted “from above”, through its support by political institutions, or “from below”, as a liberal project relying on individuals' choices and initiatives to join this speech community? Should Esperanto be widely used to boost left-wing discussions, right-wing causes, or should it convey an image of neutrality? By contrasting these views held within the Esperanto movement, I aim at contributing to the academic debate on social approaches to Esperanto (Forster 1982, Markov 1999, Garvia 2015, Schor 2016), looking at how these disputed and contested political views have consequences in stabilising and shaping this speech community.

Language planning in a planned language community: The case of Esperanto

Sabine Fiedler
(University of Leipzig)

This paper is concerned with a special case of a contested language: Esperanto. Initiated by L. L. Zamenhof in 1887, Esperanto is thus far the only planned language system (among almost 1,000) to have successfully transitioned from mere project to fully-fledged language. This is due in part to its linguostructural properties, such as its productive word-formation system and flexible syntax, but above all to extralinguistic factors. Esperanto has accrued a speech community sufficiently large and differentiated to guarantee the sustained dissemination of the language.

Esperanto is subject to language change like all other languages. It is presently evolving in a state of tension between diversifying forces (e.g. different linguistic and cultural influences due to speakers' different linguistic backgrounds) and unifying forces (e.g. use during international meetings, in literature, and on radio programs). Esperanto's linguistic norms are documented in the *Fundamento de Esperanto*, which was proclaimed the standard of the language at the first international Esperanto congress in Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1905. They are supervised by the *Akademio de Esperanto*.

The standard of the language is characterized largely by two specific features. The first is that it was published with a minimal grammar of only sixteen rules, which has led to numerous discussions on various aspects of language development, such as the use of proper nouns, the expression of the passive voice (the so-called *-ata/-ita* discussion), and a debate on neologisms. The second is Zamenhof's attitude regarding his relationship to Esperanto: he viewed himself as just one user of Esperanto among many. He was convinced that the language could survive only if it developed on the basis of clearly defined and obligatory principles. At the same time, from the very beginning, he was fully aware that his system could only develop through use. Once Esperanto began to spread, he could no longer claim any special authority to control the development of the language. On the second page of the first textbook (*Unua Libro*), Zamenhof renounced all ownership of the language: "The international language, like every national one, is the property of society; the author renounces all personal rights to it forever." (Zamenhof 1887, transl. S.F.). Both of these factors encourage a collective planning process embracing all speakers.

The use and evolution of Esperanto is influenced by speakers' attitudes, above all linguistic loyalty and group solidarity, features that have developed as a reaction to the low socio-political position of the planned language. As will be shown in this paper, these are characteristics that counteract the constant pressure to import from English, for example: they motivate speakers to preserve their language as complete and pure. These findings show parallels with other contested languages (Edwards 2010; Krägeloh & Neha 2014; Kimura 2012).

Coolification vs contestedness and the digital world: Lessons learnt from Hollywood languages and Esperanto

Federico Gobbo

(University of Amsterdam / University of Turin)

According to many studies and fieldwork experiences by scholars and language activists in the field of contested languages, the survival of such languages is often tied to the success of revitalization programs and the emergence of 'new speakers'. The target population addressed by these programs usually consists of young people with a high level of education and living in urban settings, in contrast to the prototypical traditional speakers, who are generally older, have a lower level of education, and live in the countryside. Revitalization programs try to make the contested language attractive to the target population, a process that has recently been termed *coolification* (Becker & Frey 2017; Gobbo & Miola 2016). Schreyer (2011) already noted that the digital presence of 'Hollywood languages' (Gobbo 2014, 2017) give a 'modern look' (Coluzzi 2005) that is often needed for many lesser-used languages, whose public image is to be a residual element of the "good ol' times".

This presentation aims to show the missing link between coolification and the digital presence of contested languages, which is not always a priority in revitalization programs. The digital presence of major Hollywood languages such as Klingon (from one of the most successful science fiction television series ever, *Star Trek*) and Dothraki (from the popular fantasy television series *Game of Thrones*) show that the 'coolness factor' also passes through the digital presence and in particular through free online language courses. Another interesting case study is the digital presence of the Esperanto community, which during the last decade has invested a lot of effort in the digital presence of the language, with the remarkable result that new young speakers have begun learning the language. I will analyse the motivations behind these practices and offer some reflections on how to apply their successes to other cases of contested languages.

A citizen science approach to contested languages: *Stimmen fan Fryslân*

Nanna Haug Hilton
(University of Groningen)

Engaging the public in scientific endeavours is becoming increasingly commonplace, and the role that citizens can play in research projects include that of data collector, data processor, analyst, educator and, even, formulator of research questions and hypotheses (cf. Bonney et al. 2016). Sociolinguistics as a discipline is particularly focussed on the study of contested and lesser-used languages, yet the usage of technological innovations in the field is still in its infancy stage. This paper presents a new tool for conducting citizen science in communities that speak contested languages: “*Stimmen*”.

A great deal of linguistic theory has been tested out on communities that are monolingual. It is often argued that further theory development depends on insights from other contexts, including lesser-used, contested, varieties in multilingual settings (Meyerhoff & Nagy 2008). However, the lack of usable recordings of (speech) data presents scholars wanting to do research on such varieties with obvious challenges. A number of language documentation efforts using smartphone technology have come on the market in recent years (e.g. Bird et al. 2014), relying on the public as collectors of speech recordings and translations, yet these have not gained widespread popularity. At the same time, ventures employing language games and dialect quizzes in smartphone applications have been widely successful for widely spoken languages such as German and English (Leemann et al. 2016).

My talk presents the citizen science project ‘*Stimmen fan Fryslân*’ (‘Voices of Fryslân’), which was launched in September 2017. The project combines the approaches of documentation and game apps for languages in a smart phone application, particularly directed at users of contested languages in the Netherlands. The users can do their own data collection, but also post their questions and concerns about language to their own community in an open-to-all language map. The application is not restricted to use in Fryslân but has had, in the current count, more than 12,000 users who are speakers of Frisian.

The experiences from the “*Stimmen*” project so far show that citizen science in a contested language community can do much more than increase our knowledge of the language systems as such. The active participation of the general public gives us an increased understanding of the role that language plays for regional and national identity formation, and allows for formulation of new research questions in direct communication with the contested speakers themselves. In this paper I discuss the overall project findings, and show some telling examples of the importance of engaging the public in documentation and research efforts of contested languages.

Mobility and multilingualism: The choices of Latgale

Gabriele Iannàccaro
(University of Stockholm)

Vittorio Dell'Aquila
(FEF)

The aim of the paper is to discuss a manifold orientation of Latgale towards external and internal multilingualism. Through the analysis of the results of a large poll, the Survey Latgale, we will show how multilingualism can lead to different societal approaches to globalisation, emerging from different encoding of the varieties into the local repertoires. Latgale, the easternmost region of Latvia, is a territory of extensive multilingualism that hosts three main autochthonous codes: as High poles of the diglossia Latvian and partly Russian, and as Low codes again Russian and Latgalian, the local contested Baltic variety. However, Russian is also the language of a large number of migrants who came during the Soviet rule until the 1990s, and is considered a lingua franca for a number of other Soviet nationalities like Ukrainians and Belarusians.

Language attitudes and declarations of 'opportunity of usage' of these varieties will be the main concern of the analysis, focusing on the perception of the language situation from the point of view of Russian mobile speakers and the image of Latgalian in the Baltic context. We will also provide a geographically oriented typology of glocalisation language phenomena within the Latgale community.

Worlds apart: A socialhistorical comparison of Low Saxon and Frisian in the Netherlands

G. T. Jensma
(University of Groningen)

Like so many neighbouring population groups Frisians and Groningers continually mock each other by telling jokes and using stereotypes on each other. These playful contrasts – maybe originating from a mutual competition to gain attention and favours from The Hague, the political centre of the Netherlands – however, hide from view the fundamental similarities between these two peripheral provinces of the Netherlands. From ca. 1750 onwards, both regions, by then on the verge of being incorporated in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, increasingly came to depend on their agricultural production. In the rather static and therefore also stable rural communities in these regions a good sense for the own regional languages and cultures could develop, wholly in line with the fashions of the time. The non-Dutch languages spoken among the populations became subject to a long term programme of cultural nationalism/regionalism and in both provinces an elite-driven language movement developed.

My lecture is about what has become of this at the start of the 21st century. Although both the Frisian and Groninger languages are in decline nowadays, Friesland has proved to be more successful than Groningen in revitalising its language. It eventually succeeded in getting recognition for Frisian on a national and a European level, resp. as the second official language in the Netherlands and as a minority language under part III of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. The Groninger ‘dialect’, a variant of Low Saxon, had to content itself with a recognition only under part II of this charter. The institutional and societal contexts in which Frisian and Gronings have been studied, promoted and used also differed and still differ greatly.

In this lecture I will address the question about which historical circumstances can be held responsible for the differences between these two provinces. Is it the history of the language itself? Is it the level of cultural nationalism? Is it the absence/presence of a university?

Is Catalan a contested language? Legal status and planning of a minoritized language in three different states

Juan Jiménez-Salcedo
(Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville)

Andorra, Spain and France represent a gradation in terms of legal recognition and planning of the Catalan language. Catalan is in fact the only official language of the Principality of Andorra, while it has little recognition in France, where its use as a language of instruction is scarce and depends, in most cases, on private initiatives. Regarding Spain, the decentralization system means that the status of the language changes according to the autonomous community (Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands). In other words, Catalan in Catalonia enjoys a full recognition that makes it almost exclusively the language of instruction of the educational system and the working language of the administration, but its institutional presence is much more relative in the Balearic Islands and in the Valencian Country. Moreover, Catalan lacks official status in Aragon and Murcia, despite being a language of expression in some areas of these communities.

The hypothesis on which my presentation will be based is that Catalan is, as a whole, a contested language, and that the official status it enjoys in Andorra and in certain Spanish autonomous communities does not save it from this precarious situation. The main reason for this is the cohabitation of Catalan with Spanish and French in the same area. This cohabitation is not only sociolinguistic, but also political and legal. I will analyze three cases that demonstrate how Catalan can be legally characterized as a contested language: 1) the historical cohabitation of the Andorran school system with the French and Spanish systems within the territory of the Principality of Andorra; 2) the limitation of the scope of the official declaration of Catalan in Catalonia by the Spanish state and the unstable status of said declaration in the rest of the autonomous communities in which Catalan is spoken, as opposed to the generalization of the official status of Spanish (principle of impure territoriality); and 3) the legal difficulty for the establishment of Catalan as a language of instruction in France.

One could speak, in short, of the “fictitious territorialization” of Catalan because the language is divided between different states, with different legal regimes even within the same state – as occurs in Spain – and it is deprived of the possibility of developing a single language planning in the same territory, unlike Spanish and French, which enjoy a uniform status in each of their state territories. Catalan does not have an exclusive language policy, even in territories with a favorable legal status, such as Andorra or Catalonia – far from it, as these territories have to accommodate their regulations to the social and legal presence of Spanish and French. These elements will serve as a guiding thread to demonstrate how the situation of Catalan as a contested language remains evident.

New speakers' attitudes and the contested Occitan standard

Aurelie Joubert
(Queen's University Belfast)

The very status of “language” can be contested for some linguistic varieties spoken on the French territory. Language revitalisation has sometimes focused on a change in the conceptualisation of those languages by deliberately taking a distance from the derogatory notion of ‘patois’. For this purpose, it is common that language planners devote some efforts to create and implement a standard for lesser known languages (Jones 2013). These initiatives are inspired by the past development of major European languages which have seen their prescriptive traditions and powerful ideologies centred on the perceived supremacy of the standard form (Milroy 2001). A pattern of development is therefore reproduced but does not always match the situation of a contested language and a disjoined community (Sumien 2006).

This paper focuses on two important aspects of language planning in the case of Occitan: standardisation and learners' attitudes. Whilst on the one hand, standardisation has been considered an important tool on mainly theoretical principles, it has not always proved possible to establish a standard of a language because of the problematic stages of selection and acceptance (according to the stages of standardisation as they are identified in Haugen 1972). A second important step in improving the transmission of this endangered language is the integration of what has recently been coined the community of “new speakers”. It was assumed that new speakers would align to the taught norms of usage which would follow some idea of standard. Learners' attitudes are evidently key to the dynamics of the community of new speakers (Sallabank 2013) and it is essential to investigate further the type and range of attitudes declared by learners when developing not only a linguistic competence but also a linguistic conscience (Schlieben-Lange 1971).

This study will present some data taken from the Occitan language community and the way in which learners view and relate to the idea of norms for a language whose specificity is its variety of dialectal forms. The aim is to link normative ideologies to the perception of the norms by learners in an attempt to explore the perceptions of a community-bound or internal sense of “contestedness”.

Language ideologies and the Csángó Educational Program: A case of inventing or erasing language?

Petteri Laihonen
(University of Jyväskylä)

My project aims at insights into language ideologies through investigating processes of change, which are taking place after launching a language revitalization program in 2001 among a highly contested linguistic minority in the northeastern region of Romania, Moldavia. The Moldavian Csángós, Roman Catholics speaking a vernacular associated with Hungarian, have faced serious oppression in Romania. However, in 2001 the Csángós (numbering 48,000 according to a recent estimate) were officially recognized by the Council of Europe (CoE), the same year a Hungarian language revitalization program was launched in the Csángó villages.

Romanian and Hungarian national ideologies do not accept an independent Csángó identity, whereas the CoE seems to insist on the existence of such an identity. That is, both processes of 'invention' and 'erasure' (Pennycook & Makoni 2006) define the language situation. The Csángós seemingly have no voice in the discourses on their identity and language. This project aims to bring the local perspectives to the fore with the main research question: in what ways, and to whom, do the participants identify themselves as Csángós in the context of the Educational Program?

Classroom interaction is recorded and investigated to reveal whether and how authority is shared in a revitalization class. On the basis of ethnographic observation and interviews, the project asks, how are the Moldavian Csángós linguistically imagined by the teachers to the Csángó Educational Program? Further, does the local vernacular get repositioned through participation in the program?

In my presentation I explore teacher talk and emerging Hungarian literacy practices of children during the Csángó Educational Program. According to my fieldwork experience in 10 sites so far, many Csángó parents use a very heterogenous variety of Hungarian, characterized by considerable distance to standardized Hungarian as spoken in Transylvania and Hungary. In the educational program, teachers from Transylvania or Hungary adjust their talk to the local Csángó variety. However, for literacy practices they use standardized Hungarian. The children often understand Hungarian, but even basic literacy or reading practices have been very rare, with few exceptions. I will also briefly describe the fieldwork methodologies used to collect Csángó grassroots literacy.

The Csángó Educational Program has the goals to revitalize Hungarian in Moldavia, and to enable secondary level studies in Hungarian medium institutions in Transylvania and higher education in Hungary, too. Such goals are laudatory for the new opportunities they bring for the Csángó children "left behind" (a big part of the Csángó workforce has migrated to Western Europe), at the same time paradoxes of linguistic expectations towards the participants of the program have emerged, such as the division between tolerance of a local Csángó vernacular for the program and erasing the same Csángó language variety in literacy.

The survival of Picard and Provençal in France despite ‘their programmed demise’: The language and identity connection

Patrick Seán McCrea
(Tulane University)

This paper presents the results of the author’s sociolinguistic dissertation focusing upon the survival of two contested languages in France: Picard and Provençal. Historically and linguistically, France could be divided into the Langue(s) d’oil, in the North, and the Langue(s) d’oc, in the South. Since the French language was selected by post-1789 nationalists to create the French nation and French national identity, all other languages, or linguistic varieties, were denied the status of language, or even of dialect. The nationalists both elevated French to sole language of France as well as imposed it to hasten the death of all other linguistic varieties in order to create and unite the diverse French populace into a unified French nation.

In the North, the nationalists further marginalized the Langues d’oil, other than French, including Picard, by labeling them as “bad French” in order to hasten their speakers’ switch to French. In the South, the imposition of French was also employed to create Frenchness; however, since the Langue(s) d’oc was/is (were/are) more linguistically differentiated from French than the Langues d’oil, Frenchification of the South took longer than in the North. Presumably due to the linguistic and cultural distance between northern and southern France, it was in southern France (1850s) where the first regional or social linguistic movement began with the *Félibrige* association. While the *Félibrige* employed the term “Provençal” to refer to the entire Langue(s) d’oc domain, this situation has since changed. The *Institut d’Estudis Occitans* (IEO) and the Occitan Movement have gained control in the Langue d’oc domain and employ the term “Occitan” to refer to the language of southern France as well as employ the term “Provençal” solely to designate the Occitan dialect of Provence. As a result, the *Collectif Prouvènço* and the Provençal Movement have since established themselves in Provence to challenge the Occitan Movement’s stance that Occitan is the language of southern France composed of its six dialects: Auvergnat, Gascon, Gavot (Alpine Provençal), Languedocien, Limousin and Provençal.

Despite the Occitan claim that southern France suffered interior colonialization at the hands of northern France, Occitan language ideology mirrors French language ideology in which both uphold linguistic convergence and are opposed to linguistic divergence. This paper argues that *deux France* – the universal national and the particular regional or the *grande patrie* and the *petite patrie* – exist. Just as the French language has held a pinnacle role in national France since the 1789 Revolution, Picard and Provençal constitute important elements in their respective regions. The resistance of Picard and Provençal despite ‘their programmed demise’ seems to relate to a positive feeling of regional identity. Approximately 20 years of research by the *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique* (OIP) has demonstrated that national and regional identity are complementary rather than contradictory in France. This author’s dissertation-related research confirmed this complementarity, while also indicated that Picard-speakers and Provençal-speakers reported a higher, positive regional identity than non-speakers.

The impact of loan words on the divergence between the Kven language and standard Finnish

Leena Niiranen
(UiT – The Arctic University of Norway)

The Kven language is a national minority language in Norway since 2005. Earlier, it was considered a dialect of Finnish. The Kven minority is a national minority in Norway, protected by the The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages since 1998.

The use of the Kven language decreased during the period of Norwegian assimilation politics in the period 1860–1930. Yet, the Kven language was a living language in some Northern Norwegian local villages still in the 1950s–1970s, where it was used between inhabitants in everyday communication (Lindgren 2009). Today there only few speakers left, and they are most often elderly people.

The Kven language became stigmatized during the assimilation period. One of the stigmas has been to perceive the Kven language as a mixed language having many loan words from Norwegian. However, research on loan words in Kven has demonstrated that the basic vocabulary in Kven represents the original Finnic language heritage (Utvik 1996). However, there are both Norwegian and Saami loan words in Kven, and even loans from Swedish, because such loans belonged to the language when the Kvens moved to Norway.

I present a group of loan verbs in Kven formed by the suffix *-eera*. Verbs including this suffix in Kven are loan words from Nordic languages, where they are loans from German or French, and the ultimate source is often Latin. Many loan verbs of a similar type are found in the Old Finnish language, but most of the *eera*-verbs were removed from the Finnish standard language during the first decades of the 20th century because of purism in language planning processes (Räsänen 2005).

Loans with the suffix *-eera* are replicated in Kven most often from Norwegian (like *pansyneerata* < *pensjonere seg* ‘retire on a pension’), but in some case even from Swedish (like *hunteerata* < *fundera* ‘to ponder’). I present *eera*-verbs that are used both in oral and written Kven, and compare them with verbs in standard and non-standard Finnish, and discuss differences and similarities. The high number of *eera*-verbs in Kven is one factor that makes a difference between the Kven language and the Finnish standard language today.

Elfdalian revitalization and corpus planning

Yair Sapir
(Kristianstad University)

Elfdalian, spoken in West Central Sweden, fits well with the definition of a contested language: many linguists consider it very different from Swedish; it has a substantial number of speakers from different age groups – about 2,500 in total, of whom about 50 are under the age of 18. Although having been the subject of public, as well as political motions and debates, Elfdalian has not been recognized according to the European Charter of Minority or Regional Languages as of yet.

In my paper, I will account for two topics: (1) local initiatives and legislation to maintain and revitalize the language, and (2) corpus planning.

In 1984, the Elfdalian Language Association *Ulum Dalska* was founded through a local initiative in Älvdalen, due to the feeling of an imminent language loss. Through cooperation between the association and authors as well as scholars, the first Elfdalian children's books, grammar and dictionary saw the light. This process was boosted in 2004, when a cooperation between Ulum Dalska, the Municipality of Älvdalen and the academic world was launched. Through several decisions, the municipality committed itself to support the official recognition of Elfdalian in Sweden, to introduce Elfdalian into the municipal education system and elderly care and to promote it in the linguistic landscape in Älvdalen.

In 2005, the Elfdalian Language Council, *Rådjärum*, was founded through an urge from Ulum Dalska, and a year later, it presented a standard Elfdalian orthography. Parents were encouraged to transmit Elfdalian to their children and children were rewarded for showing Elfdalian language skills. The Elfdalian revitalization process was thus up and running. In 2016, the first Elfdalian-speaking preschool was opened and Elfdalian acquired its ISO language code from SIL International. In the autumn term of 2017, fifty-four 6th to 8th graders in Älvdalen chose Elfdalian as an optional subject in school.

As we can see, corpus planning and the process of language maintenance and revitalization have taken place in parallel in the case of Elfdalian. Moreover, the process was conducted in cooperation between the speech community, local authorities and scholars, and gained attention from national and international media. Corpus planning and language documentation gave the speech community access to the language and its structure dating back to the time before the interference from Swedish became strong, i.e. the beginning of the 20th century.

Finally, I will attempt to answer the following questions: (1) What are the perspectives to safeguarding the Elfdalian language in the long run? (2) What are the pros, cons and challenges with revitalizing a language on the basis of older stages? And (3) What are the lessons that can be learned from the Elfdalian maintenance and revitalization process?

Digital presence and language contestedness

Claudia Soria
(CNR–ILC)

Is there a relationship between contestedness and digital presence? Intuitively, a contested language should have less digital presence than a non-contested one, if only because we can expect that the lack of recognition and prestige will have an impact on the breadth and depth of digital uses. On the other hand, a strong digital presence and usability is foreseeable for non-contested languages, for which there are no barriers, apart from technological ones. In this presentation we will show the results of a survey carried out in the framework of the *Digital Language Diversity Project* (DLDP, a three-year project funded under the Erasmus+ scheme).

The goal of the DLDP is to help minority language speakers' communities in the acquisition of intellectual and practical skills to create, share, and reuse online digital content in their native languages. At the same time, the intention is to define general guidelines and best practices for the promotion of minority languages with poor digital representation, a fact that further prevents their usability on digital media and devices. The survey inquires about the actual as well as desired digital uses of four European regional or minority languages: Breton, Basque, Sardinian, and Karelian. These languages are at very different stages of digital development; they also differ consistently with reference to their official status and speakers' attitudes. The survey was intended to explore and compare: (a) the behavior, perception and actual desire of different speakers' communities with respect to the digital use of their native languages; (b) the extent of the availability of digital content and language technology in 'digitally-different' languages; and (c) speakers' awareness of the latter.

A total of 1,301 replies were received, 457 for Basque, 202 for Breton, 516 for Sardinian, and 156 for Karelian. The survey was implemented for the four languages in the form of an online questionnaire. The typical respondent is thus a person who makes at least a minimal digital use of the language in his/her everyday life. In the context of the DLDP project, the survey results have the final objective of devising and suggesting ad hoc strategies for promoting the active digital usage of these languages and the development of language-based digital applications. However, the questions related to the speakers' attitudes towards the digital use and usability of their languages and those inquiring about the possible reasons behind a lack of that digital use, are particularly revealing and interesting if coupled with the contestedness or non-contestedness of a language. A contested language not only shows less public or overt digital uses, but also a decrease in private communicative uses. Speakers of a contested language tend to show less confidence in their abilities to use a language. At the same time, they are very much aware of the importance of digital presence for building consciousness and pride: they wish to see an increase in the opportunities offered to them to make a digital use of their language.

Building awareness about the opportunities that are available to speakers of regional and minority languages and about the initiatives that can be undertaken at the individuals' or associations' level is a crucial step for enlarging the amount of contexts and media where a language can be used digitally. Unlike written media, digital media offer an unprecedented degree of freedom and accessibility that can and must be exploited for increasing the digital presence of a language and thus have a positive impact on its perception and prestige.

Identity of speakers of Esperanto as a contested language

Ida Stria
(University of Warsaw)

Esperanto has a living community and is the only planned language with original literature, music, specialised texts and dictionaries. Although deliberately constructed, the language has been developing naturally and can boast a large community with a number of (always at least bilingual) native speakers (see Corsetti 2012; Fiedler 2012). However, this has not triggered any higher degree of official recognition. The language is often perceived as mere entertainment by non-speakers, which causes Esperantists to identify themselves as speakers of a contested (even endangered) language.

This paper presents results of analyses of written statements of Esperanto speakers with the focus on self-stereotype and identity as users of a contested language. The analyses are conducted according to Bartmiński (2012) and the principles laid out in the project EUROJOS (2008). The study takes into account several types of material: corpus, dictionary and questionnaire data (e.g. the comment section of the internet-based journal *Libera Folio*).

Findings drawn from the data confirm the view of Bartmiński & Chlebda (2008: 13) that communal identity manifests itself in a common reference base. Cultural conceptualisations of WE/US and OUR of active Esperanto speakers are built in opposition to THEY/THEM, that is, the outsiders who deny Esperanto its legitimacy (be that linguists, politicians or the general public).

What are contested languages?

Marco Tamburelli
(Bangor University)

Mauro Tosco
(University of Turin)

The literature on regional and minority languages has seen strong developments in recent years, and new frontiers have been opened on issues of minority language planning and development as well as on issues of speakers' rights. Nevertheless, there are many varieties that are left in a sort of "linguistic limbo" both at the public and at the academic level. These are varieties that likely qualify as regional languages from an Abstand perspective (Kloss 1967), but are typically treated as "dialects" or "patois" by their respective governments, by many of their speakers, and often by linguistics, who typically cite the low sociolinguistic status for their terminological choice. Contested languages are therefore languages which are generally listed in international language catalogues and atlases and have an unambiguous ISO 639 code, but have not attained any reasonable degree of political – and often academic – recognition.

Contested languages must be sharply distinguished from regional dialects: inherent in the concept of contested languages and in the "Contestedness Agenda" is the firm belief in the possibility – and necessity – of objectively assessing language diversity through the application of Abstand criteria. Therefore, the widespread, purely socio-political view of what qualifies as a "language" is untenable as well as undesirable in a discipline which, like linguistics, is also concerned with the structural and communicative properties of its subject matter as well as with objectivity and scientific inquiry.

Following Tamburelli (2014) and Tosco (2011, 2017), we argue that:

- one may define dialects and languages on purely structural and communicative terms, irrespective of the use of these and similar terms ("vernaculars," "patois," etc.) in sociolinguistics and other disciplines;
- the opposition between dialects and languages is scalar rather than discrete, and
- can be measured by taking into account Abstand considerations, such as the degree of mutual comprehensibility and/or the degree of linguistic distance (e.g. lexical, phonological, morphological etc.) between varieties.

Two-way integration of heritage and minoritized speakers: Voices from Catalonia

Eva J. Daussà
(University of Groningen)

Tilman Lanz
(University of Groningen)

Renée Pera-Ros
(Philipps University of Marburg)

Heritage languages, narrowly defined as those spoken by migrants and their families yet without wider community representation otherwise, might have a hegemonic status some place in the world, but their status is certainly contested within their host territory. In an example close to home, this is clearly shown by their explicit exclusion from protection under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. However, in the building of an inclusive, equality-based society, it is crucial to achieve a harmonic interplay between the needs of the community as a whole, and those of individual multilingual families, regardless of their migratory status. This is especially delicate in places with a long standing struggle for the maintenance of a local minoritized language, which relatively suddenly receive a plethora of new languages brought up by migration. Adapting Modood's (2012) two-way integration process, we claim that the most cost-effective and promising security strategy for sustained social peace in these situations is to promote the acquisition of the minoritized language among the immigrant population, at the same time that an agenda of respect and support for immigrant heritage languages is firmly adopted. To that end, we argue that coordinated collaboration between government, school, and families is not only necessary, but desired by the actors involved.

As a case study, we present the case of Catalonia. Catalan demographics have deeply changed due to globalized migration, with foreign-born population currently representing 13.6% (Idescat 2016). As a result, there are around 300 languages spoken today in the region. Having left bilingualism behind, policies need to successfully combine protection for its historical language(s), and support for this new linguistic diversity. Work on both old and new speakers of Catalan is already available (O'Rourke et al. 2015); to complement it, we here present original data on languages other than Catalan within 10 immigrant communities with relative salience in Barcelona, including Amazigh, Arabic, English, Punjabi, Quechua, Romanian, Spanish, Ukrainian, Urdu, and Wolof. Through ethnographic interviews and analysis of narratives, we observe that immigrants assign great importance to the preservation of their language(s), and they would appreciate more initiatives promoting intercultural communication and multilingualism. As exchange, they are willing to become users of Catalan, and contribute to the values and goals of today's Catalonia, a community at a historical crossroad. This case illustrates how a minoritized policy and civil society can create an atmosphere which rewards migrants' initial open-minded attitudes towards cultural and linguistic accommodation, while strengthening conservational goals. We generalize this case to offer guidelines on positively dealing with other diverse populations.

Different kinds of contested languages and their position in inclusion processes: Finland Swedish, regional languages in Spain and Italy

Vittorio Dell'Aquila
(Centre d'Études Linguistiques pour l'Europe)

Ida Stria
(University of Warsaw)

Marina Pietrocola
(Università degli studi di Napoli L'Orientale)

In this paper we analyse some of the data on speakers' attitudes towards contested languages we have collected in three different field research cases in and outside the MIME project, namely (1) Southern Italy, (2) Swedish-speaking regions of Finland, and (3) a large European student association.

- (1) Varieties socially called dialects (in this case: of Italian) are the most typical case of contested languages; while being linguistically apart from the standard language of reference, they are treated by their speakers in two separate ways: cognitively as dissimilar from the language of reference, while psychologically as the same language.
- (2) Finnish citizens speaking Swedish as their first language are perceived and perceive themselves neither as Finns nor as Swedes. They simply think of themselves as Finnish citizens speaking Swedish, while in Sweden they are often perceived as foreigners (mainly Finns) with good competence in Swedish as a second language.
- (3) Basque and Galician are officially recognised regional language for administration and education in Spain, but historically they were politically contested; even today this fact has impact on the identity of the speakers.

The paper presents attitudes of the informants towards the contested language they personally speak, towards the standard or dominant language of the region as well as attitudes of our mobile interviewees towards the contested languages of the recipient area. We argue that attitudes towards contested languages are a key factor for inclusion in the target communities.

**Mobility by means of a contested language:
Esperanto as the working language in an educational NGO**

Sabine Fiedler & Cyril Brosch
(University of Leipzig)

This study is part of a broader body of research into the use of lingua francas as a mediation strategy in conjunction with other strategies (e.g. translation and interpreting, intercomprehension and language technologies) being conducted within the project Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe (MIME). To date, studies on lingua francas have mainly focused on English. Our research goes beyond this, regarding lingua franca more generally, and as a plural item, investigating different types of lingua francas including the planned language Esperanto.

Esperanto was initiated in an 1887 publication by L. L. Zamenhof (1859–1917). Its aim is to bridge linguistic barriers, enabling people of different mother tongues to communicate on an equal footing. Although Zamenhof's original aim, the world-wide dissemination of Esperanto, has not been realized, it cannot be denied that the language more than fulfills its intended role for those who do use it. Esperanto is primarily a written language (today increasingly used on the internet, e.g. in forums, blogs and e-mail correspondence), although its spoken use is expanding due to a growing number of meetings and congresses organized on local, national and international levels. These short-term encounters can provide data on spoken Esperanto, but very little is known about its use in cases of long-term mobility. This paper aims to help fill this research gap. It examines the way in which Esperanto is used in an educational non-governmental organization staffed by international interns and members of the European Voluntary Service. It functions as the working language in the NGO, and its use there is studied on the basis of interviews, field notes and spontaneous conversations, which are analyzed using the methods of Conversation Analysis.

Our findings suggest that Esperanto can successfully function as a lingua franca in international companies and organizations. It is possible to acquire the language in a relatively short time if the purpose is its use in a professional context. In the NGO it served both as a means of communication for professional tasks and for casual conversation during breaks. In interviews and blogs, interns and volunteers reported that the use of Esperanto allowed for a high degree of inclusion.

Another interesting finding was that the adoption of Esperanto as a corporate language did not necessarily lead to the devaluation of other languages. In addition to the planned language, which was used in about 80 percent of all interactions at work and also in personal communication during lunch breaks, the local language, Slovak, English and other languages were regularly used. A typical feature of Esperanto communication is the use of repairs; Esperanto speakers assist one another when faced with lexical gaps and they correct each other's mistakes. Participants used their multilingual repertoires for creative purposes and to evoke humor. Humor was ubiquitous and was often language-based, taking a variety of forms including wordplay and culture-specific allusions. These features of the language use are closely related to speakers' attitudes such as group identity and metalinguistic awareness.

Research on Esperanto as a language in professional settings and its long-term use is still in its infancy, and further studies are needed in order to validate our findings. However, everything thus far points to Esperanto being a valid option as a lingua franca outside the private sphere, where it has predominantly been used until now.

Estremeño – the Extremaduran language

Daniel Gordo
(OSCEC Estremaúra)

Extremaduran (known as *estremeño* or *castúo*) is a language spoken in Extremadura, a region in western Spain. It is mainly spoken across small villages in the western half of Extremadura but also in southern areas of the province of Salamanca and northern areas of the province of Huelva.

The late 19th century saw the first serious attempt to write in Extremaduran, until then an oral language, with the poet José María Gabriel y Galán. He wrote in a northern local variant of Extremaduran, full of dialectal features, but always with an eye on Spanish usage. At the beginning of the 20th century, another poet, Luis Chamizo, wrote his poems in a southern dialect, also with an eye on Spanish usage. After that, localisms have been the pattern in the attempts to defend it, and it is better known among locals as *serraillanu*, *garrovillanu*, *hurdanu* or *chinatu*. It is recognized by UNESCO, Ethnologue and SIL International. Its ISO 639-3 code is EXT. According to the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* it is definitely endangered because there is only oral transmission. OSCEC Estremaúra is an organization founded in 2011 to solve this problem and preserve the Extremaduran language by studying and researching throughout Extremadura. We recently published our orthography and a dictionary. We are currently working on an online course and will begin with on-site courses in 2018. We recently took part in the #ELEN2017 initiative with 'Praat mar Frysk' in Leeuwarden.

According to SIL International there are about 200,000 speakers, but most of them are unconscious about the diglossia because of the strong influence and presence of the Spanish language. The most usual explanation, even from Extremaduran speakers, is that they speak a bad Spanish. Unfortunately, it has no official recognition from any regional or national government, even as cultural heritage, so there is only support from some small town councils. Neither is there any support or recognition from the University of Extremadura.

Some phonological features:

- Post-tonic /o/ becomes /u/, e.g. *oru* ['oru] 'gold'.
- Post-tonic /e/ becomes /i/, e.g. *calli* ['kaɫi] or ['kaɫi] 'street'.
- Latin word-final /e/, chiefly after /d/, is not lost, e.g. *redi* ['reði] 'net'.
- Conservation of /mb/ in intermediate position, e.g. *lambel* [lam'bel] 'to lick'.
- Frequent conservation of word-initial [h] derived from Latin /f/, e.g. *higu* ['hiɣu] 'fig'.
- General loss of intervocalic /d/, e.g. *mieu* ['mjeu] 'fear'.
- Debuccalization of post-vocalic /s/, /ks/ and /θ/ into [h] (s-aspiration), e.g. *estal* [eht'tal] 'to be'.
- Metathesis of the consonant cluster /rl/ into /lr/, e.g. *chalral* [tʃal'ral] 'to talk'.
- Some old voiced fricatives, such as some instances of [ð] corresponding to [z] in Portuguese or [θ] corresponding to [s] in Portuguese (both corresponding to /θ/ in Spanish).

Some morphological features:

- Anteposition of the article before the possessive pronoun, as in Old Spanish or in many Romance languages such as Portuguese, Catalan or Italian.
- Use of diminutives *-inu* and *-ina*, a heritage from Leonese.
- Use of the preposition *a* with the verbs *andal* and *estal* indicating static temporal location, contrasting with the use of *en*: *Está a Caçris* 'He's in Cáceres' (for a few days), *Está en Caçris* 'He's in Cáceres', *Está pa Caçris* 'He's around Cáceres'.

Some lexical features:

- Use of terms considered archaisms in Spanish: *ludia* (Spanish *levadura* 'yeast').
- Presence of loanwords from Andalusian Arabic: *zaqal* (from Andalusian Arabic *zaǧāl* 'boy').

Grammatical gender in Ninilchik Russian and a comparison with Standard Russian

Olga Steriopolo
(Leibniz-ZAS, Berlin)

Olivia Maky
(Leibniz-ZAS / Humboldt Universität, Berlin)

This is a study of grammatical gender in a highly-endangered variety of Russian, Ninilchik Russian. This variety is spoken in the village of Ninilchik, located on the west coast of the Kenai Peninsula in Alaska.

The history of Ninilchik Russian dates back to the second half of the 18th century and is connected to a commercial trading company in Alaska called the Russian-American Company (RAC) (Bergelson & Kibrik 2010). Many Russian traders and officers of the RAC married local women from Eskimo-Aleutian, Athapascan, and other Native American groups. As a result, an ethnically mixed group of people emerged, called Creoles. By the mid-19th century, several RAC-retirees decided not to return to Russia and in 1847, a settlement, later called Ninilchik, was founded for them and their families at the mouth of the Ninilchik River. At first, there were only five families living in Ninilchik. However, by the end of the 19th century, over 80 people called the village home. In 1867, the territory of Alaska was sold to the United States. In the decades that followed, Ninilchik residents were relatively isolated. In the 1930s, an English-language school was opened in Ninilchik and the use of Russian was strongly discouraged. As a result, children ceased to acquire Russian as their first language. At present, there are only elderly speakers of Ninilchik Russian left. Though their primary language is English, they still recall how Ninilchik Russian was spoken when they were children (Pereltsvaig 2015).

Ninilchik Russian is a distinct and unique variety of the Russian language. All data for the current research come from a single source – a recently published dictionary of Ninilchik Russian (Bergelson, Kibrik, Leman & Raskladkina 2017). Part of a larger research project started by Kibrik and Bergelson in 1997, it is the only existing dictionary of Ninilchik Russian.

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