LANGUAGE MOBILITY AND BELONGING
LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY CONFERENCE

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
23-25 MARCH 2017

INTRODUCTION

The Language, Mobility and Belonging Conference is the second linguistic anthropology conference to take place at the University of Oxford. Following the success of the Language, Indexicality and Belonging (LIB) Conference in March 2016, we continue our discussion on the role of language in the contemporary world. This year the focus is on the place of language in the conceptualization and regulation of belonging in the context of global movement. Like LIB 2016, this conference is a joint initiative of three faculties: the Faculty of Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics, the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology and the Faculty of Oriental Studies. The conference is also funded by the John Fell Fund, ESRC, TORCH, Oxford University Press and Multilingual Matters.

Over the course of the next three days, we shall explore linguistic aspects of spatial and socioeconomic mobility in 19 papers presented by leading scholars and graduates in linguistic anthropology and related fields. We shall delve into questions about language policy, legal language, immigrant integration and 'naturalization' education. In four keynote lectures and across five panels of presentations, and through in-depth discussion during our specialists' roundtable, we shall examine how new linguistic practices challenge existing norms and categories of belonging, how global movement affects circulating language ideologies, and how these contribute to new arrangements of social space.

We hope the conference will further our understanding of the role of language in the study of the contemporary global world, where intense language contact situations become the norm and where different forms of social organisation interact in new ways. By establishing a platform for linguistic anthropology at the University of Oxford, we wish to push the debate forward and develop theories and tools to tackle new and emerging challenges in our fields. We hope the conference will inspire you to help us achieve this goal.

With very best wishes,

Dr Kinga Kozminska, Leonie Schulte, Dr Nancy Hawker and Rosemary Hall
Organizing Committee
The Language, Mobility and Belonging Conference

ORGANIZERS

KINGA KOZMINSKA is a sociolinguist working on identity formation within the Polish-speaking diaspora. She has just completed her DPhil project in the Centre for Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics at the University of Oxford, where she explored language ideologies and speaking styles among young Polish adults in London and Oxford. She has presented her research at multiple conferences and is now in the process of publishing a series of articles based on her thesis. She is currently a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Brighton.

LEONIE SCHULTE is a DPhil student at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford. Her research focuses on the anthropology of migration, language and citizenship and language policy. She is currently working on classroom ethnographies of Germany's immigrant and refugee language integration programmes.

NANCY HAWKER has been travelling professionally to the Middle East since 1998 and lived there for several years. She is researching the languages and discourse of Arabic speakers who are in contact with Hebrew. Her DPhil thesis 'Hebrew Borrowings in the Arabic Speech of Palestinians in Three Refugee Camps in the West Bank, Occupied Palestinian Territories' was supervised by Professor Clive Holes. Now she is working on another Arabic-Hebrew sociolinguistic project as a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford. Besides sociolinguistics, she has studied social and political theory, and Arab and Israeli histories and literatures, and has worked for human rights in the region. She knows Arabic, Czech, English, French and Hebrew.
Selected publications:
Palestinian-Israeli Contact and Linguistic Practices, Routledge, 2013
Lessons for eavesdroppers, *New Left Review* 102, November-December 2016

ROSEMARY HALL is a DPhil student at the Centre for Linguistics, Philology & Phonetics, University of Oxford. Her research interests include sociophonetics, language and national identity, language and race, and stylized linguistic performance. Her thesis is based on the variety of English spoken in Bermuda, with a focus on parodic linguistic practices and their reflection of social hierarchies in contemporary Bermudian society.

PROGRAMME

DAY ONE

10:00-10:30   Registration
   Flora Anderson Hall

10:30-11:00   OPENING REMARKS
   PROF LESLEY MILROY
   (University of Michigan)

PANEL ONE

Chair: DR KINGA KOZMINSKA

11:00-11:25   CAMILLE JACOB
   (University of Portsmouth)
   Back to *le futur*? English,
   globalization and authenticity
   in Algeria

11:25-11:50   BRIAN YOUNG
   (University of Oxford)
   Dzongkha, GNH and the
   hegemonic in Bhutan:
   Manufacturing nationalism
   and transnational belonging
   through language

11:50-12:05   Coffee Break

12:05-12:30   DR CSANÁD BODÓ
   (Eotvos Lorand University)
   & DR NOÉMI FAZAKAS
   (Sapientia Hungarian
   University of Transylvania)
   Saving the national language:
   Globalization, nationalism and
   the revitalization of Hungarian
   in North-East Romanian
   Moldavia

12:30-12:55   DR NICOLE GALLANT
   (INRS University of Quebec)
   & PROF LAURIE CARLSON
   BERG
   (University of Regina)
   Social versus state
   representations of belonging
   Fransaskoisie: Competing
   ideologies regulating the
   inclusion of French-speaking
   immigrants in English Canada

12:55-13:00   DR VALENTINA SERRELI
   (University of Aix
   Marseille)
   Language ideologies
   and performance of
   identity and belonging in
   'globalising' Siwa (Egypt)

13:20-13:45   Discussion

13:45-14:45   Lunch

15:00-16:00   KEYNOTE LECTURE
   PROF CLARE MAR-
   MOLINERO
   (University of Southampton)
   The impact of transnational
   migration and global
   mobilities on language
   ideologies and language
   practices: examples from the
   Spanish-speaking world

16:00-16:15 Break

PANEL TWO

Chair: DR NANCY HAWKER

16:15 -16:40   DR YOLANDI RIBBENS-
   KLEIN
   (University of Cape Town)
   The embodiment of place
   and belonging: boorlinge
   and inkommers in
   (im)mobility

16:40-17:05   MARINA MASSAGUER
   COMES
   (Open University of
   Catalonia)
   Language, belonging
   and social categories in
   Catalonia: non-Catalan
   speaking perspectives

17:05-17:15 Discussion

18:30-19:15   Drinks reception
   Flora Anderson Hall
   Somerville College

19:30 onwards Conference Dinner
   Somerville College Hall

DAY TWO

9:00-9:30   Registration
                 Flora Anderson Hall

9:30-10:15 KEYNOTE LECTURE
                 PROF INGRID PILLER
                 (Macquarie University)
                 Linguistic shirkers and
                 integration refuseniks? The
                 exclusionary consequences of
                 discourses about migrant
                 language learning

PANEL THREE

Chair: LEONIE SCHULTE

10:10-10:40 DOMINIQUE BÜRKI
                 (University of Bern)
                 The impact of language
                 policies and global movement
                 in Saipan: English as an L1
                 on the merge

10:40-11:05 DR PAMELA INNES
                 (University of Wyoming)
                 & PROF UNNUR DIS
                 SKAPTADÓTTIR
                 (University of Iceland)
                 Language, identity and
                 belonging: the situation in
                 Iceland

11:05-11:20 Coffee Break

11:20-11:55 MARIA MARTIKA
                 & ELENI NTALAMPYRA
                 & DR BIRGUL YILMAZ
                 (Hellenic Open University)
                 Language ideologies among
                 refugees in Greece

11:55-12:20 DR KAMRAN KHAN
                 (King's College London)
                 The responsibilization of
                 citizenship language test
                 preparation in the UK: the
                 promise of inclusion and
                 reality of potential exclusion

12:20-12:45 CARLIE FITZGERALD
                 (University of Essex)
                 The Transformation of
                 Experience in Asylum
                 Narratives

12:45-13:10 Discussion

13:10-14:00 Lunch

14:10-15:10 KEYNOTE LECTURE
                 DR ENAM AL-WER
                 (University of Essex)
                 The evolution of
                 sectarian linguistic
                 stratification: Jordan as
                 a case study

PANEL FOUR

Chair: ROSEMARY HALL

15:10-15:35   ZUZANA ELLIOTT
                 (University of Edinburgh)
                 A sociophonetic
                 investigation of FACE
                 and GOAT
                 monophthongisation
                 and Scottish identity
                 construction in Slovak
                 immigrants in Edinburgh

15:35-16:00 AYTEN ALIBABA
                 & DR JO ANGOURI
                 (University of Warwick)
                 Belonging in Context:
                 The case of Turkish
                 Cypriot community in
                 London

16:00-16:15 Coffee Break

16:15-16:40 DR MIRIAM DURRANI
                 (Harvard University)
                 (Im)Mobility of Urdu-
                 English Mixing:
                 Analyzing Hybrid
                 Linguistic Performative
                 Economies among
                 Pakistani-origin Muslim
                 Youth

16:40-17:05 HANAN BEN NAFA
(Manchester
Metropolitan University)
Code-switching as a token
of emotional acculturation:
the case of Arabic-English
bilinguals in Manchester

17:05-17:30 LYDIA CATEDRAL & FARZAD
KARMIZAD
(University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign)
Mobile (dis)connection:
Migrant narratives about
social media and the
homeland

17:30-18:00 Discussion

DAY THREE

9:00-9:30   Registration
Flora Anderson Hall

9:30-10:30 KEYNOTE LECTURE
PROF MARCO JACQUEMET
(University of San Francisco)
Do we still belong to speech
communities? Mobility, the loss
of indexical knowledge, and the
primacy of denotational
meaning

PANEL FIVE

Chair: DR NANCY HAWKER

10:30-10:55 DR VLADA BARANOVA
(National Research University,
Higher School of Economics)
& DR KAPITOLINA FEDOROVA
(European University of
St Petersburg)
'Invisible minorities' and
'hidden diversity': the
linguistic landscape of Saint-
Petersburg and discourses
about migrants in language
planning

10:55-11:20 DR ANDREW WONG
(California State
University, East Bay)
Authenticity, Belonging and
charter myths of Cantonese

11:20 -11:45 Discussion

11:45-13:00 ROUNDTABLE
DISCUSSION

Chair:
PROF DEBORAH CAMERON
(University of Oxford)

Discussants:
DR ELENA FIDDIAN-QASMIYEH
(University College London)
PROF ANNABELLE MOONEY
(University of Roehampton)
DR ZUZANNA OLSZEWSKA
(University of Oxford)
PROF PETER PATRICK
(University of Essex)

13:00-13:30 CLOSING REMARKS
PROF DAVID PARKIN
(University of Oxford)

OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS

OPENING REMARKS

LESLEY MILROY is a sociolinguist, and a Professor Emerita at the University of Michigan. She has taught at universities in Ireland, England and New Zealand. She was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, and graduated from the universities of Manchester and Belfast. Her research interests include a range of topics in sociolinguistics, mainly variationist theory, bilingualism, conversation analysis and language ideology. She has also worked on applications of sociolinguistic knowledge to language remediation and language testing procedures. She is best known for her work in the 1970s and 1980s with James Milroy on social networks and linguistic variation in Belfast.

The persistence and often very long term stability of non-standard forms are a major theme in Lesley Milroy's work. Her research since the 1990s has investigated patterns of variation in urban varieties of English in the UK (Newcastle, Derby) and the US (Detroit). She has also published on bi- and multilingualism (1995, with Muysken) and language disorders (1993, with Lesser), and on sociolinguistic methodology.

Lesley Milroy has served on the editorial boards of several major journals. Since 2000 she has been Honorary Visiting Professor of Linguistics at the University of York, and in 2016 she was awarded an Honorary Fellowship by the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapy.

CLOSING REMARKS

DAVID PARKIN was from 1996 until 2008, when he retired, professor of social anthropology at the University of Oxford, fellow of All Souls College, and head of ISCA and the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography from 1996-2006. He is now Emeritus Professor at Oxford and Honorary Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies. David's research focuses on East Africa where he has carried out a number of years' fieldwork among different peoples and in different ecologies: the Luo of western Kenya, the Giriama of eastern Kenya, and Swahili-speakers in Zanzibar and Mombasa. His early training included the study of Swahili and Bantu linguistics alongside anthropology, and this has stamped his long-standing interest in the role of language in social organisation in Africa and generally.

KEYNOTE LECTURES

ENAM AL-WER is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Essex. She specialises in sociolinguistics, focusing on variation and change in modern Arabic dialects. Her research and publications cover topics in sociolinguistic theory and methods, and dialect contact. She is co-editor of the *Arabic Linguistics Series* (Benjamins), *Arabic dialectology* (Brill), *Arabic in the City* (Curzon) *the Handbook of Arabic Sociolinguistics* (forthcoming, Routledge), and co-author of *Arabic Sociolinguistics* (forthcoming, CUP).

THE EVOLUTION OF SECTARIAN LINGUISTIC STRATIFICATION: JORDAN AS A CASE STUDY

A number of cases of linguistic differentiation in Arabic-speaking communities along the lines of religious affiliation have been documented. The classic examples include communities in the Arab East as well as the Maghreb . In all of these cases, the differences between the dialects spoken by the various religious groups are so large that they are considered separate dialects and are labeled according to the groups that use them.

Thus we find references to 'Christian/Muslim/Jewish/Sunni/Shi'i dialects'. The emergence of separate sectarian dialects is generally attributed to a combination of two historical factors: different origins of the dialects in question, and a prolonged period of social segregation and/or social tension. The Levant, a region of considerable diversity and a long history of political instability, would be a candidate for linguistic differentiation along religious lines, yet, until recently, findings from dialectological and sociolinguistic studies have shown no effect of religion. Insofar as Jordan is concerned, I have previously argued that the tribal structure of the Jordanian society, in which religious affiliation plays no role in-group identity formation, has discouraged linguistic segregation along religious lines. However, subsequent research (conducted by E. Al-Wer and B. Herin), which involved analyses of multiple grammatical features of some central Jordanian dialects, uncovered patterns which indicate that 'religion' may indeed be emerging as a sociolinguistic factor. This presentation focuses on the interpretation of this development. In particular, we argue that the increased social salience of religious affiliation has transformed religion from a community signifier into a sociolinguistic variable; and due to recent socio-political developments in the region, religion has modified the effect of language on social stratification (Al-Wer et al. 2015).

References:

Abu-Haidar, F. (1991): Christian Arabic of Baghdad . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Heath, J. (2002): Jewish and Muslim dialects of Moroccan Arabic. London/New York: Routledge Curzon.

Al-Wer, E., U. Horesh, B. Herin & M. Fanis. 2015. How Arabic Regional Features Become Sectarian Features. Jordan as a Case Study. ZAL, 62, 68-87.

Blanc, H. (1964): Communal dialects in Baghdad. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Holes, C. (1987): Language variation and change in a modernising Arab state: The case of Bahrain. London/New York: Kegan Paul International.

Palva, H. (2009): From qəəltu to gəələət: Diachronic notes on linguistic adaptation in Muslim Baghdad Arabic. In: Al-Wer, E. – De Jong, R. (eds.): Arabic Dialectology. In honour of Clive Holes on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Leiden: Brill.

Woidich, M. (1996): Rural Dialect of Egyptian Arabic: An Overview. In: Égypte, Monde Arabe 27–28: 325–354.

MARCO JACQUEMET is Professor of Communication and Culture at the University of San Francisco. His current scholarship focuses on the communicative mutations produced by the circulation of migrants, languages, and media idioms in the Mediterranean area. He is writing a book based on this research, called "Transidioma: Language and Power in the 21st Century" (Blackwell, forthcoming). His most significant English publications to date are *Ethereal Shadows: Communication and Power in Contemporary Italy* (co-authored with Franco Berardi; Autonomedia, 2009), and *Credibility in Court: Communicative Practices in the Camorra's Criminal Trials* (Cambridge University Press, 2009, 2nd edition; winner of the BAAL Book of the Year Award). He is also active in Italian and European mediactivist and refugee rights networks.

DO WE STILL BELONG TO SPEECH COMMUNITIES? MOBILITY, THE LOSS OF INDEXICAL KNOWLEDGE, AND THE PRIMACY OF DENOTATIONAL MEANING

The experience of linguistic globalization, and the communicative disorder it entails, requires a serious retooling of most basic units of sociolinguistic analysis—foremost among them the speech community. The chaos and indeterminacy of contemporary flows of people, knowledge, texts, and commodities across social and geographical space affects the sociolinguistic boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. In particular, we can no longer assume that shared knowledge, especially indexical knowledge, can still serves to bind people together, negotiate conflicts, and share/transmit discourses. Using data from multiple ethnographic sites (from digital social networks to asylum hearings), this paper documents the renewed reliance on denotational references as a primary strategy to handle the fragmentation and ambivalence of contemporary communication and to establish power asymmetries (Jacquemet 2005). The claim of this paper is that it is time to go beyond a "linguistics of contact" (Pratt 1987, 1991; Rampton 1998) to examine the transidiomatic strategies (such as denotational-heavy interactional moves) which are the basic units of a sociolinguistics of xenoglossic becoming, transidiomatic mixing, and communicative recombinations.

References:

Jacquemet, M. Transidiomatic Practices: Language and Power in the Age of Globalization. Language and Communication, 25: 257-277.

Pratt, L. 1987 Linguistic Utopias. In Fabb et al. (eds.) The Linguistics of Writing. Manchester University Press

--- 1991 The Arts of the Contact Zone. Profession, 91: 33-40

Rampton, B. Speech community. In Verschueren et al. (eds.) Handbook of Pragmatics. Amsterdam: Benjamins

CLARE MAR-MOLINERO is professor of Spanish Sociolinguistics at the University of Southampton, and currently Associate Dean (Internationalisation) in the Faculty of Humanities. She is director of the Centre for Mexico-Southampton Collaboration (www.southampton.ac.uk/mexsu) and collaborates in projects with colleagues in various Mexican universities. Her publications cover a range of topics in the areas of language policy, language and migration, urban multilingualism, and linguistic superdiversity, mostly but not exclusively, in the Spanish-speaking world. She is currently involved in projects on language issues for Mexican returnees, multilingualism and language policy in Higher Education, as well as linguistic super-diversity in the City of Southampton.

THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND GLOBAL MOBILITIES ON LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES: EXAMPLES FROM THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WORLD

In this talk I will seek to explore how transnational migration influences attitudes to and impacts on language use, as well as how it might influence language policy. I will investigate the linguistic capital that transnational migrants bring with them (consciously or unconsciously) and how it affects them, for example, in job opportunities, the workplace, at school, etc. The case studies and data I will use to illustrate the discussion are taken from research on returnee Mexican migrants from the US, and Latino migrants in London especially.

I will begin with a brief overview of the main theoretical concepts that underpin this discussion, in particular the relationship between transnational migration and language use. I will focus then on this phenomenon in two particular contexts: its role in the modern (often global) city, and, secondly, the impact of returnee migrants' language practices when they arrive 'home'. Recent discussions about language and (transnational) migration have developed new ways of describing the linguistic practices and use of linguistic resources evident among such migrants, in an environment of so-called linguistic superdiversity (e.g, Blommaert, 2013). I will therefore make brief reference to these concepts in understanding contemporary multilingualism produced by transnational migration.

In the current era of globalisation, migration is pulled towards (often urban) environments that are complex, transnational and superdiverse. Many migrants cross more than one national and linguistic border in their migrant trajectory, and others return making this trajectory cyclical. This constant, intense and complex movement of peoples has destabilised many of the conventional labels that in the past have been considered permanent. Identities and networks shift and adapt to their surroundings, recognising power structures, ideologies and the value of varied cultural and social capital of the context they find themselves in. A significant label that I argue shifts and adapts in transnational migration is that of 'language', particularly discrete standard national languages. Just as migrant identities merge and shift during a transnational journey, so too do languages and linguistic practices. These can be positive, creative resources that enable social contact and advancement, or they may be negative contestations within linguistic ideological hierarchies.

In the Spanish-speaking transnational migration situations that I examine two global languages are in competition, Spanish and English. This is less common given that in the majority of transnational migration it is much more likely that the migrants' linguistic capital is heavily undervalued compared to the dominant host environment's language or languages. Nonetheless, in all these situations, whether it is two global languages that compete (or collaborate) for their space, or whether a more unequal hierarchy is quickly established, patterns of mixing, translanguaging (Garcia and Li Wei, 2014), and complex multilingualism occur.

INGRID PILLER is Professor of Applied Linguistics at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. Her research expertise is in the sociolinguistics of intercultural communication, language learning and multilingualism in the contexts of migration and globalization. She has published, lectured and consulted widely in these areas and most of her work is available for open access on the sociolinguistics portal Language on the Move, which she curates.

Ingrid serves as editor-in-chief of the international sociolinguistics journal Multilingua (deGruyter Mouton). Her most recent book Linguistic Diversity and Social Justice (Oxford University Press, 2016) has won the American Publishers Association's 2017 Prose Award for Language and Linguistics.

LINGUISTIC SHIRKERS AND INTEGRATION REFUSENIKS? THE EXCLUSIONARY CONSEQUENCES OF DISCOURSES ABOUT MIGRANT LANGUAGE LEARNING

Most migrant-receiving countries privilege one single language, spoken with a "native" accent, as the most legitimate means of communication and a key marker of "true belonging". Migrants are expected to make every effort to learn that language. While their language learning successes are rarely acknowledged and often rendered invisible, their failures are widely seen as evidence for their lack of effort to integrate and their resistance to belonging. Taking language proficiency as an index of integration or resistance is based on a number of false assumptions about adult language learning, particularly the idea that individuals exert full control over their linguistic repertoires. In this presentation, I will first examine the discursive construction of migrant language proficiency as an index of belonging. I will then explore the consequences of this fallacy, which, perversely, may include a reduction in language learning opportunities. I will illustrate my argument with evidence from recent ethnographic research in Australia, China, Germany and the UAE.

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION

CHAIR

DEBORAH CAMERON is Rupert Murdoch Professor of Language and Communication at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Worcester College. Her research interests include language, gender and sexuality; language attitudes/ideologies and 'verbal hygiene'; discourse analysis; language and globalization.

Prior to coming to Oxford, she worked at other universities in Britain and elsewhere, including Roehampton University in London, Strathclyde University in Glasgow, the Institute of Education in London and the College of William and Mary in Virginia, USA. She has held visiting professorships and fellowships at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, New York University and the University of Technology Sydney. She has published extensively, e.g. Verbal Hygiene (1995), Good To Talk: Living and Working in a Communication Culture (2000), Working with Spoken Discourse (2001), Language and Sexuality Reader (2006, co- authored with Don Kulick). In her latest publication, Gender, Power and Political Speech (co- authored with Sylvia Shaw), Prof Cameron explores the influence of gender on political speech in the 2015 UK General Election campaign.

Prof Cameron has been involved in non-academic projects promoting language and linguistic research to a wider audience. She published The Myth of Mars and Venus (2007), a general-interest book about language and gender differences, parts of which were serialized in The Guardian newspaper. She has also contributed to numerous BBC radio programmes, including Woman's Hour, Word of Mouth, Thinking Allowed and Fry's English Delight. She has participated in multiple outreach initiatives. She has a blog 'Language: a feminist guide.'

DISCUSSANTS

ELENA FIDDIAN-QASMIYEH'S research focuses on the intersections between gender and religion in experiences of and responses to conflict-induced displacement, with a particular regional focus on the Middle East and North Africa. She has conducted extensive research in refugee camps and urban areas including in Algeria, Cuba, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Sweden, and the UK. Elena is the Co-Director of UCL's Migration Research Unit, and is the coordinator of the Refuge in a Moving World research network across UCL (@RefugeMvingWrld). She is the PI of a new major AHRC-ESRC funded project, 'Local Community Experiences of and Responses to Displacement from Syria' (aka 'Refugee Hosts', see www.refugeehosts.org, @RefugeeHosts). In 2016 she was also awarded a major European Research Council award for her 5-year project, *South-South Humanitarian Responses to Displacement: Views from Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey*, which will run from 2017-2022.

ZUZANNA OLSZEWSKA is an Associate Professor in the anthropology of the Middle East at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford. Her work specialises in the ethnography of Iran and Afghanistan, with a focus on Afghan refuges in Iran, the Persian-speaking Afghan diaspora, and the anthropology of literature and cultural production. She received her doctorate in Social Anthropology from the University of Oxford in 2010, and has held post-doctoral fellowships at St. John's College (JRF, 2008-12) and LSE (LSE Fellow in Anthropology, 2012-13). Her recent book titled *The Pearl of Dari: Poetry and Personhood among Young Afghans in Iran*, was an ethnographic inquiry into how poetic activity reflects changes in youth subjectivity in an Afghan refugee community, based on work with an Afghan cultural organisation in Mashhad, Iran. Her current research takes a more global approach to Afghan cultural production, examining the affective and imaginative role Afghan diasporic communities are playing in creating (or thwarting) an elusive pan-Afghan national identity.

ANNABELLE MOONEY is Professor of Language and Society at University of Roehampton. She has previously worked on human rights, religion, globalisation and HIV and now works on the language of money.

PETER L. PATRICK is Professor of Sociolinguistics and Member of the Human Rights Centre at the University of Essex, and affiliated with the Observatoire International des Droits Linguistique. His work includes language variation and change, pidgin/creole studies, urban dialectology, sociolinguistic methods, and language rights. Recent work focuses on evaluating language testing of asylum seekers. He has applied sociolinguistics in non-academic contexts through testimony in criminal cases, studies of clinical communication, and expert interventions in the asylum process up to the UK Supreme Court. He is one of the founding members of the Language & Asylum Research Group.

ABSTRACTS (in alphabetical order)

Ayten Alibaba & Dr Jo Angouri | University of Warwick

Belonging in Context: The case of the Turkish Cypriot community in London

This paper focuses on the concepts of home, identity and belonging in modern diasporas and reports on preliminary data from an ongoing project with the Turkish Cypriot community in North London, UK. We discuss the construction of *Cypriotness* in naturally occurring data from everyday contexts and problematize the limitations of traditional dichotomies such as home/host, foreign/local, here/there.

Belonging has been associated with fixed categories in early literature, however more recently it is understood as dynamic and fluid, claimed, granted and resisted in interaction. Belonging is related to membership and attachment to imagined categories such as nationality, ethnicity or diasporic community and it typically denotes a group identity. Negotiating access to a group is subject to being accepted as 'one of us' and we pay special attention here to the process of fitting in. We argue that this process is political and the newcomer is the one who is expected to fit it. However, this takes different meanings as our participants settle to the new home.

We understand home as material and socially constructed, a hub that brings together people who self identify as family or friends. In this context we are interested in the relationship between identity and belonging and focusing in particular on how it is indexed in the space of the participants. Our data includes interactions collected in the participants' homes as well as community centres and other spaces associated with the community in London. We pay special attention to meanings associated with *Cypriotness* in this context.

We draw on data from five Turkish Cypriot participants and discuss the ways in which belonging is indexed in interaction. We discuss different positions the interactants take in constructing self and other in informal interaction and autobiographical narratives elicited through interviews. We compare and contrast this with observation data where the focus is on the linguistic landscape and symbols of belonging in the participants' various spaces and in the broader space of Haringey, Enfield and Islington boroughs where most of them are located. We take an ethnographically informed perspective and provide an insight into the dynamic nature of identities and the role of linguistic repertoire that emerge in the data.

The preliminary analysis indicates that belonging is indexed indirectly through the multiple and often contradictory positions the interactants claim in different contexts. *Cypriotness* is associated with ways of being and living projected to an imagined community, which transcends national borders and connects past and future with reference to the participants' trajectories. We close the paper by going back to the politics of belonging and the inequality of fitting in and we provide directions for further studies on modern diasporas.

Ayten Alibaba is a PhD candidate at the Centre for Applied Linguistics at the University of Warwick. Her interests include mobility, migration, modern diasporas and identity construction. Her PhD project focuses on the Turkish Cypriot diaspora and investigates how the concept of home is constructed and the sense of belonging is negotiated by the members of diaspora across generations.

Jo Angouri is Reader at the University of Warwick, UK. Her research expertise is in sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. She has carried out projects in a range of corporate and institutional contexts and her work concerns both online and face to face interaction. She has published widely on language and identity as well as teamwork and leadership in professional settings. Her current research includes a project on teamwork in medical emergencies and multidisciplinary work on migration and the labour market. She has recently edited a volume on Boundaries at Work (with M. Marra and J. Holmes, EUP, 2017) and she is working on a monograph on Intercultural Communication at Work for Routledge. Jo is a series editor for DAPSAC (Benjamins) and Language at Work (Multilingual Matters).

Dr Vlada Baranova | Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg State University

& Dr Kapitolina Fedorova |European University at St. Petersburg

'Invisible minorities' and 'hidden diversity': the linguistic landscape of Saint-Petersburg and discourses about migrants in language planning

Moscow and Saint-Petersburg are undoubtedly ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous global cities (on Moscow see Baranova, Fedorova forthcoming), but nevertheless the real multilingualism of two Russian biggest cities is totally ignored in the census and in the formulation of urban language planning. Blommaert (2016) proposes linguistic landscape as a good explorative method for studying multilingualism. The resent researches on linguistic landscape (Blommaert 2013; Shohamy et. Al. 2010; Backhaus 2006) shed some light on the reflection of power relations between different ethnic groups in urban public space.

The proposed paper has two primary goals. One goal is a comprehensive description of how non-Russian languages are symbolically represented in Saint-Petersburg's urban space in regard to languages of both immigrant population and "official minorities" from Russia, like Tatar, Kalmyk, Chuvash, etc. The second goal of this study is to propose an explanation for mismatch between diversity of the city and the underestimation of this fact both in official policy and in the discourse of citizens. Why the mobility of St. Petersburg's non-Russian population does not increase visibility of the languages other than Russian? A related but *more narrow question is* how exactly people choose the language for written communication with non-Russian speakers in case of informal and unofficial interaction?

The data analyzed in the paper were gathered through fieldwork (in 2016) in two districts with high proportion of migrant population, *Dyevjatkino* and *Parnas*, and on one old market in the center of the city, '*Apraksin dvor*'. Interviews with migrants and discussions from Internet forums were used as well as an additional source of information. The communication between the majority and ethnic minorities are conducted only in Russian, both in

official settings, as in the case of Federal Migration Service for newcomers who very often have insufficient language skills), and in informal exchanges, such as between commercial agencies (working as mediators between migrants and FMS) and non-Russian speakers. Even in places where there is no official regulation non-Russian languages' use is significantly rare and predominantly in the frame of in-group communication. There are just two languages, Chinese and Uzbek, which occasionally can be used in advertisements but again targeted exclusively to minorities. Uzbek at the same time starts to function as a lingua-franca for different migrant groups from Central Asia. According to Backhaus (2006: 64), both official and non-official multilingual signs work 'towards an increase in linguistic diversity and a challenge to the existing monolingual language regime', however, we can see that the border between these levels in Russian cities is still very strong, and both official language policy and attitudes of ethnic majority tend to ignore actual diversity, maintaining therefore urban monolingual 'façade'.

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research interests focus on Kalmyk and other Mongolian languages, language contacts among Russian and Kalmyk, and languages of labour migrants (strategies of their ethnic language maintenance, language-identity interplay, socialization and competence in Russian).

Kapitolina Fedorova graduated from St. Petersburg State University and European University at St. Petersburg. She obtained her Candidate of Sciences in Philology degree from St. Petersburg State University in 2002. Currently she is an Associated Professor and teaches Sociolinguistics at the Department of Anthropology, European University at St. Petersburg. Among her publications are the book "Language, Society, and School" (2012) and more than 25 articles. Her research interests include language contacts, border studies, interethnic communication, ethnic and linguistic stereotypes, sociolinguistics of schooling, speech practices in historical perspective, and register studies.

Hanan Ben Nafa | Manchester Metropolitan University

Code-switching as a token of emotional acculturation: the case of Arabic-English bilinguals in Manchester

This paper reports on ethnographic data emerging from a project investigating the code-switching (CS) practice of a friendship group of five adult, female, non UK-born, Arabic-English bilinguals based in Manchester, UK. Bilingual speakers' linguistic choices were believed to portray a static, homogenous identity, creating binary associations between a code and its inherent social values that bilingual speakers may not necessarily consider to be relevant. Later, by incorporating 'stance' as an analytic approach, many studies of CS addressed how different CS acts are used to shift speakers' stances and (re)construct unique bilingual identities, creating what is called a 'new' space (Finnis, 2013). However, one particular communicative purpose for which CS is deployed has not been examined in many existing studies that relate CS to the topic of multi-faceted identities. The focus of this paper is on CS as a communicative speech act that is utilised for performing evaluative moves and expressing attitudes.

To examine these evaluative acts further, the current paper utilises the appraisal model (Martin & White, 2005) to explore the participants' temporary, individual/relational stances where speakers make evaluations (e.g. expressing feelings through 'affect'). Being members of a minority group in a postmodern society, not only do these bilingual speakers have overwhelming identity options to consider, but also a variety of channels for making evaluative statements and expressing attitudes. Considering attitudes and emotions as cultural products in this context, this paper argues that speakers can be thought of as adopting and exploiting certain ways of sense-making, or using particular emotional expressions that they associate very strongly with speakers' of the host culture – the British (English) society, in this case. The paper aims to demonstrate how the way in which CS is utilised by this group of (late) bilinguals can be regarded as an implicit sign of the process of emotional acculturation (De Leersnyder et al., 2011). A process where bilingual speakers carry out evaluation through making use of expressions and attitudes they adopted due to the socialisation process they have gone through in the host society.

Through a moment-by-moment analysis of recordings of naturally occurring peer interactions and semi-structured interviews, I explore the participants' tendency toward switching to English to take up (positive) expressive stances. This pattern is particularly marked when it comes to compliments, politeness, shows of appreciation, expressions of excitement, and achieving an in-group bond. The paper will also discuss the way in which the absence of certain Arabic emotional expressions by the participants can be attributed to the mind-set of the majority of Arabic (Libyan) speakers; a stereotype that the participants are aware of and appear to draw on in their interactions. The paper argues that such a cultural stereotype cannot be simply dismissed altogether, as it proves indispensable to comprehending the sophisticated motivations behind the participants' process of evaluative CS through their consistent use of English emotional expressions. Overall, the findings of this paper develop crucial insight into the complexities of emotional acculturation and the role it could play in advancing the CS field.

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Hanan Ben Nafa is a PhD candidate in Sociolinguistics at Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU). Hanan has been in the UK since 2009, when she moved there to pursue her studies. She is currently working in the areas of Bilingualism, Applied Linguistics and Language Variation & Identity. The title of her PhD project is: 'Code-Switching & social identity construction among Arabic-English bilinguals'. Alongside academia, Hanan is also a freelancer & volunteer interpreter and translator.

Dr Csanád Bodó | Eötvös Loránd University

& Dr Noémi Fazakas | Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania

Saving the national language: Globalisation, nationalism, and the revitalization of Hungarian in North-East Romanian Moldavia

In social sciences globalization is interpreted as a shift from the nation-state to the re-territorialisation of modernist spaces, where the globalized new economy is a key factor in national and political practices. This concept of globalization has been introduced into linguistics, for instance by Blommaert (2010) in reference to multilayered and polycentric orders of indexicality, or by Heller's (2010) focus on language as a tradeable commodity. Although there is a growing body of work on perpetual tensions of processes still working towards unifying national markets, communities or languages and the opposite tendencies towards niche markets, ethnolinguistic hybridity or Bakhtinian heteroglossia, the emerging contradictions have mainly been investigated in terms of the developing late modern social organization – the new economy – in contrast to modernist national frames. From the opposite perspective, however, the question has hardly been raised as to how the nationalist ideologies make use of globalization. The presentation focuses on this aspect in the context of the revitalisation of Hungarian – the so-called *Csángó* dialect – in North-East Romanian Moldavia.

It will be argued that this revitalisation programme can be interpreted as a commodification of the language. In the process of language becoming a commodity, i.e. a tradeable object of education, it is seen both as a standardised skill and as 'authentic' identity; these attributes will appear in the same practices in the linguistic market. Within this framework, linguistic revitalisation can be interpreted not only as a modernization and emancipation project that is implemented through the acquisition of (standard) Hungarian language skills, but also as a language political attempt to create new transnational forms of belonging to the Hungarian language community.

Based on multi-sited ethnographic research conducted between 2014-2016 both in Moldavia and Hungary, it will be shown that the revitalisation of Moldavian Hungarian is organised along the ideological expectations of the supporters of the programme – the so-called 'godparents' – from Hungary. The godparents undertake the sponsorship of a Moldavian child and subsidise his or her participation in the Hungarian teaching programme. 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 mediatised Csángó language undergoing standardisation, which results in forms of speech that falls into the category of what Agha (2011) calls commodity registers. In this case, transnational commodification helps develop a language policy aiming at nationalising the Moldavian people of Hungarian descent.

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Csanád Bodó is associate professor of Linguistics at the Eötvös Loránd University. He wrote his PhD thesis on the real-time study of language shift in Hungarian-German bilingual Austria, and he has also done extensive research on the situation of the Hungarian language in Romania. His main research interest is in sociolinguistics and globalization. Currently he is conducting a research project on linguistic revitalization of Moldavian Hungarian as a commodity. –

Noémi Fazakas is lecturer at the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Romania). She completed her doctoral studies at the Babeş–Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, the title of her thesis being Language Revitalization: Theory, Methodology and Perspectives. Her main field of research is sociolinguistics and the revitalization of endangered languages and is currently part of the research project focusing on the revitalization of Moldavian Hungarian conducted by prof. Csanád Bodó.

Dominique Bürki | University of Bern

The impact of language policies and global movement in Saipan: English as an L1 on the merge

Saipan is the largest island in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) in the north-western Pacific Ocean. English became a community language in Saipan when the US began its administration post-WWII. Saipan was first part of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) before becoming a Commonwealth in 1978. The two indigenous communities, the Chamorros and Saipan Carolinians, each have their own language, yet mostly use English as a lingua franca. Consequently, Saipan is shifting from an English as an L2 to an English as an L1 community according to Schneider's (2007) dynamic model.

The present study discusses this shift of English towards an L1 in Saipan in light of educational language policies established in the American era and the complex language contact situation due to global movement. The study is based on conducted ethnographical fieldwork and a collected corpus in 2015 consisting of 95 sociolinguistic interviews with indigenous speakers ranging in age from 12-79 years.

Since the administration of the US, the two indigenous languages and English are the official languages of the CNMI. Initially, English was taught in schools if an English-speaking teacher was available. In the early 1960s, an English only policy was implemented and Peace Corps were sent to Micronesia. By 1975 bilingual education programs were established and Chamorro and Saipan Carolinian were approved to be taught in (Topping, 1985, pp. 111-122). Despite the effort of the bilingual programs in school, English has developed to be the dominant language in education as well as in government, law, and media nowadays.

Additionally, the recent global movement complexes the language contact situation in Saipan. Saipan enjoys a multicultural, diverse, and mobile population with immigrating and emigrating people. The local residents only make up a fourth of the whole population and most immigrants (43% of the whole population) are contract workers from the Philippines or China, and present a strong and stable community (2010 Census). In this globalized language contact setting, English is used as the lingua franca. Accordingly, many children do not speak their native language and learn English as their L1. However, major socio-demographic changes are taking place and will continue in near future caused by immigration policy changes due the recent US federal government's take-over of immigration in the CNMI. Considering the outward mobility of indigenous people, many spend years off-island, usually in mainland US, for educational, work-related, medical or family reasons. A variationist study on the future tense in Saipanese English has, indeed, shown the strong effect of mobility in shaping the use of English: the patterning of the future tense variants of people who spent more than 5 years off-island resembles that of other, especially North American, L1 English varieties.

This paper explores how past and present (educational) language policies and global movement have contributed to the complex and dynamic language contact situation and the ongoing shift towards English as an L1 in Saipan.

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Marina Massaguer Comes | Open University of Catalonia

Languages, belonging, and social categories in Catalonia: non-Catalan speaking perspectives

According to official surveys, 56.6% of the inhabitants of Catalonia do not use Catalan as their everyday language, although 80.4% of the total population declare themselves being able to speak it (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015). People who do not tend to use Catalan in spite of living in Catalonia constitute a wide, blurred, and heterogeneous category because of its internal diversity regarding linguistic competence, places of origin, ethnolinguistic profiles, life trajectories, and, overall, levels of symbolic capitalisation. Most of them have experienced mobility, either from other parts of Spain (21.9% of the total population) or from other countries all around the world (19.1%): on the whole, 41% of the Catalan citizens were born outside of Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015). The aim of this paper is to explore different profiles of non-Catalan speakers in terms of how they experience belonging, or not, to Catalonia. Also, it will examine their positioning in relation to socially available categorisations connected to languages, ethnocultural identity, socioeconomic status, and access to symbolic resources; and how they negotiate, accept, or challenge general assumptions regarding these categories.

Recent research shows that language choice in Catalonia is experiencing a process of de-ethnicization (Pujolar and Gonzàlez 2012). Traditional assumptions about language, ethnicity and social class based on the duality Catalans/Castilians –the latter mentioned, people from other parts of Spain who migrated to Catalonia during the 20th century– are being shifted by everyday speakers' practices because most of these native speakers of Spanish and, especially their children, adopted Catalan as one of their languages. In this way, "Catalan linguistic authority is no longer firmly grounded in the authenticity value that sustained its legitimacy" (Woolard 2016, 300). However, this de-ethnicization trend does not seem to apply to new populations with origins outside of Spain, who do not tend to be addressed in Catalan by the natives. This could lead to the construction of new social categories based on language, indexicality, and ethnicity.

Fieldwork conducted during 2016 shows that place of origin is a variable that strongly conditions positioning both in terms of belonging and perception of social existing categories: Spanish nationals –born in or outside of Catalonia– tend to have a stronger feeling of belonging to Catalonia and challenge traditional assumptions regarding social available categories (i.e. boundaries between ethnolinguistic groups and social classes identified with each group). In contrast, foreign non-Catalan speakers tend to not develop this sense of belonging and, moreover, tend to accept or even reinforce

assumptions regarding social categories that seemed to be in process of being left behind as a consequence of four decades of language revitalisation policies. This paper will look at how these dissimilar perspectives between two profiles of non-Catalan speakers become concrete, and what the possible consequences are for themselves and for the community.

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***Marina Massaguer Comes** is a second year PhD candidate in Sociolinguistics at the Open University of Catalonia (UOC). She is interested in the study of bi/multilingualism in Catalonia, language ideologies, and the relationship between languages and identities. Concretely, her PhD research project, "Non-Catalan Speakers in Catalonia: Power, Belonging, and Legitimacy in the Post-National Era", focuses on people living in Catalonia who do not speak Catalan or do so very rarely. This project aims to explore these profiles of speakers precisely in terms of how they position themselves in relation to socially available categorisations connected to language, ethnocultural identity, and socioeconomic aspects. Before undertaking doctoral studies, Marina conducted postgraduate research on Catalan Roma communities' language practices and attitudes. She was a lector in Catalan at the University of Oxford between 2012 and 2015.*

Dr Mariam Durrani | Harvard University

(Im)Mobility of Urdu-English Mixing: Analyzing Hybrid Linguistic Performative Economies among Pakistani-origin Muslim Youth

In de Fina and Perrino (2013), they critique studies of speech communities that are viewed as relatively homogenous and bound to specific locations. In response, they argue that, "although in the past, dislocations often implied drastic separations from places and cultures of origin, nowadays the diffusion of new globalizing media has resulted in the ability of displaced populations to keep in touch with their home countries and with other, far away interlocutors, and in the possibility for those who are not physically displaced, to constitute and take part in virtual transnational communities 'with no sense of place'" (Ibid. 510). This notion was echoed by Sapir (1931) who argues that the far-reaching techniques of communication as lessened the "importance of mere geographical contiguity." Following this argument, this paper examines some of the ways that transnational youth population take part in a kind of transnational speech that lack a sense of bounded location in the conventional understanding of speech community. And yet there is some facet of community that exists by focusing on some linguistic consistencies for Urdu-Hindi transnational speakers, including college students.

During my ethnographic fieldwork (both online and offline), I observed the ways that Urdu was being reformulated for needs by transnational in-migrant college students in both NYC and Lahore. In Nakassis' (2016) research with Tamil-speaking college students, he analyzes their hybrid performative economies of mixed English and Tamil linguistic practices as part of a larger desire for 'style,' while the 'disfluencies and hybridizations of English with Tamil keep its excesses in check." Similarly, to speak only in one or the other grammatical system, here Urdu or English, would index a lack of global sociality and urban competence for bilingual Pakistani-origin. Instead, I observed how college youth incorporated linguistic-hybrid performative economies as part of their participation in the youth formation under study. In this paper, I argue that mobility imaginaries become present in and through Urdu-English linguistic mixing practices occurring in higher educational spaces, online, and beyond (cf. Salazar 2010). In other words, the moment of encounter with the cosmopolitan and concomitant anxieties could be observed in in the very grammatical constructions they spoke.

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Mariam Durrani is currently a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University.Durrani's research focuses on the nexus of migration studies, higher education in the U.S. and Pakistan, Muslim youth, language, and Islamophobia. As a feminist scholar, she hopes to make a critical impact by shifting how research and public discourse engages with the category of 'Muslim youth', bearing in mind contemporary framings of the gendered Muslim figure as the axis where questions of cultural difference, politics, and ethics meet. In her current book project, she examines the category of 'Muslim youth' through an ethnographic study of migration, mobility, and aspiration among Pakistani-origin Muslim college students. Her next project that focuses on Muslim youth-led technology start-ups as a way to counter both extremism and anti-Muslim racism. In her courses, Durrani facilitates classrooms that privilege critical consciousness and ensure connections between (inter)disciplinary coursework and real-world application. Her pedagogical stance focuses on experiential learning through project-based work that encourages students to explore ideas and then to critically re-present their explorations through textual, aural, and visual modalities. She received her joint Ph.D. in Anthropology and Education at the University of Pennsylvania. She received her B.S. in Systems Engineering from the University of Arizona and her M.A. in English Rhetoric from the University of New Mexico. Durrani has taught at University of Pennsylvania, Hunter College in New York, and Lahore University of Management Science in Lahore, Pakistan.

Zuzana Elliott | University of Edinburgh

A sociophonetic investigation of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation and Scottish identity construction in Slovak immigrants in Edinburgh

Although some research into immigration typically considered immigrants' integration in terms of their host communities, recent studies (e.g. McClelland, 2000; Irie, 2003; Lamb, 2004, Jenkins, 2001) have considered the presence of a distinct trans-national, global identities among immigrants. The current study observes the phenomenon under a linguistic lens, across three groups of female speakers: long-term Slovak immigrants residing in Scotland (N=20), Edinburgh-born English speakers (N=8), and fluent English language learners living in Slovakia (N=6). This paper addresses the development of language production among immigrants that incorporates elements from their host and home countries, and also examines how these immigrants' language attitudes reinforce the development of global linguistic identities.

The analysis revealed that immigrants' pronunciations differed from both their local Edinburgh peers and English-speaking Slovaks in Slovakia. The data from this study investigated pronunciation patterns using FACE and GOAT vowels obtained through a structured interview questionnaire, a reading passage, and a word list. The study used Euclidean distance measurements to determine F1/F2 movement between vowel onsets and glides. The goal was to investigate whether experienced L2 speakers (i.e. Slovak immigrants) produced similar style-based variation as their local Edinburgh peers. The results showed that the pronunciation patterns for Slovak immigrants' FACE and GOAT vowels were more diphthongal than their Scottish peers but more monophthongal than Slovak non-immigrants, across all three speech styles. As a result, immigrants exhibit a style of pronunciation for FACE and GOAT vowels that was distinct from both non-immigrant groups.

Language attitudes and cultural identity data were collected through responses to a questionnaire (Llamas and Watt, 2014) and a verbal guise task. Results from the verbal guise task suggested that immigrants found Scottish and Slovak-accented varieties most favourable in the *social attractiveness* category, but still evaluated the native varieties (Scottish and RP) highest in the *prestige* category. These responses were similar to those given by Scottish participants, though in contrast the Scottish participants had more defined attitudes and more varied scores between guises. When combined with results from production analysis, these attitudes reinforce the notion that Slovak immigrant participants developed identities that were neither fully adapted to nor resistant toward

their host country. Rather, the immigrants appeared to favour multi-national identities, whether through explicit self-evaluation or via implicit language attitudes. In short, both language attitudes and language production supported the idea that even long-term immigrants maintained identities and values that were distinct from those given by peers in both their home country and their host country.

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Zuzana Elliott *is a doctoral student of Linguistics and English Language at the University of Edinburgh. Her interest lies in examining sociolinguistic variation and mapping diverse language identities in immigrant second language learners. Her current research project investigates production, perception and formation of language identities among long-term Slovak immigrants who reside in Scotland.*

Carlie FitzGerald | University of Essex

The Transformation of Experience in Asylum Narratives

I examine interpreted monologic narratives told by asylum seekers during UK asylum applications, attending to issues of reportability, credibility and evaluation. The narratives occur first in interviews and are then transformed and entextualized by bureaucrats (Blommaert 2005) in letters refusing asylum applications. Though interviews are carried out via interpreters and hand--- recorded in English, asylum seekers are held responsible for the transformed versions of their contents. Narratives focus on events supporting claims of persecution, and typically involve brutality, violence, oppression and/or 24 lobalization. Such narratives are highly reportable in Labov's (2013) terms, justifying automatic reassignment of speaker role to tellers even in highly structured bureaucratic interviews (Sarangi & Slembrouck 1996). However, not only is reportability inversely correlated with credibility in general, but credibility is crucial to the success of asylum applications: finding that asylum seeker accounts lack credibility is the most common reason for refusal. In the process of condensation and reformulation that produces refusal letters, I show how in the bureaucratic version events are omitted, actors are stripped of or assigned agency, and details are mistaken, invented or deleted – ironically, since "lacks detail" is a standard criticism of asylum speakers' accounts and a contributing factor in assessment of credibility. At the same time narrative--- internal evaluation by tellers may be discounted, bureaucratic accounts often add elaborate external evaluation. Thus even when narrative performance is allowed and narrative form is significantly preserved (not always the case), institutional relevance trumps experiential (Maryns 2006), pretextuality disenfranchises the speaker, and the asylum seeker's voice is lost.

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Carlie FitzGerald *holds a BA in Linguistics from Macquarie University and an Mres in Sociolinguistics from the University of Essex. She was awarded the Arthur Delbridge prize for excellence in linguistics at Macquarie University and more recently presented part of her Mres research at a colloquium in Ghent in 2015. Her research focuses on analyses of the language used in the asylum interview and application process in the UK. She is particularly interested in the re-contextualisation of narrative and voice*

in relation to the migrant community, how credibility is established through language, language policy, and the misinterpretation and asymmetry of power in institutional and bureaucratic discourse.

Dr Nicole Gallant | INRS University of Quebec

& Prof Laurie Carlson Berg | University of Regina

In Fransaskoisie: Competing ideologies regulating the inclusion of French-speaking immigrants in English Canada

The Fransaskois are a French-speaking minority, now comprising less than 10% of the English-speaking province of Saskatchewan in Canada. Established from the onset of European colonization in Western Canada (circa 1752), the French became outnumbered by the British a century later. Despite successive bans on schooling in French and the highest assimilation rate among Francophone minorities in Canada, the Fransaskois community persisted, albeit somewhat covertly. With a high birthrate, they compensated English-speaking population growth (mostly generated by immigration) until the mid twentieth century. In more recent years, facing demographic decline, the Fransaskois, and similar francophone minorities throughout English Canada, have endeavored to encourage French-speaking immigration.

In this paper, we seek to disentangle an array of competing ideologies regarding the definition of the Fransaskois community in light of the changing demographics of French-speaking citizens in Saskatchewan. We do this by exploring several differing narratives about the inclusion of French-speaking immigrants into Fransaskoisie.

The paper draws on over 10 years of ongoing mixed-methods research among francophone minorities in English Canada: qualitative ethnographic fieldwork comprising semi-structured interviews, focus groups, direct observation, and participant observation; as well as 2 quantitative surveys totaling over 3000 respondents, including 238 French-speaking immigrants in Saskatchewan surveyed in 2015.

First, we will show how the official Canadian federal regulation of language duality is rooted in a classic liberal ideology of individual freedom, which does not recognize the existence of a community, bound by social ties, specific forms of sociability, or other cultural traits. This governmental narrative purports that a French-speaking immigrant settling in Saskatchewan automatically "counts" as part of what the public policy lingo calls the "official language minority community" (OLMC), regardless of his/her sense of belonging or effective social integration into the local Fransaskois community.

Second, we explore the evolution of the narrative about Fransaskoisie put forth by the organisations which speak in its name, such as the Fransaskois Community Assembly (*Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise* – ACF), a nongovernmental yet elected body of representatives. Like other French-speaking minorities in English Canada, Fransaskoisie was traditionally self-defined through a form of "ethnic" nationalism (Brubaker 1992; Zimmer 2008), not only with language, but more predominantly with Catholic religion and ethnicity. This narrative seemed to create obstacles to the integration of French-speaking newcomers. In an effort to open the community to immigrants, the ACF put forth a high profile narrative challenging traditional ideas about belonging, and toured the province with its "Commission on inclusion" in 2005.

Thirdly, we look at everyday social representations among "ordinary citizens" (Dryzeck 1990). We compare native-born Fransaskois and French-speaking immigrants established in Saskatchewan, with regards to their self-declared sense of belonging and their representations of the identity markers characterizing the Fransaskois community. By exploring the lived experience of the way French-speaking immigrants build belonging to Fransaskoisie and how locals view these newcomers in the context of inclusive (official and associative) narratives, we address some crucial issues facing liberal Western democracies today: is language alone sufficient build an enduring sense of belonging to a historical, "imagined" community?

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belonging, her research has also examined social and employment integration of immigrants. Currently the Director of the Observatory on Youth and society, she also pursues work on the online political socialisation of young people. She has published several papers in Canadian Ethnic Studies, Politique et Sociétés and Liens social et politiques, as well as various book chapters, including one in Language and Identity Politics (C. Späti, Berghahn Books, 2015). Nicole Gallant has also co-edited three volumes on youth identity and youth political participation at Université Laval Press.

***Laurie Carlson Berg** is Full Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Regina. Her research and teaching is focused on school-based inclusion within minority language contexts. Her current work explores the experiences of francophone immigrants, with special attention to inclusive pedagogical and organizational practices that are consistent with collaboration, cultural reciprocity, and the potential strengths each participant brings to the school milieu, in Canadian Francophone school settings outside Quebec, with a particular focus on Fransaskois schools. Diffusion of her research includes presentations at scholarly conferences, and to community partners and professional organizations, as well as reports to various levels of governments, refereed journal articles, and a contribution to the second edition of collected works entitled La francophonie canadienne dans toutes ses couleurs et le défi de l'inclusion scolaire.*

Dr Pamela Innes | University of Wyoming

& Prof Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir | University of Iceland

Language, Identity and Belonging: The Situation in Iceland

Iceland has long embraced a language ideology based on purism and linguistic conservativism (Þórarinsdóttir 2010). Until the early 2000s, policies and teaching methods designed to maintain the purity of the language were directed at Icelandic first language speakers. With growing numbers of immigrants to the country from the mid-1990s to the present, language policies and practices have directly focused on those learning Icelandic as a new language in their repertoire. As a result, migrants to Iceland who heed the Ministry of Social Affairs'

suggestion that they learn Icelandic so as to become fully integrated into society are challenging the conservative ideological stances, particularly that advocating purism (Skaptadóttir 2007; Skaptadóttir and Innes Forthcoming).

While research shows that spaces for change are appearing and that allowances are being made for language learners (Harðardóttir 2015; Innes and Skaptadóttir 2016; Skaptadóttir and Innes Forthcoming), linguistic purism is still present. Recently, it has been used to critique Icelandic-English code-mixing (Silfur Egils 2016 and comments following). Statements critiquing learners' productions also are offered and concerns about speakers' abilities to speak Icelandic well are used to limit access to jobs and other types of resources (Skaptadóttir 2015; Wojtyńska and Zielińska 2010). In this paper, we will trace how learners navigate in an environment in which they are uncertain about which ideological stance they are likely to encounter, welcoming/encouraging versus boundary-maintaining/discouraging, and what learners make of the varying responses they receive when they use Icelandic.

Review of interview and other varieties of data from fieldwork with adult learners of Icelandic allows us to explore whether Icelanders truly are adhering less to the purist language ideology and are adopting a more flexible and inclusive view toward language. We also intend to pursue the question of what this means for identity construction and issues of belonging in Iceland, both for native speakers and learners of Icelandic. Investigating issues like these provide new paths for exploration of identity construction and belonging among transnational migrants.

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Pamela Innes *is an Association Professor of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming. She studies the effects of language pedagogy, policy and practice amongst small language communities.*

Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir *is a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Iceland. Her research focuses on issues of migration, national identity, work-related mobility, transnationalism and gender.*

Camille Jacob | University of Portsmouth

'Back to *le futur'* ? English, globalization and authenticity in Algeria

This paper explores how global discourses of English as the 'international language' and the 'language of development' are reproduced, read and reconstructed in a dynamic multilingual linguistic context often defined as 'conflictual', and where languages are used to index identity and authenticity. Bringing together content analysis, corpus linguistics, geosemiotics and ethnography, I question the impact of uncritical academic discourses about 'languages in Algeria' and 'English in the world' on the maintenance of socio-political stratification in postcolonial settings. I argue that users' contradictory discourses and practices both need to be examined and taken into account in order to understand how mobility and change (both real and imagined) are interpreted and narrated by actors.

Most studies on the Algeria linguistic context focus on the notions of rivalry, hierarchy and what counts as 'authentic', with each language considered as a separate entity imbued with heavy symbolism. English is therefore described as an external and 'neutral' language, and seen as being used as a proxy battleground by proponents of Standard Arabic to reduce the importance of French, as it is "a language without connotations of domination, without a political past and […] a convenient way of getting the job done" (Ager 2001:21, quoted in Benrabah 2013: 87). Across Africa, even though English has historically been 'absent' from many former French colonies, policy-makers and academics have suggested that there is an exponential growth in interest in the language, from increased demand for English tuition and bilateral partnerships (Algeria) to changes in the education system (Cameroon, Madagascar) and a linguistic shift from French to English in the public sphere (Rwanda). These processes are explained as driven in part by a rhetoric of rebelling against French linguistic and cultural (neo)colonialism and existing mechanisms of elite closure, and moving towards a language which has been 'de-colonised' and truly 'internationalised' (see for example Benrabah 2013 & 2014, Dyers & Abongdia 2010, Higgins 2009, Lefevre 2015, Ounis 2012, Pearson 2014). In addition, the promotion of English over French is also expressed as symbol and catalyst of the dismantling of monolithic, authoritarian, closed systems, not only linguistically but also by extension politically and economically (e.g. Benstead & Reif 2013, Education First 2015, Euromonitor International 2012, Mostari 2004, Taleb Ibrahimi 2006). The 'international language' is thus heralded as breaking down socio-economic barriers and helping to create new categories of belonging and participation. Discourses around language are intermeshed with hopes and concerns around perceived changing patterns of emigration (to Anglophone countries rather than Francophone) and immigration (from China and sub-Saharan Africa).

Nonetheless, research and my own current year-long fieldwork show that use of the language and perceptions of its presence in Algeria remain relatively minimal (Atmane 2013, Davies & Bentahila 2006, Sebaa 2015) and that interest for and use of English does not follow this 'global movement' explanatory frame in any straightforward way. This paper therefore raises the question of the impact of the global discourses of the 'empowering' and

'developmental' effects of English (cf. Gargesh 2006, Seargeant 2012, Tupas 2006) on linguistic practices and conceptualisations of belonging, and the responsibility of academics (cf. Abbes-Kara, Kebbas & Cortier 2013, Blanchet 2016, Kubota 2015).

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Lydia Catedral & Farzad Karimzad | University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Mobile (dis)connection: Migrant narratives about social media and the homeland

Research on language and migration has adopted a transnational approach, shifting away from notions of static home and host countries, and focusing instead on how transnationals orient simultaneously to these centers through discursive practices (Koven 2013). New technologies, in particular, are argued to have intensified the dynamic between both countries (Vertovec 1999); however, there has been little analysis of how these technologies are invoked in migration discourses – that is, how migrants construct their relationship to the homeland and to these technologies through their language. In this paper, we focus on how social media is invoked in migrants' discursive construction of their identities, and we argue that references to social media are used not only to *adequate*, but also to *differentiate* (Bucholtz & Hall 2005) the identities of those abroad from those in the homeland.

The data for this study are drawn from 45 hours of recorded interviews and naturally occurring conversation among members of two diasporic communities: Iranians and Uzbeks living in the U.S. Using a socially situated approach to careful linguistic analysis, we examine migration discourses, paying particular attention to the use of deictics and affective language. As in the following example, migrants may reference technology in order to discursively construct differences between themselves and those in the homeland.

"*If I'm on Facebook and the news feed that I get from my generation of people who are in Uzbekistan raising their kids there, and then my friends who have moved to the US, it's a stark difference.*"

This woman invokes Facebook when asked for clarification on her larger assertion as to the differences between those in her generation who have stayed in Uzbekistan versus those who have left the country. In this case, social media is invoked to provide evidence of difference from the homeland, demonstrating that despite facilitating *connectedness*, technology can also be seen as increasing feelings of *disconnectedness* for those living abroad. This may be in part because technology disrupts the imaginations of an unchanged homeland by confronting those abroad with images of a temporally *present* homeland – one with which it may be more difficult to adequate. In turn, technology is invoked to highlight identity differences, which are then manifest linguistically through explicit deictics (e.g. "Us and Them") and implicit discursive moves (e.g. intonation).

The invocation of technology and the emerging feelings of disconnection in fact helps highlight not only the differences between migrant and non-migrant identities, but also the sharedness of migrant experiences. By examining both the discourses about technology as well as the language use surrounding real-time reactions to images of the homeland available through technology, we demonstrate how migrant identities are formed in part through the narration of the unique (dis)connection to the homeland that is facilitated by technological advances. This work has implications for understanding the impact of technology on notions of migration, language and belonging, and for challenging the ideas that equate technological advancement and greater exposure with greater affiliation.

Lydia Catedral is a PhD Candidate in the department of Linguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her subfield is sociolinguistics and her research interests relate to identity, migration and gender. Her dissertation concerns the use of, and response to, critical language by Uzbek women living in the United States.

Farzad Karimzad is a PhD Candidate in Linguistics with a specialization in sociolinguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He is interested in the sociolinguistics of globalization, focusing specially on language and identity issues in diasporic and digital spaces. His dissertation concerns the sociolinguistic effects of mobility, focusing on Iranian Azerbaijanis in the U.S.

Dr Kamran Khan | King's College London

The responsibilisation of citizenship language test preparation in the UK: the promise of inclusion and reality of potential exclusion

In 2013 ESOL classes were no longer sufficient to become a citizen. The remaining route to satisfying the requirement for British citizenship is via the LUK (Life in the UK) test. The

majority of LUK test preparation centres have closed down due to concerns about 'bogus' test centres and access to English support has been devastated . Therefore, individuals must now prepare for the test away from institutional education settings and, through 'responsibilisation;' that is to say, they must take charge of their own learning in order to become a citizen will full rights and privileges that this status promises. This affects some more than others. This paper will demonstrate the ways in which such situations are negotiated in citizenship language testing when the preparation becomes a part of responsibilisation processes.

This paper is based on data from an ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) citizenship project between 2014 and 2016. The data was collected in two cities in London and Leicester. In all we interviewed more than 160 people and the second phase of the project was ethnographically informed in that I spent time with specific communities. We are currently in the process of writing up the project.

Faced with difficult socioeconomic situations, low levels of education, motherhood in some cases and a demanding test, test-takers engage under difficult circumstances. In some cases, they engage with the test in their native language and thus undermine the ideological orientation of the test and preparation. In other cases, the test proves to be highly exclusionary due to the multiple responsibilities of motherhood and lack of test preparation support.

Through the responsibilisation of citizenship language testing, the test promises inclusion and equality but in reality marginalises women in particular on grounds of class and for their non-European or English speaking backgrounds. We provide empirical evidence of the barriers that many women face and the consequences of responsibilisation which was enabled in the first place by the withdrawal of adequate access to English and now punishes most those who are most in need of such support.

The relevance of our research has recently come into sharper focus due to the criticism of Muslim women in the recent Casey Integration Review in the UK. Within this political context, the Government is criticizing those who were hardest hit by funding cuts and law changes. Part of becoming a participative citizen is access to equal rights and opportunities yet pathways to citizenship which are far more onerous for some than others.

Kamran Khan has worked in citizenship testing and language for six years. He completed his Ph.D at the University of Birmingham (UK) and the University of Melbourne (Australia). He followed a participant through the citizenship test process which ranged from test preparation to the linguistic practices involved in the citizenship ceremony. For the last three years, He has been working on the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) funded project entitled: 'The UK Citizenship Project: Exploring Immigrants' Experiences.' He is currently based at the Universitat de Lleida in Catalonia and at King's College London as a visiting scholar. His research interests include: citizenship, multilingualism, language testing, migration and security.

Maria Martika, Eleni Ntalampyra & Dr Birgul Yilmaz | Hellenic Open University

Language ideologies among refugees in Greece

This paper is based on ethnographic material produced in the framework of project P.R.E.S.S. (Provision of Refugee Education and Support Scheme) which is funded by the Hellenic Open University. It draws on our ongoing ethnographic fieldwork in three locations – Lesvos, Athens and Thessaloniki- from three different refugee camps in Greece. We are currently investigating the language practices of refugees who have been "trapped" either on the Greek island of Lesvos or in major cities like Athens and Thessaloniki.

The central concern of our paper is to explore the language ideologies that are emerging from the refugees' past lives, current encampment experience as well as their future aspirations. We seek to examine how historical and current political, sociocultural and the experience of encampment intersect with language ideologies. Using Irvine and Gal's (2000) framework of language ideologies and the semiotic processes of *iconization, fractal recursivity and erasure,* we argue that linguistic features of variation in Dari, Kurmanji and Arabic index social groups as well as projecting inclusion, exclusion and the invisibility of certain groups in the context of camps.

We will organize our discussion in three sections. First, we will discuss how ideologies about standard versus non-standard varieties are

constructed among Kurdish refugees in Lesvos. Second, we will analyse how the stratification of linguistic varieties is connected to perceptions of marginalization among Afghan refugees in Athens. Third, we will document how the encampment experience, in Thessaloniki, creates new spaces of interaction between Syrian and Afghan communities. We conclude by drawing attention to the multiplicity and contention of language ideologies in such a fluid context as that of our participants. This ideological fluidity is displayed in the refugees' fragmented attendance of language learning activities, their explicit comments about various linguistic varieties used in and outside the camp, their language policing actions, their linguistic repertoires and linguistic choices made during their encampment experience.

Maria Martika is a PhD candidate of Linguistic Anthropology, at the University of Toronto. Her research interests are in language socialization practices with a special focus on the displays of epistemic and affective stances in everyday talk. Except for research based on her fieldwork in the Albanian immigrant households in Greece, she has also analyzed Greek conversational practices for negotiating epistemic rights and obligations. At the moment, she is working as a researcher in the PRESS Project of Hellenic Open University (HOU), and is doing fieldwork in the refugee camps in Athens.

Eleni Ntalampyra is currently a researcher in sociolinguistics at the Project PRESS (Provision of Refugee and Support Scheme) of the Hellenic Open University (HOU). She is a PhD candidate at the University Montpellier III, Paul Valery. She studied French literature at the University of Aristotle and she holds a Master's Degree from the University Paris III, Sorbonne Nouvelle. Her research interests are social and language representations, literacy, didactics, multilingualism, Roma schooling, linguistic /ethnography and discourse analysis.

Birgul Yilmaz is a postdoctoral researcher at Hellenic Open University, researching educational and linguistic needs of refugees in Greece for Project PRESS (Provision of Refugee and Support Scheme) as a sociolinguist. She holds a PhD in Linguistics from School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London. Her PhD thesis entitled "Learning my language: Moments of languages and identities among Kurds in the UK dealt with the sociolinguistic aspects of language and identity

in community based heritage language learning classes. Her research interests are language ideologies, attitudes towards standard vs nonstandard varieties, intersections of language, religion, region and social class, language learning in community, language and politics, linguistic /ethnography and critical/discourse analysis

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Dr Yolandi Ribbens-Klein | University of Cape Town

The embodiment of place and belonging: *boorlinge* and *inkommers* in (im)mobility

In the context of geographic mobility, in-migration can contribute to changing, and sometimes conflicting dynamics amongst establish residents (i.e. locals) and newcomers. In this presentation, I will explore how locals and newcomers discursively construct place identities in terms of ideologies of locality and belonging. Modan (2007), and other sociolinguistic scholars such as Becker (2009), use the term *place identity* to refer to an aspect of social identity tied to locality. Furthermore, the sense of belonging to a specific place can be regarded as the *embodiment* of locality. Deumert (2014:18) states that the phenomenological notion of embodiment highlights 'the way in which material objects become part of our bodily memory' (see Bucholtz and Hall's [2016] discussion of embodied sociolinguistics). The materiality I focus on is places or localities, where the embodiment of place relates to people's lived experience, how they express being '(not) from here', as well as the kinds of freedom and restrictions that places can have on the movement and location of bodies. Embodiment therefore involves notions of *mobility* and *immobility*. As argued by Blommaert (2010), a sociolinguistics of mobility considers how the movement of people involves the movement of different semiotic resources. I argue that (im)mobility *per se* is a semiotic resource, particularly seen in the notion of being a local or established resident, versus a newcomer.

The presentation will focus on how the embodiment of place is expressed in interviews conducted in 2011 with residents from a peri-urban, Afrikaans-dominant town called Houtiniquadorp (located in South Africa's South Cape region). In Houtiniquadorp, the residents created emic place identities that involve historic

struggles to belong, resistance to newcomers, and discourses of authenticity. Residents refer to themselves and others as *boorlinge* or *inkommers*. *Boorlinge* – literary "natives" – refers to established, and largely non-mobile, Houtiniquadorpers who can trace their ancestral connection to the place through several generations. The relational opposite of *boorlinge* are *inkommers* – or incomers – which include recent arrivals, and residents who might have been living in the town since a young age, but were not born there, or whose parents were not born there.

Discourse analyses of interview narratives show, among other things, that *boorlinge* expressed a sense of visually recognising *boorling* bodies, through the way they walk, talk and behave. Crime and substance abuse were linked to discourses about troubled neighbourhoods and the *inkommers* living there. Some *inkommers* also described their experiences of being silent or peripheral bodies, where *boorlinge* deny them the right to speak about local matters. The argument is made that in-migration contributed to how residents position themselves and others as authentic or marginal Houtiniquadorpers, and in the process created various embodied place identities. The discussion moves towards conceptualising (in)migration as an object of discourse, rather than a straightforward analytical concept.

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Yolandi Ribbens-Klein works as a technical officer (research) for Prof Rajend Mesthrie's SARChI project 'Migration, Language and Social Change' at the University of Cape Town. She has been active in the Linguistics Section at the University of Cape Town as tutor, research assistant and part-time lecturer since 2007. She graduated in December 2016 with a PhD that focused on locality, belonging and the social meanings of rhotic variation in Afrikaans. Her research interests include variationist sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, acoustic and articulatory phonetics, and morpho-syntactic variation and change in present-day varieties of Afrikaans
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Dr Valentina Serreli | University of Aix-Marseille

Language practices and the performance of identity and belonging in "globalising" Siwa (Egypt)

Access to globalisation in peripheral areas is favoured by specific "infrastructures of globalisation" enabling connections between local events and translocal processes, as new media and communication technologies, the emergence of new forms of economic activity and new (re)productions of local identity formations (Wang et al. 2014: 29-30). The maintenance or change of language ideologies and linguistic practices is related to the structure of the community's social network (Milroy 1980); therefore, when processes of socioeconomic change as those triggered by globalisation affect the social network of a given community, they also have an effect on its linguistic practices and language ideologies because they change the quantity and quality of members' interaction (Gumperz 1982, Milroy 2002).

The globalisation wave reached the Egyptian oasis of Siwa in the last decades, implying a circulation of people, goods and knowledge that was unknown to the Siwans. Mobility increased in both directions: Siwans started to travel for a range of reasons, young Siwans started attending universities in the major Egyptian cities and, from the there side, a growing number of people settled in the oasis for working purposes or visited it as tourists, with a consequent growth of intermarriage rates and the emergence of multiple identities. New goods and practices started circulating in the oasis both among Siwans, substituting traditional ones, and among the non-Siwan residents that are both providers and consumers. Mass media and internet became available to most Siwans. Therefore, the community underwent significant

demographical, social and economic changes that impacted on the linguistic ecology of the oasis.

The paper discusses how these change relate to and affect language practices and ideologies within a community that was largely monolingual and homogeneous until recently and that is now transiting towards bilingualism and experiencing the emergence of blurred identities and multiple belongings. Assuming that language is "a fundamental resource for identity production" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 382) and that social meaning is created through evoking macro-sociological categories in situated communicative practices (Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2008; Collins 2011), the paper presents the strategies of language use enacted to perform or project a given identity - and signal belonging to a group - by speakers of Berber and Arabic in present day Siwa.

The study is based on data collected between 2013 and 2015 within the framework of a doctoral research, aimed at investigating the sociolinguistic of the oasis from an emic perspective. A qualitative approach was chosen in order to detect and explain individual's nuances and details; data was gathered through participant observation and unstructured or semistructured interviews (Garret et al. 2003; Preston 2011) and analysed following the grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2006).

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Andrew Wong | California State University, East Bay

Authenticity, belonging, and charter myths of Cantonese

Authenticity has been identified as one of the ideological complexes that underpin linguistic authority in the modern world (see, e.g., Gal and Woolard 2001; Woolard 2016). To be considered authentic, a language must be rooted in a "somewhere." This "somewhere," I argue, does not merely refer to a place, but more specifically, to a time-space configuration. This study reveals a chronotopic tension in the ideological complex of authenticity. Analyzing language activists'

arguments for protecting Cantonese against the encroachment of Putonghua/Mandarin in post-1997 Hong Kong, it shows how two contrasting ideologies of authenticity are mobilized to endow Cantonese with authority, and how these ideologies shape the charter myths that pro-Cantonese activists have constructed for their mother tongue.

For activists who espouse the traditionalist ideology, the authentic offers a sense of continuity by linking the present to the past. They regard Cantonese as a "living fossil" that plays a critical role in preserving the past glories of the Chinese nation. To construct a charter myth that presents Cantonese as more authentically Chinese than Putonghua, traditionalists: (1) highlight lexical and phonological features of Middle Chinese that are found in Cantonese; (2) gloss over areas in which Cantonese is less conservative than Putonghua; and (3) exaggerate the influence of non-Sinitic languages on Putonghua and downplay their influence on Cantonese. Reminiscent of Benjamin's (1968) "messianic time," traditionalists' charter myth juxtaposes the present with the past. It likens the Chinese Communist Party to Manchu invaders who came from the North to impose their rule on the Han Chinese. Cantonese speakers, like the revolutionaries who overthrew the Qing dynasty, must rise up to protect their culture, language, and homeland.

Unlike traditionalists, activists who embrace the localist ideology focus on present-day Hong Kong rather than the glorious past of the Chinese nation. For them, the authentic should represent the here and now. Drawing an essential link between language and culture, they see Cantonese as a core symbol of the local identity that separates Hongkongers from mainlanders. Exemplifying Benjamin's (1968) "historical time," localists' charter myth depicts how Cantonese has evolved over time, incorporating elements from such diverse sources as Chinese, English, and Tai-Kadai languages. Localists celebrate the richness and vitality of Cantonese by highlighting colloquial expressions and Cantonese-English codeswitching, which they believe distinguish Cantonese from Putonghua, contribute to the distinctiveness of Hong Kong Cantonese, and justify the recognition of Hongkongers' unique identity.

This study underscores the importance of examining how authenticity undergirds linguistic

authority in different cultural contexts. The increased mobility following Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 has not facilitated its integration into the motherland; rather, it has led many Hongkongers to question their sense of belonging to the Chinese nation and the Communist state. As this study shows, their angst manifests itself through different conceptualizations of the relationship between Cantonese and Putonghua. The two ideologies of authenticity are intimately tied to how Hongkongers view their place in the Chinese nation, and whether they assess the value of Cantonese at the national or local level.

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Andrew Wong *(Ph.D., Stanford University) is Associate Professor of Anthropology at California State University, East Bay. His research focuses on the ways in which ideologies materialize in and through language. Using ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and experimental methods, he has examined the role of ideology in semantic variation and change, the relationship between genre and social change, and the creative use of unconventional spelling in brand names. His current project explores how the ongoing conflict between Hong Kong and mainland China is played out on the terrain of language. His publications have appeared in Pragmatics, Language in Society, Journal of Sociolinguistics, and Journal of Linguistic Anthropology.*

Brian Young | University of Oxford

Dzongkha, GNH and the hegemonic in Bhutan: Manufacturing nationalism and transnational belonging through language

This paper is based on extensive fieldwork in Bhutan conducted across several months in 2014 and 2015. Bhutan is a country going through significant upheaval due to new development

programs proposed by the government. As part of the process, the government has introduced nationalization efforts that have affected interactions among linguistic communities and that have made Bhutanese citizenship signify the dominant ethnic/linguistic group, at the exclusion of others.

National and transnational forms of belonging are both constructed through legal language in Bhutan. At a national level, the government's recent efforts at nationalization include the adoption of an official national language, Dzongkha. This national language is required of all citizens, even ethnic minorities who did not previously speak the language. The language of the dominant group becomes hegemonic, and ethnic minority languages such as Brokpahka, Mompa, and Sharschop are considered less important, creating ethnic strife.

National belonging is also emphasized through Gross National Happiness (GNH), the government's attempt at measuring ethical development by promoting uniform milestones across the country. Yet GNH also serves as a form of transnational belonging because it relates personal milestones in the language of global capitalism. In the process, it connects Bhutan with the global economic market and thereby introduces vocabulary into everyday language that becomes exclusionary to minorities and rural dwellers who do not fully participate in the government's development program.

Urbanization is currently a major phenomenon in Bhutan; urban migration is now the highest in Asia because of the rise of development programs within the country. As part of this urbanization, nomads from ethnic minorities have been moving to the cities and encountering for the first time native speakers of the national language, Dzongkha, to which these nomads have minimal access. Due to a lack of Dzongkha, these former nomads are denied access to the local economy—suggesting that socioeconomic mobility depends on the ability to access society beyond means of production. The government uses these disadvantaged individuals as an example for promoting citizenship education and nationalization programs, specifically the use of Dzongkha.

To further complicate matters, English has now emerged as a major language in the country due to development efforts promoting the language as important for citizens to learn in order to engage in the global economic system. In this context, English displaces even Dzongkha in importance, and knowledge of English becomes an important tool in socioeconomic accessibility. Parents in rural areas who previously resisted sending their children to government schools now concede because of the major socioeconomic advantage English provides. English thus becomes an equalizing force across ethnic communities at an individual level, but ironically enables the development programs that create local inequities at a broader, more structural level.

Bhutan therefore provides an important case study of the role played by language in the conceptualization of belonging in the context of development, and it displays the challenges and limitations inherent in representing a multiplicity of voices in state-sponsored language policy.

Brian Young is an MSc candidate in Migration Studies at the University of Oxford, working on his dissertation entitled, Paradoxes of Nationalism: Development, Citizenship, and Migration in Bhutan. He has an MA from Dartmouth College, where he focused on development, globalization, nationalism, culture and identity. His thesis explored the effects of GNH on Bhutanese society. Brian is currently working on an ethnographic film on the Brokpa and is developing a mobile app that allows individuals to customize GNH in order to reflect on personal well-being. Along with his extensive fieldwork in Bhutan, Brian has conducted fieldwork in Zimbabwe and has traveled to numerous other countries. He has studied at UC San Diego and the University of Oxford. Brian will be applying to pursue doctoral studies in cultural anthropology during the next academic year.

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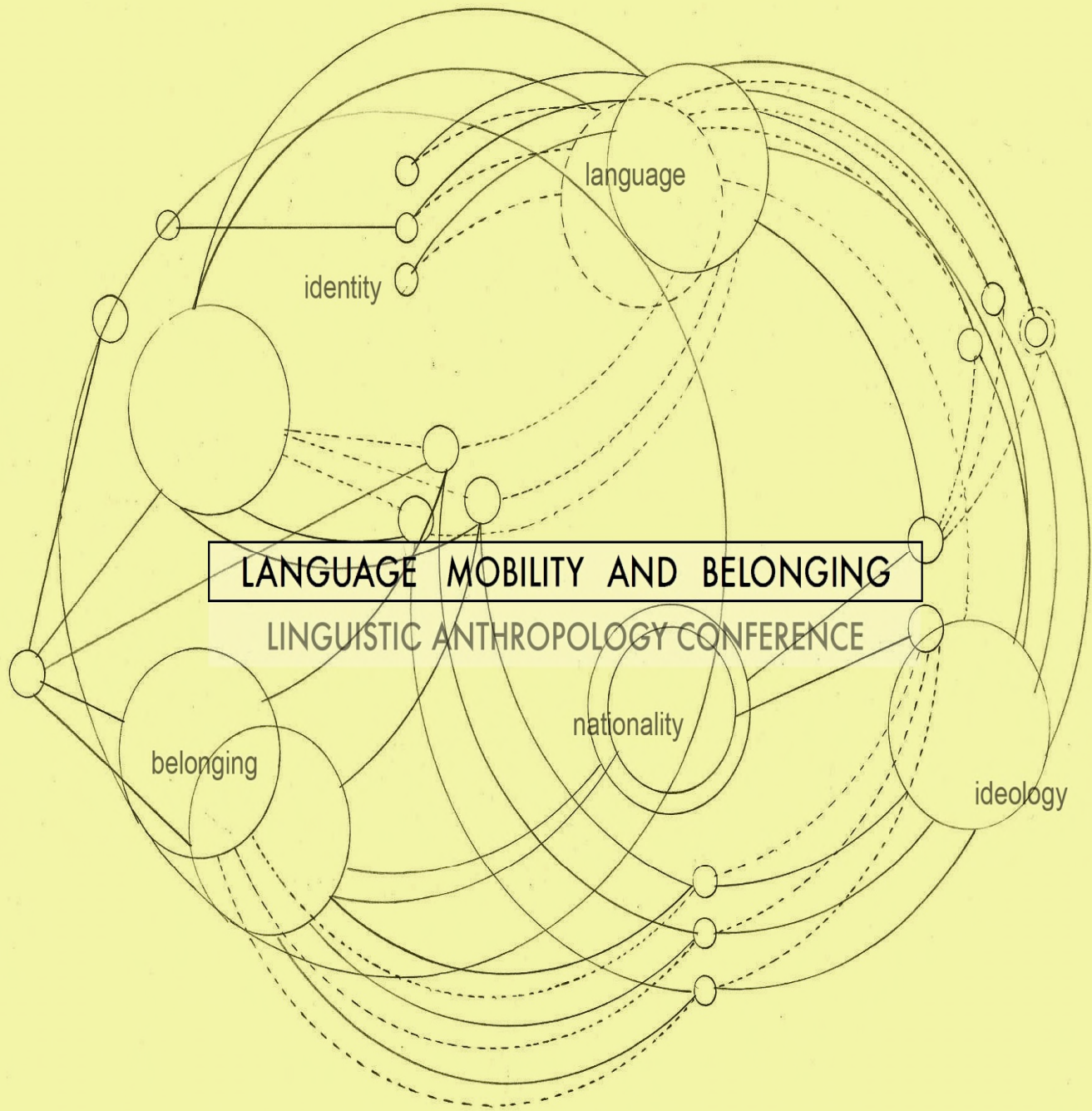|	
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