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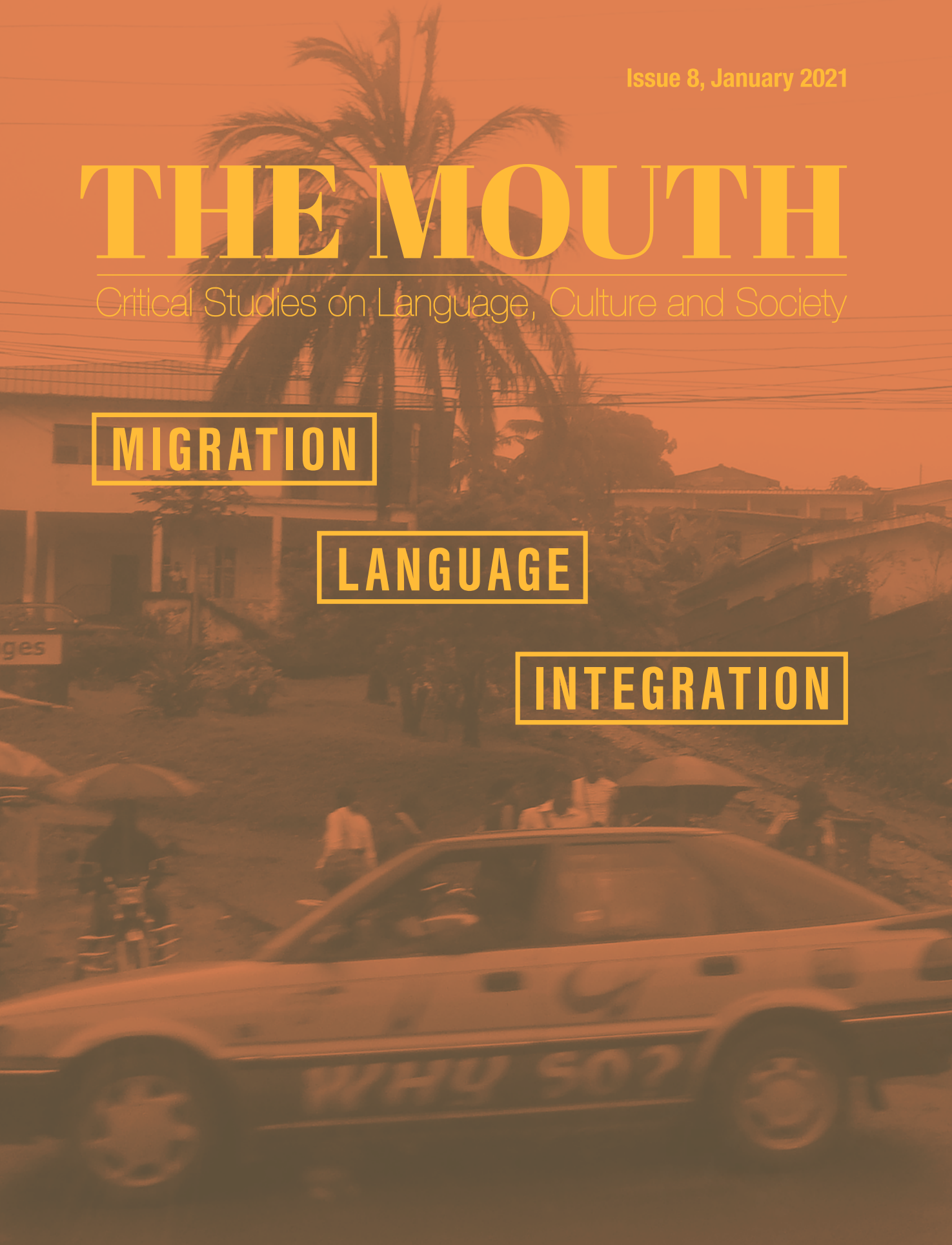
MIGRATION

LANGUAGE

INTEGRATION



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Introduction

01

Introduction

Klaudia Dombrowsky-Hahn & Sabine Littig

Language is at the heart of this issue of *The Mouth* and central to the triad *migration – language – integration*. All of the contributions to this issue focus on language and its intersection with migration and/or integration, and language also lies at the core of our own research. This introduction serves to define some concepts and ideas relevant to the nexus language and migration, on the one hand, and language and integration, on the other. We also describe how these concepts and ideas are interwoven in the contributions to this issue. Although the three parts of the triad are closely connected, they are discussed separately. We begin by introducing the concept of migration and its link with language, then moving on to elaborate on language and integration, before finally presenting the contributions to this issue.

1. Language and migration

In this section, the following aspects of the nexus language and migration are discussed: the redefinition of linguistic repertoires through migration and their dependence on language ideologies; the emergence of new cultural forms in the course or as a result of migration, and the importance of the indexical and the performative functions of language in the context of migration.

1.1 Redefined linguistic repertoires and language ideologies

Migration – or to use a more neutral and inclusive term – mobility is considered to be the most decisive factor influencing life in the 21st century in a world characterized by cultural superdiversity (Blackledge & Creese 2017). We have chosen to adopt a rather broad sense of the term migration, which we define as the "move[ment] within or across the boundary of an areal unit" (Boyle et al. 1998: 34), or "the movement of people […] in relation to the processes that generate that movement (e.g. colonization, globalization, and temporary or permanent labor […])" (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa 2011: 537).[1] There are many possible migration types (i.e. chain migration, circular migration) and itineraries. For example, rural dwellers move from a village or a small town to a bigger town or a city (rural-urban migration). Alternatively, inhabitants from a country in the southern hemisphere move to another country on the same or another continent in the south (south-south migration), to a country in the northern hemisphere (south-north migration), or the other way round (north-south migration; cp. Tovares & Kamwangamalu (2017), Auer et al. (2013)).

Whatever type of migration and migration itinerary a person pursues, has pursued or intends on pursuing, the process of learning of a new language or language variety, new registers, styles, and sociolinguistic patterns, is almost inevitable. These different forms augment, restructure and redefine mobile people's linguistic repertoires, which, among all else, reflect their migration itineraries and can be read as migrants' biographies (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 370; Blommaert & Backus 2013; Tovares & Kamwangamalu 2017). This learning process may sometimes even start prior to an individual setting off (Juffermans & Tavares 2016, Diallo, this issue). Furthermore, members of transnational families who have not experienced important moves across areal boundaries themselves or comparatively less mobile people can still find themselves learning new languages and/or (mixed) linguistic practices, thereby expanding their linguistic resources as a result of family members, colleagues, classmates, friends and other peers who have migrated. This is also true of transnational mobile couples who learn each other's languages, as exemplified in Littig's contribution in which Modeste, a Cameroonian, understands Twi, a Ghanaian language spoken by his wife.

However, language learning[2], or, in a broader sense, language socialization, which includes the learner's development of social and cultural knowledge and sensibilities (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012: 1), for which language is an essential medium, does not take place in a neutral or unbiased manner. Language learning depends on language ideologies which can be defined as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255). In the context of mobility, and south-

[1] Or, in an even broader sense, as "movement from one place to another" (Deumert 2013: 57).

[2] We deliberately use *language learning* even for contexts where *language acquisition* is more common (e.g. *second language acquisition*) for "the broad range of tactics, technologies and mechanisms by means of which specific language resources become part of someone's repertoires" (Blommaert & Backus 2013: 14). We follow these authors' argumentation, strengthened by our own experience, that a learned language can be unlearned or forgotten, in contrast to acquisition which suggests a lasting result.

north migration in particular, conflict between different culturally and historically entrenched language ideologies is not uncommon. In the most extreme case, a mobile person whose principal, long-lasting language socialization values multilingualism and/or hybrid linguistic practices, tolerating or even acknowledging speech practices that deviate from those of the majority group, find themselves in a society governed by the *one nation one language* ideology. Following Piller (2015), the monolingual ideology corresponds to the conviction that the use of one single language by all citizens is a precondition for the country's inner cohesion. Closely intertwined with questions of power, the monolingual ideology prevailing in many societies in European countries is linked with another, namely the standard language ideology. The standard language ideology sets forth the belief that a recognized and institutionally established linguistic norm is not only the sole correct and useful variety of a language; it prescribes the standard language also as the most valuable, aesthetically pleasing and most desirable.

Migrants who reside in one of these countries are expected to acquire at least a certain level of proficiency in the standard variety. As an *idealized* and artificial construct, and spoken by hardly anyone, it follows that the standard can only be learned in the framework of formal education, such as through language classes as part of integration courses, as is the case in Germany. While the requirement to learn the standard language can be attained more easily by migrants who meet certain criteria (young; in a psychological state conducive to learning a new language; well acquainted with formal learning settings and foreign language learning in particular, etc.), for many other migrants for whom these criteria do not apply, having to learn a standard language becomes a difficult if not impossible task.

In such cases, language quickly becomes an instrument of exclusion. This is visible wherever language is used as an official means of regulating residence status and citizenship (Stevenson & Schanze 2009) and where access to a desired professional activity is tied to a certain language proficiency (Dombrowsky-Hahn et al. forthcoming) or a particular variety (cf. Roussel 2018). It also manifests in direct interactions when migrants' language skills are perceived by their interlocutors as insufficient. This can even lead to verbal aggression and violence (Jansen & Romero Gibu, this issue).

A main aim of this issue is therefore to raise awareness of the fact that expectations placed on the language skills of mobile people are shaped by and reflect ideologies underlying different ways of language learning and usage. As such, the issue contributes to an understanding of different – and sometimes conflicting – concepts of language and linguistic practices.

Language ideologies also contribute to the fate of heritage languages under the conditions of migration. The belief that a language is or is not worthy of being maintained in the diaspora, whether or not it should be abandoned in favor of the dominant language of the receiving society, is determined by language ideologies. However, ideas about languages and their relation to society, about which language(s) are socially, economically, and morally adequate, and which political interests they serve, are not the only factors involved in the decision to maintain or to abandon a language. People's repertoires change over time and as one enters different phases of one's life

(Blommaert & Backus 2013). Such repertoires may include varieties close to a standard and are restructured with every stage of the migratory itinerary. Thus, language repertoires display changing resources which can be used according to the respective needs, contexts, domains, and addressees. However, it is generally impossible to foresee how mobile people's linguistic repertoires will be restructured given the diversity of individual migration itineraries and other experiences related to language. Whether the host society's dominant language is learned and how often it is used depends on many factors. These factors include: age, language(s) used within the family, and factors that Barkhuizen (2013) summarizes under the labels of social inclusion, economic inclusion, emotional inclusion, and political inclusion. Similar factors play a role in the decision whether a heritage language will be maintained or not: reason for migration, duration of residence in the new region or country, and contact (direct or digital) with the people in the region or country of origin or with members of the same diaspora. There is another factor that plays a decisive role for the maintenance of a language in the diaspora, namely the sociolinguistic situation of the individual's place of origin. It is discussed by Siebetcheu (this issue) who provides evidence that languages spoken by only a few people and which are not valued in any public domain, such as the educational sector in the country of origin, are rarely passed on to the next generation in the diaspora. This is confirmed in Littig's contribution on language practices of migrant families from Africa living now in the Rhine-Main region in Germany. Parents sooner teach African lingua francas or the former colonial languages to their children than African languages spoken by small groups of people in their place of origin, even when this includes their own language of socialization from their childhood. Further to this, Brizić, Şimşek & Bulut (this issue) conclude that speakers of varieties which are excluded from the education system in the migrants' place of origin – such as Kurdish language varieties in Turkey – find themselves at a disadvantage when it comes to learning the standard language variety of their host country.

In addition to observing how mobility can add and remove languages to linguistic repertoires, it is also worthwhile examining how the usage of these languages change. This topic is addressed in the next subsection.

1.2 Emergence of new cultural forms

Attempts have been made to attribute certain linguistic outcomes to particular types of migration. Tovares & Kamwangamalu (2017: 210-211) have shown that what they refer to as *internal displacement* can force the displaced people to acquire an ancestral vernacular. Such was the case in the 1990s in the Democratic Republic of Congo when ethnic Baluba living in the Swahili-speaking Katanga Province and who thus did not speak their ancestors' language Ciluba were forcibly returned to the Kasai Province in the south where Ciluba is the lingua franca. Another type of migration, rural-urban migration, has been shown to bring about the emergence of mixed varieties such as Surzhyk in Ukraine, Tsotsitaal in South Africa, and Sheng in Kenya (Tovares & Kamwangamalu 2017: 210, 212).

Such mixed varieties or hybrid linguistic practices have been studied under the labels of youth languages (cp. for instance, Kießling

& Mous 2004; Nassenstein & Hollington 2015) or youth language practices[3] (Nassenstein et al. 2018), contemporary urban vernaculars (Rampton 2011), multiethnolects (Nortier & Doreleijn 2013), and metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015). They are also described under such terms as translanguaging (García & Wei 2014), polylingual languaging (cp. overview in Pennycook 2016), or heteroglossia (Bailey 2012)[4]. Further to rural-urban migration, mixed languages also result from other patterns of mobility such as south-north migration, as is shown in the contributions by Kossmann and by Siebetcheu in this issue. Kossmann discusses a style based on Dutch which is interspersed with elements of the Moroccan heritage languages Arabic and Berber that is used by Moroccan-heritage youth in the Netherlands and Flanders. Siebetcheu illustrates the hybrid varieties Camfranglais and Camfranglitalian used by Cameroonians in Italy.

We consider these and similar practices as new cultural forms that emerge as a consequence of migration and that display speaker creativity in a particular way. We shall illustrate this by describing some of them: youth language practices, contemporary urban vernaculars, and translanguaging.

According to Kießling & Mous (2004), youth languages are sociolects emerging foremostly in urban centers that are spoken by young people, in particular by young males. The African youth languages developed in the context of strong rural-urban migration in African cities, for instance Camfranglais in Douala, Nouchi in Abidjan, Sheng in Nariobi, Yanké in Kinshasa or Randuk in Khartoum. They are often based on former colonial languages or other standard languages which emerged in the colonial context, e.g. Lingala in the DR Congo, and lexicon changes through the input of other languages brought in by migrants from rural areas are important. The following manipulations are common: morphological blending, phonological truncation, insertion of dummy affixes, metathesis, semantic extensions by means of metaphor, metonymy, and dysphemism. The lexicon of these varieties becomes changed to such an extent as to be considered independent languages. On the one hand, youth languages have been interpreted as anti-languages or a kind of "non-conformity in language" (Nassenstein et al. 2018: 13) because of the disrespect their speakers show to the languages upon which they are based, on the other hand, the potential of youth languages to overcome ethnic barriers has been stressed as a positive force (Kießling & Mous 2004: 333). However, this is not universally so, as youth language practices can also "be subject to ethnic negotiations, or "competing identities"" (Nassenstein et al. 2018: 16). While the playful creative way of speaking is underlined in most publications on youth languages, they can occasionally also "alter power relations between speakers and listeners", as illustrated by Nassenstein et al. (2018: 21). Starting out as secret languages meant to be understood only by in-group members, youth languages are used by increasing numbers of speakers and are partly even represented in newspapers in the places of emergence (e.g. Mugaddam 2015). Some youth language practices have become icons of identity in the destinations of south-south migration. An example is provided by the

[3] In a recent critical account on youth language studies Nassenstein et al. (2018) propose to consider youth language practices as a process rather than fixed varieties, suggested under the title of youth languages.

[4] Further concepts of hybrid linguistic practices and the terms referring to them are discussed by Blommaert & Rampton (2011).

Lingala-based Kindoubil, used by Congolese students in Kampala, Uganda, to index Congoleseness (Nassenstein & Tchokothe 2017). Youth language practices become emblems of identity in the process of south-north migration, too, as can be illustrated by Camfranglais indexing Cameroonian identity in France, Italy and in Germany (Telep 2016, 2018; Machetti & Siebetcheu 2013; Nassenstein & Tchokhote 2017), or Nouchi indexing Ivorianness in Germany (cp. Kouadio 2018).

The terms "multiethnolect" (Nortier & Doreleijn 2013)[5], "polylingual languaging" or "contemporary urban vernacular" (Rampton 2011) have been proposed for hybrid linguistic practices that emerge in ethnically mixed neighborhoods shaped by immigration and which are restricted to use by young people. Contemporary urban vernaculars extend to language varieties spoken by the host society as well as local varieties of diasporic groups or heritage languages, all of which are subject to variation depending on individual situation (i.e. migration itinerary). Processes of enregisterment, including reflexive metapragmatic/metalinguistic practices, such as accounts of usage (explicit description or implicit evaluation), naming, crossing, and stylization, can help identify and recognize a language variety as an urban contemporary vernacular. Some of these practices are mentioned in the contributions in the present volume, even if the authors do not categorize these practices or the outcoming language varieties as contemporary urban vernaculars. Thus, Siebetcheu demonstrates how a new linguistic resource (Italian) acquired in the course of migration diversifies and expands the speakers' linguistic repertoires from which speakers then draw for the language practice they name Camfranglitalien, which is itself based on a hybrid practice known as Camfranglais. Metalinguistic comments and crossing discussed in Kossmann's paper make important contribution to acknowledging the practice described by the author as a style in its own right.

The concept of language is often rejected as a self-contained system of structures, when the abovementioned practices are discussed. Therefore, we briefly mention the alternative concept of translanguaging proposed by García & Wei (2014) and García & Lin (2017). Arisen in the educational context of language learning, translanguaging is based on the concept of *languaging*, defined as an ongoing process during which individuals "[…] enter another history of interactions and cultural practices and […] learn 'a new way of being in the world'" (Becker 1995: 227 cited in García & Wei 2014: 8). Translanguaging emphasizes the fluid language practices of bilingual individuals, eventually leading to the development of new identities (García & Lin 2017). It was originally employed to refer to a pedagogical practice whereby students are asked to use different languages to produce texts. It designates a process of meaning-making, understanding and gaining knowledge by using two languages. Elaborating on the ideas of the anthropologist Ortiz, García & Wei (2014) compare the process of translanguaging to Bach's polyphonic (or counterpoint) music, in which the interaction of two or more melodically and rhythmically independent voices produces something new, original, and complex. The translanguaging approach claims not to

[5] In their definition of slang-like linguistic styles or varieties emerging in multi-ethnic groups of young speakers and which they call ethnolects, Nortier & Dorleijn (2013) stress the optionally ephemeral character of multiethnolects, which are stigmatized linguistic styles and involve "migrant languages from socially stigmatized communities" (Nortier & Dorleijn 2013: 266).

be centered on languages but rather on multiple discursive practices for which the speakers draw on the resources of their linguistic (or, more generally, semiotic) repertoires.

However, Pennycook (2016), in his critical account of the recent proliferation of sociolinguistic terms, points to a terminological dilemma: although the proponents of the translanguaging approach claim that linguistic practices go between and beyond linguistic systems and structures, transforming current structures and practices and employing transdisciplinary perspectives on society and cognition, they depend on the concept of language for the linguistic analysis. Contrary to the critics of the term *language* as static and fixed, Pennycook advocates that "there is nothing intrinsic to the ideas of language, codeswitching, or bilingualism that render them static and fixed, nor is there anything about translanguaging that will guarantee its more transgressive meanings" (Pennycook 2016: 210). According to Pennycook, the term of code-switching is not to be banished, for it is open-ended and includes the alternation of registers, genres, styles, dialects, and other varieties. In his contribution to this issue, Kossmann adopts the latter view, considering the insertion of a special group of morphemes from Moroccan languages as instances of a process situated on the continuum between codeswitching and borrowing.

1.3 Social and performative functions of language

Language has many functions next to the referential function, among others social and performative functions. The social and performative functions of language play an important role in the study of the nexus of language and migration in some of the contributions to this issue.

Mobile multilingual speakers use the manifold linguistic practices and the resources of their repertoires to create the speakers' particular identities. Identity is understood as "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005), and identities emerge either on a macro-level, a local scale, or temporarily and during single interactions.

The study of speakers' identities, or, more globally, of social meaning of linguistic signs is, following Johnstone (2010), based on the concepts of indexicality, metapragmatics and enregisterment. The first of these concepts, indexicality, is understood as the semiotic process whereby particular linguistic forms are associated with the speakers who use them. Thus, a particular pronunciation, the choice of lexemes, special morphological forms and patterns of discourse, are associated with the speakers who use them by virtue of their cooccurrence with these persons. The linguistic forms contribute to the emergence of speakers' identities in addition to their style or dress. Metapragmatic linking can be summarized in Johnstone's (2010: 32-33) words as the "talk about talk" and the juxtaposition of ways of speaking and non-linguistic features such as modes of dress and gestures. Indexically linked linguistic forms are stabilized during the process of enregisterment, defined by Agha (2005: 38) as a process "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users".

People who move from one space to another often face the task of having to position themselves socially. Language is but one means to do this. The concepts of indexicality,

metapragmatics, and enregisterment are useful tools to study the emergence of social identities performed through speech and the development of registers and styles that characterize diasporic or ethnically and linguistically diverse groups. Furthermore, these concepts allow the comprehension of language *crossing*. (Rampton 1999: 54) defines crossing as the "use of a language or variety that, in one way or another, feels anomalously "other"". Traversing social, ethnic, national or racialized boundaries has often a ludic character and evokes in the listeners the feeling that the speaker does not believe in the identity they are projecting. Crossing has the effect of either signaling a desired identity or evoking an alternative identity to the one typically ascribed to the speaker[6]. As such, crossing can be used both to affirm existing stratifications as well as "destabilize hegemonic biological and cultural essentialism and look for new solidarities" (Rampton 1999: 55). Issues of identity emerging through the use of the resources of migrants' repertoires are addressed in the present issue in the contributions by Kossmann, Siebetcheu and Littig.

The performative function of language refers to what language does or what words can do and which effect utterances have on the listener. The most obvious performative utterances are those which make explicit the act that is being performed, such as utterances of naming, accepting, apologizing, swearing, etc. However, utterances can also implicitly act on an interlocutor and have ensuing effects. Something uttered can make the addressee happy or sad, it can calm down or make insecure, it can cause satisfaction, anger, worry or distress. The achieved effect is not always intended by the speaker. The study of the effects of interactions is particularly important when it comes to intercultural communication between newcomers or members of diasporic communities and members of the host society. An exemplary study in this sense is provided by Jansen & Romero Gibu in their contribution on verbal violence experienced by migrants in the frame of interactions in institutional contexts. The authors focus on the migrants' perceptions and analyze the migrants' narratives thereof. The authors' main objective is to identify factors contributing to distress – overt intention to harm someone's idea of themselves or misunderstanding due to different knowledge.

2. Language and integration

A declared political aim of European countries and other countries in the global North is integration, inclusion and participation of immigrants permanently living in the country. In Germany, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community (BMI), defines *integration* as follows:

> Integration means living together as one society, not in separate worlds. Our society should be characterized by respect, mutual trust, shared responsibility and a sense of community. Integration should ensure that immigrants have equal opportunities and the chance to participate in all areas, especially social, economic and cultural life. To do so, people who come to

[6] As an example, Higuera del Moral and Jansen (2017) present an interesting case study on Spanish speaking migrant groups in an ethnically and linguistically diverse parish in Nürnberg, which shows that crossing is used to spoof the type of speaker associated with the other language or variety. The authors describe it as an artificial style employed to enact social personae known to the community.

> Germany intending to stay must learn the German language and acquire basic knowledge of our history and our legal system […]. Integration means feeling part of a community and developing a common understanding of how to live together in society. Integration can work only as a two-way process. It requires acceptance by the majority population and the willingness of immigrants to learn and respect the rules of the host country and to take responsibility for their own integration.[7] (BMI 2020)

As mentioned by Stevenson & Schanze (2009: 90, citing Gould 1998), "the concept of Integration is frequently invoked but rarely defined". Ager & Strang (2008) note that the concept of integration is contested, not unified, and controversial. The BMI website does not give a more precise statement about the meaning of integration either, and in addition to *integration*, the definition displays other unspecified and contested concepts which call for discussion. The expression *one society* in the sentence "integration means living together as one society, not in separate worlds" suggests the existence of a homogenous society into which migrants (or immigrants in the BMI definition) can be incorporated to form an integral whole. This idea is based on the ideology of the nation state as a unit the members of which are essentially alike, i.e. having a common identity united in one territory and speaking one language. However, the suggested homogeneity is in fact imaginary, for several reasons. One of them is that 26% of the population in Germany has "migration background"[8]. The Federal Statistical Office defines someone as a German with migration background who himself/herself or whose parents did not both inherit German nationality at birth. The ratio is even more noticeable in cities, where the majority of inhabitants is made up of Germans with migratory backgrounds. For instance, in a city such as Frankfurt, 30% of the inhabitants were foreigners[9] in 2019, representing 178 of the world's 197 nationalities[10]; in the same year, foreigners and Germans with migration background together made up 53%, a proportion which leads Michael Rausch from the Neue Zürcher Zeitung (09.07.2019) to draw the conclusion that "in German cities, the majority society is facing its end". This trend can be observed in many European cities[11]. Considering the important diversity of the population living especially in towns and cities a common identity is illusory, and all integration efforts that are based on the idea of integration as homogenization will inevitably fail. Instead, where transnational identities and people who join experiences from different countries and places are the norm, new opportunities of a heterogeneous society have the possibility to arise, searching for new solutions to current problems (Hahn 2017).

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[7] https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/community-and-integration/integration/integration-node.html, https://www.bmi.bund.de/EN/topics/community-and-integration/integration/integration-node.html for the German version, see https://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/themen/heimat-integration/integration/integration-bedeutung/integration-bedeutung.html (accessed 2020-08-05).

[8] https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/_inhalt.html(accessed 2020-08-07).

[9] Rausch does not define the term "foreigner". However, the reader understands that a foreigner is a person living in Germany who does not have the German nationality. This category includes migrants seeking to get the German nationality and expatriates who don't.

[10] https://frankfurt.de/de-de/service-und-rathaus/zahlen-daten-fakten/publikationen/fsa, (accessed 2020-08-09).

[11] https://www.nzz.ch/international/in-deutschen-staedten-geht-die-mehrheitsgesellschaft-zu-ende-ld.1492568, (accessed 2020-08-09).

In the quote (BMI 2020), "learning the German language" is listed as a precondition for "participation in social, economic and cultural life". Learning the dominant language of the host country, which nowadays often takes place in formal language courses, is without a doubt useful and facilitates daily life and enables inclusion into activities in many domains. Nevertheless, as argued above, the German society is not homogenous, and Standard German is not the only language (variety) used in social, cultural, religious life and parts of the economic life. The requirement to learn the dominant language and real linguistic practices in concrete situations frequently create tensions. Roussel (2018: 88) for instance notes that concrete professional activities sometimes require competence in a language variety that is different to the one learned in language courses (see also Blommaert & Backus 2013). Furthermore, if we concede, as discussed in the sections above, that words and propositions are not only means to convey denotational meaning but that language has indexical meaning, too, it is likely that the entire linguistic repertoires, including heteroglossic practices, serve the construction of new identities. The prerequisites for a realistic and successful social integration (or *inclusion*, that Australia and other countries declare as the aim of their migration politics) comprises therefore, in Otsuji & Pennycook's (2011: 414) terms, "an appreciation of a diversity of languages other than [the dominant one], and the skills and capabilities of multilingual language users". In her contribution to this issue, Kolloch provides one example of how migrants draw a benefit from their multilingualism. They are often engaged as translators in institutional communication between agents and newcomers from the same region of origin who speak the same language but have not yet acquired German language skills.

Another indicator of integration, as defined by the BMI, is a feeling of belonging to a community, a topic that is rarely brought up in official discourses. Feelings refer to sensations or states that are perceived by the people who experience them. A feeling of belonging refers to the migrants' emotional well-being in addition to the measurable markers of integration, including housing, employment, education, and health. A feeling of belonging seems to be most critically related to the statement that integration is a two-way process which includes the acceptance from speakers of the dominant language or, more broadly, the acceptance from society as a whole.

With respect to language, the aspect of the host population's acceptance and the mobile persons' perception thereof have been little studied so far. In some studies, the following questions are suggested.

A. Does proficiency in the dominant language have "a crucial impact on their [the immigrants'] sense of self and their potential in their new environment" (Yates 2011: 457), does it favor the feeling of well-being and of being welcomed and accepted?

B. How do "native" speakers of the dominant language evaluate the migrants' efforts and proficiency in the dominant language? Are they willing to accommodate to speakers' level of proficiency? Do the interaction partners make them feel that they value their efforts?

C. How do speakers perceive the dominant language speakers' reactions if they are unable to express what is required or what they want to express?

Yates (2011) mentions difficulties of finding opportunities for interaction in English, the dominant language of her research site Australia, particularly for adult language learners for whom the process of learning is laborious and tedious. Since competence in the dominant language is not only important for practical integration but also for "emotional integration", difficulties for language learners arise when native speakers are "unused or unwilling to accommodate to their level of proficiency" (Yates 2011: 459). Jansen & Romero Gibu study migrants' perceptions of verbal violence they experienced in interactions. The narrated encounters can often be equated to the total absence of acceptance, even to discrimination and racism. The perceived estimations are not restricted to evaluations of the interviewed persons' linguistic skills, but the respective language proficiency is a constitutive part of their personality. The contribution offers a model how migrants' narrations of their perceptions can be analyzed (see below); a similar procedure is conceivable to study the full range of the host population's reactions in interaction, from total rejection to benevolent acceptance.

Studies taking into account migrants' perceptions (Ager & Strang 2008, Roussel 2018, and Jansen & Romero Gibu, this issue) correspond to giving a voice to those who are deprived of the power to speak or who are muted; it can contribute to a better understanding, detecting injustice, and to raising awareness of existing asymmetries, and eventually contribute to the creation of more just societies. There is hope that this can be done by enhancing "the quality of communication in institutions by developing recommendations that are empirically grounded and practicable according to intercultural competence criteria" (Jansen & Romero Gibu, this issue), among other things. Yates (2011) reports about small-scale initiatives aiming to improve communication between migrant language learners and "native speakers" at workplaces in Denmark. To help engage successfully in communication with colleagues who do not yet master Danish, easy tips are provided to the Danish-speaking employees. These tips start by recommending more empathy: "Imagine what it feels like to be in their shoes …. "(Yates 2011: 467). Whatever recommendations follow, this one seems worthy of being passed on.

3. About the contributions

The contributions in this issue on the broad topic of migration, language, and integration provide case studies based on original fieldwork or the authors' previous research. They critically address the points discussed in the previous sections. The essays can be grouped under the following themes:

1. *Changing repertoires* and *creative uses of linguistic resources* (Kossmann, Siebetcheu, Littig);

2. *Migrants' perceptions* and *communication with institutional agents and mediators* (Jansen & Romero Gibu, Kolloch, Brizić, Şimşek & Bulut).

3. Diallo's contribution offers a *historical perspective* and shows several overlapping points with both groups.

In their respective articles, Kossmann and Siebetcheu exemplify migrant languages which play a decisive role in the emergence of new registers and styles. **Kossmann** studies fluid linguistic practices that display resources of Dutch and the Moroccan languages Arabic and Berber. They are mainly spoken and written by Moroccan-heritage speakers who grew up in the Netherlands and in Flanders (Belgium), but their use is not restricted to these groups. The speakers of this *way of speaking Dutch*, which is sometimes categorized as a particular style, sometimes as an ethnolect, introduce diverse elements of their Moroccan heritage languages Arabic and Berber into otherwise Dutch discourse. The author focuses on Dutch discourses bearing Arabic and Moroccan morphemes that mark indefiniteness. The research is based on data from different sources including written examples from computer-mediated communication from several internet forums dedicated to the Moroccan community. These are complemented by spoken language data, principally in the form of YouTube material and data extracted from a corpus of recorded oral texts. Kossmann studies the function and the distribution of items labelled indefinite markers in all three contact languages and then identifies several functions of the insertion of these elements from the Moroccan languages into Dutch. For example, the insertion of the indefinite morphemes adds a creative, playful note to the utterance. When used in crossing by speakers who are not heritage speakers of the Moroccan languages, the inserted morphemes function as intensifiers or markers of expressivity.

Siebetcheu studies the linguistic repertoires of about 500 Cameroonians living in Italy using questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. He states that the languages of Cameroon as well as from other countries contribute to the diversification and enrichment of the linguistic space in Italy. Although around 275 languages are spoken in Cameroon, the overwhelming majority of Cameroonian migrants living in Italy speak one of the eight Bamileke languages, in addition to French and to varying extends English (the official languages of Cameroon), and the hybrid language Camfranglais. The majority of Cameroonians in Italy also belong to the Bamileke ethnic group whose members have been engaged in inner and international (including south-north) migration movements for a long time. Although the majority of the study's participants do not use their heritage Bamileke languages on a daily basis in Italy, and decide not to pass them on to the next generation, these languages make important contributions to the hybrid language variety the speakers call Camfranglitalien. The fluid linguistic practice known under this name includes Italian in addition to French, English, Bamileke and other Cameroonian languages which make up the youth language Camfranglais. The latter is spoken not only in Cameroon but also in the diasporas, including in France and in Germany (cf. i.a. Nassenstein & Tchokhote 2017, Telep 2017). Camfranglitalien indexes the speakers' migrant identity of the Cameroonian diaspora in Italy. Romanticizing the knowledge of the ethnic heritage languages, Siebetcheu advocates official measures that encourage the acquisition and promotion of the Cameroonian languages in the Italian diaspora.

Recent research has demonstrated the immense value of programs which empower languages (as Siebetcheu points out for Cameroonian languages) for language competences and language use. Stereotypical attitudes

and ideologies towards immigrants may be strengthened by immigrant laws and bureaucratic rules that emphasize language integration as a prerequisite. Multilingual practices, as discussed in this volume, create new social networks and practical communities across borders and boundaries. People develop new identities as negotiated in situational social practices. In her sociolinguistic approach, **Littig** focuses on parents in multilingual families and their language choice, referred to by Littig as a parent's language policy. She discusses language practices in relation to society. Societal expectations (e.g. family, friends, and institutions) and social stratification influence personal ideologies on language. Based on an extended case study and interviews Littig explores the parents' language use and family language choice outlining the ideologies that influenced their choices. The families all have in common that they currently live in the Rhine-Main area and emigrated from a sub-Saharan African country. Littig describes how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within these families. The participants exhibit distinct family language policy profiles for different reasons. These reasons include personal ideologies, linguistic biographies, and family composition. The paper concludes with reflections on the uniqueness of multilingual language use within families.

Three contributions focus on communication between migrants and institutional agents and the migrants' perceptions thereof. Due to the power asymmetries prevalent in all communication within institutional contexts, language is discussed as an instrument of power and dominance and as a subject of sovereignty of interpretation in these case studies. The point of departure of **Jansen & Romero Gibu**'s study is the theoretical assumption that, beyond referential function, language has also performative function. The authors give a first account of a multidisciplinary research project on verbal violence experienced by migrants from Latin America during interactions with institutional agents in Bavaria, Germany. Verbal violence is defined as intentional use of language strategies to harm the interlocutor's face. In this sense, verbal violence resembles discrimination. The choice to study verbal violence in institutional contexts is not random. Rather verbal violence is likely to occur in this context, for communication in institutions is based on power asymmetry between the interlocutors manifested in the interlocutors' fixed roles and the formalized type and order of interaction. Speech Act Theory (SAT) forms the theoretical frame of Jansen & Romero Gibu's research project. According to SAT, an utterance can be more than a propositional act related to something existing in the world: it can simultaneously be an illocutionary act with a specific intention and/or a perlocutionary act that can cause an effect, such as emotional distress. The authors concentrate on the migrants' reports of verbal exchanges experienced as harmful to their positive self-identity. To gather data, Jansen and Romero Gibu and the project's team ask their interview partners to report on their experiences of verbal violence. This subjective procedure is intentional because it reveals to what extent the the victims perceived the interaction as harmful. This procedure further helps to understand the origins of miscommunication, which can be rooted in the unequal linguistic resources, divergent expectations, and false assumptions about shared knowledge. The authors illustrate their method with one case applying Labov & Waletzky's (1967) model of narrative analysis.

The perception of communication in institutional contexts in Germany in a wider sense is also the focus of **Kolloch's** contribution. The author draws attention to a group of migrants who play the role of language and cultural mediators in interactions between institutional agents and newly arrived migrants. In contrast to the latter who do not know German, the mediators show proficiency in both their heritage language and German as well as the necessary social and cultural knowledge enabling them for the mediator's and translator's activity. To cope with the need for translations that arose in the course of increasing migration movements, the state and the organizations involved not only rely on academically trained translators and interpreters but also on people whose own experience, including the migration experience and rudimentary training qualify them for the activity. Kolloch's research, based on interviews and participant observation, gives an account of the ways these agents access the mediators' activity and their working conditions and explores their own perception of their role in the mediating processes. They consider themselves as specialists with cultural skills who are able to prevent miscommunication due to different knowledge or experience and can mediate between the parties involved. Discussing their concept of culture, Kolloch characterizes the mediators as brokers and para-ethologists.

Brizić, Şimşek & Bulut offer another contribution that takes on a critical perspective on institutions. According to the authors, the children of migrants in German-speaking countries are excluded from the right to have a say and to participate in social and political life due to the education systems in these countries. The authors illustrate such complex inequalities with the example of Kurdish families from Turkey in Austria. In their analysis, the authors relate three different linguistic approaches: educational, interactional and discourse linguistics. Their findings illustrate three things: first, how societal macro-structures translate into serious individual disadvantages; second, how multilingual, socially disadvantaged students have particularly strong ambitions, and how their ambitions, in turn, fall victim to wrong interpretations by their teachers—and; third, how these misinterpretations may lead to the loss of common ground between teachers, parents, and others still. The authors also take a critical look at academic research and its impact on social inequalities.

Diallo's contribution touches upon diverse aspects discussed in the other papers and in the introduction. The article focuses on the spread of French in the Guinean capital Conakry since the French colonization of the country in 1887. However, the discussion goes beyond this topic and deals with changes in the linguistic repertoires of Conakry's inhabitants as the city continues to grow due to migration, repertoires which include the different local languages and the lingua francas of the country. Introduced during French colonization, the French language lost its primacy in public life ten years after the country achieved independence, when the socialist leader Sékou Touré broke off relations with France. At that time, Guinean African languages replaced French as means of education in schools. Since the end of the communist regime in 1984, the use of French has been intensifying and expanding again.

Discussing the varieties spoken during the first phase, Diallo notes that while the colonial administrators spoke the standardized variety of French, to the local population they taught the French Pidgin variety called *Petit*

Nègre. Petit Nègre, the name of which "indexes a state of subjection and the assumed inferiority of its racialized speakers" (Vigouroux 2017: 10), was considered sufficient to be taught to the colonized people, the objective being to form subordinated clerks, interpreters, and local militaries. The restriction of French during the second phase was concomitant to the strengthening importance of one local language, Soso, as a citywide lingua franca. However, growing immigration entailed increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. As a consequence, habitation patterns modified, as well. The abandonment of teaching of African languages in primary schools following the end of the socialist regime led to a rapid rise of use and popularity of French throughout Conakry. Diallo analyzes the different channels of learning French, a language that nowadays has become a language of displacement, learned by those who prepare for migration.

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02

Ah, our village was beautiful ... Towards a critical social linguistics in times of migration and war

02

Ah, our village was beautiful … Towards a critical social linguistics in times of migration and war

Katharina Brizić, Yazgül Şimşek & Necle Bulut

1. Introduction

It is extensively documented that Central European education systems are rather ill-equipped when it comes to coping with their students' social and linguistic diversity. In consequence, students with home languages other than the school language face particular obstacles in the education system (e.g., OECD 2019a: 18, 2019b; LPB, 2010).

In Germany and Austria, for example, one of the most serious obstacles they are confronted with is the early segregation of students into a 'stronger' and a 'weaker' group. The segregation already takes place in the last year of primary school; at this point, the students are only 9 or 10 years old. The 'stronger' group then continues education in the *Gymnasium*[1] (graduating with the qualification for university entrance), while the 'weaker' group continues in

[1] Or, alternatively, in the *New Secondary School.* Cf. https://www.bildungssystem.at/ [accessed 2020-01-15].

the *Comprehensive Secondary School* (in German: *Gesamtschule*, *Realschule* or *Kooperative Mittelschule*, with only compulsory graduation).

Particularly for 'immigrant' students[2] with home languages other than German, this segregation is known to account for massive disadvantages, as more than four years and/or specific support would be needed to acquire German on the required level (OECD 2019a: 27). For this reason, multilingual 'immigrant' students are – far more often than others – assigned to the 'weaker' group (OECD 2018a, 2018b, 2016a, 2016b; SVR 2015: 146). Their manifold language competencies, amongst others, remain largely unrecognized. Poor school success, in turn, also accounts for negative consequences when they get older and enter the labor market (e.g., OECD 2019a: 20ff.). This entails serious disadvantages for general participation in society – in other words: for 'raising one's voice' and 'being heard' in key economic, social and political discourses and decision-making processes of society (Blommaert 2005: 4; Hymes 1996: 64; OECD 2019c: 256).

Considerably less known, however, is the fact that the education system's shortcoming in this field increases with every additional language. In short: particularly students who are not just bilingual but highly multilingual – with three, four or even more languages as part of their everyday lives – are at risk of attending school without their competencies being recognized (Brizić 2007). A relatively well-researched example are the Roma and Sinti minorities in Europe (cf. Matras 2005; for facts and figures documenting persisting educational exclusion, see Strauß 2011). Less research exists on Kurdish migrant families in Europe with a similarly wide scope of multilingualism. Kurdish families who migrated from Turkey to Austria, for example, often speak one or more Kurdish languages in addition to Turkish and German (Brizić 2007). Historically, this extensive multilingualism has already been under pressure in their countries of origin: in Turkey, for example, the 20th century was characterized by rigorous language bans against Kurdish, with many restrictions continuing to date and going hand in hand with political and educational deprivation (Coşkun et al. 2011; Öpengin 2012; Çağlayan 2014; Amnesty International 2018: 367ff.; Gourlay 2020). As a result of the exclusion of Kurdish from the Turkish education system, comparatively high illiteracy rates are also found in the Kurdish migrant diaspora – e.g., in Austria.

Given the historical dimension and its continuing repercussions, particularly students from the groups mentioned above would need both time and adequate support to acquire literacy in German – time and support, neither of which can be provided, given the early segregation process as depicted above in the example of Austria. The result seems quite paradoxical: it is often the most multilingual students who have the least chances of successfully 'raising their voices', and thus of 'being heard' in the multilingual polyphony of late-modern societies.

In our contribution[3] we will follow up on this matter. The aim is to empirically investigate two questions: first, *how are educational*

[2] Also referred to as students with 'immigrant languages'. For figures regarding Austria, see STATISTIK AUSTRIA (2017: 8–9); for Germany, see SVR (2018: 1). For detailed definitions, cf. e.g., https://mediendienst-integration.de/artikel/wer-hat-einen-migrationshintergrund.html [accessed 2020-01-15].
For a critical discussion of the term 'immigrant students' and related terms, see Brizić (forthcoming b), as well as SVR (2015: 146-147), to name but a few. For a critical discussion regarding the term 'immigrant languages', see Adler (2018: 7).

[3] This research project was supported by the Austrian Science Fund FWF under Grant P20263-G03.

disadvantages – i.e., unequal opportunities – constructed and put into action in the particular case of highly multilingual students? And second, *can our insights contribute to breaking the vicious circle?*

Regarding the structural or 'macro' aspects of education systems, our questions are essentially answered, given the amount of existing quantitative surveys (see, e.g., OECD 2019a, 2019b, 2018a, 2018b; and many more). Regarding linguistic 'micro' aspects, an equally wide range of qualitative studies exists, analyzing individual interactions between teachers, students and other interactants in rich detail (see, e.g., Kotthoff & Heller 2020, to name but one volume out of a wide range of recent works).

And yet, a crucial question is still largely open that connects the 'macro' to the 'micro': *How are structural 'macro' aspects specifically translated into individual 'micro' disadvantages, and thus into unequal opportunities?* (cf. our first question above). Our contribution is dedicated to this unresolved issue[4], zooming in on the scarcely researched context of particularly unequal opportunities for highly multilingual students. Moreover, we are committed to *confronting inequality*[5] *within and through our work* (cf. our second question above). We will pursue this target by tying in upon Norman Denzin's (2001: 24) notion of moral responsibility in social research, in order to ultimately proceed to an approach visionary also in terms of our linguistic work.

It is particularly the latter aim of a socially responsible linguistics that moved us to venture into performative writing (cf. again Denzin 2001). The approach is based on the understanding that research is never 'innocent', let alone 'objective'. Rather, it is consequential and powerful, bearing more or less visible, more or less serious societal effects. We, therefore, explicitly intend – i.e., perform – our work to pay tribute to the societies we belong to, the migrations we are part of, and the many *voices* contributing to our insights. The dialogical nature of all our work is reflected here to the extent possible – for example, by taking up the poetic tone from one of our interviews. It is this approach that has ultimately led to the hybrid overall format of our contribution.

The contribution is organized into seven parts. Following the overview (this part), we set out to define the core concepts needed here: *voice*, *hearing/silencing*, and *polyphony* (part 2). Using the example of the Kurdish case, the concepts are further substantiated (part 3) before they are put into action in our methodical approach (part 4) and empirical data analysis (part 5). This finally lays the foundation for new perspectives to unfold – both for our question on multilingualism and inequality (part 6) as for our vision and commitment to act in a socially responsible way as researchers in linguistics (part 7).

2. Core concepts

In the frame of this issue on *Migration, Language and Integration*, our contribution focuses on three core concepts.

First, within the topic of *migration*, our key concept is *voice*. It serves to grasp the paradox named above: the highly multilingual yet

[4] Cf. also Gomolla and Radtke's (2002) pioneering study investigating exactly this 'macro'-and-'micro' connection. However, multilingualism and *voice* were not part of their work.

[5] Also: *equity* as referring to *adequate* support, which is not necessarily *equal* for all (see OECD 2019a, 2019b, 2018a, 2018b). We do, however, prefer the term *equality*, as we are talking about *equality of access*, *equality of chances* etc., in sum understood as contrary to *social inequality*.

critically disadvantaged 'immigrant' students in European societies – students who face the risk of never successfully raising their *voices* in decisive economic, social and political discourses. *Voice* thus stands "(...) for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so" (Blommaert 2005: 4).

Second, within the topic of *language*, our core concept is *hearing (versus silencing)*. This concept serves to describe the processes leading to educational disadvantages – processes that often result in unequal chances for later participation in society. The crucial question already arises in the education system: whose *voice* is "heard" and considered "worth hearing" (Hymes 1996: 64); and who is, in contrast, leaving school after compulsory education with his or her *voice* never to be *heard* (and, henceforth, *silenced*) in higher education?

Third, in contrast to the concept of *integration*, we focus on *polyphony* here. This is to pay tribute to the aim of equal opportunities for *all voices* in society (OECD 2019a: 24; Bade 2007: 75), whether defined as migrants or not, as integrated or not, as multi- or monolinguals, as students, parents or teachers. Unlike the term 'integration', the concept of *polyphony* implies how diverse, contradictory and yet co-constructed our experiences are – just as diverse as our *voices* are when expressing these experiences.[6] It is exactly this *polyphony* of experiences, of *heard* or *silenced voices* and resulting discourses that we are interested in (Blommaert 2010; see also Mecheril 2004: 11–12).[7]

With our three key concepts in mind, our research question re-reads as follows: In a society shaped by migration, how come that *multilingual voices* are so frequently turned into *silenced voices*? More precisely, how are different *voices*, particularly multilingual ones, present in the education system? And are they *heard* by teachers – i.e., understood and evaluated as 'worth hearing'? Or are they *silenced* – i.e., evaluated negatively? Finally, what are the perspectives of accomplishing education opportunities that are as equal as possible for *all the voices* of our globalized, *polyphone* society? And what can our work as researchers contribute here?

3. The Kurdish example

It is impossible to listen to *voices* that are missing in the core discourses of our times; there is no audible trace of them. What is possible, though, is: listening to the processes where *voices* are being *silenced*. We have chosen to do this by example of the Kurdish case, as it provides particularly vivid evidence of silencing processes throughout history.

One of the most powerful silencing processes has already been depicted above: in schooling systems like the Austrian one, resources are directed towards the segregation of students after primary school into a 'stronger' and a 'weaker' group (OECD 2019a: 17 and 23f.; Gomolla & Radtke 2002: 13ff.). Through this segregation process, the 'weaker' group (often 'immigrant' students) tends to be socially *silenced* –

[6] We use the term *polyphony* not strictly in Mikhail Bakhtin's sense (i.e., as *polyphony* within an *individual* character; Bakhtin 1929), nor in a strictly linguistic sense (e.g., as *polyphony* within a *text*; Nølke 2017). Rather, we are following Blommaert's (2010) sociolinguistics of globalization (i.e., focusing on *polyphony* within globalized *discourses*). And yet, there is also a Bakhtinian aspect remaining, that is: the focus on the very 'human' character of *polyphony* and its wider societal resonance (c.f. Bakhtin 1984: 293).

[7] Equally relevant to this approach is the term *postmigration society* (Foroutan et al. 2014), as migrations are global and non-temporary phenomena far beyond (and post) any 'exceptionality'.

i.e., not represented later in life in the key discourses and decision-making processes of society, as this would require higher education (cf. OECD 2016a: 47; LPB 2010).

Nevertheless, there are silencing processes that reach even further. In the Kurdish example, we have outlined how 'immigrant' multilingualism may have already been exposed to sociopolitical powerlessness and economic poverty in the countries of origin. Poverty, in turn, tends to persist over migrations and generations (Feliciano 2006) – and poverty is, fatally, one of the strongest predictors of 'weak' school performance in countries like Austria (OECD 2019a: 19f.). In consequence, rather than a student's individual performance, it is often a student's 'origin' and family 'capital' that decide over success or failure (cf. OECD 2016b: 8–9). In sum, the chances for multilingual students as discussed here to ever participate in core discourses of society are systematically restricted.

After migration and multilingualism, there is yet a third factor exposed to silencing processes, that is: illiteracy. Particularly in the case of Kurdish minorities, a high degree of educational deprivation has already taken place in the countries of 'origin' – e.g., Turkey. In many 'immigration' countries such as Austria, however, much weight is put on the parents' shoulders – i.e., on reading and literacy in the family, and on helping with the homework – a task apparently unfulfillable for illiterate parents. In a nutshell, the chances of 'immigrant' students shrink once again, as students with historically silenced multilingualism *and* migration *and* illiteracy in the family would have to overcome all these silencing processes in order to have the slightest chance of later participating in any core discourse. This is also how present silencing processes (e.g., intrinsic to formal education in Austria) accumulate with historical silencing processes (e.g., against Kurdish in Turkey).

At this point, a fourth rift comes into play, this time specific to Turkey, the country of 'origin' of many Kurds in Europe. In the Turkish context, the Kurdish case goes hand in hand with a so-to-speak 'collectivized' suspicion of terrorism. The roots can be found not only in Turkey's policies of suppressing anything 'non-Turkish' (c.f. Ercan 2013: 113; Haig 2003) but already earlier in the Ottoman Empire and its decline (e.g. Arakon 2014). In modern times, Turkish-Kurdish history is often reduced to the war between the Turkish state and the PKK (for a detailed discussion, see e.g. Ercan 2019 and 2013; Jongerden & Akkaya 2015). This war, with its peak in the 1980s and 1990s, is engraved in highly conflicting collective memories (Neyzi 2010), as tens of thousands of lives were lost, with large stretches of the Kurdish territory being depopulated, villages burned down, and populations displaced by Turkish military forces (Bruinessen 1995). However, the 21st century's ongoing wars and persecutions against minorities in Turkey, Syria and Iraq (cf., e.g., Sevdeen and Schmidinger 2019) reveal how far the dimensions reach beyond the mere Turkey-PKK context. And yet, it is all the more remarkable that in European political discourses, the Kurdish case is persistently linked to 'terrorism' and the PKK[8], and to the notion of Kurdish aspirations for an independent state. Kurdish has, however, remained a 'stateless' language so far. And statelessness,

[8] For example, the European Union designated the PKK a 'terrorist organization' in 2002, although the PKK had announced its decision to rely on peaceful methods in 1999 (Ercan 2019: 123).

in turn, can be a particularly severe form of *silencing* in our globalized times.[9]

Kurdish *voices* are thus often missing in core societal discourses, even when the discourses are 'about them'. The only traces we all too easily find in the Kurdish case are: low socioeconomic status, unequal opportunities, low literacy rates, and an enormous quantity of media reports on war and forced migration – in short: a strongly curtailed picture.

For this reason, it was our primary aim to listen to *voices* that are not easy to *hear* – be it because of poverty, illiteracy, stigmatized multilingualism, statelessness or forced migration from the country of 'origin'; be it because of early segregation processes in the country of 'immigration'; or be it all of the above. We will, therefore, stick to the Kurdish example throughout this empirical study.

4. Methodical approach

Our approach is intended for us to pay tribute to the societies we belong to, the migrations we are part of, and the many *voices* that have at all times been the sources of our dialogues, our work, and our insights.

The insights intended here imply particular sensitivity for *voices* that are largely missing in societal *polyphony* as well as in academic research: *voices* that are not easy to *hear*. Our primary aim has thus been to avoid 'selecting' participants for a classic 'interview' format. Rather, the approach was to reach out to, and search for, potential conversation partners who expressed the explicit wish to raise their *voice* and speak up on experiences of being *silenced*. Unlike a classic interview, our conversation format was hence intended, tried out and further developed to become "(…) a vehicle for producing performance texts (…) about self and society" (Denzin 2001: 24). In this spirit, it was our most important concern to provide an appropriate 'stage' for the performances, with the researcher[10] representing the partner and attentive 'audience' for the performer (ibd. 25ff.). In fact, this approach gave birth to several momentous 'events', as our data selection will show below (see part 5).[11]

Our first two conversation partners or 'performers' are RE (see 5.1.), a woman from a Kurdish village near the Turkish-Syrian border, and TA (see 5.2.), a woman from the same region. Both women experienced forced migration in the 1990s. Their home villages were accused of 'collaborating with the PKK' and, in consequence, destroyed by the Turkish military. Therefore, the women also share the experience of stigmatized multilingualism, as their first language is Kurdish-Kurmanji, spoken together with other Kurdish varieties as well as Arabic, Turkish and a little German. None of the women ever attended school or learned to read and write. And both RE and TA are now mothers, their daughters being 10 years old and attending their fourth year of

[9] For example, when it comes to international negotiations about the future of the Kurdish population in the Middle East, Kurdish representatives are often excluded, as they are only 'non-state' actors. See, for example, https://www.diepresse.com/4947398/syrische-kurden-wollen-autonome-region-ausrufen [accessed 2020-01-15].

[10] The number of conversations conducted in our study amounted to more than 200 in total. In every single case, however, the responsible researchers were trained extensively and were free to choose the language and 'interview' contexts according to their personal competencies.

[11] Additional sources were: official databases, questionnaires and psycholinguistic tasks for the students (e.g., oral and written narrations and retellings, amongst others; cf. Blaschitz 2014; Brizić forthcoming a).

primary school in Vienna, Austria. However, the women had never met, nor were the conversations organized together. Rather, the conversation with RE took place in Istanbul, using Kurdish, whereas the conversation with TA was conducted in Vienna, using Turkish. The choice of languages had been up to the women.

Our second two conversation partners are female primary school teachers in Vienna, Austria. The first is LOU (see 5.3.), teacher of TA's daughter; the second is BAL (see 5.4.), teacher of RE's daughter. Like the mothers above, the teachers did not know each other, and the conversations were organized separately. Both of them took place in Vienna, and the language was German, since this is both teacher LOU's and teacher BAL's first language.

The topics of our conversations were, in the case of the mothers RE and TA, their migration, language and schooling biographies, with a strong focus on the mothers' goals for their ten-year-old daughters.

In the case of the teachers LOU and BAL, the topic was their professional biography, with a strong focus on the evaluation and assessment of their students – i.e., RE's and TA's ten-year-old girls.

In addition, in each of the four conversations, the common point of reference was the upcoming segregation process at the end of primary school, requiring the teachers to recommend their students either for the 'weaker' or the 'stronger' group (as depicted above, cf. part 1).

Our choice of topics (biographies, ambitions, segregation process, school success) later allowed us to analyze not just each conversation individually but also the different conversations in juxtaposition to each other, since all of them addressed related points of reference. In this way, we ultimately arrived at the much-intended bigger picture, showing a *polyphony* of languages[12], experiences, discourses and *voices*, raised and being *heard* in our context of war and migration, of multilingualism, education, and the inequality of chances.

All four conversations were recorded and transcribed following the GAT-2 transcription system (Selting et al. 2011; for an explanation of the signs, see chapter 'transcription conventions' at the end of our contribution). The transcriptions served as a base for subsequent educational-linguistic approaches[13] (regarding the individual *voices* and their literacies), interactional-linguistic analyses[14] (regarding institutional experiences of being *heard/silenced*), and a discourse-linguistic synopsis[15] (regarding the societal *polyphony* of discourse patterns and frictions between them). Moreover, the number of participating parents, teachers and students was large enough to also allow statistical analyses (for a comprehensive description, see Brizić forthcoming a).

[12] The overall study sample comprises roughly 50 teachers and 200 families, with speakers of Romani, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Albanian, Romanian, Macedonian and Turkish (from former Yugoslavia's follow-up states), as well as speakers of Kurdish, Turkish, Armenian, Aramaic, Arabic and Caucasian languages (from Turkey). For a detailed description, see Brizić (forthcoming a).

[13] Cf. e.g., Spolsky and Hult (2008).

[14] Cf. e.g., Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann (2002).

[15] Cf. e.g., Warnke (2007); Warnke & Spitzmüller (2008).

5. Empirical study: four voices

5.1. The 'Resisting Voice': mother RE and her village

RE was born near the Turkish-Syrian border in a Kurdish village that does not exist anymore. The village was burned down by the Turkish army during the war between the Turkish state and the PKK in the 1990s. The destruction of villages was justified by accusing the villagers of 'collaborating with the PKK', and in further consequence of 'Kurdish terrorism'. RE was still a child back then. Now, at the time of the interview, she is in her mid-30s and mother of a ten-year-old girl.

The conversation (in Kurdish) between mother RE and interviewer INT is one of the most extensive in our study. Both mother and interviewer apparently enjoy talking and sharing their largely congruent views on the long history of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. In total, the interview lasts almost two hours, with the two women sitting in the little office of a social centre in the heart of Istanbul[16], accompanied by traffic noise, prayer calls and other sounds from the bustling streets outside.

After the first third of the interview, all of a sudden, mother RE's lively conversation tone changes: she has apparently left behind the bustling streets of Istanbul. In a deep, calm voice, she now turns to another time, another place: to the past, and to her village on the Turkish-Syrian border – the village that was destroyed more than two decades earlier.

Transcript: **My Village-Part 1**
Speaker: **Mother RE**
Interviewer: INT
Interview language: **Kurdish (Kurmanji variety, dialectal)**
Transcript translation: English (in orange)

001 RE: (---) <<deep, calm> a/gundê ma XWEŞ bû;>
(---) <<deep, calm> ah/our village was BEAUtiful;>
002 (1.0) ji:=e: <<all, high, rhythm> ÇI tiştê xwade daye-
(1.0) of=eh <<all, high, rhythm> whatEVer god has given-
003 HEmû te da hebun-
EVErything was there-
004 xurMA te tune bun,
DATES weren't there,
005 portaQAL te tune bun,
ORanges weren't there,
006 (.) sev ji ew e ŞINeke;=
(.) apples these GREEN ones;=

[16] The interview took place in an economically poor neighbourhood in Istanbul where Kurdish migrants from eastern Turkey and other minorities have become the majority in the course of decades.

```
007         =ewê HUrik bun,
            =the SMALL ones,
008         (.) ew TAne te da tune bun.
            (.) these were the ONLy ones we didn't have.
009         (.) çi ku/ hemu xwadê daYI te da bun;>
            (.) anything (else) GIVen by god was there;>
```

Ah, our village was beautiful (*A, gunde ma xweş bû*) (line 001): this is the onset of something we cannot yet grasp. It seems new in form and content, given the yet unfamiliar, deep, narrative tone used by RE. And this is not the only feature attracting attention here, as RE's deep intonation is closely followed by a sudden rise to a high pitch (line 002-003), and on to a rhythmically marked, increasingly accelerated recital of the village's fertility. All the vividly named fruits that *weren't* there (lines 004-008), nevertheless, draw attention to a wide range of unnamed fruits that *were* there (009), in all their abundance, *given by God* – back in the past, back in the village on the Turkish-Syrian border (see transcript above: My Village-Part 1).

Transcript: My Village-Part 2

```
010   RE:   sed e ave TE da bu,
            a creek with WAter was there,
011         (.) çeşme ave TE da bu,
            (.) a FOUNtain was there,
012         (.) <<acc> çi çawuşeki diHAT giriYA diçu,=
            (.) <<acc> every military officer who CAME left WEEPing,=
013         =çi alimeki diHAT giriYA diçu-=
            =every teacher who CAME left WEEPing-=
014         =digo wi gunde halo XWEŞ-=
            ={he} said such a BEAUtiful village-=
015         =ame çiLO je harin.>
            =HOW can we ever leave it.>
016         (1.2) hinki <<p, len, deep> AZEni şerif (...)->
            (1.2) now  <<p, len, deep> the holy PRAYer (...)->
017         <<cresc, moved> hinki waleteki !GEL!ki xweş bu;=>
            <<cresc, moved> it was a !VE!ry beautiful home;=>
018   INT:  =aRE-=
            =YES-=
019   RE:   =waLEte me.
            =our HOME.
```

The visualization of abundance is expanded now, as RE sets out to draw a picture of heavenly beauty: there is a *creek with water* and a *fountain*[17] (010-011) amidst the aridity of a desert steppe and its hot summers. As a stylistic means, the speech is again rhythmically accentuated. The rhythm now marks the presence of Turkish military officers and teachers in the village, all of them foreigners[18] who were sent to the village from elsewhere.[19] And although they *came* as foreigners, all of them *left weeping* when their time in the village had come to an end (012-013). Such was the beauty of the Kurdish village that, in RE's account, even Turkish military officers could not but express deep affection: *Such a beautiful village, how can we ever leave it* (014-015).

At this point of the interview, a loud prayer call from a nearby mosque can be heard (016). However, RE is anything but irritated by this intrusion. Quite on the contrary, she integrates the prayer call into her narration: after listening, she gives it a particular mention (*...The holy prayer...* , line 016). She even adjusts her own voice to the deep voice of the prayer call. Thus, RE's narration inside the room is seemingly joined by the holy prayer outside in the air – not just *acoustically* by the muezzin but also *spiritually* by *God*. It is as if RE's village appraisal obtained attention even from heaven.

Highly moved and again louder, RE concludes her appraisal with strong emotion and emphasis. Here she does not cite teachers nor officers any more but speaks for herself, the woman who was born and raised in that village so blessed (017-019): *It was a very beautiful home. Our home* (see transcript above: My Village-Part 2).

Transcript: My Village-Interruption

020	**INT:**	**[ÇU waxt (...)-]**
		{which} time (went by) (...)-]
021	RE:	[hami dari BER,]
		[TREES all around,]
022	**INT:**	**(--) ha _ HA,**
		(--) i _ SEE,
023	RE:	u sed e ave TE da bû,
		and a RIVer was also there,
024		(1.0) !GEL!ki xweş bû.
		(1.0) it was !TRU!ly beautiful.

The audience – i.e., the interviewer – seems to be slightly distracted (020): INT obviously wants to ask something and starts a question, as she has been doing many times during this interview.

But this time, INT's question turns out to be a faux pas. RE, usually more than willing to show an interest in questions, does not even react. Rather, and *exactly* together with INT, RE starts talking again with a voice loud enough to stop INT's question altogether (021). So, whereas RE had fully integrated the muezzin's *holy prayer* earlier, she now treats INT's question as an interference.

INT, in turn, immediately understands: she *must not* interrupt here. Instead, her role is to agree, to certify, to support the narrator.

[17] From this point onwards, for the sake of clarity and brevity, only the English translation is given. For the Kurdish original, please see the transcript.

[18] This information was provided in a different part of the conversation.

[19] RE's account reminds us of the massive presence of the Turkish military in the Kurdish parts of eastern Turkey. Moreover, it has been common since the foundation of modern Turkey in the 1920s that teachers from the western parts of Turkey were sent to the eastern (Kurdish) regions to teach there for some time.

And INT bows to her role. To the ongoing testimony of RE (*trees all around*), INT finally answers what she is supposed to: *I see!*, she confirms emphatically (022).

RE has won and the stage is fully hers again. Without further interference, she sums up her message. Once again she refers to the water, so precious a commodity in dry steppes (023), and to the village so lush: *It was truly beautiful!* (024).

We do not know if RE's repetition of water and beauty (023-024) would have occurred at all *without* INT's attempt to ask a question (020). This is why we refer to lines 020-024 as 'interruption'; see transcript above: My Village-Interruption).

But what we do know now is that something is happening here, something that is carefully conceptualized by RE in form and content, something that *must not be disturbed*. INT's interruption in line 020 has thus helped us to understand that something more profound than just an interview is taking place, something that is superordinate to a simple process of question-and-answer. It might have the form of a song or a poem: RE's poem for her village that was lost. In this framework, the first two transcripts (My Village-Part 1 and Part 2) could be seen as *the first and the second stanza of a poem*.

Transcript: My Village-Part 3

025 RE: <<all> û ÇOLe wê HEbû li çile EZinge xwe bine beleş;>
<<all> and {the village} had {dry} steppe fields
in fall you could get FIREwood for free;>
((...))
026 (.) te piwaZEN biçandana;
(.) you could grow ONions;
027 te giZER biçandana-
you could grow CARRots-
028 te: biber BIçandanaya,
you could grow sweet bell pepper,
((...))
029 çeLI ji tişti hebu,
in FALL there was {every}thing,
030 haVIN(e) ji tişti hebu;
in SUMMer there was {every}thing;
031 tiş(t)i li ber deriye TE bun-
everything was right at your door-
((...))
032 ave ta BOL bu,
you had water in aBUNdance,
033 (.) te kaDIye.
(.) you could get by WELL // life was PLENtiful.

Lines 025-033 fit into this framework. The appraisal is still continuing here. Again, it starts with the details of everyday life (025-028), and again it ends with repetition and rhythm, and, for the first time, also with rhyme: *In fall there was everything - in summer there was everything* (029-030). In Kurdish, not just the endings but also the beginnings of lines 029 and 030 rhyme: *çeli ji - havin ji* (literally translated: *fall in - summer in*, given that *in* is a postposition in Kurdish-Kurmanji).

And again (see already first stanza), *everything* was there, *right at your door* (031). And, again (see already second stanza), *you had water in abundance* (032). Thus, the last of the three stanzas confirms it again (033): in the village that was lost long ago, life was truly *plentiful* (see transcript above: My Village-Part 3).

Transcript: The Destruction-Part 1

034	RE:	(1.5) e: ew derikê wan te girtIN (...);
		(1.5) but their door CLOses (...);[20]
035		hukumatê male MA xerab kir.
		the government destroyed our house.
036	**INT:**	**(hukumatê) aRÊ-**
		(the government) RIGHT-
037	RE:	A:.
		ye:s.
((...))		
038		xaNI me-
		our HOUSE-
039		(ew) d/ e/ xaniye diYA min;
		my MOTHer's house;
040		mala me xaMIti,
		our deSTROYed house,

RE's tone changes again (line 034) – just as in the beginning of what we now call the *village poem* – and again something new begins: after a long break, a rift is indicated by the phrase *But their door closes*. In Kurdish, this phrase expresses that someone is not interested in something. The following line (035) sheds light on the protagonists: it was the *government* (of Turkey) that was not interested in *our house* (the village house of RE and her family)

Meanwhile, INT has learned the lesson of how an 'ideal audience' has to behave. Neither does she interrupt nor ask any other questions; instead she agrees without hesitation and supports RE's performance, confirming: *The government, right* (036).

RE in turn adheres to her stylistic means of repetition as a marker of utmost significance. By repetition RE emphasizes how dear the home destroyed by Turkish military was to her (038-040): *our house; my mother's house; our destroyed house* (see transcript above: The Destruction-Part 1).

[20] Or, in a different interpretation: *Deri wan te girtin (Let them be cursed forever).*

Transcript: The Destruction-Part 2

041 RE: (--) ha wilo danin ser sindoqekê
belkî <<deep> tu zanê sindoq çiye sindoq evê BEri.>=
(--) they put {this} on a wooden box
probably <<deep> you know what i mean boxes from those times.>=
042 INT: =sindoq evê BEri ez zanim;
=boxes from those times i know;
043 RE: ezing danîn SER? (-)
they placed firewood on top? (-)
044 INT: m_hm,
m_hm,
((...))
045 RE: <<deep> u benzIN lê kir li xaniye ↓diYA MIN şautand.=
<<deep> and poured PEtrol on it and burned ↓MY MOther's house.=
046 =↑DU ↓qat.
=↑TWO ↓storied.[21]
047 (.) u le kuli askeRIya hat li xaniye diYA MIN
şautand.>
(.) and the MILitary came and burned
MY MOther's house.>
048 <<all, high> ka çi na ↑GOT u kas li wir ↓tune.>
<<all, high> without even ↑ASKing if someone
was ↓inside or not.>
049 <<moved> darîyê ↑jia min ↓baQANdin.
<<moved> my ↑mother's door ↓they BLEW up // BURST open.
050 (---) !HA!tin ↓şau!TAN!din.> (--)
(---) they !CAME! and ↓!BURNED!.> (--)
051 INT m:-
m:-

After the first stanza on village destruction, a second stanza follows. This time, and again with the constant support of INT, narrator RE delineates the destruction in much more detail: the military piled up *old wooden boxes* and *firewood*, then *poured petrol on it and burned my mother's house* (041-045) – a house of good quality and size: *Two storied!* (046). *And the military came and burned my mother's house* (047). And there, the peak of inhumanity is reached: the perpetrators did all of this *without even asking if someone was inside or not* (048).

With the very destruction of her home, RE's accentuations turn noticeably sharper than ever

[21] A different interpretation is possible here: *duqat* could also mean *without hesitation.*

before (*PEtrol, MY Mother's house, TWO storied, MILitary, MY Mother's house, without even ASKing*). Equally marked are her pitch rises and falls, from average to very deep (*and poured petrol on it, and the house...*) and even deeper (*...of my mother they burned*), then immediately very high (*Two!...*) and very deep again (*...storied*) (045-048).

Moreover, instead of the usual single focus accent per intonation unit, RE accentuates each intonation unit several times (*and the MILitary came, and MY Mother's house they burned*). In addition, RE accelerates, jumps up to a high pitch level (*without even ASKing if someone...*) and down again, and ends with a markedly deep voice (*...was inside or not ...*) (045-048).

Both her pitch movements and accentuations reach their peak in the following climax: RE starts very moved, yet on an average pitch level (*my...*), then jumps up significantly (*...mother's door...*) and falls down again (*...they BLEW up*) (049). After a marked break (050), RE starts anew with an immediate accent on a higher pitch level (*they CAME!...*), to end, this time without transition, on a deep pitch level with a strongly marked accent (*...and BURNED!*) (049-050).

The interviewer gives her consent carefully and softly (051): with RE's so powerful account, no particular proof of credibility is needed from the audience (see transcript above: The Destruction-Part 2).

Transcript: The Judgement-Part 1

```
052   RE:   <<high, moved> haqaniye  xwede ↑NE [wilo ye-        ]>=
            <<high, moved> this is ↑NOT god's  [will-           ]>=
053   INT:                                    =[harê RASTe-     ]
                                              =[so   TRUE-      ]
054         [ew naHA-           ]/
            [they now-          ]/
055   RE:   [VALLah,            ]
            [i SWEAR,           ]
056         pi me ra ha/ bêhaqi!YE! dikin.
            they do great in!JUST!ice to us.
057   INT:  are bêhaqiYE dikin.=
            yes they do inJUSTice.=
058   RE:   =behaqi!YE! dikin.
            =they do in!JUST!ice.
```

The judgement stanza that follows is largely co-constructed by the narrator and the interviewer. While RE sets out to explicitly judge on the village destruction (*This is NOT God's will*), INT does not hesitate to join in and starts confirming (*so TRUE*) while RE is still speaking. The short overlapping speech, however, does not seem to disturb RE; rather, it affirms the correspondence between the two women's judgement on the events (052-055).

I swear, they do great inJUSTice to us!, RE calls out now, with strong emphases on *SWEAR* and

inJUSTice (055-056). *Yes, they do inJUSTice* (057), repeats INT, leading over to another repetition, this time by RE: *They do inJUSTice!* (058), RE exclaims and thus contributes the last component to an impressive three-unit judgement (see transcript above: The Judgement-Part 1).

Transcript: The Destruction-Part 3

```
059   RE:   (-) na haqaniye xwaDÊ bû,
            (-) this was not GOD'S will,
((...))
060           (--) MAle (we/wer) şautand-=
              (--) they burned her (i.e., my mother's) HOUSE-=
061           =TIŞteki we li we dere ne hiştin.
              =NOthing they left there.// EVErything they destroyed.
```

The last of three 'destruction stanzas' repeats what we have heard so far. The destruction is complete now; the village house is about to burn down. Little remains to be said (059-061): *This was not God's will. They burned (my mother's) house – nothing they left there* (see transcript above: The Destruction-Part 3).

Transcript: The Miracle-Part 1

```
062   RE:   (1.3) ziLAM kete qulpe,=
            (1.3) a MAN was in the room,=
063           =ku em li we deri VIderketin-
              =when we came OUT-
064           <<deep> go> <<calling> qurAN li we bu->
              <<deep> he said> <<calling> there was the korAN->
065           go egir debir LIST go;
              he said flames were flickering around it he said;
066           kesk u sor dore qurHAne çedibu. (-)
              they went green and red around the korAN. (-)
067   INT:    ((laughs briefly))
              ((laughs briefly))
068   RE:   diya min bi halalTI kiri bu,
             my mother bought it heLAL // in the name of god it is RIGHTfully hers,
```

In line 062, a long break indicates that again something new might be about to start. This is confirmed by the interviewer who remains silent, despite RE's break (062).

And in fact, RE now introduces a new protagonist: *a man* who *was in a room* – probably a room of the still burning house (062). And it is truly astounding what the eye-witness has seen

there, in the midst of the scene of destruction: *a Koran*, the holy book, with *flames flickering around it*, and finally taking on the colors of *green and red* (063-066). In a later stanza (not enclosed here), the colors *green* and *red* are joined by *yellow* – together making up the colors of the Kurdish flag.

Here, for a brief moment, INT has forgotten that she must not interrupt or question the credibility of the presentation: she laughs very briefly, probably indicating the miraculous nature of this incident, or her disbelief in miracles, and – maybe – even her disbelief in *God* (067).[22]

RE, however, reacts immediately by providing evidence of her truthfulness: *My mother bought it helal*, in the sense of *My mother's house was rightfully deserved / lawfully acquired* (068). With this, RE implies that for a decent person like her mother, even a miracle – a sign from *God* – deserves credibility.

In fact, in RE's account it is *God* himself who shows compassion for the burned house and its suffering inhabitants. Furthermore, *God* is showing his sympathy not only for RE's family but for the whole village, if not for all Kurds, his solidarity materialising in the colors of the Kurdish flag. In RE's account, the unjust destruction of home, of beauty, of sheer life is counteracted by a strong supporter for the weak. And so, while any earthly justice seems to be gone, a heavenly power materialises. Amidst destruction and loss, a miracle takes place.

In the subsequent stanzas, RE retells the miracle another *four* times – adding up to *five* stanzas in total. The miracle is thus the topic with the highest number of stanzas, some of them longer, some shorter, all of them carefully shaped for a devoted audience. In our transcript, only the first stanza is provided, while the other four are omitted here (see transcript above: The Miracle-Part 1; omitted due to space: The Miracle-Parts 2-5).

Transcript: The Judgement-Part 2

069	RE:	<<soft, tender> (-) male ha!LAL! e=alaw le nare-> (-)
		<<soft, tender> (-) the house was !RIGHT!fully deserved
		the flames didn't spread-> (-)
070	**INT:**	**Arê-=**
		RIGHT-=
071		**=RAST e-**
		=this is {so} TRUE-
072	RE:	<<confirming> eh->
		<<confirming> eh->
073		(--) vallah=GElek-
		(--) by god=GREAT-
074		be haqiye bi MAR dikirin?
		inJUStice they did to us?
075		(1.0)

[22] There are several other instances in the interview where INT does not agree with RE's belief in God and indicates this disbelief by discussing or laughing. This is why we interprete INT's reaction in line 067 as disbelief, *not* as a nervous or random laugh.

After a wealth of rhythms and rhymes, accentuations, pitch rises and falls, the fifth and last miracle stanza ends in a soft and tender tone, repeating for a last time the moment when God sent a sign: *The house was rightfully deserved. The flames didn't spread...* (069).

Even the interviewer who had been resisting earlier fully agrees now, resonating: *Right, this is so true* (070-071). *Eh* , the narrator confirms (072), to bring *God* in for one last time: *By God, GREAT...* – and here she starts a completely new intonation unit – *...inJUStice they did to us*. This very last line of the village poem is intonated with a high rising voice, just as a question or exclamatory accusation: *By God, GREAT – inJUStice they did to us* (073-074). This is followed by silence (see transcript above: The Judgement-Part 2).

In a poetic event, RE has paid narrative tribute to a village that is gone. She performed thirteen stanzas: three on the fertile, beautiful village; three on its destruction; five on God's miracle; and, intermittently, two on moral judgement. With its artful construction in form and content, the poem gives the impression that it has not been told for the first time here. And yet, the poetic momentum was unique, as the interaction between RE and INT has shown. The village is gone, but it is alive in the poetic account of the narrator RE. And the village did not go without resistance. It is, however, RE's own emotion and attachment, her own *resistance*, and her own *voice* that materialize in such powerfully moving language.

5.2. The 'Targeting Voice': mother TA and her daughter

Just as mother RE above, our second conversation partner, mother TA, was also born and raised in a Kurdish-speaking village in eastern Turkey. And just as in RE's case, TA's village was accused of 'terrorism' and thus heavily affected during the war between the Turkish state and the PKK in the 1990s.

And yet, TA's positioning towards her experience stands in sharp contrast to RE above. While RE had expressed resistance against the Turkish military and a strong solidarity for her Kurdish village, TA by contrast completely rejects anything 'Kurdish' in her life. To the interviewer's question regarding Kurdish language competency in her family, TA only states: *Well our – actually we are NO Kurds, according to my father* (*Ya bizdekisi – aslımız kürt DEyil babamın anlattığına göre*). The conversation with TA is, therefore, held in Turkish.

And it is not just the Kurdish language and 'affiliation' that TA distances herself from. Rather, 'being Kurdish' seems in TA's experience to be inextricably linked to the complete lack of education. In her childhood, TA had always been longing for education – but her grandfather and father forcibly prevented her from going to school. In consequence, TA seems to equate being 'Kurdish' and 'male' with being 'violent' and 'education-averse'.[23] Only with her mother could TA share her dreams of schooling and literacy.

Now a mother herself, TA explicitly pursues schooling as the ultimate goal for the next generation – not for her son, though, but all the more for her daughter:[24]

[23] It does not come as a surprise that someone sees 'being Kurdish' as equivalent to 'being uneducated'. After all, Turkey has been exercising far-reaching measures of educational deprivation in Kurdish areas for a long time. What comes as a surprise, though, is that TA sees Kurdish men as being *generally* education-averse and somehow *deliberately* education-deprived (for details, see Brizić (forthcoming a).

[24] Cf. a first discussion on TA's *voice* in Brizić (2016, 2019).

Transcript: **My Daughter-Part 1**
Speaker: **Mother TA**
Interviewer: INT
Interview language: **Turkish (Istanbul variety, colloquial)**
Transcript translation: English (in orange)

076 INT: <<pp> =mesela emre' den neLER beklersiniz;
<<pp> =for example WHAT do you expect from (your son) emre;
077 TA: <<resolutely> ben (.) emre'de şöyle bişey DEğil de-
<<resolutely> i (.) for (my son) emre there is NO such thing but-
078 kızımın okumasını ÇOK istiyo(r)dum;
what i REALLy want is my daughter's education;
079 benim kızım Bİ tanedir,>
my daughter is my EVerything,>
080 <<singing> babasının Aİlesine sülalesine göre
içimde bi tek benim kızım yani->
<<singing> compared to her father's FAmily and relatives
in me there is only my daughter->
((...))
081 okul (-) benim kızıma (---) ya hemşirelik ya da polislik
ÇOK yakışıyo=benim kızım iri yapılıdır;
education (-) for my daughter (---) nurse or policewoman
is VEry appropriate=my daughter is robust;
082 kendisi de şey (2.0) olsam da diyo
güvenlik olmayı da isTERim anne diyo.
and another thing (2.0) i could also {my daughter} says
mummy i would also LOve to become a security guard she says.

Expressed by a woman for her ten-year-old daughter (line 082), these wishes are anything but usual. The wish for a girl to become not just a nurse but a policewoman or even a security guard (let alone the realization of that wish) is highly exceptional – not only in an education-deprived and thereby even more patriarchal minority-and-villager population. But as a mother, TA is certain: leaving behind any 'Kurdishness' will also help leaving behind any lack of education, any male violence, and ultimately all accusations of being a 'Kurdish terrorist'. Hence, TA concludes by painting a radiant future devoted to education, citing herself as how she speaks to her daughter:

Transcript: My Daughter-Part 2

083 TA: ama kızımın okumasını ÇOK istiyorum YALnız;>
but my daughter's education ONly {this} is what i MUCH desire;>
084 <<instructive> evde TUTmuyorum,=
<<instructive> i WON't leave {you} at home,=
085 =işe gönDERmiycem,
=i WON't send {you} to work,
086 ASla ve ASla,>
NEVer EVer,>
((...))
087 <<pp> BÖYle yani.>
<<pp> THAT is the way {it is}.>
088 INT: <<pp> haydi HAYırlısı.>
<<pp> may it BE so.>

5.3. The 'Loud Voice': teacher LOU and her student

Let us now change context and location: we are in Vienna in a primary school. The conversation partner is now a female teacher named LOU. The conversation is in German.

LOU is the teacher of mother TA's daughter – the ten-year-old girl who wants to be a nurse, policewoman or security guard, according to her mother. The girl is now in the fourth – i.e., last – grade of primary school. As such, teacher LOU has to assess whether TA's daughter may continue her education in the 'stronger' or 'weaker' group within the Austrian school system. The teacher's recommendation will be decisive for TA's and her daughter's dreams to come true.

After a detailed discussion, the interviewer asks teacher LOU to put her overall impression of TA's daughter into briefer, exemplary 'pictures':[25]

Transcript: **My Student-Part 1**
Speaker: **Teacher LOU**
Interviewer: INT
Interview language: **German (Austrian variety, colloquial)**
Transcript translation: English (in orange)

089 LOU: sie is ein kind das ABsolut WILL.
she's a kid that WANTS it 100% // that is ABsolutely deTERmined.

[25] For details, see Ehlich and Rehbein (1986); Brizić (forthcoming a).

090 WILL ABsolut=arbeitet STÄNdig mit=ist sogar ÜBereifrig-
ABsolutely deTERmined={she} conTINuously participates=
{she}'s even OVERly ambitious-
091 hat auch so eine LAUte stimme=und SCHREIT dann auch immer gleich,
and has such a LOUD voice too=and is also always SHOUting
{at the others} immediately,
092 sie STROTZT vor selbstvertrauen.
she BRIMS over with self-confidence.
093 JA AB-SO-LUT.
YES AB-SO-LU-TELY.
094 das is auch ein mensch der gleich KEIFT und sich DURCHsetzt;
she's a person that immediately starts SCOLDING and aSSERting herself;

As the transcript above shows, teacher LOU fully realizes the strong positioning of the ten-year-old girl. In fact, teacher LOU's characterization of the girl as outstanding (*absolutely determined*, line 089) strongly reminds us of mother TA's equally outstanding ambitions for the girl (*a life devoted to education*, cf. lines 083-087). This is remarkable, especially considering that teacher and mother do not personally know each other.[26] The teacher is, therefore, not at all familiar with mother TA's ambitions and *voice*. The only *voice* teacher LOU can directly refer to is that of TA's daughter. And yet, it is almost as if we could still *hear* the mother, too, in the daughter as characterized by the teacher: *She is a kid that wants it 100%*. It seems that nothing can stop mother TA's and her daughter's ambitious *voice*, so strong through generations.

However, with every line the teacher's depictions of TA's daughter get more and more mixed: the girl is not just ambitious – she is *overly* ambitious. Her voice is *loud* and *shouting at others*, *brimming with* – too much? – *self-confidence* (lines 090-093). In line 094, all of this culminates in the girl being described as a person that immediately starts *scolding*, which in Austrian German is exclusively used for female voices[27], and exclusively in a negative sense. It seems that, in the teacher's eyes, TA's daughter wants far 'too much'. Hence, asked for the girl's dreams and prospects, teacher LOU responds:

Transcript: My Student-Part 2

095 LOU: ihr TRAUMberuf ist auch LEHRerin.
her DREAMjob is {to} also {become a} TEAcher.
096 aber das wird nicht zu SCHAFFen sein.
but this will be just imPOSSible.
((...))

[26] The reason is that mother TA hardly speaks any German–and hardly any primary-school teachers in Austria's schools speak Turkish or Kurdish.

[27] We are not referring to the sociolinguistic concept of *voice* here, but simply to the human voice in general and to the 'acoustic impression' teachers reported to have of their students.

097 REdet REdet UNunterbrochen=↑bl-bl-bl-bl-bl-
{she} PRATTles (and) PRATTles CONstantly=↑BL-bl-bl-bl-bl-
098 ↓und SCHON weiß jeder was gemeint ist=
und auch wenns TÜRkisch ist-
↓and iMMEdiately everyone knows what it is about=
and even if it's in TURkish-
099 {dann} gehts TÜRkisch=
↑bl-bl-bl-bl-bl=FÜLLfeder=blblblblblll=TINtenpatrone-
{then} 't goes {in} TURkish=
↑BL-bl-bl-bl-bl=PEN=BL-bl-bl-bl-bl=INK cartridge-

We learn here that – in addition to nurse, policewoman and security guard – the girl has another *dream job*: to become a teacher. Yet, immediately after naming that dream job (line 095 above), teacher LOU declares it to be unrealistic: *but this will be just impossible* (line 096). To substantiate this assessment, teacher LOU proceeds to a more illustrative enactment of TA's daughter and her exuberant presence in the classroom: very high, almost singing (*BL-bl-bl-bl-bl*, 097), the teacher imitates the girl now, characterizing her voice[28] again, this time as (too) dominant, yet cunningly hiding linguistic errors in whatever language by talking much too fast (lines 097-099).

In sum, the girl's *loud voice* turns out to be *too* ambitious, *too* self-confident and *too* loud, compared to what the teacher would assess as appropriate. Yet, appropriate for whom? For a girl? For an immigrant? We do not yet know. The only thing we know is the overall outcome: TA's daughter gets a poor grade in German; she is hence recommended for the 'weaker' group of secondary schooling. With this assessment, however, mother TA's and her daughter's ambitions (*a life devoted to education*, see above) turn unattainable; their *voice(s)* will never be *heard* in Austrian higher education.

5.4. The 'Balancing Voice': teacher BAL and her student

We are yet in another pimary school in Vienna, yet with another female teacher: now it is teacher BAL who is asked to assess one of her students. The student at stake is also a girl, also in fourth grade, again with illiterate parents born in a Kurdish village.

Interestingly, this girl, too, has a *loud voice*, according to teacher BAL. But the teacher's interpretation of that voice is heading in a totally different direction:

[28] Once again, we are not referring to the sociolinguistic concept of *voice*, but to the 'acoustic impression' teacher LOU has of her student.

Transcript: **My Student**
Speaker: **Teacher BAL**
Interviewer: INT
Interview language: **German (Austrian variety, colloquial)**
Transcript translation: English (in orange)

100 BAL: dieses mädchen KANN nicht leise sprechen.
this girl is UNable to speak softly.
101 IS einfach so.
it's as SIMple as that.
102 und geNUG fehler-
and {makes} QUITE a few mistakes-
103 aber allein {schon} der WILLe;
but her determiNAtion {alone};
104 die hat sich SO in die aufgabe verBISSen,=
she's been SO preoccupied with the homework,=
105 dass i ihr jetzt dann im zeugnis den EINSer geb;
that i decided to ultimately give her an A;

What was inappropriate in the eyes of teacher LOU seems to be just fine in the eyes of teacher BAL: a girl's loud voice (lines 100-101 above). Teacher BAL interprets this 'loudness' as an appropriate feature as long as it is *balanced* with such incredibly strong ambitions (103-104). The resulting grade A in the girl's school report will enable her to continue education in the 'stronger' group – i.e., at the higher level of secondary schooling (*Gymnasium*) in Austria.

6. New perspectives: multilingualism and inequality

What does listening to these *voices* reveal in answer to our research questions?

The first *voice* is mother RE, the Resisting Voice. She is illiterate and thus *unheard* in the core discourses of society – or problematized, at best: either as a 'terrorist sympathizer' (in Turkey) or, due to her illiteracy, as an 'obstacle to education/integration' (in Austria).[29] However, RE resists in two different ways. One way is to raise her *voice* against the unjust destruction of her village, thus heads-on opposing dominant

[29] E.g., www.dw.com/de/asylbeh%C3%B6rde-bamf-besorgt-%C3%BCber-zahl-der-analphabeten-unter-den-fl%C3%BCchtlingen/a-42053563.6 [accessed 2020-01-15].

political discourses in Turkey. The other way is much more implicit (and likely not even intended as resistance) yet clearly visible to linguistic analysis: RE's village poem in stanzas and rhymes is nothing less than linguistic art.

Let us take a closer look: on the one hand, the text type is monologic, with the participating roles being clearly distributed, putting the main burden on the narrator's shoulders; on the other hand, syntax and lexicon are complex and dense, accounting for formal cohesion (with pronouns and deictics) and textual coherence (with distinctive lexicon, main and subordinate clauses, and a wealth of rhetoric means as described in part 5). In our study's numerous conversations[30], however, such ways of narrating were never found with educated mothers or fathers. Quite on the contrary: our first core finding is that such artful oral language was *exclusively* created by illiterate conversation partners – mainly women.

The 'resisting' aspect is thus academic in nature: we claim that RE is *not illiterate*. We are raising this claim not just because of the artful structure depicted above – but rather because these features represent precisely some of the foundations of academic literacy as required in school (in German: *Bildungssprache*; cf. Morek and Heller, 2012). In this context, our modest proposal is to replace 'illiteracy' with 'oral literacy'[31], as 'illiteracy' suggests an educational shortcoming, while 'oral literacy' points out the power inherent in parental *voices* – and these, in turn, are decisive sources with regard to their children's literacy (cf. e.g. Heller 2013).

The second *voice* is mother TA, the Targeting Voice. She, too, was *silenced* as a 'Kurd/ terrorist' in Turkey; in addition, she is *silenced* as a 'Turk/ immigrant' in Austria. The consequences are visible in her account: heads-on the woman leaves behind her Kurdish village, language, community, and whatever else might affiliate her with 'Kurdish terrorism' or – just as bad – with 'immigrant illiteracy'. To her daughter, TA already transmits a newly-learned language (Turkish, in which she is less fluent) and targets education (in German) to ensure a better life.

And TA is not the only one: our second core finding is that among all our conversation partners, Targeting Voices like TA were exclusively found in highly stigmatized language communities. In order to escape being *silenced* as a 'terrorist', as an 'immigrant' or as 'illiterate', mothers like TA tend towards a certain kind of 'self-silencing' – i.e., leaving behind the stigmatized language forever.

Together with TA's first language, Kurdish, the related art of narrating is also lost. Moreover, when leaving their 'oral literacies' behind, parents make them inaccessible to their children's education – just as Targeting Voice did. She has done this, however, after core societal discourses had declared both her 'illiterate' Kurdish (in Turkey) and her 'illiterate' Turkish (in Austria) as being of little value for school (e.g., Esser 2006).

And yet, what makes TA's account so impressive is her strong female *voice*, not bending to any patriarchy or tradition. For her daughter to receive education, TA risks to lose even her closest family ties. Unlike RE above who resists in Kurdish, TA's strongest motive is her uncompromising will to succeed in the education system as well as the dominant language: German.

[30] More than 200 in total; see Brizić (forthcoming a.)

[31] Cf. the term *oral literature*–e.g. in Kreyenbroek and Marzolph (2010).

The third *voice* is LOU, a Viennese teacher who reports that one of her students, a girl, has a 'loud voice'. The 'loud' girl, however, is the daughter of TA, the Targeting Voice, the uncompromising mother.

At this exact point, we are leaving behind the level of individual *voices* and transition to the level of discourses with all their frictions, divides and *polyphonies*. And only from there, a vicious circle becomes visible: with all their strength, Targeting Voice and her 'loud' daughter have been fighting for recognition and female education, for female *voices being heard* and *worth hearing* (cf. again Hymes 1996: 64). And yet, the 'louder' the struggle of mother and daughter, it seems, the deeper the disturbance on the side of the teacher. But is it really the rebellious (female) *voice*, so strong through generations, that upsets the (female) teacher at such a profound level? Our third core finding is: 'loud voices' (in a negative sense) are attested by female (!) teachers only; and they are attested to female (!) students only – never to boys. And even more strikingly, girls are assigned to be 'loud' *only and exclusively* when they are from migrant, multilingual, and illiterate families – and these families, in turn, mostly occur in stigmatized communities (often communities 'without a state', cf. part 3). In other words: as soon as a student is female and comes from a highly stigmatized community (e.g., Kurdish, Roma), she is at risk of being 'too loud' – i.e., inappropriate – for higher education.[32] In this way, the inequalities imposed to 'origin' (migration, multilingualism, illiteracy, and 'statelessness') are even intensified by merging them with inequalities imposed to gender.

'Gender equality' is, however, often claimed to be a basic value of European societies. And yet, our data shows that there is still a long way to go. One of the reasons for this can certainly be found in the fact that teachers – above all: female primary school teachers – work under conditions that largely restrict autonomy and critical self-reflection (cf. again Gomolla and Radtke 2002): many teachers work under great time pressure, lacking both material resources and immaterial recognition. Accordingly, our data demonstrates that whenever teachers report to work under particularly adverse conditions, the teachers' discourse shows the highest number of 'collective' judgements – such as, e.g., the 'loud voice' assessment made for girls from migrant, multilingual, illiterate families.[33]

There are very few exceptions: one exception is our fourth *voice*, teacher BAL. She, too, characterizes a girl in the classroom as 'loud'; yet, she evaluates the girl's 'loudness' in a 'balancing', positive way. The teacher thus enables the girl to proceed to higher education (*Gymnasium*, cf. above). But BAL is the only teacher in our study to do so.

Moreover, and most fatally, teachers experience gender inequality as well, given a generally low public recognition for the largely 'female', low-paid professions in Austria's social and school sectors (e.g. Dolton et al. 2018; Krüger-Potratz 2006). We are, therefore, not even close to gender equality in the education system, as long as we do not pay tribute, time, adequately high wages and respect to the professionals in education. In other words: This study is also about the teachers' *voices* being *heard* or *silenced* in society.

[32] The three core findings presented here are also statistically significant; see Brizić (forthcoming a).

[33] Cf. other research on teacher discourses, e.g. Heller (2012) or Hu (2018), to name but a few.

Furthermore, all the factors mentioned above (migration, multilingualism, illiteracy, statelessness, gender) tend to be interpreted as 'disadvantages' by the teachers even when the girls perform equally or better than other students (e.g., in the subject of German; cf. Brizić forthcoming a; Blaschitz 2014). This means: a girl from a stigmatized and/or 'stateless' (*silenced*) population is most likely to be evaluated as 'weak' in the Austrian school system. This applies even if she performs equally or better than a girl from a prestigious (*heard*) 'population with a state'. Together with gender, 'origin' therefore beats individual performance – over generations.[34] Or, in our core terms: it makes all the difference if *voices* are *heard* or *silenced* in the *polyphony* of classrooms, schools and societies.

Based on the example of four *voices*, our data has shown how political and structural 'macro' aspects are translated into individual and very personal perceptions, ambitions, assessments and disadvantages. At this 'micro' level, a variety of *hearing* and *silencing* experiences are expressed – and artfully performed – by our conversation partners. Viewed in juxtaposition to each other, however, the experiences and perceptions can differ to such a degree that common ground is lost (such as between mother TA and teacher LOU): what is seen as a 'strong girl' by the mother can be seen as an 'inappropriately loud girl' by the teacher. In addition, our data shows that the individual loss of common ground between a mother and a teacher can become a 'collective' and hence a societal issue: in our study, *voices* like mother TA regularly occur in stigmatized communities; *voices* like teacher LOU regularly occur across Viennese schools; and the *voices* of girls from stigmatized communities are regularly assessed as 'inappropriately loud'. It becomes visible here how individual *voices* can accumulate and find their way up to the collective level, amounting to societal discourses[35] about 'weak' immigrant students, 'illiterate' immigrant mothers, and primary school teachers with a profession considered 'low' in prestige.

The *polyphony* of discourses reflected in our data is, therefore, not harmonious. It is a *polyphony* that informs us of the loss of common ground, and of the growth of frictions, not only between mothers, daughters and teachers: it is a glance into the making of educational inequality in society.

7. New perspectives: Critical Social Linguistics in times of migration and war

From the making of educational inequality, we proceed to the vision of breaking the vicious circle, and to the question of the role research can play. Put into the core terms of our study: Which *voices* are *heard* in academic research, and which ones are not?

Let us stick to the Kurdish example. In the Middle East, the Kurdish actors have shown to be of direct relevance to European issues of security and migration.[36] And even more importantly, Kurdish students have made up a substantial part of 'immigrant' students in Europe for decades, particularly in Austria and

[34] The findings regarding male students are omitted here; they can be found in Brizić (forthcoming a).

[35] We are referring to *discourses* here (as opposed to personal *interactions*), as our conversation partners did not personally know each other, nor had they ever communicated with each other.

[36] Take, for example, the fact that Kurdish territories were, at times, the only line of defense against the 'Islamic State'.

Germany.[37] Nevertheless, language and education research still failed to take into account the respective figures, languages and discourses in schools[38] (Brizić 2007). Kurdish has been, and to a great extent still is, *unheard*. Among the manifold reasons for this phenomenon (cf., e.g., D'Souza & Pal 2018), 'statelessness' has proven to be particularly fatal. Languages 'without a state' lack all the institutions that can make *voices heard* (e.g., university departments, language programs and alike; cf. Akın 2017). Research on languages and education, therefore, conceived 'immigrant diversity' largely in line with 'nation states' (i.e., 'countries of origin').[39]

In other research fields, in contrast, Kurdish has been a core subject for a long time. Kurdish languages and their structures have been described to great extent (e.g., Haig & Öpengin 2014), and, mostly in social research and Memory Studies, 'stateless' *voices* and their oral poetics, narratives and discourses have become 'audible' in great detail (e.g. Çağlayan 2019; Hamelink 2016; Kreyenbroek & Marzolph 2010; Turgut 2010; Neyzi 2010). Unfortunately, linguistic work on education and society is simply absent in these fields. Quite on the contrary, there are voices in linguistics strongly advising against a 'non-canonical use' of linguistic methods in social research.[40] Apart from possible reasons for this deep rift between linguistic and social approaches, the consequences are equally momentous – and far from having purely academic relevance.

The damage in real life might best become apparent in the example of the Kurdish language Bezeynî, spoken in Central Turkey (also: *Şeyhbızın;* cf. Çelebi 2017). As early as in the 1950s, numerous Bezeynî speakers reached Austria and its schooling system, entering the country as 'Turkish labor migrants'. And yet, both the language and its numerous speakers have remained a blank spot in European academia, even to experts, for more than half a century. This, in turn, provided fertile soil for what later turned out to be a multi-layered process of educational *silencing*: first, Bezeynî speakers are positioned as a deprived minority even within Kurds in Turkey; second, Bezeynî speakers fall victim to the same deprivations as all Kurds, considering that they are categorized as 'Kurds' by the Turkish state; and third, they experience the same deprivations as other migrants, considering that they are seen as 'Turks' in Austria. A position this low in social hierarchy implies highly stigmatized multilingualism, in this case comprising Kurdish-Bezeynî, Kurdish-Kurmanji, and often also a Caucasian language of Central Turkey (e.g., Chechen or Cherkessian), together with Turkish and German – all that in everyday family life. And it also implies all the oral literacy of 'illiterate' parents, and all the aspirations of 'loud' girls, and all the difficulties of teachers to cope with these aspirations – just as discussed above. In light of our data, it does not come as a surprise that Austrian schools have been unable to cope with such diversity, and that Bezeynî *voices* are largely missing in higher education as well as core societal discourses.

[37] See, e.g., https://mediendienst-integration.de/artikel/wer-hat-einen-migrationshintergrund.html [accessed 2020-01-15].

[38] As well as in large-scale assessments like PISA (Brizić 2008) and in official censuses (Adler 2018).

[39] Just to mention a few exceptions here: pioneerig work is done, for example, by Sürig et al. (2016), Kırgız (2017) or Altun (2020).

[40] As an example, cf. the position formulated in Deppermann (2008: 60).

As a fatal consequence, however, Bezeynî students finally *did* enter a core public discourse – yet not as a 'highly multilingual language community' but as 'highly problematic students from Central Anatolia'. Even more devastatingly, teachers considered Bezeynî children as 'Turks' and were surprised that these children 'do not even speak their mother tongue Turkish very well' – an allegation that even found its way into research in a most ethnicizing way. Today we know that in numerous cases, multilingual Bezeynî students have been mistakenly assessed as 'suffering from language impairment' and thus assigned 'special needs' (cf. Brizić 2007 and Brizić, forthcoming a) – with serious consequences for later participation in society as discussed above.

What we have here is *silencing* at its best; and it makes things hardly any better to know that much of this has been carried out unconsciously, not only by teachers but also by researchers not prepared for *hearing* 'unheard' *voices*. An academic blind spot, based on the division of disciplines, impeded the much needed understanding of the role that language and multilingualism play in educational equality.[41] The consequences reach far beyond the education system, up to the level of participation in society, of losing or gaining common ground, and of social (in)equality. Research on language is powerful.

In light of this, we envision a linguistics that is fully responsible and aware of its power to reproduce inequalities; that is alert at all times that *voices* are missing in our research, let alone among us researchers; and a linguistics that responsibly directs its resources, its agency towards an outreach to all parts of society as equal as possible. In Denzin's words: "I want a performative social science (…) that embraces (…) social difference (…). This social science asks: Who has the right to ask whom what questions? (…) Who has the right to see what?" (Denzin 2001: 26). Or, in the linguistic approach that we envision: Who has the *duty* to ask whom what questions? Who has the *duty* to see – and *hear* – what?

We envision a linguistics that is fully aware of the power of its methods; and that responsibly yet without reservation opens them up to the service of social research. There is an endlessly rich range of perspectives to be gained by implementing multilayered linguistic analyses. As our data shows, only the educational-linguistic approach enabled 'illiterate' *voices* to prove rich in literacy aspects; only from an interactional-linguistic perspective, the autonomous, fully-intended format of the narrator's artwork became *heard*; and only a discourse-linguistic point of view was able to visualize how *voices* interact in *polyphony* – for the good or the worse – without ever having met. Such multilayered linguistic analyses, in turn, can only come about if we apply a critical sociological approach to *hearing*. We therefore seek, again in Denzin's words, an approach

> (…) that is simultaneously autoethnographic, vulnerable, performative and critical. (…) It is a way of being in the world, a way of writing, hearing and listening. (…) This is a return to narrative as a political act; a social science that has learned how to critically use the reflexive, dialogical interview. This social science inserts itself in the world in an empowering way. It uses narrated words and stories to fashion performance texts that imagine new worlds (…) (Denzin 2001: 43).

We envision a linguistics aware of its power to not just reproduce but also reduce inequality

[41] Also: *equity* as referring to *adequate* support; cf. earlier footnote.

and conflict. Let us return to the Kurdish example one last time. Take Resisting Voice RE, on the one hand, who suffered loss after loss and thus strongly opposes the Turkish state. Take Targeting Voice, on the other hand, who suffered most from accusations of 'terrorism' and, therefore, strongly opposes anything 'Kurdish'. Or take individuals who have lost a friend in a terrorist attack; take children who have learned that only anti-immigrant nationalism may protect them; or children who have been taught antisemitism: we could go on and on. Our postmodern times are abundant in discourse diversity – i.e., in highly divergent collective experiences and accordingly fragmented discourses. These fragments and frictions are powerful and violent at times. How else could it be possible that we have anti-immigrant attacks, growing antisemitism, anti-Turkish and anti-Kurdish assaults etc. in so many schools in Europe (cf. Salzborn & Kurth 2019)?[42] Common ground is not granted in the classrooms of our times. Even within a single school, society and country, our experiences can be so different that they make us lose sight of each other (c.f. Janmaat 2013; Macchia et al. 2019). From a linguistic point of view, this risk of 'losing each other out of *sight*' also comprises the risk of 'losing each other out of *ear*'. And if this is so, then "(…) a bridge connecting diverse racial and gendered identities to discourse in the public arena cannot be constructed. Democratic discourse is threatened" (Denzin 2001: 35).

Linguistic methods enable us to *hear*, document and connect the powerful discourses of our times. From there, a next step could be to make the many *voices* in all their *polyphony* audible, and increasingly also understandable, *to each other*.[43] Let us imagine the strength and life that could spark from such an approach. Imagine the strength such a path might develop for mutual belonging – in the classroom and beyond (cf. Freadman 2014: 378). In this spirit, a linguistic definition of *social cohesion* could be *the ability of all parts of a society to hear each other.*

We cannot afford to leave voices unheard in a globalized world where common ground is not granted. With its powerful tools, linguistic research allows for such hearing, carried out as the "radical democratic practice" so badly needed at the beginning of the 21st century (Denzin 2001: 23). We have a self-critical, reflective academia in mind that takes its power seriously. In order to broaden such an approach and address it as an explicit change in awareness, we propose to call it *Critical Social Linguistics*.[44]

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[42] See also https://www.verband-brg.de/ [accessed 2020-07-15].

[43] With the main aim to create an environment of mutual respect.

[44] Not to be confused with Sociolinguistics (working with mainly linguistic methods on mainly linguistic topics). We understand the term *Critical Social Linguistics* as working with linguistic and transdisciplinary methods on social topics. There is, of course, a close connection to Educational Linguistics, on the one hand, and Sociolinguistics of Globalization, on the other.

Transcription conventions (GAT-2, adapted from Selting et al., 2011)

?	rising to high pitch movement
,	rising to mid
-	same level
;	falling to mid
.	falling to low
SYLLable	focus accent
!SYLL!able	extra strong accent
(.)	micro pause, up to 0.2 sec. duration
(-)	short pause, appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
(--)	intermediary estimated pause, appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
(---)	longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration
(2.0)	measured pause of (e.g.) 2.0 sec.
=	fast, immediate continuation (latching)
[ ]	overlap and simultaneous talk
:	lengthening, by about 0.2-0.5 sec.
::	lengthening, by about 0.5-0.8 sec.
°h	breathing
/	self-repair
((laughs))	non-verbal vocal actions and events ...
<<laughing> >	... with indication of scope
<<moved> >	interpretive comment with indication of scope
<<p> >	piano, soft
<<pp> >	pianissimo, very soft
<<len> >	lento, slow
<<all> >	allegro, fast
<<acc> >	accelerando, increasingly faster
<<cresc> >	crescendo, increasingly louder
<<akz> >	accentuated
(...)	unintelligible passage
((...))	omission in transcript
//	alternative translation
{...}	amendment to literal translation

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03

Quelques repères historiques et sociolinguistiques sur l'implantation du français à Conakry

03

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Abdourahmane Diallo

1. Introduction

L'objectif de cette contribution est de fournir une description et une analyse de la situation du français dans un cadre urbain et multilingue de la ville de Conakry, doublement soumise au phénomène migratoire : une migration intérieure convergente vers la capitale, couramment appelée exode rural, et une migration vers l'extérieur, en direction de ou en passant par des pays majoritairement francophones. Les langues guinéennes parlées dans la ville de Conakry, indépendamment de l'importance numérique des locuteurs, se répartissent généalogiquement en deux grandes familles : la famille atlantique (Sapir 1971 ; Pozdniakov & Segerer 2016) et la famille mandée (Kastenholz 1996 ; Vydrin et Bergman 2000-2003), toutes les deux appartenant au phylum du Niger-Congo. Les langues

atlantiques sont constituées par le peul[1], le coniagui, le bassari, le kissi, le baga et le nalou. Les trois premières appartiennent à la branche nord et les trois dernières à la branche sud. Quant aux langues mandées, elles sont représentées essentiellement par le malinké, le guerzé, le toma et le soussou. Pour des détails sur la classification et la localisation géographique de ces langues, voir Vydrin et Bergmann (2000 - 2003).

Pour l'analyse de la situation actuelle du français dans ce contexte multilingue, quatre questions essentielles seront poursuivies : d'abord celle de savoir dans quelles circonstances et par quel moyen cette langue romane d'origine indoeuropéenne a été introduite dans cette presqu'île, devenue la plus grande métropole de la Guinée ; puis sera abordée la dynamique démographique et le paramètre ethno-régional dans l'occupation des espaces et ses répercussions dans la configuration sociolinguistique urbaine ; la troisième question est de savoir quelles langues guinéennes partagent l'univers multilingue de Conakry en termes de véhicularité ; en dernier lieu, il sera question d'examiner la persévérance du français et sa progression dans la fréquence d'emploi et dans les domaines d'usage à Conakry.

2. Rappel historique sur l'introduction du français à Conakry

Trois phases caractérisent l'histoire du français dans la capitale guinéenne, à l'instar du reste du pays : une phase d'implantation, une phase de restriction et une phase de consolidation.

2.1 La phase d'implantation du français

L'arrivée du français dans cette ville côtière de la Guinée est liée au processus historique de l'entreprise coloniale. Cette presqu'île, originairement partie intégrante du royaume de Dubréka (Koné 2015), fut occupée d'abord par les Anglais[2], puis rétrocédée aux Français en 1887. Mais quant à la diffusion de la langue, elle s'est opérée d'abord par l'enseignement, même si d'autres facteurs ont pu y jouer un rôle secondaire, comme par exemple les soldats coloniaux. Les premières institutions éducatives ont été ouvertes par l'Eglise, l'Etat n'ayant intervenu que bien plus tard. L'œuvre de pionniers a été initiée d'abord par les Pères du Saint-Esprit, présents depuis 1876 un peu plus au nord dans la préfecture actuelle de Boffa, puis suivirent les Frères Plöermel et les Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de Cluny depuis 1894 (Baldé 2002: 23). Au tout début, l'administration coloniale chercha un arrangement avec les religieux par un système de

[1] Certaines des langues guinéennes sont souvent désignées sous des appellations différentes : le peul est par exemple connu sous les noms de fula, pular, poular, foulfoulde etc., le malinké sous les noms maninka ou maninkakan, le soussou comme sosso ou sosoxui, le guerzé sous le nom kpelle, le toma comme loma, looma ou loghomaghoe qui veut dire « la langue ou le parler des Loma ou Toma ». Priorité sera donnée ici aux appellations courantes dans la littérature francophone. Les autres noms peuvent apparaître toutefois dans le cadre des citations ou si le contexte l'exige. Quand on fait référence aux locuteurs, on emploie une majuscule en début de mot.

[2] C'est depuis 1820 que les Anglais se sont appropriés des « Rivières du Sud » - l'ancien nom de ce qu'est la Guinée d'aujourd'hui - au détriment du Portugal. Les Anglais ont définitivement quitté ce territoire par la cession des Îles de Los en 1904 à la France, en échange à la récupération de la Gambie, suite à une *Entente Cordiale* signée le 08 avril 1904 (Suret-Canale 1960: 10-11). C'est à cette période que des emprunts à l'anglais comme *wundari* pour « fenêtre », *sikeeli* pour « bascule », *pileeti* pour « assiette », *maasiisi* pour « allumette » sont passés dans le vocabulaire des langues guinéennes soussou et peule qui étaient déjà utilisées à Kaloum ; Ces mots sont tirés respectivement de *window, scale, plate et matches.*

subvention en soutenant les écoles de l'Eglise, moyennant la formation des premiers auxiliaires coloniaux. Goerg (1990: 89) parle d'une école protestante française qui obtint même une aide de 4000 Francs par an au titre de cette subvention. Mais plus tard l'administration coloniale prit son autonomie avec l'ouverture le 2 octobre 1902 de la première école laïque de Conakry. A partir de cette date, l'administration renforça la présence de ses centres d'enseignement dans toute la Guinée, en mettant en priorité des positions avant-gardistes ; ceci notamment pour contrer la menace de l'anglais, déjà implanté en Sierra Leone et au Libéria, et de l'arabe, qui constituait la langue de culte de la majorité musulmane de la Guinée (Goerg 1990 ; Baldé 2002).

La langue d'enseignement de ces écoles est le français, même si à la phase initiale on a tenté d'approcher der maîtres coraniques pour « rassurer les familles musulmanes » et « favoriser le recrutement des écoles officielles et leur gagner la sympathie des indigènes » (Baldé 2002: 30).

Du point de vue du niveau de langue à atteindre par les élèves admis dans ces écoles, les ambitions ne semblaient pas être assez élevées puisque, selon l'administrateur Mairot, cité par Baldé (2002: 34), parlant de l'application des programmes d'enseignement par les enseignants recrutés, ceux-ci les « adapteront aux nécessités ambiantes qu'ils limiteront au français parlé ». Un peu plus ouvert à ce sujet s'est exprimé William Ponty[3], cité par Diallo Alpha M. (2002: 46). Ponty disait à son Conseil du Gouvernement de 1908 « il n'entre pas dans ma pensée de multiplier les établissements donnant autre chose qu'une instruction primaire très simple […]. Apprendre les indigènes à parler notre langue, à la lire, leur inculquer quelques rudiments de calcul… ».

L'enseignement du français fut par conséquent assuré, au prime abord par un personnel non spécialisé. A l'instar des autres pays comme le Mali (Manessy et al. 1994: 19), cette fonction fut confiée à des sous-officiers ou à des interprètes, car pour l'enseignement dans les écoles nouvellement créées il n'y avait pas suffisamment de personnel. Baldé (2002: 33) souligne que « l'instruction [y] était donnée par les interprètes, les soldats et les agents des postes et télégraphes ».

Il faut rappeler ici que l'objectif de l'administration coloniale n'était pas d'offrir une formation de cadres supérieurs performants, éventuellement capables de réfléchir le système colonial et travailler en autonomie, mais de former des commis subalternes pouvant comprendre des commandes, exécuter des ordres, établir des listes et petits inventaires d'objets et de marchandises etc. Les élèves sont, au tout début, issus de condition servile, puisque les familles aristocratiques ont, au prime abord, récusé la nouvelle école, la considérant comme un prolongement indirect de la christianisation naguère opérée par l'Eglise.

Au bout de la deuxième décennie après le début de l'école publique coloniale les statistiques scolaires de 1926 - 1927 soulignaient déjà l'existence en Guinée de 34 écoles. A la fin de la période coloniale, la couverture scolaire ne concernait dans la zone de Conakry, que quelques enfants vivant dans la presqu'île de Kaloum et dans les quartiers immédiatement environnants comme Cameroun, Coléah, Dixinn, Donka, et Madina.

[3] Amédée William Merlaud-Ponty (1866 - 1915) est un administrateur colonial français qui fut gouverneur de l'Afrique Occidentale Française de 1908 à 1915.

2.1.1 Usage du français

L'implantation des écoles a certes été le facteur majeur de la diffusion de la langue française, mais son usage, pendant les premières heures de l'entreprise coloniale a été introduit, mis à part le rôle joué par les religieux, par deux autres groupes ou acteurs coloniaux : les administrateurs civils et les détachements militaires qui ont servi à asseoir les bases de l'entreprise coloniale. Manessy et al. (1994: 19) est d'avis que « le premier véhicule du français dans les zones allouées à la France par la conférence de Berlin, a été l'armée de conquête, ou plus exactement le personnel d'encadrement de cette armée qui est aussi devenu celui de la première administration des territoires soumis ». Goerg (1990: 85) parle également de la présence de « tirailleurs en poste à Conakry, notamment dans le quartier de banlieue appelé Cameroun ».

En résumé, l'usage de la langue française pendant la période coloniale se faisait alors :

- dans l'administration coloniale, élargie au niveau de ses assesseurs locaux : commis, employés subalternes et interprètes tout autant que des ouvriers étrangers
- dans les divers pôles de sociabilité des Européens (colons, commerçants)
- parmi les soldats (soldats de colonies et tirailleurs locaux)
- dans les missions (d'abord catholiques, puis protestantes, ces dernières étant venues un peu plus tard)
- dans différentes associations et amicales mettant en relation les européens avec d'autres étrangers tels que les Libano-Syriens.

2.1.2 Le type de langue acquise

L'usage du français se faisait donc, à l'époque coloniale, à l'intérieur d'une mosaïque de groupements à caractère plus ou moins corporatif dont la diversité est assez prononcée. Ceci laisse présager d'un langage non uniforme allant d'un niveau élevé chez les administrateurs coloniaux à un niveau pidginisé utilisé par et/ou avec les tirailleurs et autres employés subalternes. C'est chez ces derniers qu'a émergé une variété du français que les administrateurs coloniaux, et d'ailleurs même certains linguistes comme Delafosse (1904: 263), ont qualifié de « sorte de pidgin militaire dit 'petit nègre' ou 'français tiraillou' ». Le même auteur en donne l'origine puisqu'il dit qu'il est parlé par « nos tirailleurs et nos employés et domestiques indigènes, et à peu près de la même façon au Tonkin et en Afrique occidentale », (Delafosse 1904: 63).

Cette phase d'implantation a démarré donc comme une entreprise d'expérimentation en cascades, basée sur des réactions spontanées et seulement ad-hoc, émergeant à la cadence des défis conjoncturels. La nécessité de transmettre le français semble avoir surgi comme un dérivé indispensable à l'accomplissement de l'œuvre coloniale, auparavant sans objectifs prédéfinis, ni de méthodologie soutenue, ni même de logistique pédagogique conséquente et avec un personnel enseignant insuffisamment préparé. Un certain effort d'alphabétisation a été enclenché plus tard et renforcé après les deux guerres, puisqu'on a appris à apprécier les avantages concrets liés à la maîtrise du français par les

auxiliaires locaux. C'est ainsi qu'a été introduite l'initiation des adultes à la lecture et à l'écriture avec usage de la langue française sous l'appellation de « cours d'adultes[4] ». Toutefois, Dioffo (2019/1964: 32) considère que « si l'éducation de base et les cours d'adultes ont été organisés, c'est surtout sur une base paternaliste dans le but de leur exploitation par la propagande extérieure de l'impérialisme français. »

Le résultat, du point de vue linguistique est l'évolution, en parallèle, de deux variétés de langue : d'un côté un français administratif standard, utilisé dans l'enseignement, l'administration et la justice et, de l'autre côté, un français infra-normatif ou pidginisé, utilisé par des personnes insuffisamment scolarisées ou pas du tout lettrées. Il faut rappeler, à ce propos, que l'appareil colonial était dans les mains des colons français, une bonne partie des enseignants dans les centres urbains avaient, entre temps, pu s'améliorer par des stages de perfectionnement plus ou moins réguliers ; en plus l'enseignement religieux n'avait pas disparu et celui-ci était d'un bon niveau. Les sortants de ces écoles confessionnelles étaient également au service de l'administration coloniale. Ceux-ci parlaient tous un français standard, les textes administratifs sont également rédigés dans un langage conforme aux normes exigées par la métropole.

Au moment de l'accès de la Guinée à l'indépendance en 1958 et immédiatement après, le français a été maintenu dans le nouvel Etat avec un statut officiel comme langue de communication de la Guinée postcoloniale.

2.2 Phase de restriction du français

Immédiatement après l'accession de la Guinée à la souveraineté politique, les programmes d'enseignement du français et son statut comme langue d'éducation formelle demeura, tout d'abord, sans changement fondamental. La première réforme est intervenue dix ans après l'indépendance de la Guinée, en 1968, où fut déclenchée ce qu'on appela « la révolution culturelle socialiste ». L'intention affichée[5] était de faire la promotion des valeurs africaines et des réalités guinéennes dans les programmes d'enseignement. Pendant que le français demeura comme matière ou discipline enseignée, huit langues guinéennes (Voeltz 1996) furent sélectionnées pour servir de langues d'enseignement, pour tout le niveau primaire. Ce sont :

- le bassari et le coniagui employés dans le nord-ouest de la Guinée, à la zone frontalière avec le Sénégal
- le guerzé à la région septentrionale de la Guinée Forestière, à la frontière entre la Guinée, la Côte d'Ivoire et le Libéria
- le kissi dans la frange ouest de la Guinée Forestière et la bande frontalière avec la Sierra Leone
- le toma couvrant la frange nord de la Guinée Forestière

[4] En Guinée ces cours d'adultes sont connus dans les langues locales comme *courdadi*, *courdadite*, *courdandi* etc.

[5] En réalité, il s'agit d'une réforme par défaut, étant donné que depuis l'évacuation systématique par la France du personnel enseignant après l'indépendance le nouveau pouvoir n'arrivait pas à remplacer ces départs. L'introduction abrupte et sans préparation des langues locales était beaucoup plus populiste et réaliste qu'une volonté réfléchie d'innovation et de revalorisation de la culture guinéenne. Avec la nouvelle donne, il était plus facile de faire le pont en recrutant des personnes lettrées d'un niveau minimal pour dispenser des cours élémentaires dans sa propre langue. Ce faisant, on s'assura en même temps l'alliance des habitants de la capitale dont le fond sociologique était majoritairement sossophone.

- le malinké couvrant la zone de la Haute Guinée

- le peul, couvrant la zone de la Moyenne Guinée

- le soussou, employé en Basse Guinée.

Le programme de français à la fin de collège n'était pas consacré à un enseignement de la langue, mais bien plus à une propagande idéologique au service du régime socio-communiste en émergence (Diallo Alpha M. 1999: 19). L'enseignement des autres disciplines se faisait toutefois, au collège, entièrement en langue française, les langues nationales étant devenues des matières, enseignées respectivement dans leur zones et régions de localisation.

Pendant toute cette phase restrictive de l'usage du français, les meetings politiques dans les quartiers de Conakry furent tenus en langues locales, la radio nationale introduisit l'usage des langues guinéennes dans ses programmes quotidiens. Néanmoins, les institutions publiques (parlement, tribunaux de justice et diplomatie) continuèrent à fonctionner en langue française avec, au besoin - comme c'était souvent le cas en justice - des traductions ad-hoc en langues guinéennes.

Cette restriction pour le français renforça, par ricochet, l'expansion de la langue soussou qui, pendant cette phase, connut une progression rapide au niveau de la jeune population habitant la ville de Conakry et dans toute la région côtière. Pendant tout le long des seize années de cette période (1968 - 1984) toutes les générations scolarisées à Conakry et en Basse Guinée l'ont été, au niveau primaire, en langue soussou, indépendamment de la langue de l'origine parentale pratiquée en famille. En plus, son importance en tant que langue des rencontres politiques au niveau communal lui conféra un prestige supplémentaire. Dans la vie civile, son emploi dans les cérémonies, dans les lieux de culte musulman (mosquées, centres de recueillement et de prières collectives etc.) fut généralisé. De sorte que la connaissance du soussou devint alors un impératif de survie à Conakry et une condition incontournable pour une participation active à la vie politique et à l'insertion sociale. Il devint ainsi une langue véhiculaire urbaine et fit un bond considérable dans son expansion.

2.3 Phase de consolidation du français

Cette phase commence en mai 1984, suite à la disparition du régime communiste, par l'adoption d'une nouvelle politique linguistique. L'une des premières mesures de réforme prises par les nouvelles autorités politiques et éducatives fut de supprimer les langues guinéennes du système éducatif formel - et par conséquent les rendre également superflues pour d'éventuelles institutions éducatives privées, confessionnelles ou laïques. A partir de ce moment :

- on réinstitua l'usage de la langue française comme moyen d'instruction de toutes les matières, de l'école primaire à la fin du cursus universitaire

- le nombre d'heures de cours consacrées à l'enseignement de la langue fut revu à la hausse

- le contenu des programmes fut réformé et dépouillé de la charge idéologique socio-communiste

- des ouvrages de référence pour l'enseignement de la langue en Guinée furent édités, voir par exemple celui de Chevrier (1994).

Etant donné l'échec qui a accompagné l'introduction abrupte des langues nationales - celles-ci furent adoptées sans préparation, sans programme, sans personnel enseignant qualifié et sans outils pédagogiques de base - tous les revers de la politique éducative furent attribués à ces langues locales. Il faut rappeler entre autres, que le niveau atteint en langue française au bout de six ans de l'école primaire était nettement insuffisant pour pouvoir suivre tous les cours au collège. Parmi les conséquences les plus marquantes il y avait un abandon scolaire massif et une baisse générale de niveau et de performance des élèves dans toutes les disciplines. De sorte que la réintroduction du français fut saluée par la population guinéenne en général et par les familles en particulier par un ouf de soulagement. Une atmosphère de renaissance s'installa et s'accompagna par un goût nouveau pour l'école publique.

Le nouveau régime politique, libéral à ses débuts, rompt avec les réunions hebdomadaires du parti unique d'alors (PDG, parti démocratique de Guinée qui était au pouvoir pendant la période communiste) et l'usage du soussou comme langue de communication publique. Cette langue, naguère à caractère officiel pour les occasions de rencontres publiques au niveau des communes urbaines de la capitale, perdit son privilège administratif et son usage dans les institutions officielles (tribunaux, meetings politiques etc.) ; plus tard, son prestige diminua au fur et à mesure que le nouveau chef d'Etat, lui-même locuteur maternel de la langue soussou, devenait impopulaire.

Les conséquences de cette nouvelle politique linguistique sur le plan de la configuration linguistique de Conakry sont assez importantes : les enfants habitant les quartiers périphériques cessèrent d'apprendre le soussou. Leurs parents, récemment immigrés vers la capitale, au bénéfice du libéralisme économique après 1984, étant majoritairement non sosophones, il en résulta une convergence générale vers le français dans tous les quartiers de Conakry. Il reste entendu que les différents groupes ethniques continuent à parler leurs langues respectives partout où ceci est possible.

Du point de vue démographique, la disparition du régime communiste et la libéralisation de l'entreprenariat privé, notamment la pratique du commerce, entraîna une ruée collective vers Conakry.

3. Evolution démographique

Il est important de souligner qu'à l'arrivée des Français à la côte de Kaloum, la presqu'île était déjà multiethnique. Raimbault (1891: 142), cité par Goerg (1990: 77) disait que « la population qui s'élève à 800 ou 900 personnes est très mélangée : il y a des Bagas, des Timnés, des Foulas, des Mendes, des Kroumans, des Wolofs et surtout des Sierra Léonais ». Déjà à cette période la prééminence culturelle et probablement linguistique des Soussous sur les Bagas était bien perceptible. Goerg (1990: 76) se plaint que pour cette raison, ces derniers furent souvent assimilés aux Soussous. Toutefois, il est très vraisemblable que les Bagas ont occupé la région les premiers, l'arrivée des Soussous n'ayant eu lieu que bien plus tard, après la dislocation de l'empire Soso[6] dans le mandingue entre le 12ème et le 13ème siècle, après un long séjour dans le massif du Fouta Djallon.

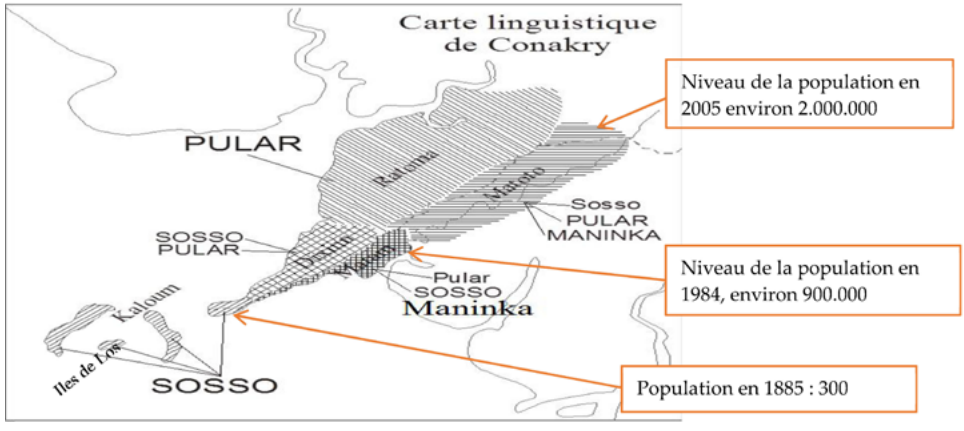
[6] Le peuple se nomme *Soso* et leur langue ils la désignent par le terme *sosoxui*. C'est l'appellation française qui introduisit le terme *soussou*.

Parlant des Bagas, Hair (1997: 382) dit que « The ethnonym "Baga" was first recorded in 1573 and applied to a people or peoples somewhere between Rio Nunez and the Isles de Los, that is, on the coast of modern Guinea along which Baga groups have latterly been found[7] ». Considérant leur présence dans cette zone, il avance qu'« il ne peut être exclu que les Bagas, ou proto-Bagas, aient occupé largement les mêmes localités pendant une période considérable avant l'arrivée des Européens », en sachant que les premiers Portugais sont arrivés à la côte au début du 15ème siècle. Or l'arrivée des Soussous dans la presqu'île de Kaloum ne s'effectua que vers les années 1600. Koné (2015: 195) soutient que l'un des éminents ancêtres des Soussou, « Sumba Toumany était chasseur d'éléphants … c'est lui qui délivra le peuple *Bà.gà*[8] des pillards, en remerciement, ils le proclamèrent roi ». A cette époque c'est le roi Baga Baya Tomboli qui régnait sur cette zone. Celui-ci donna sa fille M'aboya à Toumany en mariage. Les descendants de ce couple « se rendront maîtres de la région de Kaloum et des Iles de Los », (Koné 2015: 196). L'arrivée massive des Soussous dans la zone côtière, et dans le Kaloum, finit par submerger démographiquement et linguistiquement les Bagas, devenus alors minoritaires. C'est cette zone de Kaloum qui deviendra la capitale de la Guinée après l'occupation française.

Selon Bidou et Touré (2002: 4) « Au début des années 1990 (…) alors que la population des quartiers anciens stagne ou diminue, celle de la périphérie s'accroît (les quartiers de Matoto et de Ratoma ont plus que doublé en 6 ans) et une partie de la croissance est désormais réalisée hors de la Région spéciale de Conakry, dans les sous-préfectures voisines de Manéah, Coyah et même Dubréka, situées à plus de 50 km du centre ancien de la ville ».

La carte ci-dessous illustre la croissance de la population de Conakry ainsi que la distribution de la véhicularité des langues guinéennes dans les différentes communes. Les hachures marquent la délimitation des communes et les flèches montrent la progression démographique dont les indications chiffrées sont données dans les rectangles. La casse des noms de langue indique la relation de prépondérance.

Figure 1: Carte linguistique et démographique de Conakry, adaptation de Diallo Abdourahmane (2004 : 102)



[7] « L'ethnonyme ‹ Baga › a été utilisé pour la première fois en 1573 et appliqué à une population vivant quelque part entre le Rio Nunez et les Iles de Los, c'est-à-dire sur la côte de l'actuelle Guinée, le long de laquelle des groupes Baga ont récemment été trouvés ». (Traduction personnelle).

[8] L'orthographe adoptée par l'auteur, avec les tons et un point inter-syllabique a été conservée ici.

Il est à rappeler que, de nos jours, l'expansion démographique est telle qu'il n'y a plus de barrière naturelle qui sépare la capitale des préfectures avoisinantes de Coyah à l'est et Dubréka au nord. Toutefois, à l'instar des régions de l'hinterland, Conakry abrite plusieurs autres langues de la Guinée dont la représentativité est néanmoins proportionnellement divergente.

4. Un multilinguisme dynamique

Dans un sens strict, toutes les langues de la Guinée sont certes parlées à Conakry, mais la plupart ont des fonctions purement vernaculaires et ne sont d'usage que parmi les membres des familles isolées ou parsemées çà et là dans les différents quartiers. Ce sont, entre autres, le mixifore, le coniagui, le bassari, le mani, le toma, etc. Elles ne jouent pas de rôle significatif dans la vie publique[9] urbaine de la capitale. Il en va de même des langues étrangères africaines - telles que le wolof (Sénégal), le temné (Sierra Leone), le haoussa (Ghana, Niger, Nigéria) - dont les usagers sont très peu représentés à Conakry.

On peut classer les langues actuellement en usage à Conakry selon leur degré de véhicularité en trois catégories : une langue véhiculaire urbaine, des langues semi-véhiculaires et des langues vernaculaires :

- la langue locale véhiculaire de Conakry est le soussou. Dans les dernières recherches linguistiques faites en Guinée et en particulier dans la capitale Conakry, cette véhicularité du soussou a souvent été confirmée. Selon Diallo Alpha M. (2002), parmi les quatre langues guinéennes les plus représentées dans la capitale, le soussou arrivait en première position avec 42%, le peul suivait avec 20%, le maninka avec 17%, le kissi et le guerzé avec 4% chacune. Diallo Abdourahmane (2000: 31), dans une enquête sociolinguistique sur la fréquence d'emploi de langues guinéennes, en arrive à des proportions similaires pour les trois principales langues urbaines : le soussou 85% de locuteurs, le peul 67% et le malinké 48%[10].

- les deux langues semi-véhiculaires connaissent un emploi partiel ou sectoriel ; c'est le cas du peul et du malinké. Ces deux langues ont beaucoup d'usages trans-ethniques, c'est-à-dire par des personnes qui les parlent comme L2, les ayant apprises en situation de contact à Conakry. Ceci est notamment dû non seulement à leur importance sous-régionale, au niveau ouest africain mais aussi à leur rôle dans la dynamique de l'économie urbaine de la capitale : commerce, transport, habitat ainsi qu'une multitude

[9] A ne pas confondre ici avec la vie en public, un droit civique incontesté de tout citoyen de vivre et d'employer sa langue là où cela lui convient le mieux. Ici, il est question du rôle joué par les locuteurs et les langues dans le traitement des affaires publiques quand on veut s'adresser à la population de Conakry : réunion politique, enseignement, documentation d'intérêt collectif, prières, prêches etc.

[10] Sur ces données statistiques une remarque s'impose : Diallo Alpha M. (2002) n'a pas pris en compte du multilinguisme des locuteurs mais plutôt de la langue la plus maîtrisée. De sorte que la somme statistique fait 100% ; Diallo Abdourahmane tient compte de la compétence multilingue des locuteurs, sans limitation à la langue la mieux maîtrisée. De sorte que chez celui-ci apparaissent des chiffres plus élevés.

d'autres activités professionnelles - comme la maçonnerie, la mécanique, la couture etc. Le facteur sous-régional joue un rôle par exemple chez les personnes originaires des pays limitrophes comme la Sierra Leone, le Mali, la Gambie etc. avec une maîtrise du peul ou du malinké. Les locuteurs de ces langues se retrouvent facilement dans les différentes communautés vivant à Conakry qui leur sont apparentées et essayent d'abord de se loger de préférence à côté de celles-ci.

- les langues vernaculaires sont constituées par toutes les autres langues, guinéennes ou étrangères qui, à Conakry, ne sont parlées que dans les familles et communautés ethniques respectives et n'ont pas ou seulement très peu d'usage trans-ethnique comme langue seconde.

Il est toutefois important de souligner que la configuration sociolinguistique de Conakry n'est pas uniforme. La véhicularité des langues change selon les communes, quartiers ou secteurs. Prises individuellement, ces communes abritent toutes les communautés linguistiques existant en Guinée, même s'il y a néanmoins des rapports de prépondérance variables à l'interne (Diallo Abdourahmane 2004) :

- La Commune de Kaloum se caractérise par une démographie fluctuante, demeure toutefois de prépondérance sosophone, très variable pendant la journée et relativement stable le soir. Depuis les indépendances, la presqu'île administrative a accueilli, à côté des bureaux administratifs, plusieurs autres habitants issus de groupes ethniques et de pays variés (Goerg 1990). La présence du grand hôpital Ignace Deen, du marché public du centre-ville (appelé Marché Niger), du port autonome de Conakry, du camp militaire Samory Touré tout autant que l'ensemble des ministères de la république, fait de cette commune l'espace guinéen qui accueille la plus grande densité démographique pendant le jour. Pendant la soirée, Kaloum contient toutefois moins de 30% de ses occupants du jour, les autres étant retournés dans leurs domiciles en banlieue. Kébé-Gagneux (2016: 11) soutient, sur cette dynamique que « la fabrique des sociabilités urbaines réside ainsi dans la construction de nombreux lieux, fruits d'une vie associative et sociale intense à l'échelle du quartier… les sociabilités urbaines s'organisent dans des temporalités, longues ou courtes, des temps forts de la vie urbaine. Fortement séquencés, les usages des lieux fluctuent, s'hybrident pour s'adapter aux besoins spécifiques liés aux mutations des modes de vie, mais aussi à des opportunités et à des obligations découlant de la réorganisation des réseaux de parenté et de l'élargissement des échanges sociaux ».

- La commune de Matam montre une forte proportion sosophone et la présence assez prononcée de maninkaphones (locuteurs du malinké) et de foulaphones (locuteurs du peul). Matam abrite le plus grand espace commercial de la Guinée (le marché Madina) et la plus grande gare routière du pays.

- La commune de Dixinn est marquée par une proportion plus ou moins équilibrée de sosophones et de foulaphones.

- La commune de Matoto comporte une présence soussou encore remarquable, une proportion malinké et peule à prépondérance variable selon les quartiers, quelques familles forestières (parlant notamment kissi et guerzé) habitent dans les différents quartiers mais démeurent très dispersées et s'assimilent généralement au malinké.

- La commune de Ratoma est caractérisée par la prépondérance des locuteurs du peul, la présence soussou dans les quartiers en bordure de mer et la zone du nord-ouest. On note également la présence de locuteurs de langues forestières (notamment kissi et guerzé) dans la zone de Sonfonia (située au centre nord de la commune de Ratoma), issus d'une migration plus récente. A l'instar de la commune de Matoto, les populations forestières ont tendance, ici aussi, à s'identifier aux Malinkés, quand ils évoluent en dehors de leur espace familial.

A l'état actuel, aucune des communes ne présente cependant une configuration monolingue, même si on s'accorde, par habitude, à dire que Kaloum est sosophone. Ce qui était proche de la réalité au début des années 1980, à cause de l'homogénéité linguistique d'alors, est de nos jours fortement mélangé de locuteurs du peul et du malinké.

4.1 Modes d'acquisition et de diffusion des langues à Conakry

L'espace linguistique de Conakry se caractérise essentiellement par l'expansion et l'hybridation. La question qui se pose est de savoir quels facteurs favorisent ces deux processus. Pour accéder à une langue, trois possibilités s'offrent ici aux apprenants : un accès formel, un accès semi-formel et un accès informel ou spontané.

4.1.1 Acquisition linguistique formelle

L'acquisition formelle d'une langue se fait par le biais de la scolarisation, soit dans une institution publique, soit dans une institution privée à vocation pédagogique et/ou éducative. Cet accès formel se fait de la petite enfance à la fin de la formation universitaire et peut se poursuivre et/ou se maintenir dans le cadre professionnel par des stages qu'on appelle localement « surformation ». Les premiers niveaux d'une pertinence fondamentale de l'acquisition d'une langue seconde sont l'école maternelle et l'école primaire :

- *Les langues à l'école maternelle* : l'école maternelle n'est pas obligatoire et n'existe pas dans tous les quartiers de Conakry. La plupart des écoles qui existent sont privées. Etant la première étape et un niveau préparatoire pour l'accès à l'éducation scolaire, l'école maternelle fonctionne en langue française, bien qu'il n'y ait pas de prescription formelle sur le choix linguistique à ce niveau. Mais l'emploi du français est non seulement souhaité par les parents - qui payent cher pour y envoyer leurs enfants ; il constitue aussi un outil commode et neutre de

communication dans un environnement multilingue politiquement très sensible. En plus, dans l'environnement d'un ethnocentrisme politiquement cultivé et abusivement instrumentalisé, toute attente d'introduire une langue guinéenne est perçue par les locuteurs des autres langues comme un hégémonisme culturel. Il est bien entendu que les parents sont également conscients que le statut de langue officielle conféré uniquement au français consacre implicitement les autres langues à une vocation « non-scientifique ».

A ce premier niveau de formation, la compétition linguistique se développe donc en faveur du français. Cela constitue néanmoins un corollaire direct de la politique linguistique qui frappe l'éducation formelle. Celle-ci stipule en effet que le français demeure la langue d'enseignement public de l'école primaire jusqu'au niveau universitaire. Que l'Etat n'ait pas légiféré sur la politique linguistique de l'école maternelle provient tout simplement du fait qu'il ne disposait pas, en ce moment-là (c'est-à-dire pendant la réforme de la politique linguistique en 1984), d'une telle institution. Les répercussions de ses prescriptions linguistiques pour les instances éducatives supérieures se font toutefois directement sentir sur les choix linguistiques opérés par les centres éducatifs de base.

En conséquence, tous les enfants issus de l'école maternelle en sortent avec une certaine compétence en langue française. Cependant, à moins que ce ne soit par un hasard du contact direct avec les autres camarades de classe, aucune des langues guinéennes n'est formellement apprise à ce niveau. Il faut remarquer en plus, et cela est bien déterminant pour comprendre l'émergence progressive d'un français informel de Conakry, qu'il n'y a pas de statut défini pour le niveau de formation des éducateurs/éducatrices en charge d'encadrer les enfants au niveau maternel. Leur qualification va de l'analphabétisme total à un niveau universitaire, le recrutement étant uniquement fondé sur les principes de « bon marché » et de « disponibilité » ; le minimum requis, par endroits, est que le candidat/la candidate qui postule pour un poste d'emploi à la maternelle puisse « s'exprimer en français ». Les fondateurs et responsables de ces entités éducatives, privées pour l'essentiel, n'ont pas de redevance de qualité vis-à-vis des parents, puisqu'il n'y a pas de niveau et de statut définis à atteindre à la fin du cycle maternel. En plus, la plupart des parents considèrent que ces centres ne sont autre chose que des garderies collectives avec, comme effet secondaire positif, l'acquisition de la langue de l'école. Néanmoins, en comparaison avec leurs camarades d'âge qui n'ont pas fréquenté la maternelle, eux ils ont un avantage linguistique certain.

Pour ce qui est de l'emploi des langues internationales, les écoles maternelles se font la concurrence par le biais du nombre de langues supplémentaires proposées dans leurs programmes, en plus du français, pour inciter les parents à y inscrire leurs enfants. Certaines mettent l'accent sur l'anglais et l'arabe, d'autres incluent même l'allemand et l'espagnol. Les seules absentes sur cette plage linguistique sont les langues du pays.

- *Les langues à l'école primaire* : la langue d'enseignement dans les écoles primaires a fait l'objet de trois règlementations (voir supra, sections 1.1 - 1.3) dont la dernière a réinstitué le français comme la seule langue d'enseignement en Guinée.

4.1.2 Acquisition linguistique semi-formelle

Celle-ci se fait essentiellement par l'enseignement religieux (coranique ou biblique) traditionnel. Deux langues priment ici : d'un côté la langue utilisée par l'éducateur, le maître ou le marabout et de l'autre la langue de la religion cible.

- Dans les écoles coraniques traditionnelles, l'enseignant utilise le plus souvent sa langue maternelle ou première pour instruire ses disciples. Ceux-ci sont majoritairement des enfants, mais peuvent être aussi des adultes. La langue utilisée à Conakry peut être alors du malinké, du peul ou bien du soussou. Il peut y arriver même que l'enseignant utilise deux de ces langues ou bien toutes les trois, le tout dépendant de son degré de multilinguisme et de l'origine ethnique de ses apprenants[11]. Une bonne connaissance de l'arabe ne peut s'ensuivre toutefois que si les apprenants approfondissent leur formation pour atteindre un niveau avancé, c'est-à-dire la dernière étape[12] qu'est la traduction et l'appropriation des textes religieux (hadiths et le Coran lui-même).

  A la fin de la formation coranique, l'apprenant est supposé comprendre non seulement la langue utilisée par son maître coranique, mais aussi d'avoir une certaine maîtrise de l'arabe, sans pour autant pouvoir forcément le parler. L'enfant musulman n'ayant pas fréquenté l'école publique, à la fin de son cycle de formation, n'aura en principe aucune connaissance de la langue officielle de son pays qu'est le français. A la différence des Medersa, publics ou privés, qui transmettent également un enseignement en arabe et des cours de langue française, les écoles coraniques de type traditionnel ne sont pas institutionnelles. Leur objectif est d'outiller l'apprenant d'instruments pratiques pour accomplir ses prières et vivre sa religion.

- Quant aux jeunes chrétiens qui ne fréquentent pas l'école formelle, ils apprennent des cantiques religieux en langue française, suivent plus ou moins régulièrement les messes de l'Eglise, écoutent les prêches et homélies usuelles. De telle sorte que ces enfants chrétiens[13], même non formellement scolarisés, arrivent néanmoins à accéder à un certain niveau de connaissance de la langue française.

[11] Les communautés forestières étant souvent d'obédience chrétienne ou on-monothéiste ne jouent pas un rôle déterminant dans ce type d'apprentissage.

[12] La méthode traditionnelle commence d'abord par une découverte phonétique des lettres de l'alphabet arabe, puis s'ensuit un apprentissage syllabique par une combinaison de voyelles et de consonnes par l'emploi de diacritiques supplémentaires aux graphies des consonnes ; ce niveau se complète par l'apprentissage d'une lecture courante. La traduction (taržama) et l'appropriation du contenu sémantique des textes religieux tout autant que l'apprentissage de la grammaire arabe (nahwu) interviennent comme dernière étape.

[13] On donne souvent que les musulmans font 85% de la population, les chrétiens 10% et les religions non-révélées 5%. Mais partout il s'agit d'estimations. Aucune statistique n'est, à ma connaissance, disponible là-dessus.

4.1.3 Acquisition linguistique informelle

L'acquisition linguistique informelle, pour laquelle Deulofeu et Noyau (1986) utilisent l'expression d'« acquisition spontanée », se fait de manière fortuite et sans guide pédagogique ou institutionnel. Dans une ville cosmopolite et multilingue comme Conakry, *l'habitat et le voisinage immédiat* sont les premiers creusets d'apprentissage linguistique. Ceci est surtout favorisé par le type d'habitat le plus fréquent alors qu'était la concession ouverte abritant plusieurs familles ; ce type d'habitat caractérisait les concessions de Conakry dans les premières années qui ont suivi l'indépendance de la Guinée et pratiquement jusqu'en 1984. Pendant les premiers mouvements migratoires ce sont les Soussous qui étaient propriétaires de maison et mettaient celles-ci en location aux nouveaux-venus, de sorte que propriétaires et locataires se partageaient la même cour, le même voisinage immédiat et la même langue. Les migrants étant très souvent minoritaires et d'origines régionales différentes, eux et leurs enfants apprenaient alors le soussou pour des besoins d'intégration sociale et d'insertion professionnelle.

A partir du milieu des années 1980 jusqu'aux années 1990, les immigrés avaient commencé à habiter dans leurs propres maisons et à rapprocher des personnes de même origine régionale ou ethnique. Les périphéries de la ville étant de nos jours majoritairement occupées par les migrants venus de l'intérieur du pays, cette proximité linguistique par le voisinage immédiat s'est maintenant distendue par rapport au soussou, à tel point qu'elle ne favorise plus que de manière assez sporadique l'accès à cette langue. De sorte que ce facteur *voisinage ou environnement immédiats* joue en faveur de l'expansion des langues régionales des premiers ou des plus nombreux occupants des espaces urbains (Kébé-Gangeux 2016).

Un autre lieu commun d'apprentissage informel d'une langue est *le milieu professionnel*. Pendant la période coloniale et au moment de l'indépendance de la Guinée, le marché de l'emploi était réduit aux différents chantiers en construction au port, dans les infrastructures routières, la pêche et dans les boutiques de vente libano-syriennes, somme toutes situées dans la presqu'ile de Kaloum. La langue qui y prévalait pour les populations « indigènes » était le soussou, et le français était réservé à ceux qui étaient instruits à l'époque. Celui qui n'avait pas la maîtrise du soussou l'apprenait alors au mieux qu'il le pouvait pour pouvoir exercer une profession quelconque, car l'accès au français était encore très restrictif : il se faisait par contact direct avec le colon et/ou avec des étrangers francophones - par exemple pour les domestiques de maison - ou alors par un emploi subalterne exercé dans l'administration (plantons, interprètes, commis etc.). De sorte que le soussou devint alors la lingua franca de tous les travailleurs actifs habitant la capitale.

Il faut signaler également que *la pratique religieuse* dans les différentes mosquées de la ville de Conakry (à Kaloum, Dixinn, Matam etc.) après l'accès de la Guinée à l'indépendance, permettait à la lague soussou de jouer son rôle de langue commune de contact et de communication entre nouveaux-venus et premiers occupants. Elle était l'unique langue de prêche religieuse, de traduction et de communication collective entre les fidèles. Si cette fonction reste encore à Kaloum et dans certaines des mosquées de Dixinn et de Matam, cette exclusivité s'estompe dans les communes et quartiers périphériques où le malinké et le peul sont désormais

majoritairement employés. Il faut rappeler que, de nos jours, le sermon du vendredi se fait en langue française dans tous les centres universitaires de Conakry (Université Gamal Abdel Nasser, Université de Sonfonia etc.).

Au niveau des langues locales on assiste donc de nos jours à une perte de vitesse de la langue véhiculaire collective au profit d'un multilinguisme morcelé et sectoriel, ne couvrant plus des communes entières mais plutôt perceptible sous forme de mosaïque discontinue au gré de la prépondérance régionale des habitants.

5. Progression du français à Conakry

L'absence d'une langue collective guinéenne de convergence, dotée d'un prestige et d'une fonctionnalité suffisants pour attirer l'intérêt des masses migratoires, renforce la nécessité de maîtriser le français et favorise ainsi la progression de celui-ci, d'autant plus qu'il est déjà établi comme langue d'éducation et de service publique. Louis Jean Calvet (2010) faisait le constat que la concentration très élevée de langues dans les capitales africaines déclencherait un processus de darwinisme dont les petites langues font généralement les frais. Le baga, langue originaire des premiers occupants de Conakry en est un exemple. L'immigration massive et continue qui déferle encore vers la zone côtière présage une dynamique sociolinguistique non encore achevée. Encore que l'école semble jouer un rôle de régulateur majeur de la fortune et de l'infortune des langues en présence.

A Conakry, les personnes ayant raté une chance de scolarisation formelle cherchent aujourd'hui à accéder, partout où cela est possible, plutôt à la langue française qui leur ouvre le plus de perspectives : c'est un outil de communication horizontal, dont personne ne réclame l'exclusivité et qui ne peut être récusé par aucune communauté, vu son statut officiel et sa neutralité régionale et ethno-communautaire. En plus, les jeunes personnes y voient un avantage certain en cas de projet d'études et/ou d'immigration vers l'étranger.

Quelles que soient les motivations collectives ou individuelles, le constat qui s'impose est que le français gagne nettement en popularité en Guinée et cela se traduit à Conakry par une progression de plus en plus conséquente de son usage.

Calvet (2010: 152) prédit deux conséquences du contact linguistique du français avec les langues locales dans les villes africaines : « l'émergence de langues véhiculaires d'une part, le plus souvent une ou des langue(s) africaine(s) et parfois le français, et d'autre part l'apparition de formes linguistiques nouvelles dues aux contacts entre ces langues ». Le premier aspect concerne le nombre, l'expansion et la fonction des langues et le deuxième les conséquences structurelles (phonologiques, morphologique, syntaxiques, lexicales, pragmatiques, etc.) du contact sur la substance des langues individuelles.

En mettant de côté cet aspect structurel, on peut néanmoins constater, dans l'interaction des langues nationales présentes à Conakry (voir supra, section 3.), que le soussou (encore majoritairement), le peul (moyennement) et le malinké (dans une moindre mesure) ont émergé de fait comme parlers urbains de Conakry. Les frais de la glottophagie en cours dans la capitale guinéenne a été payé certes par le baga en premier lieu ; toutefois, le guerzé et le kissi aussi, au lieu de gagner en locuteurs s'assimilent à Conakry, selon l'endroit, plutôt au soussou, peul ou au

malinké. La tendance générale de tous les locuteurs des langues guinéennes, toutes origines ethniques confondues, est toutefois clairement une convergence vers le français.

Dans le résumé d'une de ses recherches récentes consacrée à la dynamique des langues et la variation du français à Conakry, Bah (2012)[14] soutien que le français « tend progressivement à occuper le rôle de langue véhiculaire dans la ville de Conakry ». Ceci a été confirmé par les résultats d'une autre recherche de grande envergure[15] effectuée récemment à Conakry dans le cadre d'un projet nommé TRANSLANGA (Transmission des langues en Afrique subsaharienne francophone), financé par l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (O.I.F.). Dans son rapport de 2018, l'organisation présente plusieurs aspects de cette recherche qui confirme des tendances de cette progression du français. Les paramètres mis en focus s'orientent entre autres d'après la langue maîtrisée, le milieu de socialisation et de transmission de la langue.

- Concernant le paramètre langues maîtrisées (O.I.F. 2018: 2), le français vient en tête, devançant ainsi toutes les langues guinéennes, aussi bien chez les adultes que chez les jeunes :

Langue	adultes	jeunes
français	64%	80%
soussou	60%	-[16]
peul	45%	40%
malinké	35%	18%

- Quant au paramètre milieu de socialisation, en dehors du cadre formel de l'école et du travail, il faut noter que le quartier et/ou le voisinage immédiat est parmi les plus pertinents. Là, le rapport de l'O.I.F. indique que « tous les répondants déclarent parler le plus souvent, dans l'ordre, soso[17], pular, puis français (avec respectivement des taux qui oscillent entre 59% et 60% pour le soso ; 17% et 42% pour le pular et 12% et 24% pour le français », (idem, p. 3).

- Même si ce milieu est resté longtemps un bastion des langues guinéennes, véhiculaires ou semi-véhiculaires, la pénétration du français est bien réelle, à tel point qu'il a supplanté le malinké chez les adultes et, chez les jeunes, le peul vient en troisième position (27% seulement) après le soussou (65%) et le français (42%). Le malinké ne semble pas, chez ceux-ci (les jeunes) non plus, jouer un rôle significatif pour ce paramètre « milieu de socialisation ».

- Pour ce qui est du paramètre transmission de la langue, il permet de se prononcer sur l'avenir ou le devenir d'un parler puisque sans volonté de transmission intergénérationnelle une survie ne peut être envisageable. Le cas du Gabon évoqué par Calvet (2010: 162) est illustratif dans ce domaine. A Libreville, les langues locales (fang, punu, myéné, nzébi, obamba, téké et vili) ont fini par disparaître puisque

[14] Voir aussi la contribution de Diallo Abdourahmane (2018) sur un aspect de cette question concernant l'usage du français par les sosophones.

[15] Cela concerne un échantillon de plus de 1000 enquêtés.

[16] Des données du soussou sont absentes ici, sans informations supplémentaires sur la raison.

[17] Dans ce rapport, les langues guinéennes gardent leurs appellations locales, c'est-à-dire *soso* pour soussou, *pular* pour peul et *maninka* pour malinké.

> les adultes ne les transmettent pas à leurs descendants. A Conakry, le désir de transmettre le français dans le cadre familial, qui était jusqu'alors majoritairement l'apanage des langues ethniques et régionales, devient manifestement de plus en plus grandissant. Le rapport de l'O.I.F. (2018: 8) mentionne que « les plus jeunes souhaitent majoritairement transmettre le français à leurs futurs enfants (62%) » ; dans cette perspective, il dépasse toutes les langues guinéennes actuellement en usage à Conakry puisque ces jeunes évoquent vouloir transmettre le peul[18] à une proportion de 22%, le soussou à 17% et le malinké à 6%.

Parmi les motivations évoquées par les jeunes, sur leur grand engouement pour le français, il y a certes le désir d'insertion socioprofessionnelle et le prestige international, mais une proportion importante a mentionné les avantages liés à un séjour à l'étranger, donc une perspective migratoire. Les jeunes scolarisés articulent cette migration par l'expression « en cas d'études à l'étranger », les moins scolarisés disent « en cas de voyage à l'étranger ». Au niveau des langues locales, par exemple en peul, cela se traduit par l'expression devenue courante *haala yaltirka* (< *haala* « langue, langage, parole » *yaltirka* « sortir ») « langue des déplacements ou d'aventure », ce qui est différent de la notion « langue étrangère », exprimée par *haala janana*. Toutefois, ce qui semble s'exprimer chez les jeunes comme un rêve lointain est une pratique de routine au niveau de l'élite intellectuelle et bourgeoise. Celle-ci, plus tôt consciente de l'enjeu de la maîtrise du français pour la réussite scolaire et pour l'immigration, organise une préparation conséquente de leurs enfants pour la maîtrise de cette langue. Des cours leur sont dispensés soit dans des instituts de langue, soit par des professeurs à domicile, soit alors par le transfert - temporel ou définitif - l'envoi de la famille (généralement la mère et les enfants) à l'étranger notamment en France, en Belgique ou en Suisse.

6. Conclusion

Introduit en Guinée d'abord par l'Eglise, puis récupéré par l'administration coloniale pour asseoir son entreprise, le français a connu des moments d'infortune pendant la période dite de la révolution culturelle en Guinée (1968-1984), au cours de laquelle il fut réduit à une simple discipline enseignée alors que certaines langues guinéennes ont servi de langue d'enseignement dans tout le cycle primaire. Pour la ville de Conakry ce rôle de langue d'instruction revint de facto au soussou qui consolida alors son rôle de langue véhiculaire urbaine. L'accroissement démographique ayant suivi la libéralisation économique de 1984 apporta un changement notoire à la configuration sociolinguistique de la capitale. Deux conséquences majeures en résultèrent sur le paysage linguistique : (i) les communes périphériques Ratoma et Matoto, les plus peuplées, sont occupées majoritairement soit par des locuteurs du peul (Ratoma) soit par une mosaïque de locuteurs non-sosophones (Matoto) venus de la Moyenne Guinée, de la Haute Guinée et de la Guinée Forestière ; la fonction de langue véhiculaire, naguère partout assurée par le soussou, est désormais partagée, dans ces communes, avec le peul et le malinké respectivement. (ii) Cette

[18] En perspective, ces projections indiquent, au niveau des langues locales, néanmoins une légère préférence théorique pour le peul.

situation de multilinguisme tripolaire et plutôt diffus de Conakry a favorisé le rejaillissement et l'expansion du français, déjà porteur des privilèges de langue officielle et perçu chez les jeunes comme un atout pour l'immigration. Une tendance définitive visant à savoir si, à long terme, c'est l'une des trois langues guinéennes en complémentarité qui s'impose (à l'instar du Wolof à Dakar ou du Bambara à Bamako) ou bien si c'est le français (à l'instar d'Abidjan ou de Libreville), ne pourra être déterminée que par des études ultérieures ou spécifiquement basées sur des méthodes d'investigation prospective.

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04

Verbal violence – a first approximation based on Latin American migrants' experiences in German institutions

04

Verbal violence – a first approximation based on Latin American migrants' experiences in German institutions

Silke Jansen & Lucía Romero Gibu

1. Introduction

A woman gets injured from a fall at the train station and is urged later to sign a hospital release written in a language she does not understand. She is not allowed to contact her relative, who must stay in the waiting room. A man is requested by a police officer to take off his jacket in winter and to answer questions in the street while freezing, with the only justification that he looks "suspicious". A student is threatened by the secretary of a university department that she would tear up her contract, because the mistake she made is "not acceptable in the country where she lives now". These scenes, which were reported by Latin Americans who reside in Germany, illustrate a facet of a migrant's daily experience that has rarely been studied by linguists: problematic communication events that arise in situations of unequal distribution of power, through the attribution of negative features to someone whose otherness is constructed and highlighted unidirectionally during the encounter.

Although the migrants clearly perceive the communicative behavior of their interlocutors as harming (and, hence, as a form of violence or aggression), its non-physical character and linguistic implicitness increase its potential to be tolerated by the participants or bystanders.

These three examples are part of a corpus of critical communication incidents,[1] composed through semi-structured interviews within the project "Violence in Institutions (VIOLIN): an integrated linguistic, politological and psychological approach to the experiences and mental health of refugees and migrants", which started in May 2019 at Friedrich-Alexander University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. VIOLIN seeks to focus attention on hidden forms of violence against migrants that may affect their wellbeing and health but are particularly difficult to detect, document and study – given that they are not carried out by physical force but through language, and usually behind the walls of public institutions. Designed as an interdisciplinary project, VIOLIN aims at (a) documenting migrants' experiences of verbal interactions with representatives of German institutions, (b) understanding how violence emerges from overt and covert linguistic strategies, (c) determining typical settings of verbal violence and its prevalence within different kinds of institutions and migrant groups, (d) studying the biological responses of people facing acts of verbal violence, and (e) identifying possible health risks related to a constant exposure to these kinds of stressful situations. The ultimate goal is to help enhance the quality of communication in institutions by developing recommendations that are empirically grounded and practicable according to intercultural competence criteria.

[1] For a detailed description of the corpus see section 3.1.

Although the interplay between language and violence in the context of migration has generated an increasing amount of interest among researchers, most papers in Linguistics have focused on analyzing hate speech or polemical debates in online and print media from a (Critical) Discourse Analysis perspective (e.g. Musolff 2015; Rheindorf & Wodak 2018). Manifestations of violence in direct or mediated interactions between representatives of institutions and migrants have been less studied so far. The present contribution offers some theoretical and methodological considerations regarding verbal violence, and makes a first attempt at applying them to the linguistic data gathered within VIOLIN. Section 2 discusses some theoretical aspects of violence, language and communication within institutions. In section 3, we present the methodological framework used within VIOLIN for collecting and analyzing data. In section 4, we propose a detailed analysis of an incident reported by one of our informants. In section 5, we provide some conclusions.

2. Theoretical framework: Verbal violence, speech act theory, and institutional communication

2.1. Verbal violence

Although the most visible form of violence is that inflicted by physical force, researchers have pointed out that the concept of violence should not be restricted to physical aggression alone but should include any kind of behavior against individuals or groups that has negative consequences for the target's physical and mental integrity and health (cf. Iadicola &

Shupe 2013; Barak 2003: esp. 26). According to the nature of the entity from which it originates, *individual* or *interpersonal*, *institutional* as well as *structural* forms of violence can be distinguished (cf. Iadicola & Shupe 2013; Barak 2003). In the present contribution we focus on language as an instrument of violence in face-to-face interactions, prioritizing the individual and interpersonal dimension of the phenomenon.[2]

In analogy to other forms of violence, verbal violence can be understood as linguistic behavior that has detrimental effects on the interlocutor. However, the damage caused by words is not primarily physical (although psychobiological reactions can actually be triggered by verbal behavior), but rather affects the concerned person's positive self-identity. Following Goffman, we refer to the public self-identity of individuals as *face*, defined as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact", that is "an image of self, delineated in terms of approved social attributes" (Goffman 1967: 5). Normally, participants in an interaction cooperatively engage in "face-work" (Goffman 1967: 12–13), showing consideration of the feelings and desires of their interlocutors. Against this backdrop, verbal aggression is the intentional use of linguistic strategies to damage the interlocutor's face wants, with the aim of causing psychological harm (cf. the concept of the symbolic-social body as the target of verbal violence in Krämer 2007). In this respect, there is a certain degree of overlap between verbal aggression or violence and linguistic impoliteness, defined by Culpeper as the communication (by the speaker) or the perception (by the hearer) of an intentional face-attack (2005: 38; cf. also Bonacchi 2017: 20–21). However, we are reluctant to consider cases such as those mentioned in the introduction as "mere" impoliteness, given the power divide between the interlocutors and the relatively serious consequences. Especially in contexts of migration, verbal violence seems to be directly related to the construction of in- and outgroups, the negotiation and affirmation of positions of power, as well as negative stereotyping and denigration of individuals or social groups (Herrmann & Kuch 2007: 24; Bonacchi 2017: 19) – social processes that have been analyzed under the notion of *discrimination*. The exclusion of discriminated individuals has even been characterized as a canonical manifestation of violence (Krämer 2007: 43–44).

In line with these observations and summarizing previous research, Bonacchi (2017: 15–16) states that recurrent components of verbal violence and aggression include expressing negative feelings and attitudes toward the other interlocutor (for example, insulting him or her) and exercising power and control over the other interlocutor, by reducing his or her interactional scope. Obviously, these practices are inherently face-damaging.

However, it's often difficult to decide whether a verbal attack has taken place or not. The aggressive potential of an utterance can be concealed behind a neutral or even a supportive surface structure, or vice versa (e.g. in the case of "mock impoliteness", sarcasm and irony, or when aggressive speech acts such as threats or insults are disguised as simple descriptions or observations, cf. Bonacchi 2017: 19). Therefore, both the speaker's and the hearer's perspective, as well as the communicative

[2] One should, however, be aware of the fact that interpersonal violence is often supported by surrounding institutional and structural conditions.

setting (in the broadest sense), must be considered in order to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Speech Act Theory (SAT) provides a useful way to theorize about the potentially violent force of language and its real-world effects.

2.2. Speech acts

Different methodological approaches have highlighted the performative character of violence exercised upon people through words (Bonacchi 2017; Herrmann & Kuch 2007: 9, 11): using language, speakers do not only describe, but actually perform actions, so that an utterance can be an act of violence in itself. Speech Act Theory provides a useful framework not only for understanding the performative dimension of linguistic behavior, but also the changing and ambiguous functions of utterances in social life.

According to Searle (Searle 2012: 22–25; cf. Austin 1962: 98–99), speech acts can be analyzed on four different levels. At a basic level, speakers produce acceptable sentences according to the norms of their language, relying on their linguistic knowledge. In other words, an **utterance** is made in line with the boundaries of grammaticality and the options available in the lexicon. At a second level, this utterance is a **propositional act** insofar as it is related to something "in the world", for example through reference or predication. At a third level, the utterance can be interpreted as an intentional verbal action, also called **illocutionary act**, according to the communicative conventions of the speech community. Finally, the utterance constitutes a **perlocutionary act** in that it causes certain effects on the listener, may they be intended or not. In summary, when someone says something, different acts are being performed at the same time. The propositional, the illocutionary and the perlocutionary acts are neither totally independent from each other, nor do they emerge from one another in a mechanistic way.

In addition, various illocutionary acts may be performed with the same utterance, so that participants must rely on different kinds of contextualization cues in order to infer the communicative function of an utterance. In relation to *indirect speech acts*, Searle (Searle 1975: 168) states that "a sentence that contains the illocutionary force indicators for one kind of illocutionary act can be uttered to perform, *in addition*, another type of illocutionary act".

For example, the propositional content of the sentence in Spanish "Ella no es de Bayern" 'She doesn't come from Bayern[3]' ascribes an attribute (to be born outside Bavaria) to a female person. On the surface level, the illocutionary act carried out is that of informing. However, the informant who relayed the situation from which the sentence was taken interpreted it as an indirect speech act with an aggressive illocutionary force. She reported that the doctor who treated her after an accident said it to another member of the medical staff, in a harsh tone, and after complaining about her incapacity to speak German properly. Against this backdrop, she inferred that the doctor's intention was not only to inform his colleague about the patient's origin, but also to commit an act of exclusion which she experienced as aggressive.

[3] *Bayern* is the German name of the State of Bavaria (Spanish *Baviera*). The German name is maintained here although the sentence is uttered in Spanish. In order to reproduce what her German counterpart said, the interviewee reconstructed the expression through this mixed construction.

In the interview, she describes the perlocutionary effects of this speech act as emotional distress, which had negative consequences for the further development of the experience because she was unable to find appropriate assistance and signed her own discharge although she was still injured.

In this case, like in many others from our corpus, an aggressive illocutionary force is not directly manifested on the surface level, and the alleged "aggressor" could easily disclaim any harmful intentions (Bonacchi 2017: 25). Whether or not the damage was intended, the informant clearly experiences the utterance as violence. Several authors have pointed out that that perception seems to be the crucial element in the identification of violence (Herrmann & Kuch 2007: 25; Krämer 2007: 34–35). In this line of thinking, Havryliv (2017: 43) makes a distinction between **verbal aggression** and **verbal violence**. A speech act can be called aggressive when the speaker has the intention to harm the interlocutor and selects linguistic strategies in order to achieve this goal. Verbal violence occurs when a speech act causes negative effects on the wellbeing of the addressee, independent of whether the utterer was aware of the damaging potential of the act or not. Thus, verbal aggression is defined in accordance with the intended illocutionary force of a verbal attack, while verbal violence depends on the actual perlocutionary effect. Under the migrant-centered perspective adopted in the VIOLIN project, we focus on interactions that informants report to have affected them in a negative way, and therefore fall under the category of verbal violence. Verbal aggression may or may not be involved, and in most cases of perceived violence without overtly marked aggression it is impossible to verify whether or not the speaker actually intended to hurt his or her interlocutor. However, by collecting and analyzing critical incidents reported by migrants, we aim at detecting features of verbal interactions in institutional contexts to which they systematically attribute a harmful effect, and to identify the typical illocutionary forces that the interviewees assign to the utterances of their counterparts in problematic encounters, as well as the perlocutionary effects most commonly described.

For the time being, we assume that covert verbal violence emerges from a complex interplay between the linguistic structure of the utterance, the interlocutors' expectations and implicit knowledge regarding the interaction, and different extra-linguistic factors that guide the interpretation of the situation. Among these are the typical characteristics of institutional communication, which will be presented in the following section.

2.3. Institutional communication

The violent potential of utterances doesn't emerge from linguistic choices alone. When attributing (aggressive or other) illocutions to utterances, speakers rely on cotext, context and background knowledge in a complex way and they evaluate their interlocutor's verbal behavior against their communicative expectations from previous experience (Bonacchi 2017: 18; compare also Grice's 1975 cooperation principle and conversational maxims). Thus, the same speech act may be interpreted differently and cause different perlocutionary effects, depending on extra-linguistic factors. The particular conditions of communication within institutions thus cannot be neglected when it comes to examining how verbal violence arises

in interaction between migrants and institutional agents. **Formalized interaction scripts** (cf. Becker-Mrotzek 2001: 1513) and different kinds of **asymmetries between participants** (Drew & Heritage 1992: 47–53; Hee 2012: 19-21, Rosenberg 2014: 41–43) have been highlighted as core characteristics of institutional communication.

Interactions in institutions generally have a precise purpose, which is embedded in a broader institutional, administrative or societal matrix. Roles of participants are fixed, and the development of the conversation follows a formalized interactional script in order to guarantee efficiency in communication (Hee 2012: 21; Rosenberg 2014: 38–39). For example, many institutional scripts contain a data interrogation sequence, where the representative asks a given number of questions about personal information in a given order, and the client is expected to answer them (Hee 2012: 36; Rosenberg 2014: 205). Thus, topic development, turn-taking behavior, speech act types and other characteristics of the interaction are largely predetermined. Awareness of the interactional script related to a particular procedure is part of the background knowledge that guides the interlocutors' behavior and mutual interpretations. Deviations from interactional expectations may serve as contextualization cues, for example to infer illocutions that are not overtly expressed.

When engaging in an institutional interaction, representatives and clients endorse different but complementary roles, characterized by different kinds of asymmetries:

> […] institutional interactions may be characterized by role-structured, institutionalized, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction. In ordinary conversation between friends or acquaintances, by contrast, this is not normally the case. (Drew & Heritage 1992: 49; cf. also Hee 2012: 21; Rosenberg 2014: 41)

Differences in knowledge may relate to information about institutional structures, procedures and routines, but also to cultural background and linguistic resources (ibid.; Ehlich & Rehbein 1994: 320; Hee 2012: 29). Given that institutional interactions with migrants are generally also intercultural encounters, misunderstandings and conflicts may arise from asymmetrical language resources and divergent expectations for communicative behavior, and from false assumptions about the body of knowledge shared by the interlocutors (Rosenberg 2014: 244ff).

In contrast to other contexts where speakers are free to engage in a conversation or to break it off, institutional communication is compulsory by nature (cf. "zwangskommunikativer Charakter" according to Hinnenkamp 1985: 283–284, see also Hee 2012: 20, 31), and refusal to cooperate may trigger sanctions. The formalized nature of institutional interaction scripts reduces the array of possibilities for action available to participants, with different degrees according to different types of institutions (cf. Ehlich & Rehbein 1994: 317–318). This is not to say, however, that the clients' role in institutional interactions is only passive. Indeed, clients may challenge institutional hierarchies and asymmetries and show provocative or even aggressive verbal behavior (cf. Rosenberg 2014: esp. 252-253; Porila 2015: 221).

That being said, the reduction of interactional scope mentioned by Bonacchi (2017: 15–17) as one of the core components of (verbal) violence appears thus to a certain degree as an inherent feature of institutional communication. Indeed, power asymmetries between interlocutors have been reported to play a key role in the emergence of verbal violence (Krämer 2007: 42–43). However, it should be made clear that the compulsory character of institutional communication and the clients' reduced possibilities for verbal action cannot, per se, be considered as verbal violence. Rather, they are a manifestation of the regulating function of institutional power in the interactional field. For the purpose of VIOLIN, we propose to restrict the concept of *verbal violence* to the interpersonal level – that means, to verbal exchanges between individuals that are experienced as harmful for the positive self-concept or *face* of at least one of the participants. In our project, we make a first attempt at empirically documenting cases of perceived interpersonal violence between migrants and representatives of German institutions with the Critical Incident Technique, which will be presented in the next section along with methodological issues.

3. Methodological framework

3.1. Empirical approaches to verbal violence against migrants: the Critical Incident Technique

The collection of empirical data about interactions with a violent component in institutions leads to a number of methodological difficulties. First, considerations of data protection and a certain discomfort about giving researchers access into internal processes might lead to reluctancy among institutions and their representatives to allow recordings (compare also Porila 2015: 25-26). Secondly, verbal violence functions in such a way that even the affected people usually have doubts about whether what they experienced was *really* an act of aggression or violence.

As a first approximation to the phenomenon, we collect narratives of "unpleasant" interactions among migrants from Latin America living in Germany with the **Critical Incident Technique** (CIT). CIT was developed in the context of the Aviation Psychology Program of the United States Army Air Forces in World War II. At that time, critical incidents with positive and negative outcomes in aviation were collected and analyzed in order to determine which abilities were required to be a good pilot (cf. Flanagan 1954). Since then, CIT has been extensively used in social and communicative sciences (especially intercultural communication) as an ex-post procedure to gather data on events (Butterfield et al. 2005) where people showed some kind of behavior which led to positive or negative outcomes, whose appearance is unpredictable and which have far-reaching and long-lasting consequences. Within the VIOLIN project, we collect reports on negative experiences in verbal interactions with representatives of German institutions, using a narrative stimulus and a semi-structured guideline (VIOLIN_CIT).

Our corpus, which is not yet completed, currently consists of 49 individual interviews in Spanish language, obtained with VIOLIN_CIT. As of April 2020, 32 of them have been transcribed with ELAN (version 5.5), organized with Arbil (version 2.6-1109) using CLARIN resources, and partially coded with MaxQDA (version 2018). The participants are

citizens from Latin American countries who reside in Germany and speak Spanish as their first language. The interviews were conducted by students from the Master programs "The Americas / Las Américas" and "Linguistics" at FAU, who were native or highly proficient speakers of Spanish, and had some familiarity with the topic of our study for biographical and / or academic reasons. The interviews were conducted individually, and the interviewers took great care to create an atmosphere of confidence and relaxed openness so that participants felt comfortable to narrate their experiences.

In the specialized literature on communication between migrants and representatives of institutions of the receiving society, "authentic" data, i.e. recordings of direct interactions, are usually considered to be the most valuable empirical basis (cf. Rosenberg 2014: 60). Sometimes, recordings are also triangulated with interviews or questionnaires with both parties in order to enhance the objectivity of the data (ibid.). However, this approach was infeasible for the present study, as institutions are not likely to open their doors to researchers documenting verbal violence against migrants. In contrast to the studies mentioned before, the material gathered within VIOLIN with the CIT consists of narratives of personal experience that are highly subjective re-creations of past events, rather than objective representations of them. The open-ended character of our interviews, together with the spatial and temporal distance between the interview situation and the recounted incident, contributes further to the subjective character of the material. However, under the migrant-centered framework proposed here, this subjectivity is not only tolerated, but intended: If – as we explained before – verbal violence emerges from the speaker's reaction to his or her interlocutor's behavior, based on subjective interpretation, then a first analytical approximation to the phenomenon should start from the affected person's perception. As we have shown in section 2, verbal violence, especially in its covert manifestation, cannot be directly observed in interactions, but must *always* be inferred by the analyst from linguistic and other behavior. In contrast to recordings, the narratives produced by migrants provide firsthand information on attributed illocutions and on perlocutionary effects, as well as on components of cotext, context and background knowledge that led to those interpretations and emotional reactions. Through the narrative construction, those pieces of information are integrated by the informants into an organized whole of experience.[4] Collecting them allows us to examine how perceived verbal violence emerges from making sense of a complex interplay of linguistic and contextual phenomena that guide the interpretation of verbal interactions. It also makes it easier to avoid the common pitfall of SAT which often confines the analysis to isolated speech acts with minimal context. Finally, further information frequently offered in the interviews (e.g. regarding migration biographies, typical challenges within the adaptation process and migrants' reactions to them, comparisons between the homeland and Germany, values and attitudes at their arrival and at present, etc.) helps to reconstruct how the informants position themselves towards or within the re-

[4] Compare Bergmann & Luckmann's (1995:293-295) considerations about the reconstructive character of communicative genres, including the narrative genres, as well as Atkinson & Delamont's sharp remarks (2006:166) on the necessity to analyze narratives and testimonials from a critical perspective, given that they are *social* phenomena.

ceiving society and construct their "face" as migrants in Germany. In sum, narratives on critical incidents provided by migrants are neither more nor less "authentic" than recordings would be – they are just one way of capturing migrants' experience in Germany among other possible approaches. For the specific demands of our study, they provide an added value because they allow access to the involved person's perceptions and constructions of the incident, and thus to information that otherwise could only be inferred by the researcher, from his or her point of view. In addition, common obstacles related to fieldwork in institutions can be avoided. In order to appropriately analyze autobiographical accounts, a narrative approach is needed. This approach will be outlined in the following section.

3.2. Analyzing accounts of Critical Incidents as narratives

As Labov & Waletzky state in a seminal text, narrative as "one verbal technique for recapitulating experience" (1967: 13) serves two fundamental functions, which they refer to as *referential* and *evaluative* (ibid.). In line with this distinction, referential and evaluative components can be identified within a narrative. Referential components present the facts or events important to the development of the narrated incident, answering the question "What happened?". Those facts are presented in a particular chronological order that cannot be reversed without changing the overall temporal interpretation. In evaluative segments, speakers give additional information on the implications and consequences of single facts or of the event as a whole for their personal needs, desires and perceptions, answering the question "So what?" (cf. Labov 1997). Although priority should be given to semantical considerations (cf. De Fina 2012: 32), referential and evaluative stretches of the narrative can be distinguished, at least to a certain extent, on structural grounds. For example, subordination or irrealis mood (in narratives produced in English language) can be interpreted as indications that a clause is evaluative (cf. Labov & Waletzky 1967: 12–17; Labov 1997 for further details). By grammatically distinguishing between events that are temporally bounded or unbounded in the past, Romance languages have an additional structural device for distinguishing between facts that belong to a chain of events, and descriptions of concomitant circumstances. In line with different approaches within Romance Linguistics that focus on the functioning of aspectual distinctions in discourse,[5] we assume that referential information belonging to the chain of events tends to be coded in verbal forms that present events as temporally bounded (basically, Spanish *pretérito perfecto simple*), and evaluative information in verbal forms that present events as temporally unbounded (basically, Spanish *imperfecto*, but also present tense).

As for the overall structural organization, narratives generally begin with an orientation, providing information on time, place, participants and other circumstances of the event. This is followed by the description of the complicating action, with its complications and resolutions. Finally, narratives often end with

[5] Compare especially Weinrich's (1964) canonical model of tense and his notion of *tense relief*, according to which the *pretérito perfecto simple* codes information as the foreground of a narrative, while the *imperfecto* signals that the information belongs to its background.

a coda, a statement that captures in a nutshell the point of the whole narrative and connects it to the present moment (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 39; Labov 1997).

The copresence and interaction of referential and evaluative components makes personal narratives a particularly promising text genre for the analysis of verbal violence. Given that our interviews focus on communicative experiences, many narratives are centered around what different participants said or asked at certain points of the event. Thus, the referential part of the narrative is often a description of an interactional sequence with its surrounding circumstances. In the evaluative clauses and sections, however, informants explain how they interpret their interlocutor's verbal and nonverbal behavior, and express their feelings and emotional reactions to it. The key to reconstructing what triggered the informants' perception of verbal violence lies in the mutual references and dependencies between referential and evaluative statements in the narratives.

In the following case study of one exemplary critical incident from our corpus, we make a first attempt at combining SAT with Labov & Waletzky's model for narrative analysis, in order to gain insights into the emergence of verbal violence in institutional contexts.

4. Sample analysis: Police control at the train

In the following, we offer a verbal transcription of a critical incident reported by a participant from Central America. We reproduce the original version in Spanish with its translation to English:[6]

	Spanish (original)	**English (translation)**
01	ehm, bueno, digamos, un incidente muy feo, eh	ehm, well, let's say, a very awful incident was, eh
02	un control de seguridad que tuve en un tren, ehm	a security control that I had in a train, ehm
03	yo iba de camino a Suiza para una ent revista de trabajo, ehm	I was on my way to Switzerland for a job interview, ehm
04	digamos que de todas las personas que estaban en el vagón, eh	let's say that of all the people in the train car, eh
05	yo no era el único extranjero	I wasn't the only foreigner
06	pero sí era el único extranjero con piel morena, ¿verdad?	but I was the only foreigner with dark skin, you know?

[6] The following text is an orthographical adaptation of the transcription of the incident. Paraverbal and prosodic elements were omitted.

07	o sea, pues, sí lo recuerdo muy bien, había	I mean, I do remember that very well, there were
08	no sé si eran chinos japoneses o coreanos	I don't know if they were Chinese Japanese or Korean
09	pero había gente, digamos, asiática	but there were, let's say, Asian people
10	y, ehm, acababa de suceder la crisis migratoria, ¿verdad?, ehm	and, ehm, the migratory crisis had just occurred, you know? Ehm
11	y obviamente era normal que hubiese más controles, ¿verdad?	and obviously it was normal that there were more controls, you know?
12	lo que me sorprendió a mí fue que primero	what surprised me was that first
13	el tren iba en dirección a Suiza	the train was going to Switzerland
14	y no de Suiza a Alemania	and not from Switzerland to Germany
15	que es donde más controlaban al lado de	where there were the greatest number of controls
16	o de Italia hacia Suiza	or from Italy to Switzerland
17	pero el viaje era de Alemania a Suiza	but the trip was from Germany to Switzerland
18	entonces ya, digamos, me quedé un poco confundido	so, let's say, I was a little confused
19	por qué en esa dirección había controles	why there were controls in this direction
20	segundo, eh, fue una cosa bastante descarada por parte de los oficiales porque	second, eh, this was a very blatant thing on the part of the officers because
21	mm*	mm

22	yo no, yo estaba sentado, estaba leyendo un libro	I wasn't, I was sitting, reading a book
23	no estaba haciendo nada que me hiciese parecer sospechoso	I wasn't doing anything that could have made me look suspicious
24	o algo que alguien	or anything that anybody
25	que incomodara a alguien	that could have disturbed anybody
26	ehm y llegaron tres policías	ehm and three police officers arrived
27	se pararon frente a mí	they stood in front of me
28	me empezaron a cuestionar que	and began to ask
29	qué estaba haciendo en el tren	what I was doing in this train
30	para dónde iba	where I was going
31	que por qué iba para Suiza	why I was going to Switzerland
32	que por qué quería trabajar en Suiza	why I wanted to work in Switzerland
33	y eso que no eran gente, no eran agentes de la policia suiza	and all that even though they weren't officers from the Swiss Police
34	sino de la policía alemana, ¿verdad?	but from the German Police, you know?
35	entonces, digamos, eh, no sé, ¿sabes?	so, let's say, eh, I don't know, you know?
36	como que no entendía	like I didn't understand
37	por qué tanto interés de qué iba a hacer en Suiza, o sea	why there was so much interest in what I was going to do in Switzerland, I mean
38	mira, ya, es como bueno, se va de Alemania, bueno adiós, ¿no?, ehm	look, it's just like, well, he is leaving Germany, well, okay bye, isn't? Ehm

39	pero me di cuenta de que realmente el control no era ni rutinario	but I realized that this really wasn't a routine check
40	porque tampoco es que hayan sido como muy, eh, juiciosos	because it wasn't either so like if they were very, eh, thoughtful
41	a la hora de controlar documentos	when checking documents
42	porque por lo general cuando te piden el documento de identidad	because in general when they ask you for your identification document
43	llaman incluso a una agencia central	they even call a central department
44	donde piden la corroboración de los datos y demás	where they ask for the corroboration of the personal info and so on
45	ellos me pidieron a mí mi documento de identificación	they just asked me to show my identification document
46	ehm, sólo lo vieron	ehm, they just looked at it
47	me preguntaron qué estaba haciendo en el tren	they asked me what I was doing in the train
48	para dónde iba, que qué hacía en Alemania	where I was going, what I was doing in Germany
49	y les expliqué que estaba estudiando	and I explained to them that I was studying
50	y que iba a hacer una entrevista de trabajo para una práctica	and that I was going to a job interview for an internship
51	para hacer mi tesis del bachelor	to do my bachelor thesis
52	y, eh, me preguntaron que qué es lo que yo tenía dentro de mi maletín	and, eh, they asked me what I had inside my bag
53	que iba, digamos, en el portamaletines arriba de los asientos, ehm	that, let's say, was in the luggage rack above the seats, ehm

54	y les dije que únicamente llevaba la ropa que me iba a poner, ¿verdad?	and I said that I was only carrying the clothes I was going to wear, you know?
55	porque prácticamente no iba nada más ahí	because there was practically nothing else in there
56	y la pregunta me la hicieron, eh, dos o tres veces	and they asked me this question, eh, like two or three times
57	hasta que les dije: "¿Saben qué? ¿Quieren que les abra el maletín?"	until I said: "You know what? Do you want me to open the suitcase for you?"
58	y ya se dieron cuenta que me empecé a molestar	and then they noticed that I was beginning to get upset
59	porque me di cuenta que el control no era rutinario, ¿verdad?	because I realized that this wasn't a routine control, you know?
60	sino era simplemente porque yo era extranjero, ¿verdad?	but that it was happening to me just because I was a foreigner, you know?
61	ehm, digamos, es un poco una cosa que que te dabas cuenta por el tono, ¿verdad?	Ehm, I mean, it's a little it's something you noticed because of the tone, you know?
62	porque no eran un como, bueno	because it wasn't a tone like, well
63	qué está haciendo acá y haciendo allá	what are you doing here and there
64	te dabas cuenta que el tono era un poco más pesado	you realized that the tone was a little more rude
65	y poco a poco te vas, me fui dando cuenta que	and progressively you notice, I noticed that
66	ni siquiera tenían interés realmente en llamar para corroborar los datos ni nada	they didn't even had interest in calling to check the personal info or anything
67	sino era simplemente hacerme pasar un mal rato durante el control, ¿verdad?	but they were just giving me a hard time during the check, you know?

68	ehm, cuando vieron que ya mostré también	ehm, when they noticed that I also showed
69	que yo también mostré molestia	that I also showed discomfort
70	entonces decisieron irse	then they decided to leave
71	me devolvieron mis documentos	they gave me my documents back
72	como te digo, o sea, repito	like I say, also, I repeat
73	nunca llamaron para corroborar los datos, eh	they never called to check the personal info, eh
74	y se fueron	and they left
75	y no controlaron a nadie más en el vagón, ¿verdad?	and they didn't check anyone else in the train car, you know?
76	entonces, ehm, me quedé un poco confundido	then, ehm, I got a little confused
77	obviamente molesto	upset obviously
78	y uno de los otros pasajeros que estaba ahí	and one of the other passengers who was there
79	sólo se volteó, ¿verdad?	just turned around, you know?
80	quedaba, habíamos, estaba sentado al otro lado	he was, he sat on the other side
81	no al otro lado del tren	not on the other side of the train
82	pero habíamos, ehm, de los asientos de la izquierda	but we were, ehm, on the seats on the left
83	él estaba exactamente en la misma posición pero a la derecha	he was in exactly the same position [as me] but on the right hand side
84	se volteó, me habló	he turned around, talked to me

85	y me dijo que lamentaba mucho que me tocase, eh, vivir eso, ¿verdad?	and said that he was very sorry that I had to deal, eh, with this, you know?
86	que no me lo tomara muy personal	that I shouldn't take it too personally
87	y yo le dije pues que sí	and I said: "But of course"
88	uno trata de no tomárselo personal	you try not to take it personally
89	pero al final de cuentas, eh	but in the end, eh
90	al no ser un control rutinario	because it isn't a routine control
91	te das cuenta que lo te están dando diciendo de forma implícita es	you realize that what they are implicitly telling you is
92	tú no perteneces acá, ¿verdad?	you don't belong here, you know?

** Only clearly recorded intervention of the interviewer in this fragment*

The narrated episode falls under the interactional script "police control", which is strongly shaped by the conditions of institutional communication. The narrative contains an orientation (lines 1-25), the narration of the incident proper (lines 26-77), and the coda (78-92). Referential and evaluative components are spread throughout the text.

The first lines of the orientation frame the narrated incident as problematic (*muy feo* 'very awful', 1), provide general information about the interactional script ("police control"), the setting (train, 2), and the narrator's situation and motives (trip to Switzerland for job interview, 3). Section 4-11 contains a description of the general situation and it is, at the same time, revealing with regard to the way how the informant constructs his "face" as a migrant in Germany. In lines 4-9, he categorizes himself as a "foreigner", positioning himself against both (German?) mainstream society and other migrant groups, because of his dark skin color. Although it is not obvious at this point why he gives this information, we can infer from Grice's maxim of relation that it is relevant. In line 10, the informant provides a description of the temporal and political juncture of that time (migration "crisis" in Germany), and recognizes the necessity of routine police controls against this backdrop (11), which may be interpreted as an expression of his fundamental understanding of the situation and his general willingness to cooperate with German institutions as another facet of his "face". This aspect will be further elaborated on and reinforced in the course of the narration. Next, two perlocutionary effects are presented

as referential facts (experiencing surprise in 12 and confusion in 18), and some evaluative information is provided about the reasons for these reactions (unexpected time and place of the control, 13-18). The referential statement that the agents' behavior was blatant (20) is evaluated against the description of the informant's activities immediately before the control: he was reading comfortably and doing nothing that could have made him suspicious or disruptive to other passengers (22-25). At the same time, it may be read as an anticipation and overall evaluation of the policemen's conduct. This section further supports the informant's self-identity as a "normal", well-educated and inoffensive person. The arrival of the policemen (26) marks the beginning of the problematic encounter. Although it is not explicitly stated, the hearer can infer from previously given information that the informant was selected for control because of his skin color – that means, because of what he considers to be a visible difference from other people in the train and from the non-migrant people in Germany. The narrative comes back to this point at the end of the complicating action (60).

The description of the complicating action starts in line 26. The referential framework of this part is made up nearly exclusively by only two types of verbal lexemes: speech act verbs such as *cuestionar* 'to question' (28), *preguntar* / *hacer una pregunta* 'to ask (a question)' (47, 52, 56), *pedir* 'to ask (for)' (45), *explicar* 'explain' (49), and *decir* 'say' (54, 57), as well as verbs that describe mental states and processes, among them *darse cuenta* 'to realize' (58, 59, 64, 65), *molestarse* / *mostrar molestia* 'to get angry / show anger' (58, 69), *ver* 'see, understand' (68), and *quedarse confundido* / *molesto* 'to become confused / angry' (76-77). The events these words refer to form a chain of action which functions as the referential skeleton of the narrative ("What happened?"). They are in temporal juncture and cannot be reversed (cf. Labov & Waletzky 1967: 25), because each one triggers the next one (compare also the frequent use of adjacency pairs such as *me preguntaron* 'they asked me' – *les expliqué* 'I explained to them'; *me preguntaron* 'they asked me' – *y les dije* 'and I told them', etc.). Embedded within this structure we find quotations of the interlocutor's utterances (or **propositions**) in direct (38[7], 57) or indirect (29-32, 47-48, 52) speech, which elaborate the verbal actions expressed in the speech act verbs. The interrogatives (cf. *qué, por qué*) and subordinating conjunctions (*que*) used in these sequences support the illocutions expressed in the verb of the independent clause (i.e., asking for and providing information).

Thus, the complicating action is presented as a sequence of questions, answers, and cognitive and emotional responses to those speech acts – in other words, a succession of verbal actions (**illocutions**) and their consequences (**perlocutionary effects**). Interestingly, despite their allegedly "subjective" character, the perlocutionary effects are presented by the informant as integral elements of the development of the action, on equal terms with the more "objectively" observable behavioral aspects of the situation.

At this point, we can already conclude from the referential structure and content of the incident that it falls under the category of verbal violence, because the perlocutionary effects that are reported to emerge from the verbal behavior (confusion, anger) harm the informant's wellbeing. However, we cannot say how or why

[7] This is a fictional proposition which the informant attributes to a policeman in an alternative world.

they emerge without considering the evaluative information ("So what"?).

The evaluative segments in lines 33-38, 40-44 and 60-67 describe different kinds of circumstances of the incident, as well as the narrator's inferences from them. They turn the enumeration of events into a coherent narrative by establishing conceptual links between the different kinds of verbal actions (illocutive acts) and their cognitive and emotional consequences (perlocutionary effects). It is this very information that helps us to understand why the informant experiences the interaction as an instance of verbal violence.

In the referential section in lines 26-32, the narrator reports the arrival of the policemen and the beginning of the questioning. These referential facts are evaluated in line 33 to 38, where the narrator marks them as something unusual (cf. *y eso que*, 33), coming back to his previous statement (13-17) according to which the time and place of the control did not make sense within a normal police control, because there were enhanced controls of people entering Germany, but not leaving the country. This reflection leads him to the conclusion that the control was not a routine procedure (39).

In the following evaluative section (40-44), the narrator gives more reasons for this interpretation by contrasting the incident with his previous experience with police controls in Germany. According to him, the officers normally ask for the identification document and call an agency in order to obtain confirmation of the migrant's identity and legal status, but, this time, there is no telephone call. Against this backdrop, the informant evaluates the agent's behavior as inadequate and careless (40).

From line 45 onwards, the informant returns to his referential description. The further development of the interaction is described as a succession of directive speech acts and responses to them (asking for, presentation and checking of identification document in 45-46, questions and answers regarding the informant's destination and plans in 47-51, and repeated questions about the content of the informant's suitcase in 52-56). The informant's offer to open the suitcase (57) comes as the culmination of the complicating action, which triggers a reaction that finally leads to the solution: Having noticed his anger, the policemen leave (68ff). Although on the surface level the informant is uttering a commissive speech act, the discourse marker *¿saben qué?* 'you know what?', and the description of the perlocutionary effect of this speech act on the agents ("ya se dieron cuenta que me **empecé a molestar**", 'and then they noticed that I was beginning to get upset', 58) suggest that this utterance may actually be interpreted as an expressive speech act (expressing disapproval about the policemen's behavior), with a certain degree of aggression.[8] This is the only moment within the narrative of the control when the informant speaks out and takes the initiative, instead of just reacting to the policemen. Thus, this important turning point in the narrative is also presented as a moment of personal empowerment for the informant. It is an act of "subversive rebellion" (Porila 2015: 221) which momentarily suspends the power asymmetries between participants, and probably serves as an outlet for the frustration and aggression the informant has accumulated up to this point (ibid.). His renewed statement that

[8] When he quotes himself in line 57, prosodic features such as a change in voice quality and in pitch register (higher than expected by questions) support this interpretation.

the control was not routine (59) refers back to line 39, but this time it is used as a justification for his reaction, rather than a conclusion from the policemen's behavior.

What follows is a sequence of evaluative information where the narrator insists once more that the control was abnormal because the officers did not make the expected telephone call (66). Then, he goes one step further in his interpretation: Having made clear that the interactions are not in line with his expectations regarding the interactional script "police control", and that the agents were not interested in his identity or legal status, he rejects the surface illocutions of the agents' questions. As he must assume that their behavior is intentional according to Grice's relevance principle, he infers that the policemen's questions are only a camouflage for verbal aggression. Against this background, he concludes that the perlocutionary effect he is experiencing (anger, confusion) is actually intended by his interlocutors (cf. "[la intención] era simplemente hacerme pasar un mal rato durante el control ¿verdad?" '[the intention] was only to give me a hard time during the control, you know?', 67). Prosodic features of the policemen's utterances are highlighted as an additional clue which guided him towards this interpretation (cf. *tono pesado,* 'rude tone', 61-64). Taking up an element already mentioned in the orientation (see above), the narrator assumes racism as a motive for the allegedly aggressive behavior of the policemen (60).

The presentation of the incident proper ends with the referential description of the policemen giving him his papers back and leaving (68-74). In a kind of closing section, two elements that appeared earlier as evaluative information are elevated to the status of referential facts (cf. their use in *pretérito perfecto simple*): The narrator re-emphasizes that the policemen definitely did not make a phone call (73), and that they *definitely* did not control anybody else in the train car but him (75). This leaves him again confused and angry (76-77).

The coda begins with line 78. In a kind of addendum, the narrator relates another passenger's reaction to the scene, and draws a general conclusion from the incident. The referential parts of this section describe how a witness of the police control turns around to him and expresses his regret about the behavior of the agents, recommending him not to take it too personally (78-87). However, the informant takes a different view (87-88). What follows in lines 89 to 92 is a kind of justification for his disagreement with the passenger, which is at the same time an overall evaluation of the incident. The informant highlights once more his fundamental willingness to accept the reduction of interactional scope that characterizes institutional communication (88), as one facet of his self-identity as a migrant. However, given that the interaction did not correspond to his expectations regarding the interactional script "police control" (90), he infers that the policemen were actually abusing their institutional power to commit an act of *interpersonal* aggression and violence against him. Unlike institutional violence that strikes regardless of the individual case, the agents' behavior is felt as a targeted attack against him as a person, although he had done nothing to deserve it (compare the construction of his "face" as a cooperative, well-educated migrant in the orientation). The coda culminates in a fictional reformulation of the policemen's alleged verbal aggressions in terms of a direct speech act ("tú no perteneces acá", 'you don't belong here', 92), which stands as a recapitulation of the whole incident. Thus, the

illocution the informant assumes behind the policemen's questioning is actually an act of interpersonal offense and exclusion.

In sum, the informant experiences the police control as an instance of covert aggression and verbal violence. The presence of verbal violence can be directly deduced from the referential organization of complicating action, which basically comes as a chain of references to the speech acts, together with their negative perlocutionary effects (confusion and anger). The evaluative parts provide information about the cues that led the narrator to infer covert aggressive illocutionary intentions from the overt illocution 'asking for information', which explain the perlocutionary effects. Among them, he mentions racialized criteria for his selection for the control, its unusual time and place according to his previous knowledge, the discrepancy between the agents' verbal behavior and his expectations concerning the genre "police control" (especially the lack of the phone call and the questions for the motive of the journey and the content of the suitcase), as well as prosodic features of the agents' utterances. Against this backdrop, the incident is framed as a unique and personal case of intentional aggression and discrimination because of visible difference, and not as a manifestation of "blind" institutional or structural violence. However, the institutional character of the interaction adds to the illocutionary force of the aggression, because it restrains the informant's possibilities for action due to the asymmetric and compulsory character of communication with institutional interlocutors. For example, the informant cannot refuse to communicate with the policemen or act with overt aggression without risking sanctions, as he could do if one of the passengers started to attack him verbally. This is the reason why he also draws on covert verbal aggression at one point in the interaction (57).

It's important to note that it's impossible to know if the interpersonal violence perceived by the informant was intended or not. For some of the contextual clues mentioned in the narrative, alternative interpretations could be envisaged.[9] However, the aim of our analysis is not to reconstruct what the police men *really* intended to do with their words, or to decide if the informant is right with his interpretation, but to gain insights into which salient linguistic and extra-linguistic cues guide migrants towards experiencing interactions as violent.

5. Conclusions

The present contribution is a first approximation to Latin American migrants' experiences with verbal violence in German institutions. Within the VIOLIN project, we propose a migrant-centered approach based on personal accounts of problematic interactions in institutional contexts (Critical Incidents). These are analyzed combining SAT with Narrative Analysis, in order to gain insights into how the perception of violence emerges from the interplay between linguistic features and contextual factors, under the conditions of institutional communication. As our analysis of the incident "Police control at the border" has shown, it's not primarily the inherent power asymmetries and the compulsory character of institutional communication which produce the perception of violence in the informant, but rather the feeling of being the target of an individual act of aggression, othering and exclusion under the cloak of institutional

[9] For example, the control's time and place and the agents' interest in the motive of the trip and the content of the suitcase would not be unusual if the control was a customs control.

needs. Thus, the institutional context does not produce verbal violence per se, but it adds to the "face" damaging effect of the agents' behavior by significantly reducing the migrant's options for action, leaving him more vulnerable than in other possible scenarios. This particular experience seems to be consistent with the rest of our corpus. However, further investigation is needed to provide an overall picture of verbal violence against migrants in German institutions.

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05

"I understand the culture. So, I understand who is lying" – Language and cultural mediators as brokers and para-ethnologists

05

"I understand the culture. So, I understand who is lying" – Language and cultural mediators as brokers and para-ethnologists[1]

Annalena Kolloch

1.Introduction

The increasing linguistic and ethnic diversity in Germany due to growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers presents state authorities in particular with challenges (Aigner 2017: 82-83; Kosnick 2014; Statistisches Bundesamt 2018).[2] How do they deal with situations of multilingualism and "multilingual linguistic spaces" (Marx & Nekula 2013: 63)? A look at the interactions of state officers and their increasingly diverse clientele illustrates the crucial

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[2] In 2018, around 20.8 million out of 81.6 million people in Germany had a migration background, which applies to one in four people. A person has a migration background if she/he or one parent did not have German citizenship at birth. These numbers corresponded to an increase of 2.5% over the previous year. Of the 20.8 million people with a migration background, around 13.5 million were not born in Germany, but immigrated in the course of their lives for family reasons (48%), employment (19%), flight and asylum (15%) or study (5%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018).

underlying difference in language. To interpret different languages, and moreover to translate different normative ideas in everyday interactions, numerous institutions and state authorities rely on the support of a group that describes itself as language and cultural mediators, most of whom have bicultural backgrounds. Their translating services appear crucial for mutual understanding between the state officials and their clients; and therefore, for the whole functioning of bureaucratic processes. Language and cultural mediators mediate between their clients and state authorities, by interpreting and translating different languages, perspectives and cultural backgrounds, but their linguistic skills sometimes convey mistrust (Cabot 2019). From their point of view, they differ from professional interpreters, who spend years studying for their profession, yet focusing mostly on language rather than on "culture". For language and cultural mediators, translation goes beyond language and clearly includes "culture" and "cultural difference" in encounters between state officials and their clients, which is why they perceive themselves as enriching for both sites.

This paper is based on my recent explorative fieldwork on language and cultural mediators in two German federal states as part of the DFG-funded interdisciplinary project "Police-Translations – Multilingualism and the construction of cultural difference in everyday police work".[3] In the course of my research, I visited three social associations that offer language and cultural mediation, interviewed different language mediators as well as authorities, who had already used these or other language mediation institutions; including three group interviews. All interviews have been transcribed and analysed to focus on the language and cultural mediators' view. The classical anthropological method of participant observation turned out to be quite difficult, due to data protection reasons and lacking research permits. Yet, I took part in a three-day training course for interpreters and tried to shadow and accompany language mediators in their job, as often I could.

After this introduction, I explain terms, definitions and the state of research. Section 2 explores how language and cultural mediators come to their jobs. I show their working conditions and include their thoughts on morality, ethics and professionalisation. Section 3 offers a case study illustrating language and cultural mediators acting as brokers, bridging information gaps and mediating between different state officials and their clients. Yet, they also work for their own profit (Boissevain 1974: 148, 158). Section 4 discusses these aspects of brokerage. As Martín and Phelan (2009: 12) argue, "cultural mediators are often described as cultural brokers who can bridge two different views". They mediate between different sides (Pöchhacker 2007: 5) and act as intermediaries, mediators and middlemen and -women (Lindquist 2015: 870). Section 5 focuses on emic translation theories and brings in findings from my fieldwork, language and cultural mediators' thoughts about normativity

[3] In our project, we look at different perspectives on police interactions with their clients. Based on participant observation, interviews, group research and role-playing scenarios in police trainings, we are interested in the different dynamics of multilingualism and the construction of cultural difference in everyday police work. The project includes Jan Beek (head of the project), Thomas Bierschenk, Bernd Meyer, Marcel Müller and Theresa Radermacher. My own research is embedded in this project in the widest sense of policing. Some of the mediators I have spoken to also interpret for the police. As I have yet to gain permission to accompany them to the police, I use examples of people who deal with interpreting in social contexts in this paper.

in discussion. Section 6 explores their notions of "culture" from their position. While anthropologists today try to avoid "culture" as explanation for social phenomena and even almost reject it (Beek & Bierschenk 2020), they often put it like me in quotation marks to make sure to avoid stereotyping and framing "culture" as something stable and not changeable. My results show that language and cultural mediators however use this concept widely. Due to their claim to be able to interpret and to translate social phenomena as "cultural", I also identify language and cultural mediators as "para-ethnologists" (Beek & Bierschenk 2020). They explicitly refer to their knowledge of "culture" and use it as a category of explanation, which is similar to the use of the term in classical ethnography. My paper thus brings into play the discussion on "culture", which is something unexpected and new. As para-ethnologists, they also defend their field of activity and competence externally, not least towards academic social anthropologists. For example, after gaining access to organisations of cultural mediation in Germany, it was possible to interview people, but quite difficult to take part in their everyday work and specific training courses. I only was able to use randomly and spontaneously the ethnographic methods of participant observation and "shadowing" the work of people.

2. Terms, definitions and state of research

In Germany, there is a wide range of interpreting practices which rely on different ideas. The degree of professionalism differs and is wide ranging. Ad hoc interpreting situations can arise, when relatives and acquaintances, housewives and students interpret spontaneously for their families or neighbours (Stanek 2011: 22), but also planned assignments, e.g. from state authorities. The professional title of interpreter is neither protected nor registered in Germany and basically anyone can call him/herself an interpreter (Stanek 2011: 32). In the literature, the term "translation" is used for written translation services, "interpreting" means oral translation (Pöchhacker 2007). Interestingly, this differentiation is not always found in everyday speech. Even actors who often use interpreters kindly ask them to "translate" their conversations.

In addition to the use of the services of studied and sworn interpreters who are remunerated, authorities and institutions are increasingly relying on people with knowledge of heritage languages, trained by various associations (see also Rudvin & Tomassini 2008).[4] Due to the increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers in recent years in Germany, the demand for interpreters is growing steadily. More and more interpreting institutions and organisations train people with a migration background who understand German to meet the demand for interpreting services (for Italia, see Tuckett 2018: 252). These so-called language and cultural mediators accompany migrants who understand little or no German to necessary official dates at authorities, with the goal of mutual understanding. Their training varies from one-day training courses to intensive yearlong programmes (see also Martín & Phelan 2009: 13). My paper refers explicitly

[4] Of course, this does not mean, that professional interpreters can't be bilingual or bicultural. I am aware of the complexity and the danger of using the term "heritage languages". Authorities mean the language of their respective clients, when they are looking for people who are able to speak their "heritage languages" as well as German.

to this group of people who call themselves language and cultural mediators. In other parts of Germany, they are also called integration mediators (Bahadır 2010). Most of them attend training courses by several associations and are paid for their services, which I will deal with in section 2.

Sami Sauerwein (2006: 5) describes this practice as community interpreting, meaning face-to-face-interpreting in institutionalised settings, mostly by ordinary persons, and very often with highly sensitive communication contents, whereby interpreters play an active role in the communication. They help to clarify misunderstandings and therefore can be identified as mediators (Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1985: 451) or brokers, a concept that I will explain in this paper. There still is not much literature on language and cultural mediators. To offer a state of research, I therefore also use studies on immigrant families whose children often act as language and cultural brokers (Antonini et al. 2017; Bauer 2016; Rajič 2008; Orellana 2010; Weisskirch 2017) or "assets of integration" (Mohamud 2017). Especially children of migrants and bilingual migrants are often seen as born translators and interpreters (see Bahadır 2010: 24). Schooling often help children to learn the languages of their host country. So, their parents expect them to understand and interpret everything, including the official language of the host country. The children often cannot live up to the numerous expectations placed on them and come under enormous psychological pressure (Rajič 2008: 146-150). The term "cultural broker" is used because of the "children's ability to navigate and negotiate between two languages and cultures in assisting their family's integration and settlement process" (Mohamud 2017: 2). This definition makes the term "cultural broker" useful for language and cultural mediators, as I will detail later in this paper. Gustafsson et al. (2019) show how child interpreters described their daily experiences brokering for their parents in the Swedish civil service, while their presence in institutions was hardly ever questioned. In their opinion, informal brokers are not bound by professional ethics, and may be biased and obliged to be loyal to their families. In reference to the knowledge of ethics, fair treatment of users and staff, and the loyalty of language brokers to their families or clients, Gustafsson et al. (2019) make a clear distinction between professional interpreting and language brokering by children.

In a similar way, professional (sworn) interpreters often consider language and cultural mediating or brokering as inferior (Pöllabauer 2005: 184). The federal association of interpreters and translators in Germany has termed the increasing interpreting services of language and cultural mediators as "rapid growing wild growth", especially in social, education and health sectors (BDÜ 2015: 1).[5] Since the 1980s, the term "language mediator" has been used for "non-professional interpreting" (Pöchhacker 2007: 10; Wohlfarth 2016: 15, 31), sometimes also termed "natural translation" to make clear that language and cultural mediators are not systematically trained or certified for their job (Pöllabauer 2005: 185). Language mediation takes place in everyday situations, in face-to-face interactions; it does not require any training; the only requisite is the knowledge of the languages to be interpreted. The

[5] Translation by the author. Original citation: „der Nährboden für einen rapide größer werdenden Wildwuchs in der Angebotslandschaft ehrenamtlicher Dolmetschdienste" (BDÜ 2015: 1).

main function is to transmit and to convey language while playing an active role as communication partner (Pöchhacker 2007: 10; Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1985: 451). Other studies use the term "lay interpreter" (Marics 2008: 95).

Translation between increasingly multilingual clients and police officers is one important aspect of their everyday work. Translating and interpreting between these two groups of actors often requires an interpreter as a third actor. Stanek (2011) notes lacking verifications of interpretations combined with a lack of professionalism on the part of the authorities' employees. She concludes that the quality standards of interpreting are not satisfactory for the police (Stanek 2011: 24-25). The official language principle of the German administrative procedure law prescribes *Die Amtssprache ist deutsch* 'The official language is German' (Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz, VwVfg § 23 Abs. 1). Misleadingly this official language principle lets many officers argue that only German can be spoken in the administration. Yet, the law does not claim that there should be no interpreters. Indeed, there is no general regulation on how the authorities deal with people with little or no German language skills. Actually, nobody has the right to consult an interpreter, but there are certain legal regulations.[6] Some institutions like employment offices, for example, ask people to bring an "interpreter" along – in this way, they assume that any interpreter can do this task. Interpreting in social spaces therefore often includes the services of language and cultural mediators. If the institutions themselves commission interpreters, they often must be sworn. An entitlement to an oral, free translation exists only in the asylum procedure. According to § 17 of the Asylum Act (Asylgesetz), an interpreter must be consulted ex officio, if sufficient knowledge of German is not available. Consultation of the interpreter takes place at the expense of the authority.

In this article, I focus on a group of people who perceive and term themselves language and cultural mediators. They completed at least some further education lasting several days or month-long training, working as freelancers and are organised in three different associations. Mostly, the association of which they are a member calls them to interpret in a given situation and pays for that assignment. I distinguish these language and cultural mediators from sworn interpreters, who are also qualified to interpret in court, who spent several years studying, and who earn two or three times as much. I also distinguish them from child interpreters and other bilingual "lay" interpreters, who have had no training whatsoever, and are very often not paid at all.

3. How to become a mediator and working conditions

All three associations I visited are NGO-like, registered associations, and are funded by membership fees and funds from various ministries and offices. Two of these associations (in two different German federal states) use language and cultural mediators who took part in a 200-hour training course organised by the local Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Industrie- und Handelskammer, IHK), which guarantees a minimal professional standard and concludes with a certificate. Participants spend six months learning basic information

[6] The Federal Employment Agency, for instance, differentiates between EU nationals, third countries legally resident in the EU and non-privileged third country nationals when it comes to the use of interpreting and translation services.

about community interpreting, gaining knowledge of German institutions and talking about their experiences of migration, integration and discrimination. They are trained in personal skills, interpretation and translation techniques, exercise practical actions and get support for later professional independence. Several times a year, both of these associations provide full-day, special training courses by external lecturers from the university and state institutions.

The third association only offers a three-day training course on "Interpreting in Social Space" taught by a university professor at the university. Participants learn basic information on community interpreting, ethical standards such as professionalism, neutrality, completeness and transparency. After the course, the participants receive an admission interview and, when successful, their first assignments through their association.

The associations' services are subject to charge. Only authorities, institutions and public facilities can hire language and cultural mediators. One association obtained additional funds for private enquiries (which is free of charge for private users). The self-appointed language and cultural mediators coach and mediate between families, official authorities, associations and companies to coach and bridge information gaps.

Working as a language and cultural mediator in these three associations only generates a very small income, based on the real working hours. It means an expense allowance between ten and 35 Euros. Around the world, only some community interpreters work as full-time employees, while most are freelancers who work in different agencies, as Ozolins (2007: 121) remarks. Yet, language mediators never know when to expect their next assignment(s) or how long these will take. I met language mediators who had only about two to three assignments a year, while others had about one assignment a month. The chairperson of one association argued that it would be a disgrace to pay for the job through expense allowances, which means that most language and cultural mediators are forced to work in other professions. She complained that their services should be a valuable piece of work instead of only a cheap solution (Chairperson Association of language and cultural mediators, 19.07.2019).

Martín & Phelan (2009: 13) complain that the training courses in general do not use a standard code of practice nor unified principles on cultural mediation. According to them, confidentiality, impartiality, accuracy and professionalism should be part of cultural mediators' professional work. While Ozolins (2007: 123) complains that the majority of interpreters did not receive any training in interpreting, I observed a growing attempt at professionalisation in the sense of Martín & Phelan (2009) and increasing thoughts about normativity in translation, as I will develop further in this paper. One association, for instance, tried to obtain improved, official recognition of its certificate to professionalise the work of its mediators. The reason for this formalisation of an informal sector could be greater trustworthiness in these NGOs and their specific language mediation services in an increasingly diverse society.

4. Going along. The case study of Mariana

To illustrate the job of a language and cultural mediator, and to explain why I use brokerage as analytical category, I introduce a case study about one interpreting situation.

I met Mariana[7], who already had plenty of interpreting experience, on the first day of a training course that I visited. Originally from an Eastern European country, she immigrated to Germany in the early 2000s. Her family including her husband and three children, came two years later. After working in several jobs, Mariana finally began translating and interpreting both in professional and semi-professional contexts. As a mother of three adult children, she is now in her 50s and interprets for different institutions. On the one hand, she translates for the police regularly and officially in different monitoring measures; on the other hand, she works as a low paid language mediator in different institutions. Mariana attended two training courses, including the 200-hours of training at the IHK. Although she was struggling, but very committed, she also came to the three-days-course at the university in the hope of finding support in clarifying how to interpret, and above all how to distinguish between interpreting for official institutions like the police and social institutions like NGOs. For Mariana, interpreting for the police meant mostly interpreting surveillance measures through mobile phones and videos, while interpreting in social contexts for her often happen in highly sensitive situations (see also Sami Sauerwein 2006: 5). Mariana argued that in social contexts, she needed to be more empathetic and humane, while in a more formal context of mobile interpreting services, she was better able to distance herself from agencies and public authorities. Interestingly, she distinguished clearly between skills needed in social and more formal institutional contexts.

Shortly after the training, Mariana allowed me to accompany her to her next assignment. A few days in advance, she received an email with the exact date, time and the location to interpret during a doctor's appointment. She gave me the address and I accompanied her that day, which allowed me to experience her handling of unexpected situations and taking on more than anticipated. The following case study illustrates her effort to achieve a sensitive, friendly and very human way of interpreting.

> A very cold winter morning, 7.30 a.m. Arriving at the given address to interpret during a doctor's appointment, the language mediator Mariana finds herself in front of a big grey apartment building. She does not find a doctor's name among the numerous doorbell signs. Apart from numerous private names, only one doorbell includes the small sign of a youth emergency shelter. After taking a little bit of time to realise this new situation, Mariana rings and then steps into the shelter, talks to the social worker there and finds a young, very small and thin teenager girl named Ilana, who does not understand any German, waiting there. Mariana finds out that Ilana has to see a doctor on the other side of town. Instead of just interpreting right away, Mariana must first accompany the girl on a 15-minute walk, early in the day, and on a very cold wintry morning. Mariana is not prepared for such a long walk, and is only wearing a thin jacket without a scarf or woollen hat. She's freezing and her nose is running. While walking, the 15-year-old Ilana talks very openly about her experiences in the Eastern European country she comes from. In between, Mariana translates her story to me, always in the first

[7] Due to the assured anonymity, all names of research participants used in this paper are pseudonyms.

person singular (I-form). Ilana has only been in in Germany for a year and explains that she has been looking for protection at a police station after a chain of bad experiences, which in turn led her to the youth emergency centre. As she is unable to speak any German, she is not sure how long she can stay in the shelter and what will happen to her.

On our arrival at the doctor's office, we find ourselves in a queue of people. Suddenly, the receptionist arrives, telling everybody, that it is too late to see the doctor that day. Although it is only 8.10 a.m., and the consultation only opened at 8 a.m., we are too late. Mariana tries to insist, explaining that she is accompanying the girl who does not speak any German. She tries to get into the doctor's office to speak to the second receptionist, but in vain. Then Mariana calls the emergency shelter to insist on their intervention. Eventually, we have to leave without seeing the doctor. On the way back, Mariana stops at a drugstore and buys some handkerchiefs, gives one package to me, and two to Ilana, who smiles in response.

Back at the youth emergency shelter, Mariana takes the initiative and requests hot tea, as we are all freezing. Then the social worker, Daniel, asks us to take a seat in his office. As Mariana is on hand to interpret, he would like to take the opportunity to clarify some details, which are still unclear two months after Ilana's arrival. The language mediator explains that the girl herself seems to have questions, as she told us on the way to the doctor. Mariana continues interpreting, as she would speak herself, in the I-form.

Interestingly, most of the time, Daniel speaks in the third person singular. He talks about *the* girl and explains that they need to talk about her care. Ilana seems concerned about going back to her mother or father. For the first time since her arrival in the youth emergency shelter two months ago, Ilana can communicate in her mother tongue and is understood. Additionally, the positive atmosphere that Mariana is spreading with her encouraging smile, in connection with the tea, seems to be literally liberating for Ilana. Suddenly, Ilana starts to tell her story, full of childhood exploitation, violation and crime, beginning in her home country and continuing in Germany. The atmosphere is quiet and tense. Very soon, Mariana interrupts and explains that she has an obligation of secrecy, and confirms that nobody in the room will pass on her story. Yet, Daniel objects, that he *has* to talk about her experiences in the team and with the youth office. While I sense that the language mediator is trying to create an intimate atmosphere, favoured by tea and the security of talking in a protected setting, the social worker himself remains formal. In spite of this combination of intimacy and bureaucratic formality, the girl is talking. Several times in the following two-hour talk, Mariana asks questions in between interpreting, and tells Daniel that she has to check some details. When Ilana starts crying at one point, Mariana reacts and gives her a handkerchief and even opens the package for her. Several times during the conversation, Daniel tries to show Ilana his respect and admits that she seems to be a very courageous person. In the end, Ilana says she feels safe and appreciates the atmosphere, and claims she is happy and even lucky. When Mariana asks what exactly she means by luck, Ilana says happiness lies in little things. In the end, Mariana embraces Ilana warmly.

This case study of my explorative fieldwork with language and cultural mediators in Germany exemplifies the various tasks and duties carried out by this group of people with

whom I work. Instead of mere interpreting, we find several tasks, which would not be part of the job description, and go beyond standard requirements. Mariana needed to fetch her client, a minor girl, from her accommodation, walk across the city with her, and find the actual place of assignment on a cold wintry morning. At the doctor's office, Mariana became an active broker. Taking the role of a broker is not only situational for the mediators, it is a part of their role as such. Yet, Mariana's example shows how she engaged actively in brokerage. She chose to insist and tried several strategies to see the doctor that day. She even decided to use her own mobile phone to talk to the emergency shelter staff. She brought Ilana back afterwards. She thereby fulfilled some kind of care work; accompanying Ilana, talking to her, even giving her paper handkerchiefs. Caring for her client in that way also helps her to establish trust and credibility (Cabot 2019: 16; Tuckett 2018: 248).

Inside the youth service centre, Mariana first tried to create a pleasant, cosy and comfortable atmosphere, asked for a warm drink as well as sugar and a spoon. All these little gestures went a long way towards creating a good setting for a very difficult discussion. As we can see, the language mediator herself acts as a broker, reacting very empathically and mediating between the girl and the social worker, trying to help both to feel safe and comfortable, and solve their respective problems. She acted according to her own normative ideas and clearly took responsibility. She filled different roles – instead of being only a language mediator, she acted as a social worker (i.e. tea and handkerchiefs), as a psychologist (bringing in her own questions, being very sensitive about traumas) and a broker (bridging the two different sides of Ilana and Daniel). If we now consider that her job generates only a very small income, we see that Mariana does tasks for which she is not paid. She clearly acts as an active third party, because she works in Ilana's best interests and helps ensure that everyone understands each other. These different roles are not played out one after another, but coexist in the interpreter (Sami Sauerwein 2006: 68, 238). The case study presented here confirms several role concepts of interpreters and language mediators which Pöllabauer (2005: 76, 180, 186) and Sami Sauerwein (2006: 35ff.) cite. According to them, interpreters act as language converters, bridges, cultural brokers, experts, spokespersons, advocates, machines, managers of the conversation, helpers and as third active parties (Sami Sauerwein 2006: 171).

Although it is true that some of the tasks could have been avoided and better organised with information from the language association, Mariana chose to take over a role as broker and tried to solve the situation. Her agentive practices are related to her brokerage, a concept, which I will discuss in more detail in the next section (Koster & van Leynseele 2017: 803). Ozolins puts is as follows: "all interpreters have (at least) two clients – the two parties they are interpreting for, but not all interpreters understand they also often have a third client – the agency through which they obtain work" (Ozolins 2007: 124). This is not only a crucial aspect in terms of what the broker earns, but is also pivotal to the art of communicating with the agency as well as the "booking" institution and of course, the client. While Mariana should have translated during a doctor's appointment, it turned out that she was too late to do so that day. Instead of giving up, she insisted on treatment, and later on, switched to another

situation between the social worker and the client. These tasks could have been avoided, if the association had organised things better.

Later, Mariana told me she puts all her heart into these situations: *Das sind Einsätze, bei denen ich sehr viel Herz investiere.* 'These are assignments, where I invest a lot of my heart' (30.10.2019).[8]

5. Language and cultural mediators as brokers

Mariana's case shows that the communication partners were unable to talk to each other without the help of the language mediator and her translational activity (Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1985: 452). It was the language mediator, who ensured that all the parties involved understood each other. Mariana spoke for both parties and chose to act as a broker, she actively combined several aspects of this role, which is why I use the analytical advantage and strength of the broker concept. In the following part, I will analyse and interpret Mariana's case study with the help of existing literature. The concept of brokerage seems to be helpful; especially in the context of the current societal change, as brokers bring together different sites (Koster & van Leynseele 2017: 806-807). If we understand brokers as central figures in translation and mediation processes, bridging gaps and connecting the social worlds of actors who have diverging interests and unequal power relations (Koster & van Leynseele 2017: 803), we can clearly classify language and cultural mediators as brokers. As brokers, they have a relatively independent and outside third-party position (Sami Sauerwein 2006: 61; 171).

> Brokers are not part of either of the groups they represent, nor do they merge different groups into one whole; instead, they bring groups together while leaving room for difference and for their own 'independent' position. (Koster & van Leynseele 2017: 808)

Brokerage in that sense means a two-way process as well as controlling the access held by the authorities and their clients (Boissevain 1974: 147). The question of taking sides or being neutral is also relevant for the definition of the broker. While crossing social boundaries, brokers' loyalties in the process and their increasing force are questioned, especially as they are remunerated for their mediation, which reveal moral ambiguities (Lindquist 2015: 870). Boissevain (1974: 148-149) therefore describes brokers as entrepreneurs and manipulators of people and information. As brokers always work for their own profit, Boissevain (1974: 158) identifies brokerage as "business". Brokers often work on their own account (Sami Sauerwein 2006: 51). Although this discussion is interesting, it stereotypes and characterises brokers as immoral or at least morally ambiguous figures (Tuckett 2018: 246). The concept of brokerage is most fruitful when used as an analytical category and ethnographic entry point. A look into the anthropology of brokerage underlines my argument to term language and cultural mediators as brokers. So, Geertz (1960) describes the example of Javanese *kijaji*, local Muslim teachers who translate as brokers between the local community and the nation state (Geertz 1960: 228). The *kijaji* act as "cultural middlemen" (p. 229) and "specialists in communication" (p. 230)

[8] Most of the interviews for this paper were conducted in German and translated by myself.

who connect the villagers with an international culture (p. 243); which is why he terms them "cultural brokers" (p. 233). A look at this concept helps to sharpen our view of their role as mediators between two different sites and to illuminate the processes from the position of mediation (Lindquist 2015: 874).

Looking at language and cultural mediators, their degree of professionalisation might also be included in the discussion on brokerage. "The ambivalence ascribed to interpreters […] is also epistemic: they have knowledge that no one else can access, and those being 'spoken for' are left to trust (or to distrust) the interpreter's capacity and willingness to convey this knowledge" (Cabot 2019: 5). As Cabot (2019) states, it is not just the fact that interpreters act as agents and brokers which make it interesting, but also the ways in which they use their brokering activities. Based on the example of community brokers in Italy who offer assistance and advice in immigration, Tuckett (2018) analyses their desire for improving their own employment chances, their professionalism and their social status. Instead of negative stereotyping, Tuckett explains their ethical motivation and frames their community brokerage as a means of overcoming their own marginalised position as migrants (pp. 247, 253, 261). Tuckett (2018) sees them as "key figures in today's highly bureaucratised global migration regime" (p. 246). As Murphy (1981: 667) states, brokers try to convince others that their knowledge is exclusive and special. Their role is privileged and therefore powerful, sometimes even dangerous, as he explains using the example of local brokers who have the power to threaten people (p. 673).

Language and cultural mediators like Mariana translate and interpret not only language, but also aspects of "culture", emotion, feelings, trust and mistrust (see also Cabot 2019: 2). While Ilana is understood in her own language by someone else for the first time and can explain the complex background of her story in an understandable way, Mariana alternates between German and the Eastern European language they have in common in her conversations with Ilana. Mariana later told me that Ilana used a relatively simple language, which indicates her low school attendance and simple origins. She explained her background in cultural terms and claimed to interpret as cultural broker; which I will develop further in the following sections. During the conversation, Mariana asked Ilana for further details in interim discussions to help both Daniel and Ilana to understand each other. At the end of the conversation, Ilana's needs became clear and further steps necessary to organise her care were discussed.

6. Thinking about normativity in translation

The federal association of interpreters and translators in Germany has called for a professionalisation of interpreting for non-professionals (BDÜ 2015: 2). In the following section, I reflect on who is interpreting, recalling the critics from literature, professional interpreting associations and sworn interpreters (BDÜ 2015) about the non-professionalism of lay interpreters and language mediators. As I stated, the language and cultural mediators I work with are really interested in further education courses on interpreting and translating. My explorative fieldwork suggests that as more and more specific training courses by language and cultural mediators arise, they refer increasingly to ethics in their work. Several interpreters mentioned the importance

of translating everything, not only words, but also emotions. If a person cries, the interpreter has to cry as well. If someone laughs, the interpreter has to laugh as well. These descriptions show the increasing professionalisation of language mediators who are referred to in literature as "lay interpreters" (see Marics 2008: 122). To support my argument, Mariana translated in the first person singular – as if she were speaking herself. This is taught in professional interpreter training, which is a more professional way of interpreting (Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1985). Meanwhile, the demand for interpreting as passive and invisible machine is being questioned, reconsidered and even seems to be illusory in interpreting studies (Sami Sauerwein 2006: 41). When I took part in the three-day training course for language mediators, interpreting led to heated discussions among the participants. Some of them explained the necessity to interpret in the I-form, whilst others strongly opposed the practice. During the coffee breaks and in the seminar, the participants discussed normativity amongst interpreters and language mediators. Some of the participants said that interpreting in the third person singular automatically leads to a commented version of what has been said, and only a direct transfer offers neutrality and professionalism.

As an example, I quote quite an experienced language mediator, who argued in favour of intervening in some situations:

> No, I feel quite uncomfortable interpreting in the first person. Especially if several persons are talking, it is useful to know who said what. […] Last time, I had a case at an NGO. A five-year-old boy was diagnosed as not intelligent and retarded. The social worker discussed the problems in front of the little boy and his parents. I noticed that I was interpreting less and less loudly and very quietly until I felt compelled to intervene. I kindly asked the social worker, if it would be possible for the boy to wait outside. I argued that the boy was aware of everything, and it might hurt him. Actually, I even felt it was my duty to intervene. Luckily, the caseworker agreed, so the mother waited outside with her son. (Language mediator, 15.11.2019)[9]

The normative aspect here is not simply a question of interpreting in the first or in the third person singular. This quote again underlines the emic understanding of the need to intervene to meet personal normative ideals about morality and ethics. The language mediator in this situation is a third person without any relationship to the other actors and represents a true third party (Knapp & Knapp-Potthoff 1985). As she is outside of the interaction, she has the role of an outsider – and is aware of something that neither caseworkers nor parents notice. By taking sides for the silent young boy, she is more than a broker; one could argue that she acts as an active, committed anthropologist (see Kellett 2009: 23). Instead

[9] Original citation in German: *Nein, ich fühle mich eher unwohl in der ersten Person Singular zu dolmetschen. Besonders wenn mehrere Menschen im Raum sind, ist es nützlich zu wissen, wer was gesagt hat. Vor kurzem hatte ich zum Beispiel einen Fall in einer NGO, in dem es um die niedrige Intelligenz und Zurückgebliebenheit eines fünfjährigen Jungen ging. Die Sachbearbeiter diskutierten die Probleme vor dem Jungen und seinen Eltern. Ich merkte, dass ich immer leiser und leiser dolmetschte, bis ich mich gezwungen sah, einzugreifen. Ich fragte den Sachbearbeiter ob es möglich wäre, dass der Junge draußen wartet, da er alles mitbekomme und dies für ihn nicht gut sei oder ihn es sogar verletzen könnte. Tatsächlich habe ich es sogar als meine Pflicht gesehen, einzugreifen. Glücklicherweise stimmte der Sachbearbeiter zu und die Mutter wartete draußen mit ihrem Sohn.*

of merely interpreting language, she actively engages with her own normative ideals and protects the child from hearing harmful things and makes her own suggestions for changing the multilingual care situation.

7. Claiming cultural interpretation and translation concepts

When I spoke to several of Mariana's colleagues, I learnt that most of them have migration experiences. The majority of them had been in Germany since the early 2000s, when there were no integration courses at all.[10] They said that some of them had suffered for years and had worked out everything for themselves. One language mediator told me, that she never went out without a dictionary during that time. Today, however, most refugees receive much help; they are allowed to participate in German language courses, they get health care and the best chances of integration (group interview 19.07.2019). In the interviews, the language and cultural mediators emphasised their bicultural backgrounds and told me that they view themselves as specialists in their respective "culture", claiming to be able to interpret social phenomena as expressions of specific "cultures". In the language mediators' view, interpreting is not only about language. To quote another interpreter I spoke to:

> It is all about culture. There is always a gap. It's not only language. It is important to understand the culture. You look with your German eye through a German lens at a Syrian problem. […] I understand the culture. So, I understand who is lying. (Language mediator, 10.07.2019)[11]

This quote shows that this language mediator considers herself an expert because of her affiliation with the Syrian "culture". Interestingly, she uses the body metaphors "lens" and "eye". As a German and with a German body, it might not be possible to understand the Syrian "culture". She thereby inscribes "culture" into the body. Exemplarily, this interviewed language mediator pinpoints why other members of her "culture" confuse certain data with authorities, and become implicated in implausible statements. Interestingly, she seems to feel responsible for assessing the veracity of statements. During her search for the lie, she implicitly follows the bureaucratic logic of the organisations for which she works, resulting in a complicit positioning towards the state. This strategy also seems to be practised among interpreters in Greece, who claim to be able to investigate the origin of their clients by examining the language and knowledge of their expected "culture", as Cabot (2019: 18) states. Her emic translation theory includes the necessity to understand the "culture", which would only be possible through the personification of the same "culture" as the client's.

Several other interpreters told me that one needs cultural mediation because of the cultural sensitivity of language. They referred to the example of the need to accurately translate figurative and verbose Arabic expressions of thanks. While professional interpreters – in

[10] They were first implemented on 1 January 2005 with the new German Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*). For the first time, the state provided legal regulated integration services for immigrants. Integration courses consist of a language course and an orientation course about the legal system, the history and the "culture" in Germany (BAMF 2015: 6).

[11] This interview was conducted in English.

their view – might only translate "thank you", cultural mediators would interpret the unusual and not target-like formulations of the Arabic-speaking clients and thus the "culture" of expressing thanks (see also Sami Sauerwein 2006: 46). One language mediator explained that the precise interpretation is necessary, as cultural mediation has to happen. If a person expresses thanks in Arabic, one has to interpret it precisely: "Your hands should hold gold" and so on. Otherwise, the "culture" is lacking (Language mediator, 19.07.2019; see also 13.08.2019).

Furthermore, language and cultural mediators present themselves as particularly effective towards authorities as they understand all those involved, another language mediator explained when asked about a case she was working on. She insisted on understanding both sides, the view of the migrant mother as well as the German officer. Later on, she again differentiated between the mother's view and the view of a migrant mother, which she could also understand. Her case was about a single mother of four children, in her mid-40s who was in the youth welfare office because her younger children did not always attend school. The youth welfare officer was in her early 30s, and pointed out her opposite need to fulfil her duties as a mother and ensure that she took the initiative when her children could not go to school. Instead of sending her own children to call the school, she was supposed to sign them off. The migrant mother was intimidated and as the young welfare officer could have been her daughter. She avoided eye contact and seemed to ignore the young clerk. The language mediator described the case to me and emphasised that she understood both the view of a mother who does not act according to the law, and the view of the migrant, for whom as an illiterate it is a great challenge to deal with an authority in a foreign language. These and other examples convinced her that it was necessary to intervene and mediate cultural knowledge:

> In the role of a mother, I see that the woman has to act and that it is her task, as the German view shows. On the other hand, I see that the woman is illiterate and that it is a great challenge for her to call a foreign authority in a foreign language. We should intervene there and beyond the role of language mediator or even out of the role of translation. I am also a cultural mediator and broker. Then I say: May I briefly mention ... Here, the reason for the woman's action lies in the fact that... [...] In another case where the father attacked his son, I have to explain: That is a cultural misunderstanding. There are children's rights here, it is different here and it is a good thing. [...] Such cases occur every day and we are enriched by them. (language and cultural mediator, 13.08.2019)[12]

Taking not only the example of the illiterate mother, but also one example of a punishing father who did not respect children's rights, the cited language mediator explained her need

[12] Original citation in German: *In der Rolle als Mutter sehe ich, dass die Frau handeln muss und es auch ihre Aufgabe darstellt, wie dies die deutsche Sicht zeigt. Auf der anderen Seite sehe ich, dass die Frau Analphabetin ist und es für sie eine große Überwindung ist, in einer fremden Sprache in einer fremden Behörde anzurufen. Da müsste man eingreifen, und raus der Rolle der Sprachmittler, bzw. sogar raus aus der Rolle der Übersetzung gehen. Ich bin auch Kulturmittlerin und Mediatorin. Dann sage ich: Darf ich mal kurz erwähnen... Hier, der Grund für das Handeln der Frau liegt darin, dass... […] In einem anderen Fall, wo der Vater seinen Sohn angegriffen hat, muss ich erklären: Das ist ein kulturelles Missverständnis. Hier gibt es Kinderrechte, hier ist es anders und es ist gut so. Solche Fälle kommen alltäglich vor, und wir sind dafür bereichernd.*

to intervene and act as mediator of cultural understanding. This emic understanding of translation and intervention underlines people's self-conception as brokers and mediators. Due to their cultural expertise, they see themselves as enriching both sides. By highlighting the relevance of intervention, the cited language mediator clearly argues in favour of using personal normative ideals. Using the example of switching between and understanding different roles, the language mediator argues that both the mother and the German officer should be understood. She explains the need to intervene and the need for children's rights as well as the moral implications for her clients.

In several German federal states, language and cultural mediators have joined forces to create associations with as many languages as possible. I quote the chairperson of such an association:

> In the beginning, it was a cheap solution to use language and cultural mediators, but it is actually a valuable piece of work. Only language and cultural mediators can authentically grasp cultural determinants. That is a huge difference to professional interpreters! They translate literally (and may be good for translating complex papers), but language and cultural mediators provide content translations. This avoids conflicts. Language and cultural mediators always come from the same culture. It's about language and culture. (Association chairwoman of language and cultural mediators, 19.07.2019)[13]

Her idea of "culture" and her concept of translation, which should always be "culture"-specific, point to the great importance that the club chairperson attaches to language and cultural mediation. She argues similar to Vermeer (1986), who describes translation as "cultural transfer". "It is probably not enough to understand oneself as a mere (language?) mediator. You also have to be a cultural mediator" (Vermeer 1986: 52, translation by the author). Through their common-sense use of the concept of "culture" and their claim to be able to interpret social phenomena culturally, one could term the language and cultural mediators "para-ethnologists" (Beek & Bierschenk 2020, Holmes & Marcus 2006; Islam 2015). Holmes and Marcus (2006), who remarked that even economists make their decisions based on empirical data and related social actors rather than using only quantitative, technical and econometric data, first observed this phenomenon named "para-ethnography". The "para-ethnographers" use and interpret empirical knowledge of other actors in doing ethnographic research (see also Beek & Bierschenk 2020: 6). Beek and Bierschenk (2020: 1) show in their special issue the practice of using the category "culture" in bureaucratic interactions, meaning both bureaucrats and their clients. Their use of the category "culture" is similar to the use of the term in classical ethnography, when "culture" in "primitive societies" was considered stable, self-evident and given (to name just two of several, see for example Evans-Pritchard's (1937/1963) book "Witchcraft, oracles, and magic among *the* Azande" and Mead (1949)

[13] Original citation in German: *Am Anfang war das eine billige Lösung, Sprach- und Kulturmittler zu verwenden, aber eigentlich ist das eine wertvolle Arbeit. Nur Sprach- und Kulturmittler können kulturelle Bestimmheiten authentisch erfassen. Das ist ein riesengroßer Unterschied zu Übersetzern! Diese übersetzen wortwörtlich (und sind vielleicht gut für die Übersetzung von komplizierten Texten), Sprach- und Kulturmittler aber liefern inhaltliche Übersetzungen. So vermeidet man Konflikte. Sprach- und Kulturmittler kommen immer aus der gleichen Kultur. Es geht um Sprache und Kultur.*

about the "primitive youth" *in* Samoa (emphasis by the author). While the anthropology of the 1990s queries or even avoids the term "culture" as an explanation of social phenomena (see Abu-Lughod 1991), cultural and language mediators like the bureaucrats that Beek and Bierschenk (2020) refer to, use it explicitly.

> However, while anthropologists have become uncomfortable with the term, bureaucrats themselves have turned toward 'culture' as an explicatory category. […] [T]hey generate specialised knowledge on cultural others, relying on expert interviews, cultural mediators and observations. While nowadays bureaucrats themselves may be the object of anthropological research, they themselves produce cultural analysis. (Beek & Bierschenk 2020: 2)

In the same sense, it is possible to see cultural and language mediators as para-ethnologists. They explicitly refer to their knowledge of "culture" and use it as a category of explanation. One language mediator placed "culture" in the body, as I cited earlier. "Culture", as used by the interviewees, remains somehow static, fixed and therefore non-changeable.

8. Conclusion

Based on my explorative fieldwork in two German federal states, my paper shows the working conditions of language and cultural mediators, whose interpreting services are used by numerous institutions. I analyse language and cultural mediators as brokers, who bridge different views and mediate between state officials and their clients, but also work for their own profit (Boissevain 1974; Martín & Phelan 2009: 12). As brokers they use their own normative ideals in their interactions and actively participate in reflection on normativity in translation. Going into detail with one longer case study about interpreting in a social context, my paper focuses on these aspects of brokerage as well as emic translation theories and notions of "culture". Most of the language and cultural mediators I work with have migration experience and therefore see themselves as specialists in their respective "cultures". Due to their claim to be able to interpret social phenomena "culturally", I also identify them as "para-ethnologists" (Beek & Bierschenk 2020). They explicitly refer to their knowledge of "culture" and use it as category of explanation, which is similar to the use of the term in classical ethnography. They thus act as "para-ethnologists". While anthropologists today almost reject the term "culture" for explaining social spaces (Beek & Bierschenk 2020), this concept is widely used by language and cultural mediators, which brings "culture" back into discussion.

The work of language and cultural mediators is often voluntary and their profession is not formally recognised. Yet, according to the growing number of specialised training courses and the increasing registration of different networks and associations, there is a growing institutionalisation of their brokerage. Explaining their increasing thoughts on morality, ethics and their desire for professionalism, my paper suggests taking their work seriously. My findings may appear quite ambiguous – while the language and cultural mediators and their associations adopt emblems of a professional interpreting profile, they distinguish themselves from them, for example, by avoiding the I-form, and by showing solidarity

with their clients' "culture". It seems to be a different form of professionalism of sworn interpreters, but not less professional as such when it comes to skills and competences. They are convinced that their bicultural background combined with their personification of "culture" helps to clarify misunderstandings and to understand their clients' "culture". Most of my interlocutors present themselves as enriching for both sides, as bridges of different perspectives and varying cultural backgrounds. At the same time, they show simultaneous complicity with the state authorities, as they are able to understand and "know who is lying".

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06

Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch

06

Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch

Maarten Kossmann

1. Introduction

As a result of large-scale immigration during the second half of the twentieth century,[1] the Netherlands and Flanders are home to a large community of people with a Moroccan background. From early on, Dutch played an important role among Moroccan-heritage people growing up in the Netherlands, not only when dealing with people with other linguistic backgrounds, but also within the community, and even among siblings (De Ruiter 1989: 58). In the early 21st century, Dutch can be considered the most common mode of interaction among Moroccan-heritage youngsters who were raised in the Netherlands or Flanders. It is among this group that specific ways of speaking have emerged, probably in

[1] I wish to thank Khalid Mourigh and Benjamin Suchard for corrections and critical discussion, and Ton van der Wouden for his help with matters pertaining to Dutch syntax. I am greatly indebted to the comments by several anonymous referees and by the editors. Of course, all responsibility for the argument, and all the errors and flaws that are part of it, lies solely with the author. The article was written in the context of the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme-funded project *AThEME: Advancing the European Multilingual Experience.*

the early years of the new millennium (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Mourigh 2017; Mourigh 2019; Doreleijers, van Koppen & Nortier 2019). Among other features, this style (or these styles)[2] is characterized by the frequent use of words with a Moroccan etymological background (Arabic or Berber) in speech which is otherwise Dutch (cf. Kossmann 2016a; 2017; 2019). Many of these words have pragmatic or grammatical functions, as illustrated by the following citation from Twitter:[3]

(1) Wow, mensen vragen hayack vaak om fotos. Wesh denk je ben izjen fotomodel ik ga 80 foto's op een dag maken nigh

Wow, people ask exceedingly [ʕəyyəq] *often for photos.* [waš] *do you think (I) am* iżżən *['a'] photo model and I would make 80 photos a day, do you* [niɣ]*?*

[@loubnaloukili, 25/12/2014; twitter.com]

In this example, there are elements from Moroccan Arabic, *waš* 'yes/no question marker' and *ʕəyyəq* 'excessively', while the indefinite article *iżżən* and the interrogative tag *niɣ* 'or' stem from Berber.[4] Both the structure and all content words in the tweet are Dutch.

The choice of these words is not entirely free: some elements are frequent, while others hardly appear at all. Thus, while indefinite determiners are frequently introduced from Moroccan languages – the subject of this article –, this is highly unusual with expressions of definiteness.[5] Put otherwise, the insertion of these elements is to a large degree conventional and not the result of a free choice among the full potential of Moroccan elements. It should be stressed that – whoever the speaker and whatever the conversational situation – there is no obligation to insert Moroccan elements under any circumstances. Because of this, the insertion of Moroccan function words seems to be somewhere in between borrowing and code-switching: the conventionalization of the set of inserted elements could be considered an argument to consider them borrowings, while the optionality and stylistic effect of their usage are more reminiscent of code-switching.[6]

[2] I use the term "style" in the sense of a more or less coherent set of linguistic choices made by the speaker that is, at least partly, dependent on the social context of communication, and which conveys certain social meanings (cf. Coupland 2007; Dorleijn, Mous & Nortier 2015).

[3] In the examples, my conventions are as follows: In the Dutch text, all Moroccan elements are underlined. In the translations, indefinite determiners are represented in their phonological form, underlined and followed by a loose equivalent in English between square brackets. All other Moroccan elements are translated and followed by a phonological transcription of the original between square brackets. In the translations, no effort has been made to render non-standard and expressive spellings, and, where appropriate, punctuation has been changed or added. Citations from Moroccan Arabic and Berber are provided with glosses. In order not to clutter the text with irrelevant information, these glosses provide only part of the grammatical information expressed in the word forms, and leave grammatical marking for categories such as State and Aspect unaccounted for (see Mourigh & Kossmann 2020). Moroccan Arabic and Berber are written phonologically, using IPA symbols, except in the following cases: š = IPA [ʃ], ž = IPA [ʒ]; pharyngealization is marked by a dot underneath the sign.

[4] On the alternation of Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber elements in Dutch contexts, see below (section 3.2) and Kossmann (2016a).

[5] This is not likely to be due to general functional motivations, as in a similar constellation – Kabyle Berber insertions in French speech – Berber definite markers are commonly introduced (Mettouchi 2008).

[6] I will refrain from exact definitions of code switching and borrowing. Following the multi-dimensional continuum approach of Matras (2009: 111), the features described here would be halfway the continuum. They would be like borrowing on the dimensions of *composition*, *operationality*, and *regularity*, while they would be like code-switching on the dimensions of *bilinguality*, and *functionality*. I find it difficult to apply Matras' dimensions of unique referent and structural integration to the indefinite expressions studied here.

This article will focus on one specific set of Moroccan elements that frequently appear in Moroccan Dutch[7] speech, indefinite determiners. I will largely restrict myself to three questions. First, as Arabic and Berber indefinites occur side by side, the question of their distribution will be addressed. Second, it will be studied to what extent structural differences between Dutch and Moroccan languages may account for the choice of Moroccan indefinites in some contexts. Third, a shift in meaning from indefinite with expressive connotations to a pure intensifier will be documented both among speakers with a Moroccan linguistic heritage and others. The article will not study the communicative effects of using Moroccan elements in Dutch speech in detail, as this was already the subject of an earlier article by the author (Kossmann 2017). Accordingly, the choice of data is less restricted than in the previous case.

The article is based in the first place on materials from computer-mediated communication, especially from internet forums that are specifically geared towards the Dutch-speaking Moroccan community (for other studies using the same type of corpus, see El Aissati 2008; Lafkioui 2008; Kossmann 2016a; 2017; 2019). Such forums play an important role in the community, as shown by the sheer number of user profiles. Thus, the largest forum, marokko.nl, has accumulated 208.980 profiles during the seventeen years of its existence.[8] This does not, of course, correspond to the number of individual users, as a single person may create several profiles in the course of her or his community life, while other profiles are ephemeral and only used once or a few times. Still, the number of user profiles is an indication of the importance of such forums in the social life of a community of, in total, 385,000 people in the Netherlands (2015)[9] and about 142,000 in Flanders (2012).[10] These forums provide us with a huge amount of linguistic materials – thus, for example, the marokko.nl forum had hosted 41,488,485 posts by October 14, 2019. In addition, some internet platforms that do not have a clear heritage profile have been used as a data source, especially twitter.com. While the ethnic background of the posters is less clear than in forums dedicated to the Moroccan community, profile information, as well as choice of user names and avatars, often allow one to make educated guesses as to the heritage background of the user (cf. Nortier 2016).

The written internet materials have been studied through what has been called "guerilla tactics" in internet ethnography (Yang 2003: 471, Androutsopoulos 2006: 527), by exploring the website by means of search quests and reading extensively through promising and less promising threads.[11]

In addition to the written materials, oral usages have been used. This has been done partly

[7] One of the referees objects to the use of the term "Moroccan Dutch", because of its potential of essentialization and stigmatization. I use the term here in the sense of "people/language use associated with a Moroccan heritage". Of course, not everybody with an immigration background from Morocco considers her/himself part of a Moroccan community, and even among people that do, the specific features described here are not used (or even known) by everybody. It should be noted that in Dutch "Marokkaanse Nederlander" is often used in public discourse as a correct alternative to "Marokkaan".

[8] http://forums.marokko.nl/. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[9] https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/achtergrond/2016/47/bevolking-naar-migratieachtergrond. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[10] http://www.bladna.nl/marokkanen-vlaanderen,03217.html. Accessed 14/10/2019.

[11] All internet data studied here are publicly available, or can be accessed by means of an automatically approved registration, obviously meant to protect the sites from robots.

on the basis of scattershot listening to materials posted on the internet (especially youtube.com), partly on the basis of the corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with Moroccan heritage youth collected by Khalid Mourigh in the city of Gouda in the Netherlands (Mourigh 2015–2016).

The items under investigation are variants of two different expressions of indefiniteness. The first expression, roughly equivalent to indefinite articles in languages of western Europe, comes in two major forms: *waħəd/wəħd/waħid*, which is from Moroccan Arabic, and *iżżən/idžən*, which is from Tarifiyt Berber. Both the Arabic and the Berber form are etymologically related to the numeral 'one'. The second expression also comes in different forms: *ši* from Moroccan Arabic, and *šan/šin* from Tarifiyt Berber. This is not unlike English 'some'. While Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber are very different languages, over a thousand years of language contact has led to large-scale convergence (Kossmann 2013), and the uses of the two indefinite expressions seem to be similar in the two languages. More information on forms will be provided in section 3.1 below, while their uses will be discussed in section 4.1.

2. Background: Moroccan elements in Dutch speech

From the early 2000s onwards, observers have pointed to the development of a specific Moroccan-based way of speaking Dutch, which has alternatively been analyzed as a style or an ethnolect (cf. Hinskens 2011, van Meel 2016 and Doreleijers, van Koppen & Nortier 2019 for recent discussions; Jaspers 2008 and Nortier 2008 for critical assessments). This way of speaking includes both phonetic features (Mourigh 2017 and work in progress by the same author) and morphosyntactic peculiarities (Cornips 2008). In addition, one remarks the insertion of a number of lexical elements. The large majority of these lexical elements belong to the following categories, cf. El Aissati et al. (2005: 171–174), who do not mention type (e), however:

a. Referential nouns referring to culturally salient items, e.g. *lməɣrib* 'Morocco'; *rwina* 'a way of causing chaos in a more or less funny way that is considered to be typical of Moroccan youth' (see Kossmann 2016b).

b. Religious exclamations and interjections, e.g. *l-ħamdu l-illah* 'praise the Lord!'; *ma-ša-ḷḷah* 'wow!'.[12]

c. Utterance modifiers (cf. Matras 1998), e.g. *muhim* 'well', *zəʕma* 'you know' (Boumans 2003).

d. Interjections, including expletives, e.g. *wayyaw* 'wow!', *ṭəẓẓ* 'yuck'.

e. A small set of clause-internal function words (Kossmann 2017).

The indefinites discussed in this article belong to the last category, together with markers of yes/no interrogation (Kossmann 2016a) and the similative preposition *bħal* 'like'.

There is no reason to assume that all features enumerated above have the same social or communicative associations. It is very well

[12] Note that, depending on context, *wəḷḷah* 'by God!, lo!, absolutely!' can be categorized as a religious exclamation or as a simple interjection.

possible – and suggested by observation – that inserting Moroccan utterance modifiers such as *muhim* 'well' and *iwa* 'well' has different social meaning (in the sense of Coupland 2007) than using indefinite determiners, for example; this is obviously also the case with religious exclamations. Moreover, there are many Moroccan Dutch speakers who do not use Moroccan clause-internal function words at all, except, sometimes, when imitating other people's speech. In contrast, the use of religious exclamations and Moroccan utterance modifiers seems to be much more wide-spread as long as conversations are among members of the Moroccan Dutch community.[13]

In the case of clause-internal function words, Kossmann (2017) has argued that they provide a more laid-back, slightly ironic key to the utterance.[14] These conclusions were based on an analysis of the use of Moroccan clause-internal function words among members of one specific forum, chaima.nl (now discontinued), a forum geared towards adolescent and young adult women with a Moroccan background in the Netherlands and Flanders. The results showed, for instance, that these function words were especially frequent in posts with light, humorous content, while being all but absent in more serious posts, such as posts providing or asking for advice, or discussing religious subjects.

Speakers are aware of these insertions, and it is not difficult to find metacommentary about them, e.g., as a negative commentary:

(2) {context: A complaint about the excessive use of certain words in conversation.}

Izjen, izjen, izjen...
100 keer in 1 verhaal.. Zooooooooooo hinderlijk!

iżżən, iżżən, iżżən *['a, a, a']*…
a 100 times in one story... So annoying!'

[@ArabicLady; 23/10/2012; marokko.nl][15]

In a different vein, in (3) the poster @Bisou relishes in using the element *iżżən* 'a' in internet writing, while affirming she would not do so in other circumstances:

(3) {context: a thread about winter clothes}

@XL!: Gewoon zo'n chiffonrok over izjen dikke joggingsbroek aantrekken! (...)

@FATIMAZOHRA85: dat ziet er toch sloeberig uit, of niet

@XL!: Dat van die rok was ook een grapje. (...)

@Bisou: izjen dikke panty Ik praat nooit zomaar nu kon ik izjen gebruiken

@XL!: *Just put on a chiffon skirt over* iżżən *['a'] thick sweatpants! (…)*

@FATIMAZOHRA85: *But that would look shabby, wouldn't it?*

[13] I wish to thank Sanae Azouagh for discussions about this topic.

[14] The term "key" is used here in the sense of "the tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done" (Hymes 1974: 57), see also Coupland (2007: 114).

[15] The irritation of @ArabicLady may have been exacerbated by the use of a Berber form, whereas her alias suggests she has an Arabic linguistic background.

@XL!: *That about the skirt was just a joke. (...)*

@Bisou: iżżən *['a'] thick panty.*
I never talk like that, but now I could use iżżən *['a'].*

[9/10/2012; marokko.nl]

Comments like this show that Moroccan indefinite determiners are a recognizable feature of a certain way of speaking Dutch.

3. The forms of the Moroccan indefinite elements inserted into Dutch

Before going into the semantics and pragmatics of Moroccan indefinite elements in Dutch, it is important to provide some details about the forms that are used in the heritage languages and the way they appear in Dutch. In this paragraph, first the different Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber forms and their spellings will be shown, and then the linguistic choice between Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber forms in Dutch discourse will be discussed.

3.1 Moroccan indefinite elements: Forms

The Moroccan immigration towards the Netherlands and Flanders mostly originated from the northern part of Morocco (Cottaar, Bouras & Laouikili 2008). As a result, two heritage languages are common in the immigrant community, Tarifiyt Berber and Moroccan Arabic. In addition, there is an important group of speakers of southern Moroccan Berber languages. This multilingual make-up of the community is reflected in the Moroccan elements that are inserted into Dutch.

The inserted indefinite markers come in several forms, depending on the language of origin, Moroccan Arabic or Tarifiyt Berber. While the two languages have similar systems of indefiniteness (see section 4.1), the forms are different:

	'a' (specific indefinite)	'some' (non-specific indefinite)
Moroccan Arabic	*waḥəd*, *wəḥd*, *waḥid*	*ši*
Tarifiyt Berber (eastern)	*iżżən*	*šan*
Tarifiyt Berber (western)	*iżżən*	*šin*
Tarifiyt Berber (southeastern)	*idžən*	*šan*

Table 1. Forms of the indefinite determiners in Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber

The Moroccan Arabic variants *waḥəd* and *wəḥd* (also *wḥəd*) are probably in free variation, with *wəḥd* (~ *wḥəd*) functioning as an allegro variant. A further variant appearing in Dutch contexts is *waḥid*.

For a more precise description of the geographical distribution of the Tarifiyt Berber variants, the reader may consult Lafkioui (2007, maps 174 and 175). Tarifiyt *šin*, *šan* – and arguably also *iżżən*, *idžən* – include the possessive preposition *n*, which is regularly used in combination with quantifiers. In Dutch linguistic contexts, the final *n* is almost always present, and the complex seems to function as a single word.[16] In Tarifiyt Berber, *iżżən*/*idžən* can be used both with masculine and feminine nouns. In addition, there exists a dedicated feminine form

[16] For ease of reference, *n* will be written as part of the word both in Moroccan and in Dutch contexts, except in Tarifiyt Berber examples.

išt(ən). The latter form has not been attested in Dutch linguistic contexts. Southern Moroccan Berber has different forms for the indefinite article, such as *yan* and *yiwən*. I have not encountered any of these forms in Dutch linguistic contexts, even within forums especially geared to people with this background, such as ouarzazate.nl. The following lists some examples:

(4) {context: a thread about recipies}

Wahd vriendin van me ma maakt het heerlijk met extra peper

waħəd *['a'] friend of my mom makes it; delicious with extra pepper*

[@martilchikk; 12/12/2009; marokko.nl]

---

(5) heb net iejen film gezien

(I) just watched iżżən *['a'] movie*

[@Miss_Elwafa; 29/5/2011; marokko.nl]

---

(6) hij heeft iżżən ziekte of zo, hè

he's got iżżən *['an'] illness, hasn't he?*

[Gouda; Mourigh 2015–2016]

---

(7) {context: a not-so-serious thread about how men should/could treat their wives}

Ff serieus kom en verras me eens met idjen lekker ontbijtje home made

just seriously, come and surprise me with idžən *['a'] delicious breakfast home-made.*

[@justmimz; 11/10/2011; marokko.nl]

---

(8) Waarom is redbull niet in shi anderhalve literfles te krijgen

why can't you get Redbull (an energy drink MK) in ši *['some'] 1.5 litres bottle?*

[@olympico; 24/4/2008; marokko.nl]

---

(9) ze zei dat je met shen dikke jongen had

she said that you are having (a relationship) with šan *['some'] fat guy.*

[@ibrahimovic10; 5/5/2015; marokko.nl]

---

(10) {context: a thread about what kind of car oil is to be preferred}

waarom ga je dat niet navragen bij shien garage
en iesjen hele goeie tip als er geen verstand van hebt laat het dan door iemand vullen die dat wel weet

Why don't you ask at šin *['some'] garage? And* iżżən *['a'] very good advice: if (you) don't know about it, let somebody fill it up who knows.*

[@Simssima; 2/6/2010; marokko.nl]

Dutch Moroccan internet writing has no strict spelling conventions for Moroccan sounds. As a result, there exists large-scale variation in the spelling of *waħəd/wəħd* and *iššən/idžən*, which contain sounds that are foreign to Dutch (*ħ, w*[19]) or quite rare (*ž*). The following tables list all the variants that I encountered on the forum marokko.nl:

izn	izjn			(isjn)[17]	ishn		
izen	izjen	ijen	ijjen	isjen	ishen	(ischen)	igen
izun	iezjun	ijun					
iezn	iezjn	iejn					
iezen	iezjen	iejen	iejjen	iesjen	ieshen	(ieschen)	
iezun	izjun	iejun					
	idzjn						
idzen	idzjen	idjen					
iedzen	iedzjen	iedjen					

Table 2. Spellings of Tarifiyt Berber iššən / idžən as found in the forum marokko.nl

wahed	wa7ed	wa3ed	waged	waghed	ouahed	oua7ed
wehad	we7ad	(we3ad)				
wahad	wa7ad	wa3ad	(wagad)		ouahad	oua7ad
wehed	we7ed	we3ed	weged		ouehed	
wahd[18]	wa7d		wagd		ouahd	oua7d
wehd	we7d		wegd		ouehd	
whed	w7ed	w3ed			ouhed	
whd	w7d				ouhd	
whad					ouhad	ou7ad
(wahid)	wa7id	wa3id	wagid		(ouahid)	
wehid	(we7id)		(wegid)			
wahied	wa7ied	wa3ied	wagied			
wehied	we7ied	we3ied	(wegied)			

Table 3. Spellings of Moroccan Arabic waħəd / wəħd / wħəd / waħid as found in the forum marokko.nl

[17] Spellings between brackets are very rare.

[18] <wahd>, <wehd> and similar forms could stand both for *waħəd* and *wəħd*.

[19] Dutch /w/ is phonetically [ʋ] or [ɥ], and thus different from Moroccan Arabic and Berber /w/ (= [w]).

The spellings represent different interpretations of sounds that are absent or rare in Dutch. In some instances, the grapheme representing a phonetically similar sound in Dutch has been chosen, e.g. Dutch <h> [ɦ] and <g> [x] for Moroccan [ħ]; in other cases, the spelling is inspired by foreign language conventions, e.g. French <j> for *ž* and <ou> for *w*, or English <sh> for *š*. Spellings with numbers are inspired by the so-called Arabizi Arabic chat alphabet, which uses numbers to represent Arabic or Berber sounds that cannot be written with a Latin keyboard. In this alphabet, <7> stands for [ħ], while <3> stands for [ʕ]. Apparently, the conventions are not entirely clear to all posters, and sometimes the wrong number is used, e.g. <wa3ed> for *waħəd*.

In spoken materials, people with a Moroccan background pronounce the indefinite determiners according to their original pronunciation. In crossing, i.e., when used by people that do not have a Moroccan background (see also section 4.4), more Dutch-like pronunciations may be encountered, e.g. [vɛɦət] instead of [wæħəd] (*waħəd*).

3.2 Berber versus Arabic forms

The use of Berber or Arabic forms is not entirely determined by the linguistic heritage of the speaker. In fact, many posters with a Berber background choose Arabic forms in the single-word insertions studied here (see also Kossmann 2016a). Sometimes they use Berber and Arabic forms in alternation, as in the following example from a long series of posts by a girl complaining about miserly behavior by Moroccan boys. As indicated by the poster, the whole thread presents a stereotype of Moroccan boys, and seems to emulate unserious girls' speech (i.e., a stylization in the sense of Coupland 2007).[20]

(11) wajoo ik had izjen date met zo een jongen dus ik dacht ik ga met hem mee zonder geld even naar de mac enzo je weet. (…)
we gingen naar binnen en we gingen zitten hij bestelde 1 vismenu voor mij en eentje voor hem.
ik d8 hij heeft 2 voor mij gehaald dus ik pak zo die menu van hem,
opeens hij geeft mij wahed klap hij zegt blijf van mij eten af. (…)
1 vismenu tarrrr alsof ik shen vliegje ben ofzo alsof ik kan leven op 5 gram junkfood allatief. (…)
aneeee zijn ogen waren gericht op die broodje hij leek net shie verslaafde.

Wow! [wayyaw] *I had* iżżən *['a'] date with a boy, so I thought I'll join him without money to go to Mac(Donalds) and things, you know (…)*
We went in and we sat down and he ordered one fish menu for me, and one for himself.
I thought he had taken two for me, so I take his menu,
all of a sudden he gives me waħəd *['a'] slap and he says: Keep your hands off my food (…)*
One fish menu, bah [təṛṛṛ] *as if I were* šan *['some'] little fly or things, as if I could live by five grams of junk food, my God* [a laṭif]. *(…)*
O no, his eyes were focussed on that little bread roll, he looked like some ši *['some'] (drug) addict.*

[@utrechttttttttt; 29/12/2007; marokko.nl]

[20] "Stylised utterances project personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumedly current in the speech event; projected personas and genres derive from well-known identity repertoires, even though they may not be represented in full." (Coupland 2007: 154).

In this fragment, Berber forms (*iżżən, šan*) alternate with Arabic forms (*waħəd, ši*). Similarly, in the following conversation from a piece of creative writing, a contrastive statement is made by means of *waħəd* and *iżżən*:

(12) {context: The protagonist has just seen somebody she thought was attractive from far, but turned out to be less interesting}

Van ver wahed lekkerding van dichtbij iezen enge turk.

At a distance waħəd *['a'] tasty boy, from closeby* iżżən *['a'] scary Turk.*

[@mocrootje163; 2/6/2013; marokko.nl]

There may be local preferences in the choice of Berber or Arabic vocabulary, independent of the heritage background of the speaker. Thus it is sometimes suggested that Arabic insertions are common in Amsterdam, while Moroccan heritage youth in cities like The Hague and Rotterdam would be more prone to use Berber words. This is stated, for example, in the following post about language use in Amsterdam:

(13) @Koning: Klopt die ‚Shie" is geïntroduceerd door de Chamaliyen. 😁
In andere steden hoor je ‚Ijen" meestal...

@zonmaansterren: Ja zelfs ras echte rwafa gebruiken Shie

@Koning: *You're right, that* ši *['some'] has been introduced by the Northerners* [šamaliyin, *Arabic speakers from Northern Morocco*] 😁 *In other cities you normally hear* iżżən *['a']…*

@zonmaansterren: *Yes, even pure-bred Rif-Berbers* [ṛwafa] *use* ši *['some']*.

[28/2/2013; marokko.nl]

A similar observation about Amsterdam is made in the following post:

(14) Volgens mij krioelt Amsterdam van d riffies
Als ik in Amsterdam ben hoor ik alleen maar Arabisch
Waar hebben jullie zo goed Arabisch leren praten a Amsterdammers/riffies?
Krijgen jullie daar een bepaalde lespakket op de basisschool ofzo?

I think, Amsterdam is teeming with Rif-Berbers
When I am in Amsterdam, I only hear Arabic
Where did you learn to speak Arabic that well, o [a] *Amsterdam/Rif-Berber people?*
Do you get special educational materials for that in primary school?

[@Madamepuur; 12/8/2013; marokko.nl]

On the other hand, Khalid Mourigh (p.c.) observed that in Gouda, a city where most Moroccan youth have a Berber linguistic heritage, heritage speakers of Moroccan Arabic use Berber insertions in their Dutch, such as *iżżən*.

Such observations must of course be taken with a grain of salt, as there is no reason to assume that Moroccan communities make homogenous choices. Moreover, the ascription of variants to geographical locations is a well-known model for people to interpret linguistic variation (localization in the sense of Aarsæther et al. 2015). While this may be less strong so in this specific case – the default expectation would be to inserts elements from one's own heritage language – this undoubtedly plays a role here.

In general, the choice of the language in an insertion is not further remarked upon by other posters. The following is an exception, no doubt as the interaction took place on a website dedicated to the Berber cause:

(15) {context: A thread about a Moroccan singer}

@fattoma: moooi man ik had wahed bandje van hem..echt cool..vooral als samira zingt.. hebben jullie meer?

@rif-boe3iash: Mena wahed ienie ‚'iezen'' e temsjoent !

@Tikinas:Juist ja, TTTTTTTemsjoent!

@fattoma: ewa je weet nechien thimazighen tarwa ntmout!! wij spreken alle talen sorry

@fattoma: *Beautiful, man, I used to have* waḥəd *['a'] tape recording of him… really cool… especially when Samira sings… Do you have more?*

@rif-boe3iash: *What* "waḥəd", *say* "iẓẓən", *you naughty girl!* [mana waḥəd, ini iẓẓən a tamšunt!]

@Tikinas:*Exactly, she is a naughty girl* [t tamšunt]*!*

@fattoma: *well* [iwa], *you know, we Berbers are children of our country* [nəššin timaziɣin t tarwa n tmurt]!! *We speak all languages, sorry.*

[13/6/2006; amazigh.nl]

4. Moroccan and Dutch indefinite systems and the insertion of Moroccan indefinites

It is of course very well possible that the choice of Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch is to some extent due to differences between the Dutch system and the systems in the Moroccan languages. One may hypothesize that speakers choose to use Moroccan determiners as a way to add nuances that are difficult to express in Dutch. The present paragraph first provides the reader with a short (and simplified) contrastive overview of the Dutch system and the systems used in the Moroccan languages. After this, possible implications of the differences for the insertion of Moroccan indefinites in Dutch will be discussed.

4.1 Some semantic differences between Dutch and Moroccan indefinite determiners

While there is highly detailed information available on the Dutch system (as analyzed and summarized in Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012 and Haseryn 1997), our knowledge of the Moroccan languages is much more restricted. The uses of the indefinite determiners in Moroccan Arabic have been studied, among others, by Harrell (1962: 147; 189) Caubet (1983; 1993: II, 265ff.), Brustad (2000: 18ff.) and Maas (2011: 155). As far as I am aware, the uses of indefinite determiners in Tarifiyt Berber have never been a subject of investigation (see El Mountassir 2012 on Tashelhiyt Berber). I have tried to mend this by doing some own research using text materials and elicited sentences kindly provided to me by Khalid Mourigh.[21] As this analysis is not based on an extensive investigation, there is room for caution, however.

[21] I greatly profited from discussions with Khalid Mourigh, Bouke Slofstra, and Stanly Oomen on this matter.

In the following, two aspects of the indefinite system will be contrasted: the use of non-specific indefinite determiners (similar to English 'some') and the use of indefinite determiners in combination with numerals. Other important differences between Moroccan languages and Dutch will be left out of the discussion, such as the use of bare nouns in Moroccan languages in certain situations where Dutch would have an indefinite article.

The Moroccan languages have a dedicated indefinite determiner that is used for non-specific reference. According to Maas (2011: 155), the unspecific indefinite *ši* in Moroccan Arabic expresses that neither the speaker, nor the hearer can identify the referent; i.e., the referent is not concrete, but vague, uncertain, or potential (Harrell 1962: 147). Based on my own experience with Moroccan Arabic, I would tend to rephrase the difference a bit, by stating that *ši* does not necessarily mark that the speaker is unable to identify the referent, but rather that its identity is not deemed relevant. This is typically the case when the speaker cannot identify the referent himself, but may also include cases where the referent is known to the speaker. When used with mass nouns and plural nouns, *ši* also has effects on quantification, adding an element of paucity.

In Moroccan Arabic, *ši* can be combined with singular count nouns, with mass nouns, and with plurals. In Tarifiyt Berber, the use of *šan/šin* is similar to that in Moroccan Arabic, but not identical. Even though a proper investigation into this question is lacking, it seems that, like in Moroccan Arabic, Tarifiyt Berber *šan/šin* refers to non-specific entities. It can be combined with singulars and with plurals, but is less easily combined with mass nouns than in Moroccan Arabic. It may have a slightly stronger effect of vague reference than in the latter language.

Dutch indefinites are very different. In the first place, there is no division between specific and non-specific reference in the singular: in both situations *een* is normally used (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 688; Haeseryn 1997, § 14.3.1). In order to put emphasis on the unspecific reference it is possible to use a rather heavy expression, *de één of andere*. lit. 'one or the other'. In the plural and with mass nouns, neither *een* nor *de één of andere* is possible. Instead, one finds bare plurals and bare mass nouns. In order to add paucity, it is also possible to use *wat* or, only with plurals, *een paar* (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 909ff.; 912ff.).[22]

These differences are summarized in table 4, which also includes the specific indefinite with singulars. The table is meant for ease of reference and does only provide the most common ways of expression; in all languages under investigation, other expressions are available.

	specific indefinite (singular entities)	non-specific indefinite (singular entities)	non-specific indefinite (mass nouns)	non-specific indefinite (plural entities)
Dutch	*een*	*een*	*wat*	*wat* ~ bare noun
Moroccan Arabic	*waḥəd*	*ši*	*ši*	*ši*
Tarifiyt Berber	*iżżən*	*šan* / *šin*	(bare noun)	*šan* / *šin*

Table 4. Non-specific indefinite expressions in Dutch, Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber

[22] There are other existential quantifiers in Dutch, like enkele and sommige, on which see Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012: 907ff.

Thus there are many expressions where Moroccan Arabic and Tarifiyt Berber would have the non-specific determiner *ši/šan/šin*, while Dutch would have *een* or a bare noun instead. The following examples illustrate the use of *šan* in Tarifiyt Berber as opposed to their Dutch translations:

(16) tʕəlləm ša n ṣṣənʕət!
learn *ša* of craft

[Tarifiyt Berber, Mourigh & Kossmann 2020: 167, transcription adapted]

Dutch translation:
leer een vak!
learn *een* craft
just learn some/a craft!

---

(17) arrmani yiwəḍ ɣar ša (n)[23] iɣarwad n thəndəšt
until he.arrived at *ša* (of) leaves of prickly.pear
d ša [n] isənnanən d ša n wəšfiř
and *ša* (of) prickles and *ša* of prickly.pear.plant

[Tarifiyt Berber; Amaziɣ 2012: 48, transcription adapted]

Dutch translation:
Tot hij aankwam bij wat/ø cactusvijgbladeren en wat/ø stekels en wat/ø cactusplanten
until he arrived at *wat/ø* prickly.pear.leaves and *wat/ø* prickles and *wat/ø* prickly.pear.plants
until he arrived at (a place with) prickly pear leaves and prickles and prickly pears

In addition, in the Moroccan languages *ši/šan/šin* can be combined with numerals, expressing approximation. In Dutch, such contexts demand for very different constructions, like *een stuk of* NUMERAL, literally 'a piece or NUMERAL', *zo'n* NUMERAL, literally 'such a NUMERAL', e.g.

(18) ša n tnayən n ṭṭunubinat nniḍən
ša of two of cars other

[Tarifiyt Berber; Amaziɣ 2012: 114, transcription adapted]

Dutch translation:
een stuk of twee andere auto's
een stuk of twee other cars
about two other cars

The same is possible using *waħəd/ižžən*, although the meaning seems to be slightly different. While *ši/šan/šin* + NUMERAL implies that the quantity can be slightly more or less, *waħəd/ižžən* + NUMERAL implies that the uncertainty is only at one side, and is thus translatable as 'at least' (Dutch *tenminste*) or, less frequently, 'at most' (Dutch *hoogstens*) (Khalid Mourigh, p.c.). The following example – including a bit of Arabic-French code switching – comes from a Morocco-based website.

(19) ba9i lia hir wa7ed 2 mois f l carte d séjour
(baqi liya ɣir waħəd *2 mois* f-l-*carte-de-séjour*)
still at.me only *waħəd* two months on-the-residence.permit

[@blackastron; 7/5/2012; wladbladi.net]

[23] In Nador Tarifiyt, the preposition n is absent when the following word starts in a vowel.

Dutch translation:
ik heb hoogstens nog zo'n twee maanden op mijn verblijfsvergunning
I have at.most still just *zo'n* two months on my residence.permit
I have just at most some two months left on my residence permit

4.2 Indefinite insertion: A way to mend a structural mismatch?

As Dutch and the Moroccan languages have overlapping but far from identical systems, one may ask to what extent the insertion of Moroccan indefinite determiners in Dutch speech is a way to mend this mismatch. That is, do Moroccan heritage speakers use these determiners in order to be more explicit in their expression of Dutch?

One very clear case of this is the use of *ši/šan/šin* with numeral expressions. As remarked above, Dutch does not have a dedicated way to achieve approximation with numerals – although it can of course express this – and one can well imagine that a Moroccan speaker chooses to use her/his heritage expressions to achieve this. Indeed, *ši/šan/šin* is very common in Moroccan Dutch approximative number expressions, e.g.

(20) {context: a thread about what one has eaten for breakfast}

Normaal altijd shie 3 boterhammen en shie gevulde koek met thee maar vandaag walou dit is me nooit voorgekomen dat ik wakker word en naar de keuken ga en er is geen ontbijt

Normally always ši *['about'] three sandwiches and* ši *['some'] stuffed biscuit with tea, but today nothing* [walu]*; This has never happened before, that I woke up and went to the kitchen and there was no breakfast.*

[@crazy2000; 19/8/2003; maroc.nl]

---

(21) {context: The poster tells about how she once, as a child, climbed into an olive tree}

Ik zat daar shen 2 uurtjes vast, durfde er echt niet meer uit 😠
I was stuck there about šan *['about'] two hours, really didn't dare to get out of it* 😠

[@--SKM; 20/7/2010; marokko.nl}

---

(22) {context: A thread in which the posters predict the outcome of a football match}

zeker shie 5-0
certainly ši *['about'] 5-0.*

[@Elhaj_Rwiena; 6/7/2010; marokko.nl]

Like in the heritage languages, in such contexts *waħəd/iżżən* is also possible:

(23) Ik wil daar een appartementje kopen maar daar zijn ze duur! zeker izjen 40 jaar sparen.

I want to buy a small appartment there, but they are expensive over there! Definitely iżżən *['at least'] 40 years of saving.*

[@Samir; 15/1/2012; rkempo.nl]

More in general, one may surmise that the use of *ši/šan/šin* makes explicit that the identity of the referent is unknown and/or irrelevant, e.g.

(24) {context: a girl explains how she was listening to music}

en zing ik zo hard mogelijk mee als shi jankende hond tot ik het uit zette en ik iemand hoorde aanbellen

so I sing along as loud as possible like ši *['some'] whimpering dog, until I put it out and I heard somebody ringing at the door.*

[@Halima123; 12/3/2015; chaima.nl]

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(25) {context: a girl talks about the ethnic composition of her school in Antwerp}

Wollah als ik shi belg zie dan denk ik huh wat doe die hier?? bhal shi buitenaards wezen ofzo.
Als je op school zit met alleen marokkanen en turken en zwarten enzo, dan is da heel raar als je shi belg ziet.

Lo! [wəḷḷah] *when I see* ši *['some'] Belgian, I think "huh, what's he doing here?", like* [bħal] ši *['some'] alien or so. When you are at school with only Moroccans, Turks and Blacks and the like, then it is very strange when you see* ši *['some'] Belgian.*

[@LaBellaMtiwia; 8/5/2007; chaima.nl]

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(26) {context: a topic opened on Valentine's day}

of zullen we shen rijke man zoeken??? 😜
or shall we go looking for šan *['some'] rich man???* 😜

[@ait-touzintje; 12/2/2013; rkempo.nl]

An explanation in terms of the linguistic differences between Dutch and the Moroccan heritage language is less obvious in the case of *waħəd/iżżən*. Like in Moroccan Arabic and Berber, these elements refer to identifiable indefinite referents in Dutch contexts. In this case, Dutch *een* has broader uses than the specific indefinites in the Moroccan languages. As long as the referent is specific – as is of course the case in many contexts –, *een* and *waħəd/iżżən* can be used as translation equivalents. While it is clear that in non-specific indefinites a structural mismatch may be felt and mended by either using Moroccan non-specific indefinites or bare noun constructions (on which see Doreleijers 2016 and Doreleijers, Van Koppen & Nortier 2019), it seems to be a stretch to assume that *waħəd/iżżən* is operationalized just for stressing that we are dealing with a specific indefinite. Still, Moroccan elements are also found with specific indefinites, as illustrated in examples (27–29).

(27) Ewaa beste leden we gaan idjen wedstrijd organiseren dus stuur een foto van jouw Mooie of Lelijke Ogen en we plaatsen die hier op onze pagina.

well [iwa], *dear members, we are going to organize* idžən *['a'] contest, so send a photograph of your Beautiful or Ugly Eyes and we'll post it here on our page.*

[@MarokkaanseFeiten; 13/11/2013; facebook.com]

(28) Vandaag werd ik volgens mij stoned van chloor 😵
izjen schoonmaker had 3ayak veel chloor gebruikt.

today I got stoned from chlorine, I think 😵
iżżən *['a'] cleaner had used an exorbitant* [ʕəyyəq] *amount of chlorine.*

[@R010TTERDAM; 24/1/2015; marokko.nl]

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(29) {context: a question about where a certain activity at university is going to take place}

Ikkee ff kijken ze verwachten me om 09:30uur bij lokaal B.2.27 (B4.01) of A.5.26 bij wahed vrouw van de opleiding ben haar naam vergeten, boogaard of boogerd ofzo, allah a3lam (…)

me, just a look, they expect me at 9:30 in room B.2.27 (B4.01) or A.5.26 with waħəd *['a'] woman from the department, (I) forgot her name, Boogaard or Boogerd, something like that, God knows* [lḷahu ʾaʕlam][24] (…)

[@elmoejahida; 1/9/2007; marokko.nl]

As argued in Kossmann (2017), a major function of inserting Moroccan indefinites is keying the message as not-so serious and laid back, and this, rather than stressing specificity, seems to be the main point of using *waħəd* or *iżżən* rather than *een*. In principle, one insertion of this type is enough to achieve this keying, and Dutch and Moroccan indefinites can easily cooccur in a sentence, e.g.

(30) {context: a topic about how long the posters are}

@suikermeloentj: liever een dwerg dan izjen lange reus

(I) prefer (to be) a midget rather than iżżən *['a'] long giant*

@Teaser: liever izjen lange reus dan een dwerg

(I) prefer (to be) iżżən *['a'] long giant rather than a midget*

[21-22/5/2013; rkempo.nl]

5. New uses of Moroccan elements

This paragraph studies developments in the semantics of Moroccan indefinite determiners as used in Dutch contexts. It is shown that these determiners sometimes develop into markers of expressivity to the determined noun. Especially when used by people who do not have a Moroccan heritage, they may develop into pure intensifiers and lose their indefinite semantics altogether.

5.1 New uses of Moroccan elements by people with a Moroccan linguistic heritage

The choice between *waħəd* and *iżżən* is not entirely determined by the heritage language of the user, and, moreover, users with different Moroccan heritage languages regularly interact using Dutch. As such, there is a potential of confusion as to what the inserted elements exactly mean. For Arabic *waħəd*, this may be less so, as the word also occurs in Berber counting: even though a Berber speaker would not use the Arabic numeral as a determiner in her or his heritage language, s/he should not have a problem in interpreting it (see however exx. 42 to 44 below). This is different from Berber *iżżən* as regards heritage speakers of Arabic. Indeed, it

[24] Literally 'God is the most knowledgeable'; a common religious expression of uncertainty.

is not uncommon to find remarks and questions about the exact meaning of this word in the forum posts, e.g.:

(31) {context: a topic entitled "izjen belangrijkke probleem met me man" 'iżżən *['an'] important problem with my husband*'}

Nou van de topic zelf geloof ik niks van. Maar gezien we toch bezig zijn met slap lullen. Wat is de letterlijke betekenis van Izjen? Kan iemand vertallen?

Well, I don't believe anything of the topic itself. But as we are just twaddling around: What is the literal meaning of iżżən? *Could anybody translate?*

[@87zahra87; 16-02-2012; marokko.nl]

The unfamiliarity of many Arabic speakers with *iżżən* (and to a lesser extent of Berber speakers with *waḥəd*) can lead to a shift in usage of the word. This is explicitly acknowledged in the following exchange:

(32) @Aº'76: Heb izjen respect voor haar, man.

@Lady-Dounya: Iezjen waha? Gier.

@Aº'76: Izjen is veel, man.

@Lady-Dounya: Serieus? Leg es uit dan.

@Aº'76: Ik ben geen riffia, dus betekent izjen iets anders voor mij dan voor de riffijnen.
IZJENPOWEEEEEEERRRRRRRRRRR

@Aº'76: *(I) have* iżżən *respect for her, man.*

@Lady-Dounya: *Just one* [iżżən waha]*? Miser!*

@Aº'76: iżżən *is a lot, man.*

@Lady-Dounya: *Seriously? Please explain.*

@Aº'76: *I am not a Riffian* [rifiya]*, so* iżżən *means something different to me than to the Riffians.*
IŻŻƏN *POWER*

[maroc.nl; 5/6/2007]

In this exchange, @Aº'76, a speaker of Arabic, expresses her deep respect by using *iżżən*. In this case, *iżżən* is clearly used as an intensifier, and not as a singular indefinite. @Lady-Dounya, who is a Berber speaker, reacts to this by calling her a miser – just "one" respect does not seem to be much. After this, @Aº'76 explains her use of the word as different from that by native speakers of Tarifiyt Berber.

On a more general note, the use of determiners in keying an utterance can lead to changes in their meaning. Different from utterance modifiers such as *iwa* 'well' or interjections such as *wəḷḷah* 'by God! lo!', determiners are bound to a nominal head. Thus, while their stylistic effect concerns the whole utterance, the syntactic scope of the determination is much smaller. As a result, it is not unlogical to restrict the scope of the keying to the determined noun too. One can easily imagine a phrase like "Ik geef hem wehed harde klap" 'I will give him *waḥəd* (a) hard slap' [@Menselijk; 19/11/2008; marokko.nl] to acquire a meaning 'I will give him a freaking hard slap', where *waḥəd* would thus mark expressiveness/intensification on the level of the noun phrase, rather than keying the whole utterance . Of course, such a development is difficult to discern in a corpus, as long

as the original indefinite meaning remains relevant too. It is, however, remarkable that *waħəd/ iżżən* is quite frequent with nouns referring to beatings and the like. These are of course contexts where an expressive reading of the noun is to be expected, e.g.

(33) {context: a televized interview with some young boys that sometimes wreak havock in a Rotterdam neighborhood.}

A: Ja, als ik iets fout doe dan ga ik naar binnen

B: Ikke niet, ik krijg iżż zzweep

A: Yes, when I do something wrong I go inside [to my parents]

B: Not me, I [would] get iżż[25] *['a'] lash*

[Premtime: Kinderterreur in Katendrecht; 7/5/2008; 2:49]

There are also usages where the expressive nature of the elements stands beyond doubt. This is, in the first place, found in the frequent juxtaposition of *iżżən* and *waħəd* into a phrase *iżżən waħəd* or *waħəd iżżən*. As the elements come from two different languages, this is evidently a Dutch creation, e.g.

(34) Wahed izjen goeieeeeeeeemorgen mensen.

waħəd iżżən *good morning, people.*

[@Chida!; 25/10/2006; maroc.nl]

(35) Ja a sahbi kheb izjen wahed goeie trouwmateriaal gevonden naast albert heijn

Yes my friend [a ṣaħbi], *I found* iżżən waħəd *good material for marriage next to Albert Heijn (a major supermarket chain MK)*

[@Inolvidable__; 19-05-2013; marokko.nl]

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(36) {context: a vlogger tells about how Moroccan brothers get angry.}

daarna hij pakt jou weer zo //[26] gaat jou iżżən Zidane kopstoot geven // dan iżżən elleboog van rechts // iżż elleboog van onder// daarna gaat hij jou iżżən waħid drie high kicks geven.

Then he grabs you like this // gives you iżżən *headbutt like Zidane*[27] *// then* iżżən *elbow from the right //* iżż *elbow from below // then he'll give you* iżżən waħid *three high kicks.*

[Youstoub: Marokkaanse Broers; 17/6/2014; 1:09]

In some usages the expressive meaning of *waħəd/ iżżən* must have become dominant over the indefinite meaning, and indefinites show up in contexts where an indefinite determiner is unexpected, either because the context is definite, or because another indefinite marker is present. This is, for example, the case in the following excerpts from creative writing by @Nadoriia, a Moroccan-heritage girl from Eindhoven, posted between November 5, 2008 and January 4, 2009

[25] Atypically, the speaker uses the short form *iżż* rather than *iżżən*.

[26] // is used here to mark an intonation break.

[27] The famous football player Zinédine Zidane was sent off the 2006 World Cup final because of headbutting an opponent.

on the forum chaima.nl. Example (37) has *waħəd* combined with the Dutch definite determiner *die*, while in (38) *waħəd* is combined with the Dutch indefinite article *een*.

(37) Awillie over die wahed loverboy, blijf uit hem buurt hij!

O dear [a wili] *about that* waħəd *lover boy, keep away from him!*

(38) Opeens zie ik daar zitten een wahed lekkere boy met groene ogen.

All of a sudden, I see there a waħəd *tasty boy with green eyes.*

There are even cases where *waħəd* or *iżżən* is used as an adverb, something unthinkable in the heritage languages, e.g.:

(39) Omggg deze 2weken gaan wahed snel voorbij!

Oh my God, these 2 weeks pass waħəd *fast!*

[TrotseTawayagtsh ♥! @r_dounia; 10/5/2013; twitter.com]

It may be no coincidence that both posters with atypical usage of Arabic *waħəd* 'a' in the preceding examples, @-Nadoriia and @r_dounia, have a Berber background;[28] like in example (32) above, they may not be aware of – or do not mind – the original meaning of the word as it is not part of their own heritage language.[29]

In general, however, the usage where the indefinite meaning has been obliterated entirely seems to be rare in communication among people with a Moroccan linguistic heritage, and only few examples were encountered.

5.2 New uses of Moroccan indefinites when used among people without a Moroccan linguistic heritage

Moroccan elements in Dutch are also used by people who do not have a Moroccan linguistic heritage (Nortier & Dorleijn 2008; Kossmann 2019). This crossing (Rampton 1995) also happens with the indefinite elements. As is clear from metacommentaries, speakers without a Moroccan linguistic heritage are sometimes well aware of the original meaning of the elements, as in the following tweet by a Dutch person without a recent migration background, which even shows knowledge of the backgrounds of *waħəd* and *iżżən*:

(40) Wahed broodje chocopasta, voor de Arabieren. Anders worden ze izjen beetje boos omdat ik Berbers voortrek. Boos nigh.

waħəd *['a'] breadroll with nutella, for the Arabs. Otherwise they get* iżżən *['a'] little bit angry because I am preferring Berbers. Angry, or?* [niɣ].

[@Derek_Otte; 16/08/2011; twitter.com]

In general, however, in crossing, *waħəd*, *iżżən* and *iżżən waħəd* are predominantly intensifiers,

[28] I conclude this because of their aliases. @-Nadoriia no doubt has her background in the city or the province of Nador in northern Morocco, which is mainly Berber-speaking. The twitter name "Trotse Tawayagtsh" ('proud Waryagher girl') of @r_dounia refers to the Berber-speaking region Ayt Waryagher, also in northern Morocco.

[29] Unfortunately, we have no data on the knowledge of Arabic among Dutch youth with a Tarifiyt Berber linguistic heritage background. My personal impression is that it is quite common, but certainly not general.

and they frequently appear in definite contexts and sometimes as adverbs. This usage was confirmed by a number of youth without a Moroccan heritage background in Leiden interviewed by a peer, who described *waħəd* as an expletive similar to English "freaking".[30] The following examples from computer-mediated communication illustrate this. Examples (41) and (42) have *iššən* in combination with a definite noun; example (43) shows the combination of *iššən* and *waħəd* (section 5.1) in combination with a plural noun, while example (44) has *iššən* as an adverb.

(41) Raporteeer deze kanker hoer kijk die izjen fotos die ze tweet

Report this damn whore, look at those iššən *photographs she is tweeting*

[Husankk @KurdProud; 22/3/2014; twitter.com – in view of the alias @KurdProud no doubt somebody with a Kurdish background]

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(42) Dus ik had omn 0720 ofgesproke, maar door mijn izjen domme pa kom ik nu vasttelaat :|

So I had made an appointment at 7:20, but because of my iššən *stupid dad I am probably going to be late :|*

[Cheyenne.◎ @Cheeeyyftw; 22/8/2011; twitter.com – other tweets and social media clearly show a non-Moroccan background]

(43) Volg @Basnetron hij schiet izn wehed kk harde videosss, heb jij die nouveau riche promo 8gezien dierentuintje allles

Follow @Basnetron, he shoots iššən waħəd *damn hard video (clips), did you see that "Nouveau Riche" promo, little zoo, everything*

[Ronell Plasschaert @RonnieFlex2907; 27/05/2011; twitter.com – a Dutch rap artist with a Surinamese background]

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(44) Hij forceert izjen die schiedam parkweg

He is forcing iššən *that Schiedam Parkweg*

[Dion jajij? @kleineantii; 26/01/2013; twitter.com – in view of the alias @kleineantii no doubt someone with a background in the former Dutch Antilles]

6. Conclusions

The introduction of indefinite determiners is one of the most remarkable features of Moroccan Dutch speech style. Some of these insertions can be considered ways to mend the absence of good equivalents of Moroccan expressions in Dutch, but in many cases using the insertions instead of the Dutch indefinites does not seem to add much semantically. Using these elements adds to the general keying of the utterance as unserious and laid-back (Kossmann 2017), but otherwise expresses indefiniteness just like in the heritage languages.

In some cases, one observes a semantic shift, and they have come to mark the expressivity of the determined noun rather than the general key

[30] I wish to thank Dorothea Kossmann for her help in this matter.

of the utterance as a whole, that is, the stylistic associations of using the indefinite determiner have become part of their inherent semantics. This can be stressed by using Arabic *waḥəd* and Berber *iẓẓən* in one single determination. In the Moroccan Dutch speech style(s) studied here, the indefinite meaning is preserved; in the instances where this is not the case, we are mostly dealing with Arabic-heritage posters using the Berber determiner or with Berber-heritage posters using the Arabic determiner.

When used by speakers that do not have a Moroccan linguistic heritage, the expressive meaning has become generalized, and such users do often not seem to be aware of – or care much about – the indefinite semantics of the original forms. The former indefinites have become pure intensifiers.

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07

Linguistic choices in multilingual families. The interactions of ideologies and family language policy

07

Linguistic choices in multilingual families. The interactions of ideologies and family language policy

Sabine Littig

I said, no, you are not going to talk to our children neither your broken English nor your awful German, we are talking in our language to them. The Yoruba[1] language. It's the only language my husband is fluent in. (Maya, Ma1)

1.Introduction

This contribution questions which decisions multilingual speakers take according to the languages they speak within their families and how these decisions interact with their language ideologies. I am currently working with a heterogeneous group of multilingual families which will be presented below. The families differ in their dynamic, structures, residential status and family language(s), but what they all have in common is that, at least one family member is fluent in more than two languages of different language groups (or sub-groups), mainly Nilo-Saharan and/or Niger-Congo and/or Afro-asiatic, and generally one

[1] Yoruba is a West Benue-Congo language of the Niger-Congo continuum spoken in the southern part of Nigeria with over 20 million speakers (Williamson & Blench 2000).

or two Indo-European languages. This language diversity obliges the family members, primarily the parents, to set up a concrete individual family language program for the needs of their family. This program (as I will show in the course of this paper) is planned by the parents. Following King et. al (2008), I refer to these programs as *family language policy*. The use of this term signals the transfer of a theory traditionally applied to public and institutional contexts to the private domains of home and family. The parents decide on language or the languages to be used in day-to-day interactions (who speaks when and which language?), built upon their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use. Moreover, their choices are determined by the intended learning outcomes of their children. Based on the interactive methods of qualitative interviews and participant observation in the family context, the family's language policy is the focus of my study. I compare the parents' reasons for their language choices and the measures taken to implement their individual language policy.

At the linguistic level, there is a wide range of interacting parameters when it comes to research in multilingual families or communication. There are language acquisition, language learning and language competence on the one hand (Tokuhama-Espinosa 2001; Ruiz Martin 2017; Paradis 2007 etc.) as well as contact induced interference like impacts of code switching, language shift, language loss or revitalization of minority languages on the other hand (Fishman 1991, 2001; Edwards & Dewaele 2007 etc.). Other authors deal with cognitive differences between monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual speakers and their competences (Cook 1992, 2013a.). Further studies concentrate on language socialization (Baquedano-López & Kattan 2007). The majority of works focus on the outcome of a multilingual situation: the children of multilingual families, i.e. their speech behavior, their language acquisition, and their advantages or disadvantages in participating within society (Cook 2013 a/b; Cenoz & Genezee 1998; Tokuhama-Espinosa 2001). To enrich, to complement and to change perspective on the existing studies mostly concentrating on the output of multilingualism (i.e. the language abilities of the children), I therefore decided to focus on the parents and their language behavior, the choices they make according to the communication within their family and the reasons for these choices.

2. Theoretical framework

As the interview sequences will show, the parents set up a personal language program for their family. This individual *family language policy* "can be defined as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al. 2008:1). The authors transfer the expression from a macro level (state policies) to the micro level of families and households:

> Indeed, with relatively few exceptions (e.g., Piller 2001, 2002; Okita 2001), nearly all work on language policy, both theoretical and empirical, has examined language policy in institutional contexts, such as the state, the school, or the work place (e.g., Wiley and Wright 2004; Ricento 2006; Robinson et al. 2006), with very little attention to the intimate context of the home (…) Such an approach takes into account

> what families actually do with language in day-to-day interactions; their beliefs and ideologies about language and language use; and their goals and efforts to shape language use and learning outcomes. (King et al. 2008:2f.)

A state's language policy is generally divided in three subareas: status planning (addressing functions of language), corpus planning (development of the forms of language), and acquisition planning (related to language teaching and learning) (Cooper 1989; Gerhards 2011). Parents tend to implement the same three levels of setting their language policy. This can be performed as a directed process in the sense that the parents sit together at a given moment discussing their language policy, or as an undirected process. Parents follow the three stages of language planning. They chose who speaks which language at what moment in interaction with their children (status planning). They take decisions according to the variety and the types of literacy activities to be used (corpus planning) and the way the languages are formally or informally taught (acquisition planning) (King et al. 2008, King & Fogle 2006).

In addition to the approach of King et al. (2008), I will apply Romaine's (1995) model of language use patterns as modified by Lanza (2007:48) to examine the choices of the parents that can be summed up in six types:

1. One person-one language
2. Non-dominant home language/ one language-one environment
3. Non-dominant home language without community support
4. Double non-dominant home language without community support
5. Non-native parents
6. Mixed languages

In *type 1,* the *One Person-One Language* type, the parents speak different L1 whereby one parent speaks the language of the social environment. *Type 2* (*Non-dominant Home Language/ One Language-One Environment*) represents parents with different L1; one of them speaks the language of the environment, but they chose not to speak the dominant language at home. *Type 3* (*Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support*) represents parents who share the same L1, and which is the only language they speak to their children at home. The children acquire the language of the society in institutional context. In *type 4* (*Double Non-dominant Home Language without Community Support*) the parents have different L1 differing from the environment language. Each of them uses their own language following the *type 1 One person-one language principle*. *Type 5* (*Non-native parents*) refers to parents who chose to speak a language they learned, and which does not represent their L1 nor the environment language. Parents that use *type 6*, the mixed type, code-switch and mix different languages in interaction with their children (Romaine 1995). The *mixed type* represents a *mixed-language policy (MLP):* "the parents use both languages with the children in the same conversations, even in the same sentences" (Ruiz Martin 2017:127). One type

may overlap with other types. "Moreover, the sixth type, concerning mixing languages, can actually overlap with the other types, for example when parents claim to adhere to the One Person/ Parent – One Language principle yet code-switch" (Lanza 2007:48).

Lanza (2007:48) points out that Romaine's analysis lacks "the parents' and the community's ideology of language." Language (or linguistic) ideologies are understood as conceptualizations or beliefs of languages, language behavior and linguistic practices. These conceptualizations are formed in a social environment and influenced by political and moral interests. The approach examines people's beliefs about a (or their) language's signification within society (e.g. Irvine 2012; Pennycook 2013; Rosa & Burdick 2017). As I will show in the following sections the parents have their own language ideology that is formed by their linguistic biographies and other factors (these factors are discussed in the following). If a family for example participates in an Igbo-speaking community (i.e. Igbo Church, *Igbo-Freundeskreis* 'Igbo circle of friends', Igbo sports club) that promotes speaking Igbo as an identifier language, the community has another ideology influencing the language practices of their members. A society also may have a specific language ideology. The parents considered here live in a German society that takes several languages over others. English and French for example are considered as language of higher education and preferred to African languages. These ideologies may interfere with an individual's language ideology and language policy. As the family policy approach after King et al. (2008) takes the beliefs and ideologies of parents (, community and society) into account, it adds valuable information to the type model. I criticize that Romaine's approach only represents normative family models including two parents. Thus, I measured cases representing single parents according to their language policy basing on personal ideologies.

3. Geographic location and interlocutors

The interlocutors represent a heterogenous group of people differing in social stratification (age, gender, education, income, ethnicity etc.) (Grusky 2011; Saunders 1990), their linguistic diversity and linguistic biographies. They show diversity concerning the number of languages they speak, the number of language families their languages belong to, and the differences in linguistic structure of their languages (Nettle 1999). They all have different linguistic biographies influencing their practices, ideologies, metalinguistic knowledge as well as the conceptualization of their own repertoires (Matras 2009; Blommaert 2010). They all live in the Rhine-Main area in the congested area around Frankfurt a. Main, Mainz, Wiesbaden and Offenbach a. Main. The Rhine-Main Metropolitan region or Rhine-Main area is the second largest metropolitan region in Germany. It stretches over parts of three federal states Hessen, Rhineland-Palatinate and Bavaria. With the international airport in Frankfurt and several global industries, it is a favored anthroposphere and offers many possibilities of employment. With three big universities (JGU-Mainz, GU-Frankfurt, TU-Darmstadt), the area attracts international students as well. Surely, the region deals with strategic political and economic issues typical for congested areas (Monstadt et al

2012). Highly mobile people like our research partners profit from the benefits (even climatic) of the area and chose to stay rather than move to other German cities.

The conceptual framework of this article is based on the opinions, beliefs and voices of the participants[2] of this case study. Their voices navigate through the different topics. Therefore, the interview sequences form an important part of the following sections. I then refer to their statements for my analysis. For the depiction of the Rhine-Main area, I chose Grace's voice. Grace is 38 and lives as a single mom with her son in Mainz but works in Frankfurt. She came from Kenya to study in the Rhine-Main region and speaks Kiswahili[3], Luo[4], German and English. In the following interview sequence[5], she explains the reasons for her decision to live in the area and the benefits of the region.

> *Ich find Rhein-Main-Gebiet sind die Leute total offen, man kommt ganz leicht ins Gespräch(.) ehm (.) viel Wein; das finde ich toll↑ viele Feste (.) man ist zentral, also ich find Mainz, Frankfurt einfach geil, ja? Egal ob du nach Spanien, Italien, was weiß ich (.), wenn ich weiter wegreisen möchte, dann hab ich Frankfurter Flughafen, ich kann mit der S-Bahn problemlos nach Mainz fahren, also die Verbindung, ja? Infrastruktur (.) find ich toll (…) also die Menschen (.) die sind echt nett und ehm locker; das ist mir wichtig. Ehm(.) was find ich noch(.) Das Wetter! Find ich auch toll (.) ja also ich mag ab und zu Schnee haben, aber wirklich auch nur ab und zu; wie es hier schneit: ein oder zwei Tage und alle sind verrückt und Malik [Sohn] kann rausgehen oder ich auch, aber ich hätte jetzt keine Lust auf Dauerschnee oder Dauerregen wie in Hamburg. Nə. Also das Wetter ist auch echt prima(.) ja (.) und ehm (.) es gibt eine Mischung von alles ja? (...) Ich kann nach Wiesbaden, ich kann nach Darmstadt, nach Frankfurt(.) (…) Also ich mag eigentlich alles hier. Ich würde gerne auch hier wohnen bleiben (.) im Rhein-Main-Gebiet, find ich (.) toll ja.*
> *(Grace, „Was magst du am Rhein-Main-Gebiet?", Gr1: 25:22-:28:01min)*

'I find that the people of the Rhine-Main area are totally open (.) you get into a conversation [with somebody] easily (.) I appreciate that there are many festivities (as it is a wine producing region here) (.) One lives in a central area, so I think Mainz and Frankfurt are simply great cities.↑ Wherever I choose to travel to – whether it is Spain or Italy (or any other country) even if I want to travel far, then the Frankfurt airport is close. There I can take the train to Mainz without any problem. I appreciate [the] infrastructure (…) and the people (.) they are nice and easy that is important to me. (.) I also like the weather(.) I like that it

[2] In order to protect the participants' privacy, I chose pseudonyms instead of their real names. In general, I treat the data according to the ethical guidelines (Frankfurter Erklärung zur Ethik in der Ethnologie) as provided by the DGSKA on their website: https://www.dgska.de/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/DGV-Ethikerklaerung.pdf (accessed 09.03.2020) I did not give any further information on the child that participated in one of the interviews besides his language repertoire, and the children of the participants, as children need even more privacy protection.

[3] Kiswahili is a Bantu language of the Niger Kongo with estimated 80 million speakers. It is the language of communication in Eastern and Central Africa (Williamson & Blench 2000).

[4] Luo (Dholuo), is a Nilotic language of the Nilo-Saharan family with ca. 4 million speaker (Bender 2000).

[5] All interviews are first presented in the original recorded language (colloquial German), they were transliterated directly without any corrections in regard of transferring the spoken language to written language. The translation in English is given below. In needs of readability, I transferred the sense of the German examples into English.

> snows sometimes. I only like if it snows one or two days, and everyone is happy about it and Malik [son] and I can go out. I would not like that it snows, or rains constantly like in Hamburg. The weather is great (.)There are many factors (...) I can go to Wiesbaden, I can go to Darmstadt, to Frankfurt (…) I just like everything here. I would like to stay here in the Rhine-Main-Area. I like it.'
>
> (Grace, "What do you like about the Rhine-Main-Area?" Gr1: 25:22-28:01min)

Grace stresses five features of the Rhine-Main-area that convince her to stay. The people which she describes as warm, open and friendly, the infrastructure including the Frankfurt airport and the fully developed rail-system which facilitate mobility, the cultural offers like festivities and wine, the climate that is rather bland as well as the rural character of the region with all the smaller towns and villages surrounding the bigger cities. I chose to present her statement first, because it represents the attitudes of all other participants and sums up the benefits of the region in all points.

In our project,[6] we use interactional methods, which combine qualitative interviews, participant observation, the analysis of narratives of linguistic biographies and language portraits. For this approach, the interaction of qualitative interviews and participant observation was beneficial in addition to the analysis of the linguistic biographies. The parents presented their individual language policy in the interviews. At the same time, I could observe their actual language practice within the family personally. I participated in their family life, mostly with my own children. The presence of my children helped to relax the situation and lead to a more natural family interaction. There were different possible settings like meals, living rooms, children's rooms, birthday parties, parks or grocery shopping. An overview about the participants, their relation to each other (if there is any), their language repertoire as well as their social stratification is given in Table 1 (see page 164) below. Out of the main study I selected seven individuals involving two couples, three single parents, and the son of one of the couples, who was present during the interview[7]. I chose them as representatives of my survey based on different reasons. First, I already gathered enough data to describe their personal language policy in detail. Another feature was their residence permit; they all have permanent settlement permit or even the German nationality. Additionally, they all have children in about the same age. Most striking, all of the participants are *multilingual* in the sense of being able to speak several languages (Cenoz & Geneeze 1998). I also use the term *multilingualism* according to Lanza (2007:45) "referring to specific cases involving more than two languages". Least, they are similar according to their social stratification (level of education, means of income, religion, etc.).

[6] Afrikaner*innen im Rhein-Main-Gebiet: Ein afrikalinguistisches Forschungsprojekt zu sprachlicher Integration. https://www.ifeas.uni-mainz.de/afrikanerinnen-im-rhein-main-gebiet-ein-afrikalinguistisches-forschungsprojekt-zu-sprachlicher-integration/ (09.03.20)

[7] Maya whose quote introduces this contribution does not participate in the further analysis.

Person	Language repertoire	Relation	Social Stratification		Further remarks
Grace	Kiwahili, Dholuo, English, German	Friend of Nana and Sarah, Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	38 f Mainz (rent) MA in journalism 1 son, Malik	Lives with her son, works full time in Frankfurt
Nana	Twi, English, French, German	Friend of Grace and Sarah, Partner of Modeste	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	37 f Mainz (rent) MA in Anthropology 2 sons, Fritz and Kofi	Lives with Modeste and their children, works in two part-time jobs
Modeste	Baleng, German, English, French, Francamglais	Partner of Nana	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	35 m Mainz Degree in E.Engineering 2 sons, Fritz andKofi	Lives with Nana and their children, works in Ludwigshafen
Sarah	German, French, Ewondo, English, Yorùbá, Francamglais	Friend of Grace and Nana, Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	36 f Mainz (rent) MA in Anthropology 1 son, Sami	Lives with her son, works in several part-time jobs
Belle	German, French, Ewondo, English	Sister of Sarah, Partner of Neo	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	46 f Mainz, Berlin Medical degree 3 sons, Luca, Matteo, Ron	Lives and works in Berlin but often spends Time in Mainz to see Sarah
Neo	English, Setswana, German	Partner of Belle	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	40 m Mainz, Berlin Artist 3 sons, Luca, Matteo, Ron	Lives and works in Berlin but often spends Time in Mainz to see Sarah
Luca	German, French, English, Setswana	Son of Belle and Neo, nephew of Sarah			Is in a bilingual (French/ German) daycare
Gilbert	Mooré, Dioula, French, German, Gouro, English	Single parent	Age: Gender: Domicile: Education/Profession: Children:	51 m Langen Bus driver, entertainer 5 children, two younger daughters in Germany	Lives with his girlfriend, his children live with their mother and spend time with him at the weekends, 3 adult children still live in Côte d'Ivoire

Table 1. The participants of the survey

4. The interviews

During the interviews (for example while narrating, unguided, about one's language use, emotions or linguistic biography) the participants already revealed statements on language use within their families. Seldom did I have to ask them in detail. In the interview sequences presented here, I focus on two questions A: "Which language (s) do you speak in your family? "and B:" What are the reasons"? The answers are presented in the following sections. I will start with the answers to question A (4.1.). In 4.2 I present the answers to question B (the reason for one's choice) and sum up the results taking the individual ideologies that are observable into account (4.3).

4.1 Establishing language policies

Nana is a woman who lives with her partner Modeste and their two children Fritz, 7, and Kofi, 4 in Mainz. She is German but emigrated from Ghana at the age of five with her parents and siblings. She later lived in a German family to whom she refers as her German parents and German siblings (Na1, Na2). She speaks German, Twi[8], English and French. She holds a master's degree in anthropology and works for different NGOs. To the question of their family language, she answers with the following quote:

Nana

> *Ja (.) jetzt reden wir halt (.) mein Mann und ich reden Deutsch miteinander (.) die Kinder reden mit meinem Mann schon Französisch, so wenn se es hinkriegen, vor allem so leichte Sachen „Papa wo bist du?" wird alles auf Französisch kommuniziert (.)Ja (.) manchmal↓ manchmal red ich auch Französisch (...)*
>
> *Wenn ich das französische Wort besser finde oder wenn die Französisch reden oder wenn Modeste Besuch hat. Manchmal red ich auch mit meinem Mann Französisch. Also wenn ich (.) ich weiß nicht. Ja passiert einfach manchmal, aber nicht so oft, aber immer mehr hmm (.) und mit den Kindern rede ich ↑ Twi meistens, manchmal wenn's ganz schnell gehen soll, muss ich Deutsch reden, weil Deutsch mir leichter fällt.*
>
> *Ich kann natürlich am besten Deutsch so. Manchmal rede ich auch Englisch mit denen. Also Fritz [Sohn] der Große versteht schon ganz gut Englisch merk ich oft, der guckt auch manchmal englische Filme so. Der Kleine nich so viel aber der Große, der (.) der Große hat ein besseres Sprach- (.) Sprachgefühl, der kann Sprachen besser aufnehmen (…)*
>
> *INT: Ah ja dann habt ihr ja echt viel. Nana: ja ja Sprachkuddelmuddel ja*
>
> (Nana, Na1: 9:12-9:24min)

'Yes (.) now my husband and I speak to each other in German.(.) The children speak to my husband in French, if they can, in general easier things i.e."Daddy where are you" are communicated in French (.)↓ Sometimes I'm talking in French as well.(…) If I prefer the French word or if they speak in French or if Modeste has visitors. Sometimes it happens that I am speaking in French to my husband as well. It happens from time to time but more frequently lately. To the children I ↑ speak in Twi most of the time. Sometimes I need to express myself in German, since German is easier for me. Of course, I know German best. So. Sometimes I even speak

[8] Twi (Akan) is a Kwa language of the Niger Congo family and spoken in Ghana (Williamson & Blench 2000).

English to them. So Fritz [son], the older one, understands English quite well, I often realize that he watches English movies. The little one does not understand that much, but the older one (.) He has a better language comprehension (.) He understands languages easier.' (Nana, LS100909 6:45-8:06min)

INT: 'Ah so you really speak many (languages). Nana: Yes. Language jumble, yes. ' (Nana, Na1: 9:12-9:24min)

Modeste, Nana's partner, is Cameroonian speaking Baleng[9], Camfranglais[10], French, German and English. He holds a degree in electrical engineering.

Modeste

Baleng (...) die Sprache will ich nicht vergessen. Das ist die Sprache, die ich liebe, das ist die Sprache, das ich gerne möchte, dass meine Kinder das auch lernen aber das ist schwierig jetzt von meiner Umgebung ich hab wenige Kapazität das zu sprechen, ich finde kaum Leute, mit denen ich das sprechen werde, ich hab dafür extra eine Gruppe aus meiner Muttersprache integriert [gegründet]. Und eh das ist bisschen so bei mir, deswegen meine Kinder zum Beispiel mit denen sprech' ich nur Französisch.
(Modeste, Mo1: 02:00-02:47min)

'Baleng (...)I don't want to forget this language. It is the language I love; it is the language I want my children to learn as well but it is difficult due to my environment. I do not have the possibility to speak it. I rarely find people to whom I will speak it. I especially founded a group (consisting of people) out of my mother tongue. That is it. That is, why I only talk in French to my kids for example.'
(Modeste, Mo1: 02:00-3:43min)

I first talked to Nana in a Café without her family, interviewing her about her linguistic biography and family language use (Na1). Afterwards (Na2) she invited me and my sons to her house where the children played together while we were working on her language portrait. We were interrupted several times by the children, and I observed how she constantly switched between German and Twi while talking to me, my children and her children. At this occasion I met Modeste for the first time. I interviewed him in the family setting, in Nana's presence (Mo1). Nana points out that she and Modeste talk predominantly in German whilst she interacts in Twi with the children (Na1). Modeste communicates in French with them. She values German as the language in which she has the most competences and admits using it with the children wenn es ganz schnell gehen muss 'if it has to be really quick' (Na1). In summary, she refers to their family language as Sprachkuddelmuddel 'language jumble' (Na1). Modeste stresses the importance of his parental language for him and describes revitalization strategies. He established a group of people speaking Baleng who live in the diaspora. He wants his children to learn the language but chooses to speak French to them (Mo1).

When Nana came to Germany at the age of five, her mother chose to stop speaking Ga,

[9] Baleng is a variety of Féfé, a Bamilike language of the Grassfield Bantu branch of Niger Congo spoken in Western Cameroon (Nembot Tatio 2007).

[10] Camfrancglais/Francamglais is a Cameroonian youth language spoken in urban areas of Cameroon and the Diaspora (Kießling 2005).

which was her L1[11], at home (Na1). According to Nana's parents, at this age, she spoke Ga fluently and even better than Twi. Taking her personal language biography into account and the feeling of that loss of one of her languages might have influenced her language behavior towards her own children and her attitude towards Modeste's language choice. Modeste highly identifies with his parents' language; he does not deny teaching it one day to his children. Additionally, he tries to keep in touch with his parents' language even in Germany.

In the next section, I turn to Grace and her language practice at her home. As introduced above, Grace is a single mom living with her son, Malik (12). In the interview she describes the interaction of the languages she speaks and their impact on the communication with Malik as well as the relation to him. She points out that she wanted him to learn at least Kiswahili but speaks mainly English and German with him. Grace works as a consultant at the *Agentur für Arbeit*[12] in a project for unemployed academics. I spoke to Grace at her workplace where she tried to sum up her personal language policy.

Grace

> *Ich denk auch in den Sprachen durcheinander(.) Es gibt Vieles was mit Beruf zu tun hat (…) denke ich auf Deutsch ja. Also das deutsche System, wie es funktioniert, wenn jemand sagt er will studieren oder eine Ausbildung, ich denke da total auf Deutsch, weil ich einfach das System gut kenne(.) ehm (.) wobei Deutsch und Englisch(.) ja also offizielle Sachen denke ich auf Deutsch, Papierkram Deutsch und Englisch muss ich sagen (.) ehm (.) ja und wenn es einen starken Bezug jetzt zu Kenia hat, dann Kiswahili; wenn es was mit meiner Familie zu tun hat, in Luo. In meiner Familie sprechen wir Luo miteinander, wir sprechen alle drei Sprachen [Englisch, Kiswahili, Luo] aber oft Luo, aber so ist mein Kopf. Ich denke quer durch [alle Sprachen] und ehm(.) das bemerke ich bei Malik [Sohn] also mit [ihm] spreche ich hauptsächlich Englisch und Deutsch, Kiswahili und Luo nur Wörter also er kann sehr viele Wörter verstehen, aber Sätze nicht verstehen oder nicht sprechen. Wenn ich aber richtig richtig sauer bin auf [ihn] dann sag ich ihm die strengen Wörter auf Luo, dann weiß er schon okay Zug ist abgefahren ja? Da ist die Mama ganz sauer und mit Kiswahili ist es immer Alltag bei uns, also alles was seitdem er Kind ist; schlafen, der hat immer so wenn er schlafen wollte, ist er gekommen und hat „lala" gesagt oder anstatt Milch hat er immer „maziwa" oder „maji"[gesagt] also alles was mit Alltag zu tun hat. Alles was man benutzt oder macht im Alltag ist Kiswahili, also jetzt Englisch, aber als er kleiner war, wollte ich natürlich, dass er Kiswahili lernt, ich war da aber nicht konsequent und deshalb hab' ich das gemischt, also Sätze im Alltag kann er dann natürlich jetzt eher, aber trotzdem so Einzelwörter im Alltag sagt er immer noch auf Kiswahili und ja so sieht's aus in meinem Kopf auch mit meiner Beziehung zu meinem Kind. (*Grace, Gr1: 08:20-10:44min)

'I think in different languages (.) Things concerning profession I reflect in German. The German system, how it functions, if someone says he/she wants to study or a qualification I think in German as I understand the system well. But German and English (.) Official things i.e. paperwork is German and English, I have to admit. If

[11] L1 refers to the very first language a person acquired. In the cases presented here the L2 and even L3 are considered too. Nana for example arrived in Germany at the age of five and her L1 was Ga and Twi as L2 but her parents decided to stop speaking Ga in the family and she acquired German as L3 but she rates her competences of German as first language.

[12] The *Agentur für Arbeit* is the employment office in Germany. The participants of the study refer to it as *die Agentur 'the agency'*.

> something is related to Kenya then I think in Kiswahili; if it concerns my Kenyan family in Luo. In my family we talk to each other in Luo, we speak all three languages [English, Kiswahili, Luo] but often Luo. This represents my mind. I think across [all languages] (.) I realize to Malik I speak in English and in German predominantly. I only use single] words in Kiswahili and Luo. So, he can understand a lot of words but does not understand or form sentences. If I am mad at him, I scold him in Luo, then he knows his limits? Now (the) mom is really upset. Kiswahili represents everyday life. Since he was a child, he used Kiswahili words. When he wanted to sleep he came and said "lala"or instead of milk he always said "maziwa" or "maji". All things you use or make in everyday life were commented in Kiswahili but nowadays in English. When he was younger, I wanted him to learn Kiswahili but I wasn't consistent and that's why I mixed it. He understands sentences and single words in everyday life. He responds in Kiswahili. This is the conceptualization of my mind and how the relation to my child is as well.' (Grace, Gr1: 08:20-10:44min)

Her language competences influence her daily life. She reflects her repertoires according to the domains of use. English and German represent her work and official interactions (filling out forms, talking to authorities, counseling). Everything associated with Kenya is expressed in Kiswahili (or Dholuo if it is family related). The communication with her Kenyan family is in Dholuo. The interaction with her son is somehow complex. In general, she talks to him in German. He uses several Kiswahili words that she taught him when he was a toddler. She also admits that she uses Dholuo to scold him. Her use of Dholuo is a marker for her limits, as she points out changing to his perspective and talking about herself as 'the mom': *Da ist die Mama ganz sauer* 'now mom is really mad'(Gr1). Grace mentions that she was not consistent teaching her son more Kiswahili or Dholuo (Gr1). I did not have the impression that she regrets her decision to concentrate on German as her main language of communication. The reasons for her choice and her language behavior in general will be discussed in detail in chapter 4.2 and 43. The next person who is going to speak is Sarah.

Sarah is a friend of Grace. They were close during their studies and now live on the same street. They see each other regularly but do not seem to be close anymore. Sarah is half-German and half-Cameroonian and grew up in a bilingual family. She emigrated from Cameroon with her sisters and her mother at the age of fifteen. She then attended a bilingual school. She speaks German, French and Camfranglais and currently learns Ewondo[13] which was her father's language (Sa1).

Sarah holds a master's degree and works as a social worker in an NGO. She lives alone with her son Sami, 9, in Mainz.

Sarah

> *Voll viele Leute sagen immer so: „ja aber sprech doch Französisch mit ihm, damit er mit seinen Verwandten und so was sprechen kann. (.) Ich↑ sprech am Tag genauso viel Deutsch wie Französisch und Camfranglais ja auch und er kriegt das ja mit, ich merk das ja.*
> (Sarah, Sa1: 9:50-10:00, 10:56-11:01min)

[13] Ewondo is a Bantu A language spoken in Cameroon (Hammarström et al. 2017).

'Many people say: „yeah but speak French to him so that he can talk to his relatives (.) I ↑ speak as much German as French and Camfranglais during the day, and he notices it, I realize this.'
(Sarah, Sa1: 9:50-10:00, 10:56-11:01min)

She predominantly speaks German to her son but thinks that he indirectly learns French and Camfranglais too. She points out how people that are not part of her family interfere in her personal language choice and advise her to speak French to her son. When I visited Sarah for the first time, I met her sister Belle with her partner Neo and their three sons. They were curious about my work and agreed to participate in the case study.

First, I interviewed Neo in a rather chaotic situation with the children playing around us (NeLu1). It happened that their eldest son (6) interfered and took part in the interview while I was talking to his father. Neo is an artist with focus on photography. He did not seem comfortable with the interview situation and preferred to talk more about the topic while I was not recording.

Neo and Luca

INT: Und was sprichst du, oder was sprechen deine Eltern oder was habt ihr zu Hause gesprochen?

Neo: em Setswana

Luca: Englisch

Neo: uhm Setswana

INT: Und Englisch?

Neo: Zuhause, nee, ich↑ spreche auch English (...)

INT: Und welche Sprachen sprecht ihr zu Hause in der Familie?

Neo: hier? [zeigt auf Kinder und Frau]

Neo: English und Deutsch

Luca: Englisch und Deutsch und Französisch mit Mama.

INT: sprichst du auch Französisch

Neo: Nee

INT: aber Setswana sprichst du mit deinen Kindern hast du gesagt

Luca: Er kann schon ein bisschen Französisch

Neo: hmm

(Neo and Luca, NeLu 12:12 min)

'INT: And which language do your parents speak or which language were you talking to each other at home?

Neo: em Setswana

Luca: English

Neo: uhm Setswana

INT: And English?

Neo: At home, no. I↑ speak English (...)

INT: And which languages do you speak at home in your family

Neo: here? [Points at children and wife]

Neo: English and German.

Luca: English and German and French with mom.

INT: Do you speak French as well?

Neo: No

INT: But you said you speak Setswana to your children?

Luca: He knows a little French already.

Neo: hmm.'

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 2:12 min)

His son interfered because of curiosity and the sense of his father's feelings. It might be just natural behavior, as I observed that children function as translators in other families too and take responsibility for their parents. I found it striking that Neo did not mention Setswana as language of communication with his children. He mentioned speaking Setswana with his parents instead. I guess because I already noticed him speaking Setswana, therefore it was redundant to mention it again. Neo's partner Belle, who will be presented next, grew up in Cameroon but came to Germany to study in 1992.

After we finished, Neo took the children for a walk and I could talk to Belle without interference. She kept holding her sleeping baby in her arms while talking to me. She mentioned she felt rather distracted with the children around her in this intimate setting of her sister's living room and would have preferred to talk to me in my office in a sort of official setting. She said she could not concentrate on the task and was rather unsatisfied with her results (interview, and language portrait). Belle speaks French, English and German. She indicates that she sings in Ewondo (the songs she listened to as a child) but does not speak the language. Within the interview she stresses that she speaks the Cameroonian variety of French which is important to her (Be1). She works in a hospital as a doctor in pediatrics. She refers to German as the predominant language in her interaction with the children but speaks in English to Neo and (from time to time) French to her sisters. Their children attend a bilingual kindergarten.

Belle

> *Also Deutsch überwiegend Deutsch. Aber auch Englisch, da ich mit Neo Englisch spreche zwischendurch und eben zwischendurch auch Französisch, die [Kinder] gehen in eine deutsch-französische Kita und die (.) wir sprechen halt auch mal Französisch oder lesen Bücher oder hören auch mal irgendwelche keine Ahnung (.) Sachen. Aber am aktivsten ist Deutsch tatsächlich aber ja das andere ist auch da.*
> (Belle, Be1: 02:14-02.58min)

> 'Well, predominantly (the family language is) German. But English as well, as I speak in English to Neo. French also, the children attend a bilingual kindergarten and (.) we also speak French or read books or listen to some things (in French). But indeed the most active [language] is German but the other [languages] are present as well.'
> (Belle, Be1: 02:14-02.58min)

Belle assumes that German is their family language. English is important for the communication with her partner as well as French. She sends her children to a bilingual kindergarten (acquisition planning) and provides material in French (corpus planning).

The last case I refer to is Gilbert. Gilbert is a male German fluent in German, Moore, Dyula, French and English as well as some other languages spoken in Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire. He has three adult children living in Côte d'Ivoire and two daughters, Sandra, 9 and Lola, 12, with an Eritrean woman living in the Rhine-Main-Region. He lives with his actual partner (a German woman) in a different household. He works as a bus driver and entertainer. He claims to speak *nur Deutsch* 'German only' to Sandra and Lola (Gilbert, Gi1: 31:26-31:28).

4.2 Reasons and ideologies influencing the parents' language policy

This section deals with the answers to question B "What are the reasons for your choice of family language?" A remarkable fact was that most of the persons interviewed pointed out the reasons for the choice of the language of interaction with their children without being asked, as if they had the feeling that they need to explain their choice. In the following pages, I concentrate on the parents' ideologies and their impact on their family language policy. Moreover, I present how one's linguistic biography interacts with their choice of family language, as seen in the interview sequences presented below. Almost all parents stressed the benefits of their language policy to their children, explaining why they chose either an African language of wider communication that is used as a Lingua Franca (i.e. Twi in Ghana, Yoruba in Nigeria) in their homes of origin or the colonial language (i.e. French, English).

Nana

> *Na weil ich denke, dass man ja wenn man klein ist, nie wieder so schnell lernt wie wenn man klein ist und wenn sich das so natürlich ergibt und wenn das für mich jetzt kein Stress ist hab ich gedacht probier ich's aus und ich denk es ist einfach ne Bereicherung und falls sie man ihnen auch den Weg nach Ghana erleichtert. Also das heißt ja nicht, dass sie nach Ghana ziehen heh aber falls sie es wollen würden irgendwann, wäre es natürlich viel viel leichter. In Ghana ist es einfach so, dass viele Leute Twi sprechen.*
> (Nana, Na2: 8.30-9min)

> 'Well, because I think, while you're young, you learn languages fast and if it happens (in a) natural (way), there are no worries for me now. I thought I would try it, and I think it is just an enrichment. It facilitates the way for them to go to Ghana. So, this does not mean they move to Ghana heh but if they wish to go someday, it would be much easier for them. In Ghana many people speak Twi'
> (Nana, Na2: 8.30-9min)

Nana refers to an expert opinion that children learn languages more easily but also claims *das für mich jetzt kein Stress* 'this is no big deal for me now' (Na2). That means it is easy for her to talk in Twi. She also wants to open the way to Ghana for her children and reports how her son benefited already during holidays in Ghana (Na2). Modeste underlines her point of view by explaining his choice of French. He wants that his children find their way from the airport throughout the country without any difficulties as pointed out in the following sequence (Mo1).

Modeste

> *weil ich geh davon aus, die wachsen mit unterschiedlichen Kulturen [auf] eh (.) ich hätte gern, wenn die mal nach Kamerun kommen, ham sie keine Grundschwierigkeiten mit der Sprache, dass sie schon vom Flughafen her sich befinden aber mit Baleng der Prozentsatz, dass sie sich, die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sie sich mit Baleng in Kamerun finden liegt vielleicht bei 0,2% und mit Französisch haben sie 99 Komma 9 Prozent (.) 98 Prozent. heh.*
> (Modeste, Mo1: 02:43-03:43min)

'Because I assume, they grow into different cultures and I wish if they will come to Cameroon, they will not face language difficulties. They shall find their way right from the airport. But the percentage of people who speak Baleng is low. The probability they will find their way with Baleng in Cameroon is only 0,2% and with French they will have 99-point 9 percent (.) 98 percent. heh.'
(Modeste, Mo1: 02:43-03:43min).

This presents the reasons for Modeste's language choice. Whereas Nana and Neo (see below) refer to an expert point of view, Modeste points to the advantage his children will have when they travel to Cameroon, namely, ease of communication and movement as a result of their ability to speak French. Choosing Standard French instead of the Cameroonian variety. Modeste also has in mind to improve their international mobility within Europe (France)(Mo1). Like Nana, Neo refers to an expert view, namely that children should learn as many languages as possible. Luca explains to me that his father's choice depends on his language competence (a feature the adults interviewed here do not mention in detail). For Luca it is logical that his father speaks the language he knows the best.

Neo and Luca

Luca: Weil er's [Setswana] am besten kann

Neo: Weil ich Setswana spreche heh.

INT: Ja, stimmt das was er sagt?

Neo: Was hat er gesagt?

INT: Weil er's am besten kann.

Neo: @ja@

INT: Und ist dir wichtig, dass sie es lernen?

Neo: Dass die Kinder die Sprache lernt? (.) Es ist wichtig, dass die Kinder viel mehr Sprachen wie die können lernen. [So viele Sprachen wie möglich lernen].

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 02.22-03.00min)

'Luca: Because he knows it [Setswana] the best.

Neo: Because I speak Setswana heh

INT: Yes, is it true what he said?

Neo: What did he say?

INT: Because he knows it the best.

Neo: @yes@

INT: And is it important for you that they learn it?

Neo: That the children learn the language? (.) It is important that children learn as many languages as possible.'

(Neo and Luca, NeLu1: 02.22-03.00min)

As mentioned above, Neo strikes a point that children learn languages easier and sees an advantage in teaching his children as many languages as possible, whereas his son points to his father's language skills. He thinks his father is more fluent in Setswana and this must be the reason he prefers speaking it with his children (NeLu1).

I will now present the sisters Sarah and Belle. Their personal linguistic biographies and their own experiences with multilingualism influence their family language choice but in a different manner. Sarah still remembers how her Cameroonian relatives pressured her and her sisters to speak Ewondo. She does not want to worry her son in a similar way and believes in a non-directed approach, (in the sense that one

learns voluntarily and not under compulsion (Spänkuch 2014)). During a stay in Cameroon, Sarah realized that she already understood Ewondo, although she was convinced, she did not. She assures herself that her son will have similar experiences with French. In general, she often finds examples for the non-directed approach during further discussions with me. It is an important topic to her that bothers her in a specific way (Sa1, Sa2).

Sarah

> *Em sehr oft isses so auch diese andere Geschichte das hatten wir mit Druck am Anfang (.) dieser Druck (.) wir hatten den zum Beispiel als wir klein waren hieß es immer wir sprechen kein Ewondo und unsre Verwandten immer hier so drauf [schlägt mit Fäusten aufeinander]„Warum sprecht ihr nicht, warum sprecht ihr nicht" (…) ja man entwickelt halt so ja so ne kleine wie so ne Barriere irgendwie vor dem. (…) mir ist aufgefallen, dass ich 2009 da war und ich hatte noch kein sozusagen kein Crashkurs Ewondo gemacht oder sowas, nein (…) da kam meine Tante und meinte „Ja hol doch mal diese Blumen da." und ich so „ja okay" bin dann halt gegangen und hab halt die Blumen geholt und dann guckt sie mich an „ ja so wie hast du das jetzt verstanden was ich gesagt hab" und ich so „Ja wieso du wolltest doch, dass ich die Blumen hole" sie so „welche Sprache hab ich denn gesprochen" ich so „uh weiß nicht was hä Französisch ↑" sie „nee, Ewondo" ich so „°wirklich°" [Gestik und besondere Mimik des Überraschtseins] also mir ist das gar nicht aufgefallen das heißt diese passive (.) es gibt doch son Wort dafür (.) dieses andere Erlernen oder dieses [hustet, räuspert sich] inoffizielle Erlernen der Sprache.*
>
> (Sarah, Sa2: 10.43-12:57min)

> 'It is that other story we already talked about: the pressure (.) this pressure (.) While we were young our relatives [hammers fists] always complained about us not speaking Ewondo "Why don't you speak it, why don't you speak it" (…) But then you develop a sort of barrier to it. (…) I realized, as I went there 2009 and I have not had an Ewondo course yet. (…) my aunt came and said: "Yes get those flowers over there" and I answered: "yes okay" and I took off to get the flowers, and she was staring at me:" how did you understand what I told you?" and I answered: "Yes. Why? You wanted me to get the flowers" and she asked: "Which language did I speak?" and I answered: Uh I do not know? Why em French↑?" and she: "No Ewondo". I replied: "°what really°" [gesticulates and makes expression of surprise] so I was not aware of this [my ability to understand Ewondo]. [I learned it indirectly]. This is indirect or non-directed learning.'
>
> (Sarah, Sa2: 10.43-12:57min)

Sarah did not like German when she was a child as it was used as a Code by her mother, and a language she must learn. She now wants to protect her son from the same feelings (Sa2). Most parents do not consider the language they use interacting with each other as well as peer or sibling's language use as their family language. The parental language has indeed an impact on the family's language and the children's competences. As Sarah points out while discussing her personal experience growing up in a multilingual context, children understand what their parents are talking about.

> *Ich hatte als ich Kind war, war das bei mir so, dass ich wie gesagt kein Deutsch gesprochen hab. Ich hab' mich vehement dagegen gewehrt. Ich hab n paar*

Sachen verstanden, die meine Mutter sozusagen als (.) Code (.)oder oder als geheime Sprache heh je nachdem je nach Situation und so.
(Sarah, Sa2: 10:12-10:23min)

'When I was a child I did not (as I mentioned already) speak German. I refused speaking it vehemently. I only understood a few things my mother used as (.) a code (.) or a secret language heh depending on the situation.'
(Sarah, Sa2: 10:12-10:23min)

Sarah does not want to force her son to learn a language other than the environmental language. She believes that he will learn French (or other languages of her repertoire) indirectly (Sa1). Whereas Sarah's negative experiences influence her personal language ideology, Belle stresses the positive emotion attached to the Cameroonian variety of French (Be1). She points out that it makes her happy if she hears someone speaking it. She relates it with childhood and beauty; therefore, she wants to teach it to her children too. But she also scolds in French. She somehow reflects her own childhood experience in interaction with her own family (Be1).

Belle

Der Alltag ist Deutsch ganz klar. Der Alltag oder wenn man was erledigen muss, was machen muss und die Arbeit ist ganz klar auf Deutsch. Englisch ist die Kommunikation mit Neo aber auch sehr viel, ich mach nebenher auch Musik, ist auch sehr viel die Musik, weil die Musikwelt ist sehr stark sehr verenglischt auch die Leute mit denen man da zu tun hat, da wird oft Englisch gesprochen und Französisch is em die Sprache. Weiß auch nicht, im Augenblick muss ich zugeben, verbind ich die irgendwie mit Kindern. Auch wenn wir schon überwiegend Deutsch sprechen aber die verbind ich irgendwie mit Kindern, mit Schule, weil ich eben selbst als Kind halt überwiegend Französisch gesprochen habe und ja aber auch mit Schönheit so irgendwie (XXX). Wobei wenn ich mit den Kindern schimpfe, mach ich's auch auf Deutsch überwiegend aber auch auf Französisch, Deutsch und Französisch. Wenn ich mal was Ernstes, Strenges sage, da sag ich's auch auf Französisch aber auch, aber das hat was mit Kindheit zu tun.
(Belle, Be1: 07.12-08.40min)

'Everyday life is in German for sure. That means obligatoriness and work is represented by German. English represents the communication with Neo among other. I am a musician and the whole music business takes place in English. Even the people whom you deal with often speak in English. And French is the language. I am insecure for the moment. I connect French with childhood. Even if we speak German predominantly, I connect the language with childhood, children and school. Because I was speaking French predominantly when I was a child. I link French to beauty (XXX). But if I scold the children, I do so in German and in French as well. German and French. If I say something serious and strict then I repeat it in French. This has something to do with childhood (memories) as well.'
(Belle, Be1: 07.12-08.40min).

The sisters are close, they both reflect their language use in detail. As they grew up in a multilingual society and then changed into a rather monolingual German environment (Belle at university, Sarah at her grandmother's house) they both share similar experiences. Though they do not follow the same language policy, which is due to several factors. I will come back to this in the concluding section.

In the following case, a different perspective is introduced, focusing on the personal benefits to the family's communication in the environmental language. Gilbert represents an egocentric perspective. He wants his children to correct him to improve his language skills. He also strikes their benefits due to their competences in German.

Gilbert

> *Weil ich red' Deutsch hier mit meinen Kindern, weil ich denke das ist besser für mich. INT Für dich oder für sie? Gilbert: „Nee ist besser für mich, weil die ham schon Deutsch in der Schule, die können schon Deutsch aber wenn ich meine Muttersprache, ich kann schon meine Muttersprache aber mit meiner Muttersprache die werden nie weiter kommen im Leben, die müssten Deutsch sprechen oder später English mit diesen beiden Sprache da kommst du weiter und für mich ist gut weil ich lern noch mit meinen Kindern besser. Weil, wenn ich einen Fehler mach meine Kinder sagen, „Nee Papa sagt man nicht so", weil, die sind hier geboren.* (
> Gilbert, Gi1: 31:28-32:11)

> 'I speak German to my children because I think it is better for me. INT Better for you or for them? Gilbert: No, it is better for me, because they already learn German in school. It is right if I speak my mother tongue as I know my mother tongue already but they will not progress in life using my mother tongue. They must speak in German or in English. With these two languages you succeed. I benefit because they correct me: "No Dad, you do not say it like this", because they were born here.'
> (Gilbert, Gi1: 31:28-32:11)

Gilbert is the only person that admits preferring German over other languages. But his favorite language is French. He even uses his French accent on purpose when acting as an entertainer. He prefers to speak to me in French if he wants to talk about personal things or about Burkina Faso. Lately he even claimed that he will not speak German to me any longer. Additionally, the children are not living with him in his household constantly, therefore they are not exposed to French but while their half-siblings from Côte d'Ivoire visit, Gilbert only speaks French to their siblings. They also communicate with their grandmother who lives in Burkina Faso. Then Gilbert is translating their communication. Thus, French impacts the children's life but is not important for Gilbert's language policy. The mother of his daughters is Eritrean. I asked if they speak Tigrinya or Amharic and he told me they would speak both languages, which I doubt.

4.3 The parent's language policies within the theoretical framework

King et al. (2008) claim three different parental ideologies that influence one's language policy. The parents 'concepts of language domains, their perspective on language variation such as mixed languages or slang, as well as the parents' beliefs about language learning and multilingualism. According to them expert literature plays a minor role whereas examples from friends and family members as well as their own linguistic biography, mainly their experience with multilingualism, play a crucial role. Public discourse according to parenting values ('good' or 'bad' parenting) has an impact too (King et al. 2008: 6). I will briefly sum up the ideologies I could examine in my case study. Almost all parents stressed

the benefits of their language policy to their children. They all prefer African Lingua Francae or the colonial language (i.e. French, English) to African languages with smaller number of speakers. Nana, Modeste and Neo (as representatives of the two-parent families) related to an "expert" point of view, namely, that children learn languages easier. The sisters Sarah and Belle took their choices in relation to their personal linguistic biographies and their own experiences with multilingualism. Grace and Gilbert chose the environmental language over their L1. A person's reasons for their language policy are diverse but also comparable. They are based on the experiences and the retrieval of linguistic identity of the individual. The policy is not strict but open for reconsiderations. Mostly, the people use creative strategies of communication in the context of situations. As Nana points out, if it 'has to be really quick'(Na1) she uses German but some expressions only exist in Twi i.e. the exclamation *eyy* that (according to Nana, Na2) has many meanings and functions i.e. 'stop doing this' or 'don't hit your brother'.

Nana is considered as a native speaker of German but chooses to speak Twi with her children. Modeste chooses to speak metropolitan French, the former colonial language of the Eastern and Northern part of Cameroon and one of the official languages of the country. He emphasizes that he wants his sons to learn his parents' language Baleng as well. Nana and Modeste themselves claim to use *type 4.* Each parent speaks another language that is not similar to the environmental language, but they talk to each other in German. As far as I observed, they communicate in a mix of German, English and French with German as predominant language which confirms with *type 6,* the mixed type (*Sprachkuddelmuddel* 'language jumble', Nana, Na1: 9:22min) as well. Modeste understands some expressions that Nana uses often in Twi as well and Nana admits speaking French whenever she prefers it, or when they have French speaking guests (Na1). While I was with them in the company of my children, I spoke French with Modeste, his sons and his friend who was present too. (I did not realize my own language behavior. I indeed discovered it first while I started working through the records of this day). Modeste spoke in French with his friend and his children but German with me and my children and Nana. Nana answered him in English. She kept speaking German with me and my children but Twi with her children. The children mainly spoke German but later in the evening the younger son started to speak in Twi with her. For Nana it is important that the children are able to distinguish the languages. Nana told me that they programmed their family language use before the birth of her first child. She also read books about multilingualism. *Es war eine bewusste Entscheidung, weil es sonst zu anstrengend ist, es ist ja auch so zu anstrengend* 'It was a conscious decision because otherwise it would be too exhausting, it (raising children) is exhausting anyway'. (Nana, Na3). For her and her partner it was important to talk about and plan their decision with the help of expert information and guidelines. Their languages and cultural identity are important to them and they want their children to benefit from their multilingualism.

Belle and Neo confirm to the *mixed type* but have influences of *type 1* as Belle is a bilingual speaker of German and speaks German predominantly. They set up a clear language policy. Neo speaks Setswana to the children;

Belle speaks German and French (Cameroonian variety) to the children; they speak English to each other. The children also learn French in institutional context (bilingual kindergarten). Belle codeswitches when talking to her sisters. Sarah and she told me that this depends on the topic of the content and how they value it emotionally. If they are emotionally involved, they rather speak French. I observed the high impact of English in Belle's and Neo's family interactions as well. Neo used a mixed variety of Setswana and English, for example while he was explaining my recorder to his son. Belle rather code switched than mixed. Belle emphasizes that she chooses the Cameroonian variety of French over metropolitan French though their children attend a bilingual kindergarten and are exposed to standard French as well.

As shown in the example of Sarah who still is very insecure regarding how to interact with her son to be a good parent as she remembers the pressure when she was a child. She also refers to the interferences of outstanding people who advise her to speak in French (as the ability of speaking French is considered prestigious) rather than explaining her personal language policy (Sa1).

She dislikes the interferences of other people who try to convince her to teach him French. In comparison the sisters Sarah and Belle follow different language policies. As I mentioned above, this is due to various factors. First, they slightly differ in social stratification, Belle is ten years older than her sister, they live in different cities, their relationship status differs as well. Second, they have different linguistic biographies and repertoires. Ten years younger, Sarah grew up speaking Camfranglais which is not part of Belle's repertoire at all. In her studies she learned Yoruba, she told me how she would prefer Yoruba music (and other African music) over European music[14]. Belle left Cameroon and moved to Germany voluntarily. She somehow romanticizes her childhood in Cameroon as well as the Cameroonian French that she connotates with positive memories. Sarah moved to Germany when she was fourteen, it was not her choice but her mother's, she did not like the country and the language, and she would have preferred to stay in Cameroon. She indicates how she struggled with the German language at her arrival and how she dislikes the language still. She stays in Germany, as her friends and family live here, she appreciates the educational system and the given opportunities for her son. Gilbert and Grace are single parents as well. I grouped them with Sarah, as they are not represented in the type model as single parents. All three prefer the environmental language over their L1. Grace associates German with proficiency and professionality this is projected to her language policy. Like Belle she came to Germany for her studies voluntarily. She followed a prestigious integration program at the University of Mainz after working as an au pair. She is proud of her education and language skills; she wants her son to proceed in life and to achieve his personal goals. She claims herself to be a role model of successful integration (Gr1). Like Sarah she considers Mainz as her son's home and does not want to move. German was her key to success; this reflects her language ideology. Gilbert's ideology is based on the same approach. He came to Germany to improve his life, he decided to speak German only and to avoid other immigrants. This decision formed his personal linguistic ideology. He chose a German

[14] (African) Music was not considered in one's family language policy which I regret. The influence of music in children's linguistic behaviour is an interesting task but needs further investigations.

community (partners, friends, workplace) over people of his home country. He considers German as the language in which his daughters will succeed in life and besides their benefits, he profits from their language proficiency as he expects them to correct his (linguistic) errors. He always wants to improve himself as well as his language skills.

As I could show the establishment of the parents' language policy is multi-layered and based on several factors. All families rather confirm to a combination of types of Romaine's model than one specific type. Their language policies are formed by social factors and their personal (linguistic) biography. A summary of the results is presented in Table 2.

Parent(s)	Family language(s)	Type	Language ideology
Grace	German (English, Kiswahili)	Single parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit
Nana and Modeste	Twi, French, German, (English)	Type 4, Type 6, each parent different L1, mixed type	Ability of speaking many languages is seen as benefit
Sarah	German, (French, Camfranc-glais)	Single Parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit (other languages are achieved indirectly)
Neo and Belle	English, Setswana, German, French	Type 6, Type 1 One parent-one language (environmental language included)	Ability of speaking many languages is seen as benefit
Gilbert	German, (French)	Single parent	Environmental language is seen as benefit

Table 2 Language use patterns within the families

5. Conclusions

For my analysis, I chose a classical sociolinguistic model because I concentrate on the interaction of social factors, like one's action in or contribution to society and their language use. The research deals with migrants from African countries coming from multilingual societies. The influence of the German society is striking as all of the people presented here have lived in Germany for years or grew up in Germany. Whenever I asked my interview partners to describe Germans, they all said they like their accuracy. This is a feature they tend to adopt. The parents are aware of their language policy and the patterns they use in family communication. Most of them actively sat together at one point and really discussed and programmed the three states of language planning. Additionally, society and everyday interaction have a huge

impact as well and lead to deviations within one's family. The lack of structured planning, the parents' own experiences with multilingualism, and the impact of their own linguistic biographies are not covered neither in King et al. (2008) nor in Romaine's approach. Therefore, I would always include the parents' language of interaction with each other in the analysis. Multilingualism is a natural process and nothing new or unexpected in family units with parents from West, Central or South African countries. They all grew up in multilingual settings themselves which now influences their family interactions. I highly criticize Romain's type model that does not include single parents. Considering my results, I suggest adding *type 7 single parent non- native speaker adopting environmental language* to the model. It is striking that single parents like Grace, Gilbert and Sarah (the same was reported from other single parents as well) tend to adopt the dominant language of the environment or at least to use it predominantly in communication with their children. Their family dynamic has an impact as they deal with other challenges than two- parent families. Therefore, they do not concentrate on their language policy and rather chose the language of the society. Other persons interfere in the parenting of a single parent more often than in the parenting of couples. Therefore, single parents face more critic considering their parental decisions in general their language choice. As I could show this influenced the single parents in this study to that effect to adopt the language of the environment. This also confirms to the statement of how exhausting parenting is and that parents need an established language policy. Single parents rise to more challenges in daily life, establishing a personal language policy is not a priority. My results contradict King et al (2008) observations that expert opinions played a minor role. All parents presented here referred to literature or at least internet sources about multilingualism.

In summary, the parents' reasons for their individual language choice are multilayered. They base upon beliefs, ideologies, extrinsic and intrinsic factors, experiences with multilingualism and linguistic biographies. Even one's individual language competence must be considered, a person rather chooses the language he/she/they are fluent in. Another factor is the availability of a language. Couples speaking the same L1 would rather choose it over the environmental language. A last striking observation is that all parents choose majority languages (i.e. Twi as a lingua franca of Ghana) or colonial languages (i.e. French) over their own parents' (or grandparents') language. However, these choices might be subject of further investigations in this field.

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Abbreviations

Transcription Symbols

°word°	Aspirated, breathy
?	rising pitch; Intonation
INT	Interviewer
(.)	micropause
heh	Indicates Laughter
(XXX)	Indicates the transcriber's inability to hear what was said.
-	A hyphen indicates a cut off in speak
◎ or ◎	Indicates a sharp rise or fall in pitch or volume
[]	Extra information i.e. Mimics and Gestures, relations
(…)	Content that is not transcribed
@word@	laughter while talking

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List of interviews

Interview with	Interview-abbreviation	Date	Place
Grace	Gr1	01.16.2019	Frankfurt a. M.
Nana	Na1, Na2, Na3	01.23.2019, 01.25.2019, 04.02.2020	Mainz
Modeste	Mo1	01.25.2019	Mainz
Sarah	Sa1, Sa2	04.18.2019, 04.23.2019	Mainz
Belle	Be1	04.23.2019	Mainz
Neo and Luca	NeLu1	04.23.2019	Mainz
Gilbert	Gi1	03.11.2019	Rüsselsheim
Maya	Ma1	11.13.2019	Offenbach a. M.

08

Le répertoire linguistique des immigrés camerounais en Italie

08

Le répertoire linguistique des immigrés camerounais en Italie

Raymond Siebetcheu

1. Introduction

Selon Calvet (1974), l'histoire linguistique de l'Afrique a été marquée par deux principaux dogmes en vigueur durant l'époque coloniale. « Le premier dogme est celui selon lequel les colonisés ont tout à gagner à apprendre notre langue, qui les introduira à la civilisation, au monde moderne. Le second stipule que, de toutes façons, les langues indigènes seraient incapables de remplir cette fonction, incapables de véhiculer des notions modernes, des concepts scientifiques, incapables d'être des langues d'enseignement, de culture ou de recherche » (Calvet 1974: 165-166). Soixante ans après la fin de la colonisation des pays africains, les langues africaines, considérées comme des langues primitives, ont enrichi l'espace sociolinguistique européen devenant ainsi, grâce à l'immigration, des "langues immigrées" (Bagna, Barni & Siebetcheu 2004). Un constat qui révèle que les observations avancées pendant la période coloniale n'étaient pas soutenues par une base éthique, mais avaient plutôt une vision idéologiquement eurocentriques. Bourdieu (2009: 169) parle dans ce sens de « violence symbolique » et Errington (2001: 20) rappelle cette inégalité en observant que "language difference could

become a resource – like gender, race, and class – for figuring and naturalizing inequality in the colonial milieux".

Ce travail focalise l'attention sur le Cameroun, le seul pays africain à avoir subi une triple expérience coloniale (française, anglaise et allemande). Sur le plan linguistique, ce pays peut être considéré comme le paradigme de la diversité linguistique en Afrique, une « Afrique en miniature », puisqu'il compte trois des quatre principales familles linguistiques présentes en Afrique : famille des langues afro-asiatiques, famille des langues nilo-sahariennes, famille des langues nigéro-congolaises. À ces trois familles nous pouvons également ajouter les langues indo-européennes grâce à la présence des ex-langues coloniales, enracinées de manière systématique sur le territoire national depuis plus d'un siècle et demi. Dans ce pays, où les langues locales tombent progressivement en désuétude sous la poussée et au profit du français et de l'anglais, héritages linguistiques de l'expérience coloniale (Bitjaa Kody 2004), l'étude se propose d'observer la situation de ces langues locales hors des frontières du Cameroun et spécifiquement dans un contexte migratoire non francophone comme l'Italie. Après avoir brièvement illustré la situation sociolinguistique des langues camerounaises et le profil socio-démographique des Camerounais en Italie, cette contribution offrira la description du répertoire linguistique des immigrés camerounais en Italie. Il sera aussi question d'analyser les attitudes linguistiques des immigrés camerounais par rapport à leurs langues. Maintiennent-ils leurs langues locales ou alors préfèrent-ils les langues occidentales, en l'occurrence les ex-langues coloniales, aujourd'hui langues officielles au Cameroun ? Que font les jeunes migrants de ce pays par rapport aux variétés hybrides qu'ils utilisaient au Cameroun ? Parmi les variétés hybrides nous analysons en particulier le cas du camfranglais, une langue hybride issue du contact entre les langues autochtones camerounaises, le français, l'anglais, le Pidgin-English et même les langues immigrées parlées au Cameroun (Siebetcheu & Machetti 2019 ; Ntsobé & al. 2008). Une autre question à laquelle nous fournirons des éléments de réponse est de savoir quels sont les choix linguistiques observés dans les familles camerounaises d'Italie. Dans ce sens, nous observerons le comportement linguistique des Camerounais par rapport aux langues locales et en particulier par rapport aux langues bamiléké[1].

Les résultats obtenus se basent sur une enquête qui a impliqué d'une part 492 étudiants camerounais et d'autre part une cinquantaine de familles, avec au moins un géniteur camerounais, vivant dans une quinzaine de villes d'Italie. Les données de la recherche ont été recueillies grâce à l'usage d'un questionnaire sociolinguistique, des interviews et des observations participantes. Le questionnaire, principalement adressé aux étudiants, compte 34 questions et est divisé en cinq sections : a) profil de l'enquêté(e) : âge, genre, permanence en Italie, ville de naissance, parcours académique, projet migratoire (questions 1-6) ; b) répertoire linguistique (questions 7-10) ; c) compétence linguistique sur la base de l'autodéclaration des enquêtés (questions 11-15) ; d) compétence de l'italien et des langues apprises dans le contexte migratoire (questions 16-19) ; e) camfranglais :

[1] Concernant le mot 'bamiléké', se référant dans ce travail aussi bien à une famille de langues qu'à un groupe ethnique, nous signalons que dans certaines publications ce mot est utilisé en respectant l'accord grammatical tandis que dans d'autres publications les auteurs optent pour la forme invariable considérant ce mot comme étant étranger. Dans ce travail nous opterons pour la forme invariable du mot bamiléké.

contextes d'usage, perception, prévisions linguistiques, degré d'importance, etc. (questions 20-34). Dans ce travail nous proposerons quelques autodéclarations des jeunes par rapport à leurs langues. Nous sommes conscients des limites des autodéclarations dans le cadre des recherches sociolinguistiques du moment où ces données ne sont pas le fruit des interactions directes et effectives des locuteurs. Mais le fait d'avoir impliqué environ 500 jeunes camerounais qui résident dans des villes différentes démontre que les données recueillies selon cette méthode sont loin d'être superficielles. Toutefois, l'observation directe, prévue dans le cadre de la recherche, permet d'avoir des informations plus précises par rapport au vécu réel et quotidien des Camerounais dans leurs familles.

Dans le cadre de notre recherche, encore en cours, nous avons jusqu'ici interviewé une cinquantaine de familles camerounaises et observé directement une dizaine de familles pendant certains moments clés de la quotidienneté familiale comme l'heure du déjeuner et du dîner. L'objectif de la recherche est d'observer et illustrer les choix linguistiques et les comportements linguistiques dans les familles consultées. Il est donc question d'identifier les langues du répertoire effectivement utilisées en famille. Dans cet article, nous présenterons quelques exemples liés aux interactions linguistiques dans les familles observées.

Dans le cadre de notre projet de recherche, qui touche plusieurs domaines de la société tels que la famille, l'université, les écoles et les lieux de rencontre (associations d'immigrés, associations sportives, etc.), nous avons déjà proposé certaines études spécifiques sur le camfranglais parlé par les jeunes et moins jeunes (Siebetcheu 2019) et sur les langues bamiléké parlées dans les familles (Siebetcheu 2018, 2020). Dans cette contribution nous focaliserons l'attention sur le répertoire et les attitudes linguistiques des étudiants et des familles, tout en reprenant, quand ce sera nécessaire, certaines observations des travaux précédents.

2. Sociolinguistique des langues camerounaises

Le Cameroun est le pays africain avec l'*Indice de diversité linguistique* le plus élevé. En réalité, il occupe la deuxième position mondiale (après la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée) en ce qui concerne la relation entre l'indice de diversité Greenberg (0,974) et le nombre d'idiomes parlés (cf. Eberhard & al. 2019). Ces données statistiques révèlent, en d'autres termes, que plus l'indice de *diversité linguistique* est élevé, plus est élevée la probabilité que deux personnes sélectionnées au hasard sur le même territoire parlent des langues différentes. La communication interethnique et interrégionale est toutefois possible (ou du moins devrait être possible) grâce à une forme d'*unité linguistique* déterminée par le bilinguisme officiel à savoir le français (parlé dans huit régions) et l'anglais (parlé dans deux régions). À ces deux langues s'ajoutent les variétés de contacts telles que le camfranglais, le Pidgin-English et le franfulfulde (toutes les trois issues de la fusion entre les langues locales camerounaises et les ex-langues coloniales), mais aussi les langues véhiculaires comme le fulfulde. Le franfulfulde en particulier, selon les études de Biloa (2010), est une variété basée sur l'alternance entre le Français et le fulfulde et principalement utilisée par les étudiants dans les régions septentrionales du Cameroun. En ce qui concerne le camfranglais, cette variété a commencé à être utilisée dans la zone méridionale francophone du Cameroun dans les années 1970 (cf. Ntsobé & al.

2008), même si aujourd'hui elle est répandue dans tout le pays et même hors des frontières du Cameroun (cf. Siebetcheu & Machetti 2019).

En dehors de ces deux premiers indicateurs, la *diversité* et l'*unité linguistique,* le Cameroun est aussi connu pour sa *pluralité linguistique,* que nous considérons tout simplement comme le nombre de langues parlées dans ce pays. En réalité, avec 275 langues (Eberhard & al. 2019), 248 selon Binam Bikoi (2012), le Cameroun est, après le Nigeria, le pays où on parle le plus de langues dans toute l'Afrique. Ce plurilinguisme historique et endogène qui constitue une richesse au Cameroun doit cependant faire face à une paradoxale *fragilité linguistique* à l'origine d'une compétence linguistique plutôt friable. Cette situation peut s'expliquer, comme l'observent Ouane et Glanz (2010), par le fait que l'Afrique est le seul continent où la majorité des enfants commencent l'école en utilisant une langue étrangère, c'est-à-dire les ex-langues coloniales. Malherbe (1995: 301) va dans le même sens et observe que les Africains sont rarement capables de maîtriser parfaitement toutes les langues dans lesquelles ils doivent pouvoir s'exprimer. Ceux qui sont très occidentalisés perdent fréquemment la pratique précise de leur langue locale (maternelle), d'autant que celle-ci est rarement enseignée à l'école. À l'opposé, ceux qui sortent rarement de leur village connaissent mal les langues véhiculaires et pas toujours de manière excellente les langues européennes. En prenant par exemple le cas du français, Tourneux (2007) observe qu'il n'est pas toujours maîtrisé par toute la population. À Maroua, dans le nord du Cameroun – observe Tourneux (2007) – beaucoup d'abandons et d'échecs scolaires lors des premières années de l'école, sont dus à la compétence en français proche de zéro qu'ont les enfants. En observant que plusieurs chercheurs ne considèrent pas l'anglais parlé au Cameroun comme l'anglais standard, Anchimbe (2013) souligne que selon ces chercheurs les anglophones camerounais n'auraient donc pas une bonne compétence en anglais standard. Anchimbe (2013: 12) affirme, en effet, que "with the emergence of the 'New Englishes', some scholars tend not to consider as native speakers those who speak English in Cameroon as their first language […] A reason for this is the misconception that these 'Englishes' are not yet mature". Il va sans dire que la question des langues européennes en Afrique, bien que langues officielles et de l'éducation, a toujours fait l'objet des débats scientifiques. Nous en avons pour preuve les différentes recherches et conférences qui ont pour thème le « Français d'Afrique ». Cette situation pousse Floquet (2018) à poser la question suivante : « Du français en Afrique au(x) français d'Afrique : quel(s) parcours ? ». Au Cameroun cette situation pose « une problématique de recherche en aménagement linguistique » (Tabi Manga 2000: 71).

Nous n'entendons pas cependant considérer toutes les variantes langagières, la question des accents ainsi que les expressions empruntées, construites et créées au sein de ou à partir de la langue française en Afrique, tout simplement comme des « faux français ». Loin de là, ces idiomes sont le résultat de la *créativité linguistique* qui dérive de la *variété des systèmes* linguistiques : plusieurs familles linguistiques se croisent ; plusieurs alphabets africains entrent en contact avec l'alphabet latin ; la *civilisation de l'oralité* coexiste avec la *civilisation de l'écriture*, cette dernière associée à l'Occident, même si Calvet (1999a) rappelle que :

> On sait tout d'abord que l'écriture n'est jamais qu'une ***étape*** historique de l'évolution d'une

> communauté linguistique : toutes les langues ont ***été*** non-écrites, pendant un laps de temps variable. Et cette absence d'écriture n'est bien entendu pas liée ***à*** une absence de civilisation, comme on se plaît généralement ***à*** le prétendre (Calvet 1999a: 128).

Ce bref panorama sociolinguistique du Cameroun dénote de la complexité linguistique de ce pays. C'est justement avec ce profil linguistique dynamique et très articulé que les Camerounais arrivent en Italie.

3. L'espace sociolinguistique italien

Vedovelli (2010) analyse le destin de l'espace linguistique italien en faisant recours à deux épisodes bibliques : 'Tour de Babel' et 'Pentecôte'. Dans le premier cas le plurilinguisme est perçu comme une punition divine qui donne naissance à une incompréhension entre les locuteurs de langues différentes. Dans le deuxième cas le plurilinguisme est vu comme un don divin où il existe une intercompréhension entre les locuteurs des différentes langues. Si la malédiction babélique est interprétée comme une conséquence de la méfiance à l'égard des étrangers et de leurs langues, la bénédiction pentecôtiste serait plutôt synonyme d'ouverture vers les autres langues et cultures. Si donc le plurilinguisme babélique contraint les populations au monolinguisme, Vedovelli (2010) observe que deux révolutions linguistiques devraient accompagner l'Italie vers un plurilinguisme actif. La première est liée à la diffusion de l'italien standard (utilisé par plus de 90% de la population) et la diffusion des dialectes (utilisés par 32% de la population) qui montrent que l'hypothèse d'un destin linguistique unitaire pour l'Italie, proposée pendant la période fasciste, n'est pas envisageable. La deuxième révolution est déterminée par l'entrée en jeu des langues immigrées (qui se sont enracinées sur le territoire italien justement grâce à l'immigration) qui a donné naissance au « neoplurilinguismo delle lingue immigrate » (nouveau plurilinguisme des langues immigrées). Les langues immigrées, en plus de l'italien standard, des dialectes et des langues minoritaires, font donc partie intégrante du nouvel espace linguistique italien que Vedovelli (2010) appelle « *spazio linguistico italiano quadripolare* » (espace linguistique italien quadrangulaire). Les langues camerounaises peuvent donc être considérées comme des langues immigrées qui contribuent potentiellement à enrichir l'espace linguistique italien.

4. Profil socio-démographique de l'immigration camerounaise en Italie

Nos 492 enquêtés résident dans treize villes d'Italie, localisées dans les régions centrales et septentrionales : Ancône, Bologne, Brescia, Forlì, Milan, Modène, Padoue, Parme, Pérouse, Reggio d'Emilie, Rome, Sienne et Turin. Le choix de la zone centrale et septentrionale est simplement lié au fait qu'on y trouve 98% des Camerounais d'Italie. Tendance confirmée en 2019 par les données de l'Institut Italien de Statistiques (ISTAT). En réalité, les principales régions de résidence des 15.794 Camerounais en Italie sont les suivantes : Emilie-Romagne (21,7% de Camerounais) ; Lombardie (20,5%) ; Vénétie (11,2%). Plus de la moitié des Camerounais d'Italie résident donc dans ces trois régions. Les autres régions importantes sont : Piémont (9,7%), Latium (8,0%), Toscane (6,7%) et Ombrie (4,4%). Le tableau 1 illustre les 20 provinces italiennes qui regorgent le plus grand nombre de Camerounais.

Provinces	CMR*	Provinces	CMR*	Provinces	CMR*
Parme	994	Padoue	664	Modène	364
Turin	993	Pérouse	628	Ancône	291
Bologne	984	Ferrara	527	Gênes	280
Milan	903	Trévise	468	Lodi	253
Rome	895	Brescia	463	Sienne	246
Pavie	748	Florence	436	Trieste	227

Tableau 1. Les 20 provinces d'Italie avec le plus grand nombre de Camerounais (1er janvier 2019. Source : notre élaboration sur les données ISTAT ; CMR* 'Camerounais')

Les Camerounais résidant en Italie sont principalement originaires de la région de l'Ouest, 70% environ (Siebetcheu, 2020). Cette tendance est liée à une forte tradition migratoire qu'on reconnaît à l'ethnie bamiléké et qui se traduit par la forte présence des Bamiléké aussi bien dans les autres régions du Cameroun que dans les autres pays du monde. En rappelant que les enquêtés ont été choisis au hasard, c'est-à-dire sans aucun filtre en ce qui concerne l'ethnie, cet élan migratoire des Bamiléké est confirmé par les données de notre recherche dans la mesure où plus de 90% des enquêtés affirment avoir comme langue locale d'origine un idiome bamiléké.

5. Le répertoire linguistique des Camerounais en Italie

Selon Berruto (1995) le répertoire linguistique d'une communauté est l'ensemble des ressources linguistiques possédées par les membres de cette communauté, c'est-à-dire la somme des variétés d'une langue ou de plusieurs langues utilisées dans une communauté sociale. Le même auteur observe que le concept de répertoire linguistique ne doit pas être considéré simplement comme la somme linéaire des variétés linguistiques, mais devrait aussi comprendre de manière substantielle les rapports entre ces variétés linguistiques et le grade de hiérarchie entre celles-ci et les normes d'usage. C'est dans cette optique que nous essayerons ici de décrire le répertoire linguistique de la communauté camerounaise en Italie, avec une attention particulière aux Camerounais d'origine bamiléké, qui constituent, comme nous l'avons souligné, plus de 90% de nos enquêtés.

Avant toute chose il convient de distinguer *Bamiléké* en tant que groupe ethnique et *Bamiléké* en tant qu'ensemble des langues et/ou dialectes parlés par les populations appartenant à ce groupe ethnique originaire de la région de l'Ouest du Cameroun. Rappelons que contrairement aux pays occidentaux où prévalait le concept d'*une langue, un peuple et un État*[2], au Cameroun comme dans d'autres pays africains l'identification de la langue de la population semble se baser sur le principe d'*une langue, une ethnie* (Siebetcheu 2012) où le nombre d'idiomes correspond plus ou moins au nombre d'ethnies. Mais dans ce travail, nous n'entendons pas limiter les langues aux frontières géographiques et ethniques car plusieurs facteurs tels

[2] De Mauro (2005: 11-12) affirme cependant que ce concept est en train de disparaître en Europe.

que les mariages mixtes, l'immigration, les attitudes linguistiques démontrent que les langues ne peuvent pas être analysées et interprétées de manière rigide. Dans cet article nous fournirons des informations géographiques par rapport aux langues bamiléké juste pour permettre aux lecteurs de bien circonscrire les territoires d'origines des locuteurs bamiléké, et non pas pour enfermer ces langues à un territoire spécifique.

Selon l'*Atlas linguistique du Cameroun (*cf. Binam Bikoi 2012), les langues bamiléké, qui font partie de la grande famille *nigéro-congolaise*, appartiennent au groupe *Bantou du Grassfield* et en particulier au sous-groupe *Grassfield Est*. Cette classfication est confirmée par Watters (2003) qui observe que les langues bamiléké sont considérées comme appartenant au *Gassfields Bantu*, ou, simplement *Grassfields* ou *Wide Grassfields languages*, dont *Grassfields Est* est un sous-groupe. Selon Leroy (1994: 135), ce sous-groupe *Grassfields Est* est considéré l'unité génétique dénommée *Mbam-Nkam*. En reprenant encore l'*Atlas linguistique du Cameroun*, il existe huit grandes variétés des langues bamiléké, réparties dans les principales zones géographiques de la région de l'Ouest du Cameroun (Fig. 1) *Fèfè* (Haut Nkam), *Medumba* (Ndé), *Yemba* (Menoua), *Ghomala* (Grand Mifi[3]), *Ngomba, Mengaka, Ngiemboon, Ngombale* (Bamboutos). Ces principales variétés de langues bamiléké appartiennent à la deuxième sphère fonctionnelle[4] de Tabi Manga (2000: 237) : *les langues communautaires*. Il s'agit des langues qui comptent un nombre important de locuteurs natifs et qui constituent donc le vivier des langues qui devraient jouer un rôle proprement national. Il convient de souligner que ces principales variétés linguistiques de langues bamiléké sont *à* leur tour constituées de plusieurs dialectes.

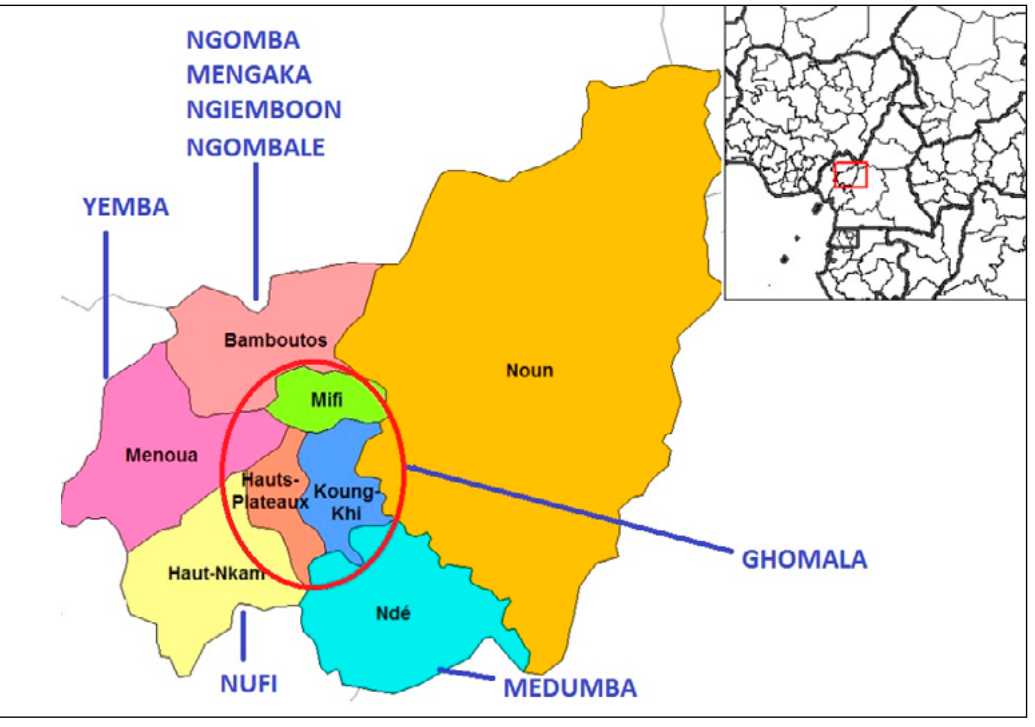

Figure 1. Distribution géographique des langues bamiléké

[3] Cette expression *Grand Mifi* est liée au fait qu'avant la redistribution administrative des départements du Cameroun, qui a eu lieu en 1995, les villes et villages appartenant aux espaces géographiques qui aujourd'hui correspondent aux départements de la *Mifi* du *Khoung-Khi* et des *Hauts plateaux* (voir figure 1) faisaient partie d'un unique département, celui de la *Mifi*.

[4] Les trois autres sphères sont les suivantes : 1ère : *langues maternelles*, 3ème : *langues véhiculaires régionales*, 4ème : *langues officielles.*

5.1. Les choix linguistiques dans les familles camerounaises

Comme on peut observer à partir de la figure 2, plus de 70% de nos informateurs déclarent avoir une ou plusieurs langues bamiléké comme langue maternelle/d'origine. Ce pourcentage confirme la suprématie démographique des immigrés originaires de la région de l'Ouest. Parmi les langues bamiléké, le *yemba* est la langue déclarée par le plus grand nombre de nos informateurs (28%) suivi du *ghomala* (24%). Le *medumba* et le *fèfè* occupent respectivement la troisième et quatrième place avec 22% et 20%. Le répertoire linguistique de ces familles est principalement composé des langues officielles (français et anglais), de la langue du pays d'accueil (l'italien), des langues hybrides (camfranglais, Pidgin-English), des langues locales camerounaises et africaines. En dehors des langues bamiléké citons aussi le *fang*, le *duala* et même les langues d'autres pays africains parlées dans les familles camerounaises grâce à la présence des conjoints d'autres nationalités. C'est le cas du *swahili* et du *kinyarwanda* grâce à la présence d'une conjointe rwandaise dans une famille. C'est aussi le cas de la langue *ajukru* grâce à la présence d'un conjoint originaire de la Côte d'Ivoire. Dans certaines familles on trouve aussi les dialectes italiens surtout lorsqu'un des conjoints est italien. C'est le cas du *ciociario* dans une famille interviewée dont la conjointe est italienne.

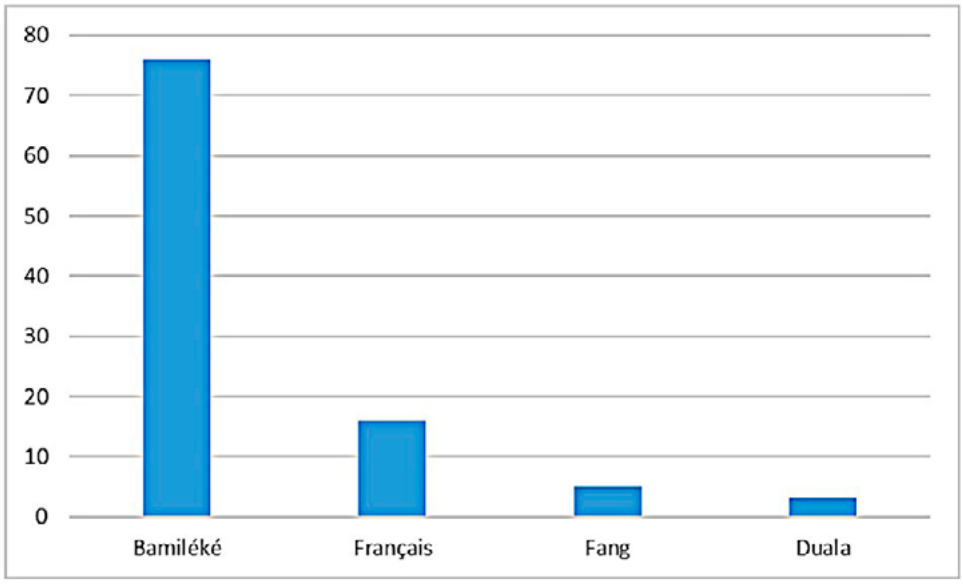

Figure 2. Langues maternelles des Camerounais en Italie

Les compétences linguistiques dans les différentes langues du répertoire ne sont pas homogènes. En ce qui concerne le français, en dehors des 17% qui le considèrent comme leur langue maternelle, durant nos entretiens beaucoup d'enquêtés, bien que se déclarant parfaitement compétents en français, se demandaient s'ils devaient considérer cette langue comme langue étrangère ou comme langue maternelle/d'origine. Un dilemme qui trahit les difficultés du système scolaire camerounais en matière d'éducation linguistique, comme illustré précédemment.

Pour ce qui est de l'anglais, 8% de nos enquêtés affirment avoir une bonne compétence en anglais (production et réception orale et écrite). Ce pourcentage, assez bas pour des locuteurs provenant d'un pays qui possède l'anglais comme langue officielle, se justifie par le fait que « la plupart des jeunes Camerounais francophones ne possèdent de l'anglais que ce qu'ils ont appris à l'école dans des classes aux effectifs pléthoriques […] S'il est absolument nécessaire d'être francophone pour parler

camfranglais, il n'est pas besoin de savoir l'anglais » (Féral 2006: 258–259). Il est intéressant d'observer que nos enquêtés déclarent être plus compétents en Pidgin-English, en camfranglais et en italien qu'en anglais.

En ce qui concerne les langues locales, seulement 5% déclarent 'bien' les maîtriser (aussi bien au niveau de l'expression écrite que de l'expression orale). La majorité des informateurs (64%) déclare plutôt connaître 'un peu' leurs langues locales. Il s'agit d'une compétence qui se limite principalement au niveau de la production et de la réception orale du moment où les langues locales ne sont pas encore enseignées dans les écoles de manière systématique. En plus, dans les familles, les parents optent pour l'usage des langues officielles qui offriraient plus d'opportunités professionnelles. L'exemple (1) démontre cet état des choses.

(1) [Déjeuner chez Thomas (50 ans), en Italie depuis 15 ans, 4 enfants. Thomas parle français, italien et ghomala.]

Thomas:	Nous ici on n'utilise pas la langue bamiléké avec les enfants ++ [pause] il n'y a personne ici comme mon père qui nous forçait à utiliser le bamiléké. Et puis il faut dire que nous sommes en Italie + tout est en italien, et du moment où mes enfants passeront le reste de leur vie ici ++
Intervieweur:	Donc vous ne pensez même pas les emmener de temps en temps au Cameroun ?
Thomas:	Deux ou trois semaines de vacances au Cameroun ne suffisent pas pour parler nos langues.
Intervieweur:	Donc d'ici 20 ans les enfants ne connaîtront et n'utiliseront pas vos langues locales ?
Thomas :	Non, en aucune façon !

Nous ajoutons que même dans les cas où les grands-parents sont présents, le maintien et l'avenir des langues locales camerounaises ne sont pas garantis. Sans vouloir généraliser, nous rappelons que dans certains cas, ce sont les petits-enfants qui découragent les grands-parents d'utiliser les langues locales car les premiers considèrent cet usage à la fois comme une offense et comme un jeu. Un jeu parce que dans une famille de Sinalunga (petite commune en périphérie de Sienne) les parents nous reportent que chez eux la langue yemba est « sacrifiée » parce que à chaque fois que les grands-parents essaient de l'utiliser avec leurs petits-enfants, ces derniers rient et vont se cacher comme s'il s'agissait d'un jeu. Mais l'usage d'une langue locale peut aussi être interprété comme une offense. C'est le cas de Patricia, fille de Gabriel (camerounais) et de Rose (rwandaise), comme illustré dans l'exemple (2)

(2) [Durant un dîner avec les parents de Gabriel, ce dernier en Italie depuis 20 ans, trois enfants. Gabriel parle français, anglais et italien. Son épouse Rose parle couramment anglais, français, italien, swahili et kinyarwanda.]

[Suzzy, 2 ans est en train de fredonner et se dirige vers la cuisine.]

Grand-mère: N'entre pas là-bas hein, N'ENTRE PAS [hausse le ton de la voix] !

Intervieweur: Vous avez choisi de lui parler le français ? Pourquoi vous n'avez pas choisi votre langue bamiléké ?

Grand-père: Est-ce qu'ils vont comprendre ?

Grand-mère: [sourire] Un jour il s'est passé quelque chose avec Patricia [une des nièces, 5 ans]. Je parlais le patois [expression utilisée pour indiquer les langues locales], je ne parlais même pas à elle, je parlais avec papa [grand-père de Patricia].

[Suzzy est en train de crier "papa, papa".]

Grand-mère: Après je me suis retourné pour lui parler en français. Elle était fâchée, ELLE N'A PAS RÉPONDU, et elle est partie. Le lendemain je dis à sa mère que je lui ai dit telle chose mais elle n'a pas répondu et elle s'est fâchée. Et sa mère lui demande "pourquoi tu n'as pas répondu à grand-mère, pourquoi tu étais fâchée". Et Patricia a répondu en se fâchant encore : "perché parlavano giapponese, parlavano giapponese" [parce qu'ils parlaient en japonais, ils parlaient en japonais]. @@ [rires]

Intervieweur: @@@ Donc elle estime que le patois que tu parlais avec papa c'est le japonais !?

Grand-mère: [s'adresse à Suzzy] Wèé [signale discursif], Suzzy viens ! Suzzy on n'entre pas à la cuisine OOHH.

Cette analyse succincte des répertoires et choix linguistiques dans ces familles camerounaises est le reflet de ce qui se passe dans les autres familles. Le plurilinguisme camerounais n'est pas l'apanage de tous les Camerounais dans ce sens que chaque Camerounais a un répertoire linguistique individuel qui est différent de celui des autres. En ce qui concerne les immigrés camerounais, qui ont très souvent suivi un parcours scolaire et académique, en général le répertoire linguistique se base sur les langues officielles (et de l'éducation) ainsi que sur l'italien et les variétés hybrides. Et c'est très souvent cette préparation intellectuelle qui éloigne les langues locales camerounaises des familles, puisque ces langues locales sont reléguées au rang de 'langues moins importantes' face aux langues occidentales considérées plus utiles surtout en ce qui concerne les débouchés. Il est intéressant d'observer que dans une étude sur les langues immigrées dans la région de Vénétie, Goglia & Fincati (2017: 513–514) soulignent que "Ghanaian children reported a higher use of both Italian and immigrant languages, which can be explained by the habit among West Africans of speaking in a bilingual mode". Ce constat de Goglia & Fincati (2017) concernant les familles ghanéennes montre que l'usage limité des langues locales dans les familles camerounaises ne se vérifie donc pas dans toutes les familles africaines d'Italie.

5.2 Les attitudes et pratiques linguistiques des étudiants camerounais

Selon Calvet (1999b), si la langue est considérée comme un simple instrument de communication, on court le risque de croire qu'il existe un rapport neutre entre le locuteur et sa langue, or les rapports que nous avons avec nos langues et avec celles des autres sont beaucoup plus profonds. « Il existe en effet tout un ensemble d'attitudes, de sentiments des locuteurs face aux langues, aux variétés de langues et à ceux qui les utilisent, qui rendent superficielle l'analyse de la langue comme un simple instrument » (Calvet 1999b: 42). Dans ce travail nous concentrons notre analyse sur la perception et l'usage du français, de l'italien, des langues locales et du camfranglais, c'est-à-dire les principales langues du répertoire linguistique des Camerounais. Même si le français est parfois considéré comme une langue maternelle et souvent comme une langue étrangère apprise depuis l'enfance, il reste de loin, selon nos enquêté(es), la langue la plus importante en termes de compétence et prestige linguistique.

(3) E24[5] : Ma langue maternelle c'est le français, parce que c'est la langue que j'utilise tous les jours.

E50 : Le français c'est ma langue d'éducation.

E77 : Ma langue maternelle c'est le français, parce que je m'exprime mieux et plus facilement en cette langue.

Ces exemples montrent que les Camerounais sont conscients de la distance entre le français (langue de l'éducation) et leurs langues locales. Par ailleurs, on observe le même sentiment d'insécurité linguistique par rapport au camfranglais. Ainsi, bien que le camfranglais soit utilisé par 77% des enquêté(es), un bon nombre estime que cette variété hybride peut être un problème en ce qui concerne leur compétence en français.

(4) E184 : Le camfranglais baisse le niveau du français.

E105 : Le camfranglais fait un peu oublier le français et l'anglais.

E197 : Ce n'est pas une langue nationale, en plus ça peut détruire la compétence dans les autres langues.

E208 : Ça ne nous aide pas à apprendre l'italien.

Ces exemples suggèrent qu'en Italie les Camerounais expriment leurs identités aussi bien par leurs façons de parler que par leurs jugements épilinguistiques, pas toujours favorables, sur le camfranglais et sur les autres langues.

Il est intéressant d'observer que malgré ces attitudes linguistiques pas toujours favorables à l'égard des langues locales et des variétés hybrides camerounaises, les jeunes camerounais les insèrent d'une manière ou d'une autre dans leurs interactions quotidiennes. Cette situation permet aussi bien au camfranglais qu'aux langues locales camerounaises d'entrer en contact avec l'italien, même si, comme nous avons illustré dans ce travail, les conversations exclusivement en langues camerounaises n'ont pas été relevées durant les observations effectuées jusqu'à ce niveau de la recherche. Ces conversations sont fréquentes

[5] Les sigles constitués de la lettre E et d'un numéro, par exemple E24, E50, correspondent à l'identification des enquêté(es). Nous rappelons que 492 étudiants ont été impliqué dans notre enquête.

durant les réunions d'associations de villages ou d'autres contextes qui ne font pas l'objet de cette étude. Les exemples recueillis lors de notre recherche, montrent que les jeunes camerounais utilisent une variété constituée d'un mélange de français, anglais, italien et des langues locales camerounaises, et qu'ils appellent « camfranglitalien » (Siebetcheu 2019).

Selon Gumperz (1989), qui analyse aussi les implications fonctionnelles du code-switching, ce phénomène produit des inférences conversationnelles où le choix de la langue peut être porteur de sens autant que le contenu du message. Dans cette optique, la présence de plusieurs langues (français, anglais, langues locales camerounaises, italien et variétés dialectales italiennes) dans les énoncés du camfranglais d'Italie est loin d'être le fruit de simples emprunts ou d'une simple vantardise ou esthétique linguistique. Sur la base des données de notre corpus, nous avons relevé quatre formes d'alternance de langue : *intraphrastique, interphrastique, extraphrastique, intra-mot* (cf. Siebetcheu 2019: 114–115). Dans ce travail, en focalisant l'attention sur les langues locales camerounaises, nous nous limitons à illustrer trois exemples d'alternance *intra-mot*, que Berruto et Cerruti (2014: 95) appellent en italien « ibridismo ». Ce phénomène linguistique consiste à utiliser deux ou plusieurs morphèmes de langues différentes dans le même mot. Les mots tels que *tchopons* ['mangeons' de *tchop* 'manger' en Pidgin-English] *poumons* ['fuyons' de *poum* 'fuir' en duala et basaa], *piakent* [de *piak* 'fuir' en bamiléké (en l'occurrence en ghomala)] tirés des exemples (5), (6) et (7) ont été relevé aussi bien dans les expressions orales spontanées que dans les conversations écrites instantanées.

(5) E25

Gars, *tchop*-ons et on lance[6].
Garçon manger-PRS.1PL et on lance
'Mon pote, mangeons et allons-y'

(6) E70

Poum-ons, **se no siamo cotti**!
Fuir-PRS.1PL si non être-PRS.1PL cuits
'Fuyons, sinon nous aurons des ennuis'

(7) E102

Ils piak-ent les **carabinieri.**
PRO.3PL fuir-PRS.3PL ART.DEF.PL gendarmes
'Ils fuient parce qu'ils ont peur des gendarmes'

[6] Pour distinguer les différentes langues utilisées dans les exemples cités dans ce travail, nous utiliserons les caractères suivants: minuscule (français) ; italique et minuscule (anglais) ; gras (italien) ; minuscule et souligné (langues locales camerounaises) ; italique et souligné (Pidgin-English). Signalons que dans certains cas, comme dans les exemples 8 et 9, les mots anglais tels que *go*, *put* et *take* peuvent aussi être considérés comme Pidgin-English. Bien que très intéressant, nous n'approfondirons pas cet aspect dans cet article.

Dans les exemples 8 et 9, nous observons un phénomène d'alternance qui se base sur l'usage simultané du français, de l'anglais et de l'italien. Dans ces deux exemples les mots italiens *lavatrice* (machine à laver) (exemple 8) et *bancomat* (distributeur automatique) (exemple 9) peuvent en quelque sorte jouer le rôle d'emprunts de luxe, étant donné qu'au Cameroun la machine à laver est encore un luxe pour de nombreuses familles et que beaucoup de Camerounais n'ont pas pu utiliser le distributeur automatique avant de quitter le pays, compte tenu de leur jeune âge (20–23 ans). Bien qu'ayant leurs correspondants en français, *bancomat* et *lavatrice* sont plus facilement utilisés par les jeunes Camerounais résidant en Italie parce que, lorsqu'ils étaient encore au Cameroun, la machine à laver et le distributeur automatique ne faisaient pas partie de leur bagage lexical.

(8) E201

Je	*go*	*put*	les	habits dans
PRO.1SG	aller-PRS	mettre	ART.DEF.PL	habits dans

la	**lavatrice.**
ART.DEF.F.SG	machine à laver

'Je vais mettre les habits dans la machine ***à*** laver'

(9) E292

Je	*go*	*take*
PRO.1SG	aller-PRS	prendre

les	*do*	dans	le	**bancomat**
ART.DEF.PL	argent	dans	ART.DEF.F.SG	distributeur automatique

'Je vais retirer de l'argent dans le distributeur automatique'

Les termes *lavatrice* et *bancomat* sont tellement fréquents dans les conversations qu'ils sont utilisés dans certains cas isolés même dans les langues locales camerounaises. Nous reportons ici deux exemples en *medumba* :

(10) E351

Me	nen	sok	a	nzwe	tô	**lavatrice**
PRO.1SG	aller-PRS	laver	DET	habits	dans	machine à laver

'Je vais mettre les habits dans la machine à laver'

(11) E354

Me	lu'	*muni*	**bancomat**
PRO.1SG	prendre-PAS	argent	distributeur.automatique

'J'ai retiré de l'argent dans le distributeur automatique'

Dans certains cas, les mots en Pidgin-English *muni* et *do*, qui sont des emprunts lexicaux dérivant de l'anglais ('money' et 'dollar'), peuvent aussi être remplacés par des mots bamiléké. C'est le cas de *nkap* comme l'illustre l'exemple (12).

(12) E385

Non	**si**	**scherza**	avec	le		nkap	*man* !
NEG.	PRO.IDEF	blaguer	avec	ART.DEF.SG		argent	homme !

'On ne blague pas avec l'argent mon gars !'

6. Conclusion

Cette étude sur la dynamique des langues camerounaises transplantées dans le contexte diasporique italien nous a permis d'observer leur discrète vitalité. Par ailleurs, nous avons pu noter comment le contact de ces langues avec l'italien est à la base de l'élargissement du répertoire linguistique des Camerounais. En outre, le fait que seulement 5% de nos informateurs déclarent pouvoir utiliser parfaitement leurs langues locales aussi bien au niveau de la compétence orale qu'écrite reflète les problèmes d'éducation linguistique en langues locales au Cameroun. Ce constat souligne par ailleurs le climat d'insécurité linguistique ainsi que la stigmatisation qu'on observe encore autour des langues locales. En réalité, bien que reconnaissant l'importance culturelle des langues camerounaises, les familles interviewées préfèrent investir sur les langues occidentales, considérées comme celles qui permettraient de s'insérer dans les sociétés occidentales et dans le monde du travail. Rappelons que dans aucune des familles contactées les langues locales ne sont utilisées de manière systématique.

Sur la base de ces résultats, il nous semble intéressant de remarquer que l'immigration des Camerounais en Italie peut et doit toutefois être une opportunité pour encourager ces derniers à promouvoir et valoriser leurs langues nationales malgré la distance géographique qui sépare l'Italie du Cameroun. Même si très peu est fait au Cameroun en ce qui concerne la promotion des langues nationales (cf. Siebetcheu 2020), les immigrés camerounais ont le droit linguistique d'utiliser et de (voir) divulguer leurs langues locales loin de leur pays. Plusieurs études sur les langues des immigrés en Occident montrent que si dans certains pays, comme l'Italie (cf. De Mauro 2014 ; Vedovelli 2010), ces langues ne sont pas encore bien valorisées, d'autres pays attachent de l'importance à ce thème, par exemple dans les écoles et universités (cf. Clyne 2003 ; Extra & Yağmur 2004).

Il est vrai que les Camerounais sont encore peu nombreux en Italie (environ 15 milles en 2020). Ceci signifie que le nombre de locuteurs des différentes langues mentionées dans ce travail est encore beaucoup plus réduit. Mais rappelons qu'en Italie on compte actuellement 5 millions d'immigrés et, comme observent De Mauro (2014) et Vedovelli (2010), presque rien n'est fait pour la promotion systématique des langues immigrées dans le pays. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une question de nombre de locuteurs, mais de politique linguistique à l'égard de ces nouvelles langues minoritaires que sont les langues des immigrés. Rappelons qu'en termes de droit linguistique, chaque citoyen a le droit d'apprendre et de parler sa langue d'origine. Même si les écoles ne sont pas encore

préparées à le faire, certaines mesures peuvent être prises au niveau des associations culturelles pour permettre aux immigrés de ne pas abandonner leurs langues. À l'exception de quelques familles qui préfèrent donner à leurs enfants une éducation linguistique basée exclusivement sur les langues occidentales, les parents impliqués dans notre enquête admettent l'importance de leurs langues locales. Toutefois ils reconnaissent leur propre incompétence (seulement 5% déclarent 'bien' maîtriser leurs langues locales) et l'absence de motivation de les utiliser régulièrement. La connaissance de ces langues camerounaises par ces parents permettrait à leurs enfants de sauvegarder l'identité linguistique et culturelle de leur pays d'origine et surtout d'être en mesure de communiquer avec leurs grands-parents restés au pays.

Il est opportun de signaler que contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait penser, la valeur affective que les Camerounais associent à leurs langues ne se limite pas aux langues locales. En réalité, selon l'indicateur de la valeur affective ou de la préférence linguistique, 38% de nos informateurs préfèrent le français ; 26% préfèrent les langues bamiléké ; 21% l'italien et 15% l'anglais. Ainsi, déjà considérées comme les langues avec le degré de compétence et de prestige le plus élevé, les langues occidentales ont même dans certains cas une valeur affective plus élevée que les langues locales. En revanche, les exemples illustrés dans ce travail montrent que les langues locales font tout de même partie du répertoire linguistique des Camerounais puisqu'elles sont bien présentes dans les interactions et pratiques langagières des immigrés camerounais. Si donc ces langues sont absentes dans la communication formelle, on peut dire qu'elles laissent leurs traces dans la communication informelle. Les premiers résultats de notre travail nous permettent donc d'observer un paradoxe : si pendant la période coloniale les colonisateurs considéraient les langues indigènes inutiles, aujourd'hui ces langues, devenues langues immigrées (dans le sens positif du terme) sont jugées moins utiles par les Camerounais, au moins en ce qui concerne la communication formelle et quelquefois même dans le contexte familial.

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Abréviations

ART	article	PAS	passé
DEF	défini	PL	pluriel
DET	déterminant	PRO	pronom (personnel)
IDEF	indéfini	PRS	présent
F	féminin	SG	singulier

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Figure 1.
Distribution géographique des langues bamiléké. Source: Map of the divisions of West province in Cameroon. Created by Rarelibra 19: 58, 1 September 2006 (UTC) for public domain use, using MapInfo Professional v8.5 and various mapping resources. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:West_Cameroon_divisions.png (accessed 21 August 2020) y inclus modifications de l'auteur

Figure 2.
Langues maternelles des Camerounais en Italie

09

Linguistic road works ahead: a commentary on language, integration and unfulfilled obligations

09

Linguistic road works ahead: a commentary on language, integration and unfulfilled obligations

Axel Fanego Palat & Nico Nassenstein

1. Challenges: On responsibilities

While numerous studies, including those within the fresh framework of this issue, deal with specific regional contexts of linguistic aspects of migrants' integration, critical perspectives on (applied) multilingualism and bureaucracy, migrants' daily language management in the family and in public, as well as their experience and evaluation of (the host) society's expectations, there are numerous open questions that have not yet been answered[1]. Intended as a critical commentary, this afterword asks academia to react to the debate on language and integration. What is the actual practicability and realizability of linguistic findings and decisions (in immigration offices, for mass media, in public discourse etc.)? And how can linguistics try to link current movements and debates around integration with academic insights into fluid multilingualism, dynamic language repertoires and, for instance, with recent findings

[1] We are grateful to the guest editors of this issue for their kind invitation to contribute this afterword, and to Mary Chambers for proofreading the text and providing very helpful suggestions. We are indebted to two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments. As stated, this is no exhaustive study but more of a personal commentary – all shortcomings are our own responsibility.

in the field of raciolinguistics (Alim & al. 2016, Rosa 2018, etc.)? Here, as authors, we do not intend to provide complete answers but only to suggest potential directions that could be taken at disciplinary bifurcations, and at times to point out unwanted halts at apparently dead ends in the field. Observing the developments from an Africanist view on the discipline, academic (re)actions are long overdue, and yet, carefully implemented steps seem never to have been as clumsy as today.

The promotion of language to a key or indeed to *the* "key to integration" (Esser 2006: i) has, despite a growing body of scholarly literature, shown to be a topic of complicated political dispute, a matter of public controversy, and, in particular, it has become subject to a media discourse that may teach us a lot about prevailing perceptions of language in society among the German public. Its perspective, as gleaned from online comments to a newspaper article in *Zeit Online* from 12 April 2019 with the title *"Immer weniger Zuwanderer absolvieren erfolgreich Deutschtest"* [Fewer and fewer immigrants successfully complete the German test], can seemingly be narrowed down to a few (expectedly) polarized positions and harsh statements, here summarized, intentionally oversimplified and bold:

> "who's to blame? language courses or the willingness and education of migrants?"
>
> "reaching B1 is not challenging at all"
>
> "for anyone who plans to live here this is not enough"
>
> "why integrate somebody who has to leave again anyway?"

The fact that only half of migrants enrolled in language classes in 2018, i.e. 172,471 persons, had accomplished the required level of German language tests (level "B1" of the reference model; ibid.) implied that integration on a linguistic level had obviously failed. Increasing numbers of people passing the lower A2 level, in contrast, did not excite the public to the same extent. More than ever, the intertwined relationship of language and integration is discussed in news feeds. It is subject to political discourse and dominates non-academic discussions. At the same time, discussions of actual linguistic aspects around migration and integration in Europe are scarce, less attractive, or considered quixotic or unworldly. And there is yet another difficulty: despite the focus on integration in recent private and federal initiatives, with innovative programs and recruited specialists, most officials – with or without immigration biographies themselves – cannot give precise answers as to what a "successful linguistic integration" would actually look like, what the host community expects it to be, or what it means for applied everyday languaging (Dombrowsky-Hahn & Littig, this volume). The host community, as measured by dominant media discourses and street corner talk, seems to be equally unsure about this vague concept and its successful application. It is not surprising that academics, including linguists, often do not see that they have a responsibility to bring their expertise to the debate, but remain oddly silent – while potentially having something to contribute.

García (2017: 12-13) problematizes this issue, summarizing that since the mid-20th century sociolinguists have seen speakers and language as forming a creative "assemblage", with one needing the other, and vice versa. She

credits the early sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists, e.g. Labov, Fishman, Gumperz and Hymes, for acknowledging that "language is a deeply personal and social affair", and poststructuralists like Mignolo, Makoni and Pennycook, to name but a few postcolonial and poststructuralist thinkers, for understanding that languages were invented as objects and tied to nationalist ideas. This view has complex consequences. If language is no longer tied to nation but to speakers, who then counts as a "native speaker"? Highly mobile and multilingual speakers do not fulfil the criteria to be categorized as native or "mother tongue speakers" of a specific language, as claimed by García, who argues that this serves as a category that is "just another way to keep power in the hands of the few and exclude those who are different" (p. 14). Stressing the translingual behavior and practice of virtually every speaker, regardless of which language (s)he speaks, she seeks the answer in approaches toward translanguaging (conceptualizing language as fluid multilingual practice and discarding the notion of rigid language boundaries), rejecting the idea of "successful integration" based on measuring someone's acquisition of a dominant national language, or on his/her acquisition of "autonomous structures or boxes that are L1, L2, L3" (p. 15):

> History all over the world has confirmed that a shift to dominant language practices has not led to the structural incorporation of minoritized groups in the dominant society's economic, political, and social life. Perhaps the most important example of this is the history of enslaved people who were brought from the African continent to the Americas […]: Their complete relinguification has not led to their structural incorporation; they remain victims of racism […] (García 2017: 14)

It is not with the simple adoption of a dominant official or national language that practices of exclusion or ostracism stop; racism and Othering go much deeper than that. It is undoubtedly true that ideas of an idealized successful linguistic integration are still influenced by the notion of a nation state that was invented a few centuries ago, and to patterns of mobility that appear old-fashioned when compared to Blommaert's (2010: 1) globalized world, a "tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways". Language too, appearing as a clearly demarcated object, attribute or obtained qualification, seems static and fixed in these discourses on linguistic integration, and coincides more with antiquated ideas of tying language to specific places rather than with Blommaert's (2010: 5) globalized concept of "language-in-motion [rather than language-in-place], with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another", or with Pennycook's (2011: 884) idea of language becoming "dislodged from its traditional places and functions", focusing rather on "mobile resources than immobile resources". More generally speaking, notions of an acclaimed "disinvention" of (national, clearly demarcated, ethnicized) languages (Makoni & Pennycook 2007) or of superdiversity (Arnaut & al. 2016) are not included in these discourses.[2]

[2] Elsewhere (Nassenstein, Hollington & Storch 2018: 18-19), colleagues have claimed that even these new approaches to language-in-motion, with their emphasis on a superdiverse ethnic and linguistic fabric of neighborhoods and cities, are more of a Northern (i.e., originating from the Global North) than a genuine Southern idea, where superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), or, in a modified view, *surmodernité* (Augé 1992), has been the prevailing normality for centuries.

While these ideas are emergent within academic discourses, and at times are only theoretical concepts that may be discussed by linguists but that are not very practical when conveyed and transferred to a broader public and brought before larger audiences (see, for instance, Wolff's 2018 critical remarks on the approaches of "languaging" and the fluidization of language in terms of their apparent lack of pragmatism on a metadiscursive level where languages remain as named entities), they still have the potential to inspire thinking and to contribute to the debate. Fluidity, multilingual messy performance, the abolition of a one speaker-one language model, the idea of language concepts as culturally-bound and as largely independent from hegemonic models developed in imperial or colonial contexts – all these are critical starting points for an application-oriented science that does not shy away from dialogue with hardened political and politicized positions. But how and where should we start, given the difficult and controversial self-reflection within linguistics, and particularly within African linguistics[3]? Maybe right here, with an issue of *The Mouth* on *"Language, Migration and Integration"*. The manifold perspectives on the topic become clear when studying the overview of chapters: the contributions collected in this issue are as diverse and multi-faceted as the problems they touch upon, and as the unanswered questions that the topic brings with it.

Integration means *exchange* and reflects historical cohabitation: linguistic integration can, in its most literal and pragmatic sense, be broken down into actual processes of contact, mutual influence, and the adoption of cultural and linguistic practices, e.g., as shown for Dutch contexts (Kossmann, this volume) and for the Guinean capital Conakry (Diallo, this volume). Integration is *applied contextual knowledge* of implementing language(s) and of languaging; the (meta)discourse on integration has its place in everyday language use in family contexts where multilingual policies often mirror – or oppose – public language policies and reflect institutional decisions on an individual level (Littig, this volume). As this impressive volume with diverse insights on the topic shows, integration also has a *creative side*: multilingual versatility, juggled repertoires and emergent ways of speaking are practiced by migrants for variable communicative purposes in new surroundings, e.g. by Cameroonians in Italy (Siebetcheu, this volume). In other contexts, linguistic integration reflects *bureaucracy*: migrants deal with bitter experiences and critical encounters in liminal communicative situations, e.g., violence experienced in German institutions (Jansen & Romero Gibu, this volume), migrants' interactions with mediators in police work (Kolloch, this volume), or their integration and experiences of educational disadvantages (Brizić & al., this volume), exclusion and discrimination.

Numerous questions often remain unanswered, whose answerability we see as being at least partially among the responsibilities of

[3] Advances in linguistics with a focus on critical (sociolinguistic) theory and epistemology, on (de)coloniality and race have in recent years acknowledged the discipline's own deficiencies and inadequacies in terms of lists and classifications of languages, especially in non-European contexts. In subfields and subdisciplines with a colonial or imperial history, e.g. African linguistics, a range of studies has highlighted the burden of the discipline's contradictory heritage. Only a few serious attempts have been made to remodel and rehabilitate the scope of linguistic studies. There are currently some clearly formulated tendencies but few incentives (see, e.g., Storch 2020) to pursue this endeavor with more rigor. For a broader overview of a critical decolonial approach in linguistics, see Deumert, Storch & Shepherd (2020).

linguists as engaged intellectuals in society (as long as they are included in these discourses). Some of the most pressing ones are:

1. Definitory problems: What actually is successful linguistic integration, considering the pragmatism of language users' efficient communication without full "proficiency" (see also Dombrowsky-Hahn & al. forthcoming)?

2. Who defines measures and regulations of success and on what basis, and who evaluates the results? Are these entirely external processes (by bureaucrats and administrative staff) or do they include self-reflexive judgments by migrants as agentive speakers (and communicators)?

3. What role needs to be adopted by language practitioners, teachers, intercultural coaches, linguists and scholars from neighboring or related disciplines to advocate fluid language use, debunk myths about monolingualism and ascribed multilingualism, and help to redefine expectations and regulations with insights and views from their lived experience or from the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and linguistic anthropology?

4. How are languages (e)valu(at)ed? To what extent is the measured success of an "integrated" speaker of the German language dependent upon his/her individual migrant background, his/her appearance, cultural stereotypes etc. – and has thus more to do with the public's very individual positive or negative judgments of proficiency and cultural assimilation than with objective criteria, i.e. is thus merely based on personal stance?

The fourth question insinuates already that immigrants from different countries of origin and with diverse language repertoires do not all face the same challenges. In the summer of 2020, numerous print and online media reported that every fifth child of kindergarten age did not speak German at home (see, for instance, the Instagram posts by the intercultural radio program Cosmo, as part of the public service broadcasting ARD, Fig. 1). While this does not sound too bad, the problem is not necessarily about an individual child's multilingual repertoires or socialization practices or the use of another language than German at home, but that it hints at a widespread cultural bias and a fear of specific languages as not being conducive to linguistic integration. Taking a closer look at common perceptions and evaluations around immigrant language uttered in public, it becomes clear that not all languages are equally categorized and evaluated. The linguistic background of a child that speaks English with immigrant parents from the UK, a child of French parents or a Dutch-speaking child from the Dutch-German borderlands being schooled in Germany would be less likely to be considered a threat to "successful integration" than that of a child being socialized in Turkish, Arabic, Pashto or Tigrinya. Multilingualism is not always a profitable asset but can be used (politically) to confuse and to threaten, and to spark fear of alienation and potential language decay. Piller (2016: 4) outlines speakers' disadvantages in the context of linguistic diversity and migration and their lived socioeconomic inequalities:

> [L]inguistic diversity, too, is a factor in inequality that we should strive to redress. Language is an important aspect of our social position and the way we use language – be it in speech, in writing, or in new media – can open or close doors. For sociolinguists this is, in fact, old news. [...] However, our understanding of the relationship between language and inequality in the highly linguistically diverse societies of the early twenty-first century is less systematic.

Piller's critical picture of the intersection between linguistic diversity and social justice in contemporary societies underlines the very divergent interpretations of "multilingual performance", and also those of "linguistic integration". To what extent is linguistic integration understood here as cultural and linguistic adaptation or assimilation, to what extent as self-abandonment, and to what extent merely as the acquisition of basic communicative skills for more efficient interactions? The complexity of the issues and the hardened attitudes involved bespeak the responsibility of linguistics to contribute to this debate, too.

Figure 1: Discussions around multilingualism and integration (Instagram, 2020)

https://www.instagram.com/p/CE19-HzKa9l/?igshid=1tqqsgxcv7nys (last accessed 27-01-2021)

While we outline certain "unfulfilled obligations" and encourage linguists (and other professionals dealing with language) to take action in specific fields, we also recognize the crucial ambivalence of their roles, which range from being strong advocates to controlling bodies. One considerably disputed engagement of linguists is their continued involvement in the process of determining the origins of asylum seekers, which has given rise to heated exchanges as to where engaged responsibility ends and bureaucratic instrumentalization starts. Reportedly, linguists who assisted in Belgian asylum procedures, processing applications by numerous Banyamulenge, a Congolese community from Eastern DR Congo with a long settlement history on what is today Congolese soil, repeatedly categorized them as "Rwandans" – due to the striking similarity of Kinyamulenge (which is actually a variety of the Kinyarwanda-Kirundi continuum) with the standard language used in Rwanda, and due to the lack of linguistic descriptions for Kinyamulenge which could have underpinned its status as a language associated with the DR Congo rather than Rwanda. Banyamulenge activists based in the Netherlands then started an information campaign in 2015 to spread awareness of this apparent misunderstanding. Similar problems arise when different varieties of Arabic are lumped together, when Hindi is confused with Urdu, or Dari with Farsi. This typically results from tying fluid and dynamic language use to nation states and their clear boundaries, or from relying on outdated, deprecative or misleading information, especially on non-European languages. While language tests such as the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) may seem less extreme than the Banyamulenge case described, they also contribute to a decision that determines speakers' administrative fate. All those involved therefore have to question their own positionality, impartiality and ethical standards.

Also, seldomly have those who are expected to "integrate" themselves actually the chance to voice their reactions and opinions – or share their narratives on language acquisition and integration. At times, it may even seem as if the linguistic integration of migrating individuals was more of a societal issue than of a personal biographical matter, or of a personal destiny. Here, we see societal responsibilities.

2. Theory and pragmatism: Where does the path of de-essentializing language lead to?

Critical multilingualism studies (Lüpke & Storch 2013, Blackledge & Creese 2010, Phipps 2019, the journal *Critical Multilingualism Studies*[4]), languaging debates and studies that deal with the fixity and fluidity of linguistic systems and with critical approaches to named and demarcated 'languages' (Otsuji & Pennycook 2009, Sabino 2018, Jaspers & Madsen 2019, to name but a few) have shown that an individual's languages are not always what they

[4] See [https://cms.arizona.edu] (accessed 15 November 2020). The journal has existed since 2012 and deals with various topics in the fields of "critical multilingualism". In a more recent piece, the editors-in-chief explain the focus on critical multilingualism as being based on the multilingual turn at the end of the 20th century and as motivated "in a large part by a desire to turn monolingual language ideologies on their head, what these and other articles appearing in CMS over the past seven years make clear is that multilingualism has served as a heuristic by which scholars, policy makers, educators and others could 'explain away the messy in communication, make it ownable, controllable, and tidy' (Hollington & Storch 2016, CMS 4:2, 2014: 3)" (Warner & Gramling 2019: 1-2).

seem. Conceptualizing 'multilingualism' is a complex task that cannot be reduced to simply viewing a person as having acquired numerous languages during their lifetime. Their use in interaction, their semiotics, ideas around register variation, and their being "part of a complex and densely woven fabric, with holes in it and changing colours and embroidery" (Lüpke & Storch 2013: 346), and ultimately the underlying language ideologies, all do matter. And, although it may be superfluous to mention it, the ways languages are expected to be mastered and employed often diverge from their actual usage, and the discrepancies between prescriptivism and descriptivism give rise to debates and heated exchanges on correct and incorrect realizations, which also include discussions on the necessity of de-essentializing language, and of freeing it from antiquated corsets, so to speak. Alison Phipps (2019: 1), engaged in integration work herself[5], writes, in her important recent work on "decolonising multilingualism", that

> [h]ow languages are learned and taught, the political economy of the organisation of language curricula and language policies favour the world's colonial and imperial languages – English, Spanish, French, Chinese, Russian, Portuguese and to a lesser extent Italian and German. Through specific conceptions of multilingualism and language pedagogy a raft of peacebuilding, interpreting, intercultural dialoguing policies have been attempted, largely serving Western democracies, but these have remained radically impervious to the languages which have not been part of the colonial projects. To be sure, there have been attempts to shore up local, community and indigenous languages, especially in some of these Western democracies [...].

As has already been tentatively addressed before, linguistic integration builds upon language policies that are (understandably) rooted in the concept of a nation state with one official language and specific recognized minority languages. The minority languages are acknowledged or listed according to numbers (of their speech community), and several languages (Turkish, Russian, Arabic, Kurdish etc.) seem to have a more prominent status on the national agenda than others, which also follows an apparent logic. However, the way in which language policy is woven around the issue of linguistic integration also has colonial and imperial traits, at least where African languages are concerned and when it comes to ways of teaching and learning languages. In the Global South (and beyond), many speakers acquire languages in more informal ways, which diverge from European models of more formalized language acquisition in language schools, adult education centers, or as part of integration courses – with a pragmatist view of 'language' that includes the use of creative multilingual and translingual practices and multimodal language use.

Furthermore, the theoretical idea that language is something that is often unbounded, that is no longer tied to a specific territory and needs to be de-essentialized, or more critically, even to be "disinvented" (Makoni & Pennycook 2007), is not very useful for bureaucrats in registration offices. Therefore the question arises: What is potential usage-based

[5] Alison Phipps has been serving as the UNESCO Chair in Refugee Integration through Languages and the Arts at the University of Glasgow since 2017. See [https://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/unesco/] (last accessed 15 November 2020).

knowledge that may serve as key orientational information derived from these theoretical notions on alternative approaches to 'language' in everyday office life? What are the practical implications and advantages of a theoretical redirection of integration for migrants in bureaucratic contexts?

To us it seems that the concept of linguistic integration reflects the difficulties in bringing together theoretical debates and insights from (socio-)linguistics and the practical concerns of those dealing with more "applied" issues. The latter group covers a broad variety of stakeholders indeed, ranging from academics in applied linguistics to language practitioners, officials, educators, politicians, service providers and – last but not least – those who navigate between different language ecologies: migrants, refugees, asylum seekers. To many of them the theoretical rejection of normative notions concerning language, language practices and linguistic identities may appear to be of little practical use. Yet it would be precipitate to discard the far-reaching theoretical suggestions that seem so contrary to lay understandings of language-related phenomena as largely irrelevant to the wider public. First of all, each and every individual aspect that is scrutinized in the debates among critical multilingualism scholars is found in everyday conversations on language-related needs and limitations with regard to migration. We believe it is safe to state that de-essentializing ideas about language not only characterizes theoretical thinking, but is actually what drives the constant popular discourse on language and migration. The much-debated significance of linguistic integration illustrates this aptly. The concept of "linguistic integration" epitomizes how limited essentializing ideas about language are, both in expert and lay understandings. It connects both. What makes it such a powerful discursive theme and tool is that its meaning is made up of different components. Each of these on their own is complicated or even controversial, but as a compound concept, linguistic integration seems to be logical, self-explanatory and significant to many, irrespective of the fact that they may ultimately have rather different ideas of what it actually means.

Integration in the context of migration and international mobility is clearly a controversial concept. It is inherent to all contested categories that they cannot be measured in a straightforward way. Since our understandings of what integration means differ, any potential indicator that may appear useful and reliable in certain regards will turn out to be of little value in others. Zooming in on *linguistic* integration may suggest that we are dealing with a more specific concept implying a higher chance of coming to grips with features that necessarily characterize this particular type of integration. Be careful though:

First of all, linguistic integration is not necessarily a "sub-set" of possible (kinds of) integration. Rather than specifying integration, and thereby somehow apparently reducing the complexity of that which needs to be taken into consideration, adding the modifier "linguistic" makes matters more complicated. Intersecting two complex concepts ("all things linguistic" and "all that relates to integration") does not reduce the task at hand to a more manageable or straightforward one.

We should not commit the mistake of specifying the concept (here: "linguistic") in a way that would lead to an overestimation of language as a relevant factor in integration. This particular specification carries the tacit

assumption that once one masters the linguistic challenges in international mobility and migration, the rest will automatically follow suit.

By placing so much emphasis on the alleged linguistic prerequisites for integration, language learning takes center stage. As such, this is certainly a useful approach. It is hard to imagine any kind or degree of integration without communication across what are conventionally understood as language boundaries on a fairly common and everyday basis. And this will require some language-oriented practices of adjustment to an unfamiliar linguistic environment. Language learning is part of that process, but a narrow understanding of learning a new language fails to capture the complexity of linguistic integration. We may easily end up reducing language-related well-being in a new environment to proficiency in the host society's dominant language.

With these thoughts in mind as a cautionary measure, we may now perhaps proceed to wonder about how to study integration, and in particular linguistic integration.

3. Methods and constraints: How to carry out adequate research on integration?

When considering both the unfulfilled obligations and the responsibilities of linguists in the field of linguistic integration (Section 1), as well as the underlying theoretical notions and the difficulties of realizing them, we cannot help but ask how we should research linguistic integration and operationalize methods. We see a potential roadmap in turning away from mere measuring of learning "success", good proficiency and mastery in a foreign language toward learners' language biographies.

In recent years, language biographies have gained increasing popularity in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology as a more holistic way of comprehending an individual speaker and learner's trajectory as a journey, during which very different linguistic resources may be acquired in diverse contexts and under differing circumstances. This leads to a repertoire directly shaped by biographical traits, and also explains learning strategies, peculiarities in a person's acquisition patterns and, for instance, a person's experience with formalized language learning in a classroom atmosphere. These biographies have, among others, been researched by Franceschini & Miecznikowski (2004); methods have been outlined by Busch (2016); and the approach has also been combined with other more multimodal methods (Busch 2018, and others). These methods are based on qualitative interviews that unfold speakers' biographies and reveal the different contexts of language acquisition processes as lived experience.

However, it must be pointed out that we do not only want to document the language learning of the individual as a cognitive challenge, coupled with the corresponding personal biographical experience. Rather, we express the assumption that we are also dealing with collective, culturally-mediated experiences and practices of communities. This is where the personal narratives of migrants come into play, which can pave the way for more suitable methods. Migrants' narratives, or their "small stories", have been at the center of interest of scholars such as Ana de Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou for some years now. Georgakopoulou (2007, etc.) researches "small stories" in order to understand the connection between telling identities and social identities,

based on very subjective autobiographical voices in shorter recordings, reflecting everyday interactional contexts. De Fina (2003, etc.) focuses on identity constructions in narratives in immigrant discourse, a direction that we also suggest following in the context of linguistic integration. She writes:

> [L]anguage, and in particular narrative, displays its power to voice experiences, to bring about shared understandings of life events, to shape and transform individual and collective realities. [....] The focus of the analysis is on the connections between the local expression of identities in narrative discourse and the social processes that surround migration. (de Fina 2003: 1)

De Fina suggests that these larger social processes around migration are more easily approached from very personal accounts and that stories and memories are much more than only being narrated subjective experience but that they can also make outsiders understand "aspects of the representation of the self [of a migrant] that are not apparent through statistics, questionnaire or sample interview" (p.4). De Fina argues that "narrative discourse is particularly illuminating of ways in which immigrants represent the migration process and themselves in it" (p.5). This is what we suggest for the practical implementation of policies in academia relating to linguistic integration.[6]

The conceptual cornerstone of any research concerning linguistic integration will then have to take into account certain crucial points. In the first two sections of this concise commentary, we emphasized one particular theoretical change which has affected the fields of multilingualism studies, language and superdiversity, and the linguistics of migration and mobility very significantly: the increased awareness that it is necessary to de-essentialize notions of language.

That this does not just result from a post-structuralist desire to indulge in deconstructing anything beyond recognition is made evident by the discursive success of the concept of "linguistic integration". The paraphrases given at the beginning of our short text illustrate diverse stances regarding the usefulness and feasibility of linguistic integration. Diverse as they are, they hinge on particular understandings of integration, and on assumptions about what makes integration successful.[7] If linguistic integration is at stake (both as a social process to be achieved and as a concept whose academic usefulness is to be shown), we need to understand what causes linguistic integration to be perceived as being successful or not, both from the angle of migrants and from that of the matrix society.

Why may language biographies, interviews and migrants' narratives be necessary or useful techniques leading toward a more satisfactory linguistic integration? Language learning can be understood as a collective cultural practice, rather than as only a cognitive task on an individual basis. This hypothesis implies quite significant consequences – particularly for the (overgeneralizing) assumption that

[6] We are grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers for useful comments on the topic, suggesting this both for academic contexts and also popular media.

[7] As pointed out by one reviewer, the problem lies in the disappreciation of cultural and linguistic multifacetedness. (S)he therefore suggests for the matrix society to put efforts in overcoming linguaphobia and aiming to integrate itself actively in a "new" emerging society as well. We are grateful for this constructive comment.

cultural communities act and react differently when confronted with the task of re-orienting linguistic competence, including the learning process of a new language. At the heart of considerations about language learning must therefore be the question of how to go beyond didactic, contrastive-linguistic, error-testing investigation (which sees language learning as a cognitive challenge) to include cultural patterns, cultural experience and different responses to the need to learn. Here we propose to include not only biographies but also narratives. Although closely related in nature, these are distinct genres (and biographies undoubtedly contain narrative components).

The techniques outlined so far emphasize interviews and narratives. These imply the involvement of a researcher in a dialogue with an individual whose experience of linguistic integration and language learning is documented through narrated self-report and reflection. We would like to "up-scale", recognize certain patterns of behavior, and – very importantly – we want to understand how (ideally successful) linguistic integration happens. We can safely assume that it will require communicative competence, but we can only observe this outside 1:1 dialogues. The obvious choice is to rely on ethnographic techniques and (participant) observation in addition to interviewing. To the extent that this is possible, this is what we suggest implementing as a primary methodology in the field of linguistic integration. One significant limitation is that language behavior is prone to be particularly easily affected by the very presence of a researcher, often an outsider, and hardly ever a usual participant in the kind of communicative and learning situations to be observed. Moreover, language learning differs from other cultural techniques or routine tasks that "cultural insiders" are well versed in. It is incremental but slow. It is a protracted and intermittent process, haphazard as to how it unfolds over time. If we want to move from the rich and high resolution (potentially longitudinal) description of individual cases to getting a hunch about collective understandings of language behavior, language ideologies, and their impact on language learning, we still need additional ways to approach what we are after.

However, we would also like to point out that ultimately, in addition to the very dialogical interview methods (i.e., a researcher interviews the informant, who then provides biographical and perhaps culture-specific narrative), communication as an everyday social phenomenon should be accompanied by methods of participant observation, in the best ethnographic manner.[8] Maybe more performative and participatory approaches (rather than participant observation) to research on linguistic integration could produce more promising results that are beneficial for both sides? The degree of determination of one Kurdish-speaking woman's daughter in school (Brizić & al., this volume), her loud voice, might point us in that direction; we can glean from a voice like hers (both in terms of loudness and in terms of what this voice claims, what it states that it is entitled to) that participation could work. Equally, the impressive multilingual repertoire of the Nigerian student and

[8] But here, too, of course, we deal with certain limits: The paradox, or dilemma, of the observer also becomes apparent here, and language learning processes in real time are by no means suitable for observation. Real "participatory" approaches can help. This may include participation in classrooms, in language activist programs, and in many other contexts – rather than relying on longitudinal observation.

his effortless juggling of different languages, or rather his translanguaging, could, when approached from a more participatory approach, be seen as potential rather than as an obstacle to learning German, allowing for more openness in the classroom. The fairly conscious effort at family language policies as outlined in Littig's contribution (this volume) also goes in a similar direction. But what about the softer voices, those voices whose impact is not so much via extrovert loudness, but through introvert subtlety? For instance, our experience with Berber speakers from North Africa is strangely ambivalent: on the one hand, there is not a small degree of political awareness, a sense of cultural community, of belonging rooted in a shared language (notwithstanding the significant diversity among them), and a notable public activism. At the same time, our research experience shows that intricate divisions and fragmentations are part of speakers' identity-building, which therefore confront outsiders with a problem of evaluating language ideologies appropriately. Migrants' narratives, stemming from speakers of one language from the same area, may not all be uniform and may reveal salient differences. Hasty overgeneralizations are therefore as out of place as listening to manifold single voices. We must therefore advocate for careful and speaker-oriented directions, taking into account language users' language ideologies and their knowledge beyond epistemologies shaped by outsiders – but at the same time we emphasize that researchers need to proceed pragmatically and in goal-oriented ways. Treading lightly and employing specific care in including emic perspectives of speakers and communities is therefore more important than ever.

In the long run, integration policies will show which methods and innovations lead to more appropriate teaching and learning modalities. What is certain is that linguistics has a place in all this (and it would be absurd if this were not considered when remodeling current concepts of classes, tests and policies), and the insights we are currently gaining with regard to the complexities of implementing linguistic integration will inspire new research and results in linguistics, too. Questioning our own role in processes of linguistic integration may be a first, long overdue step toward the major road works that lie ahead.

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About the Authors

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About the Authors

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