

Language and Migration



European Federation of National Institutions for Language

Sabine Kirchmeier (ed.)

Language and Migration

Contributions to the EFNIL Conference 2022 in Vilnius

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Sabine Kirchmeier

Preface

This volume contains articles based on the presentations and discussion that took place at the 19th annual conference of EFNIL in Vilnius from 11 to 13 October 2022. The conference was organized by the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language and the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL) with support from the Lithuanian government and the European Commission.

The topic of the conference was: Language and migration.

It is a highly relevant topic for all Europeans, especially as many people are migrating voluntarily or, in these troubled times, have been driven from their homes by brute force due to wars or climate change. This poses challenges for many national and European institutions as almost all aspects of our societies are affected by migration today.

For EFNIL – the European Federation of National Institutions for Language – the conference constitutes an important part of our mission: to provide information about language use and language policy as well as to promote linguistic and cultural diversity within Europe. We hope that this volume can provide new insights inspired by articles describing both recent research projects on language and migration as well as national practices and experiences meeting the various challenges that institutions and governments have faced.

The conference covered many aspects such as multilingualism and multiculturalism, language learning, language in the workplace, and language policy.

The articles by Tony Capstick, Kamilla Kraft, and Genoveva Ruis Calavera give an overview of the challenges that migration in general poses to European languages and language policies in the public and private sectors. They focus on issues for migration research, the multilingual workplace as a site of study, and the facilitating role of the EU's interpretation service for interpreters working in legal, healthcare, or humanitarian contexts in its member states.

Ina Druviete and Jānis Valdmanis, and Amira-Louise Ouardalitou describe how migration has affected workplaces in Latvia and Luxembourg, respectively, while the contribution by Leena Nissilä and Nina Reiman presents the education of migrants in Finland, focussing on language learning and how it is promoted through language-aware pedagogy across the educational system. Finally, the article by Dimitrios Koutsogiannis, Anastasia Rothoni and Maria Arapopoulou describes immigrant children's language practices and their implications for lan-

guage policies and teaching, using mind maps to illustrate the various language practices that young children are managing in different contexts during their day.

The last section at the conference was devoted to language and migration policies in France (Claire-Lyse Chambron and Claire Extramiana), Estonia (Marin Mõttus), and Poland (Elżbieta Sękowska). The session was concluded with a panel discussion moderated by Andreas Witt, where representatives from Belgium, Greece, and Lithuania presented their views on current migration challenges and how national and EU policies could interact in a fruitful manner to solve the many types of problems that occur.

The talk by Taras Kremin, the State Language Protection Commissioner of Ukraine, touched everyone present as it illustrated the desperate situation of the Ukrainian people and the appalling conditions for speakers of Ukrainian in the Ukrainian territories occupied by Russia. To enhance our understanding of Ukrainian language policy and also of the role of the State Language Protection Commissioner and his radius of action in the current situation, in this volume the main points of the talk are reproduced in the form of an interview that was carried out after the conference.

The main conclusions of the conference were that all European countries are experiencing migration today and that their internal language situation and policies strongly determine which solutions are applied to the many types of language challenges that occur. There is not a “one size fits all” method that can solve all language problems caused by migration. Thus the exchange of knowledge and ideas, mutual inspiration, and the presentation, and evaluation of creative solutions becomes extremely relevant for all countries involved.

The last two articles in this volume are based on the presentations of the two winners of EFNIL’s Master’s Thesis Award. Chiara Cheppi’s thesis involved a sociolinguistic study of the role of multilingualism for the branding of SBB CFF FFS, the main Swiss national railway company, and how language is used to brand this company as Swiss by exploring the use, role, status, and ideologies associated with different languages. Using a case study from the bank sector, Ricardo Bravi investigated how the use of advanced corpus analysis and the Termonographic Method could help interpreters identify important terms and concepts and perform better in interpretation situations where they were not experts in a given field.

A warm thanks to Helen Heaney for meticulously proofreading all articles, to Joachim Hohwieler and Norbert Cußler-Volz for their valuable work with the layout and publication of this book, and to members of the executive committee of EFNIL for reviewing some of the articles.

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Introductory statements

Paulius Saudargas

Welcoming address

Dear conference attendees and guests,

I am delighted to open the 19th Annual Conference of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL) and to welcome here linguists and language policy experts from as many as 30 European countries.

It is a great honour to welcome you in the Constitution Hall of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania as this year marks the 100th anniversary of the first Constitution of our state as well as the 100th anniversary of the Lithuanian language being accorded official status.

The Constitution adopted 100 years ago declared Lithuanian to be the state language for the first time in our country's history. After many centuries of oppression and non-recognition, our language has become pivotal to public life and the state.

Like every nation, we are inseparable from our language. It keeps our identity encoded and helps us to create and express our own vision of the world as well as to share it with others in a multicultural global environment. That is what this conference is all about – how we can enrich each other when different cultures and languages meet.

Unfortunately, the war, the bloody war, launched by Russia against Ukraine, is the most important challenge to our democratic population today. Beyond doubt, in our hearts, we are with our Ukrainian brothers and sisters who are fighting for their freedom and their land, for their identity, their culture, and their language. All of us support their fight to the best of our abilities. The war has changed all life-related matters. It is paramount that today, at the conference, you will discuss the challenges of language policy as a result of war and migration: multiculturalism and multilingualism, migration and language learning. These are important and topical issues, and I am certain that your professional insight will be a facilitator in the current and future directions of language policy.

I thank you for this meaningful work and I wish you a creative and smooth-running day.

Albina Auksoriūtė

Welcoming address

Dear Vice-Speaker of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania,
dear members of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania,
dear President of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language,
dear Director General of the Directorate General for Translations of the
European Commission,
dear colleagues and friends,

I welcome you all to Language and Migration, the 19th conference of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language. This is the second time that Lithuania has hosted this conference, which, staged by the European Federation of National Institutions for Language, takes place in a different member country of the Federation every year. We are excited to be having you here in Lithuania this year because this is a special year for our country: Lithuania is marking 100 years of the status of Lithuanian as the state language, an important landmark indeed.

We live in a global world where migration and multilingualism have become commonplace. On the one hand, this creates enormous opportunities just as the walls are coming down; on the other hand, we face the inevitability of conflicts between language, culture, and identity. Obviously, we are citizens of our own countries and we treasure and protect our roots and national identities yet at the same time we are citizens of the world and as such, we are part of a wealth of global processes. This brings us to the question: are we ready for that?

The suggestion I made to the General Assembly of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language in 2021, which was to hold a conference dedicated to the topic of Language and Migration in Lithuania, was received with universal support. Only at the time, we had no idea that this topic would be even more relevant in 2022. Over the year that it took us to prepare for the conference, Europe, and the world in general, found itself face to face with a disaster the likes of which we had not seen for more than 70 years, as Russia launched its war on Ukraine. Tragic for Ukraine, this horrendous and continuing situation has touched every country in Europe and around the world. The last six months have seen the mechanism of temporary protection being enforced for the first time in the history of the European Union for the benefit of Ukrainian nationals. Every country hosting refugees is facing the challenges of adult and child integration and of teaching language, to name but a few, which makes this conference an excellent forum to share our experiences and to talk about possible ways of resolving today's

challenges. I understand that discussion is not a process that can be completed within a short time frame but it is the only one that guarantees the best outcome: unless we adopt an integrated approach towards resolving this problem, we will face enormous and insurmountable challenges in the future. Not giving it some thought would be an unwise thing to do. The extent of emigration and immigration is growing and we will have to make adjustments.

This conference was organised by the European Federation of National Institutions for Language, the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, and the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language. I want to thank Sabine Kirchmeier, President of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language, as well as its Executive Committee, Audrius Antanaitis, Chairman of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language and the Commission's Secretariat for their support and assistance in organising this conference. I also want to extend my heartfelt gratitude to Anželika Gaidienė, who is Head of the Research Centre of Standard Language at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and the key promoter of the conference. I thank everyone who has made a contribution to organising this event as well as the translators for doing their challenging job that entails a high degree of responsibility.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to the Lithuanian sponsors of this conference: the Commission for the Traditions and Heritage of Lithuanian Studies of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and its Chairman Paulius Saudargas, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania, the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania, the National Museum of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, the Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre, and Vilnius city development agency Go Vilnius.

This conference has gathered a fair number of expert and professional speakers and participants from Lithuania and abroad. I am certain that the ideas that are voiced and the discussions that take place within the framework of the conference will provide an impetus and new opportunities just as they will trigger a response across Europe. I thank you for your attention. Have a remarkable conference: may its discussions be meaningful and your time in Lithuania enjoyable!

[Translation from Lithuanian]

Audrys Antanaitis

Welcoming address

Dear members of the Seimas, dear EFNIL President Sabine, dear guests and colleagues,

It is at an unusual time that we meet here in Vilnius, the capital city of Lithuania. With the COVID-19 pandemic that has shaken up the world still ongoing, we had to endure the shock of yet another terrible disaster: the Russian aggression towards Ukraine. Despite that, the civilised world is determined to persevere and to live a normal life as far as possible, to think, and to build its future.

This conference is taking place at a time when Lithuania is marking a couple of dates of import to the Lithuanian language. Last year, we celebrated 120 years since the publication of *The Lithuanian Grammar* by Jonas Jablonskis and Petras Avižonis, the purported point of origin of standard Lithuanian. This year, we are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the state language, for it was on 1 August 1922 that the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania adopted the Constitution of the State of Lithuania, its Article 6 proclaiming that “The state language shall be the Lithuanian language”.

Against this historical background we have gathered in Lithuania to discuss, key aspects of language and language policy: migration, multilingualism, and lingual integration. We will also touch upon *linguicide*: the criminal policy of language annihilation that Russia is pursuing on the Ukrainian territories it has occupied.

What kind of important message must we send out to the world today? Well, first and foremost, that we stand united and we talk regardless of – or perhaps to overcome – the challenges imposed on us by the times. Secondly, that we aim to be and are indeed part of the process of civilisation that is the creative energy of the progressive world today. Thirdly, that by exchanging our experience of different countries’ policies on language we will return home possessed of a better understanding of what would make our activities more versatile and the world a better place to live.

Once again, we welcome you to Lithuania. We will do our best to make our work here productive and to allow our guests to use their breaks to get to know the capital of Lithuania as well as the history and culture of our country first hand.

Have a pleasant stay in Lithuania. May our work here be fruitful, and reports interesting. May this international cooperation be a meaningful part of the process towards world peace and mutual understanding.

Thank you for your attention.

[Translation from Lithuanian]

Genoveva Ruiz Calavera

Opening speech

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honour for me to open, for the first time, and together with the other distinguished speakers, the 19th annual conference of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language and to address this audience in my capacity as Director-General of DG Interpretation at the European Commission.

For years, this event has provided an opportunity to listen to national perspectives on EU languages and I am delighted to be here. ENFIL is a wonderful example of how to bring people together in working for a common goal: the promotion of multilingualism and of the richness and diversity of European languages.

And we in the European Commission's interpretation service share that goal: we work each and every day with the 24 official EU languages to promote multilingualism in the service of EU citizens. As you know, the EU's motto is "United in diversity" and we proudly serve its beating heart – multilingualism.

Multilingualism is the cornerstone of European democracy, languages are the identity of its citizens, and multilingual communication is the DNA of our European institutions. EU citizens have the right to address the European institutions in their own language and to receive a reply in that language.

That is why the role of language services in the Commission, DG Interpretation and DG Translation, is so important in facilitating the multilingual democratic decision-making process in the European Union.

DG Interpretation – also known by its French acronym SCIC (*service commun d'interprétation de conférences*) – is the biggest interpretation service in the world. We provide interpretation at hundreds of meetings every week, mobilising thousands of highly qualified interpreters to facilitate communication in the 24 official languages of the EU and in any other language required as part of the EU's multinational interactions as well as, when necessary, international sign language.

SCIC has been instrumental in ensuring multilingualism, also in the current international context in which we lurch from one crisis to the next. When the Covid-19 pandemic started, we had to adapt swiftly and change the way we operate so that we could ensure the business continuity of the European Institutions and enable our decision makers to continue to do their jobs. Our service has also been essential since the start of Russia's unjustified aggression against Ukraine and the ensuing energy crisis, providing interpretation at numerous emergency meetings.

In the context of the Ukraine crisis, with more than 9 million arrivals and around 4.3 million refugees having asked for temporary protection in the EU, the theme of this year's conference, "Language and migration", is particularly topical. I am looking forward to hearing about the reflections and experiences which speakers will share today. I am also pleased that later on this morning, in Session 1 on Multiculturalism and multilingualism, I will elaborate on the interpretation dimension. I will talk about what the Commission is doing on migration, the importance of multilingualism in the EU, and more specifically about interpretation during the Ukraine crisis.

Thank you for your attention, and let me wish all of us good work as well as useful and productive debates.

Sabine Kirchmeier

Welcome speech / Introduction

Dear Mr Saudragas,
dear representatives of the European Commission,
dear hosts,
dear colleagues,

I would like to welcome you to the beautiful city of Vilnius to celebrate EFNIL's 19th conference.

It is a great pleasure to see you all here – live as well as online – and to be here again in Vilnius. I would like to thank our hosts, Albina Auksoriūtė and Audrys Antanaitis, for inviting us, for arranging the beautiful parliament building, the Seimas, as the venue and, last but not least, for organizing an exquisite cultural programme. My warmest thanks also go to the European Commission, especially Mr Ruiz Calavera, and to the Seimas for supporting our conference by providing the facilities and interpretation services between Lithuanian and English. This is a big help, indeed.

The last time EFNIL was here was in 2013, when the theme of the conference was Translation and Interpretation in Europe. It was most enjoyable.

Vilnius is an amazing city, with an amazing culture, and an amazing language museum – one of the few of its kind in the world. I have visited it several times.

One of the exhibits that made the deepest impression on me was an old photograph of a little boy sitting on the doorstep reading a book. It must have been taken some time between 1864 and 1904, when books in the Lithuanian Latin alphabet were forbidden by the Russian occupiers and had to be smuggled across the border on foot.

The pleasure on the boy's face while he was reading was touching and went straight to my heart. It made me realize once again how important it is to be able to speak and read in your own language, whether it is in your own country or abroad.

Language is an integral part of our personalities and strongly rooted in our culture. Everyone can feel it when they return to their homeland after living abroad. It is something that is difficult to explain but nevertheless touches us deeply.

I myself am a migrant. My family moved from Germany to Denmark when I was nine years old. I came to a country using a language that I had never heard before. I did not understand a word of what was said to me.

Fortunately, I could go to a bilingual school, I learned the language, and I even became Director of the Danish Language Council. However, the feeling of not

being able to communicate with people around me and being forced to adapt to a life and a culture that I did not choose freely is something that I still remember clearly.

The topic of this conference, Language and Migration, covers many aspects that we are going to explore today and tomorrow, such as multilingualism and multiculturalism, language learning, language at the workplace, and language policy. It is a highly relevant topic, especially in these troubled times, where many people are migrating voluntarily or have been driven from their homes by brute force due to wars or climate change.

For EFNIL – the European Federation of National Institutions for Language – this conference constitutes an important part of our mission to provide information about language use and language policy as well as to promote linguistic and cultural diversity within Europe.

I hope that the next two days will give us ideas and tools so that we can contribute in a positive and constructive way to the discussion about migration in our communities and to enable clear, respectful, and friendly communication.

We should always bear in mind that at the very centre of our exchanges are people who have been or are still far away from their homes, their families, and their language.

I am looking forward to many interesting presentations and scientific discussions and I thank all of the speakers who have decided to contribute to the programme.

Multiculturalism and multilingualism

Tony Capstick

Language, migration and method: how to research a world on the move

1. Introduction

This paper explores the interface between language and human migration. While language as a communicative resource is becoming ever more important in mediating, regulating and shaping migrant processes, increasing migration and displacement have had significant repercussions on our understandings of language use in all its forms. Each case study presented below takes a specific aspect of migration and explores key terms relating to language resources and migration trajectories to demonstrate how human movement has always been an important feature of social life and how, when people move, they take their languages with them (Capstick 2020). Language use spread across the globe in pre-modern times, a diffusion since aided by technologies from sea-faring voyages to digital platforms today, from European imperialists fighting for control in vastly different parts of Asia, Africa and the Americas to the emergence of the nation state as a territory and the codification of standard languages within those territories. Linguistic and cultural diversity is therefore forged by human migration. While the world may have experienced military decolonization in previously colonized zones, the consequences of ex-colonial subjects moving across these zones as labour migrants continues to be felt in what were the centres of colonial power (Blommaert 2010).

These transnational ties have resulted in the de-coupling of the link between language and nation as globalization in its current forms is based on the deterritorialization of the nation state, although most government immigration requirements fiercely protect national borders and national languages. This is the result of a long-held ideology that for a nation to be united, its individuals must speak the same language (Blackledge/Creese 2010). Over time, the one-nation one-language ideology has been embedded in the political systems of global nation states, which have legitimized various policies that have sought to minimize and limit the use of all linguistic varieties other than the standardized ones. Hence, the status of different linguistic varieties varies drastically in different social contexts. That is, the varieties spoken by government officials and the majority of the nation are encouraged and privileged in most domains over all other varieties. As well as the dominant varieties being privileged, the speakers of these varieties are also privileged. By contrast, minorities and minority languages are neglected (Blackledge/Creese 2010). This situation can be explained in the light of Bourdieu's (1997)

theory of linguistic capital. Bourdieu points out that ideologies about languages are reflected in language use, namely, when communicating, interlocutors weigh up the values of their linguistic resources while considering the field (i.e., the social context they are in at the time) and they then deploy what they value the most. It is implicit that dominant varieties hold the most capital in most domains and are expected to be used; hence, people use and shift to these dominant varieties. A salient practical example of the hierarchy of linguistic capital is that the language of instruction in mainstream education is often the official language of the country. Regardless of their native language, students are obliged to have already acquired the language of instruction to enrol in school. In other words, learning the language of instruction is their passport to accessing schooling. While such an education policy concerning language does not help speakers of minority languages, it fulfils the one-nation one-language notion in that everyone is indirectly forced to learn the dominant language of the host community.

More voluntary forms of migration are also discussed in the case studies below alongside forced migration and displacement as a result of conflict. Although forced migration often has its roots in many of the political processes discussed above, such as the wars and conflicts that occur between nations fighting for power, the focus in this paper is on the linguistic aspects of displaced people's language use in order to explore how their language resources are drawn on during displacement. By investigating these movements and their relationship to language and communication, patterns emerge which connect rural and urban areas as well as distant regions. For this reason, migration increasingly generates attention across the world for its link to political, social, technological and economic developments. These developments, Harvey (2005) argues, have intensified space/time compression. What this means is that we now see a vastly more interconnected world when we go online, watch TV or travel to distant countries in a much shorter time than only a generation ago. Texts, languages and other semiotic resources enable individuals and families to cross these boundaries, thereby shrinking diverse temporal and geographical zones. However, humans are so familiar with crossing these linguistic, cultural and geographical borders that the theoretical and methodological tools touched upon in the case studies below primarily focus on the social and technological developments that shape all aspects of community life, as migration touches all of us. The following case studies illustrate the role of language in these social and technological changes.

2. Case study 1: *Language for resilience*

Refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and host communities experience varying degrees of adversity and trauma as a result of displacement. Interventions can help individuals learn to cope with this trauma while also giving them the

opportunity to continue with their learning in formal, non-formal and informal classes. The language of the classroom setting is crucial. Knowledge about this relationship and how language mediates recovery is the first step in helping practitioners who wish to design interventions begin their planning. When this knowledge base is in place, work with agencies can then build on what is known about the way their work is mediated by language. For example, teachers need this understanding before they can begin to design classroom activities that help their learners develop social relationships within the classroom, without risking harming their learners further (McLaughlin 2008). Likewise, teachers need to know how to deal with disruptive behaviour and be able to plan their lessons and design their teaching strategies and materials with these behaviours in mind. School leaders may not be aware of the wealth of knowledge that exists about education psychology; thus there is a role for practitioners from fields related to psychology and therapy to collaborate with educators (Capstick/Delaney 2016).

In low-resource environments in many parts of the world, teachers are on the front line of coping with the outcomes of displacement while only having access to teacher-centred methodologies. This limits their opportunities to engage and support learners. Often the pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes attended by these teachers did not equip them with the skills or knowledge to work with refugees. They may not have been trained how to welcome newcomers with different home languages into the classroom, or how to harness these home languages for learning, or how to design classroom activities to help displaced learners settle in and begin to cope in new settings. Typically resources are not available to help teachers build relationships with the wider community and parents and to understand the displacement and adversity their learners have experienced (Capstick/Ateek 2021).

Language learning classes are increasingly seen as a potential space in which to deliver psychosocial support alongside or embedded in formal language learning. This is seen in state sector schools in Lebanon, which deliver the curriculum in English or French, and in NGO classrooms in Erbil Kurdistan, where English language lessons are seen as a vehicle for ‘post stress attunement’ programmes in adolescent-friendly spaces. Research carried out by one of these NGOs found that the impact of this approach to psychosocial interventions focused on beneficiaries’ increased levels of social trust, diversity of social networks, perceptions of security and safety, and confidence in the future (Panter-Brick et al. 2020). These are significant gains given that in Iraq, one of the main settings for the research presented here, there are approximately three million IDPs, of whom a quarter of a million are Syrian refugees.

Refugee settings are always complex; it may be the first time that people living there have been displaced or they may have lived through multiple displacements and experienced many different types of adversity. Some displaced people want

to return home at the earliest opportunity while others may not have made any decisions about what to do next. These different aims affect how they are able to talk about the adverse experiences they encountered on their journeys. This complexity has implications for the language learning programmes which seek to support learners with coping strategies as NGOs and governmental organizations may only be able to meet the needs of learners who have previously had access to some form of language learning in the target language of the NGO's language classes (Capstick/Ateek 2021).

2.1 Language, literacy and displacement

Language and literacy teachers are often the first teachers that refugee children meet when they are enrolled in schools or language programmes. These teachers, and the wider school staff, may have no specialist support or training to work with children who are refugees. For children whose schooling has been interrupted, the experience of school often requires a process of socialization, of learning a set of alien rules and practices that are often implicit normalized practices. Schools can play an important and positive role for child refugees by providing a stable and 'normal' environment, helping children integrate into a community, and by helping with trauma (Mathews 2008). Language classrooms are places where safe spaces can be created and support provided in navigating a new space if curricula are designed to be flexible and driven by student needs. Schools can also be a negative environment for children, places where hostility, bullying and discrimination occur (Dryden-Peterson 2015).

Teacher training rarely prepares teachers to work with children who are refugees or those who have experienced trauma. There are also few opportunities for professional development. However, many teachers who have found themselves working with these groups have identified important principles (MacNevin 2012) and these need to be disseminated more widely. There is also a lack of research focused on responsive literacy and language pedagogies (Benseman 2014). It seems important then that the experiences, strategies and techniques for language and literacy learning that take the impact of trauma into account are consolidated. But it is equally important that these are not decontextualized lists where cultural understandings of trauma from communities are lost.

A final issue addresses the ways in which literacy learning is conceptualized in schools. A common response of schools accommodating refugee children who are not literate in the dominant language is to take these students out of mainstream classrooms to address what are seen as their language and literacy deficits. When there are no specialist programmes in place, schools often use reading programmes that are designed for the early years and are often heavily focussed on phonics and decoding. This approach to literacy does not acknowledge broader forms of

meaning making and the use of inappropriate materials, designed for younger children, tends to alienate rather than engage. We know that multimodal literacies encourage a broader form of meaning making, often drawing on popular culture and students' worlds. The affordances of different modes enable children to work across them when they do not have sufficient oral language or expertise with print. It would be useful to consider the ways in which multimodal approaches to learning can be applied to teaching and learning for refugees.

3. Case study 2: Migrants and refugees in education: A toolkit for teachers (Future Learn MOOC)

The British Council's *Language for Resilience* programme highlights opportunities for teachers and learners to foster resilience in language classrooms across the world. By creating a MOOC (massive open online course), it was possible to reach teachers and other practitioners with access to online platforms all over the world. MOOC participants learn about the patterns and impact of migration and displacement on learners in cross-curricular formal and non-formal settings as well as the reasons why people migrate, what happens when they have migrated and the impact of displacement on their language use and language learning. Participants hear from teachers across the Middle East and North Africa about their experiences in working with migrants, displaced persons and refugees, including the emotional, psychological and teaching challenges they face in this work. They share practical strategies which they have adopted to build inclusive classrooms which promote empathy, social learning skills and community cohesion. They consider how the classroom can be used as a protective space for enhancing the resilience of the learners and discover how to apply their understanding to build confidence and competence in a classroom setting.

3.1 Understanding different forms of migration: A spectrum from voluntary to forced migration

Understanding the different types of migration provides the foundations for understanding the different kinds of classrooms that migrants and refugees learn in. It also provides opportunities to explore the different approaches teachers use in these settings when migrants learn together with host communities. When we talk about refugees and migrants, we often include people with a wide variety of reasons for migrating. These could be voluntary forms of migration, like wanting to find a better job. Or migration might be involuntary or forced, where people had no choice. Perhaps they had to leave their homes because of conflict, famine or an environmental disaster. Furthermore, people are likely to migrate for more than one reason. A family might flee poverty as well as political persecution.

What is clear is that in our teaching we meet learners from a wide variety of backgrounds. Some of these learners will be economic migrants with some degree of choice in their decision making while others will be refugees, forced to flee their homes. Some of them will have faced difficult circumstances in their home countries. Teachers often hear about these difficulties in their classrooms and therefore benefit from understanding that culture is made up of habits, beliefs and identities which everyone in a classroom setting orients to when learning together (Conteh 2023). For example, being able to understand and speak the national language, perhaps as well as a language that people have in common, a *lingua franca*, is an important resource that displaced people need if they are to begin to settle into their new neighbourhoods. For example, an Arabic-speaking Sudanese refugee in Germany and a German national might find it easiest to communicate in English, so English is the *lingua franca* in this case. Also, if worldwide *lingua francas* like English are used as the medium of instruction in schools, it is even more important for migrants and refugees to learn those languages as they will need them to understand the teacher, read their coursebooks and speak to other learners. This involves thinking about how using the term ‘multilingual’ represents the idea that many refugee and migrant children speak more than one language or dialect to different degrees of proficiency. Using these different language resources in different contexts contributes to teachers’ and learners’ knowledge of the world. Sometimes there is a difference between the home variety of a language and the formal official variety, such as with Arabic, but it is important to find ways that recognize that multilingual people do not keep each of their languages separate but switch, quite naturally, between the languages that they know, for example, when using a few words from a dialect of Arabic alongside a few words of English in the same sentence. This has important effects on the way that they learn and the way that teachers teach (Capstick/Ateek 2021).

3.2 Formal and non-formal education, language and learning

Education is most commonly delivered through government-run or private schools and colleges where students work towards formal assessments and qualifications. When refugees and migrants join these classes, they join a community of learners. This community often uses a dominant language that learners need to know to be able to talk to their peers and read their coursebooks. This language might be different to their home language but it is essential for learning. In the non-formal sector, students learn in the community, for example in youth centres or community-based organizations. Non-formal programmes are often run by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and may or may not work towards national qualifications. The teaching methods are often different as they may have been designed by an international NGO. Informal learning is different again. It refers to all the self-

directed learning, away from teachers and schools, that we control ourselves. An example is all the time we spend checking our understanding using internet search engines.

3.3 Linking out-of-classroom experiences to inside the classroom

For language curricula, many refugee learners respond well to a theme-based curriculum that builds vocabulary through the integration of listening, speaking, reading and writing and that provides opportunities for refugee learners to explore themes through personal writing that connects to their out-of-school experiences. Themes might include ‘getting to know your neighbours’, ‘taking a bus’ or ‘choosing from the menu’. No one understands a teacher’s own classrooms better than they do, for which reason teachers often consider the relationship between how they provide supportive as well as challenging activities for learners of different levels and educational backgrounds in their classes alongside their concern for creating learning environments which are socially inclusive, that is, welcoming to all. As such, an inclusive school means that all learners are welcomed into the school community regardless of language or educational background, gender, ethnicity or socio-economic status. All learners learn, contribute to and take part in all aspects of school life. In an inclusive school, learners with Special Educational Needs (SEN) spend a great deal of their time learning with their peers. Developing activities which build on the previous task, each new activity taking something from the task before and extending it a little further, helps both SEN learners as well as their peers in refugee settings (Conteh 2023). Short and easy-to-manage tasks are important for creating inclusive classrooms for all. Schools encourage awareness of the mutual benefits of inclusion for all the different categories of learners. SEN learners often demonstrate social understanding of and empathy towards their non-SEN peers. They share with them their different cultural experiences as well as their different learning styles to the benefit of all learners.

3.4 Lifelong learning and collaborative learning

Learning happens at different stages of individuals’ lives and very often in collaboration with others. We learn alone but it is also important to think about how, particularly for newcomers, we learn by working together with other people through shared talk and problem solving. Lifelong learning is self-motivated learning across a learner’s whole life. It can include workplace learning and web-based learning as well as more formal learning in mainstream education. In lifelong learning, learners take control of their own learning goals. They make choices about what to learn and when based on these goals. However, research also shows how working together supports cognitive development. Cognitive development

includes the ways that we process information and learn languages, developing from the child brain to the adult brain. Teachers of displaced people help their learners develop their cognitive abilities by drawing on their multilingualism because learners use different parts of their language repertoires when talking together in inclusive classrooms. Working together helps learners become independent thinkers as well as members of a team. These are important skills for settling into a new country (Matthews 2008).

3.5 Developing empathy and resilience

Empathy is the emotional experience of understanding another person's feelings, thoughts and conditions from their point of view rather than from one's own point of view. It is important for non-migrant children to understand that, first of all, migrants and refugees are just like them in many ways but that, equally, they have been through experiences which are different to theirs. Children can be helped to explore negative attitudes towards migration and refugees and to develop more positive attitudes towards people from different parts of the world. Moreover, the language of the classroom has a central role to play in helping refugees address the effects of loss, displacement and trauma. Language provides a voice for refugees so that their stories can be heard and understood. The effects of trauma are often displayed in learning situations and language programmes can create safe spaces to work through the effects of trauma on children.

Similarly, psychosocial interventions do not always need to be seen as separate from language learning. Language programmes can address the fact that children are in fight or flight mode as a result of displacement and trauma. Their internal worlds are programmed to make sense of their experience and these responses affect learning. The use, for example, of stories and the arts in language learning allows feelings to be expressed in the indirect third person with meaningful engagement in language and emotions (Sutherland 1997). This can be particularly powerful in the safe space of a second or third language. Work of this kind could be viewed as a source of protection. The challenge, therefore, may be the need for language teachers to develop their confidence in using these kinds of methods, particularly if some of these teachers are dealing with the effects of their own trauma particularly if they are migrants or refugees themselves.

4. Case study 3: Heritage, language learning and the arts

Remittances from the UK to India reached a peak of \$4.3 billion in 2012. However, the links between these sums and the kinds of social and cultural development which take place in countries like India are rarely clear from origin-country governments and aid agencies. For the past 20 years, the notion of social remittances has been used to dig deeper into the kinds of non-economic remittances

which circulate between sending and receiving nations. Social remittances are ideas, know-how, practices and skills which shape migrants' encounters with, and integration into, their host societies. How people's experiences before migrating strongly influence what they do in the countries where they settle affects, in turn, what they send back to their homelands. Secondly, just as scholars differentiate between individual and collective *economic* remittances, we also distinguish between individual and collective *social* remittances. While individuals communicate ideas and practices to each other in their roles as friends, family members or neighbours, they also communicate in their capacity as organizational actors, which has implications for organizational management and capacity building. Finally, we argue that social remittances can scale up from local-level impacts to affect regional and national change and scale out to affect other domains of practice (Levitt 1998; Levitt/Lamba-Nieves 2011).

4.1 Language and social remittances

Much has been written about the impact of economic remittances on countries like India and Pakistan (Ballard 2005). In my work I focus on the non-economic remittances which circulate across transnational networks in the form of literacies. These remittances are the circulatory exchanges which migrants send and receive in the form of written and spoken correspondence and include the ideas and practices from which they draw in these exchanges (Levitt 2016, 225). Conceptualizing literacy in this way develops current research, which accounts for literacy as a shared resource for multilingual communities, and extends this research to include literacy resources in countries of origin as well as countries of settlement (Capstick 2019). Levitt (1998, 2001) has outlined four types of social remittances: norms, practices, identities and social capital. Following a social practices theory of literacy (Street 1993), I argue that these practices involve values, attitudes and social relationships and are therefore close in meaning to the *norms* that Levitt (1998: 933) defines as consisting of ideas, values and beliefs; these include, she suggests, notions of intrafamily responsibility, aspirations of social mobility and standards of age and gender appropriateness. Levitt (1998, 2001) explains that these norms are shaped by *practices*, which include religious practices, household labour and patterns of civil and political participation. Thus, conceptualizing literacy practices as social remittances means bringing together the two types of social remittances which Levitt describes as norms and practices. Levitt's third type of social remittance is *identity*. She argues that notions of identity shift with the changes which migration brings about. The fourth and final type is social capital, that is, the positive outcomes of human interaction which are attributed to personal relationships and networks.

Values, ideas and beliefs stemming from written scripts but also practices that are followed in literacy teaching contribute to shaping the identities of everyone

involved, which is in line with the suggestion that conceptualizing literacy practices as social remittances means bringing together the two types of social remittances which Levitt describes as norms and practices. Exploring interactions within heritage schools and with their direct networks inside the UK and in India moves towards understandings of how migrants choose different literacies to study and connect with their heritage as well as how they stay in touch with family and friends, which, in turn, relates to the values formed before and after migration. By looking into the cultural centres, we can explore how signs of identity are transmitted from India to the UK and back to India through these arts centres. As argued by Levitt (1998) and others, social remittance may include patterns of civil and political participation, notions of identity and identity shifts, ideas about gender roles and professional practice. All of these aspects can be further explored through the lens of diasporic news and media, both in the host country and the homeland.

4.2 Case study 4: COVID-19, migration and multilingualism

In this final case study, we turn to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on refugee families. Lebanon is a diverse, multicultural country with a trilingual education system in which the majority of subjects are taught in English, French or Arabic. Proficiency in both English and French is required to access the secondary school curriculum. This is a particular challenge for Syrian refugee students, who are used to learning in varieties of Arabic. However, the challenge is not limited to Syrian refugees as many students from poor, rural regions of Lebanon also have limited access to English and French. Furthermore, many students in Lebanon attain low levels of literacy as they are faced with literacy instruction in Modern Standard Arabic rather than in their spoken variety. The country's colonial history, the effects of the 1975-1989 civil war and regular waves of migration have created significant challenges for education. Lebanon gained independence from the French Mandate in 1943, declaring Arabic as its official language. As already mentioned, French has a strong institutional presence in education, not only as a foreign language but also used as a medium of instruction for many school and university subjects. English is also employed extensively as a medium of instruction. Attempts to Arabize education in Lebanon have been thwarted by successive regional and local violent conflicts.

At the time of writing, Lebanon was living through a refugee crisis resulting from the Syrian war. There were approximately 1 million registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon (UNHCR 2019), including more than half a million school-aged children. In Lebanon English and French dominate as the languages of instruction for STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) in schools, with Arabic reserved for the social sciences and humanities. This context presents challenges as many Lebanese students (and teachers) have limited proficiency in

English or French. Lebanon performs below the international average in science and mathematics. Underachievement is yet more pronounced for Syrian refugees. Foreign language instruction of STEM subjects contributes to students dropping out of school and university. These challenges are compounded by the fact that academic literacy teaching in Arabic is conducted in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is not a home language for the majority of students. The mismatch between the language of literacy instruction and students' spoken varieties has wide-ranging consequences for academic achievement.

The COVID-19 pandemic forced governments in Lebanon, like in many other countries, to close schools. This risked rapidly eroding the increases in enrolment that displaced learners had been experiencing. Closures resulted in increased learning online. While some teachers struggled to adapt their teaching, others responded with creative solutions which helped learners use their multilingualism to scaffold new learning as they move between different social media platforms and blur the distinction between formal and informal learning. Teachers in Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) (2019) and in online British Council training sessions delivered in lockdown identified their pedagogical needs and helped build the 'Covid-19 Migration and Multilingualism' project website which enables refugee teachers to carry out their own research in their own communities about their increasing use of digital literacies. Initial findings demonstrate how displaced people turn to (informal) literacy mediators in their transnational networks to mediate (formal) learning, which enables them to stay enrolled in formal and non-formal programmes. The website was used with additional communities in Latin America and Africa so that those working with displaced people are able to develop new pedagogies. A new Virtual Learning Environment was added which increased the numbers of teachers reached and provided spaces for online mentoring and advice.

Stakeholder focus groups in each country established the following knowledge gaps. The gaps in knowledge relate to how the closure of schools impacted the move to academic instruction online through digital media such as Zoom, Microsoft Teams, Skype, SAKAI and emails and online social platforms. It is not clear how gaps in access to the internet, electricity, electronic equipment and know-how impacted social media practices. The research enhanced the capacities of instructors and policy makers in blending online and offline education interventions towards an equitable educational system (SDG4). COVID-19 highlighted inequalities in education for refugees from Syria, for example. Educational institutions were forced to close and provide immediate online education through digital platforms such as Zoom, Adobe Connect and Blackboard but a gap in how Turkish-speaking teachers can help Arabic-speaking Syrians created a crisis in education.

Translanguaging in education refers to the inclusion of all available linguistic and other semiotic resources for the purpose of teaching and learning (Blackledge/Creese 2010). A translanguaging approach to education enables teachers and students to use their home and preferred languages alongside dominant and

majority languages. Translanguaging moves away from the notion that specific ‘mother tongues’ are inevitably the preferred languages of students from particular groups. A translanguaging approach is sensitive to complex language ecologies, in which students deploy language repertoires for learning, rather than keeping languages separate. Translanguaging gives legitimacy to the linguistic practices of multilingual speakers, rather than denying certain languages access to the classroom (Creese/Blackledge 2010). In valuing students’ languages and cultural identities, translanguaging supports intercultural classroom practice and peace education. Where students are recovering from conflict, translanguaging pedagogy affirms students’ identities, and develops language and literacy for academic tasks (Garcia/Li Wei 2015). Not limited to linguistic practice, translanguaging is a way of being, and an orientation to difference and diversity. It is an approach fit for the education of multilingual students in post-conflict zones.

Translanguaging pedagogy varies depending on local educational circumstances. If there is a *prima facie* case for using all communicative resources at the disposal of students to promote effective understanding and learning (Leung/Valdes 2019), there is also a need for research which explores translanguaging practices and pedagogies in different educational, political and sociocultural contexts, in order to provide a basis for future policy and planning. While there is emerging evidence that translanguaging in education strengthens the learning of multilingual students and fosters academic success, research has not so far examined translanguaging pedagogy in low and middle-income countries, or in post-conflict zones. Taking into account local conditions and socio-political contexts, generating new knowledge about the implications of translanguaging for education in specific contexts and communities (Cenoz/Gorter 2019) was an important aspect of working with colleagues in Lebanon.

5. Conclusion

This paper demonstrated aspects of the dynamic correlation between migration and language. Case studies 1 and 2 focused on language education for refugees in the countries neighbouring Syria and identified how they draw on their multilingualism when forging new ties to their host countries while also maintaining ties to their country of origin. Data in these case studies were collected by insider researchers, which illustrates how migration takes different forms and occurs for various reasons. To migrate is to move from one place to another – whether this movement is internal, within the country’s political boundaries or international, across a country’s borders. As they move, migrants “take their language practices and cultural resources with them” (Capstick 2020, x). In international migration, the result of such mobility is that the displacement of people’s own cultural and social practices, in which language is central, appears in the spaces of the host

community. This phenomenon is often rejected, as governments of host communities fear that the social practices displaced people exhibit in their new homes can jeopardize the homogeneity of the nation.

Case studies 3 and 4 illustrated how multilingualism is strongly associated with migration. We have seen how learning a new language is not limited to understanding its technical roles; it also involves acquiring knowledge about how the language is used in everyday social practices (Kramsch 2014). People's daily practices encompass numerous language-related activities, one of which is our literacy practices. We saw how literacy practices, as forms of social practices, involve the practical use of knowledge about language in reading and writing texts. Texts are central to language, and reading and writing texts are activities in which literacy is central. Thus, our literacy practices are a combination of action and discourse. For this reason, Barton/Lee (2013) argue that we live in a textually mediated world where the key to working with online platforms is to decode texts. People take their already acquired literacy skills and constantly build other literacy practices on them which they observe from their online interactions. Both offline and online worlds provide many new possibilities to work with texts. However, our literacy practices are sometimes limited by constraints that prevent us from exploiting certain possibilities. Such "possibilities and constraints for action that people selectively perceive in any situation" (Barton/Lee 2013, 27) were revealed in the health inequalities for individual refugees and their families during the COVID-19 pandemic. We also saw how digital technologies hold great potential for communication in which 'digital spaces have switched from an amenity to a necessity' during the pandemic (Beaumoyer et al 2020, 2). Moreover, accessibility, entrenchment of gender biases (Minello 2020; Myers et al. 2020) and widening existing inequalities result in poorly designed and implemented practices in the duration and aftermath of the pandemic as institutions were forced to close and move online through digital platforms such as Zoom and Adobe Connect. Those opportunities that do exist often lack a coherent coordination between the different NGOs and agencies who supply them (Capstick/Delaney 2016; Richardson 2018). Thus the nexus of language and power relations benefits from the inclusion of refugees in setting their own research agendas which prioritise the languages of their lived experience. This includes how languages are drawn on in translation and interpretation in refugee research are privileged in some settings and not others. The aim here was to bring research from the field of applied linguistics and its methodologies into migration studies engaging with languages of the South and Southern epistemologies (Mignolo/Walsh 2018).

To conclude, migration is a movement that inevitably changes migrants' linguistic practices. It expands migrants' linguistic resources and changes the values of the linguistic capital in migrants' linguistic repertoire. In these case studies, the context involves displaced people, migrants and refugees who have been forced

to leave their country, Syria, and learn another language to continue their (higher) education and have better job opportunities. The findings from the case studies show how displaced people make use of the internet technology and electronic devices they have to maintain transnational networks in their everyday literacy practices. Since the online world is textually mediated, online interactants were able to exploit both offline and online affordances to deploy their literacy practices. Zoom and WhatsApp are used for educational purposes, whereas only WhatsApp is used to communicate with family and friends but there were also a blurring of these boundaries when social media were used for formal language learning and teaching. Data also explain how forced migration has changed the linguistic behaviours of individuals in the community: individuals shift the language they use according to the context, although most of them speak the same language.

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Genoveva Ruiz Calavera

Multiculturalism and multilingualism: “Language, migration, and interpretation”

The subject for this annual conference could not have been more topical. Migration has been a constant feature of human history with a profound impact on European society, its economy, and its culture. However, we are facing a critical moment right now because demography, inequalities, climate change, wars and security threats as well as the “instrumentalisation” of migration to destabilise the EU (here I’m thinking of, for instance, last year’s actions by Lukashenko’s regime) have a massive impact on increased migration flows.

Managing such migration flows to the European Union is a serious challenge. The safety of people seeking international protection or a better life has to be taken into account, as do the concerns of countries who worry that migratory pressures will exceed their capacities.

- The concrete challenges that the European Union is faced with in the area of migration are important: saving lives at sea and securing the European Union’s external borders;
- guaranteeing free movement of people within the Schengen area;
- organising legal migration better to attract those with the skills needed in Europe;
- integrating non-EU nationals better into EU societies;
- cooperating more closely with non-EU countries to fight smuggling and facilitate the repatriation of irregular migrants.

Well before the Ukraine refugee crisis, the European Commission proposed a New Pact on Migration and Asylum. The aim is to assist people trying to reach Europe as well as receiving Member States by providing certainty, clarity, and decent conditions for the women, children, and men arriving in the EU and allowing EU citizens to trust that migration is managed in an effective and humane way underpinned by EU values and international laws.

And this is where I come in to stress the importance of the role of the interpreters working with refugees and migrants, helpers and authorities in a whole range of subsectors, whether legal, healthcare, or humanitarian, among others. Although some interpreters are professionally well equipped to play several of these roles, these are all specialised professional profiles, each with its own needs and specificities.

The mandate of DG Interpretation is to provide interpretation for EU decision makers. What we do in DG Interpretation is conference interpreting; this is our

core business. This is different to what we usually refer to as *public service interpreting* (PSI), or *community interpreting*. In this area, we mainly play a facilitator role when it comes to the exchange of knowledge, practice, and experiences as well as the collection of information.

We believe that by exchanging good practices, the overall level of quality in public service interpreting in the European Union will increase. To this end, we have created a community of practice on our Knowledge Centre on Interpretation. It is called “Mapping PSI” and it is a good example of the effective synergies that can be created between professionals on a platform. I invite you to take a look at it for yourselves: it is a publicly accessible community and it certainly makes for interesting reading.

Two essential elements come into play in relation to being a reliable community interpreter: training and education on the one hand and the certification of these professionals on the other. For both elements, rules and practices still differ greatly from one Member State to the next.

Let me also highlight that the context in which interpretation with migrants takes place has a potential impact in terms of emotional load, notably on interpreters working with war refugees, due to their continuous exposure to victims of trauma and violence. It is therefore very important that these interpreters be adequately prepared and supported so that they can cope effectively with such distressing situations. And, luckily, specialised training of this kind already exists, for instance “InZone”, a programme established by the University of Geneva in 2005.

When talking about “language, migration, and interpretation”, we refer to a range of possible situations: in healthcare, at school, for administrative issues, ranging from the recognition of a migrant’s driving license to getting married, from police stations or during investigations to in court. This means that community interpreters also need to be versatile and flexible.

This is why the European Commission co-finances specific initiatives like “ReACTMe” for healthcare interpreting, for instance, which stands for “Research & Action and Training in Medical Interpreting”. And associations like EULITA, the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association, play a very important role when it comes to implementing the EU’s Procedural Rights Directives, for instance when executing specific projects under the EU Justice Programme.

This is also why networks like ENPSIT, the European Network for Public Service Interpreting and Translation, are important – gathering together providers of public service interpreting and translation services, training institutions, public service interpreters and translators, teachers and assessors as well as researchers and their organisations and institutions from across Europe.

The professional ethics dimension of interpreting in the context of migration is particularly important. Interpreters need to remain objective, unbiased, impartial,

and neutral; they need to respect confidentiality; they need to have integrity and to show respect for diversity. Once again, training is essential in instilling awareness about the importance of these norms and values, of these ethical standards.

Let me also bring another type of interpretation to your attention that is crucial for an inclusive society and that can be very important in the context of migration: sign language interpretation. Sign language interpreters work in any situation where deaf, hard-of-hearing, and deafblind persons who use sign language would like to communicate with those who are not familiar with their sign language. Many of the EU Member States have legislation or regulations entitling such persons to be provided with a sign language interpreter. This is challenging because national sign languages are very different from one another.

Let me now elaborate what happened immediately after Russia's invasion of Ukraine as it is emblematic of the relation between language and migration. First of all, there was a very strong need for interpreters in order to welcome refugees fleeing the Russian aggression and to provide them with initial assistance. In several cases, even urgent medical assistance was required.

Consequently, national authorities sought help from universities training interpreters, and we know about several cases of "crash courses" for non-interpreters with an in-depth knowledge of both Ukrainian or Russian and the main local language or languages in which they were taught basic interpretation skills but were also familiarised with concepts like interpreters' ethics and neutrality, how to approach child refugees, and how to cope with the trauma that refugees have often experienced, while at the same time protecting themselves from the associated psychological burden. Such initiatives were in no way intended to replace full interpreting training but were a practical response to an equally practical need in an emergency situation. Other universities even mobilised their own students in interpretation who had the right language skills and they were very keen to help out.

In addition to this, there was a very urgent need to make Ukrainian language resources available, both in Member States and EU Institutions in order to create bi- or multilingual data bases, glossaries etc. Here we should mention the important role of the European Language Resource Coordination mechanism (ELRC), which the European Commission initiated to overcome one of the main challenges in creating a true Digital Single Market in Europe – the language barrier that public services, ministries, and citizens face every day. The ELRC played an important part in supporting the European Commission's call for a crisis response with the aim of easing communication across borders for people affected by the situation in Ukraine, helpers as well as refugees.

The European Commission was urgently looking for data donations of bi- and multilingual corpora for Ukrainian to and from all EU languages. These data were needed to train an automatic system for translation between Ukrainian and EU

languages. The response was significant and, just to give you one example, already on 10 March – just a couple of weeks after the invasion – the first eTranslation engines supporting translation between Ukrainian and the EU’s official languages went live, with nearly 3 million translation requests involving Ukrainian subsequently being processed by eTranslation in just the first three months. At SCIC we also contributed by echoing this call for support in our Knowledge Centre on Interpretation.

I would also like to mention a very nice – and useful! – initiative by our colleagues from the Publications Office of the European Union, namely an English-Ukrainian pictogram booklet for students and teachers, designed to help Ukrainian and English speakers overcome the first communication barriers in schools welcoming Ukrainian refugees. Very soon, this initiative was extended to other language combinations with Ukrainian covering all EU languages. To facilitate resource sharing and collection, we created a community of practice called “Ukrainian language resources in one place” in the Knowledge Centre on Interpretation.

With this, ladies and gentlemen, I hope I was able to give you a general view of the main issues at stake when interpretation comes into play in the relation between language and migration. In this context, let me recall the recent speech at the European Parliament on the State of the Union, where the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, stressed the importance of managing migration with dignity and respect. Allowing a migrant person and, in particular, one in such a distressing situation like a war refugee to express themselves in their mother tongue is a tangible sign of respect for this person and for their dignity.

I am very proud that the interpreting community has such an important role to play in this respect.

Thank you very much for your attention.

The multilingual workplace

Kamilla Kraft

Language, work and migration: Multilingual workplaces as a site of study

Abstract

Migration affects societies in different ways, including labour markets and specific workplaces. One of these effects is increased multilingualism. The study of multilingualism and work offers us a rich site for exploring the (re)production of social worlds. Moreover, work migration and multilingualism are of relevance to various agents and on different scales as: (1) a real-life concern to individuals, (2) a challenge and/or benefit to multilingual workplaces and (3) an ideological and often political stake in societies. Research addresses these perspectives from different approaches, e.g. language learning in the workplace, language use and practice in multilingual workplaces, language policy and, obviously, language ideology. Most of this research points to the negotiation of multilingualism as a benefit or deficit, but also as an individual or institutional responsibility. This paper provides examples of these different perspectives and discusses the implications of multilingualism and work in a migration context.

1. Introduction

Multilingualism is a common feature of most societies and individuals. We encounter it in our daily lives, through media, at school, in the workplace and many other arenas. It is also a significant part of what we, as individuals, as well as institutions think the world *is* and *should* be about (Mortensen/Kraft 2022). Work and workplaces are one of the social arenas where institutional and individual views on multilingualism meet and entail very real consequences, e.g. what languages you must speak and how in order to be considered suitable for specific jobs (Pájaro 2018; Roberts/Campbell 2005; Tranekjær 2015), how you develop relations with co-workers who might speak other languages or have other levels of proficiency (Holmes/Woodhams 2013) and so on. Moreover, work migration entails that many different kinds of workplaces are multilingual, regardless of whether language and multilingual skills make up ‘the raw material’ of work or not (Hewitt 2015; Kraft/Flubacher in press). For all of these reasons, multilingual workplaces are excellent sites for studying the interrelations of language, work and migration.

This paper is organised in three sections. Firstly I will expand on why we should care about language, work and migration, after which I will provide a short introduction to my own ethnographic studies of multilingual workplaces. I will

then discuss how these sites are managed and imagined on three different levels: (1) as societal discourse, (2) as local workplace practices and (3) as an individual concern. Finally, I will summarise what these three levels can tell us about the theme of language, work and migration, particularly in relation to how we organise our societies and with what consequences.

2. Why take an interest in language, work and migration?

Migration affects societies in different ways (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert et al. 2017; Deumert 2006), including labour markets (Allan 2013; Campbell/Roberts 2007; Duchêne et al. 2013; Kraft 2019), specific workplaces (Kraft 2020b; Kraft/Lønsmann 2018) and individual workers (Kraft 2020a). One of these effects is (increased) multilingualism, what we could define as the use of more linguistic resources by individuals and institutions alike. Multilingualism is not only a practical matter but also a highly ideological one. Therefore, the study of multilingual workplaces offers us a rich site for studying human organisation, social boundary making, ideologies about what is considered ‘natural’ and ‘deviant’ and, of course, the consequences of all this, which, in a work context, is directly tied up with people’s life conditions and social opportunities, including job and career opportunities.

I will return to this point shortly, but first I just want to emphasise that I believe it is important that we keep in mind that ‘multilingual workplaces’ is a rather broad umbrella term. I would argue that all workplaces can be studied from a multilingual perspective. More than anything else really, multilingualism is a specific approach to studying workplaces. This also entails that there is no such thing as *the* multilingual workplace and what we have seen in recent years in research is, in fact, also a broadening of the kinds of workplaces that are being studied from a multilingual perspective. While service and knowledge workplaces have been important objects of study within multilingualism in workplace research (Cameron 2000; Dlaske 2016; Duchêne 2009; Lüdi et al. 2010; Salonga 2016), recently there has also been heightened interest in production workplaces and more manual service workplaces too (Gonçalves/Kelly-Holmes 2021; Hovens 2022; Kahlin et al. 2021; Kraft 2017, 2020b; Lønsmann/Kraft 2018; Strømmer 2021; Theodoropoulou 2019). Studies of multilingualism in both sectors have provided us with valuable knowledge about the role of language in society: processes of inclusion and exclusion, constructions of efficiency and multilingualism, language work and language workers, distribution of goods, language policies and so much more. Above all, studies of multilingualism and work can tell us about how workers are affected differently by different languages in the workplace – or before they can even enter the labour market. To put it in the words of Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck from their seminal article on multilingual spaces (Blommaert et al. 2005), what languages are enabled and disabled in specific spaces?

3. Ethnographies of Norwegian and Danish construction workplaces

In order to demonstrate how multilingualism is enabled and disabled in various workspaces, I will provide an overview of my own research on construction and mining sites in Norway and Denmark. Most of this research has been published previously (Kraft 2017, 2019, 2020a, b). Through these and other studies of similar workplaces, I will illustrate how languages are at stake not only in these workplaces but also in other industries and societies at large and as a daily real-life concern to the people who work there.

I conducted two long-term ethnographic studies on Norwegian construction sites – one that lasted 1.5 years (2014-2016) and another that lasted nine months (2017-2018) – as well as a shorter ethnography lasting three months on a Danish tunnel mining site (2016-2017). I spent time with the people on these sites, talked to them, observed what they do, interviewed them, and even recorded their interactions. Generally, the sites in Norway were dominated by Polish, Norwegian and Swedish workers, and the Poles were typically hired on a temporary basis through staffing agencies, an important distinction that will be clarified at a later point. The mining site in Denmark was run by an Italian contractor with a team of miners predominantly from Italy and Spain but also from other European, African and South American countries. In short, all sites were highly multilingual workplaces yet in none of them was communication or language proficiency considered part of the core profession.

4. Managing and imagining multilingual workplaces

In this section, I will discuss studies and use parts of my own data analyses that illustrate how language practices and ideologies shape conditions of work for migrants that often lead to linguistic barriers and penalties.

4.1 Multilingualism and work as societal discourse

Research on migration and work has demonstrated that migrants – or people with minority ethnic backgrounds – have a harder time getting access to jobs and/or positions, a phenomenon described as gatekeeping. Sometimes command of a specific language is the key criterion for selection, or rather deselection; at other times it is about access to specific registers or even accents (Roberts et al. 1992; Roberts/Campbell 2005). Often language as a selection criterion covers systematic covert discrimination based on language ideologies (Flubacher et al. 2016; Park 2013; Yeung/Flubacher 2016). Just as often, however, there are also very practical concerns at play. The point is that the management of any multilingual workplace always takes place in ideologically charged spaces with particular local contexts

(Blommaert et al. 2005; Bourdieu 1989). For example, in the Norwegian construction industry, language has been tied in with concerns about safety.

When I began my doctoral fieldwork several years ago, my first interview was with a workers' union leader. He emphasised that language and communication had been a big theme ever since the 2004 European Union (EU) expansion, which, together with a labour shortage in Norway, had led to increased labour migration. The issue was that the multilingual reality which was the result of this increased migration to Norway from Eastern Europe, especially in the construction industry, was believed to cause communication breakdowns that led to safety risks. In the ensuing years, I encountered this discourse multiple times from various agents: managers, workers, legislators and other interested parties.

In 2014, the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority, *Arbeidstilsynet*, published an issue on safety communication regulations entitled *Forstår du hva jeg sier? Krav til kommunikasjon og språk på bygge- og anleggsplassen* [Do you understand what I'm saying? Communication and language demands on construction sites]. The introductory text pointed out that the many languages and cultures present on construction sites could pose a challenge for safety communication (Arbeidstilsynet 2014, 3). This reasoning became a central pillar in the public imagination, and often the proposed solution was language regulations that promoted the use of Norwegian. For example, in *Forskrift om utførelse av arbeid* [Regulation on how to carry out work] that, among other things, regulates high-risk labour, it is stated that employees must have a high proficiency in the language used¹ for such work. This limits language use to one language. Furthermore, in the Labour Inspection Authority's comment on this regulation, it is stated that communication should primarily be in Norwegian.² Other national regulations, especially those pertaining to safety information for workers, require that workers be informed in a language they understand, i. e. for these purposes, multilingualism is the norm.³

Language as a central concern for the industry also made it into *Seriositetskravene*, loosely translated as Seriousness Demands, a public and private collective initiative supported by national stakeholders representing companies, workers and the Norwegian state.⁴ These demands were part of an influential movement

¹ The original text states: "Arbeidsgiveren skal sørge for at arbeidstakerne har gode kunnskaper i det språk som brukes", www.arbeidstilsynet.no/regelverk/forskrifter/forskrift-om-utforelse-av-arbeid/3/22/22-4/ (last accessed 17-04-2023).

² www.arbeidstilsynet.no/regelverk/forskrifter/forskrift-om-utforelse-av-arbeid/3/22/22-4/ (last accessed 17-04-2023).

³ www.arbeidstilsynet.no/regelverk/forskrifter/byggherreforskriften/4/19/ (last access 17-04-2023).

⁴ The Federation of Norwegian Construction Industries (BNL), *Fellesforbundet*, the largest labour union in the Norwegian private sector, the Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (KS), and the Norwegian Agency for Public Management and e-Government. The latter agency was shut down in 2019 and parts of it were reassembled in the new Digitalisation Agency.

in the industry, trying to get rid of work-life crime and social dumping, which the industry struggled with. Interestingly, the Seriousness Demands focus on safety and suggest a language policy for all contractors to follow. The following proposals were put forward: (1) Make sure that Norwegian is the overall language of communication on the construction site, (2) Make sure that all work teams have at least one representative who is able to communicate in Norwegian or English in addition to the mother tongue of the workers and (3) All employees must receive information about safety requirements in a language they understand (Seriositetskrav 2015). Not surprisingly, these initiatives put language requirements on the agenda, not least for managers responsible for health and safety. What they also did was to reinforce as well as challenge a range of language ideologies. Norwegian is clearly being assigned a privileged position as the national language. However, English also features, probably understood as an international language. This combination of national and international languages is not uncommon for workplaces with international and multilingual staff and/or activities. What is slightly more unusual is the requirement that all employees must be informed in a language that they understand. Still, it is clearly the national language and English that are prioritised, indicating a hierarchy amongst the languages as well as a normative conception of what languages *should* be used for communication. And while this conception may not capture very well what actually goes on in daily work-life communication, it still becomes a powerful gatekeeper for migrant workers who are less capable of participating in workplace communication – something that might come to be considered a professional deficit as expressed in this comment by a Swedish team leader:

You cannot carry out your tasks 100 % actually, in a way, because of course you have, for example, you cannot direct a crane. Receiving materials is in general not especially easy for a person who cannot speak the language. (Interview with Swedish team leader, 15-06-2016)

So what we have seen in this section of the paper is that multilingualism and work is positioned as a very serious matter by multiple institutional agents, demanding the attention of stakeholders at various levels and requiring multilingual measures to ensure workers' safety. While these measures are supposed to be the employers' responsibility, we also see that they rely on an ideology about the usefulness of the national language and English that can turn into discourses about individual professional deficits.

4.2 Multilingualism as workplace practices

Today many workplaces are highly multilingual due to the active recruitment of migrant workers or because of transnational business activities. As we have already seen, this linguistic diversity is often managed by implementing “a ‘corpo-

rate language' to enable and manage operations towards common goals across linguistic borders" (Kankaanranta et al. 2018, 332). Or at least this is what managers, in particular, imagine a corporate language does. However, on the shop floor, reality may look very different. In her study of a production and export company, Lønsmann (2015) demonstrated how the company management, due to their desire to internationalise, implemented English as the company's corporate language. However, the workers experienced quite a different kind of international reality, namely interactions with Eastern European truck drivers who did not speak English. In other words, these workers needed languages other than English to handle the internationalisation aspects of their work. This highlights the clash that might ensue between different experiences and realities, pointing towards one of the shortcomings of many language policies. Another crucial point is that corporate language policies might erase the linguistic needs of some parts of the workforce, leaving workers to manage the multilingualism of everyday work on their own. A common *ad hoc* strategy described in several studies is that of the language broker (Kraft 2017, 2019; Kahlin et al. 2021) – also sometimes described as 'language nodes' (Feely/Harzing 2003) – a worker who has a multilingual repertoire that allows them to communicate with all teams and managers in the workplace and possibly with customers and partners outside the workplace too. These workers draw on a rich set of semiotic repertoires coupled with professional knowledge to communicate, and their communicative competence comes highly recommended because of their success in getting things done in this way, not because of a high degree of formal linguistic competence. In their studies of multilingual construction sites in Sweden, Kahlin, Kevaallik, Söderlundh and Wiedener (Kahlin et al. 2021) describe these practices as translanguaging, i. e. using a range of linguistic resources in order to get by. Through such practices, the broker becomes an institutional figure that management relies on, and that they may recognise as being utterly indispensable. While the role is crucial in many workplaces it is rarely formalised, but often highly appreciated. A contractor I did fieldwork with even paid a bonus to employees who learnt Norwegian in order to emphasise the company's appreciation of this investment (field notes 19-05-2014). Language brokers may also have very powerful roles because they themselves become a kind of gatekeeper between the different groups in the workplace. Friberg and Haakestad (2015) have pointed to this derived status as a potential challenge in the workplace, more accurately in work teams, because the workers who get the role as language brokers are often the youngest members of the team as they frequently have a better command of English. However, they are not the most experienced craftsmen and therefore their team colleagues might find it unfair that younger and less experienced co-workers have more privileged positions. Speaking the dominant language is construed as being a highly useful, even indispensable skill amongst managers, but amongst workers it is more dubious as it may lead to internal strife about status and privileges in the team. In her ethnogra-

phy of a production company in Canada with workers primarily from Portugal, Goldstein (Goldstein 1997) demonstrated how Portuguese workers who upskilled their English competences in order to function as a sort of language broker were systematically distrusted by their Portuguese co-workers, despite their being an asset to managers and co-workers alike. The language broker is, in other words, a paradoxical figure, a Janus-faced figure in the liminal space between workers and managers, between being privileged and ostracised (Kraft 2020a). This might also explain why I encountered what – to me at the time – was a slightly confusing set of representations about the use of multiple languages as part of the daily work on the Danish mining site where I did fieldwork back in 2017 (Kraft 2020b). For several weeks, I had observed crews consisting of workers from various countries in Africa, Europe and South America. I had seen them use multiple linguistic and semiotic resources to communicate with each other; they had told me how they did this – on the Danish site as well as in other places around the world where they had worked previously – how they learnt bits and pieces of each other’s languages or even entire languages in order to function well in the workplace. One of the workers even reported how he sometimes needed to take care of his boss’s tasks when these involved communication with somebody who did not speak Italian, the only language his boss knew. When I ventured to suggest that his ability to communicate with most if not all of the people on the site made him very important to the workplace, he refused my interpretation and valuation. This refusal was likely connected to a common stance amongst the staff: communication is not a problem, it is just something we make happen, and it is not a skill that provides you with any advantages. This stance towards multiple languages and work were supported by similar viewpoints, such as:

- A profession has a universal language, so a good professional doesn’t need language (interview with ‘Roberto’ and ‘Diego’⁵);
- For everyday purposes you don’t need to be able to communicate, but when you have to train new workers it becomes essential (interview with ‘Nikos’);
- The workers are good at what they do and that makes communication easier – and there is always someone who can communicate with all (interview with ‘Isabella’).

A related point of interest is that amongst workers and managers I would encounter a distinction between ‘communication’ on the one hand, and ‘language’ on the other. Below are two excerpts from interviews, the first from the project client’s CEO, the other from one of the mine workers. Their accounts are strikingly similar:

⁵ All participant names are pseudonyms.

There are different people coming into the teams at different times with different language backgrounds, and as the client our concern was that the safety regulations were available to everyone in a language they understood or with a translator that could make that [inaudible], and I think the Esperanto thing is, as Claudio said, was more [brief pause] These guys are down in the TBM⁶ eight hours a day six days a week together it's a little family and they learn to speak to each other in whatever way they can and then they learn each other's languages, which is fascinating. (Interview with CEO)

Much like in the Norwegian legal regulations of communication and language discussed above, 'language' features here as a safety issue – informing everybody in a language so that they understand safety procedures – while daily communication, here referred to as 'the Esperanto thing',⁷ amongst the workers is associated with communal, even family-like, relations.

The other quote, this one from a mine worker who was part of this highly multilingual reality, shows a similar orientation:

So communication is something different than speaking the language. You don't need to learn the whole language to communicate with another person. This is, I mean this is the basic idea of what is going on down there. Everybody tries to communicate and everybody tries to make some effort, and in this way you, you just take, you grasp a little: one word from here, another word from there [inaudible] and try to make some kind of mix, that everybody's communicating and everybody's relaxing, happy. (Interview with mine worker)

This worker, too, describes daily communication as relationship building. Obviously, an important function of communication *is* building relationships and rapport as described in these two excerpts. However, these representations also erase, or at least banalise, the work-related tasks workers do use their languages for. In much of his work, Duchêne has demonstrated how companies banalise and at the same time profit from the multilingualism of their workers (Duchêne 2009, 2011), and I would argue that a similar process is taking place here. What is different from Duchêne's studies – which he conducted in service industry workplaces – is the active *co*-banalisation that the mine workers engage in. This is likely to be the case because they do not want to make professional distinctions amongst themselves based on language skills nor do they want their professions – and jobs which often depend on migration to different projects around the world – to be dependent on language skills (Kraft 2020b).

⁶ Tunnel Boring Machine (TBM); the machine that excavates the tunnels and in which the miners work.

⁷ 'Tunnel Esperanto' was a concept the tunnel workers' manager, Claudio, had coined in a news interview with DR, the Danish National Broadcasting Company. In this news story, he explained how the workers, who altogether represented so many different nationalities, had developed their own means of communication based on the many languages they spoke.

These examples show that multilingualism in and for the workplace is a complex matter: the recruitment practices of companies result in multilingual workplaces that really need workers with language competences to connect the workplace. I think that this is one of the highly interesting points when we look at the production and construction industry. Introducing a corporate or workplace language simply will not do the trick on its own because there are no guarantees that it will help you speak with the Croatian truck drivers, the Polish construction workers or the Italian miners. Additional language practices will have to be implemented, e.g. one or more language brokers or perhaps the entire staff having to learn enough of each other's languages to be able to communicate. So multilingualism clearly is a workplace concern. Still, the responsibility to cope with a multilingual reality is often left to individual workers, rendering it an individual concern.

4.3 Multilingualism as an individual concern

So, what do all of these practices and ideologies entail for individuals? Not surprisingly it is more of an up-hill battle if you do not speak the locally dominant language. Encounters with colleagues who you do not share a language with is, of course, challenging on a daily, interactional basis for all workers – whether they are speakers of the dominant language or not. However, it is those who do not speak it who are symbolically and materially devalued. Their actual professional prowess is questioned, as we saw in the quote about how workers not speaking 'the language' suffer from professional disadvantages. The language criterion also lends itself easily to legitimising why these workers are employed on a temporary basis with a worse salary and employment conditions than their colleagues. Or why some can be managers and others not. These different forms of gatekeeping mean that language competences become individual resources for migrant workers, a point also proposed by Norton amongst others (Darvin/Norton 2014; Peirce 1995). How then, we might ask, does one obtain these resources? To answer this question, I would like to introduce you to Tomasz (cf. Kraft 2020a).

Tomasz is a Polish construction worker and team leader who was in his early 40s at the time of my fieldwork. He lived with his family in Poland but worked in Norway. He had trained as a construction worker and was an experienced worker and team leader with previous jobs in both Poland and Germany. Tomasz worked a minimum of 12 hours a day for three weeks straight when in Norway. Then he had one week off when he went to Poland to spend time with his family. For many years, Tomasz had been working for a staffing agency. When I met him in 2014, he had been leased continuously by the same contractor for quite some time. The contractor continued hiring Tomasz for the next couple of years, until they finally offered him permanent employment in 2017. One of the reasons why the contractor employed Tomasz was his language competences; he spoke Norwegian and was

a highly qualified construction worker and team leader, making him the ideal language broker. However, Tomasz did not speak Norwegian when he started working in Norway; this was something that he learnt along the way, and the process had not been straightforward. He had quickly realised that it was a huge problem not to speak Norwegian, which he described as “the key to everything here”. So he started learning Norwegian and soon realised that it is really tough to learn a new language with a 12-hour workday. He also attended a language school but felt he did not learn anything as there were too many students in his class. He then hired a private teacher – at his own expense, as the staffing agency did not want to pay for his language learning. According to Tomasz, this teacher’s tuition mixed with daily reading and writing after work did the trick and his Norwegian language competence improved significantly. He even got a bonus from the contractor because of this Norwegian language competence. All in all, Tomasz was extremely well liked and treasured by the contractor who leased him, as well as by the staffing agency who hired him. He even got a considerably better contract with the staffing agency than that of his colleagues. So how did Tomasz himself describe this situation and his work as a language broker?

It’s more convenient for them [the staffing agency, *ed.*]. They hire 15 people. And then maybe one of them can say two words in Norwegian. For example me. I can probably communicate but I know that my Norwegian is really bad. But I can take care of everything and I have to run around this construction site like a dog. Perhaps I get a bit more [salary, *ed.*]. Perhaps I get a bit more than a bit more, but it doesn’t compensate for all the work I do. Moreover, someone who speaks Norwegian or English really well wouldn’t be in a staffing agency, they would be employed directly [by a contractor, *ed.*]. (Interview with ‘Tomasz’, translated from Polish-Norwegian and Norwegian-English)

This rather reads like a narrative of exploitation. Tomasz understands how valuable it is to the staffing agency to be able to lease him together with a team of other Polish workers to a contractor. Then Tomasz becomes responsible for all of the coordination between this team and the Norwegian managers. And he manages, although it is also clear from this excerpt that he is not very confident about his own level of Norwegian proficiency. His function as a language broker does come with some sort of remuneration but he clearly sees it as being too little in comparison to the amount of extra work it entails. A final point of interest here is how Tomasz suggests that there is a direct connection between one’s Norwegian proficiency and one’s employment status: if you speak Norwegian well, you get the more coveted permanent positions with a contractor rather than through a staffing agency. Based on what I saw and heard from others in the industry, this was a rather accurate assessment.

5. Conclusion: Multilingualism and work – present and future

To conclude, we may say the following about multilingualism and work in a migration context, and more specifically in a construction site context:

- Language and communication are an issue from the national policy level to everyday work practices;
- Communication on the multilingual construction site requires a lot of language work;
- Many languages are used but a language ideology of ‘one national plus one international language’ dominates policies in the industry and instils a language hierarchy;
- Language and communication are keyed in with issues of safety and efficiency;
- Language work holds economic, professional and social potential – along with exploitative aspects – for those who carry it out, e.g. language brokers;
- Specific languages are desired by employers but language learning often becomes an individual responsibility.

These points underscore that the use of multiple languages and semiotic resources is an important issue in connection with work and migration – also in workplaces that we might not perceive of as directly language related (Hewitt 2015). This status of multilingualism and migration in workplace contexts requires us – whether as practitioners or researchers – to think about and engage with questions such as:

- What is a multilingual workplace?
- Is a shared language always necessary to get the job done?
- Who is responsible for communication in the multilingual workplace?
- How does the workplace organise its multilingualism?
- How to ensure a more equal and non-exploitative multilingual workplace?

These questions are really all about how we imagine and practise multilingual workplaces. Do we see them as workplaces where workers have different linguistic backgrounds and therefore the introduction of a shared corporate language is necessary to control all of this diversity? Or could we see them as spaces where many languages are necessary to conduct daily work? In short, could we see multilingualism as a resource rather than a challenge? Could we build the linguistic infrastructure in the workplace around all of these languages? Most of the time when I suggest this perspective to managers and workers alike, I am met with the response that the national language must be observed; in Norway we speak Norwegian, or in Denmark we speak Danish, so we do that in this workplace too. Such national language ideologies are prevalent in most contexts, but they are challenged by multilingual practices. The fact is that in Norway, in Denmark, or

whatever nation state we are in, we speak a lot of languages. It is how we enable and disable these languages, and subsequently their speakers, that matter.

I would like to end with a story related to this point. As part of one of my projects, I organised a workshop about multilingual communication for the project participants. A group of Norwegian and Swedish foremen and project leaders were complaining about how Polish workers did not speak Norwegian or at least English. Having listened to this complaint quite a few times, I thought that perhaps it was time to shake things up a bit, so I suggested the obvious alternative: that the Norwegians and Swedes learn Polish. Perhaps not surprisingly, the suggestion was not exactly applauded. And yet, after the workshop, a young, female engineer came up to me and told me that she had signed up for a Polish language course because she would like to get better at communicating with the Polish workers. At least they could then meet somewhere halfway was her philosophy. It is basically her idea that I am always trying to sell: focus on what is happening on the ground and how to contribute to enabling communication in that environment. Reflect on whether specific legal regulations and workplace practices actually ensure greater safety or whether they simply enforce language hierarchies. Take a stand against the hierarchy of languages that ultimately does not enable communication and work but does stigmatise specific groups of employees in the workplace. This view does not imply that a shared language is not useful or even necessary at times, it just opens up alternative ideas about *who* should learn *what* languages to *what extent* and who is *responsible* for ensuring this learning. I believe that if we can change some of the ingrained ideologies that govern current practices in order to ensure greater linguistic and social fairness for all workers, we have come a long way.

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Ina Druviete/Jānis Valdmanis

Linguistic integration of immigrants and refugees into Latvia: The *status quo* after 24.02.2022¹

Abstract

Until March 2022, the Republic of Latvia belonged to those countries with rather low immigration, most recent immigrants coming from third countries. As a prerequisite for inclusion in society, free Latvian language classes and the state language proficiency test were provided. For example, the Latvian Language Agency implemented the European Union Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund project “Acquisition of the Latvian language in order to facilitate the integration of third-country nationals into the labor market”. Since the 1990s Latvia has also run integration programmes for national minorities, so the country has a rich experience in the learning and teaching of the official language.

When Russia invaded Ukraine, the situation changed unexpectedly. There had always been a Ukrainian minority in Latvia (42,300 people or 3% of the total population). During the first few months of the war, approx. 10,000 refugees, mostly women and children, arrived in Latvia, and numbers may exceed 30,000 at present. A special law has already been passed including articles on language and education rights.

From the point of view of Latvian language policy, some specific aspects relating to general sociolinguistic theory may be discussed. First, the Ukrainian language has become a more visible participant in the Latvian language market. Second, the impact of Russian on public communication has increased as some Ukrainian refugees have Russian language skills, thus challenging the position of Latvian as the language for social inclusion. Third, Ukrainian nationals whose family language is Russian belong to the same linguistic community as members of the Russian minority in Latvia but their political and ideological views can be completely different, raising the issue of linguistic and national identity.

1. Introduction: The language situation in Latvia

Language policy is a unique and sensitive area that takes language into account as a symbol and fundamental element of national identity; it also considers that the existence, development, and long-term survival of a language are directly dependent on many factors, which, acting together, can significantly influence the intended results. The main purposes of language policy in Latvia are: 1) the maintenance, protection and development of the Latvian language; 2) the maintenance of the cultural and historic heritage of the Latvian nation; 3) the right to

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freely use the Latvian language in any sphere of life within the whole territory of Latvia; 4) the integration of members of ethnic minorities into Latvian society while observing their rights to use their native language or other languages; 5) the increased influence of the Latvian language in the cultural environment of Latvia to promote a more rapid integration into society (Official Language Law 1999).

The principles of Latvian language policy and their implementation have been addressed in a number of publications by the State Language Commission, the Latvian Language Institute and the Latvian Language Agency (see Latviešu valoda 2007; Valsts valodas likums 2008; Veisbergs 2013; Druviete/Veisbergs 2018). These sources also contain references to the work of Latvian and foreign authors on Latvian language policy. Sociolinguistic surveys on the language situation in Latvia have been conducted for almost thirty years (e.g. the three latest volumes: Language Situation 2012, 2017, 2022).

The language situation in Latvia during the Soviet occupation (1940-1991) might be described as follows: a reduction in the sociolinguistic functions of Latvian; the ideology of Russian as the “second mother tongue”; extensive use of Russian in administration and industry; low Latvian competence (20%) as an L2 among minorities; the Russification of non-Russian minorities; the high linguistic quality of Standard Latvian despite restrictions in its use; the psychological resistance of Latvians characterized by high loyalty to their mother tongue. When Latvian was restored as the sole official state language in 1988, the main tasks of language policy makers were clearly defined: to ensure the sustainability, linguistic quality and competitiveness of Latvian as the state language of the Republic of Latvia as well as to guarantee the development and use of the languages of historical minorities in Latvia. In 1989, the first *Language Law* was adopted. Independence was renewed on August 21, 1991, necessitating serious changes in language policy. The pre-independence *Language Law* was amended in 1992. The acting *Official Language Law* was adopted in 1999, supplemented by several regulations passed by the Cabinet of Ministers.

The *Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (Satversme)* including its preamble specifies that the decision to designate Latvian as the state language is a matter of legal and political consistency and, therefore, the state’s policy should work to ensure that Latvian serves all of the functions of an official language, including being the primary means of communication among all Latvian citizens and helping to unite the society.

The main working documents for the implementation of this Law are the *Official Language Policy Guidelines* (see Pamatnostādnes 2005, 2014, 2021). Three main groups of indicators have been established to determine the success of language policy: rising levels in Latvian language skills, the use of Latvian in sociolinguistic domains and positive language attitudes towards Latvian. The legal principles for the use of Latvian as the state language are outlined in laws like the

State Language Law (1999). The Latvian language in Latvia is not only a linguistic and legal concept but also a symbolic one that is inseparably related with the state and community and, also, with various aspects of the identity of the inhabitants of Latvia. In order to strengthen not only the instrumental but also the integrative functions of the state language, the preamble of the *Satversme*, normative acts and the *Official Language Policy Guidelines* have references to concepts like *language as value*, *language as national identity*, the *symbolic role of language* etc.

At the beginning of 2022 there were 1,875,000 inhabitants in Latvia. The ethnic composition was as follows: Latvians – 60.2%, Russians – 24.4%, Ukrainians – 3%, Belarusians – 3%, Poles – 2%, Lithuanians – 1.2%, Jews – 0.4%, Romani – 0.3%, others 5.5% (Population 2022). As for Latvian language skills, they increased among the minority population from 20% in 1989 to 63% in 1995 and to about 90% in 2020s as a combined result of teaching Latvian, carrying out language proficiency certification and controlling language use (Language Situation 2022, 61). Although competence in Latvian has improved, actual use of Latvian corresponds to this indicator mainly in domains subject to official regulation (state and municipal institutions, higher education establishments, etc.). Russian is widely used in informal communication and in the commercial sector. As the editors of the last survey Gunta Kļava and Kertu Rozenvalde state,

Native speakers of Latvian [...] express the opinion that Latvian plays an important role in terms of both an individual's identity and nationality (and also plays a key role in the language hierarchy in Latvia), but real linguistic behaviour differs from this belief: in communication there is a likely shift to a partner's native language or another intermediary language of communication. (Valodas situācija 2022, 195)

2. Migration processes since the 1940s

During the twentieth century, Latvia experienced two world wars and three occupations. Thousands of economic migrants, refugees and displaced people left Latvia in some periods and moved to Latvia in others. There were several waves of migration: 1941 – deportations of approx. 16,000 Latvians to Siberia; 1944 – emigration of 180,000 Latvians to Western countries; 1949 – deportation of 42,000 Latvians to Siberia; 1990-1995 – departure of the Soviet army and their families. There was also massive immigration to Latvia from other parts of the USSR between 1945 and 1989. As Mihails Hazans stated,

key elements which kept this migration system going included: (i) centralised decision-making on the allocation of resources, including the labour force; (ii) the Russian language as the Soviet Union's lingua franca; (iii) a higher standard of living in Latvia than almost elsewhere in the Soviet Union. (Hazans 2019, 67)

As the result, by 1989 the share of ethnic Latvians in Latvia's population fell to just above one-half.

Starting around the turn of the century, emigration of Latvians to Western countries (mostly the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany) began, predominantly for economic reasons. The formal and informal support system in foreign countries emerging at this time was also a stimulus: people relied either on support from the rich social infrastructure created in the West or from the the post-war Latvian refugees (for Latvians) and from less formal social networks among Russian-speaking immigrants from the Soviet Union (for Russians from Latvia) (Hazans 2019, 68). The biggest post-crisis emigration wave happened in about 2010: it has been calculated that 420,000 Latvians are now living abroad (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2023). For a country with 2 million inhabitants it is a significant proportion. In fact Latvia is experiencing the sharpest population decline in the EU because of low birth rates and emigration. This decline stands out not only against the EU but also against the rest of the world. Although over the last few years there has been a tendency for remigration, co-operation with the Latvian diaspora has become one of the most important duties of the Latvian government aimed at promoting the political and civic participation of members of the diaspora, preserving their connections with Latvia and Latvian identity, and strengthening co-operation with Latvian nationals abroad. In order to enhance diaspora policy in Latvia, the *Diaspora Law* was adopted in 2018. The law sets out the main objectives for diaspora policy: to strengthen Latvian identity and the sense of belonging to Latvia among the diaspora as an integral part of Latvian society, and to develop and implement diaspora support policy measures that not only strengthen the diaspora's ties with the Latvian economy but also provide favourable conditions for remigration. A *Plan for Work with the Diaspora for 2021-2023* (Plan 2021) has been adopted by the government summarizing tasks for all institutions and organizations related to diaspora affairs.

As one of the most important tasks is to promote the preservation of the Latvian language and culture among the members of the diaspora, the Latvian Language Agency provides support to Latvian schools abroad, ensuring that specialists are active in most Latvian schools abroad. It sends methodological and study resources, dictionaries and literature; it prepares and publishes methodological and study resources and materials; it evaluates curricula, study materials and learning processes; it also organizes meetings and seminars and provides methodological consulting (Latvian language abroad 2023).

3. Migration 2022-2023

Until March 2022, the Republic of Latvia was a country with rather a low migration rate (only 8,840 long-term immigrants to Latvia since 1992). Most recent immigrants came from third countries. From 1998 to 2021, 3,014 asylum seekers

applied for international protection in Latvia. In 2016, for example, 207 people on the EU quota scheme were transferred to Latvia. However, by autumn 2016, most of them had left because of the low financial support (€256 per month). A total of 225 persons have been granted refugee status, while 569 persons have been granted subsidiary protection status. The main countries of origin of asylum seekers in 2019 were Azerbaijan, Russia, India, Georgia and Ukraine while in 2020 they mostly came from Belarus, Russia and Syria (Statistics 2021).

Because of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the situation changed unexpectedly. There had always been a Ukrainian minority in Latvia (3.0% of the total population). After 24 February 2022, approximately 40,000 refugees, mostly women and children, arrived in Latvia. More than 37,000 Ukrainian refugees have since received residence permits, some of whom have returned to the war-stricken country. Nearly 35,000 people have asked local governments for help in Latvia, with 11,535 refugees housed.

As Latvia is one of the most welcoming countries for Ukrainian refugees, besides changes to the *Law on Immigration* (2003) facilitating the accommodation and employment of Ukrainian citizens, a special *Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians* was adopted on 3 March 2022. This law outlines reception and integration support measures for persons fleeing Ukraine due to Russia's military aggression in the country.

4. Use of languages in the media, workplace and education

As far as language policy is concerned, several articles were included in the above-mentioned Law, e.g. articles on language in audiovisual media:

Section 10. Right to Distribute Free Television Programmes. (1) The National Electronic Mass Media Council is entitled, at its own discretion, to include in such foreign television programmes the sound track of the principal audio language of which is in Ukrainian for a period of up to one year in a network in which the distribution of television programmes occurs via terrestrial transmitters.

In order to ensure the status of the official state language for Latvia, the "Regulations Regarding the Extent of Knowledge of the State Language and the Procedure for Testing the State Language and the Procedure for Testing State Language Proficiency for the Performance of Professional and Official Duties" was adopted in 2009 and has been amended several times (Regulations 2009). The *Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians* provides temporary exemptions from these requirements:

Section 16. Exceptions in Relation to the Individual Requirements Laid down for the Performance of the Work Duties. (1) An employer has the right to employ a Ukrainian civilian also without proficiency in the official language insofar as it does not interfere with the performance of their work duties. (2) A medical treat-

ment institution may employ a medical practitioner who is a Ukrainian civilian if it can ensure the communication necessary for the performance of professional activities of a medical practitioner (for example, with the intermediation of an interpreter), including to provide information to patients in a comprehensible manner, and also communication with medical practitioners, medical treatment support persons, and the staff at the medical treatment institution. [...] (4) In order to register a Ukrainian civilian with the Register of Taxi Drivers maintained by the Road Transport Directorate as a person who has the right to drive a vehicle in taxi services or commercial passenger car services, the requirements for proficiency in the official language, and also the obligation to prove that a prohibition of the right to drive has not been registered in relation to the person shall not be brought forward, if the driving licence has been issued in a foreign country.

As there are at least 4,000 school-age children among the Ukrainian refugees in Latvia, there are special provisions for their involvement in Latvia's education system. Section 13 (1) *Right of Ukrainian Civilians to Education* states:

(1) A minor Ukrainian civilian, and also a Ukrainian civilian of legal age who has previously commenced and continued the acquisition of general secondary education in the 2021/2022 academic year have the right to the acquisition of general secondary education at a State or local government educational institution, according to the same procedures by which possibilities for the acquisition of education are ensured to a minor asylum seeker in accordance with that laid down in the *Asylum Law* and other laws and regulations.

The amendment adopted on 19 May 2022 indicates that “Paragraph one of this Law regarding the right of a minor Ukrainian civilian to acquire education at the pre-school education or basic education level only in the official language or in Ukrainian shall not be applied until 31 August 2022 in relation to those minor Ukrainian civilians who have commenced the acquisition of minority education programmes at the pre-school education or basic education level until the day of coming into force of these amendments”. It also means that Russian has not been promoted as the language of education for Ukrainian students. (Note that irrespective of the gradual transition into Latvian as the main language of instruction, separate “Latvian” and “Russian” schools still exist, and there have been multiple cases of Ukrainian children being mobbed in so-called “Russian schools”.) The government agreed with the Latvian Ombudsman's view that it is particularly important for children who have been exposed to military conflict to return to a stable learning process in order to recover more quickly from their traumatic experience. At the same time, the early integration of a Ukrainian minor civilian into Latvian society, including the provision of education in the official language, will have a long-term positive effect on the child in order to successfully integrate them not only among their peers but also in the education system, in public and civil activities (Refugees 2022). Many Ukrainian students still continue to learn remotely at their school in Ukraine – with the hope of returning home soon.

There are about 400 Ukrainian civilians enrolled in universities at present, studying mainly in English. They can continue their studies as exchange students receiving the same support for their studies as for students in Latvia. Likewise researchers can be employed in Latvian research institutions and receive support in existing research cooperation programmes.

5. Latvian language classes for Ukrainian refugees

As mentioned, Ukrainian refugees are exempt from Latvian language proficiency certification at present. The proposed amendments to the *Law on Assistance to Ukrainian Civilians* make it mandatory for Ukrainian refugees who have found jobs in Latvia to attend Latvian language lessons starting with 1 January 2024. A complex system of Latvian language tuition for adults has existed for more than 30 years, for example the project *Acquisition of the Latvian language in order to facilitate the integration of third-country nationals into the labor market* (No. PMIF/6/2020/3/01) ensures that third-country nationals acquire Latvian in a modern and diverse way so they can acquire further education, communicate on a daily basis and satisfy the needs of the local labour market. The project aims to continue what previous projects started to organize Latvian language courses at all levels of proficiency achieving a total of at least 240 third-country attendees. The study process will make use of modern learning materials. Course participants will have access to free materials on the website www.valoda.lv and its subsites. Many of the materials will be adapted for remote learning. There is also a special project *Latvian language training for Ukrainian civilians* supported by funds allocated from the Latvian state budget.

6. Ukrainian in the linguistic landscape in Latvia

Although the percentage of Ukrainians in Latvia was quite high, in practice Ukrainian was not present in public space. There was a state-financed Ukrainian high school in Riga, several Ukrainian cultural heritage associations and Ukrainian NGOs. However, Ukrainian for the general public had been presented mainly as a language for cultural activities; very few Latvians had Ukrainian language skills.

Since 24 February 2022, the situation has changed. Ukrainian symbolizes freedom and independence in the view of the Ukrainians themselves, being aware of Russification processes in occupied territories, and among Latvians, too. The prestige and use of Ukrainian has increased considerably not only in Ukraine but also among Latvians. However, there have been many reports on aggressive attitudes towards and verbal attacks on Ukrainians and their supporters from the local Russian population (e.g. <https://bnn-news.com/latvian-charity-organisation-receives-angry-calls-from-residents-for-its-support-of-ukraine-233804>). Ukrainian nationals

whose family language is Russian belong to the same linguistic community as members of the Russian minority in Latvia but their political and ideological views can be completely different, raising issues of linguistic and national identity.

Since March 2022, posters, shop signs and information booklets in Ukrainian have rapidly appeared in Latvian cities; translations from Ukrainian have become very popular, many people have starting attending Ukrainian language classes. Information about available support, including Latvian language classes, has been disseminated in Ukrainian, too (see <https://valoda.lv/informacija-par-latviesu-valodas-apguvi-ukrainu-berniem-un-pieaugusajiem/>). Many Ukrainians are employed in health care or other services. At the same time, information provided by the Ukrainian State Language Protection Commissioner about restrictions on the use of Ukrainian in the temporarily occupied territories of Ukraine (see <https://mova-ombudsman.gov.ua/en>) is available in Latvian, too. The Latvian Language Agency has translated the information leaflets “Stop Linguicide” and posted them on the website (see <https://valoda.lv/nosargat-valodu-tas-nozime-ari-nosargat-valsti-lingvodicam-stop/>).

7. Conclusions

Ukrainian has become a more visible participant in the Latvian language market and will probably retain this position after the war has come to an end as well. At the same time, the Latvian state has to ensure the successful integration of newcomers into Latvian society against the background of Latvian language skills. This aspect may be challenging because some Ukrainian refugees use Russian as their family language or have Russian language skills. Latvia has still not overcome the consequences of Russification during the Soviet period and an increase in the use of Russian in public space is not in line with the goals of Latvian language policy. As the State Language Commission argued in 2008,

the passivity of Latvians in their choice of the language of communication, on the one hand, attests to their linguistic and ethnic tolerance and decreases the possibilities of language conflicts, but on the other hand, it is a real threat for social integration on the basis of Latvian. (Valsts valodas 2008, 252)

There have only been slight changes since then. There are still unreasonable demands for Russian language proficiency for Latvians in services and workplaces. The President of the Republic of Latvia Egils Levits describes the situation as follows:

These challenges have long prevented the Latvian language from taking its rightful place and role in all spheres of life in our country. Russia’s aggression in Ukraine has forced society to awaken from a passive tolerance of the Soviet colonial legacy, which was already bordering on cowardice. Society has become more engaged

and mobilised. The public campaign to eradicate the dishonourable Soviet colonial legacy in our free and democratic country was started by a few like-minded people online, but has now spread massively. It calls for a swift and decisive riddance of the remnants of the Soviet occupation in the information space, including the use of the Russian language in public communication with or among Latvians. (Levits 2022)

Therefore the researchers' and politicians' dilemma – how to promote Latvian language skills, the use of Latvian in all spheres of society and a positive language attitude towards Latvian while implementing the full scope of minority language rights on the one hand, and handling the linguistic self-sufficiency of Russian language speakers, immigration from Russia and the influence of the Russian media on the other hand – still remains unsolved. Policymakers have to take the new immigration situation into account in order to find new approaches to integrating newcomers into Latvian society.

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Amira-Louise Ouardalitou

Languages and migration in Luxembourg: Has migration had an impact on the language situation in Luxembourg?

Abstract

Dem Grand-Duché seng Awunnerzuel beleeft sech am Januar 2023 op 660.800. Bis den 1. Januar 2023 hunn 341.230 Leit mat Lëtzebuenger Nationalitéit an 313.400 Leit mat enger auslännescher Nationalitéit zu Lëtzebuerg gewunnt. 245.908 Awunner, déi zu Lëtzebuerg wunnen, kommen aus engem EU-Memberstaat (Statistiques.lu 2023). Iwwer 170 Nationalitéiten liewen zu Lëtzebuerg (Klein/Peltier 2023). Et weist kloer, datt Lëtzebuerg d'Heemecht fir verschidde Sproochen ass, mä och fir verschidden Identitéiten, Kulturen, Nationalitéiten a Reliounen. Huet dat en Impakt op den Alldag zu Lëtzebuerg? An dësem Artikel soll d'Sproochesituatioun vu Lëtzebuerg méi genee gekuckt ginn, an ob et an de leschte Joeren zu Ännerungen an der Sproochlandschaft komm ass, déi duerch ëmmer méi auslännesch Matbierger, déi am Grand-Duché wunnen a schaffen, entstane sinn.

By January 2023, the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg had a population of 660,800, with 347,400 Luxembourgish nationals and 313,400 foreign nationals, including 245,800 from an EU member state (Statistiques.lu 2023). All in all, more than 170 nationalities live in Luxembourg (10 fact sheets about the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg 2022). Clearly, this shows that Luxembourg is a melting pot not only of languages but also of identities, cultures, nationalities and religions. Does this have an impact on everyday life in Luxembourg? In this essay, I want to take a closer look at the language situation in Luxembourg and whether there have been changes over the past few years with more and more foreign nationals living and working in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg.

1. Introduction: A little bit of history

In 987, Luxembourg appeared in a document for the first time and was then called Lucilinburhuc. Over the centuries Luxembourg was ruled by the Germans, French, Spanish and Dutch (Péporté 2022). After the fall of Napoleon, the map of Europe was redrawn by the victors at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). According to Péporté (2022, 14),

[t]he former Duchy of Luxembourg was to be part of a new United Kingdom of the Netherlands together with the rest of the former Habsburg Low Countries, the former Prince-Bishopric of Liège and the former Dutch Republic. This new state was to be governed by William I, king of the Netherlands, who would thus be rewarded for the role he had played in the coalition against Napoleon. Luxembourg

was to be given to him explicitly in compensation for lands he had ceded to Prussia. However, the British feared the Dutch lacked the necessary military resources to defend the new state, and Prussia was keen to have control over the fortress. The powers opted for a compromise: Luxembourg would become a Grand Duchy, governed in personal union by the king of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. It also joined the German Confederation, and its fortress came under German control.

Luxembourg was partitioned three times (1659, 1815, 1839). In 1815, Luxembourg was made a Grand-Duchy and in 1839 it became a neutral state. It is the only Grand-Duchy in the world, one of the smallest countries in the European Union, with a surface area of 2,586 km², and is surrounded by Germany, Belgium and France (Fig. 1; Péporté 2022).



Fig. 1: Luxembourg in Western Europe after 1815 (Péporté 2022)

2. Multilingualism in Luxembourg

Since the 14th century, Luxembourg's population has been very multilingual. In the 17th and 18th centuries, French became an administrative and legislative language. The Napoleonic Code was introduced in 1804 and remains the legal basis today. In the 19th century, Luxembourg joined the *Zollverein*, an economic union that was the reason why trained German employees immigrated to Luxembourg. As a result, German became the main language in the Luxembourgish economy. Italian entered the multilingual landscape of Luxembourg in the 19th cen-

tury, through migration, later joined by foreign employees from Portugal and English-speaking countries in the 20th century, all of which helped to enrich the multilingual environment.

During World War II, it was forbidden to speak French and Luxembourgish was considered a German dialect rather than a language in its own right during the German occupation. In 1941, the Nazis carried out a population survey in which Luxembourgers were asked about their mother tongue. The form explicitly stated that Luxembourgish was a dialect and that it was not permitted as a mother tongue. The people of Luxembourg opposed this and wrote down *Luxembourgish*. With this document, the Nazis wanted proof that the people of Luxembourg were, in fact, Germans. However, this plan failed, creating a strong national feeling in the country. After liberation, French was spoken to mark the difference from the language of the Nazis (Apropos...about languages 2022). Nowadays, Luxembourg has three official languages, *Lëtzebuergesch* (Luxembourgish), *Français* (French) and *Deutsch* (German), which have been legally defined since 1984 (Memorial 2022). Luxembourgish is the national language, with French and German used as administrative languages and French in legal matters. Thus “[t]he Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is one of those rare countries in the world where several languages are spoken and written throughout its territory and in different spheres of life – private, professional, social, cultural, and political” (Apropos...about languages 2022, 1). People in Luxembourg, citizens and commuters alike, use different languages daily. The Luxembourgish government has also reacted to more recent waves of migration by adding Portuguese and English to everyday documents (Fig 2).

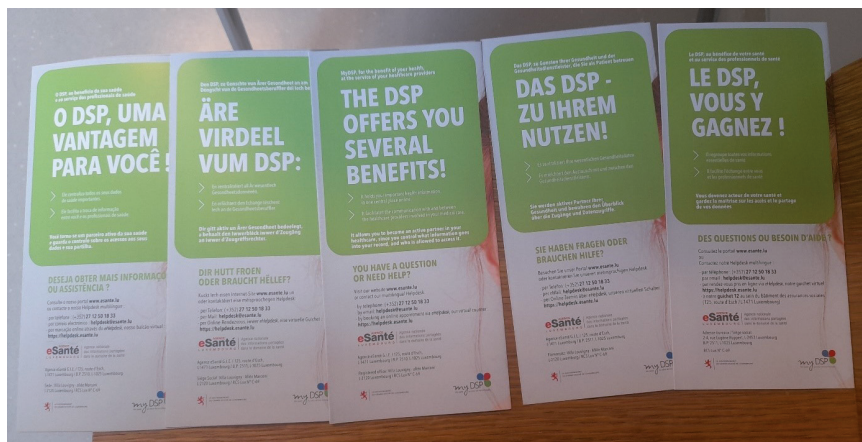


Fig. 2: My DSP (*Dossier de soins partagé*), flyers about Luxembourg’s personal electronic health record

2.1 Languages at work

The languages used at work depend on the business and working field. The languages spoken in the office are mostly Luxembourgish, French, German, English or Portuguese. The main language in the financial, insurance, technology and research sectors is English, it is often also used as a lingua franca. Although French and English are essential to find a job in the Grand-Duchy. Luxembourgish is required for the public sector and desirable for the health sector (Apropos...About Languages 2022). According to deBres, Wille and Franziskus (2015), Luxembourgers need to master the three national languages, i. e. Luxembourgish, French and German, if they want to enter public service. To sum up, Luxembourg is very multilingual but the government denies access to the public sector to cross-border commuters who do not speak the three national languages.

In the 19th century, Luxembourg was an emigration country but in the 20th century it became an immigration country, due to several institutions finding their home in the Grand-Duchy. Luxembourg was a founding member of BeNeLux, the European Union, the United Nations, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Furthermore, Luxembourg hosts several EU institutions like the European Court of Justice, the European Investment Bank, the General Secretariat of the European Parliament, the European High Performance Computing Joint Undertaking, the statistical office Eurostat, the Publications Office of the European Union, the European Court of Auditors and the European Public Prosecutor's Office (Péporté 2022). With all these institutions, many foreign employees moved to the country or commute every day. In 2022, 479,000 employees were working in Luxembourg: 255,000 were residents of the country, 124,000 with Luxembourgish nationality and 131,000 with a foreign nationality. Luxembourg also has a daily influx of 224,000 commuters who come from Belgium (51,000), Germany (52,000) and France (121,000) (Regards 06/23 2023).

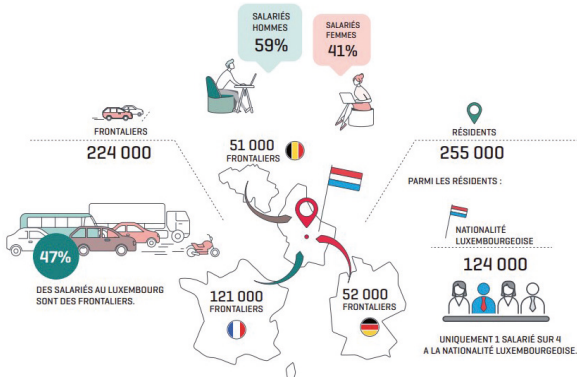


Fig. 3: Luxembourg's commuters (Regards 06/23 2023)

This means that on a normal working day, foreigners are the majority in Luxembourg, with 355,000 employees presumed to be foreign (Regards 06/23 2003). In relative terms, “[i]n 2021, the Luxembourg labour market employed 46% cross-border workers, 26% Luxembourg nationals, 23% other EU residents and 4% non-EU nationals” (Apropos...Languages in Luxembourg 2022). It needs, however, to be considered that cross-border workers may also have Luxembourgish nationality.

2.2 Languages at schools

The school language situation is quite a special one in Luxembourg and reflects the country’s multilingualism. The national school curriculum in Luxembourgish primary schools¹ is based on trilingualism. School-age children become literate in German, which is their L2, as in most cases their L1 is Luxembourgish, French, Portuguese, or another language. From the 2nd year of primary school, children learn French as their L3. Language skills vary depending on the child’s mother tongue. In secondary school, several languages find their way into the curricula, like French, German, English, Luxembourgish, Latin, Spanish and Italian (Welcome to the Luxembourgish School 2022). For example, children learn English from the 2nd or 3rd year, depending on whether they have chosen Latin or English as their L4. The national Luxembourgish public school system at secondary level is, in general, based on the two main languages French and German. Now several new languages find their way into the curricula, including English, Latin, Spanish and Italian (Welcome to the Luxembourgish School 2022). Luxembourgish as a language has a minimal presence in national secondary schools, apart from being a language of instruction if something is unclear and must be explained for better comprehension, although in the academic year 2021/2022 a new language section focusing on Luxembourgish was introduced in a secondary school in the city centre of Luxembourg (Initiative fir d’Promotioun vum Lëtzebuergeschen am Lycée 2022). In 2003, the government of Luxembourg founded its first university, which, five years later, attracted around 4,000 foreign students to study in the Grand-Duchy (Université du Luxembourg n. d.).

Not only foreign students migrate to Luxembourg for their studies but also foreign entrepreneurs and employees. This immigration is reflected in the school population since many arrive with their children. The evolution of the school population mirrors the demographic evolution of Luxembourg and is characterized not only by a constant increase in but also a growing proportion of pupils of foreign origin. In 2015-2016, 45.7% of pupils enrolled in Luxembourgish primary schools were non-Luxembourgish and 63.5% indicated a language other than Luxembourgish as their mother tongue. In 2016-2017, the situation in secondary schools was similar: 68.7% of pupils attending secondary school were foreign

¹ Children start primary school at either age 6 or 7 depending on whether they were born before or after August 31st

and more than 52% of pupils indicated a language other than Luxembourgish as their mother tongue (Schola Europea 2022). Although the government obliges all international schools to teach Luxembourgish as a foreign language, in 2013 and 2015 it launched a survey to ascertain whether there was a need for English language schools (Fig. 4). See also Section 2.3 below.

Mother tongue	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014
Luxembourgish	45.9%	41.5%	39.9%	38.7%
Portuguese	27.5%	28.2%	28.7%	28.9%
French	11.1%	11.5%	11.9%	12.6%
Serbo-Croatian	5.2%	5.5%	5.6%	6.4%
German	2%	2%	2%	2%
Italian	1.8%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%
Other	8.3%	9.3%	9.8%	9.5%

Fig. 4: Mother tongues spoken by pupils registered in the Luxembourgish school system (Sharma 2018)

Many refugees arriving in the country are also children who need to attend school. As they children cannot attend the normal school system in Luxembourg, they are integrated in classes which are called Welcome classes and Integration classes (Fig. 5).

Classe d'accueil (ACCU)

L'élève ne maîtrise pas encore les langues d'enseignement du Luxembourg. L'élève y suit des cours intensifs de français ainsi qu'une initiation à la langue et culture luxembourgeoise sont offerts à l'élève. (pas d'allemand) Des classes d'accueil à apprentissage intensif de l'anglais existent aussi dans les écoles publiques internationales.

Classe d'insertion francophone - Voie d'orientation (7GIF)

L'élève a acquis le niveau de la voie d'orientation (G) en mathématiques. Le plan d'études luxembourgeois est enseigné en français et l'élève y suit des cours intensifs de français ainsi qu'une initiation à la langue et culture luxembourgeoise (pas d'allemand). Accès au baccalauréat international en français possible à partir de ces classes.

Classe d'insertion francophone - Voie de préparation (7PF)

L'élève a acquis le niveau de la voie de préparation (P) en mathématiques et français. Le plan d'études luxembourgeois est enseigné en français. (pas d'allemand)

Classe d'insertion germanophone - Voie d'orientation (7GIA)

L'élève a acquis le niveau de la voie d'orientation (G) en mathématiques et en français. Le plan d'études luxembourgeois est enseigné en français et l'élève y suit des cours intensifs d'allemand. Accès au baccalauréat international en français possible à partir de ces classes.

Fig. 5: Welcome classes and Integration classes (Offres scolaires à l'Enseignement secondaire n.d.)

Welcome classes (classe d'accueil) are for children who have not yet mastered the languages of instruction in Luxembourg. The students have intensive French courses as well as an introduction to the Luxembourgish language and culture are offered (but no German). Welcome classes with intensive English courses also exist in international public schools (Offres scolaires à l'Enseignement secondaire n.d.). Then there are three types of integration classes. 1) The student has acquired

the level of the orientation path (G) in mathematics. The Luxembourg curriculum is taught in French and students have intensive French lessons as well as an introduction to the Luxembourgish language and culture (but no German). Access to the international baccalaureate in French is possible from these classes. 2) The student has acquired the level of the preparation path (P) in mathematics and French. The Luxembourg curriculum is taught in French (but no German). 3) The student has acquired the level of the orientation path (G) in mathematics and French. The Luxembourg curriculum is taught in French and the student follows intensive German lessons. Access to the international baccalaureate in French is possible from these classes.

2.3 Survey of international schools

In 2013, surveys were sent to 64 companies and 223 employees to establish whether there was a need for schools with English as the language of instruction in Luxembourg. In 2015, a second survey was sent to 22 companies and 606 employees. In total 86 companies and 829 employees took part. This survey was addressed to companies and employees already living in Luxembourg and not to those still abroad and needing to make the decision whether to relocate to Luxembourg.

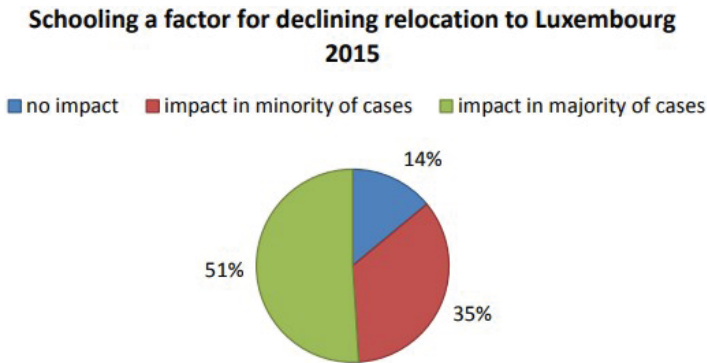


Fig. 6: Schooling as a factor to decline relocation to Luxembourg in 2015 (English Schooling 2016)

The survey showed that the economy in Luxembourg would benefit from an English school curriculum as 51% would have refused to relocate to Luxembourg if the system did not offer an English schooling system for their children. Employers and employees placed the same weight on English schooling in order to relocate to Luxembourg: 82% of the employers thought that the company's growth was affected by schooling and 91% even believed that if Luxembourg offered English schooling, there would be an increase in employees willing to

relocate to Luxembourg. Two of the main reasons why employees wanted schooling in English are that their children have difficulties integrating in the Luxembourgish school system (87%) because of the use of French and German and that the school leaving certificates gained in Luxembourg are not equal to those in their home country (43%). The report shows that English schooling would have a huge impact on the economy and that Luxembourg could gain more trained professionals if the country could offer English schooling for their children (English Schooling 2016).

The results highlighted that there is “an urgent need to further increase the schooling offer in Luxembourg with diversified options on primary and secondary school level. The surveys clearly reflect that the demand for English schooling is high” (English Schooling 2022). This clearly shows that migration has a huge impact on the educational system. Therefore, since 2016, the Luxembourgish government has reacted to migration by opening international schools and complying with the demand for schools with English-speaking curricula (English Schooling 2022). Six international primary and secondary schools have opened since 2016 with an English, French and German section. In 2023, children can choose between six final secondary-school diplomas: A-levels, the European final diploma, the IB (English/French) or national secondary school diplomas (classical, technical or general).

3. Other languages in the linguistic landscape of Luxembourg

The linguistic landscape does not only consist of Luxembourgish, English, French, German and Portuguese, which are the most common languages to be found in everyday life. Other languages have also found a place in the linguistic landscape, like Arabic, Spanish or even Tigrinya, as illustrated in Figure 7.



Fig. 7: “Exit” in 5 languages in a medical centre in the capital city (photograph by the author)

Migration has also had an impact on publications as official documents made available to the population contain even more languages than the three official languages, Luxembourgish, German and French. Official documents about COVID-19, for example, were published in the following languages: Luxembourgish, French, German, English, Portuguese, Arabic, Ukrainian, Spanish, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Tigrinya, Turkish, Serbian, Bosnian, Farsi, Albanian, Russian and Croatian (Fig. 8):

Geste-barrière

- › Geste-barrière – Français (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – English (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Deutsch (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Lëtzebuergesch (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Arabesch / العربية (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Farsi / فارسی (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Tigrinya / ትግርኛ (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Spuenesch / Español (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Russesch / русский (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Albanesch / Shqip (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – BCMS (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Türkesch / Türkçe (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Polnesch / Polski (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Bulgaresch / Булгарски (PDF)
- › Geste-barrière – Rumänesch / Română (PDF)

Symptomer COVID-19

- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Français-Deutsch-English-Lëtzebuergesch-Português (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Arabesch / العربية (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Farsi / فارسی (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Tigrinya / ትግርኛ (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Russesch / русский (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – Albanesch / Shqip (PDF)
- › Symptomer COVID-19 – BCMS (PDF)

Fig. 8: Official documents about COVID-19 in different languages (Ministère de la Santé n. d.)

Luxembourg embraces its multilingual environment and is aware of the language problems occurring if a person does not speak any of the country's three official languages. Making important information available in further languages, for example regarding COVID-19. The Luxembourgish government also reacted to the influx of immigrants who have to find their way around in the Luxembourgish language by publishing dictionaries in different languages: French – Arabic – Luxembourgish and vice versa, French – Farsi/Dari – Luxembourgish, and vice versa, as well as Ukrainian – Luxembourgish – French and vice versa, and a one-way dictionary: French – Tigrinya – Luxembourgish. This is a good example of how to help people integrate in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg (Ensemble/Zesummen).

4. Conclusion

Since the 14th century, the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg has been a multilingual country and is still so today. The only change that has occurred is the use of languages in different areas of everyday life. The three official languages, Luxembourgish, German and French, are required to have a job in the public sector. However, there is an exception for teachers who work in an international school run by the Ministry of National Education. The influx of migrants has had a huge impact on the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, with Portuguese and English being two languages that are often found added to its linguistic landscape. Children who moved to Luxembourg and need to attend the Luxembourgish school system are taken care of by the government with welcome and integration classes so that they can catch up on the languages. A survey launched and conducted by the government to find out whether there is a need for English-speaking schools showed that there is a huge demand if the economy in Luxembourg is to grow. Most English-speaking employees would only relocate if there were an English-speaking school for their children. The government reacted immediately to the results and as of 2023 there are 6 international schools with three different language sections, French, German and English, free of charge. In addition, children can follow the school programme which is convenient for them and choose from 6 secondary school diplomas. As a further step, it would be interesting to research if the opening of these 6 international schools has had an impact on the language situation in Luxembourg and whether English will overtake French as a lingua franca in the long run. More recent languages entering the country include Farsi, Arabic, Ukrainian, Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian, Croatian, Russian, Turkish and even Tigrinya. As seen with the COVID-19 documents or the dictionaries, the Grand-Duchy has already adapted to the changing language situation. Although immigrants have an impact on the language situation in Luxembourg, it should be seen as a give and take and as a gift, because Luxembourgers and immigrants can learn

from each other and broaden their horizons if they are willing to do so. With more nationalities entering the country, more languages, cultures, religions and traditions are present in Luxembourg, and it is the biggest enrichment a country can have.

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Migration and language learning

Leena Nissilä/Nina Reiman

Language skills and participation through language awareness and multiliteracies

Abstract

In recent years, educational systems in Europe have been challenged by rapidly increasing migration. Thus, in order to facilitate the integration and language learning of migrants, developing theoretically founded national guidelines and pedagogical practices has been a priority in many countries. This article presents an overview of the education of migrants in Finland, focussing on language learning and how it is promoted through language-aware pedagogy across the educational system.

1. Introduction

Over recent decades, migration to and within Europe has been constantly increasing. The surge of asylum seekers in the fall of 2015 and the arrival of Ukrainian migrants starting in 2022 have brought new challenges. In Finland, immigration was previously concentrated in the capital region and other big cities. Today, there are pupils with immigrant and, hence, multilingual backgrounds in almost every classroom all over the country. It is very important to conceive of and be able to use multilingualism as an asset in learning, instead of underlining the challenges it will necessarily pose. That is why multiliteracy and appreciating cultural diversity are needed as transversal competences at the core of all curricula. These competences, in turn, must be underpinned by a language-aware school culture.

2. National core curricula & language learning: Theoretical background

In Finland, the education of migrants from early childhood to adulthood is guided by the national core curricula. In basic education, the main goals of instruction are learning *a* (second) language and *in* a (second) language. While acquiring Finnish or Swedish, the national languages, is supported across the curriculum, the language-learning objectives are specified in the syllabus of Finnish/Swedish as a second language.

As regards second language acquisition (SLA), the theoretical background of the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (see FNAE 2014) is based on sociocultural and usage-based approaches (see van Lier 2007; Cadierno/Eskildsen

2015). These approaches share the idea of language as fundamentally social and dynamic. This means that language is learned in *interaction* with linguistic, social and material environments that serve as resources for learning (The Five Graces Group 2009; van Lier 2007). To utilize such resources, learners must be able to use them in ways that suit their individual needs. Accordingly, learners perceive resources that are meaningful to them. These perceived resources are turned into affordances when learners can actively engage with them in ways that enhance the language learning process (van Lier 2007). In short, the learners acquire language according to their own needs.

Both sociocultural and usage-based approaches emphasize the importance of using language in meaningful contexts. Interaction enables language use, which, according to usage-based theories, is necessary for learning: languages are learned in and through language use, by using language and by understanding the language that is used in the environment. Conventionalized patterns of language use emerge from previous language use experiences through repeated exposure and use in real-life situations (e. g. Ellis 2003; Cadierno/Eskildsen 2015).

Language is a dynamic social practice. Language learning in relation to the whole school culture can therefore be explained through the so-called language socialization theory (see Ochs/Schieffelin 2011). In this account, language learning is an activity that is shaped by conventionalized practices and social interactions. In this way, it serves as a form of socialization into communities of language use and their linguistic and cultural practices. Socialization processes are crucial in shaping language development and use, including both formal instruction and more informal interactions between peers and other members of a community, for example (Duff 2007; Duff/Talmy 2011). As regards the school context, learners need to be engaged in activities and practices: doing things in a language, through a language, and with a language. Through participation learners are socialized into everyday language, academic language, and subject-related language use.

In sum, participation in communities of language use and their practices is a prerequisite for learning. Because language is learned in all the interactions and language use situations in which learners can participate, they must be actively included in them. This pushes us to develop more language-aware practices in schools.

3. Migrant education in Finland

The migrant education system in Finland is mainly based on mainstreaming, meaning that the goals and principles of instruction are the same for all learners. It also means that pupils with a migrant background attend the same mainstream education according to their age as far as it is possible. But there are exceptions as follows:

- Finnish/Swedish as a second language and literature instruction,
- Instruction in the pupil's mother tongue and support in learning in their mother tongue and
- Instruction in the pupil's own religion.

This principle implies that it is possible for pupils to get support in learning whenever needed. The first year is most challenging; hence an additional form of education has been devised for these pupils, called instruction preparing for basic education. We will describe it in more detail below.

The real challenge for migrant education is that the real integration of migrants does not mean that migrants have to be integrated into their receiving schools. Rather, it means that schools need to adapt to the multilingual world in order to be able to accommodate pupils with a large variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds in the best possible way.

This is the only possible way to support the pupils' multilingualism and not only to assimilate them, meaning that pupils' cultural backgrounds and linguistic capabilities must be taken into account at school all the time and in all subjects. This implies a major change in the role of teachers. All teachers are also language teachers.

3.1 Instruction preparing for basic education

State funding is made available for instruction preparing for basic education for one year, with a double state grant per pupil awarded to the provider of education. The target groups are children arriving in Finland at pre-primary age (6 years) or at basic education age (7-16 years). An individualised study plan is drawn up for each pupil to follow. During the preparatory year all pupils are integrated into mainstream classes as soon as it is assessed that they can manage in a mainstream group. Thus, the instruction preparing for basic education can also be limited to less than one year if the pupil's language and other skills are assessed as sufficient for integration into regular classes.

In most cases, the instruction preparing for basic education is organized in separate groups, but it is also possible to have mixed groups of mainstream and preparatory instruction pupils. In this case there are two teachers: a teacher covering the instruction preparing for basic education and a regular class teacher. As a rule, this makes it easier for immigrant pupils to already make friends with other pupils during their preparatory year.

Pupils study Finnish or Swedish, the main basic education subjects, and, if possible, their mother tongue.

- Studying is organised in groups with no minimum size; it is also possible to study inclusively, i.e. in a regular basic education class
- Heterogenous groups (pupils' varying ages, educational background and levels of knowledge and skills) pose challenges for the teacher

The significance of this instruction preparing newly arrived children for basic education can be enormous. In addition to the fact that such pupils learn the basics of the language of instruction and the contents of different subjects, they are socialized into the local school life and are given their first tools to help them integrate into the local society. In all of this the teachers of preparatory instruction play an absolutely crucial role. Salo writes about this in his doctoral thesis: “The preparatory education teachers are fully aware of the significance of their role in advancing their students’ integration into society through the means of education” (Salo 2014, abstract).

3.2 Teaching of a second language (L2)

In Finland, the local authorities (municipalities) are responsible for organizing basic education in its various forms. This includes the responsibility to organize the instruction of Finnish or Swedish as a second language (L2). Discretionary state funding made available for this instruction is a significant incentive, covering a maximum of 3 weekly lessons per L2 teaching group (of a minimum of 4 pupils) up to six years after entering the Finnish school system.

L2 instruction is most often given partly in a separate group and partly together with L1 pupils. L2 teachers are mainly the same teachers who teach Finnish language and literature but they may have an extra degree in L2 studies.

The purpose of the syllabus for Finnish as a second language and literature is to strengthen the pupils’ knowledge of the language of instruction, to support the development of their multilingualism and to arouse an interest in and provide tools for the lifelong development of language skills. The teaching and learning of L2 supports the integration of multilingual pupils with a migrant background into Finnish society and helps to build a linguistic and cultural identity. In comprehensive school, the teaching of the syllabus is based on the text types and language use situations that are relevant and necessary for the pupils (FNAE 2014).

Language skills are developed in all areas of language use, namely speaking and writing as well as reading and listening comprehension. The development of production and comprehension skills are intertwined. The special purpose of the L2 syllabus is to support the growth of children and young people into full members of the language community with linguistic skills for further studies (FNAE 2014).

3.3 Instruction in the pupils’ own mother tongue

Instruction in the immigrant pupils’ own mother tongues is given in Finland for over 18,000 pupils in 55 languages on average every year. The largest language groups are Russian, Somali, Arabic and Estonian. To arrange mother tongue

instruction is not mandatory for the education providers but very many pupils want to take the lessons and extra state funding serves as an incentive for the municipalities to organize the instruction. State funding covers a maximum of 2 hours a week for a group of a minimum of 4 pupils.

According to the Constitution of Finland, everyone living in Finland has the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. One's own language, one's mother tongue is the language of the heart, feelings, identity and thinking. Preserving and further developing one's mother tongue also helps in learning the dominant (administrative) language.

4. Developing multiliteracy with language-aware teaching

Language awareness and multiliteracy are two core constructs in the national core curricula at all levels of education (see, e.g., FNAE 2014). Language awareness is a central principle that guides the development of school culture and pedagogy, while multiliteracy is set as one of the transversal competences essential in a changing society. These two constructs intersect across all subjects of the curricula: it is thus the joint responsibility of the whole school community to implement them in school culture and pedagogical practices.

Regarding the school context, language awareness highlights the importance of language in all learning. Since language is an essential tool for thinking and developing ideas and concepts, all disciplines have their specific ways of generating, structuring and formulating knowledge. As a consequence, each discipline conveys its own language, textual practices and concepts. For a second language learner, acquiring proficiency in a new language thus requires complex and multidimensional productive and receptive skills: in order to be able to communicate – to understand and produce versatile field-specific texts – in a discipline, the learner needs the ability to acquire, identify, interpret, evaluate, create and communicate meanings across a variety of (multimodal) texts (Goldman et al. 2016; for multiliteracy see Cope/Kalantzis 2015).

From the viewpoint of language socialization theory, disciplines can be seen as communities of practice. Thus, learning both content and language requires socialization into conventionalized literacy practices within each disciplinary community (Duff/Talmy 2011; Goldman et al. 2016). Disciplinary literacies should therefore be taught to all pupils at all levels of schooling. A language-aware school culture means that each teacher is a teacher of the language (use) typical to the subject they teach. That said, implementing language-aware instruction also benefits from close collaboration between subject teachers and language teachers. For example, subject teachers are experts at showing how knowledge claims and argumentation are shaped conventionally within their discipline (see Goldman et al. 2016), whereas language teachers can provide support in learning effective reading strategies and analysing textual practices. All teachers can utilize

methods that help pupils understand complex phenomena, concepts and terminology; instruction can be illustrated using visuals, graphic elements and explanatory language, for example. It is typical that language-aware pedagogy is associated with second language learners, but linguistically responsive methods and practices help all pupils achieve both content-specific and literacy-related (transversal) objectives.

In creating an inclusive school culture, one fundamental aspect of language awareness is to understand and value all languages as resources for the individual and community alike. Pupils with a migrant background typically have several languages in their linguistic repertoires and these multilingual repertoires should be identified as a learning resource. In both learning and teaching, they can be supported and utilized through translanguaging pedagogy (Garcia/Wei 2014), which encourages learners to use various linguistic resources actively in order to participate in activities and interactions in the classroom. The use of multilingual repertoires benefits all pupils as meanings can be explained and negotiated fluently by using all linguistic resources available. The practices of translanguaging pedagogy develop pupils' language awareness and support their recognition and utilization of their multilingual resources when acquiring disciplinary (multi)literacies in a new language.

5. Conclusions

The vital role of language in the process of learning is singularly important in today's culturally and linguistically diverse schools. Prior to attending school, no one is fully capable of communicating in the language of their future schooling. This applies to all children, not only children with a migrant background. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that every individual, whether L1 or L2 speaker, only gradually acquires both the general academic language of schooling and the languages that are specific to the different subjects.

It is essential to recognize that multilingualism should not be perceived as an obstacle or an adversity; rather, it represents a significant potential both for the pupil and for the school. For example, when studying additional languages, a multilingual background can be a major resource to draw on. Furthermore, empirical studies have indicated that individuals proficient in multiple languages also exhibit heightened levels of creativity and flexibility in their cognitive processes (e.g., Kroll/Dussias 2017).

It is important to understand that turning language awareness into practices does not happen automatically. It is true that most often such a change may be hampered by teachers' inadequate skills and readiness to deal with multilingual pupils. We should be able to set the focus especially on acceptance, a willingness for change and a set of pedagogical skills that will help embrace multilingualism. A language-conscious teacher must genuinely invest in developing their capacities

for linguistic support, in adopting concrete practices for teaching the language of their subject and be ready to show they are interested in the pupils' backgrounds and language skills (see, e. g., Repo 2023).

Most importantly, we all need to envisage that facilitating the education of learners with migration backgrounds is a shared responsibility. It is necessary for each teacher to assume the role of a language teacher within their own subjects, thereby promoting multiliteracy across all disciplines. In order to effectively support multilingualism, it is important to adopt new perspectives and boldly test and adopt innovative concepts of learning. This will necessitate a fresh approach to understanding and appreciating multilingualism, as well as developing new frameworks for educational practices.

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Immigrant children's language practices and their implications for language policy and teaching

Abstract

In contemporary literature there is a shift in terms of understanding migration beyond the well-known dichotomies of the past (e.g., assimilation vs. pluralism, heritage language vs. national language, etc). There is also a need for research that understands children as international social agents activating multilingual repertoires (Blommaert 2010). Although this new agenda encapsulates well the spirit of a new global reality, it rarely focuses on policy and language education issues related to immigrant children. Aiming to address this research gap, our paper draws on an ongoing ethnographically-oriented research project on the literacy practices of Greek new migrants in Australia and Germany. Our analysis will be based on two cases from our first-stage data (online interviews) in Australia. On the one hand, we map the repertoires of Greek new migrant children's language practices and, on the other, we discuss the complex, dynamic and value-laden ways in which they employ their 'repertoires of practices' (Rothoni et al. *forthc.*). In doing so, our ultimate aim is to discuss our findings in relation to language education and language policy initiatives.

1. Introduction

The migration of Greeks is a phenomenon with a long history. In the last hundred years there have been three major waves of migration, one at the beginning of the 20th century, the second after World War II (between the 1950s and the 1970s), and the current one from 2008 to the present. The most recent wave, commonly referred to as the "new" Greek migration (Panagiotopoulou et al. 2019), has massive consequences as around 580,000 Greek citizens¹ have left their home country, for both monetary and non-monetary reasons (Bartolini et al. 2017). The difference between the first two waves and the current one is that in the 20th century, it was mainly unskilled labourers and people with lower education who left Greece to work in the flourishing industries of Western Europe (Pratsinakis 2019) whereas now it is mainly highly skilled professionals and young graduates who are migrating in search of a better life and improved career prospects.²

Thus, the Greek diaspora could be seen as a 'superdiverse' phenomenon (Vertovec 2007) since individuals from different generations, with different expe-

¹ Reported in: *Nearly half a million Greeks have left, Bank of Greece reports finds* (<https://www.ekathimerini.com/>).

² Data retrieved July 5, 2022 from Eurostat.

riences, needs, and motivations, with different educational and socio-economic backgrounds, and whose only common feature is their biographical connection to Greece, come together in very different localities around the world (Europe, Australia, and the US). Consequently, the challenge of providing language instruction within these unpredictably different contexts of L2 learning (Douglas Fir Group 2016, 23) is a complex task that needs to be addressed through relevant research, which will subsequently lead to informed action. Some pertinent questions could be the following: What kind of research is needed to shape language education policy? How has this issue been addressed in research to date, and what is still missing? What can be learned from previous theory and research related to language education and policy?

2. Theoretical starting points

So far, answers to these issues can be traced within various research traditions: first, in New Literacy Studies (NLS), with a particular focus on the everyday (digital) literacy practices of young immigrants and the ways these can be pedagogically harnessed (see, e.g., Lam 2013); second, in studies focusing on schooling and language education in “community”, “complementary”, or “heritage” schools (Lytra 2020, 244), whose importance for diaspora communities is regularly highlighted (see, e.g., Chatzidaki 2019; Panagiotopoulou/Rosen 2019); third, in research conducted within the framework of Family Language Policy (FLP), that has sought to focus on the role of family in the language development of multilingual children, i.e. on the explicit and overt as well as implicit and covert language planning by family members in relation to language choice and literacy practices within home domains and among family members (see, e.g., Curdt-Christiansen 2018).

While offering useful insights into the language practices and language repertoires of young immigrants, current research typically focuses on chronotopically delimited practices. What seems to be missing is a shift of focus from compartmentalised accounts of literacy practices within specific chronotopes³ (Blommaert 2015) (e.g., out-of-school/everyday, school, family/home) to a trans-chronotopic perspective that offers a holistic account of young immigrants’ lifeworlds (Kress 2010). With this aim, the concept term of ‘repertoires of practices’ that we have newly coined (see Rothoni et al. *forthc.*), could prove to be highly relevant; more specifically, we draw on the sociolinguistic conceptualisation of “repertoires” as personal language biographies (Blommaert 2013; Busch 2017), on the one hand,

³ Originating from Bakhtin (1981), chronotopes are defined as times and places which are socially constructed and occupied by certain actors (Blommaert 2015). Their analytic focus involves the potential interdependency between space and time in social contexts (e.g., a classroom) and the ways that they influence each other in the conceptualisation of action, giving shape to the temporal and spatial situatedness of human actions.

and as a dynamic interplay between language and urban space (“spatial repertoires”; Pennycook/Otsuji 2015), on the other.

Well-articulated by Blommaert (2013), in the first approach, repertoires, which include the assembly of all meaning-making resources (linguistic, semiotic, or sociocultural) someone has acquired and can effectively deploy in communication, are seen as biographical, a form of individual indexical biography relating to specific situations in specific chronotopes. Further, repertoires in a superdiverse world are records of mobility: of people, of language resources, of social arenas, of technologies of learning, and of learning environments (Blommaert/Backus 2013). We also opt for the argument made by Busch (2017), who posits that a linguistic repertoire “not only points backward to the past of the language biography, which has left behind its traces and scars, but also forward, anticipating and projecting the future situations and events we are preparing to face” (Busch 2017, 356). The second approach contributes to our study with its focus on the need to account for the interaction between resources brought in by individual trajectories (with all the social, historical, political, economic, and cultural effects this may entail) and resources at play in a particular place, be it physical or digital (see Pennycook/Otsuji 2015).

Drawing on and combining these approaches (see also Rothoni et al. *forthc.*), we are moving one step further from perspectives that only focus on individual linguistic profiles or multilingual ‘biographies’ towards a practice-perspective thereof. In this sense, by using the term ‘repertoires of practices’ we argue that children’s language repertoires should be connected with social and literacy practices occurring at a particular time and space (in the family, in educational institutions, during out-of-school activities). Our argument is that from these practices multilingual regularities emerge, which are indexical of broader ideologies (regarding language maintenance, use, and learning etc.), emotions, material, and other social dynamics (Pennycook/Otsuji 2015).

In this broader context and drawing on interview data from the first stage of our ongoing ethnographically-oriented project conducted in Australia (and Germany)⁴ on the literacy practices of young Greek new migrants, our paper attempts to bring *literacy practices* and *repertoires* together through the use of the term ‘repertoires of practices’. The broader aim of the study is to make concrete proposals concerning Greek language education in diasporic families. In keeping with this broader aim, in this paper we attempt to map Greek new migrant children’s ‘literacy practices’ (their repertoires) spanning the whole spectrum of their everyday lives, focusing, on a first level, on the ways in which participants employ the different languages (English and Greek) in their repertoires of practices and, on a second one, on the ways in which these repertoires emerge.

⁴ In this paper we will only present data from Australia.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

The data were collected as part of a large scale project (‘miGRant⁵’) on the literacy practices of Greek new migrant children living with their families in Australia (and Germany). While the project consists of two major parts (online interviews followed by an ethnographic stage), in this paper our focus will be on the first data set, namely the online interviews. In particular, we will present two interviews conducted with two illustrative cases of children (and their parents) living in different cities in Australia. Interesting similarities and differences between the two cases will be presented and analysed, while any regularities that emerge from these comparisons will be highlighted.

Like the rest of the families in the study, the two families presented in this paper were recruited through networks and colleagues in universities, Greek communities, and teachers. Both live in Australian cities, having moved there from Greece during the period of the financial crisis (2011-2018). From a procedural point of view, the interviews were conducted via Zoom and lasted approximately one hour. The interview guide included a series of questions aiming to capture (a) the participants’ transnational practices (e.g., migration trajectories), (b) language practices (e.g., language(s) used in the home/at school), (c) language ideologies (e.g., advantages/disadvantages of knowing different languages), and (d) life in Greece before migrating to Australia (e.g., educational background). Prior to starting the interviews, participants were informed about privacy and data protection policy and provided their informed consent.

3.2 Data analysis

On the first level, our interview data were analysed using a digital mind mapping tool (<https://miro.com/>). In more detail, after reading each transcribed interview carefully, we created a visual map of his/her practices for each participant. The aim was to map the whole range of participants’ language and literacy practices, placing emphasis, however, primarily on their contacts with the Greek language and culture. Such visualisation techniques have been widely employed in similar studies dealing with multilingual practices either in digital or non-digital contexts (see, e.g., Lexander/Androutsopoulos 2021; LoBianco/Aronin 2020).

⁵ miGRant (“Investigation of adolescent digital literacy practices for the design of Modern Greek language teaching to youth of new migration background”) is a 3-year research project granted by the Hellenic Foundation for Research & Innovation (H.F.R.I.) within the 1st Call for H.F.R.I. Research Projects to Support Faculty Members & Researchers and Procure High-Value Research Equipment and is realised by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

In our case, we used our chosen mind mapping tool to create visual representations: first, of participants' literacy practices relating to formal learning and associated with school-based chronotopes (Blommaert 2015); second, those which relate to family and home life; and, finally, those which relate to entertainment. Another important distinction employed in our maps is that of "digital" and "non-digital" practices. This distinction draws on the emphasis placed in NLS research on adolescents' digital literacy practices (e.g., Knobel/Lankshear 2016; Marsh 2019). By employing these broad categorisations, we do not imply that they are seen as being separated by clear boundaries. Such classifications are employed for practical purposes in that they allow a straightforward visualisation; at the same time our aim is to extend or even challenge their dynamic relation by highlighting the various threads that connect literacy practices.

On a second level, nexus analysis theories (Scollon/Scollon 2004) were employed to try and analyse participants' practices as part of a multi-layered reality which should be uncovered. This decision is based on one of the most important ontological assumptions underlying this project (see also Rothoni et al. *forthc.*), which is that we live in a complex world, whose complexity is not only based on the wide use of digital media. Thus, in order to understand children's (digital) literacy practices, we needed a framework which would account for the multiple layers behind their practices. In other words, while, on a first level of analysis, the emphasis is on participants' actual activities, on a second level, what is also highlighted is a post-digital (Koutsogiannis/Adampa 2022) perspective in participants' practices that accounts for other, less studied, shaping factors illustrating the complexity of the issue in question and its implications for language policy and planning.

4. Findings

The analysis in this section begins with the case of 13-year-old Kimonas, who moved to Australia from Greece in 2013 when he was 4 years old (he had only attended kindergarten before leaving Greece) and now lives in a city in Western Australia with his parents and his younger brother. Characterised as "a book-worm" by his mother, Kimonas attends an independent⁶ public secondary school in his area and has been learning Greek at a local community school since the age of 6. The map illustrated in Figure 1 provides detailed information about his literacy practices. The focus will be first set on the visible elements of the map and, next, on those elements which are not straightforwardly visible but should be highlighted in order to gain access to the child's practices as a whole.

⁶ An Independent Public School is a public school that has demonstrated its capacity to use increased flexibility and responsibilities to make local decisions across a range of school operations to enhance education outcomes for students. Source: Independent Public Schools, Department of Education (<https://www.education.wa.edu.au/independent-public-schools>).

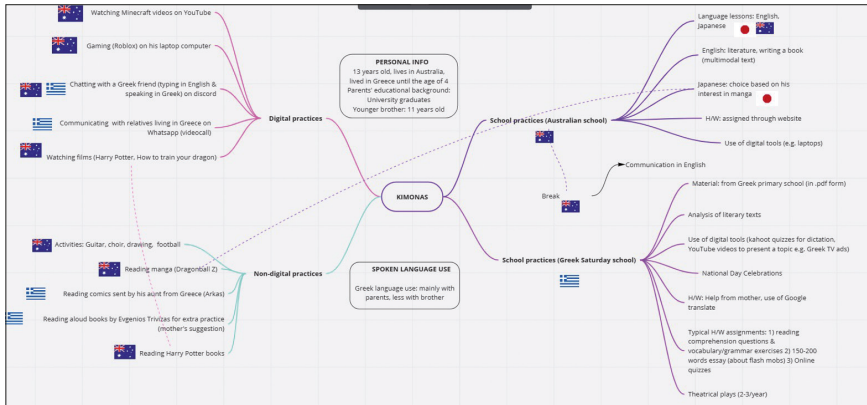


Fig. 1: A visual map of Kimonas' repertoires of practices

The right-hand side of the map illustrates Kimonas' repertoires of practices that relate to his Australian morning school and those that relate to his local community school, where he learns Greek every Saturday. The left-hand side of the map provides information about his repertoires of practices that relate to entertainment, both those involving and those not involving digital media. At first glance, what is clearly visible in the map is that, similar to the majority of the rest of our participants, Kimonas' Greek language practices mainly occur in the community school he attends. Unlike the other participants, however, who are generally not motivated to attend these classes, these lessons are attractive to Kimonas and the rest of the students in his class (*"he wakes up on Saturday morning and he wants to go to school"*, as his mother said). Digital tools such as Kahoot quizzes (to check vocabulary), YouTube videos (to present a topic), and game platforms are very often employed by the teachers, making the lessons fun for Kimonas. Typical homework activities include reading comprehension questions, vocabulary exercises, and essay writing. Like the rest of the participants, when Kimonas prepares his homework, he often asks for his mother's help or uses Google translate to find some unknown words. As his mother notes: *"He once brought me an essay and I thought 'Oh, what a good essay! How come he knows all these words!'" and I realised that he had put everything in Google translate, but it was good*".

One of the things that is not immediately visible in the map, however, is the key role of new technologies and media in his school context. The use of tools such as Kahoot or YouTube in his community school and Kimonas' use of digital tools at home are indicative of a new reality which has emerged from a combination of new material conditions and ideologies regarding Greek, its learning, and teaching in ways made possible by digital media. What is not visible in the map either is Kimonas' parents' conscious 'investment' in the type of Greek lessons he attends (i.e., enrolling him in Greek classes from a young age) and the support

provided by his mother through a range of informal strategies she adopts (i.e., helping him with his homework, encouraging him to sit for the B1 level examinations). This ‘investment’ – which is common in all participants’ families – is mostly grounded in emotional reasons and is also illustrated in how Kimonas himself views Greek language learning: “[*I learn Greek*] because I was born Greek. This is the language I’ve been speaking for the most part of my life [...] way before we came here in Australia”.

Moving to Kimonas’ repertoires of practices that are not related to school, it becomes evident from the map that, like the majority of participants, his contacts with Greek are mainly limited to spoken language, that is, when he communicates with his parents at home or – albeit not so often – with his close relatives back in Greece (via WhatsApp video calls: “*We might talk with my grandmother and aunt and uncle but usually it’s ‘how was your day’, ‘how are you’ and so on*”). Other out-of-school activities in Greek include his reading Greek fairy tales out aloud – an activity which is encouraged by his mother for extra pronunciation practice (“*I often have them [her kids] some nights read aloud for ten to fifteen minutes for me, to see where words are stressed*”) or his regular reading of Greek comic books which are sent by his aunt in Greece. Other less common activities – mentioned by his mother – include listening to Greek music with his family at home or going to the cinema to watch a Greek film (“*we may play a Greek CD at home. On Saturday we went to the cinema and we watched a film with Greek dialogues*”).

A deeper analysis of these repertoires of practices foregrounds the key role of Kimonas’ family in sustaining them, since they are all the result of his (broader) family’s investment in Greek language learning. Such language maintenance strategies (e.g., sending books written in Greek, encouraging the child to read books aloud in Greek, and listening to Greek music) were observed in the majority of the participating families and are all carefully selected and ideologically loaded decisions aiming at the acquisition of literacies, as approached by the formal educational system. Finally, what is not visible in the map either is the key role of technology and the emotional meaning underlying Kimonas’ communication practices with relatives. Such practices are indicative of all similar practices followed by our participants in which technology is used for communication with friends and family in the homeland, sharing the following common characteristics: they take place almost exclusively in Greek, they aim to maintain family intimacy, and they provide emotional support for all concerned.

Moving to the left side of the map, we observe that Kimonas’ repertoires of practices – those that relate to entertainment – mainly involve English. These English-dominated activities are very common among most of the participants in our study, and in Kimonas’ case these are mainly digitally-based activities such as playing online games on his computer, chatting with friends about the game while playing, and watching *Minecraft* tutorial videos on YouTube. In all these interest-driven activities, English plays a dominant role, with the exception of

some marginal instances where he might use Greek, such as when he sometimes chats with a friend from Greece (“*I’ve got a Greek friend whom I play with and sometimes we chat in Greek, not when we type but when we speak*”). Other non-digital, entertainment-driven English-language practices that Kimonas follows include: reading manga (*Dragonball Z*), reading *Harry Potter* books or playing the guitar and drawing. It seems, thus, that Kimonas’ personal interest and ‘investment’ in the global pop culture motivate him to engage in a variety of English-language repertoires of practices that are mostly related to manga, reading books, and online gaming.

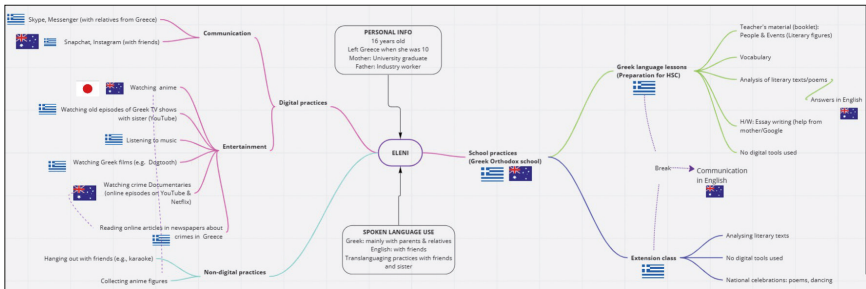


Fig. 2: A visual map of Eleni’s repertoires of practices

The case of Eleni (see Fig. 2), a 16-year-old girl from a city in south-eastern Australia is next discussed for the reason that it provides interesting differences (and similarities) compared to Kimonas’ case. One striking difference is that Eleni moved with her family from Greece to Australia when she was 10, meaning that her Greek school repertoire and her experiences from the Greek school system were still strong (as she had attended the first four classes of primary school in her homeland) and that she speaks Greek more fluently than Kimonas. In Australia now, she attends a private Greek school where she has Greek classes aiming to prepare students for the Higher School Certificate (HSC) examinations. Apart from that, she also attends Greek extension classes where students, with various language levels, are provided with class differentiation strategies. No digital tools are used in the lessons (“*everything is hand-written or printed*”) but still Eleni enjoys them, even though she finds preparation for the exams stressful. Like Kimonas and the rest of the participants, Eleni’s Greek school repertoire is mainly supported by her parents’ “investment” (Kanno/Norton, 2003) in learning the language well; here the reasons are mainly emotional but also Eleni’s preparation for the future in case they return to Greece (“*it’s a lot better than going to a community school [...] I want my kids to maintain the language, to know it well, to be able to write [...] I want us at some point to go back to Greece and I want my kids to be able to meet the requirements of the Greek system*”). Similar to Kimonas, it is also under-

pinned by Eleni's own strong emotions, which relate to her identity as a newcomer in Australia: *"I learn Greek because I come from Greece and it would be embarrassing to say that I'm from Greece, that I came here in Australia a few years ago but I don't learn Greek"*.

When at home, Eleni tries to speak Greek, although it is easier for her to use English, especially with her older sister. This makes her mother – who is strongly in favour of using Greek in the house – quite upset (*"The two girls use English when they talk to each other and I tell them 'Guys, we speak Greek here'"*). Less often she also communicates in Greek with her grandmother and aunt in Greece either via Skype or Messenger. Similar to Kimonas, then, and the rest of the participants, Eleni's repertoire of Greek language practices mainly relates to school life and the family domain. One striking difference, however, between the two children's repertoires of practices that relate to entertainment is that Eleni's are not exclusively dominated by English.

In more detail, being strongly interested in criminology and true crime documentaries, Eleni tries to find information about crimes committed in Greece. To that end, she reads relevant online articles in Greek newspapers: *"I was looking for crimes which have been committed in Greece, because all documentaries are for crimes which have been committed in the US, they are from mainstream countries so to speak. So, I looked for articles in Greek and there were plenty of them in old newspapers. For example, there was a newspaper which was from the 60s, I think"*. Finally, together with her sister, they watch episodes of Greek TV shows on YouTube or recent Greek films, while whenever she wants to feel close to her homeland, she listens to Greek music: *"Sometimes, when I get nostalgic for Greece, I may play something. It's not that I like it, I just do it because it feels like being back in Greece again"*. What is, therefore, not immediately visible in Eleni's map is the key role of agency but also of affect in sustaining her interest-driven repertoire of practices which involve Greek. With the exception of Eleni and a couple of other participants with a true interest in certain "affinity spaces" (e.g., boys' interest in Greek football), this emotional motivation and agentic engagement is not very common among participants in the study. Thus, what needs to be highlighted is the key role of personal affinities in motivating young people like Eleni to engage in rich Greek-language literacy practices which transcend the borders of the English-dominated pop culture mediascape, a striking difference compared to Kimonas' case.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this section, the findings presented in the previous section will be briefly discussed in light of the questions presented at the beginning of this paper: What kind of research is needed to design language education policy in the current

superdiverse reality? What language policy initiatives need to be taken to promote Greek language learning in a rapidly changing world? Although the data presented in this paper certainly cannot claim generalisability in terms of young Greek new migrants' repertoires of practices overall, an attempt is made to identify certain patterns that apply to the majority of our participants based on the two cases presented in this paper.

First, traditional and long-established sets of literacy practices, such as attending after-school language classes (see, e.g., Kirsch 2019; Kirsch/Gogonas 2018), continue to be central to our participants' realities. Such strictly defined repertoires of Greek language teaching (community schools, after-school classes, morning schools) are still powerful in sustaining Greek language, culture, and identity in the diaspora (Lytra 2019). However, it seems that these existing structures have difficulty in responding to the existing superdiverse reality (i.e., the co-existence of different generations of immigrants in the classrooms) while our data support the argument that they activate repertoires of Greek language practices that are in most cases traditional and bounded. In other words, the general view is that schools do not support or "sponsor" (Brandt 1998) children's out-of-school repertoires of practices, leaving the family or children's personal interests to play the only role in activating their out-of-school repertoires of Greek language practices. It seems, thus, that at the level of education policy, the challenge is how to make these existing structures more attractive, perhaps by placing emphasis on providing richer differentiation opportunities in teaching or on creating motivating and attractive learning resources and ideas which would transcend the borders of the classroom and support children's repertoires of practices in Greek.

Interestingly, however, even in the case of Kimonas' school, which is indicative of a new educational reality where new technologies are used, it is evident that families do not rely on the school's work alone; instead, they are seen to cultivate new types of repertoires of practices for their children, which, in turn, seem to 'colonise' family life (cf. Koutsogiannis 2009). Thus, in line with recent studies on family language policies in multilingual settings (see, e.g., Kirsch/Gogonas 2018), parents are seen to make systematic efforts in which both new and traditional media are exploited (books, magazines, TV, the internet), aiming to provide their children with, more or less organised, opportunities to engage in Greek language practices in the space of the house. We could argue that through the investments made, the family represents a crucial "center" (Blommaert 2010) for creating repertoires of practices for Greek language use and learning. In brief, some indicative examples of how well-known repertoires of family-based language practices are activated include: the use of Greek in everyday family communication or parents' systematic efforts to provide their children with more or less organised opportunities to engage in Greek language practices.

At the same time, outside the school walls, what is observed is a tendency for 'trans-chronotopic' practices, that is, practices which are seen to be multiply

placed (Bulfin/Koutsogiannis 2012), or else diffused across spatiotemporal contexts. This is observed, for example, when participants use various video chat platforms for communication with family members living in Greece. In such cases, what emerges is the strong emotional meaning of socialisation with family members who live back in the homeland (cf. Lanza/Lexander 2019; Martin-Bylund/Stenliden 2020). It is also observed in cases in which the home is found to become a formal learning environment through formal, school-like learning practices (e.g., when reading a Greek book aloud) occurring outside spaces of schooling. At the level of policy planning, these findings seem to indicate that there is a strong need for raising policymakers' critical awareness, on the one hand, of the forms and the consequences of families' initiatives (i.e., what kind of repertoires of practices are supported by families and why?) and, on the other hand, of the importance of the dynamic ways in which trans-chronotopic practices are activated (e.g., the use of video platforms for communication with family members in Greece, the occurrence of learning practices outside traditional school spaces).

At the same time, though, in chronotopes where the role of the family fades, Greek loses ground and English is observed to hold a more dominant position. This is evident in participants' youth-based repertoires where, due to the dominance of the English language in "globalized online spaces" (Benson/Chik 2010; Rothoni 2017), Greek is seen to play a rather marginal role. However, it is seen that, notwithstanding the strong presence of English in such spaces, there are children, like Eleni, who make conscious efforts to engage with their native language for their own personal purposes (Rothoni et al. forthcoming). This could be, in part, explained by the fact that Eleni spent 10 years in her homeland before moving to Australia, a finding that is of particular interest and merits further investigation since it can be interpreted as an indication of children's agency, an issue that has received increasing attention in studies of multilingual families, particularly in the light of language maintenance and shift (Revis 2019).

Keeping in mind that perhaps the most critical issue is to identify what kind of 'imagined' identities (Kanno/Norton 2003) are constructed by Greek new migrant children, for those involved in policy planning and decision making, the most crucial challenge is to find ways to suggest or develop digital environments suitable for multilingual practices that would be attractive to new migrant children and, in general, to create technologically-mediated opportunities for enriching their multilingual practices. Perhaps even more importantly, there is an urgent need to adopt a reframed perspective of teaching; this would involve moving beyond tightly bounded and dichotomous distinctions that segment literacies and repertoires of practices, and paying more attention to their highly significant interrelations, thus bringing together school-based practices with children's, family and entertainment practices in a dynamic way.

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Language and migration policies

Birute Klaas-Lang/Marin Mõttus/Andero Adamson

How to support the visibility of Estonia and the Estonian language in the world

Abstract

In our article, we provide an overview of the current situation of the Estonian diaspora and measures taken by the Estonian state to support the diaspora in maintaining the Estonian language and culture abroad. We also offer an overview of the study of Estonian at foreign universities, its history and current situation. Both activities are carried out with the aim of making Estonia more visible in the world and to raise more people who know the Estonian language and culture, and in the end serve the interests of soft diplomacy. We analyse the state's interest in this process as well as learners' motivation in learning a less widely used language.

1. Introduction

The global visibility of Estonian relies on the persistence of the diaspora maintaining a space for the Estonian language and culture. Likewise, teaching Estonian at universities abroad contributes to the visibility of Estonia, which also increases the number of Estonian friends (Klaas-Lang 2014).

Estonia is one of the smallest countries in Europe but it has a large and scattered diaspora, mainly as a result of three waves of emigration (Tammaru et al. 2010). The first wave took place in the mid-nineteenth century, mainly for economic reasons (but also due to the availability of higher education, etc.). The second massive wave of refugees, driven by the events of World War II, was largely a forced escape to the West from the threat of a new occupation (also known as the Great Flight to the West of 1944). The third wave of emigration is related to the restoration of independence and the accession of Estonia to the European Union; here the reasons for migration are mainly economic in nature. It is estimated that there are up to 200,000 people with Estonian roots living abroad, accounting for approximately 15% of all Estonians. The largest communities are in Finland, Russia, the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, the United States and Canada.

To enhance cooperation with Estonian communities abroad and to support their efforts to maintain their identity, the Estonian Diaspora Action Plan 2022-2025¹ was signed by the Foreign Minister and adopted in January 2022. The aim

¹ <https://vm.ee/en/news/government-approves-foreign-ministrys-action-plans-climate-diplomacy-and-estonian-diaspora>.

of the Action Plan is to strengthen ties with compatriots and friends of Estonia, thereby increasing the cohesion of Estonian society and making Estonia bigger together, because the communities of compatriots and friends of Estonia are valuable cooperation partners for implementing jointly set goals. We want the Estonians living outside Estonia to support the Estonian identity and to fully participate in Estonian social and cultural life.

Expanding and diversifying opportunities to learn Estonian is one of the crucial measures to fulfil the objectives of the Action Plan. Estonian is being taught in over 100 places all over the world. This includes more than 30 universities as well as some schools where Estonian is part of official curriculum; most of them are weekend schools and language learning groups for children or adults based on the personal initiative of the teachers, who not always are professionals.

In our article, we focus on the activities and measures organized by the Estonian state aimed at supporting the diaspora in maintaining the Estonian language and culture abroad on the one hand and teaching Estonian at foreign universities on the other. Both activities are carried out with the aim of making Estonia more visible in the world and to raise more people who know the Estonian language and culture, and in the end serve the interests of soft diplomacy.

2. Estonian in the diaspora: The current situation

In recent years, many children and young people have left Estonia who could return at some stage in their lives, which includes re-entering the local education system. The problem is that in most cases, while living abroad, children and parents lose their connections to Estonia's educational institutions and they stop learning Estonian as their mother tongue on the basis of the Estonian curriculum. Research shows that children from families who have returned to Estonia have difficulty adapting to the education system, and this is mainly related to their lack of Estonian language skills (Aksen et al. 2015).

In order to increase and facilitate return migration and maintain Estonian cultural identity abroad, it is important to expand and diversify the opportunities for learning Estonian abroad in general education schools, weekend schools, kindergartens and associations as well as online. A good example is the Global School (*Üleilmakool*²), an online school for Estonian children living outside Estonia. The school started admitting students in 2013 and in the 2021-2022 academic year, it had 240 students from 31 countries. The school is managed by the Estonian Language Education Society operating in Finland.

Teaching the Estonian language and cultural history as well as other subjects in Estonian helps to maintain and develop Estonian language skills in the schools

² <https://yleilmakool.ee/>.

and communities of compatriots and to create an opportunity for young people to continue their studies in the Estonian education system in the future.

There is also a growing need for modern learning materials that consider the differences of compatriot communities. The mechanism for creating such textbooks already exists in Estonia but communities are not widely aware of these opportunities and, therefore, the availability of information needs to be improved. A variety of digital solutions would also encourage language learning, both for refresher training for teachers and for the continuous updating of learning materials. Since the COVID-19 crisis, there have been monthly online sessions for teachers on various topics to offer methodological support and share best practices for teaching.

There is a clear need to diversify the training opportunities for Estonian language teachers and to offer them methodological support as many teachers who teach abroad do not have professional teaching qualifications. Here, a good solution is learning Estonian online, which is being developed by the Integration Foundation.

According to Statistics Estonia,³ 7,000-8,500 Estonian citizens returned to Estonia every year between 2015 and 2019. This exceeded the number of emigrants. According to official statistics, returnees to Estonia decreased slightly in 2020, but it can still be said that moving back to Estonia has intensified in recent years. To encourage this trend, it is necessary to continue developing a systemic approach with support services. Greater financial support could be provided for families with children who return to Estonia from more distant countries. There is a tendency that children aged 15-19 who return to live in Estonia with their families do not have sufficient help in language learning, or in forming friendships and generally adapting, as younger family members have often never lived in Estonia. Lack of knowledge of Estonian may, in turn, prevent them from going to upper secondary school or university.

3. Challenges and problems of families in multilingual environment

In 2022, a study “Estonian communities abroad: Identity, attitudes and expectations towards Estonia” (Diaspora 2022) was conducted by the Institute of Baltic Studies based in Tartu. The results of this study show that Estonian foreign communities, considering their permanent lives outside Estonia, are in no way distant or alienated from it and have a strong sense of belonging to Estonia. The study included several questions regarding the use and learning of Estonian: 87% of the respondents consider Estonian to be their mother tongue but only 83% of

³ www.stat.ee/en.

them speak it “on the level of a mother tongue“ so a small proportion of Estonians abroad feel that they have partly lost their language skills. One of the most important tools for maintaining Estonian is the media: 69% read Estonian language media daily. 62% speak Estonian with their children as the main language at home; the relatively low percentage probably shows the influence of mixed marriages. Relatives/family members who do not speak the language of the new host country are the most important factor for learning Estonian: 57% mention it.

As the study included both a global questionnaire and in-depth interviews, it provided some interesting insights into the insecurities, problems and dilemmas people may have when living abroad. Language is and always has been a powerful identity marker for Estonians but the readiness to try to maintain and develop language skills is emotional and is influenced by attitudes towards Estonia in general.

Some interviews and comments also revealed certain prejudices and a lack of knowledge: for some parents, multilingualism is still seen as a hindrance for the intellectual development of their children and they consider code switching and mixing languages as possible risks. Some interviewees had experienced insecurity and uncertainty regarding their own knowledge of Estonian; some, on the other hand, had too high expectations from their children.

4. Solutions and tools for supporting Estonian language skills

The Republic of Estonia permanently supports the Estonian school in Stockholm, the Estonian kindergarten in Helsinki, the global e-learning school *Üleilmakool* and Estonian language teachers in Brussels, Luxembourg, Riga, Pechory and Upper Suetuk in Siberia. Other schools, groups and associations teaching Estonian can apply for financial support twice a year. The Ministry of Education and Research also delivers free manuals, books and methodological materials. All places that teach Estonian abroad can order high-quality teaching materials in Estonian as support. The orders are submitted by the Estonian Institute once a year and the materials are available in a digital ordering environment.

Young Estonians abroad can apply for grants to study in Estonia plus an additional academic year for language learning. Recently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched the opportunity to apply for a scholarship for internships in Estonia, which is an efficient tool for language learning. The state also supports youth camps in Estonia and abroad which include lessons in Estonian.

The private sector, too, has been active in developing language learning possibilities. These activities include online tools for adults or children in different age groups: *Kideocall*, *SayEst*, *KeelEST*, *Language click*, *Mukimuri* etc. Private companies also organize youth camps and student exchanges. These initiatives may be partially funded by the public sector.

In the future, more attention should be paid to supporting and counselling families who bring up their children in a multilingual social environment. Cooperation with communities abroad and with private companies for teaching materials should be closer too. State support for language camps should increase: learning in the language environment gives the best results and such camps have turned out to be the most efficient way to support motivation.

5. Teaching Estonian at foreign universities

The teaching of Estonian in weekend schools and general education schools abroad is also closely related to the teaching of academic Estonian language and culture at foreign universities targeted at the diaspora as well as to those more broadly interested in the subject.

Continuous teaching of Estonian abroad started in 1923, when the first lecture-ship was set up at the University of Helsinki (Klaas-Lang 2020). The linguist, folklorist and poet Villem Grünthal (known as Grünthal-Ridala) worked there as a teacher until his death in 1942. Before World War II, a few more teaching positions were added: in 1935, literary scholar Aleksander Aspel started teaching Estonian at the Institute of Eastern Languages and Cultures in Paris. In 1938, under the leadership of folklorist and linguist Felix Oinas, teaching of Estonian began at the University of Budapest. It is noteworthy that all the above-mentioned universities still offer an Estonian language and culture programme today.

After World War II, the teaching of Estonian continued at foreign universities largely with the support of Estonian researchers and Estophiles abroad. In addition to local students, numerous members of the Estonian diaspora and their descendants abroad were also interested.

6. Current situation – the state support for teaching the Estonian language at foreign universities

Currently Estonian is taught in 30 universities all over the world including in Europe, North America and Asia. In 2005 the first state-funded programme was founded for Estonian studies abroad and since then the council of the programme has systematically developed the field of Estonian studies to expand the network of universities that teach Estonian as part of their curriculum. In the academic year 2022/23 nine lecturers were sent by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research to work at the universities of Vilnius, Warsaw, Latvia, Greifswald, Masaryk University in Brno, Inalco University in Paris, Ivan Franko University in Lviv, Beijing Foreign Studies University and ELTE University in Budapest.⁴

⁴ www.harno.ee/en/scholarships-and-grants/higher-education-grants/academic-studies-estonian-language-and-culture.

The universities in Budapest and Greifswald were the latest to join the network, starting with a lecturer funded by the Estonian state in 2018 and 2019 respectively. Currently, negotiations are ongoing to establish an Estonian lectureship by the end of 2023 at one of the North American universities.

The state-funded programmes for Estonian studies abroad are designed so that the planned measures would cover all aspects of teaching and have the most impact. The cornerstone of each programme so far has been the establishment of new lectureships at foreign universities and the winning candidates are selected carefully in a long process of negotiations. In the past, only two lectureships were closed down, proving that cooperation with the universities and the council of the programme is generally very strong and interest in teaching Estonian high. In addition, the programme offers various grants for students to fund their research in Estonia about Estonia or Estonian or to attend language courses in Estonia during the summer or winter break. The opportunity to do research or practise the language in the natural environment is highly regarded as many of the grant holders eventually become experts on Estonia or started teaching Estonian themselves.

Every university can also apply for free teaching materials (books, textbooks, films, etc.) from Estonia to ensure the quality of Estonian studies and there is a special call for universities that do not have Estonian in their curriculum yet but would like to start in the future. In this case a university can offer a short two- or three-month long course to gauge interest and promote Estonian studies among students and get a grant from the programme to fund a lecturer hired locally or invited from abroad.

Currently, the third programme is in effect and will run until the end of 2027.

7. Why teach Estonian at foreign universities: the state's perspective

Academic study of the Estonian language and culture at foreign universities definitely serves the purpose of making Estonia more visible on the one hand. On the other hand, Estonia, as a member of the European Union, is also responsible for contributing to the growth of the number of people who know one of the official languages of the EU, namely Estonian. Its status as an official language of the European Union has significantly increased interest in Estonian.

Teaching one's language and culture abroad certainly strengthens the positive image of countries, Estonia among them, in the world and their position in international academic life. It is not for nothing that such an activity is called soft diplomacy because in this way Estonia increases its own reputation abroad, making more friends among the future intellectual leaders of the host country and tightening the network of Estophiles. Certainly, more than 1,000 Estonian language learners studying at foreign universities every year are also a potential for Esto-

nian higher education. Often, a foreign student's journey to master's and doctoral studies at Estonian universities, or to the Erasmus exchange programme, begins with the initial Estonian language course abroad.

There are quite a few prerequisites for sending a lecturer of Estonian language and culture to a foreign university. When choosing teaching places, both the national need and the desire to encourage cooperation are important as are the suitability of the university and academic environment hosting the lecturer for the study of the Estonian language and culture. Preference is given to countries with which mutual educational and cultural cooperation agreements have been concluded, where there is interest in Estonia and support for teaching the Estonian language and culture and where introducing Estonia and forming a favourable attitude towards Estonia is important for political, economic or historical-cultural reasons. Geographical balance has been and is being considered so that foreign study centres are distributed as evenly as possible between different regions, with priorities being neighbouring countries, European Union countries and other important countries for Estonia (for example, China, USA). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia has always been helpful in defining priorities.

In addition to the suitability of the country and the existence of good bilateral cooperation ties with Estonia, the foreign university's interest in teaching the Estonian language and culture and the will to support it in substance are very important too. Estonian language studies are traditionally included in the curricula of universities dealing with Finno-Ugric studies, but not only. International relations, studies of the Baltic region, journalism and other social sciences can also be suitable subjects alongside which Estonian language and culture studies can be placed. Surveys conducted by the Estonian Institute⁵ among students and lecturers of the Estonian language in 2013 and 2016 clearly showed that in addition to philologists, students of other disciplines are also interested in Estonian: 61% of the respondents studied philological disciplines while 39% studied other subjects (Klaas-Lang 2019).

In order to send an Estonian language lecturer to a foreign university, there should also be a sufficient number of motivated students there. However, the amount of interest definitely relates to the provision of actual courses. If there is no opportunity for learning the Estonian language and culture, it is useless to hope that the number of people interested in Estonia could be significant.

⁵ <https://estinst.ee/en/about-us/estonian-institute/>.

8. Why should students learn and why Estonian?

The basis of the effectiveness of any course of studies is motivation, that is, the desire (or need) to learn (Argus et al. 2021). Language learning is no exception in this regard. There are languages without which it is not possible to manage in society, but also in the wider world, to get a good education and find a good job, to be a valued job seeker on the international labour market. English, the “market leader” in education, is undoubtedly a language of great pragmatic value such that it is learned by more than 80% of students in Estonian general education schools. There are languages that are learned out of interest in the culture of the people who speak that language, or out of personal, often romantic, interest in some representative of that people. If we look at learners as the future beneficiaries of the language, encouraging the learning of small and “low-value” languages as a foreign language seems to be an activity already doomed to failure. Could Estonian also have its own value on the international education market, i. e. a “market value” (McGill 2022; Grin 2001), if economic terms are used (see also Klaas-Lang 2019)?

Research and writings in recent years show that the motivation to learn languages other than English is quite different. In the case of English, a pragmatic starting point is certainly important, i. e. instrumental motivation, in order to attain a more suitable starting position for studies, work, and/or the consumption of Anglo-American culture. In the case of studying the motivation for learning other languages, an integrative factor has been pointed out more than once (Al-Hoorie 2017, 6-7; Ushioda 2017; Reile 2018; Klaas-Lang/Reile 2019), which, simply put, means that learning is done out of interest, curiosity, and cognitive based on connections.

Studies of students’ motivation to learn Estonian have shown that it is studied abroad both out of linguistic interest and a desire to become an expert in the region, to a large extent based on family and friendship ties, as well as a desire to work in Estonia (Klaas-Lang 2014). Estonian is valuable for students at foreign universities both from a short-term perspective, for example being part of the curriculum as a compulsory subject (after all, you need to complete the curriculum to graduate from university), but also from a long-term perspective, in relation to pragmatic and emotional benefits (see also Kütt 2018). Friends, love ties or roots on the one hand but also a clear feeling that the knowledge of a small “niche language” can be advantageous on the labour market in the future are just some of the many reasons and motives to learn Estonian.

9. Summary

In summary, the programmes and measures of the Estonian state, which are aimed both at the diaspora and at the teaching of the Estonian language and culture at foreign universities, are extremely necessary in order to provide support for learning and preserving the language.

The so-called “market value” of Estonian as a language with a relatively small number of speakers in an increasingly globalized world does not necessarily stimulate the pragmatic motivation of language learning. In the article, we also pointed out completely different motivators for learning Estonian language rather than, for example, global English.

Taken together, the above-mentioned measures contribute to the growth of Estonia’s visibility and the number of Estonian friends in the world.

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Claire-Lyse Chambron/Claire Extramiana

Dealing with multilingual intercultural exchanges and migration in France and Europe

Abstract

The promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity is a major challenge in our societies, which are characterized by the globalization of exchanges, the increase in international mobility and unprecedented migratory movements in Europe but also by the impoverishment of linguistic heritage.

The question of languages and cultures is raised at both national and European levels since there is no cultural and linguistic policy that does not cross national, European and international approaches.

This paper consists of two parts. The first highlights the latest policy developments within the European Union regarding intercultural exchanges and multilingualism in the digital environment. The second focusses on the importance of language and knowledge of society for the integration of migrants and describes current practices in the EU and its member states.

1. Intercultural exchanges and pluri/multilingualism¹ in the digital environment – Recent policy developments within the European Union Council for Culture (Claire-Lyse Chambron)

1.1 The context for intercultural exchanges and pluri-/multilingualism in Europe

Laid down in the European Union Treaty,² cultural and linguistic diversity is a constituent element of European identity, just as culture and language are essential to each of our national identities. It contributes to the blossoming of creativity, creative freedom and intercultural exchanges. It promotes mutual understanding and respect for cultures and languages, and it is a shared heritage, a wealth, a strength and a distinctive characteristic of relations within Europe and with the rest of the world.

¹ Multilingualism is defined by Beacco and Byram (2007) by the presence or coexistence of several languages within a given society or territory or in a given medium. Plurilingualism is defined by the Council of Europe as the ability of an individual to use several languages.

² https://eur-lex.europa.eu/resource.html?uri=cellar:2bf140bf-a3f8-4ab2-b506-fd71826e6da6.0023.02/DOC_1&format=PDF.

Apart from Brexit, the Covid-19 Pandemic, successive waves of migration against the backdrop of conflicts around the world, accelerating climate change and loss of biodiversity, as well as the digital transformation, have inevitably had an impact on the extent to which people are able to live, study and work in our countries and in other countries in Europe. Recently, the war in Ukraine – which has caused the largest displacement of citizens in Europe since the Second World War – also represents a very serious challenge in this regard.

That is why, for Europe, it is necessary to encourage integration, including teaching and learning, mobility and exchange among cultural organisations, educational institutions, artists and cultural professionals, researchers, teachers and students. It is equally necessary, through translation, to facilitate the circulation of cultural works, information, ideas and knowledge in Europe, in all of the languages of the EU.

However, the acceleration of digital uses may give rise to fears of a certain cultural and linguistic standardization, with the predominance of platforms and overseas tech giants (Big Tech), which raise the question of the accessibility or “discoverability” of multilingual content online. Digital technology can pose a risk to linguistic diversity and increase the pressure for a single language, easily understood by all. But the technology is also an asset for the preservation of linguistic heritage and for the circulation of works, information, ideas and knowledge.

1.2 Recent policy developments within the EU Council for culture concerning multilingualism

As part of the French Presidency of the EU in the first half of 2022, the General Delegation for the French language and the Languages of France of the Ministry of Culture organized the online forum “Innovation, Technologies and Plurilingualism” on 7-9 February, in which several EFNIL members participated.

Such a mobilization was in line with France’s constant commitment to cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe. This forum was also a response to the request by the European Ministers of Culture, who had included the organization of such an event in the Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022. This event was to be accompanied by a strong political initiative so that the Member States and the European institutions would better promote multilingualism in the digital age as culture and language are essential vectors of social cohesion and integration within the European Union.

As a follow-up to the forum, *EU Council Conclusions on reinforcing intercultural exchanges through the mobility of artists and cultural professionals, and through multilingualism in the digital era*³ were adopted on 4 April 2022 by the EU Council of Ministers for Culture in Luxembourg.

³ [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52022XG0413\(02\)&from=EN](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52022XG0413(02)&from=EN).

These conclusions are in line with the Council Recommendation of 22 May 2019⁴ on *a comprehensive approach to the teaching and learning of languages* and the Recommendation of the Council of Europe on *the importance of plurilingual and intercultural education for democratic culture*⁵ of 2 February 2022; they also build on existing European programmes such as *Creative Europe*, *Erasmus+*, *Horizon Europe* and the *Digital Europe Programme*.

According to the Council Conclusions, **multilingualism and translation**, which are linked to issues of **intercultural exchanges, integration, social cohesion and European citizenship**, should be at the heart of EU policies, in a transversal way. Through **language technologies and artificial intelligence**, the availability of and access to multilingual European data⁶ and resources have to be ensured in the digital environment, in particular on digital platforms. This represents a challenge for growth and democracy in Europe.

The EU and its Member States should take advantage of language technologies for:

- the circulation of cultural works, ideas and knowledge and their accessibility on the internet by improving the discoverability of content,
- the teaching of languages and lifelong learning,
- supporting migrants' learning of their host country's official languages while valuing linguistic diversity,
- facilitating the day-to-day lives of citizens,
- the development of more inclusive societies, helping to strengthen democracy and citizens' sense of belonging to Europe.

The Member States and the European Commission are invited to take a more strategic and operational approach to multilingualism. Such an approach would be reflected in the EU Work Plan for Culture 2023-2026 initiated by the Czech Presidency of the EU, including operational and policy initiatives that have a direct impact on the lives of citizens.

The role of EFNIL is highlighted in the Council conclusions, which call for:

[...] a multilingual information space on European language technologies and related support and resources, including European schemes for plurilingualism and translation, in conjunction with bodies such as the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL).

This is an important step forward for EFNIL in terms of recognition and visibility in the EU!

We trust that these issues will continue to be carried forward by the current and subsequent EU presidencies.

⁴ [https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32019H0605\(02\)](https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32019H0605(02)).

⁵ [https://www.ecml.at/Portals/1/documents/about-us/CM_Rec\(2022\)1E.pdf](https://www.ecml.at/Portals/1/documents/about-us/CM_Rec(2022)1E.pdf).

⁶ Cf. DG CONNECT initiatives on the European Data Space.

2. Mastering the language of the host country: How does it work in France and in Europe? (*Claire Extramiana*)

Alongside the promotion of plurilingualism as an essential element, linguistic integration must be considered a crucial element of language policy.

As we know, the integration of migrants into a host country is the subject of political debate and policy initiatives in many European states. In this context, issues related to the acquisition of competences in the language(s) of the host country are particularly important, depending on the role and function of languages at national level. One assumption, however, cannot be false, which is that language **is the key for a new life in a new country**.

This is why, for the past two decades, a growing number of western European countries have introduced language and knowledge of society (KoS) requirements as part of their immigration and integration policies. Actually, the acquisition of competences in the language of the host country is considered in different ways:

- as a way to facilitate integration or
- as a way to reduce immigration, especially for poorly educated people, which seems to be the opposite of facilitating integration.

Whatever the aim of policies on a national level might be, most EU countries today have formal language and KoS requirements for citizenship, residency and/or prior to entry to the country.

2.1 How do European countries deal with language proficiency? An overview

Among various studies on this topic, the Council of Europe conducted several surveys between 2007 and 2018 (the author was involved in three of them in 2007, 2009 and 2013). Although the 2018 survey was carried out 5 years ago (“The 2018 Council of Europe and ALTE survey on language and knowledge of society policies for migrants”),⁷ it is worth summarizing the main trends here, namely:

- 1) In 2018, only seven of the 40 member states of the Council of Europe surveyed had no language requirements prior to entry, for temporary or permanent residency or for citizenship.

⁷ <https://rm.coe.int/the-2018-council-of-europe-and-alte-survey-on-language-and-knowledge-o/16809c88f9>.

- 2) Most states that set language and/or KoS requirements did so in relation to citizenship (78%) or in relation to permanent residency (51%). This was the case in France. Comparatively fewer countries reported requirements for temporary residency (32%) or prior to entry (24%).
- 3) The level of language proficiency required varied from one country to the next, as did the learning opportunities through tailored and free-of-charge language courses .
- 4) These language proficiency requirements were typically expressed in CEFR levels. Pre-entry requirements varied from no requirements to A2, temporary and permanent residency requirements from no requirements to B1. The most common levels were A1 and A2 for both. Citizenship requirements varied from no requirements to B2.
- 5) In nearly all of the states surveyed, language courses for migrants were provided and/or financed by the government and their quality was controlled. Half of the member states surveyed provided language courses completely free of charge for all migrants. One third provided free courses for groups of migrants. Most member states provided up to 250 hours, sometimes up to 500 hours and several provided more than 500 hours of language courses. More than 1,000 hours was an exception.
- 6) Low-literate learners were rarely provided with a sufficient number of hours of instruction to reach the language level required.

2.2 What does it look like today in France?

Since 2011, France has been one of the western European countries that made the learning of the national language compulsory for non-EU foreigners admitted to stay in France. Language training may be compulsory depending on the level of French. Language courses, even the optional ones, are free of charge.

The compulsory language courses that target the level A1 (oral and written) from the first year of residing in France last 100, 200 and 400 or 600 hours, the latter for people with little or no schooling in the country of origin or with little or no command of writing in their native language respectively. Level A2 (optional training of 100 hours) is required to apply for a residency permit valid for 10 years and level B1 (optional training of 100 hours) is necessary to apply for French citizenship.

As for young migrants (under the age of 16), i. e. newly arrived allophone pupils, they represent less than 1% of the school population in mainland France and overseas. There are specific classes in the 1st year, with one additional school year for previously unschooled pupils. It is interesting to note that there are no statistics on the number of “migrant children” after this first schooling period.

2.3 Three challenges

As a ministerial department dealing with the issue of linguistic integration, the General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France has identified several challenges such as:

- 1) Supplying language courses responding to individual needs. The aim should be to design courses according to the learner's initial education level and learning aptitudes like in Denmark ten years ago (courses for learners with little previous schooling differ from courses for learners with more education). There is also an obvious need to continue attending language courses after mandatory provision or once the required proficiency language level is reached. This raises the issue of access to the job market, especially for women, and the opportunity to master the language for a better job.
- 2) A tailor-made supply of language courses for the job market. The diversity of professional context makes this difficult. Such language courses can only be offered by stakeholders on the job market, not by the agency working for the ministry in charge of designing policies. This issue is crucial in professional sectors such as construction, care and hospitals. It is worth mentioning the excellent project "Language for Work" run by the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML), which aims to support work-related language learning by migrants, refugees, and ethnic minorities. Resources are available on the ECML website.⁸
- 3) Taking other needs into account such as access to culture. Our department gives support to cultural institutions that provide cultural activities linked to the learning of the language. An evaluation of this programme revealed that culture as a means to fight against social isolation can improve motivation and provide opportunities to practise the language. In other words: participation in social and cultural life is the aim and empowerment is the means.

These challenges are also raised in the context of refugees, more specifically in the context of the war in Ukraine. Among the interesting responses to the Ukrainian crisis, it is worth mentioning the initiative of the French Ministry of Culture, which has helped provide Ukrainian refugees with language courses.⁹ Referring to the Council of Europe, the project on the Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants (LIAM) has made it possible to develop a toolkit to support member states in their efforts to respond to the challenges posed by refugees.¹⁰

⁸ <https://languageforwork.ecml.at/Home/tabid/3151/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>.

⁹ www.culture.gouv.fr/Aides-demarches/Appels-a-projets-partenaires/Urgence-Ukraine-2022-dispositif-d-appui-aux-centres-labellises-Qualite-Francais-langue-etrangere.

¹⁰ www.coe.int/en/web/language-policy/adult-refugees.

In summary, the acquisition of the language of the host country remains key to a new life in a new country. The last few years have prompted us to make a nuanced assessment of the various measures taken by the public authorities, both political and technical. On a broad level, the requirements laid down in the law make it possible to set up training programmes without which language learning would be left to the sole initiative of migrants. The fact of offering these programmes funded by public authorities stems from the recognition of language as a key to integration, which in itself is quite positive.

What can pose a problem, however, is the quality of the training provided in terms of meeting the needs of learners. The challenges presented refer precisely to the needs as felt by the learners but also by the host society. Supplying language courses responding to needs, supplying tailor-made language courses for the job market and taking into account other needs such as access to culture are currently seen as priorities not only in France but also in many European countries.

3. Concluding remarks

The conclusions of this paper can be formulated as follows: the promotion of pluri/multilingualism in the digital environment and the linguistic integration of migrants are currently crucial issues from the point of view of linguistic policies. These issues encompass both a national and European dimension. It is up to the Member States alongside the European Union to promote linguistic diversity and to respond to the challenges of the integration of migrants. This is how language management becomes more necessary than ever to ensure social cohesion in our societies.

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Elżbieta Sękowska

The language of Polish emigration in the world: Research methods and sources

Abstract

This paper presents the development of Polish language research in emigration settlements. Outlining the history of emigration from Polish lands, it focuses on illustrating linguistic descriptions of changes in Polish under the influence of the dominant language. The following topics are presented: interference at different levels of language, vocabulary descriptions in semantic groups and the mother tongue as an element of ethnic identification. The development of research into the language of the Polish diaspora has been determined not only by the introduction of new linguistic methods but also by access to sources: written or spoken. Nowadays studies of Polish often involve interdisciplinary research.

Emigration has been accompanying Polish national life for over 300 years; in fact, it is generally recognised that political emigration began with the expulsion of the Polish Brethren¹ from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1658 (Maciejewski 1989, 5-19).²

Polish diaspora communities in different countries of settlement have a different history, a different social composition and a different chronology of formation as separate communities. Their history can be divided into several subperiods: 1) 1st half of the 19th century; 2) 2nd half of the 19th century; 3) 1900–1914; 4) the inter-war period (1919–1939); 5) 1939–1949–1956; 6) 1956–1980; 7) 1980–1989–2004; 8) migrations after Poland's accession to the European Union. Those chronological caesuras take into account both the history of the main waves of emigration from Polish lands and the conditions related to the history of Europe and overseas countries as well as the changes taking place within the Polish state (political upheavals, economic crises). It should be noted here that these are only approximate subdivisions, treating the communities as a whole, as the most impor-

¹ The Polish Brethren, also known as Arians, were a religious community that constituted a radical faction of the Reformation in Poland. They were active in the 17th and 18th centuries. After being expelled from Poland, they settled in the Netherlands, Transylvania and the Duchy of Prussia.

² The following criteria are used to classify emigration processes: motives, intentions, distance, size. In practice, such classifications should not be treated as absolute as migration types often overlap. The most commonly accepted classification is that into political and economic emigration. According to a contemporary researcher, Walaszek, the motives for all departures were simply complicated and it is not easy to classify migration according to the old model (Walaszek 2007, 31).

tant and numerous Polish diaspora communities and groups emerged at different times: the earliest origins of emigration date back to the 17th century and are linked to the American continent (Pastusiak 1980, 7-8). Currently, the largest number of Poles and people of Polish ancestry reside in the United States of America, Canada, Brazil, the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

Historians point out that it is often difficult to obtain accurate figures and to determine the professional composition of the different communities in the various countries of settlement of the Polish diaspora. According to various institutions (the “Polish Community” Association, Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the Polish diaspora numbers about 21 million people; it must be emphasised here that this is only an estimate, depending on who we count as members of the Polish diaspora: whether all Poles from abroad who identify completely with Polish cultural values or also those who, regardless of their country of birth and level of knowledge of Polish, have preserved Polish traditions, an awareness of their origins, an interest in Polish culture and an understanding of Polish national interests (Paluch 1976, 23). Historians tend to retain the term Polish diaspora (in Polish: *Polonia*) in its broad, inclusive sense.

Research on the Polish diaspora in various countries of settlement, as well as the assimilation processes taking place in Polish diaspora communities, aroused the interest of historians, sociologists, anthropologists and cultural scientists, who then went on to describe the history of the different groups, their social composition and preservation of cultural heritage as well as their identity and its defining features. Often, when elaborating those processes, reference was made to foreign language literature and to the terms and concepts introduced there, e. g. ethnicity, identity, etc.

The process of changes in Polish in emigrant communities was first noticed through the example of the language used in the Polish diaspora in America (Zawiliński 1908; Doroszewski 1938); however, systematic research into changes in Polish in countries of emigration under the influence of the dominant languages only dates back to the 1980s (see Szlifersztejn 1981, Ligara 1987, Miodunka 1990, Sękowska 1994). In studies of Polish in countries of emigration, reference was made to the classic works of Weinreich (1963) and Haugen (1972); indeed, the terms *linguistic contact*, *bilingualism* and *interference* were used in the sense proposed by the above-mentioned researchers. For example, the definition of bilingualism proposed by Weinreich was used for many years: bilingualism is the practice of using two languages alternately by one person (social group) (cited in Lipińska 2003, 104). Nowadays, bilingualism is considered to be a rather opaque and difficult concept to define. One definition of a bilingual individual is as follows: “A bilingual is any person who understands and/or speaks two different languages effortlessly on a daily basis” (Lipińska 2003, 104).

Publications focusing on the language of Polish diaspora communities in various countries where they settled have focused on the following issues:

- a) interference at different levels of the language and mechanisms of acquiring foreign lexemes

quotations, e. g.: *rozpoczynala się prosperity; jestem seif*, eng. *save*;

adapted words, including different types of adaptation (phonetic, inflectional, derivational), e. g.: *jechalim karą po high-wayu* (eng. car 'samochód osobowy'; high-way 'autostrada'); *ciężkie troki wyjechały na strite, a potem na tyn bridż* (eng. truck 'ciężarówka', eng. street 'ulica', eng. bridge 'most'; w *Chicago jest 13 polonijnych aldermanów* (eng. alderman 'radny miejski'); w *barumie było czterech bojsów, które badrowali się, że spendowali wszystkie pieniądze* (eng. bar room 'bar, knajpa', eng. boy 'chłopiec', eng. to bother 'martwić się', eng. to spend 'wydać pieniądze');

new word formations created by the Polish diaspora, e. g.: *zamiataczka 'odkurzacz'* (eng. vacuum cleaner); *podatkowiec 'podatnik'* (eng. tax-payer); *tejkerować 'zajmować się kimś, doglądać kogoś'* (eng. take care); *hauskiperka 'gospodyni'* (eng. housekeeper);

word formation replicas, phraseological replicas (structural, semantic), e. g.: *uprzyjemniacz* (eng. entertainer); *'człowiek pracujący w rozrywce'*; *koszula 'dress'* (eng. dress shirt) *'koszula'*; *leniwy pies 'leń patentowany'* (eng. lazy dog); *robić przyjaciół 'zaprzyjaźnić się'* (eng. to make friends); *trzymać pamiętnik 'prowadzić pamiętnik'* (eng. to keep a diary); *brać fotografie 'fotografować'* (eng. to take a photographs); *być ileś lat staym 'mieć ileś lat'*, (eng. to be x years old);

phraseologisms created by the Polish diaspora, e. g.: *egzaminacja lekarska/doktorska 'badanie lekarskie'* (eng. examination); *interes groseryjny 'sklep spożywczy'* (eng. grocery); *szukać dziabu, za dziabem 'poszukiwać pracy'* (eng. job); *brać kogoś na bort 'zapewnić komuś wyżywienie we własnym domu za określoną opłatą* (eng. board) *'wynająć pokój z wyżywieniem'*;

syntactic replicas, e. g.: *grać piano 'grać na fortepianie'* (eng. to play the piano); *odjechać kogo 'odjechać od kogo'* (eng. to leave somebody), *używać język 'posługiwać się językiem'* (eng. to use a language); *drzewo od sosny 'drewno sosnowe'* (eng. wood from the pine tree);

words with modified grammatical categories and functions (so-called morphological calques), e. g.: neutralisation of the category of voice, aspect, gender: *był urodzony 'urodził się'* (eng. to be born); *czuję się dumna być Polką 'że jestem Polką'* (eng. I'm proud to be Polish); *byłem zamieszkały 'mieszkałem'* (eng. I was living);

redundant personal, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, e. g.: *muj ojciec przyjechał z moim dziadziusem* (eng. my father came with my grandfather); *moja curka luna nawincy po polsku gadala* (eng. my daughter she has spoken Polish most often);

giving a pronominal function to the numeral “one”, e. g.: *zajmowało jedną godzinę* (eng. it took one hour); *po upływie jednego miesiąca zostałem powołany na powrót do pracy* (eng. after one month).

b) lexical interference associated with specific semantic groups

Gruchmanowa (1976, 1979, 1988) illustrated the process of foreign and native vocabulary functioning using the example of selected semantic groups: financial matters and kitchen equipment were addressed using foreign words while in the groups of body parts and pet names, native words predominated. Serwański (1979, 166-168) presented a list of words from the field of construction and housing; according to the author, more borrowings occurred in such semantic groups than in family relations, church, rituals; in those fields, native elements were more persistent.

c) the mother tongue as an element of ethnic identification

the language of a selected Polish diaspora community, e. g.: Chicago (Kwapisiewicz 1997, 46-52); Canada (Lustanski 2009); the Ruhr Valley (Michalewska 1991); Brazil (Miodunka 2003); Great Britain (Błasiak 2011); the settlement “Panna Maria” in Texas (Rappaport 1990); Argentina (Guillermo-Sajdak 2014);

stylistic functions of the Polish diaspora dialect, e. g.: (most often only AngloPolish, PortuguesePolish vocabulary) in Polish literature: Sokólska 2005; Kupiszewski 2004; Mocyk 2005;

the native language as an element of ethnic identity, e. g.: taking changes in its function into account in the process of assimilation of specific generations, namely the emigrants themselves and subsequent generations of Polish diasporas (Żebrowska 1986; Smolicz/Secombe 1990; Sękowska 1994; Miodunka 2003; Kowalcz-Franiuk 2018). This type of research requires access to written sources (memoirs), interview opportunities and participatory observation. Depending on the theory adopted, researchers distinguish between different types of ethnic identification by analysing an individual’s attitudes towards cultural values such as: knowledge and use of Polish, both spoken and written; participation in Polish ethnic organisations; choice of friends and acquaintances; passing on the language to the next generations; the extent to which close family ties are maintained; the choice of a future marriage partner; attitudes towards the country of origin and the people living there.

The linguistic contact realised in the practice of using two language systems favoured the emergence of interference occurring in all subsystems of the language: phonetic-phonological, syntactic, inflectional, lexical, semantic contact. Interference is a process which, under the influence of the dominant language, leads to the consolidation of a change in the weaker language subject to the process. In the case of multilingualism, interference can occur both at the level of *langue*

and *parole*. Papers on interference dominated early research on Polish in emigration countries; they were modelled on Doroszewski's dissertation entitled "The Polish language in the United States of North America" (1938) and years of research confirmed the trends resulting from interference.

Linguists dealing with written sources applied the scheme developed for linguistic units that became fixed in Polish as a result of linguistic contact, which means they pointed out patterns in word adaptation (inflectional and derivational adaptations), the interpenetration of linguistic features in the Polish and foreign language environment (in the initial phase of research these were mainly Americanisms), the preservation of features of the dialect variety brought from the home country in the foreign country (Słoniewicz 1981). Linguists referred to different types of influences of foreign languages on Polish in the history of the language and to descriptions of the mechanisms of adaptation used there.

In parallel with the empirical research, there were discussions around the terms used and their definitions. They addressed, in particular, such issues as the understanding of the *quotation* and its linguistic status; the definition of a *Polish diaspora word*; the distinction between generations of emigration and those of the Polish diaspora; the definition of the code used in Polish diaspora communities such as dialect/Polish diaspora language/Polish language of the Polish diaspora in France, Belgium/contact dialect, *inherited language*; naming Polish communities in emigration countries such as *Poles abroad*, *Polonia*, *Polish diaspora*, etc.

Bilingualism as an object of research required not only knowledge of the methods used to describe interference but also mastery of the foreign language to the same extent as the socially equivalent monolingual speakers of that language. Papers on Polish-foreign bilingualism basically date from the first decade of the 21st century, the exception being Ligary's (1987) study *Galicyzmy leksykalne w listach Zygmunta Krasińskiego na tle wpływów francuskich w polszczyźnie XIX wieku. Studium bilingwizmu polsko-francuskiego [Lexical Galicianisms in the letters of Zygmunt Krasiński against the background of French influences in 19th century Polish. A study of Polish-French bilingualism]*, which relates to individual bilingualism. Subsequent studies dealt with Polish-Portuguese social bilingualism in Brazil (Miodunka 2003), Polish-Swedish bilingualism (Laskowski 2009) and Polish-Italian bilingualism (Kowalcze-Franiuk 2018). The joint and multi-authored publication *Bilingwizm polsko-obcy dziś. Od teorii i metodologii badań do studiów przypadków [Polish-foreign bilingualism today. From theory and research methodology to case studies]* (Dębski/Miodunka 2016) presents the methodological leap that has been made in the description and analysis of this issue in Polish research. In particular, the articles presented in the Case Studies section show the diversity and specificity of bilingualism in today's reality, when bilingualism or multilingualism affects a child at school, an expatriate family or students. It is important to highlight the prevalence of bilingualism and the methods of working with bilingual individuals, whether children or adults.

In this context, it is worth noting the method of bilingualism research used by Miodunka, namely language biography. The author quotes data abundantly from selected language biographies, for example Ewa Hoffman, Adam Mickiewicz, representatives of the Old Believers and representatives of the Polish diasporas from all over the world. Biographies are not only stages in getting to know another language but also language awareness in the life of the user. A typical linguistic biography should include a narrative part and an analytical part, and in order to be independent of the informant, efforts should be made to objectivise the research by using different techniques to obtain data on the person in question (Miodunka 2016, 49-87).

The widespread dissemination of Wierzbicka's research into the relationship between language and culture, key words in a given culture and cultural scripts, i. e. patterns of linguistic behaviour in specific situations, has resulted in a different perspective on how emigrants find themselves in intercultural communication. Knowledge of scripts is a prerequisite for successful communication; this issue has only been analysed in recent years and its results can be used in glottodidactics.

The development of the Polish diaspora language research was determined not only by the introduction of new linguistic methods but also by access to sources.

In the beginning, mainly written texts were used: letters, memoirs, occasional prints, newspapers. Letters dating from the late 19th century are included in the edition of *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890-1891* [*Letters of emigrants from Brazil and the United States 1890-1891*] (Kula/Assorodobraj-Kula/Kula 1973). Correspondence between emigrants and loved ones in the home country was used in a fascinating historical reportage *Wyspa klucz* [*Island-Key*] (Szejnert 2009). It illustrates the emigration procedures used at Ellis Island off the coast of New York and the experiences of immigrants of different nationalities. Today we have a number of published volumes of emigrant epistolography; it is primarily an area of research by historians and literary scholars; the letters of Andrzej Bobkowski³ were discussed from the point of view of the multilingualism.

Memoirs, in turn, are discussed in the following volumes and their elaborations: originating from contests (1936) for emigrants' memoirs in the United States and Canada (contests for emigrants' memoirs are still organised nowadays); an elaboration and discussion of *Pamiętnik emigranta polskiego w Kanadzie* [*Memoirs of a Polish Emigrant in Canada*] written by Józef Samulski (Szydłowska-Cegłowa 1988); an analysis of the nineteenth-century memoirs of a stay in Australia by

³ Andrzej Bobkowski (1913-1961), novelist, essayist, epistolographist; a collection of his correspondence with Giedroyc, Terlecki, Mieczysławska, Turowicz and his family, was published. He lived in emigration in Guatemala from 1948 onwards.

Dolański, Korzeliński and Wiśniowski (Smogorzewski 1972; Chludzińska-Świątecka 1990; Sękowska 1988). Memoirs written by Australian adolescents of Polish origin collected between 1974 and 1975 were used by Smolicz and Secombe (1990) to determine the cultural activation and self-identification of the participants.

An important stage in Polish diaspora studies began with access to recordings of spoken language: this made it possible not only to provide linguistic descriptions but also to address sociological issues, namely to identify changes in the language within environmental and generational compartments. The opportunities for direct research in the emigration environment – using identity questionnaires, conducting participatory observation and interviews – were the impetus for the use of sociological and anthropological methods. Polish diaspora studies began to enter an interdisciplinary field associated both with access to sources and with changes in the linguistic approach to language processes.

At present, there is a new opportunity to collect research material, namely to analyse websites created by Poles living abroad. A study of this kind can be found in Dębski (2008) and Fitzgerald/Dębski (2008). Websites created in Australia, Canada and the United States were analysed. According to the researchers, the internet is a very good tool to help preserve the ethnic language, although its use is conditioned by factors such as the ability to write in Polish, (un)knowledge of the latest Polish vocabulary. The internet increases the accessibility of Polish content, enables more frequent contact with family and peers in Poland, and it is no less important to learn the language of peers in Poland and the language of professional groups.

The availability of different source types determines the scope of the research as well as the choice of the method of description. The latter is conditioned by methodological developments in linguistics and related sciences.

Nowadays, knowledge of the mechanisms of interference and of teaching in the context of individual and group bilingualism can be used as the situation of Poland as an assumedly monolingual country has changed fundamentally. This has been caused by various political factors.

In many studies the opinion was expressed that Poland was an emigration country since at least the second half of the 19th century but in recent years Poland has been changing into an immigration country. In fact, approximately 1.3 million Ukrainians settled in Poland after 2014, driven by the war in eastern Ukraine and economic factors. After the outbreak of war on 24 February 2022, more than 4 million Ukrainians left their country; approximately 3.3-3.5 million stayed in Poland. This number of refugees includes about 700,000 children. The report “Gościnna Polska 2022+” (“Hospitable Poland 2022+”) edited by Bukowski and Duszczyk presents the challenges faced by the Polish state in the face of such a large number of immigrants. The editorial team presents different areas of action: labour market, education, health care and housing.

In the field of education, questions arise as to how to ensure access to school at an appropriate level at different stages of education, how to provide linguistic support to students who need it (some were already learning Polish in Ukraine and are now in a better situation), how to reduce segregation in classes (the core curriculum is different, the education system is also different in Ukraine). Some of those questions were already raised at the end of the school year (June 2022), when Ukrainian students took their matriculation exams or end-of-class tests. Certainly, Polish teachers face the challenge of how to teach Polish, including which textbooks to use. The report makes important proposals on a number of key points. Important tasks include searching for Ukrainian teachers among the refugees and finding out about already existing materials for teaching Polish in the Ukrainian environment.

The achievements of Polish language glottodidactics, the results of research in the field of Polish-foreign bilingualism, the experience of running Polish schools in many countries of the world and, above all, the many specialists who work in units teaching Polish as a foreign language are of invaluable help here. However, solving educational problems will require the cooperation of many state bodies and non-governmental organisations.

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Paweł Kamocki/Andreas Witt

Summary of the panel discussion at the 19th Annual EFNIL Conference in Vilnius

A panel discussion chaired by Andreas Witt from the Leibniz Institute for the German Language rounded off the 19th Annual EFNIL Conference in Vilnius. Three panelists participated in the event: Amira-Louise Ouardalitou from the Institut Grand-Ducal in Luxembourg, Aurelija Tamulionienė from the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Dimitrios Koutsogiannis from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

All of the panelists also gave presentations in previous sessions at the Conference: Aurelija Tamulionienė, the deputy director of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, talked about Migration and Linguistic Integration in Lithuania (Session 1: Multiculturalism and Multilingualism), Amira-Louise Ouardalitou spoke about Language and Migration in Luxembourg (Session 2: Multilingual Workplace) and Dimitrios Koutsogiannis' contribution was about Immigrant Children's Language Practices and their Implications for Language Policy and Teaching (Session 3: Migration and Language Learning). Since each panelist presented at a different session of the Conference, during the panel discussion they could not only speak on their own behalf but also recapitulate the ideas discussed and developed during the session they had participated in.

The question addressed to all of the panelists was the areas in which a national policy would be preferable and those in which European regulation would be necessary.

Aurelija Tamulionienė from Lithuania talked about the similarities and differences in linguistic integration in different countries and how it could be approached. As illustrated during the previous sessions of the conference, all EFNIL countries face migration and issues resulting from language integration. The approaches to this problem and the solutions adopted differ from country to country. Countries where the national language is one with a relatively small number of speakers face different problems than countries whose national languages are more widely spoken. The so-called international languages (English, German and French) are understandably in a better position as migrants are motivated to learn these languages. The subject of education is open to debate, and it must be in the interests of both the immigrants and the population of the host country that the former learn the language. It can be observed that all countries make significant efforts at national levels: with the legal framework in place, it is only a matter of applying it. The recent increase in migration from Ukraine raised questions about how we

can help refugees integrate. The conference focused on solutions for different countries. Some countries educate children from Ukraine in mainstream schools while other countries have the option for Ukrainians to study in Russian. It is questionable whether this is the right solution as it increases not only linguistic but also social exclusion.

Amira-Louise Ouardalitou from Luxembourg spoke next. Since 1984, her country has had three official languages (Luxembourgish, French and German) but English and Portuguese are also commonly used due to immigration. English is generally spoken as a foreign language. Workplaces in Luxembourg are highly multilingual and not completely free from cases of language discrimination; in particular, skilled and experienced professionals may not occupy the place they deserve in the professional hierarchy due to language barriers (e.g. their inability to speak Luxembourgish). Moreover, people who do not speak the three official languages of Luxembourg cannot work in the public sector, regardless of their merits. The Lithuanian policy of language integration for migrants was acknowledged as a positive example and a solution that Luxembourg might follow.

Dimitrios Koutsogiannis, who spoke as the last panelist, made two points: firstly, he pointed out that in today's world purely local issues do not exist. While it is interesting to study and discuss national solutions to problems related to language and migration, international coordination is always welcome. Such coordination at European level could consist, at the very least, in organizing regular meetings during which ideas on relevant questions could be discussed, experiences exchanged and valuable lessons learned from one another. According to Koutsogiannis, EFNIL could be an appropriate forum for such coordinating activities. The panelist's second, more theoretical, point was that the question of language policy is often perceived through the lens of nation states (he quoted the use of terms such as L1, L2 as an example), which is anachronistic. The biggest challenge for structuring the common European debate on these issues is, in fact, how to re-imagine personal identities in the post-national world. At the end of his short speech, Koutsogiannis formulated the following practical questions, which could be addressed by EFNIL in the future:

- 1) How to construct a European forum for a continuous exchange of information concerning initiatives developed in different countries related to inward and outward migration?
- 2) How to construct a scientific forum aiming to revise dominant assumptions about language and nationality, giving a push towards a post-national, cosmopolitan perspective.

The chair then gave the floor to the audience. In relation to Koutsogiannis' contribution, Johan Van Horde commented that within EFNIL there were two conflicting views on the role of language in society: the first, based on 19th century romantic nationalism, advocates a strong connection between nationality and language; the

other one, represented by Koutsogiannis, is post-national. In the first one, language is seen as an element that builds ties within national communities; in the second, to which Johan Van Hoorde himself subscribes, a national language is what allows us to build bridges within and between societies, without imposing the use of one language in a given territory.

In his closing remarks, the chair of the panel session expressed his satisfaction about the fact that EFNIL addresses questions related to language, migration and identity, trying to find similarities but also differences in existing approaches. He hopes that in the future (even though, he realizes, this can take one or two generations) every European will be free to speak their native language in all communications regardless of the context. Before this happens, however, national language institutions, even in monolingual countries, should support multilinguality, e.g. by providing various forms in all European languages, as enabled by existing machine translation tools.

Andrii Vitrenko

Interview with the State Language Protection Commissioner of Ukraine, Dr. Taras Kremin, about the language situation in Ukraine

What is the role of your institution and has this role changed in the war?

The Secretariat of the State Language Protection Commissioner is a relatively new structure. The Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Council) of Ukraine, having adopted on 25 April 2019, the law “On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language” (which entered into force on 16 July 2019), prescribed the activities of two new language institutions: the State Language Protection Commissioner and the National Commission on the Standards of the State Language. According to this Law, the Secretariat carries out organizational, expert and analytical, legal, informational, material and technical support for the activities of the Commissioner.

In conditions of martial law, the issue of the proper functioning of the state language has acquired key importance. After all, the practical implementation of the provisions of the language law is critically important for ensuring the stability of the state, local communities, and the unity of Ukrainian society in countering the enemy. Since the beginning of the full-scale war, the level of requirements for obtaining information in the state language has increased significantly among Ukrainian citizens. Ignoring the language legislation, for instance, the mandatory use of the state language in the areas defined by the law, is perceived extremely negatively by civil society and individual citizens of Ukraine, who defend the state and are aware of the role of Ukrainian in the fight against the aggressor. And today, Ukrainians, like never before, demand respect for their language rights. Our task is to ensure their right to timely and correct information in the language that is one of the elements of the constitutional order.

In order to clarify the provisions of the language law and to minimize its violations, the Secretariat of the Commissioner is constantly in close cooperation with state authorities and local self-government. We actively cooperate with the civil society sector and representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora. We have meetings with leaders of Ukrainian churches, educators, and parliamentary committees; we also communicate at the level of the Cabinet of Ministers.

What are your main tasks and responsibilities?

I was appointed by order of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine to the position of State Language Protection Commissioner on 8 July 2020, and I actually built this structure from scratch. My powers are determined by the Law of Ukraine “On Ensuring the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language” (Section VIII. Protection of the state language, Articles 49-57).

According to the language law, the tasks of the Commissioner are:

- 1) Protection of Ukrainian as the state language;
- 2) Protection of the right of citizens of Ukraine to receive in the state language information and services in the spheres of public life determined by this Law, throughout the territory of Ukraine, and elimination of obstacles and restrictions in the use of the state language.

How are you monitoring the development of Ukrainian?

For the effective implementation of the tasks determined by the Law, the Commissioner is given the following powers: ensuring monitoring of the implementation of legislation on the state language; considering citizens’ complaints about violations of their right to use the state language; carrying out measures of state control and, according to their results, taking response measures as for the relevant entities, including the application of sanctions determined by the legislation; providing authorities and local self-government with conclusions and recommendations on the use of the state language in their activities, etc.

How has the war affected your job, and how have you been able to manage your job during the war?

February 24, 2022 became the starting point for the country. The heroic resistance of the Ukrainian people showed the enemy and the whole world that Ukraine was not only able to defend itself, defending its land, but also to attack, defending its national identity. Since the first days of the full-scale invasion, the Secretariat of the Commissioner switched to another mode of operation. The first thing we did was we moved our computer equipment, staff affairs and documentation to safe places. Five of our employees went to the front on 24 February.

Immediately after the beginning of the full-scale invasion, we identified several work priorities for ourselves.

The first priority is a collection of facts relating to linguocide in the occupied territories. The Ukrainian language, as a determining factor of national identity, state building and national security, is one of putin’s¹ main targets in this war. Linguocide is a component of the policy of genocide against Ukrainians in the

¹ The editors have decided to respect the choice of the author in this case. The small letters in the spelling of russia and putin are often used by Ukrainian governmental sources incl. the Cabinet of Ministers’ notes and webpage.

temporarily occupied territories. Our task is to share this information with the international community as much as possible. We cooperate with local authorities, law enforcement agencies and human rights organizations. For 2022, we recorded more than 200 incidents of linguocide, which the occupiers used in various spheres of public life – education, culture, media, activities of the occupation authorities, advertising, transport, book publishing, etc. On Putin's direct instructions, there are persecutions, torture, deportation and murders of our fellow citizens for using Ukrainian. The world needs to know about it.

The second priority is the maximum expansion of the network of free language courses. The full-scale war led to a rapid growth in demand for studying Ukrainian. Realizing that a huge number of Ukrainian citizens from the east and south of the country have become internally displaced persons, we organized more than 500 locations to learn Ukrainian for free. Such courses are available in almost all corners of the state, except for the temporarily occupied Crimean Peninsula. They are available at educational and cultural institutions, libraries, educational centres, institutes of postgraduate pedagogical education, etc. We are also actively developing a network of language clusters abroad, taking into account the number of children who have left Ukraine.

The third priority is to develop the key areas of our activities and continue to carry out control of compliance with language legislation in conditions of martial law. Since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, Ukrainian has significantly strengthened its position: the current support for the state language is unprecedented over all the years since independence. We all felt that 2022 was a year of radical changes in the context of switching citizens to use Ukrainian. During the last four years, since the adoption of the language law, the language situation in Ukraine has improved significantly. Ukrainian dominates absolutely in all spheres of public life.

I consider that one of the most important tasks of the authorities is to ensure effective and high-quality language services in the de-occupied territories, for instance, the improvement in the quality of teaching Ukrainian, and the maximum presence of Ukrainian as the language of instruction at all levels from first grade to university.

What is the situation for the Ukrainian speaking population in the occupied territories? In school, in the public sphere, at work, at home?

During the full-scale war, according to open sources, we recorded more than 200 facts that testify to the implementation of a purposeful policy of excluding the state language from all spheres of public life in the territories of Ukraine temporarily occupied by the Russian Federation. Examples include the actual deprivation of the right of citizens to use, learn and study in Ukrainian as well as discrimination and repression against persons who publicly display their Ukrainian national identity, in particular through communication in Ukrainian. Obviously, the list

of facts determined by us is not exhaustive, but it is a tool to characterize the methods, means and consequences of the actions of the occupants.

Acts of linguocide are always accompanied by threats, intimidation, use of physical force, psychological pressure, restraint of liberty, kidnapping, torture, murder and other crimes against Ukrainians.

Cases indicating the suppression of the state language and the planned assimilation policy of the occupants are recorded in the following five spheres of public life: cultural, educational, media, official communication and public space.

The shutdown of Ukrainian TV channels and radio stations, the shelling of Ukrainian television towers, the abduction and murder of journalists and the launch of russian propaganda TV were among the first steps of the occupation administrations. Such examples have been observed in the occupied cities of Melitopol, Berdyansk, Energodar, Nova Kakhovka, Tavria, Kherson and Kakhovka.

The whole world viewed a photo of the Ukrainian-language sign being removed at the city limits of Mariupol. However, this is not a single incident. In Kherson, Melitopol, Nikolske, Mykhaylivka, Vasylivka, Berdyansk, Dniprorudne and Vovchansk occupiers not only changed signs at the city limits to russian but they also dismantled national symbols, Ukrainian banners and memorial plaques to dead Ukrainian soldiers, changed russian-language signs on the premises of state authorities, transmitted propaganda films in cinemas, and advertised Soviet symbols prohibited by Ukrainian legislation.

Ukrainian education became another victim of the war. The obligation of general secondary education institutions to use russian as the language of instruction and transfer into russian educational programmes, the dismissal of school directors because they refused to work with the occupiers, the coercion of school directors to swear to “the fidelity of russia”, the replacement of history textbooks and the introduction of posts of “political instructors” in schools were observed in Katyuzhanka, Donske, Melitopol, Volnovakha, Mariupol, Genichesk, Kakhovka, Berdyansk and Skadovsk. In Mariupol, temporarily captured by russia, the occupiers began to set up a cell of the paramilitary organization “Youth”.

Numerous incidents that are signs of linguocide have been observed in the sphere of culture. We see how Ukrainian-language books are being removed from libraries in the temporarily occupied territories and then burned. Also in the occupied settlements of Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson, Zaporizhzhya, Kyiv and Kharkiv regions like Melitopol, Nova Kakhovka, Mariupol, Kozacha Lopan, Bucha, Verkhnyotoretske and Shchastia, numerous cases of cultural events in russian and the publication and distribution of newspapers in russian have been observed.

In the temporarily occupied territories the actions of the occupation administrations against the Ukrainian language and language users are similar regardless of the region. The extent of the suppression of the state language depends on the duration of the occupation of the settlements. The suppression of Ukrainian from use occurs simultaneously with its replacement by russian.

How can you operate in the occupied areas to collect information about the situation?

From 24 February 2022 – the beginning of the full-scale invasion – the State Language Protection Commissioner initiated the collection of facts concerning the linguocide against the Ukrainian language. Employees at the Secretariat extracted from open sources and pro-russian propaganda internet resources more than 200 cases of suppression of the Ukrainian language from public spaces and public use, including persecution, discrediting the citizens of Ukraine and repression on the basis of language, which is one of the components of the policy of destroying the Ukrainian people, their identity and statehood. Additional information was received from the authorities and local self-government.

Detailed documentation of acts of linguocide against the Ukrainian language will be important for arranging the legal prosecution of criminals and bringing them to justice.

What measures have you taken to support speakers of Ukrainian?

In order to support native speakers of Ukrainian and strengthen the protection of citizens' rights to receive information and services in the state language, the State Language Commissioner initiated the adoption of appropriate programmes at regional level to promote the functioning of Ukrainian as a state language, an important element of which is to ensure the functioning of various initiatives for its study at local level. In this regard, a number of meetings were held and cooperation with the leadership and representatives of all military administrations and local councils was ensured.

Due to our work with military administrations and local councils in 2022, a number of relevant documents were approved. In total, in 2022, 15 programmes were adopted for the development and functioning of Ukrainian as the state language in various spheres of public life including 6 nationwide programmes; 4 city programmes and 5 rural (village) programmes. As of the end of May 2023, there are 47 regional programmes for the establishment of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine, of which 17 are regional, 18 for cities and 12 for villages and rural areas.

In addition, the State Language Protection Commissioner initiated an all-Ukrainian campaign to promote mastery of the state language. As already mentioned, today in Ukraine there are already more than 500 free courses, conversation clubs and online resources that help to learn and improve the language. Language courses can be joined in libraries, educational centres and institutes of postgraduate pedagogical education, etc.

Most of the venues are located in the Kyiv region (69) and the city of Kyiv itself (27) as well as in the Lviv (79), Zakarpattya (60) and Dnipropetrovsk (37) regions. The lowest number of proposals for studying the state language is presented in the Kharkiv, Donetsk, Luhansk, and Kherson regions.

In addition, in the English version of the official website of the Commissioner, a separate page was created which provides useful information about educational resources and courses for foreigners who decide to study Ukrainian.

Two years ago, I took the initiative to bring into line with the norms of the Ukrainian language a number of names of settlements that have a Russian name or spelling and created a list of names that do not meet the norms of the modern Ukrainian literary language. This is how we started toponymic decolonization and derussification in the country.

What can EFNIL do to help?

In March 2022, as the State Language Protection Commissioner, I appealed to the heads of the language institutions of Europe – members of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL) – with a call to join the struggle that Ukraine is fighting for its language, country and democracy. In response, we received numerous letters in support of the Ukrainian people from the language institutions of Europe, for which we once again express our gratitude.

Today, to protect the language rights of Ukrainians outside Ukraine, I strongly support initiatives for the development of Ukrainian as a foreign language in the world. We are primarily talking about the need to increase the world's centres of Ukrainian studies, such as the International Association of Ukrainianists, which deals with the study of the history and culture of Ukraine and the creation of educational projects for Ukrainians, where they will be able to study the Ukrainian language, history and literature.

It is important for us to deepen cooperation with the EFNIL to spread among the international partners the information based on real facts regarding the purposeful destruction of the Ukrainian language (linguocide) in the occupied territories during the Russian war against Ukraine. We find it a valuable tool in bringing the occupiers to justice when the legal prosecution is to be arranged shortly after the war.

We would appreciate further EFNIL's support for Ukraine's European integration at all the platforms and with all the bodies the Federation cooperates with within the scope of its activity.

EFNIL Master's Thesis Award

Chiara Ceppi

The face and voice of the SBB CFF FFS: A sociolinguistic study of multilingualism for the branding of a Swiss institution

Abstract

Combining ethnographic, interview and linguistic landscape data, this project aims to understand the ideologies and hierarchies of the Swiss national languages and English as a lingua franca (ELF) behind the management of institutional multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS, the main Swiss national railway company. It also studies how language is used to brand this company as Swiss through an exploration of the use, role, status and ideologies associated with these languages. A critical qualitative analysis revealed that the regional hierarchies of institutional languages in this company (re)produce the territoriality principle of Switzerland. Moreover, the national languages are ideologically treated as markers of authenticity and national identity to brand the company as Swiss while English is adopted as a global language, rendering the SBB CFF FFS globally competitive. The study participants, passenger attendants on trains, emerge as institutional representatives of the SBB CFF FFS and as embodiments of the Swiss national identity based on their privileging Swiss multilingualism over English.

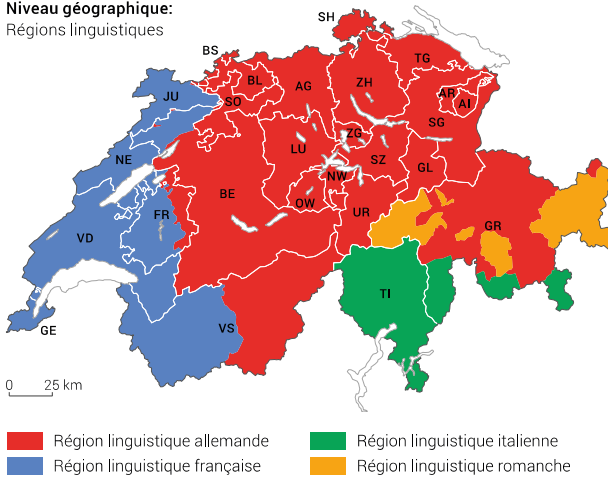
1. Introduction

In Switzerland there are three official national languages, German, French and Italian. Romansh is not an official language, “only” a national one, and it is not used in federal communication except with people who request it (Federal Constitution 1999, art. 70), which is why it is not considered in this study. As figure 1 shows, the national languages are organised by the territoriality principle, which separates them into distinct monolingual territories. The blue zone in figure 1 corresponds to the francophone area, the red one to the Germanophone area, the green one to the Italophone area and the yellow one to the Romansh area. The map also shows the only entirely Italophone canton of Switzerland, Ticino (TI), the French-German bilingual cantons of Fribourg/Freiburg (FR), Bern (BE) and Valais/Wallis (VS), and the trilingual canton of the Grisons (GR) (Romansh, German and Italian). Even within the individual linguistic regions, though, the linguistic situation is not homogeneous. In fact, especially in the Swiss German region, and in Ticino to some extent, there is an enormous variety of dialects that coexist with the more “standard” variety of the languages, German and Italian respectively. The diglossia resulting from the coexistence of High German (the

“high” variety, Ferguson 1959, 327) and Swiss German (the “low” variety, Ferguson 1959, 327) in the German-speaking regions of Switzerland is particularly interesting since the great majority of the people who identify themselves as German speakers actually speak Swiss German most of the time, both at work and at home (Steinberg 2015, 141). This diglossic situation may cause some frustration for those who learn German in Switzerland as the language that is actually most frequently encountered in real life situations there is Swiss German rather than High German.

Les quatre régions linguistiques de la Suisse

Niveau géographique:
Régions linguistiques



Sources: OFS – Niveaux géographiques de la Suisse, Relevé structurel (RS)

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Fig. 1: The four linguistic regions of Switzerland (blue – Francophone territory (Roman-dic); red – Germanophone territory; green – Italophone territory; yellow – Romansh territory)

Although the Federal Constitution (1999, art. 70) attributes equal status to German, French and Italian, these languages enjoy uneven power because they are unequally represented both in geographic and demographic terms. This sometimes translates into a competition between the national languages and into their ideological hierarchisation (Berthele 2016), which ranks – Swiss – German as the most powerful language in Switzerland, being the one spoken most by the Swiss population, followed by French and then by Italian. Nonetheless, Swiss multilingualism is often adopted as a marker of Swiss national identity, history and culture and as such it is involved in the branding of the nation on a global scale (Del Percio 2016a, 83).

The growing presence and importance of English within Switzerland further complexifies the already elaborate national linguistic picture and it is perceived mainly from two contrasting standpoints. On the one hand, English is contemplated as a lingua franca (ELF) to ease communication not only between foreigners but also Swiss citizens from different linguistic regions (Ronan 2016; Stepkowska 2016). On the other hand, though, English is considered a threat to Swiss national identity and traditions as its use is said to reduce the linguistic richness characterising Switzerland. This second stance on English echoes Stotz's (2006) "confederate discourse", which, among other things, establishes that using English in Switzerland represents an "impoverishment of the relations between the language communities" (Stotz 2006, 260; see also Ronan 2016).

Approaching these topics through the SBB CFF FFS railways,¹ Switzerland's hallmark national railway institution, the aim of this project is to understand the ideologies and hierarchies attributed to the Swiss national languages and English as a lingua franca (ELF) within this iconic company as well as the ways in which they are integrated in its branding as a Swiss institution. The goal is to grasp the economic, cultural and symbolic values of Switzerland's official languages and of ELF as they are constructed by the SBB CFF FFS. Covering the entire Helvetic territory, connecting all the linguistic regions and adopting the three official languages and English as their own institutional languages, the SBB CFF FFS embody Swiss national diversity and become a potential promoter of Switzerland, its values and identity on a global scale.

The research questions that guide the study are the following:

- What language ideologies and hierarchies are behind the management of multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS?
- How is multilingualism used to construct the SBB CFF FFS as a Swiss company? In particular, what are the passenger attendants' language practices and ideas about multilingualism?
- What are the role and status of English at the SBB CFF FFS? When and where is it used, by and with whom and for what purposes?

2. Theoretical Framework

In the economic process of expansion that has characterised late capitalism since the end of the 1970s, language – and therefore linguistic and communication competences – has acquired a central importance "since a variety of related 'services' are based on communication" (Flubacher et al. 2018, 6). This has made language both the tool through which work is accomplished and a product of it (Heller 2010,

¹ Schweizerische Bundesbahnen, SBB; Chemins de fer fédéraux suisses, CFF; Ferrovie federali svizzere, FFS in German, French and Italian respectively.

104) and it has an exchange value to produce and obtain material goods, especially money (Heller 2010, 102). This commodification of language considers linguistic resources and skills as being key to “enter the globalised market” (Duchêne/Heller 2009a, 371) and to access niche markets (Duchêne/Heller 2009a, 374) as well as providing different types of resources (symbolic as well as material). This is also possible because language is a marker of identity and authenticity and, therefore, it can be tied to the marketing of local products indexing “something recognisable as a place or a social category” (Duchêne/Heller 2012b, 11). In terms of linguistic skills to be employed in one’s workplace, language is commodified both as a “technical skill” (when a certain linguistic competence is required for a position, and this is measurable through language tests and certificates) and as a “soft skill” (when communicative competences are involved) (Flubacher et al. 2018, 4) that enhance the value of their possessors.

Very much related to the notion of the commodification of language is the key concept of “language investment” (Flubacher et al. 2018), which consists of “individual, institutional, or societal investments in terms of financial resources, time, and energy for the development of language competences that (ideally) can be turned into economic profit” in the future (Duchêne 2016, quoted in Flubacher et al. 2018, 2). Not all types of investment value language purely economically though. As Garrido (2020, 76) points out, skills in “non-strategic languages” may, in fact, produce a symbolic capital rather than an economic one, even if the symbolic capital resulting from the investment in “non-strategic languages” could pay off in economic terms as well. In fact, the symbolic capital of these “non-strategic languages” (Garrido 2020, 75) can make a worker an attractive potential employee with desirable qualities and, consequently, also a probable recipient of an economic return. The value of each language depends on the linguistic market, a Bourdieusian concept that refers to the context in which linguistic exchanges are performed by hierarchically positioned social actors in a wide array of social situations (Flubacher et al. 2018, 7; Barakos/Selleck 2019, 367).

The historical, economic and political context of late capitalism inevitably generates a variety of language ideologies, which is a central and cross-cutting concept in this research project. Language ideologies can be defined as socially constructed ideas and beliefs about language that circulate unevenly in social networks (Heller 2007; Woolard/Schieffelin 1994, 55), which, according to Heller (2007), render language a “fundamentally *social* phenomenon” (original emphasis, Heller 2007, 2). They do not concern only language but are also intrinsically linked to political, social, cultural and economic structures in a certain setting.

Despite the various and, at times, contrasting language ideologies attached to Swiss historical multilingualism, the latter has often been constructed alongside Switzerland’s cultural diversity as a marketing object to successfully promote the nation internationally (Del Percio 2016a: 86). This relates to another crucial

concept in this study, which is nation branding, consisting in the political, economic and cultural strategies that market culture and national identity for economic and commercial ends (Aronczyk 2013, 31) by advertising certain – ideally unique – characteristics of the nation-state in order to create a successful and appealing image of it on a global scale (Aronczyk 2013; Del Percio 2016a, b).

3. Methods, Participants and Approach

The study was conducted using a qualitative, sociolinguistic and ethnographic approach, which allowed it to focus both on the macro scale of the company and the micro scale of individual employees. For example, both the official regulations issued by the company (macro scale) and their reception and implementation by passenger attendants (micro scale) were analysed and articulated.

Four methods of data collection were used:

- **8 participant observations**, during which six passenger attendants were shadowed for one of their shifts on long distance trains for a total of 54 hours. Fieldnotes were taken focusing on their use of languages in various exchanges with passengers and colleagues.
- **Interviews** with participants, including a one-to-one online interview lasting one hour with one of the participants and several informal interviews during the participant observations.
- A study of the **linguistic landscapes**, namely the variety of written texts (such as official signs and advertisements) displayed for various purposes and in different languages, in 8 major SBB CFF FFS stations. These were located in four different linguistic regions (French-speaking region: Geneva, Lausanne; French and German speaking region: Fribourg/Freiburg; German-speaking region: Zürich HB, Luzern; Italian-speaking region: Bellinzona, Lugano; trilingual canton (Grisons): Chur). In particular, the study focused on the languages on official signs for informative purposes. A total of 412 pictures were taken for the study of linguistic landscapes.
- An analysis of **publicly available SBB CFF FFS institutional documents**, such as job requirements and language policies.

Different methods were used to obtain different types and sources of data on the same phenomena and to produce a nuanced and fine-grained analysis. The collection of publicly available material (including research of the linguistic landscapes) started in August 2020 and the eight participant observations and interviews were conducted between January and March 2021.

The main informants in this qualitative study are six SBB CFF FFS passenger attendants working on long distance trains that cross the borders between the Swiss linguistic regions. Three of them were based in Romandie (the French-speaking

part of Switzerland) and three in Ticino (the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland). As part of the Francophone and Italoophone linguistic minorities, these passenger attendants were likely to have more revealing opinions about the power relations among different languages coexisting within the same nation and the same institution. Defined by the company's slogan "The face and voice of SBB", passenger attendants are – linguistically speaking – the most interesting actors within the institution. On the one hand, this is because they are constantly exposed to national and international passengers and their various languages and to the changes of language occurring when travelling from one Swiss linguistic region to the other. On the other hand, they are required to have the richest linguistic profile within the company, which renders them the ideal participants for this study on multilingualism.

4. Results

The main results of the research are reported and illustrated by a selection of examples in the following three subsections. The first one focuses on the ideologically constructed role of multilingualism in the promotion of the SBB CFF FFS as a Swiss company, whilst the second one reports the actual power dynamics resulting from the coexistence of the four institutional languages. The third section illustrates the participating passenger attendants' ideas and practices related to multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS.

4.1 Multilingualism as a Marker of "Swissness" and as a "Welcoming Strategy"

Swiss multilingualism is used as a marker of "Swissness" to brand the SBB CFF FFS as a Swiss institution and to generate economic profit by indexing an idealised Swiss authenticity and the good qualities connected to the Swiss brand. These are, for example, innovation, exclusivity, cultural diversity and high standard services (Del Percio 2016b, 1-2). In this way, the products sold by the SBB CFF FFS, namely their transport services and the numerous offers related to them, acquire extra value in the eyes of the customers, as they appear more "real", more "Swiss", and therefore worthier of the investment due to the high-standard qualities associated with "Swissness" indicated above.

An example of the use of multilingualism to brand the SBB CFF FFS as Swiss is the company's logo (fig. 2), which almost blends its identity with the Swiss national identity by combining the powerful national symbols of Swiss multilingualism (represented by the text "SBB CFF FFS", which displays the three official languages in Switzerland in order of demographic importance, that is German, French and Italian) and alluding to the Swiss flag in the red and white

icon. In sum, through the company's logo, Swiss multilingualism is marketed by the SBB CFF FFS and therefore becomes a selling point because it inscribes Switzerland's (idealised) authenticity and identity in it (Duchêne/Heller 2012b, 8).



Fig. 2: The SBB CFF FFS' logo

Multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS is also a marketing tool because it is ideologically constructed by the company as a “welcoming strategy”. In fact, multilingualism is conceived as an instrument to meet the various linguistic needs of the company's clients and to offer them a pleasurable customer experience. In this way, the ideal SBB CFF FFS clients are imagined as either Swiss (residents) predominantly using one of the official national languages or as foreigners proficient in English. This ideological construction of multilingualism creates an inclusive effect that strives to make the company's imagined clientele feel recognised, considered and accepted in its – limited – linguistic heterogeneity. For example, multilingualism is used as a “welcoming strategy” on all official multilingual signs in the stations (fig. 3 and 4) or when a passenger speaks German and the passenger attendant accommodates them by also speaking German so that the passenger will more likely feel at ease.



Fig. 3: Multilingual sign on a ticket machine in Fribourg/Freiburg (FR: Bilingual region (Francophone and Germanophone)), 7-12-2020



Fig. 4: Multilingual sign between the railway lines, Lugano (TI: Italophone region), 18-10-2020

This interpretation of multilingualism is rooted in the company’s general language policy (SBB CFF FFS 2017) that provides guidelines on how to speak with, write to and collaborate between employees. The slogan and title of this document is “Unterwegs zuhause”, “En route, comme chez soi”, “In viaggio come a casa propria” (“on the road as if you were at home”, my translation) and it is defined as “the heart of the company’s brand and the promise to its clients that when travelling with the SBB CFF FFS they will feel at home” (my translation from Italian, SBB CFF FFS 2017, 3). As the extract below shows, the document suggests that this feeling of comfort and safety normally associated with one’s home derives precisely from addressing customers in their own language:

Our aim is to convey, with words, the feeling “on the road as if you were at home”. To do this, the person must be placed at the centre. We listen to our interlocutors’ needs and *speak their language*. (SBB CFF FFS 2017, 4. My emphasis, my translation)²

In this way, by being involved in this “welcoming strategy”, multilingualism is mobilised as a marketing tool by the SBB CFF FFS.

4.2 Power Dynamics among the Swiss National Languages and English

The study revealed that the Swiss institutional languages of the company are hierarchically classified on national and cantonal levels according to their demographic representation and communicative value (which places German first, followed by French and then Italian, see Berthele 2016) and according to the territoriality principle, which, in each linguistic region, makes the local language official and

² Original text: “Il nostro obiettivo è di trasmettere, con le parole, la sensazione ‘in viaggio come a casa propria’. Per fare questo la persona deve essere posta al centro. Diamo ascolto alle esigenze del nostro interlocutore e *parliamo la sua lingua*.” (my emphasis, SBB CFF FFS 2017, 4).

therefore the most important one. On a national scale, the hierarchisation of languages is reflected, for example, in the logo of the company (fig. 2), where the languages are ordered from the most spoken (German) to the least spoken (Italian), leaving French in the middle. On a cantonal scale, the local language acquires more importance according to the territoriality principle. In multilingual top-down signs, the local language is generally placed at the top of the sign or on the left-hand side (fig. 4 and 5).



Fig. 5: Multilingual texts, timetable screen, Geneva (GE: Francophone region), 20-10-2020

German clearly emerges as the predominant language within the company, even in the cantons in which it is not the official language, since its importance as the second language (after the local language) is remarkable. In the linguistic landscapes of Romandie (the French-speaking region) and Ticino (the Italian-speaking canton), German is always present as the second language in multilingual signs (fig. 4 and 5), which underlines its importance on both a national and cantonal scale. This predominance of German in SBB CFF FFS environments in Romandie and Ticino can logically be explained by the adjacency of these regions to the German-speaking area of Switzerland, which, as mentioned above, is geographically the largest and is located in the middle of the national territory. This predominance of German even on a regional scale is consistent with the hierarchisation of languages that happens on a national scale visible in the logo of the SBB CFF FFS as mentioned above (fig. 2), pointing to the coexistence of the two scales and to the influence that the national scale has on the regional one.

Finally, English occupies an important position on both the national and cantonal level as it is treated as the global language. On the one hand, it is used for marketing purposes in catchy product names, such as “RailAway” and “EasyRide”, which both designate promotions that provide discounts for travel. On the other hand, English is used as the lingua franca with both foreigners and Swiss citizens from different linguistic regions and it is always present on the multilingual signs signalling danger in stations (fig. 4). This use of English addressed to foreign

travellers and tourists imagined as speaking ELF is detectable in the linguistic landscapes of all of the stations taken into consideration but to different degrees. In Zürich HB (Central Station), for example, the presence of English is much more dominant than in Chur or Lugano. This is probably also due to the greater size and centrality of the station, which also has international train connections, as well as to its proximity to the international airport of Zürich.

The order of the languages on public signs in the stations is probably linked to instrumental and pragmatic considerations (especially as far as the signs signalling danger are concerned) and possibly to questions of identity and legal obligations at cantonal level. This relates to the ideology of language as a marker of membership and belonging to a certain community (Del Percio/Duchêne 2012, 49-50) and it is valid on both the cantonal and national scale. On the one hand, the fact of privileging the local language in multilingual signs and through the broader linguistic landscapes of the different stations respects the principle of territoriality (see Stotz 2006; Berthele 2016; Ronan 2016), marking these spaces as “belonging to” the local population (see Papen 2012, 57). On the other hand, by using multilingual signs, the spaces of the SBB CFF FFS stations are constructed as belonging to the Swiss population in general and not only to the local population in particular. In fact, since multilingualism is ideologically constructed as a Swiss characteristic, the multilingual signs in the stations can be seen as marking that the spaces where they are located are *Swiss* spaces, belonging to the Swiss nation and therefore also to the Swiss population.

This hierarchisation of languages, resulting in the predominance of German, functions as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion as it gives unequal access to good quality information and sometimes also to job positions. For example, passenger attendants must have a very high level of Standard German (level C2) and must know two additional languages at level B1 (oral) out of French, Italian and English before the end of their training. If these linguistic requirements are not fulfilled, they may not get the job. This emerged both from the participants’ informal declarations and from research on the official website of the company, where the job requirements are listed. Another form of inclusion and exclusion based on the hierarchisation of languages is visible in the linguistic landscapes through occasional official signs of the SBB CFF FFS featuring “only” the majority languages German and French plus English. An example of this is reported in figures 6 and 7, featuring two multilingual signs in the stations of Geneva and Zürich HB (Central Station) respectively, both of which have direct connections to Ticino (the Italoophone canton of Switzerland). In these cases, the Italoophone linguistic minority is excluded from the addressees of the signs.



Fig. 6: Multilingual sign without Italian, Geneva (GE: Francophone region), 20-10-2020



Fig. 7: Multilingual sign without Italian, Zürich HB (ZH: Germanophone region), 14-2-2020

4.3. The Face and Voice of (SBB) CFF FFS: Passenger Attendants' Language Practices and Ideologies

German can represent a real challenge for passenger attendants from Romandie and Ticino, mainly because in Switzerland High German and Swiss German (Schwyzerdütsch) coexist in a diglossic situation. The former is the standard variety that is taught in schools in the non-German-speaking Swiss regions, whilst the latter refers to the spoken language varieties of Swiss Germans. This linguistic situation is further complexified since each Swiss German canton has its own variety of Schwyzerdütsch. One of the participants from Romandie (Francophone area) laughingly admitted that “L’allemand c’est à pleurer!” (“German makes you cry!”), especially for new employees who are still learning the language. Despite this, the Francophone and Italophone participants underlined their motivation to acquire and improve their – High – German, not only because it is crucial for their job and for economic return but also for personal interest, satisfaction and pride. Nevertheless, the advantage of expanding one’s knowledge of Schwyzerdütsch is that it quickly helps to connect with the Swiss German passengers and have a friendlier exchange.

Italian and the “dialetto ticinese” (a general term referring to the variety of dialects spoken in Ticino) are sometimes used as markers of identity and pride in belonging to the Italophone linguistic minority. As in the case of Schwyzerdütsch among Swiss Germans, the “dialetto ticinese” was also used to establish a friendlier and warmer exchange with passengers from Ticino. During the observations, Italian was also used by the passenger attendants in announcements in other linguistic regions to affirm the visibility and legitimacy of the Swiss Italian language and identity against the predominance of the German one. In this respect, on a route between Zürich HB (Germanophone area) and Ticino (Italophone area), one of the participants performed a sort of act of linguistic resistance by asking to see the tickets only in Italian, switching to – Swiss – German only when the passengers reacted in that language. This was done even if *officially*, still being on Germanophone soil, the participant should have used – Swiss – German first and only then Italian. Through this behaviour the participant admittedly wished to convey the message that Italian is as important, alive and as present as German on that particular route and that despite the smaller number of speakers, Italian is still a national language that has to be recognised. As the participant emphatically added, “siamo in pochi, ma ci siamo”, meaning “we are not many, but we are here”. This confirms that “language is a terrain that enables struggles over [...] [the] legitimacy to become visible” (Del Percio/Duchêne 2012, 44).

The ethnography also revealed the existence of a “Swiss Railway Language”, which is the professional jargon existing in the three Swiss official languages that has to be mastered by the company’s employees. The “Swiss Railway Language(s)” are tested during the language exams that passenger attendants have to pass every five years to attest that they are keeping up their proficiency in the required languages. One of the participants reported that the primary goal of these exams is to test the employees’ knowledge of the “railway language”, namely the particular terms related to the Swiss railway system, in a national language other than “their own” (which assumes that passenger attendants have a main habitual language that is a national language), as they are apparently only asked to talk about railway-related topics using the specific terms of the SBB CFF FFS. This “Swiss Railway Language(s)” is specific to the SBB CFF FFS and therefore to Switzerland as it differs from the “railway languages” of the adjacent nation-states that also have German, French and Italian as their official languages, namely Germany, Austria, France and Italy. Participants, in fact, talked about Swiss “railway German”, “railway French” and “railway Italian”. For this reason, this jargon seems to consolidate the Swiss identity of the SBB CFF FFS. For example, the SBB CFF FFS talk about “scambio” (deviation) rather than “deviatoio” (which would be the word used in Italy) and of “Perron” (platform) rather than “Bahnsteig” (the corresponding German word for it).

Passenger attendants are flexible multilingual workers who adapt to the changes in national languages when travelling through the different Swiss linguistic regions. For instance, the company policies dictate that when passenger attendants walk through the coaches checking tickets in Ticino, they should greet the passengers using Italian first and then (Swiss) German or other languages whereas once the train has passed through the Gotthard tunnel and entered the Germanophone region, German should normally be used first and the other languages should follow. The same happens over the loudspeaker, when the local language must open the announcement of the next station and must be followed by either the language of the region that the train just left or the language of the region towards which it is headed.

Passenger attendants also prove their flexibility by switching language to accommodate the passengers whenever they can. If they greet passengers in (Swiss) German but then realise that they speak Italian, passenger attendants normally try to speak Italian, to favour the customers and make them feel at ease (see “welcoming strategy”, section 1).

These considerations show that the hierarchies of the SBB CFF FFS’ institutional languages “on the go” only partly depend on the territorial principle since during direct contact with customers, passenger attendants privilege the customers’ language preferences, accommodating them as much as possible. As a result, the moving space of the train is an interesting one because travelling through and stopping in different linguistic regions anchors the language practices of passenger attendants to the territorial principle but at the same time it defies its very logic by being constructed as a space where the passengers’ languages are prioritised whenever possible by the flexible language practices of the passenger attendants.

The passenger attendants who participated in the study presented themselves as proud multilingual workers. The fact that participation in this sociolinguistic study on multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS was based on self-selection – since it was on a voluntary basis – is already evidence of the participants’ conviction of having something interesting and valuable to share in relation to the topic. During the participant observations in particular, a rather strong sense of pride emerged related to the passenger attendants’ Swiss multilingualism, as they all stated that they generally prefer to speak the Swiss national languages whenever they can instead of English or before recurring to other languages they might know. While discussing the topic, one of the participants exclaimed “On est en Suisse, quoi!” (“We are in Switzerland, right?!”) and underlined “On a la chance de vivre dans un pays qui a trois langues nationales, il faut les utiliser!” (“We have the chance of living in a country with three national languages, they should be used!”). In doing so, this participant seemed to advocate for the confederate discourse, and therefore also for the conception of Swiss multilingualism as a richness, and for the

use of the national languages as *linguae francae* instead of immediately recurring to global English, which “sarebbe un peccato!” (“it would be a pity”), as another participant stated. Most of the participants, in fact, believed that Swiss multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS is a national symbolic richness that has to be preserved and that it contributes to the nation’s cohesion as well as to an affirmation of Swiss national identity.

When asked about their use of English with passengers, all of the participants in this study replied that they only use it with foreign passengers who cannot speak any of the Swiss national languages. Some of them elaborated on this quite emphatically, underlining that with passengers who can speak one of the Swiss national languages they always try to use these as – in their eyes – using English “too easily” represents an impoverishment of the linguistic richness that characterises Switzerland. This idea of linguistic impoverishment related to the use of English as a *Lingua Franca* in Switzerland has been analysed by Stotz (2006, 252), who identifies it as one of the main elements of the confederate discourse. For this reason, the passenger attendants who participated in this study and all those who share the same convictions – who, according to the participants in this study, are the majority – can be defined as ambassadors of the confederate discourse as they actively and simultaneously promote both the use of the Swiss national languages and the linguistic richness that symbolically characterises Switzerland and the SBB CFF FFS.

For their multilingualism and their efforts in using the official national languages, in November 2020, the passenger attendants of the SBB CFF FFS were awarded the Oertli prize, which is a sign of recognition to the promoters – both individuals and institutions – of cohesion between the Swiss linguistic regions (fig. 8).



Fig. 8: Headline in the *24 heures* newspaper on 6th November 2020 announcing that the Oertli prize has been awarded to the SBB CFF FFS’s passenger attendants for their multilingualism³

³ The text in the *24 heures* newspaper of 6th November 2020 reads as follows: “**The SBB CFF FFS personnel rewarded for their multilingualism:** The ability of the SBB CFF FFS’s passenger assistants to express themselves in several languages was recognised with a prize of 30,000 Swiss francs, awarded on Friday by the Oertli Foundation.” (my translation).

5. Conclusion

To conclude, the hierarchies of the SBB CFF FFS's institutional languages on a national and cantonal scale reflect the demographic importance of the national languages, in which German is the majority language, followed by French and then by Italian. German emerged as the predominant language, generating patterns of inclusion and exclusion among passengers and employees alike. Despite this, institutional multilingualism at the SBB CFF FFS is ideologically and discursively mobilised as a “welcoming strategy” and as a marker of “Swissness” to promote the company globally. English plays an important role within the company as it is considered a global language and a lingua franca to be used with both Swiss and non-Swiss customers as well as a marketing language to render the SBB CFF FFS attractive and competitive on the global market. Passenger attendants are the institutional representatives of the SBB CFF FFS that embody the Swiss national identity. As “the face and voice of SBB CFF FFS”, they contribute to constructing the Swiss national identity of the company by favouring the Swiss national languages over English whenever possible, therefore making the SBB CFF FFS not only a national railway company but the *Swiss* national railway company. For this reason, they can be considered ambassadors of the confederate discourse (Stotz 2006).

The SBB CFF FFS might benefit from the findings of this research study to improve their language policies and practices and to reduce the sociolinguistic inequalities that affect both the company's employees and its customers. This might enhance their institutional image and reputation and could set an example for other multilingual companies, in Switzerland and abroad.

The main limitations of this study concern the COVID-19 pandemic and the focus on the Swiss minority language regions. The COVID-19 pandemic reduced the number of passengers (foreigners in particular) and therefore the number of observable interactions and languages spoken. It is also possible that it discouraged passenger attendants from participating in the project. Moreover, the study only focused on passenger attendants working in the minority language regions of Romandie and Ticino, which means that the Swiss German region was only included indirectly. This did not allow a more complete picture of the studied phenomenon.

To further expand sociolinguistic research in the underexplored field of national public transportation, future similar studies might focus on multilingualism in the Swiss trilingual canton of the Grisons and in other nationwide transport systems. These could adopt a diachronic perspective on multilingualism and a comparative lens with the SBB CFF FFS. Such research directions could contribute – on a national, European and global scale – to shedding light on patterns of social inclusion and exclusion based on language policies and practices and might raise awareness of the importance of an inclusive and fair management of multilingualism for enhanced access to public services.

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Riccardo Bravi

Information asymmetry in conference interpreting – traces of encyclopaedic knowledge shared in the socio-professional community of Deutsche Bundesbank and Banca d’Italia

Abstract

Traces of Encyclopaedic Knowledge (EK) shared in a socio-professional community of speakers were identified in *CorBankIT* and *CorBankDE*, Italian and German subcorpora of the bilingual comparable corpus *CorBank*. To do so, the Termontographic Method (TM) was applied. Within the framework of Corpus-Based Analysis in the domain of annual press conferences held by the two presidents of Banca d’Italia and Deutsche Bundesbank, central banking Specific Technicisms (ST) were extracted and organized into two termontographic maps named *BankMapIT* and *BankMapDE*. Subsequently, shared concepts were identified through contrastive analysis from the conference interpreting perspective. As practitioners interact as third parties in field-specific socio-professional communities, a tendential interpreter-to-speaker encyclopaedic asymmetry was found.

1. Introduction

For an interpreter, one of the most energy- and time-consuming steps in an interpreting assignment – *beyond interpreting itself* – is probably field-specific preparation, a thorough overview of terms and concepts useful for the assignment at hand with the aims of interlinguistic communication. When practitioners prepare for their meeting, Encyclopaedic Knowledge (EK) seems to be activated and fostered (Eco 1996). This cognitive process is postulated to gather and store our experience of the world. During communication, the utterances we hear are said to stimulate EK to provide listeners with extra-linguistic factors to complete the message at hand and “get it working” (Eco 1979). This interaction between utterances and their receiver is named *interpretive cooperation* (Eco 1979).

Although part of a message is expressed by linguistic codification and seems to be accessible via language competence alone, utterances often include special-istic conceptual components originating in a specific domain and also *non-said* elements. These appear to be taken for granted in socio-professional communities – to respect linguistic economy. However, outsiders might not understand them if they do notice them. Those elements are based on previous knowledge, on common premises, hence the need to postulate EK as a mechanism triggered by *indices* in a text, transcending language coding and decoding models.

In response to this challenge, the present research aims at identifying traces of items of EK shared in both subcorpora *CorBankIT* and *CorBankDE* (*CorBank*), each one composed of four speeches, transcribed after the annual press conferences held by the presidents of both Banca d'Italia (Ignazio Visco) and Deutsche Bundesbank (Jens Weidmann) as part of the European System of Central Banks. For this purpose, the Termontographic Method (TM) by Temmerman and Kerremans (2003) was applied after frequency list term extraction. Shared and unshared terms were found in a contrastive analysis of the resulting termontographic maps *BankMapIT* and *BankMapDE*.

2. Research

Can the combination of Corpus-Based Analysis and the Termontographic Method identify a trace of Encyclopaedic Knowledge shared in a socio-professional community of speakers?

Eco (1979, 1996) postulates Encyclopaedic Knowledge as “the totality of recorded interpretations [...], an archive of non-verbal information” (Eco 1996, 109). EK is a set of past information recorded in our minds that can be used for future interpretations. Cortelazzo (1994, 8) defines a socio-professional community of speakers from a two-fold perspective. On the one hand, a group of speakers with a common professional activity is identified. On the other hand, a sociolinguistic perspective is adopted to describe language variations of field, tenor and mode. As it is unreasonable – if not utterly impossible – to represent the *whole* EK of a speaker, the research aims at identifying *traces* of EK embodied by terms extracted from *CorBank*. As described by de Saussure, signifiers and signified are linked by a biunivocal relationship. If a signifier is a word – *in praesentia*, a signified is a concept – *in absentia* – stored in one’s EK. Thus, highlighting a term means evoking the concept to which it is linked.

Data were observed using a combination of the Termontographic Method (TM) and Corpus-Based Analysis (CBA). TM was introduced by Temmerman and Kerremans at the Department of Applied Linguistics at the *Centrum voor Vaktaal en Communicatie* (CVC) in Brussels. This method results in a term mind-map in graphic form (Temmermans/Kerremans 2003, 3). Maps can be compared and shared concepts can be identified as traces of EK in the said socio-professional community.

CorBank is composed of *CorBankIT* and *CorBankDE*. Each subcorpus contains four speeches from the 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 annual press conferences held in Italian and German. Both speeches are similar in content and form but they are independent. The subcorpora are not parallel; therefore they are not proposed in an original-against-translation format. However, they are comparable, according to McEnery and Hardie’s criteria (2012) of the same genre (press con-

ference), domain (central banking) and time frame (2017-2020). The structure of the common European System of Central Banks (ESCB) as an umbrella organization for national central banks is functional to the present research as the speeches conserve the same qualitative features across languages.

3. Theory

The research is based on three pillars, the first being Languages for Special Purposes (LSP). The notion of specialized language is analyzed with a focus on technicalisms and in connection to socio-professional communities of speakers. The second pillar is an expansion on Encyclopaedic Knowledge (EK) by Eco and his semiotics, including the notions of sign, meaning (lexical vs. textual), frames, inferences and interpretive cooperation. The third pillar is an expansion on the Encoding and Decoding Model to specify the idea of Shared EK in relation to reformulation. As a conclusion, the issue of speaker-to-interpreter asymmetry is analyzed as the consequence of a lack of shared Encyclopaedic Knowledge.

3.1 Languages for Special Purposes

LSPs express clearly and concisely technical ideas which are not so often the subject of standard conversations compared to professional contexts (Gualdo/Telve 2011). Berruto (1974) and Cortelazzo (1994) define LSP as a “functional variety of natural language arising from field-specific knowledge or activities which is used by a restricted group of speakers [of a given standard language] to cater to the referential needs of such field” (Cortelazzo 1994, 8 [author’s translation]). In everyday practice, a need to bond a monoreferential *signifier* to a single *signified* in a tight and tendentially biunivocal relationship arises within a delimited group of practitioners. Furthermore, LSPs tend to borrow standard terms to give them specialized meanings to form *specific technicalisms* (ST). STs are terms originating from specialized knowledge and practice which identify a given notion and cannot be *replaced by synonyms* for referential needs. These terms are not totally intelligible to laypeople and indicate concepts and objects typical for a given field. By the same token, a special morphosyntax is also employed in specialized utterances.

To give an example, the term *tasso di interesse* (i.e. *interest rate*) is the linguistic realization of a field-specific referential need. In the absence of this term, communications on banking matters may be hampered. Thus, this term is an ST.

Grazie alla riduzione dei rischi di inflazione e di cambio, nonché alla possibilità di accedere a un mercato finanziario più ampio, i *tassi di interesse* sui titoli di Stato e quelli sui prestiti alle famiglie e alle imprese sono diminuiti nel percorso di avvicinamento all’euro. (CorBankIT_2018)

Although the word “interesse” belongs to standard Italian as much as “interest” does to English, defining a special advantage or attention, finance *technified* this word and employs it to identify biunivocally:

The interest percent that a bank or other financial company charges you when you borrow money, or the interest percent it pays you when you keep money in an account.¹

To conclude, LSPs tend to privilege some recursive morphosyntactic choices like the transfer of meaning to nouns instead of verbs (nominalization) or even a shift in meaning concentration from verbs to nouns combined with the use of light verbs, or finally the use of impersonal language and passive forms.

3.2 Socio-professional communities of speakers

Cortelazzo (1994) defines a special language as a variety of natural language spoken by a restricted group of interlocutors. In this case, it seems possible to name this “restricted group” a socio-professional community of speakers as composed of three factors: a community, society and a profession. Defining a group as a community means recognizing a shared social life, behaviour and interests.² In the present analysis, such a group is observed from a sociological – or sociolinguistic – perspective whereby speech varies according to the social and professional role of the speaker. In short, such utterances will vary in field, tenor and mode (Halliday 1978 in Pallotti 1999). The subject of the present research is speech in the *field* of a macroeconomic data presentation to the press, where diaphasic variation will shift towards formality rather than informality. In the observation of *tenor* variation, if a student of Economics talks to his supervisor using formal language and to his peers using standard language, Bank of Italy Governor Ignazio Visco will use formal language when addressing the press according to his social and professional *role* in interaction. By the same token, we experience significant language variation in channel (*mode*) from peer-to-peer and eye-to-eye conversation on festive occasions among friends and an address of Governor Ignazio Visco during a broadcast press conference. The third component of SCSs is a speaker’s profession. In the execution of our profession, we develop abilities and competences and are prone to show consistent psychological, characterial and stylistic traits which will not be so easily activated in practitioners with a different background. For example, a bank clerk, a medical doctor and a governor of a central bank develop different communication styles according to their title

¹ <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/interest-rate> (last access 10/12/2022).

² <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/community> (last access 07/01/2023).

and profession-specific referential needs. Thereby, each profession employs language differently, which originates from “functional varieties of natural language” (Cortelazzo 1994, 8 [author’s translation]; Berruto 1974).

This suggests that *CorBank* speeches are uttered within the boundaries of a socio-professional community of speakers that includes speakers and audience as producers and receivers of specialized communication respectively. Therefore, we could assume as verifiable that, in that specific setting, it is, for example, not necessary to mention a notion belonging to macroeconomic theory explicitly as this kind of information is taken for granted among speakers with the same background. By means of simplification, we could suggest it would be possible to tell our interlocutor “you know the drill”; there is no need to define words any further.

3.3 Towards a definition of Encyclopaedic Knowledge

Before illustrating the notion of EK developed by Eco, it seems sensible to enumerate some ancillary concepts relevant to this definition. Eco defines a *sign* as something (*aliquid*) that stands for something else (*aliquo*). *Aliquid* is an element *in praesentia* whereas *aliquo* is *in absentia*. *Aliquid* is a concrete object (signifier or a *sign*) whereas *aliquo* is its mental image (signified). Mental images are *stored* in our minds whereas signs are triggers that activate those mental images (Eco 1996). Moving a step forward, it seems necessary to distinguish dictionary-given conventional meaning (lexical meaning) from contextual meaning (textual meaning) whereby lexical meaning is found in a dictionary and textual meaning is realized in a specific situation in practice. To provide an explanation, it could be useful to observe the following example abridged from Mario Draghi’s statement at the European Central Bank (ECB) on 26 July 2012:

Within our mandate, the ECB is ready to do whatever it takes to preserve the euro. And believe me, it will be enough.³

This message is suggestive of being understood almost exclusively if the fact that the existence of credit and debit is supported by trust in the system is *shared prior to communication*. Beyond its self-explanatory connotative meaning, the phrase “whatever it takes...believe me...will be enough” in the context at hand is a vigorous statement by the ECB which is highly suggestive of extreme solidity and resilience at a pragmatic level, combined with a solid proxemics and a clear tone of voice of the speaker. According to Eco, the utterance seems to need to be combined with *instructions for use* to allow the receiver to choose the right interpretation, i.e. to tune conventional meaning to situational meaning. This tuning requires an “archive” of “pragmatically oriented instructions” (Eco 1996, 69, 109).

³ www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13504851.2017.1403555 (last access 29/07/2021).

If we observe the process of reading and listening, the first contact with a text is in the form of a *linear utterance*. In this stage, a series of words is presented before understanding and interpretation occur (Traini 2013, 209). The linear utterance is then combined with information about the sender and context. Among other things, highly recursive and stereotypical series of events are distinct from uniquely contingent events. These series of events could possibly be generalized and form *frames*. Minsky (in Traini 2013) describes frames as “[...] remembered frameworks to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary. [...] When one encounters a new situation [...] one selects from memory a structure called a frame”. In short, a frame is a structure of codified cornerstones which can be adapted to reality by means of a change in contingent details. Some examples of these predetermined and stereotypical event sequences could be “ordering in a restaurant”, “taking part in a party” or “causation between inflation, production and ECB strategies” that we derive from the *experience of previous texts and interactions*. It is highly likely that the presence of an archive that records these frames is necessary: e.g. when we order food in a restaurant, we expect waiters to behave according to a frame which is *shared in the socio-professional community of waiters*.

In the following example (k) we observe a typical frame in economics, namely the mechanism of the action of inflation involving output and the subsequent reaction of the ECB.

(k) La debolezza dell’attività produttiva ha inciso sull’inflazione effettiva e su quella attesa nei mercati. A questi sviluppi corrisponde la previsione della Banca centrale europea di una più lenta convergenza della crescita dei prezzi verso l’obiettivo di un livello prossimo al 2 per cento. (CorBankIT_2018)

We know that inflation works in a certain stereotypical way, just as economic models do. The supply and demand model is also a typical frame of economics. If the demand for a good increases, so does the equilibrium price. If it decreases, so does the price. If, on the other hand, there is an excess of a good (an increase in supply), the price falls. If the good is scarce, the price rises (see Mankiw 2016, 50 ff.). In the light of this model, we can generate expectations about the succession of events in a concrete situation. If we do not possess this model, it seems reasonable to assume as verifiable that it is more difficult to interpret texts that take it for granted.

Frames enable us to predict – or expect – events or argumentation in a text to develop accordingly, precisely because we are familiar with the general structure. This allows us to make logical reasonings that bring about knowledge advancement. These processes, called inferences, permit access to content which is taken for granted in a text. According to Eco, the receivers of a text produce inferences as a result of the stimulation that a text produces. In so doing, they complete the text with extralinguistic information. Eco defines this mechanism as *interpretive*

cooperation. As a matter of fact, texts cannot mention all necessary information for their full interpretation and content expression. If each and every word were to be defined, this would massively increase text redundancy in a violation of linguistic economy (Eco 1979). An external (extratextual) ingredient which enables text actualization is needed as well as the postulate of an archive of such extratextual elements. The more a text is aesthetic in nature (e.g. poems) rather than descriptive (e.g. manuals), the more it was *conceived* to leave room for the receiver to interpret it. In fact, Eco explains that we *strategically* forecast the receiver's moves when we produce text.

Based on this, Eco introduces the notion of a "model reader" (MR). When emitters conceive their texts, they always take strategic linguistic decisions and pre-select their receivers. For texts to produce their effect, model readers with specific previous knowledge are selected in an aim to achieve correct text actualization by means of inference and interpretive cooperation. However, Eco explains that "receiver's competence is not necessarily equal to the one of emitters" (Eco 1979, 53), which means that, in a real setting, a certain "asymmetry of previous information" between an emitter and a receiver is suggested. In this paper, such asymmetry will be found in conference interpreters. In an effort to bridge this gap as much as needed in the context, to enable understanding by the listeners, reformulation strategies may extensively be involved.

3.4 Encoding/decoding model and the role of reformulation

According to the encoding/decoding model, the meaning of an utterance seems to be intrinsically codified through single word components and syntax (Bonacci 2009). In this case, neither context nor pragmatics appear to play a role in meaning development, which is exclusively extracted with the elaboration of the logic form of an utterance. This model seems to be highly compatible with computer data management, which excludes context and other extralinguistic components: information produced by the emitter is codified into a signal which is then transmitted through a channel. It then reaches the receiver, who can decodify it. At first glance, this model works, *provided the emitter and the receiver share the code at hand*. However, speaker intentions and inference – which are extraneous to code – are paramount for message comprehension. As Bonacci maintains, a shared encyclopaedic knowledge seems to be present among speakers. In other words, emitters formulate their message *on the grounds that* receivers possess encyclopaedic information as a prerequisite. This information, which resides in the memory of individuals, is part of inferential processes for message completion (Bonacci 2009).

This thesis is reinforced by the contribution of Prandi (2004). He acknowledges that individuals may not always share encyclopaedic knowledge in total. When it is not shared, communication problems seem to arise – or more specifically, in his

view – *reformulations* are necessary. Thus, the lack of knowledge shared between two individuals does not appear before interaction begins – nor is it verified beforehand – but *only when the die is cast*. When the two interlocutors become aware of the EK deficit, action is taken with utterance reformulation.

3.5 Shared encyclopaedic knowledge

In the previous sections, the concepts of sign and meaning were introduced, stating that it could be reasonably assumed to be true that meanings are stored in our minds. An *archive of pragmatically oriented instructions* was mentioned as well as the concept of *frame*. Factors leading to the completion of meaning were identified as well as the importance of prior knowledge and assumptions on which to base inferences. Based on this, an archive of these elements seems to be needed.

In this regard, the pivotal concept of this research, postulated by Eco, is introduced. The author assumes the presence of an encyclopaedic knowledge that would seem to be more or less shared among speakers, that is, of an archive that records knowledge of the world, more or less extended, which depends on individuals and their experience. Such an archive can allow information recall, if stimulated by an utterance (Eco 1996). Here is a definition by Eco:

[...] The recorded set of all interpretations, [...] the library of libraries, whereby a library is also an archive of all non-verbal information somehow recorded, from cave paintings to films. However, it must remain a postulate because it cannot in fact be described in its entirety. (Eco 1996, 109)

The peculiarity of EK is that it is *unequally shared among users*. Eco expands on this topic, writing that a *global encyclopaedia* could be postulated. However, from a socio-semiotic point of view, it seems interesting to consider that *individuals possess various degrees of EK* and that *its scope may vary among speakers*. In support of this statement, Eco explains that speakers do not necessarily have to know the entire knowledge of the world: each text interpretation requires a limited portion of previously shared notions. Furthermore, EK does not include *all necessary information* to understand texts. Some information *is generated* contingently and sometimes can even go beyond expectations, as previously stated, through inferential processes (Eco 1996, 72). Based on these theories, we might sensibly assume that, as much as knowledge might be unevenly distributed among individuals, *overlapping elements* are highly suggestive of being present – in other words, *shared elements*.

From Eco's (1996) perspective, having *shared encyclopaedic knowledge* means sharing areas of encyclopaedic knowledge, or areas of a local encyclopaedia (Eco 1996), i.e. sharing a fraction of an encyclopaedia (in general) with an individual, or, from another point of view, the fraction of that encyclopaedia needed to inter-

pret a given text. For a given message in a given interaction, it may be assumed to be true that communication is successfully handled when the local encyclopaedias needed to interpret that message are either *sufficiently shared previously* or appropriately integrated in the moment (e.g. with reformulation strategies). In light of this, it also seems reasonable to state that the degree of sufficiency depends on the message and the type of interaction at hand.

3.6 The asymmetric interpreter

Utterances are indices that activate the inferences of the receiver, who performs *textual cooperation* (Eco 1979) to construct meaning on the spot, again on the basis of their own Encyclopaedic Knowledge (Prandi 2004). Undoubtedly, *CorBank* press conferences convey content that is new to everyone, contingent, *rhematic*. This content contributes to achieving the purpose of the meeting. However, to convey it, the speakers rely on established, long-lasting, *thematic*, linguistic and conceptual-encyclopaedic elements. In order to translate the event, the interpreter must know sufficient long-established thematic content *a priori* – e.g. a certain economic model (say, supply and demand) or basic concepts (say, inflation, interest rate) – and be able, on the basis of the long-established elements and momentary inferences, to understand the contingent rhematic components. Finally, linguists must be aware of the specific equivalent technicalities in the various languages in order to finalize the translation. However, first understanding takes place and then the translation. The problem lies in the *asymmetry* in terms of specialized information between interpreters and speakers.

In fact, a challenge for interpreters seems to be that they have to work for various socio-professional communities during their career although they do not belong to them, as they are only part of the socio-professional community of interpreters and translators. In the case that *CorBank* press conferences have to be interpreted, a question may arise as to whether interpreters should develop that local EK that the speakers and the audience are in command of to accomplish their interpretive task. We might empirically assume the presence of a field-expert speaker to conference interpreter *asymmetry* just by looking at the years of academic study that experts devote to a single field (e.g. economics) and to which an interpreter can clearly never dedicate such exclusive effort. Whereas speakers take it for granted that receivers know ground information from the beginning of the communication, an *uneven distribution of such knowledge* is possible and may very well be present *between experts and their interpreters*.

In fact, whereas speakers could appear to communicate their content almost *symmetrically* to an expert audience by achieving a certain degree of comprehension, the interaction between speakers and interpreters could be more *asymmetrical* if the interpreter does not share long-lasting structures (and if they misinterpret the contingent ones). In this case, a reduced or even distorted degree of under-

standing would result. Moreover, while the audience has the opportunity to clarify later information that may, legitimately, be unclear, interpreters do not encounter as many opportunities to request rephrasing, especially during simultaneous interpretations. Thus, in addition to having a possible disadvantage in encyclopaedic terms, interpreters would also be in an unfavourable communicative position of partial to total isolation.

If interpreters continued asking interlocutors for the definition of each specialized concept contained in their utterance, the conference time would be lengthened and one may reasonably believe that credibility is lost, because interpreters may appear incompetent. What interpreters can do is try to anticipate what the speaker may say in order to activate long-lasting knowledge and not to be caught unprepared by an information deficit that undermines the initial phase of comprehension and then translation. This is possible with preparation strategies prior to the event where interpretation is provided.

3.7 An example of interpretation

To put theory into practice, an example is given of EK triggering, inferences and coding/decoding processes in text interpretation by a conference interpreter. We imagine this to be the transcript of an oral speech that we hear once and for the first time.

The ESCB is composed of 27 banks, 19 from the Eurozone and 8 from countries which did not adopt the Euro.

Empirically, it appears necessary for an interpreter to recognize the following elements to *actualize* the text correctly. Firstly, an interpreter needs to link the *sounds* /,esse,e.bi'ʃi/ to the acronym ESCB. In fact, it seems very hard to reach the idea of a “European System of Central Banks” with a lack of this. The acronym and the concept must be linked in the linguist’s local EK. Secondly, an interpreter must infer – based on the meaning of ESCB – that we are talking about 27 *central* banks, not investment or commercial banks, and this distinction must be, once again, part of their local EK. Thirdly, a decoding process might help the interpreter bridge a possible knowledge deficit in case they did not know the meaning of “Eurozone”. In fact, the word is quite self-explanatory. However, it must be a well-known fact that the Euro is a currency and that it can be adopted or not according to political choices. Another inferential process might distinguish a group of countries which adopted the Euro and another group of non-Euro countries.

4. Methodology

At this stage, the analysis procedure of *CorBank* is presented, followed by the termontographic maps, which are the end point. The starting point is speech

selection. Then, traces of EK are spotted and the presence or lack of EK sharing is analysed.

As described by Temmermans and Kerremans from the *Centrum voor Vaktaal en Communicatie* at the Erasmushogeschool in Brussels, the termontography method combines a multilingual terminological analysis with a socio-cognitive approach and ontologic analysis following a *middle-out* approach. This combines top-down and bottom-up methods. The top-down part consists in the production of a categorization framework in collaboration with domain experts to gather a corpus from which knowledge will be extracted. The bottom-up part is the completion of the process, whereby the result of corpus extraction is compared to the categorization framework⁴. As a result, a termontography is a graphic representation of a term ontology, which provides the user with the conceptual dimension of a term in its semantic relationship with other terms by means of a chart as opposed to a bidimensional glossary with a term and its equivalent. Furthermore, the two maps presented in this research are also interactive using CmapTools software. A definition is provided when the user positions the mouse over the term as well as a possible translation into the other language. A first disadvantage of these maps is that the number of examined terms is reduced on the grounds that only a small portion of EK shared at corpus level is examined. However, this portion seems to be sufficient for a research project without the need for terminographic exhaustiveness. By means of a disclaimer, the termontographic method was used with some minor changes and adaptations that are functional for the aims of the present research. However, the main components of the termontographic method and its *core* have been kept.

4.1 Corpus-based analysis

The *CorBank* corpus is analysed using a quantitative analytical method that produces frequency lists (Word List, KeyWord List and N-Gram List). Composed of the subcorpora *CorBankIT* and *CorBankDE*, the *CorBank* corpus is a comparable corpus because both subcorpora share the same manual sampling method and the texts are homogeneous in genre (press conference), domain (central banking) and sampling period (2017-2020). The subcorpora are in Italian and German so *CorBank* is a bilingual corpus. Very importantly, the subcorpora are not parallel, as this would invalidate the results because one would be the translation of the other.⁵ Furthermore, *CorBank* is a non-representative corpus because it is highly specialized in central banking. However, general-language representativeness is not

⁴ For a complete and exhaustive description of the Termontography Method refer to *Termontography: Ontology building and the sociocognitive approach to terminology description* (Temmerman/Kerremans 2003).

⁵ These criteria were given by McEnery/Hardie (2020, 20).

necessary for the purpose of the present research. By employing the concordancer AntConc, the following frequency lists were extracted, starting from two Word Lists containing all of the tokens of each subcorpus ordered by absolute frequency. Although a high frequency could appear to correlate highly with the high importance of a given term, we also observe *hapax legomena*, words with a frequency of 1 but which are of very high importance for the research purposes. Much more suggestive of importance is a token with high keyness (relative frequency in relation to a general reference corpus). Such words are extracted into a KeyWord List sorted out by keyness. Polyrhematic words formed by more than one token are also gathered in frequency lists named N-Gram Lists whereby n is 2-2, 3-3, 4-4 (e.g. monetary policy transmission).

4.2 A 5-step procedure

Step I consists of speech selection. Four speeches in Italian and four in German given at the press conferences for the final reports of the last four financial years of the Banca d'Italia and the Deutsche Bundesbank (2020, 2019, 2018, 2017) were selected. The speakers analysed are Dr. Jens Weidmann, President of the Deutsche Bundesbank, Prof. Johannes Beermann, Member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank, and Prof. Ignazio Visco, Governor of the Banca d'Italia.

In step II, corpora were formed. Two subcorpora were combined in the *CorBank* corpus. The first corpus, in Italian, is called *CorBankIT* and contains the four text files (.txt), one for each speech. The second corpus, in German, is called *CorBankDE* and also contains four text files (.txt). The corpora were created by a manual copy/paste operation from the original texts.

In step III, the subcorpora were individually analysed with AntConc 3.5.8 (Windows). For this purpose, the above-mentioned frequency lists were extracted and uploaded into an Excel sheet. Quantitative data is given in table 1 pertaining to token and type number for each subcorpus and frequency list.

	Word List		Keyword List		N-Gram 2-2		N-Gram 3-3		N-Gram 4-4	
	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types
CorBankIT	3,7472	4,981	15,993	441	37,468	22,507	37,464	33,083	37,460	36,066
CorBankDE	1,5427	3,840	5,302	368	15,423	11,709	15,419	14,480	15,415	15,067

Table 1: Quantitative data for CorBank

The TTR (Type/Token ratio) is proximal to 0 for both subcorpora (0.13 for *CorBankIT* and 0.24 for *CorBankDE*). This suggests low lexical variation, which could be explained by a high field specialization in central banking.

In Step IV, terms were selected for the two termontographic maps. Each token went through an evaluation workflow whereby it was sorted based on whether it was a specific technicism or not. In the case of a positive result, its absolute frequency (AF) was evaluated. If its AF was relatively high, it was included in one of the glossaries (*GlosBankIT* or *GlosBankDE* forming the two columns of the glossary *GlosBank*). In the case of a relatively low AF, terms were sorted based on whether or not they could be highly suggestive of being an *hapax legomenon*. In case of a positive test, they were added to *GlosBank* (see Fig. 1). For the purpose of this research, only a limited number of tokens were analysed and inserted into *GlosBank*, based on the manual procedure adopted.

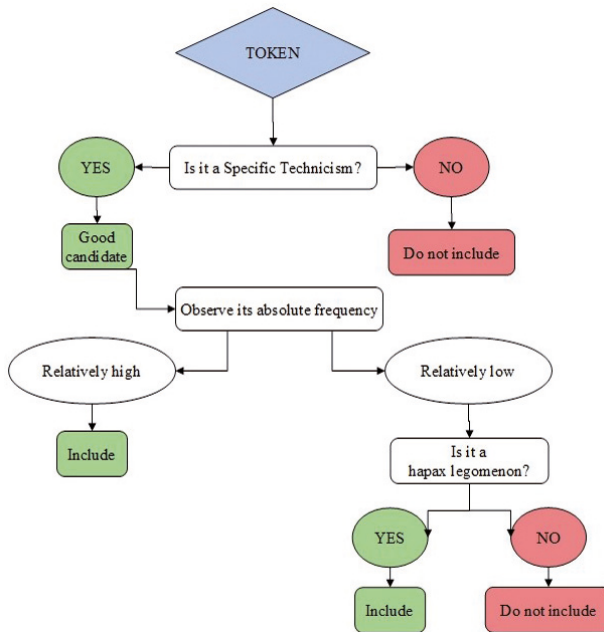


Fig. 1: Term selection workflow

In *GlosBank*, the German terms identified were translated into Italian to verify their presence in *CorBankIT*. However, the Italian terms listed both in the map and in the *GlosBankIT* glossary (Italian column in *GlosBank*) always derive from *CorBankIT* and the German terms always come from *CorBankDE*. *GlosBank* just provides an overview in the form of an ordered table of all of the items contained in *BankMap*. The terms in German were the starting point for the construction of *GlosBank* and not those in Italian. This is due to it being easier for native Italian translators to translate into their mother tongue, to have more control over the Ital-

ian equivalent than in the other direction. If the translation process starts from Italian (the author's mother tongue), output accuracy might be lower. Thus, German as a datum was used to formulate translation hypotheses to be verified by means of the sources described below, also making use of native language knowledge.

The sources were chosen for very specific reasons. A search in IATE, the EU's "Interactive Terminology for Europe" database, for example, is more specific than a search in an online dictionary as the glossary is designed for professional use in translation and interpretation for European institutions. The glossary offers the translation of a term, which is useful as a starting point for a search in *CorBank*. The Eur-Lex corpus is also highly accurate as it consists of highly edited normative sources from European institutions. It is a parallel corpus aligned and constituted for every official language of the EU, which allows, by virtue of this, the observation of terms and equivalents in a high-level context. Searching with Boolean operators, in contrast, is certainly less authoritative as texts are extracted from the web without distinguishing between good and bad quality. However, this criticality can be circumvented by opening the more authoritative sources in Google's results list. The advantage of using this technique is that it is possible to scan a large number of texts thanks to the search engine's functionalities and thus get an idea of the quantity of occurrences of a term. If several translations are found, we could, in fact, opt to choose the most frequent one according to this criterion, perhaps supporting the choice with the count of occurrences among the more authoritative documents in the results. Furthermore, to help understand the concept behind the term, the Financial Glossary of the Italian Stock Exchange was used for Italian, which offers brief theoretical explanations of the concept.

- 1) Interactive Terminology for Europe: IATE,⁶
- 2) The parallel corpora of the Eur-Lex Corpus: Eur-Lex German 2/2016; Eur-Lex Italian 2/2016,⁷
- 3) Boolean operator search on Google, in particular inverted commas (web as a corpus),
- 4) Financial Glossary of the Italian Stock Exchange,⁸
- 5) Cross-check in *CorBankIT*.

Before entering the translation of a term into the *GlosBank* glossary, a search was carried out for "strong evidence" that it was correct. If the German term and its Italian translation were found, for example, in the parallel corpus Eur-Lex (2) or in a document searched for using the Boolean operator method (3), this is highly suggestive of a correct translation. Finally, the cross-check in *CorBankIT* has a

⁶ <https://iate.europa.eu/home>.

⁷ <https://www.sketchengine.eu/eurlex-corpus/#toggle-id-2>.

⁸ <https://www.borsaitaliana.it/borsa/glossario.html>.

two-fold purpose: firstly, to have further proof of the correctness of the translation and secondly, and this is very important for research purposes, to check whether that concept is shared in both corpora.

In Step V, the two termontographic maps were generated. If a term successfully passed the process illustrated in diagram 1, it was entered in the termontographic maps. There were also terms that, despite being entitled, were not entered. This is because the number of *CorBank* tokens is very high (several thousand) and therefore it seems inappropriate to fill the termontographic maps with hundreds or thousands of terms. The exact number is 41 terms plus 4 in red in *CorBankDE*, and 10 in red in *CorBankIT* (the red ones are terms which are not shared). The threshold number was decided arbitrarily but could be higher. About 50 specialized terms out of a corpus of 4,981 (IT) or 3,840 (DE) types is certainly a limited number but still manageable with a manual method. If all the specialized terms in *CorBank* that passed the criteria in diagram 1 were included, this could generate a termontographic map in the order of magnitude of 10^3 terms. Such an order of magnitude cannot be reconciled with the quality of the manual terminological investigation of concepts. Entering around 50 terms seems a start that can be reconciled with both numerical-statistical relevance and terminological-conceptual research quality. In addition, if we considered the usability of the termontographic map, it appears complicated to manage one of 1,000 and more terms during pre-event preparation or during simultaneous interpretation itself in the event of conceptual, terminological or translation doubts.

A question arises, however, as to the ways of determining which terms have more right than others to enter the termontographic maps once they have passed the selection made explicit in the diagram. We might think that the best and least arbitrary way to define them would be to insert those with higher frequency as they are more frequently present in the subcorpora. However, *CorBank* is not representative of the economic sector as a whole. Moreover, it would have been risky to give space to terms that, although frequent in the specific speeches, might not be as frequent in other previous and future addresses not included in the corpus, especially since we cannot expect the frequencies of terms in the Italian corpus to be exactly the same as in the German corpus. This would make it necessary to insert an additional mediating element to understand which terms are more deserving of inclusion and which are not, should we want to rely on purely mathematical-statistical criteria. As much as a strictly statistical determination of the terms to be included may be formally and methodologically more desirable, it would seem equally desirable to include those terms that are pragmatically more deserving of inclusion in the maps, especially since the phenomenon of *hapax legomena* is present, terms that are pragmatically useful but less relevant from a purely statistical point of view.

However, the pragmatic relevance of a term must be defined. If we think of the specialized field under examination and its peculiarities, we would immediately

include the most important institutions or groupings to which the Bank of Italy belongs (these include: Economic and Monetary Union, ECB, Eurosystem, Euro Area). These would be followed by the terms that define the Bank of Italy's tasks (financial stability, price stability, monetary policy, banking supervision) and, gradually, the concepts that are most logically-conceptually connected with the others. It is now necessary to define the degree of relevance of those specific terms for a given thermontographic map. To know this, prior information on the specialist field is necessary. By reading official sources, it is possible to get an idea of which terms are indispensable in a terminology search. This is also in line with Temmerman and Kerremans' (2003) assertion about the necessity of an expert in the field giving outlines of the terms to be included, which seems to be useful in order to avoid illuminating statistically relevant but pragmatically irrelevant concepts and leaving out the true pragmatically relevant concepts in order to fulfil a criterion of greater statistical relevance. It seems reasonable to assume as verifiable that the more representative the corpus is of the specialized language in general, the more frequently statistical relevance can be taken as a guiding criterion. However, it could be argued that the presence of *hapax legomena* – terms that are pragmatically relevant but statistically insignificant – calls for an approach that is less statistically based and more pragmatically based. Indeed, if we look at the statistical relevance of the term “Targeted Longer-Term Refinancing Operation – TLTRO”, we note that it only occurs once and is thus a *hapax legomenon*. However, it is pragmatically relevant as it is an important category of open market operations; it is therefore difficult to exclude this term. Given the significant large number of terms, the proposed map is one of many possible maps and can be further refined. However, let us remember that the primary objective is to search for traces of shared encyclopaedic knowledge and that it is not totally representable, as stated by Umberto Eco.

Having completed the construction of the *GlosBank* glossary, we proceeded to create the thermontographic map in German *BankMapDE*. For this purpose, the software CmapTools is functional. It allows concept maps to be easily built and made available on the web. The concept maps originate from *GlosBank*. Firstly the map in German was generated and then translated into Italian. However, the Italian thermontographic map *BankMapIT* is not a translation of the German thermontographic map. The structure is the same as well as the logical relationships. What changes is the terms, however, which are certainly present on the basis of a search for a match in the Italian corpus. In the two maps, junction concepts were identified that are not present in either corpus but serve to link the other items. These terms are highlighted in light blue in the maps (5 terms).

The logical relations of lexical semantics were written in English because it is a lingua franca compared to Italian and German. If you scan the QR code at the end of the paper you will be able to download the *BankMap* thermontographic maps in an interactive version.

Once the two thermontographic maps were complete, they were compared to identify shared knowledge. This is how the Thermontographic Method combined with Corpus-Based Analysis can account for the encyclopaedic knowledge shared in a socio-professional community of speakers. It was observed that many terms are present in both *CorBankIT* and *CorBankDE* (41 shared terms). These concepts overlap and are therefore shared in both corpora. As the terms are the linguistic realization of mental concepts, the repertoire of concepts forms specialized knowledge. Although we can infer that the concepts present in both maps are shared and give rise to an area of shared encyclopaedic knowledge, we cannot equally infer that the concepts not present in both maps are definitely not shared or unknown to the speakers. It is difficult to say why they were not mentioned, but they could be proper names of national institutions (as in the case of BaFin) that are not found in the other language. This is speculative, however. Nonetheless, if terms were mentioned, we can assume that they are also known, since it seems very difficult to speak without knowing what one is talking about. The basic assumption is that if both speakers mention them, both know them; therefore both share them. Note that certain concepts in the German termontographic map *BankMapDE* (10 terms) and the Italian termontographic map *BankMapIT* (4 terms) are circled in red. This means that these concepts are not present in both corpora.

5. Results and conclusion

There seems to be a chronic information asymmetry between speakers and interpreters. Sometimes, interpreters may be unaware of information that the speaker and audience are in possession of, simply because conference interpreter training is distinct from other academic fields of study. In the light of this, interpreters seem to need to level up their encyclopaedic knowledge – when dealing with unfamiliar topics – to that of speakers. Ultimately, they may need to raise the degree to which encyclopaedic knowledge is shared between the speaker and themselves with preparation strategies. This is crucial because practitioners have to cooperate with the text *to make it work* for both themselves and the audience. They have to implement inferential mechanisms to understand what the speaker is saying with many subtextual elements and have to let the text stimulate certain knowledge in their mind. The combination of comprehending novel contingent content and pre-existing knowledge will thus generate communication.

Incidentally, speakers always postulate their model reader – or “model listener”, as the case may be – according to the degree of unspoken elements they wish to include. In the present case, the model reader of *CorBank*’s speeches is postulated as an “expert in economics”. If an interpreter’s local encyclopaedia lacks the main concepts of economics, it would be very difficult to understand what the speaker intends to say, i.e. to extract the meaning of the utterance in order to reformulate it in another language. Interpreters could, of course, rely on decoding/encoding

processes, but their translation may be too literal, which would result in a sub-optimal or distorted degree of comprehension that would be difficult to overcome in a short time given the work setting. Again, should the interpreter be in a simultaneous booth, it would be practically impossible for them to ask for reformulation without disturbing the speech, a strategy that is available to the other participants. Having said this, we might reasonably assume that the interpreter is never a model reader. On the contrary, the professional is a third party in an interaction between members of a socio-professional community. Moreover, if those members spoke the same language, they would understand each other very well without an intermediary. On these grounds, interpreters must get as close as possible to the encyclopaedic knowledge required to understand a given speech and consequently translate it, also because it is notoriously difficult to translate without understanding.

Therefore, once again, interpreters must constantly keep up to date, all the more so since encyclopaedic knowledge is crucial for making the correct inferences, which are as necessary for the speaker and audience as for the interpreter who is translating for them. Through inferences made on the basis of thematic structures, in fact, the interpreter may be able to understand the contingent rhematic components of the speech at hand and circumvent sharing deficits.

If you scan this QR code you will download *BankMap* in an interactive format:



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Appendix

European Federation of National Institutions for Language (EFNIL): Member institutions

For detailed information on EFNIL and its members see www.efnil.org

Member institutions grouped by country

Austria	<i>Österreichisches Sprachen-Kompetenz-Zentrum</i> , Graz Austrian Centre for Language Competence <i>Austrian Centre for Digital Humanities, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> , Wien Austrian Academy of Sciences
Belgium	<i>Ministère de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles, Service de la Langue française</i> , Bruxelles/Brussels Federation Wallonia-Brussels
Bulgaria	<i>Българска академия на науките, Институт за български език</i> , Sofia Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for the Bulgarian Language
Croatia:	<i>Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje</i> , Zagreb Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics
Czech Republic	<i>Ústav pro jazyk český Akademie Věd České republiky, v.v.i.</i> , Praha/Prague Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences
Denmark	<i>Dansk Sprognævn</i> , København/Copenhagen Danish Language Council
Estonia	<i>Eesti Keele Instituut</i> , Tallin Institute of the Estonian Language <i>Eesti Keelenõukogu</i> , Tallin Estonian Language Council
Finland	<i>Kotimaisten kielten keskus, Institutet för de inhemska språken</i> , Helsinki/Helsingfors Institute for the Languages of Finland

France	<i>Délégation Générale à la langue française et aux langues de France</i> , Paris General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France
Georgia	<i>Tbilisi State University</i> , Tbilisi State Language Department
Germany	<i>Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache</i> , Mannheim Leibniz-Institute for the German Language <i>Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung</i> , Darmstadt German Academy for Language and Literature
Greece	<i>Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας</i> , Thessaloniki Centre for the Greek Language
Hungary	<i>Nyelvtudományi Kutatóközpont</i> , Budapest Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics
Ireland	<i>Foras na Gaeilge</i> , Dublin (The all-island body for the Irish language)
Iceland	<i>Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum</i> , Reykjavík The Árni Magnússon Institute of Icelandic Studies
Italy	<i>Accademia della Crusca</i> , Firenze/Florence (The central academy for the Italian language) <i>CNR – Opera del Vocabolario Italiano</i> , Firenze/Florence Italian Dictionary Institute
Latvia	<i>Latviešu valodas institūts</i> , Riga Latvian Language Institute <i>Latviešu valodas aģentūra</i> , Riga State Language Agency
Lithuania	<i>Lietuvių Kalbos Institutas</i> , Vilnius Institute of the Lithuanian Language <i>Valstybinė Lietuvių Kalbos Komisija</i> , Vilnius The State Commission for the Lithuanian Language
Luxembourg	<i>Institut Grand-Ducal</i> , Luxembourg Grand Ducal Institute

- Zenter fir d'Lëtzebuenger Sprooch vum Ministère fir Educatioun, Kanner a Jugend**, Luxembourg
Center for the Luxembourgish Language of the Ministry of Education, Children and Youth
- Malta **Il-Kunsill Nazzjonali tal-Ilsien Malti**, Floriana
National Council of the Maltese Language
- Netherlands **Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal**, Leiden
Dutch Language Institute
Nederlandse Taalunie, Den Haag/The Hague
Union for the Dutch Language
- Norway **Språkrådet**, Oslo
The Language Council of Norway
- Poland **Rada Języka Polskiego przy Prezydium Polskiej Akademii Nauk**, Warszawa/Warsaw
Council for the Polish Language
- Romania **Academia Română**, Bucuresti/Bucharest
(Romanian Academy)
- Slovakia **Jazykovedný ústav Eudovíta Štúra Slovenskej akadémie vied**, Bratislava
Ludovit Stúr Institute of Linguistics, Slovak Academy of Sciences
- Slovenia **Služba za slovenski jezik, Ministrstvo za kulturo**, Ljubljana
Slovenian Language Service, Ministry of Culture
ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša, Ljubljana
(Fran Ramovš Institute of the Slovenian Language)
- Sweden **Språkrådet**, Stockholm
Language Council of Sweden
Svenska Akademien, Stockholm
Swedish Academy
- Serbia **Институт за српски језик Српске академије наука и уметности**, Beograd/Belgrade
Institute for Serbian Language of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts

- Switzerland ***Institute of Multilingualism***, Fribourg
- Ukraine ***Секретаріат Уповноваженого із захисту державної мови***, Kyiv
Secretariat of the State Language Protection Commissioner of Ukraine
- United Kingdom ***The British Council***, London

Authors

Sabine Kirchmeier
President of EFNIL

Andero Adamson
Head of the Language Policy Department, Ministry of Education and Research of Estonia

Audrys Antanaitis
Chairperson of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language

Maria Arapopoulou
Centre for the Greek Language

Albina Auksoriūtė
Director of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language

Riccardo Bravi
EFNIL Master's Thesis Award Winner 2022

Genoveva Ruiz Calavera
Director-General of DG Interpretation, European Commission

Tony Capstick
Associate Professor of Language and Migration, Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics, University of Reading

Chiara Ceppi
Master degree, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

Claire-Lyse Chambron
Chargée de mission, responsible for multilingualism, the French language in the world and the French-speaking world, General Delegation for the French language and the languages of France, French Ministry of Culture

Ina Druviete
Professor at the University of Latvia, Leading Researcher at the Latvian Language Institute

Claire Extramiana
Head of the Department of Language competencies, General Delegation for the French language and the languages of France, French Ministry of Culture

Paweł Kamocki

Legal expert, Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim, Germany

Birute Klaas-Lang

Chair of the Estonian Language Council, Professor of Estonian as a Foreign Language, University of Tartu, Estonia

Dimitris Koutsogiannis

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki/Centre for the Greek Language

Kamilla Kraft

Assistant Professor, Department of English, German and Romance Studies, University of Copenhagen

Taras Kremin

State Language Protection Commissioner of Ukraine

Marin Möttus

Ambassador at Large for the Diaspora, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia

Leena Nissilä

Director, Institute for the Languages of Finland

Amira-Louise Ouardalitou

Institut Grand-Ducal – Section Linguistique, Ethnologie et Onomastique

Nina Reiman

University Teacher, University of Jyväskylä

Anastasia Rothoni

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Paulius Saudargas

Deputy Speaker of the Seimas

Elżbieta Sękowska

University of Warsaw

Jānis Valdmanis

Professor emeritus at the University of Latvia, Latvian Language Agency

Andrii Vitrenko

Representative of the State Language Protection Commissioner of Ukraine

Andreas Witt

Head of the Digital Linguistics Department, Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim, Germany

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