



**Language,  
Ideology**

**AND**

**Social  
Differentiation**

Book of Abstracts

A stylized graphic featuring a black speech bubble at the top containing the text 'Language,'. Below it is a black signpost with a curved top and a vertical stem. The signpost has two rectangular signs: the top one contains 'Ideology' and the bottom one contains 'Social Differentiation'. The word 'AND' is written in a large, serif font across the middle of the signpost stem.

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**ZRC SAZU**  
Ljubljana, Slovenia  
26-28 September 2022

Recent years of transformation and turbulence have brought specific public attention to how we use language to discuss group belonging — in navigating the shifting symbolics of collectivity, but also in negotiating the “natural” and “ideological” therein. As testified by the proliferating and contested concepts like coro-nationalism, genderism, or (anti)-woke culture, debates over definitions, over naming, upholding, or denying ideologies of difference, remain at the heart of the rising polarisations of our day, as well as of newly imagined solidarities. In this backdrop, sociolinguistic research takes on distinct relevance, and distinct challenges, for academic responses to real-world concerns.

This conference explores the intersections of language, ideology, and power, as key to tracing how demarcations of social difference are constructed, negotiated, challenged, or subverted in contemporary public discourse. Bringing together scholars working across a range of geopolitical contexts, languages, and topics, the event aims to stimulate broader conversations about sociolinguistic scholarship and its responses to global turbulence and shifts. As we inaugurate the first major sociolinguistics conference located in the post- Yugoslav area — a space where the very meanings of “ideology”, “difference”, and, in particular, language, have long been fiercely contested — we hope that the event will inspire new dialogues locally, and bring fresh perspectives to theory globally.

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

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**RODRIGO BORBA**

**Federal University of Rio de Janeiro**

Rodrigo Borba is Professor of English language and Applied Linguistics at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. His research spans linguistic landscapes, language ideologies, queer linguistics, and discourse analysis, with an activist and research interest on the relations of language to gender and sexuality. He is the co-editor of the journal *Language and Gender* (Equinox).

**JILLIAN CAVANAUGH**

**City University of New York**

Jillian Cavanaugh is a Professor of Anthropology at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. Her main research lies in the areas of linguistic and cultural anthropology. She has done extensive field work on language shift and social change, language ideology, gender, accent, material culture, food production and social transformation. She is interested in the ways in which people use the symbolic and material resources at their disposal to live meaningful lives.

**KATHRYN WOOLARD**

**University of California, San Diego**

Kathryn Woolard is Professor Emerita and Research Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego. She has authored seminal works on language ideology, and has particularly focused on the sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia. Her book *Singular and Plural: Ideologies of Linguistic Authority in Twenty-First Century Catalonia* won the 2017 Society for Linguistic Anthropology Edward Sapir Book Prize.

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## The “hand of Moscow” and political identity construction in Ukrainian public discourse: A reference point for framing self and others

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LUDMILLA A'BECKETT

University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa

This paper analyses the use of the metaphor “hand of Moscow/Kremlin” in Ukrainian public discussions between 2014 and 2019. The analysis demonstrates the internal political struggle that preceded the advent of the new president Volodymyr Zelensky. The party of the former president Petro Poroshenko, the party Fatherland led by ex-prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko, the Movement of New Forces organized by Georgian ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili, and others were involved in the “negotiations” of meanings of the metaphor “hand of Moscow”.

The study uncovers several patterns of use of the “hand of Moscow”. In the first pattern, politicians and their supporters stigmatise an opponent by directly accusing him/her of being “a hand of Moscow” and positioning himself/ herself as the vox populi. The second pattern casts social agents as unintentional agents of Moscow. The third pattern is represented by rhetorical questions in which the accusation of being the “hand of Moscow” becomes ironic or absurd. The fourth pattern also relates to the dismissal of previous accusations but by reflecting on the ultimate impotence of the “hand of Moscow”.

The paper concludes with an observation of the trends in representations of political forces and opponents in Ukraine. These trends include disclosure of connections with the “body” of the worst enemy and a self-representation as a self-appointed vox populi predicting imminent danger (Stepinska, et al., 2020). Different patterns of the “hand of Moscow” usage can be linked to different prototypical scenes pertaining to the hand’s movement. Therefore, the negotiation of political identities in Ukraine has driven diverse metaphor stories (Cameron & Maslen, 2010) stemming from a common metaphor scenario (Musolff, 2016). It can be added that Ukrainian politicians before 2014 were keen on identifying themselves via acceptance/rejection of the metaphor “Russian brothers” (A’Beckett, 2012) but by now they have entirely dissociated themselves from this cliché.

## Pseudoscientific argumentation as the original fake news: Combating right-wing populist discourses on language in the former Yugoslavia

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ADNAN AJŠIĆ

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It is a truism in the summer of 2022 that right-wing populism is on the rise globally. It is also quite clear that *laissez faire* (social) media markets have been central to the rapid spread of misinformation in the form of fake news/propaganda and the corrosive influence of right-wing populist discourses thriving on online disinformation campaigns: e.g., the 5G panic, efforts to undermine the results of the 2020 election and the failed 6 January coup in the US, and the COVID-19 pandemic-related conspiracy theories. In this paper, I offer a discussion of a localised earlier example, which I argue is antecedent to the current global one, and suggest a way of combating the fake news tsunami and the spread of right-wing populist discourses. The discussion is based upon a downsampled research corpus (1,118,454 tokens from 1,257 articles) resulting from analyses of two comprehensive, specialised research (11,656,247 tokens from 16,148 articles) and reference (22,493,804 tokens from 37,227 articles) corpora comprising articles from a sample of Serbian newspapers and magazines published between 2003 and 2008, and the application of advanced methods for (semi-)automatic discourse analysis including exploratory factor analysis and topic modeling (Ajšić, 2021a,b; Ajšić, 2020). The findings suggest that the Central South Slavic language conflict (see, e.g., Greenberg, 2008) has been characterised by ethnolinguistic contestation via mutually interdependent metalinguistic discourses of endangerment and contestation rooted in pseudoscientific argumentation, which I contend is the original form of fake news/propaganda in the service of right-wing populist discourses. (Socio)linguists can be instrumental in sociopolitical debates (Tollefson, 2002), and so we should endeavor to produce fair and ethical research and develop ever more robust research methodology to use as one antidote to the now longstanding epidemic of sociolinguistic pseudoscience and linguistic ethnonationalism (cf. Lindstedt, 2016), as well as broader right-wing populist discourses.

## Anti-genderism and the discursive construction of “truth” in the email newsletters of a Polish ultraconservative NGO, Centrum Życia i Rodziny

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DOMINIKA BARAN

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Since “the outbreak of the “war on gender’ in the Polish context” in 2012 (Korolczuk and Graff, 2018, 800), right-wing politicians, media, and the Catholic Church have been demonising the LGBTQ+ community as promoters of the so-called “LGBT ideology,” a substitute term for “gender ideology” in Poland. The vitriolic anti-LGBTQ+ discourse has become a central resource in the right-wing construction of Polish patriotism and national identity. This discourse, adopted by many mainstream conservative public figures, is also part of the global anti-genderism register (Borba, 2022) that has been taken up by local as well as transnationally linked actors and institutions. In Poland, right-wing actors have been promoting a historicised narrative that sees Poland as the perpetual savior of Christian Europe from invading enemies: the Muslim Ottomans, the communist Bolsheviks, and currently the “gender/LGBT ideology” (Baran, forthcoming).

In this paper, I adopt Wodak’s (2021), Reisigl and Wodak’s (2016), and Wodak and Boukala’s (2015) discourse historical approach to examine how anti-genderist actors in Poland construct the opposition between “us,” the “true Poles” who are loyal to the imagined notion of Poland as inherently and unquestionably Catholic, and “them,” the “anti-Polish” supporters of “gender/LGBT ideology.” For my data, I focus on the email newsletter sent out from September 2020 until today by the ultraconservative NGO, Centrum Życia i Rodziny (Centre for Life and Family). Unlike the anti-intellectual rhetoric often typical of populist rightwing discourses (Wodak, 2021), the Centre’s messages adopt the language of scientific arguments, historical “facts,” and appeals to academic authority to present their anti-genderist stance as rooted in “true” knowledge. Combining CDA and DHA methods, I analyze the discursive construction of “truth” in the emails sent out by the Centre, situating this analysis in the broader context of the anti-genderist movement in Poland.

## **Catalan and Valencian: The same, different, or both? Exploring ideologies of linguistic differentiation in the Valencian community**

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ANDREW FRANK BRADLEY

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The glossonym “Catalan” refers simultaneously to a linguistic unit as a whole and to a specific area within this unit. This is contentious in the Valencian community in particular, where certain groups reject Catalan linguistic pluricentricity in the promotion of Valencian as its own independent language. Therefore, despite claims of a “linguistic peace’ and an overwhelming endorsement of linguistic unity by experts, the Catalan-Valencian language dispute remains influential in contemporary public discourses.

Most existing survey data and academic studies on linguistic particularism are primarily quantitative in nature and/or were conducted decades ago. Few studies have yet investigated the construction of linguistic boundaries in this context from a language-ideological perspective. Thus, this paper addresses this gap by drawing upon a qualitative analysis of Valencian speakers’ ideological mechanisms of linguistic differentiation. This data was collected in focus-group interviews with final year secondary students in Valencian state schools between March and December 2017. The analysis suggests that ideologies of differentiation are prominent amongst Valencian youth since constructions of linguistic sameness represented only a minority of contributions. This paper shows how linguistic boundaries were instead more ambiguously defined in the repeated construction of Valencian as the “same” language as Catalan yet also “different”. This form of linguistic particularism, which is characterised by both the construction of a Catalan/Valencian ethnolinguistic dichotomy and acknowledgement of language unity, does not align with existing theoretical models (e.g. Valencian linguistic secessionism or recursive particularism). In the discussion of both old and new models of linguistic differentiation, this presentation contributes to the understanding of shifting boundaries of language and corresponding identities, as well as the language ideological underpinnings of linguistic and group differences in the Valencian community.

## **“Deadly chronotopes” in the semiotic landscape: Contested place-making and belonging due to a grassroots memorial construction in Athens**

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The current paper examines the Semiotic Landscape of a highly contested space in Athens during the construction of a grassroots memorial (June, 2022) for Alexis Grigoropoulos, a 16-year-old student who was murdered by the police (6. December 2008). This “deadly chronotope” is analysed as a process of spatial appropriation and collective negotiation of belongingness. The semiotic landscape, as an ecology of spatially embedded meaning-making resources and practices, thus reveals the sociopolitical antagonisms involved in place making. Entextualisation of power-infested discourses indexes (non-)access to socio-spatial membership while transgressive elements challenge dominant discourses. Therefore, agency in the transformation of the semiotic landscape emerges as a meaning making process on which human subjectivities invest their linguistic, sociopolitical, and affective habitus to discursively forge or challenge group spatial belongings.

Drawing on an ethnographic approach, the emerging sociopolitical antagonisms and solidarities are investigated through a data set of graffiti and banners, as well as of the speeches and announcements delivered before, during, and after the week of constructing the memorial. Various anarchist collectives cooperated to transform the locus of the student’s murder, in order to prevent the deterritorialisation of the event’s memory. However, they concurrently excluded groups of people who used to hang out there, thus provoking their reactions as well as those of the police. On the contrary, families of children murdered by the police in other times and places (Greece and Turkey) expressed their solidarity despite their proclaimed political differentiations. Hence, the deadly chronotope of Alexis Grigoropoulos murder, fissuring with its violence space, time and sociopolitical differentiations, transformed the semiotic landscape to an arena of antagonisms over use and visibility through conflicting processes of socio-spatial belonging.



## Relative markers *koji* and *КОЙТО* in Torlak: Sociolinguistic analysis

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BOJANA DAMJANOVIĆ  
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This paper discusses relative markers *koji* and *КОЙТО* ‘what/which’ in Torlak dialects with a focus on social variation. Torlak is defined as a transitional dialect between a conservative Serbian and an innovative Bulgarian variety. It is classified as a vulnerable language on the UNESCO scale of endangered languages (Salminen, 2010, 37). My main areal focus will be on dialects spoken in southeastern Serbia where ethnic Bulgarians form a majority, so-called Shops. (Hristov, 2004, 67– 83). According to Murelli (2011, 97 and 99), there are several relativisation strategies in the European languages, including the strategy with inflected relative pronouns, general relativizers and gap strategy. In this paper, I will examine linguistic factors (a syntactical position relativised, semantic of the head noun) and extralinguistic factors (level of education) which can motivate the variation in bilingual settings. My hypothesis is these relative markers would be replaced with invariable relativiser *što*, partially as a general tendency observed in spoken language, and partially as a result of so-called Balkanisation.

The aim is to determine speakers’ preferences and relate them to the influence of standard Serbian or standard Bulgarian through the educational system. On a broad scale, the aim is to determine the degree to which the relative clause system of Torlak is independent, and more broadly what happens when analytic and synthetic principles meet on the morphosyntactic level. The data will come from semi-structured narratives supplemented with questionnaires filled by Shop speakers.

## Appraisal in Turkish political discourse: Analysis of metaphors and invoked expressions as implicit judgemental resources in party leaders’ speeches

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Evaluation is an important phenomenon for linguists as it plays a significant role in studies of discourse analysis, especially for persuasive discourse. As it is impossible to make wholly objective utterances in discourse (Biber et al., 1999, 966; Quirk et al., 1985), analysis of evaluative linguistic resources within political discourse can provide certain insights regarding politicians’ attitudes, feelings, judgements, values and so on. In this respect, this study explores the resources of “implicit” judgement in political party group speeches in Turkish Parliament. The categorisation of linguistic resources in the data is based on the appraisal framework (Martin & White, 2005), which provides metaphors and invoked judgement expressions as implicit evaluative tools in discourse. In addition to the analysis of metaphors which enable the realisation of ideological status of the politicians as they promote political opinions and criticise their opponents in a hidden manner; i.e., covertly (Cammaerts, 2012; Fadda, 2006; Moreno, 2008; Penninck, 2014); other implicit evaluation expressions introduced by Martin & White were also analysed in this study. The corpus of the study contained 57 party group speeches given by four political party leaders in Turkish Parliament, and the whole corpus consisted of approximately 200,000 words. Overall analysis of implicit judgement resources in the data indicated that metaphors are preferred more in Turkish political speeches while making evaluations implicitly. Besides, it was observed that while metaphorical expressions are employed particularly for self-evaluative purposes, invoked judgement expressions are mainly preferred to make negative criticisms. Apart from these tendencies, certain rhetorical differences were also observed among politicians, which can be interpreted as the influence of leaders’ authority and political power on their rhetorical strategies.



## Ideology of street naming

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Street names seem to be mundane orientation markers, and yet they are often used as means of constructing local and national identities. At times of political change, various social agents compete for the right to decide “which visions of history are entitled to be inscribed on street signs” (Azaryahu, 2012, 388). In this presentation we offer an analysis of street naming strategies in three locations in Poland: Słubice, Zbąszyń, and Poznań. Słubice is a small town on a Polish-German border, which before 1945 was the outskirts of Frankfurt (Oder) and after the end of WWII it experienced a total population exchange. Between 1918–2018 Zbąszyń and Poznań underwent three changes in the state affiliation, as until the end of WWI they were part of Prussia, in 1919–1939 a part of newly re-emerged Poland, in 1939–1945 a part of the Third Reich and since 1945, in Poland. This choice of study sites gives us a unique possibility to compare street naming practices in locations of different size and with a different history of settlement. The results show that in locations with a cultural and linguistic continuity a significant part of street names remain unchanged even in case of change of the state affiliation and language of administration. This is the case with topological (G. Halbsdorferstrasse > Pl. ulica Półwiejska “Half Village” Street), directional (G. Bukowerstrasse > Pl. ulica Bukowska “street leading to the town of Buk”) street names. Commemorative names honouring important historical figures or events and geographical names related to national geographical imagery (cf. Vuolteenaho and Puzey, 2018) tend to be changed not only when the state affiliation changes, but also in time of the major change in the political system. In locations with disrupted cultural transfer, street names undergo almost complete changes when the state affiliation changes.

## Constructing the asylum interpreter: Language ideologies in the Greek context

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Considering that Greece, from 2015 onwards faced a substantial increase in the number of applications for international protection, the need for interpreters to address the linguistic needs of asylum seekers has become apparent (Apostolou, 2016). In this context, nation-states through specific policy guidelines and legislation discursively construct the group of interpreters in terms of static linguistic categories (Maryns, 2017). By contrast, the sociolinguistic literature (Jacquemet, 2016) has well-documented that language use, interpreter-mediated included, in globalised institutional settings of asylum is anchored in progressively hybrid linguistic repertoires, resulting from the confluence of human mobility with multilingualism, the use of new technologies, and multimodality. Despite this scholarly establishment, there still permits an institutional preference for fixed monolingual profiles and recommendations aiming at creating interpreters into a homogenous social group. As pointed by language ideologies scholars (Piller, 2015; Woolard, 2020) this discourse is not neutral but is itself a key discursive apparatus serving social ends in the interest of the nation-state along axes of differentiation.

Against the above background, this paper examines the language ideological underpinnings related to the profession of the asylum interpreter in Greece. The data for this analysis derive from a corpus of national policy and legal documents. A Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2013) shows a) a monolingual proficiency in Greek or in a lingua franca (English) which is seen as a precondition of successful communication in interpreted-mediated bureaucratic interactions, b) a presumed multilingualism by the imposition of multiple monoglot standards, c) the mobilisation of binaries whereby interpreters are framed against language competence and the rights depriving from legal statuses. The contemporary discourse on asylum interpreters in Greece is embedded in the ideological tension among fractured and mixed languages that create asymmetrical social positions and control at the interstices of nationhood and citizenship.

## The ideology of local, past, and pure communities: the “folklorisations” of Slovenian communities abroad

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MATEJKA GRGIČ

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Slovenian communities live in all the countries bordering the Republic of Slovenia (Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Croatia). In Slovenian, we call these areas *zamejstvo* (“beyond-border communities”), thus distinguishing them from *zdomstvo* (communities which were formed around the world mainly through political emigration after World War II) and other Slovenian migrant communities.

In my paper, I discuss the representations of *zamejstvo*, with a particular focus on the Slovenian community in Italy.

My research is based on freely available corpora for Slovene and other previously unexplored corpora, acquired exclusively for research purposes. I then examine the material partly quantitatively, but mainly qualitatively, by investigating the thematization of selected concepts in particular contexts.

The analysis shows how notions such as *zamejstvo*, *zamejec*, *zamejka*, *zamejski*, etc., have appeared in different discourses over the past decades, while the thematization remains remarkably stable (univocal). The research crystallizes specific ideological cores, such as localness, past, and purity – not only in relation to the majority language and community, as we have assumed until recently, but also (and above all) in relation to the own community of reference, the so-called “motherland” (*matična domovina*) Slovenia. The “beyond-border community” (*zamejstvo*) is constructed in discourses as an (imaginary) folkloric community for which locality, past, and purity have a constitutive ethical connotation.

In the final part of the paper, I raise the question of the short- and long-term consequences of these representations for Slovenian communities living abroad and for the entire Slovenian cultural area.

## Dissent and the digital co-construction of an agonistic, collective identity: A multimodal analysis of the tweets in reaction to the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* by the US Supreme Court

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MOHAMED SAKI

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The aim of this paper is to explore the multimodal discursive devices and mechanisms used in an agonistic discourse to construct a collective identity in a polarized context of dissent. More specifically, our data is composed of tweets that reacted to the decision taken by the US Supreme Court to overturn *Wade v. Roe* in June 2022. Our paper is premised on the following epistemological assumptions: first, Twitter is a techno-discursive affordance that has a powerful community-building potential; it helps mobilise individuals or loosely structured groups in a collective action. Second, drawing on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, we consider any collective movement as discursive event and a sites where there is a struggle over social meanings and where social and collective identities are constructed in an agonistic context of dispute, disagreement, and conflict. Third, we will draw on Gamson’s (re)conceptualisations of the collective action frames to investigate how the overruling of *Wade v. Roe* is framed from a particular perspective with the goal to shape its perception, publicise a particular cause. Our multimodal analysis will show that the tweets of our corpus and their techno-discursive affordances — still and moving images, verbal messages, emoticons, etc. — are in fact a heteroglossic assemblage of voices that provide opportunities for a wide participation of citizens and social actors who forge a sense of unity. A close attention will be devoted to the linguistic and visual means used to accomplish self-reference and to foster a sense of an angry, shocked and determined collective self. By adopting a multimodal perspective, we will highlight a multi-modally collective, struggling self is staged and how it seeks to achieve a particular a common goal: to put into question the decision, to challenge collectively an injustice, a symbolic violence, a reactionary backlash, a regression in women’s rights.

## Representative or just palatable? Viewpoint erasure and imposed consensus in marginalised communities

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STEFANIE ANJA HILLS

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Following on Herbst's (1994) exploration of the ways in which marginalised groups create their own public spheres in parallel to the mainstream public arena and inspired by Fraser's (2008) theory of abnormal justice, this research interrogates the notion of consensus and its application to the discourse and deliberation within, about, and reported on behalf of marginalised communities. Using a corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis approach, this paper presents several digital-media-discourse case studies from different marginalised communities, which illustrate a level of intra-community viewpoint diversity that rarely reaches mainstream audiences or achieves mainstream discursive engagement.

This research critically highlights the processes of viewpoint homogenisation and viewpoint erasure and discusses a number of probable driving forces that lead to mainstream misrepresentations of what becomes perceived as community consensus, as well as addressing important questions with regards to whether such consensuses are likely to be imposed rather than constituting a representative representation of the respective community's views. It raises complex and uncomfortable questions about whether even the most progressive understanding of a specific marginalised group's intra-community consensus on a particular issue is in reality — at least to an extent — an imposition by the privileged majority group.

To understand the mechanisms which allow certain viewpoints to dominate as the perceived consensus of a marginalised community, this research looks further than the popular notion of “he/she who shouts the loudest will be heard”, to instead query whether the palatability of certain viewpoints and their relative convenience to the privileged majority, in fact influence which viewpoints become most salient and widely understood as the community's consensus and which activists and content creators from within a respective minority are being platformed to amplify those more easily digestible views over others that may be more challenging or difficult to embrace.

## Letters of faith: Pre-national language ideologies and writings systems in Ottoman and Habsburg Sarajevo

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KEVIN KENJAR

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The tripartite linguistic division of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian in Bosnia and Herzegovina is well known, and the use of all three mutually intelligible languages (for example, in the warnings on cigarette packaging) is taken by many as an indication of nationalism gone amok in today's post-socialist and post-war context, where the wartime nationalist and linguistic conflict of the 1990s has been frozen in place by the Dayton Agreement. This paper explores the striking parallels to this contemporary linguistic situation that can be found in the multiethnic, multi-confessional, and multilingual context of Ottoman and Habsburg Sarajevo. Through the combined methods of archival work, fieldwork, and linguistic analysis of the historical linguistic landscape as documented in archival photographs, this paper casts light on the language ideologies of Sarajevo's past, particularly in regard to the close association between the city's diverse confessional groups and the writing systems used in their liturgical writings, in order to demonstrate that the language ideologies driving today's linguistic division are not strictly rooted in the ethnic conflict that fractured Serbo-Croatian (and Yugoslavia itself) but rather have their antecedents in earlier eras that predate even the spread of ethnonationalism in the 19th century.

## How to do things with swearing

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PETER KLEPEC

Institute of Philosophy ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Swearing practices are interesting linguistic-social phenomena from several points of view, especially in the region of former Yugoslavia. The outward linguistic form of swearing may seem primitive, vulgar, obscene and not worthy of a closer look, especially in our age of political correctness of all kinds. Swearing is indeed a very violent way of expressing strong emotions and affects, but the way the words are used is worth looking at more closely. Swearing is an expression of the ego attitude of the speaker, who elevates himself above the social norms and also above the addressee. The goal of swearing is to “hit the bull’s-eye,” to strike at the supposed hidden treasure of the other (described by Lacan with the Greek term *agalma*) and to show that it is under the speaker’s control. Swearing thus represents a unique creativity of doing things with words and proves that one can “touch the real” at the level of words.

## Is this now a language? Argumentative discourse on the recognition of Bunyev language in the city of Subotica

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MARIJA MANDIĆ

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The members of the City Council of Subotica, the city in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina, recognised on 6 May, 2021 by majority vote the Bunyev language as the fourth city’s official language, along with Serbian, Hungarian and Croatian. The proposal was put forward by the city’s mayor at the initiative of the Bunyev National Council, albeit strongly opposed by the Croatian minority party — Democratic Alliance of Croats in Vojvodina, the Croatian National Council, and Croatia’s Institute for the Croatian Language and Linguistics.

Demand for the recognition of the Bunyev language, a variety of the former Serbo-Croatian, has been triggered by the break-up of Yugoslavia, the dissolution of standard Serbo-Croatian language, and the (re)establishment of the standard Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian. The two-decade long struggle of Bunyev national and language activists culminated in this City Council act. Thus, it can certainly be described as part of the process of fractal recursivity in the former Serbo-Croatian speaking area, but with the difference that the Bunyevs do not constitute the majority in any state. The Bunyev language emancipation and recognition involved heated debates, discussions, conflicting arguments, especially along the lines of the “pro-Bunyev” fraction, which based its arguments on historical legacy of literacy in Bunyev variety and its authenticity, and the “pro-Croatian” fraction, which considers Bunyev as a sub-dialect of Croatian.

By analysing arguments upon which interested parties based their discourse on the recognition of the Bunyev language in Subotica, I intend to outline language ideologies of language policy agents and to point out how they intersect and oppose one another. I argue that these debates on language are primarily politically motivated and based upon ideology of language nationalism and standard language ideology, whereby arguments are utilised in order to justify largely political goals.

## Code-switching and negotiating national identity in the films about Yugoslav migrations

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TIJANA MARKOVIĆ

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In recent years, migration and border crossing have emerged as exceptionally important topics for filmmakers, especially those who are migrants themselves. Hamid Naficy introduced the term “accented” cinema to define the films of exilic and diasporic authors and thus placed language and multilingualism at the forefront of this specific genre analysis. This paper aims to investigate the relation between the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching and the national identity of Yugoslav immigrants on a sample of three films — *The Second Generation* (Žilnik, 1983), *Someone Else's America* (Paskaljević, 1995) and *Broken English* (Nicholas, 1996). Focusing on Gumperz's sociolinguistic theory of code-switching, defined as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, 59), this paper will explore the patterns of code-switching and their role in characterizing migrants as the “Other”. Switching between the “we-code” and the “they-code” is indicative of the transformations which migrant identity undergoes in the process of adaptation to a new sociolinguistic environment. Moreover, the turbulent Yugoslav past further complicates attitudes towards the Motherland, thus the choice of language is very often linked to the emotional baggage that migrants carry with themselves. Finally, this paper will argue that cinematic representations of multilingualism can influence our perception of different ethnicities, nationalities, and social groups, and that they can sometimes even serve as potent promoters of (Yugoslav) migrant stereotypes.

## Translanguaging in multilingual classrooms: Not always inclusive

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Despite the current world fame and popularity of the concept of translanguaging (TRLNG) in the scholarly literature and among teachers “on the ground,” it is not without problems, which will be examined basing on an extensive overview of current pedagogical and research literature (k = 110; Paradowski, 2021; under review). Among the many caveats, we shall see how TRLNG may be less transformative and critical than has been suggested. We will also notice that TRLNG practices may unintentionally reproduce disadvantages and reinforce inequalities and the hegemony of majority languages, where language singletons in particular face steeper challenges. Moreover, not all students appreciate the opportunity to use their home language(s), pupils may not find the practice liberating at all, and it may actually cause a decrease in well-being. Finally, foreign language classrooms in particular require the reconciliation of many conflicting goals, necessitating a trade-off between the need to on the one hand “cover” the curriculum within the allocated time, in a manner comprehensible to the students, and on the other the need to balance the acknowledgment of students’ linguistic diversity, freedom of expression, and respect for the equality of languages with making them learn the concepts, register, or language that is the target of instruction.

Naturally, many aspects and practices of TRLNG are worthwhile and salvageable. The final minutes of the talk will focus on these, concluding with a recommendation of more critically aware and reflective plurilingual pedagogies that always take into account the circumstances and ecologies of the classroom and the subjectivities of the students (see e.g., Byrnes, 2020).



## Negotiating multilayered diasporic identities in interaction: Iberoamerican migrants in French Guiana

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The talk analyses the negotiation of multilayered social identities and group belonging among Iberoamerican migrants in multilingual French Guiana, adopting a constructionist approach. Based on recordings and semi-guided interviews conducted with a total of 60 Iberoamerican migrants, the ideological construction of group belonging and the emergence of respective indexical linguistic features in a highly dynamic multilingual society will be examined.

In a first step, it is shown that there are not only different designations for Spanish-speaking migrants in French Guiana, but that these designations are used by different social actors to refer to different groups of Spanish-speaking migrants, thus stressing the importance of research on denominations.

In a second step, it is shown how multilayered social identities — namely as Hispanic, Southamerican and Guyanese — are constructed through discursive practices that reveal competing linguistic ideologies. Particular attention will be paid to constructions of a “Peruvian” Spanish and the group of Spanish-speaking migrants associated with it. Specifically, it will be shown that the vast majority of linguistic features that have come to be regarded as indexical of “Peruvian” Spanish in French Guiana are, in fact, features generally attributed to Andean Spanish. This is interesting, because these Andean features are highly stigmatised in Peru.

In a last step, thus, it will be discussed why and how certain linguistic features, in this case features from Andean varieties of Spanish, may acquire particular sociopragmatic values in diasporic contexts. It will be argued that such linguistic features become indexical in the construction of newly emerging, transnational diasporic groups, and that, as such, they can acquire different — and even more positive — sociopragmatic values than they are attributed in the migrants’ home country.

## Gender ideology in the discourse of digital media

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This presentation examines the discourse strategies in Serbian “women’s” digital media that foster gender inequality in the social power hierarchy and construct the ideology of a new patriarchy. The analysis is focused on linguistic, intertextual and multimodal representation of discourse. The objective is to deconstruct media discourse in which women are advised to act in accordance with a private-sphere and heterosexual matrix that considers them as child bearers, servants, a man’s possession, as well as keepers of traditional values, unattached from the actual social and political context and without contributions and competences relevant for the development of society.

The analytical corpus of digital “women’s” media in Serbia in this research was determined according to the criterion of influence, i.e. audience reach, in a period when socio-political life in the country was significantly marked by changing gender perspectives, starting with the election of the first female prime minister in the history of the Republic of Serbia in 2017. The methodology is set in the interdisciplinary tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis, which targets positions of power that are produced and interpreted in discourse as socially constructed and implied, that is, ideological. A critical and interpretive approach reveals the way naturalisation of a woman’s social position is achieved through gender dichotomy, which ideologically preserves patriarchal cultural patterns on a thematic level correlating with linguistic and multimodal elements of discourse. The ideological dimension is emphasized in relation to the socio-political context in which gender dichotomies and traditional gender roles are revealed as constructed, unfounded, and unjustified. On the broader social level, the findings point to the ways in which gender asymmetries “have a strong social significance since they reflect the traditional cultural model in our collective and individual consciousness” (Filipović, 2018).

## Scholarliness vs. activism in the debate on gender categories of language: The battle of the sexes

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In this paper, I report on the underlying discourses on grammatical gender categories, androcentrism, and heteronormativity in language. The paper is based on an analysis of a “second wave” of public debate on gender-sensitive language in Slovenia after the 1990s, conducted for the period between 2018 and 2019 following the adoption of an internal language policy act of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Ljubljana in April 2018 to reduce androcentrism in the language of the Faculty’s legal documents. Based on a representative sample of contributions for and against the adopted strategy, I focus here on arguments of scholarly or “scientific” objectivity and the impact they generate in public discourse, as one of the two key argumentation strands of the debate. The second strand has been primarily informed by the sociological-anthropological perspective that understands the struggle for gender equality in language as a form of identity politics.

Based on a selection of arguments put forward in the debate on the neutrality of masculine grammatical gender, I start from the ideological dissent between academics on the one hand, and between members and groups of the public on the other, following one or the other strand of academic argumentation. I highlight the academic (mostly linguistic) discourse that discredits and delegitimises language interventions by labelling them unscientific, as well as an example of socio-political argumentation that rejects linguistic interventions understood primarily or exclusively as identity politics. The latter is seen as a contradictory form of rebellion that lacks universality, despite its professed support for the pursuit of gender equality and progressive language policies.

I seek to demonstrate that a true antagonism, which can indeed be clarified by two theoretical linguistic approaches, is misconstrued as a conflict between an apparently scientific view of language use and its supposed opposite.

## The “lesser human” metaphors in the service of propaganda

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G. Stanton, the founding president of Genocide Watch, warns that dehumanisation is a frequent precursor of genocide. Linguists support this claim by identifying dehumanising metaphors in the language of Nazis (Musolff, 2007) and supporters of the Rwandan genocide (Armoudian, 2020). Dehumanisation has been divided into “animalistic” and “mechanistic” types, depending on whether the source domain is animal or inanimate (Haslam, 2006).

However, it seems that apart from the two, there’s another, more insidious form of dehumanisation, which frames the target not as an animal or an object, but as a “lesser human” such as a child. The “lesser human” metaphor was often used to justify slavery. In *Gone with Wind* black slaves are described as small children who require “the care of their mistresses” (Mitchell, 1936, 439). The “lesser human” metaphor is also pervasive in Russian rhetoric justifying its past and current expansion. In October 1939, V. Molotov, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, boasted of the joint aggression of the Third Reich and the USSR, which led to the disintegration of Poland: All that was needed was an attack of the German army and the Soviet army, in order to leave nothing of this bastard of the Treaty of Versailles.” The metaphor was not only supposed to imply the illegitimate status of the Polish state, but also the alleged Polish immaturity. Along the same lines the current Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, S. Lavrov, now refers to the former Soviet states as “orphaned” to entail that these countries are incapable of managing themselves.

Despite certain obvious differences between “lesser human” metaphors and other forms of dehumanisation, “lesser human” metaphors share the core psychological functions of dehumanisation and should be taken seriously as precursors to violence. Comparing adult humans to children highlights their dependence on others and their immaturity. It also delegitimises their beliefs. Such framing may in turn be used as a justification to deprive adult humans of their right to self-determination, independence, and freedom.



## Cantonese or Mandarin?: The language ideologies and practices of Mauritius Chinese older migrants in the UK

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This study aims to explore whether the language ideologies of non-Cantonese-speaking older Chinese migrants transformed with the language hierarchy change happening between Cantonese and Mandarin inside the British Chinese community. Doing so it also investigates how their language ideologies are intertwined with their identity constructions and how they influence their language practices. The public perceptions have tended to ignore the heterogeneity of the British Chinese community, especially in terms of their migration and settlement pattern, and their language repertoire. British Chinese communities were traditionally dominated by mid-century arrivals from southern China and pre-handover Hong Kong. While the mother tongues of British Chinese migrants were predominantly Hakka, Cantonese, Hokkien and Teochew dialects, the lingua franca was Cantonese. In the past three decades, the proliferation of Chinese educational migration in the UK forms a cohort of new migrants, who intermingled with Cantonese-speaking long-term settlers. In the process, new features have emerged in Chinese communities in the UK: the language hierarchy between Cantonese and Mandarin is changing.

This study is conducted within a group of Mauritius Chinese older migrants in the UK. This group of Mauritius Chinese migrants inherited Hakka from their parents who were from Meixian, and who learned French and English at school (Mauritius is the ex-colony of France and the UK), and speak Creole as the lingua franca. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews and observations with six participants who have lived in the UK for more than forty years. This research aims to trace the participants' perceptions of the ongoing language hierarchy change as non-Cantonese-speaking Chinese migrants, and how are their language ideologies are reflected in their language practices and identity constructions.

## The “ordinary citizen” and the image of minorities and other nationalities in broadcast news' sound-bites

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IVETA ŽÁKOVSKÁ

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The present study deals with the discourse of broadcast TV news and its strategies of representing “ordinary citizens” and constructing minorities and other nationalities as different (or similar) to them. The role of mass media in shaping audiences' understanding of the world is indisputable; it has the power to normalise or problematise phenomena, it can present and represent social actors as such that the audiences can identify with them, or highlight their divergence from the constructed “norm.” In correspondence to the tendency of conversationalisation, TV news broadcasts increasingly tend to combine elements of public and private discourse and include dialogic features and interview fragments with non-elite speakers. As previous studies have shown, these often act as representatives of a certain group of the “public” who are given floor to speak on the group's behalf. Most often, the nationality and ethnicity of such non-elite speakers is that of the major part of audience. However, TV news include also non-elite voices that belong to social actors of other nationalities, citizens of other countries, or minorities within the country. As these groups represented by them are not the primary target audiences, it is worth exploring what image of them the news reports construct and whether they tend to be depicted as the “other” or whether rather common ground with the “domestic majority” representatives is highlighted. The material for this analysis includes sound-bites with non-elite speakers from Czech prime-time public-service and commercial news broadcasts, collected over the period of one month. The analysis takes into account mainly what topics the voices are invited to speak on, the linguistic tools of reference to the speakers' identities, experiences, feelings or opinions used by both the reporter/voice-over for framing the sound-bites and by the speakers themselves, as well as the visual mode.

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# Language, Ideology AND Social Differentiation



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