Language, mobility and growing up: notes from a seminar

By Martha Sif Karrebæk

1 Introduction

In 1921 a well-preserved body of an approximately 18 year-old girl was discovered in a burial mound in Denmark. The girl got known as the 'the Egtved girl' (Egtved is the location close to which she was found), and the remains were dated to the Bronze Age (app. 3400 years ago). As she was blond and wore characteristic local clothing, the Egtved Girl was assumed to be Danish, and she turned into an icon of authentic Danish-ness and a true predecessor of the current Danish population. Now, recently the understanding of the girl was changed fundamentally due to new tests. It was shown that the Egtved Girl was born and raised in the Black Forest area in the southwest of Germany, many hundreds of kilometres away from the place where she was found. It was also possible to conclude that she had travelled back and forth between her birth region in Germany and Denmark just before her death. In fact, she had made the long journey twice during the last two years of her life. According to the new theory the girl was a bride who was meant to strengthen ties between chiefs in SW Germany and the south of Jutland, Denmark. The Egtved Girl is thereby additional evidence of the fact that migration and mobility are not recent phenomena at all. Yet, a dominant popular public discourse still insists that societies in the present and the past should be and have been based on stability, boundedness, and immobility. This point of view is purely ideological and has no basis in facts. People, goods, discourses, rituals, ideas etc. have always travelled, affected each other, left traces on their way, been adopted, combined and negotiated. In this light our time is not different from all other historical eras (although there are of course both qualitative and quantitative differences in migration and mobility today from even a relatively recent past, and certainly from the Bronze Age). As there is no linguistic evidence left of the Egtved Girl's life, the linguistic aspects of her journey are left to our imagination. Did she experience difficulties and constraints? How did she manage to communicate along the way and in the two different locations that she was associated with? How did she manage the fact that she was

in motion and living under changing conditions? And in what ways was her linguistic everyday life similar to or different from that of migrants today?

In this paper I discuss the theme of "Language, mobility and growing up" which was the framing of an international seminar held at University of Copenhagen, Department of Nordic Languages and Linguistics in June 2015. The aim was twofold. First, we wished to discuss this theme across several institutional borders with the hope that this could generate new perspectives. Second, we wished to present some of the work that a team of scholars have been engaged with over the past 2½ years in the project "Mother Tongue Education in the Superdiverse Metropolis of Copenhagen", financed by the Danish Independent Research Council (grant number 12-125553/FKK). I will reflect on both of these points and exemplify them in the remainder of the paper. The program for the seminar constitutes appendix 1. The paper is the main part of the second project report for the project "Mother Tongue Education in the Superdiverse Metropolis of Copenhagen"; activities of different team members since the last report will be listed in appendix 2.

2 Superdiversity and a Critical Sociolinguistics of Diversity

According to Vertovec (2007: 1024) the world today is characterised by a "dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade." The new complexity in contemporary Europe's demographic make-up is part of Vertovec's motivation for suggesting the notion of Superdiversity. Other important aspects include the new technologies, the wide access to these, the cheap flights, and the particular history of diversity management. Thus, complexity, translocality and the understanding of this are some of the general keywords. Superdiversity was originally, and could still be regarded as, a European perspective. After all, it is based on Europe today, as Europe has developed from particular language ideological histories, and superdiversity constitutes a break with the "false transparency and neatness of 'multiculturalism' – a concept which Vertovec (2010: 90) aptly describes as 'legitimising a retreat into culturally and physically separate minority communities'" (Arnaut 2012: 4). Multiculturalism – policies to promote tolerance and respect for immigrants in particular – has in fact been used to pursue a variety of different understandings and aims: "Even within the same country, policies relevant to an overall multiculturalist agenda have not used the same perspectives, or had the same aims and approaches." (Vertovec 2010: 84). Thus, multiculturalism is a vague, politicised, and partly counter-productive concept, socially and academically, and it fails to take

into account the fluidities and changing nature of new diversity. Instead superdiversity could be a productive, new yet recognizable vantage point on diversity. Arnaut (2012: 12) argues that superdiversity "is there to remind sociolinguistics of the complex dynamics of diversity both as social and cultural practices and as (hegemonic) discourse and regulations". The critical analysis of this, as well as the engagement with the way in which diversity and transnationality is being "shaped and reworked in language use and communicative practices" (Arnaut 2012: 3), is Arnaut's "critical sociolinguistics of diversity." Arnaut point out that rather than validating the categories in which diversity is measured, although often by breaking them down into even smaller categories ("diversification of diversity"; Vertovec 2007: 1025), we need to learn to embrace the challenges of the unexpected and meet speakers as tailoring agents in the lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation (a well-established research agenda not the least represented by Ben Rampton (e.g., 1995, 2006, 2013), Blommaert (2005, 2010), Eckert (2008, 2012), and many others). We need to recognize and analyse, but not accept dominant hegemonies and look to counter-diversities from below (see for instance Blommaert 2009; Rampton 1995; Madsen et al. forthc.; Vigouroux 2011). We need to point to heteronormativity and polycentricity, that is, co-existing normative centres, and to (layered) simultaneities, e.g., multiple and simultaneous belongings, memberships, and engagements in transnational processes, and the simultaneous multiplicity of communication channels (e.g. Blommaert 2007, 2012; Barton & Tusting 2006; Jacquemet 2005). And most particularly, we need to recognise that reintegration within complex units (pace Hymes 1972a; Arnaut 2012: 2) is a necessary step in order to fulfil the liberatory potential of the humanities.

2.1 Language ideologies and indexicality[1]

Ideology is often defined as abstract philosophical and conceptual sets of beliefs that guide human behaviour, expectations and understandings (Woolard 1992: 237). Ideologies are constructed through and carried out predominantly, uniquely, or, at least, also through language (see Agha 2007: chapt.1), and the metadiscursive and reflexive potential of discourse to represent and regulate other discourses is consequential.

Language ideologies are deployed to rationalise or justify language structure and use (Silverstein 1979: 193, 1996) by reflexively and metalinguistically relating linguistic phenomena (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, discourse) to social phenomena (Kroskrity 2000: 5). They mediate understandings of social structures, self and forms of talk (Kroskrity 2000: 21; Woolard

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[1] This section draws on Karrebæk & Ghandchi (2015).

1998: 3), which is why language is crucial also when we are interested in political, religious or other types of ideologies (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). Not all linguistic elements are equally salient, relevant or available for rationalisation and justification (Ag & Jørgensen 2013: 3; Errington 2000; Irvine & Gal 2000). Some linguistic phenomena are made invisible (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38), and others are seen as iconic, even emblematic, of personhood, cultural models and stereotypes (Agha 2007: 165, 177). Moreover some language users are more linguistically aware and metalinguistically eloquent. So, although all (communities of) language users hold ideologies of language, they differ in the extent to which they are aware of, engage discursively with, and negotiate ideologies (Kroskrity 2000: 18).

In addition to the abstract (and perhaps philosophical) dimension ideologies are involved in practices and thus they concern how people act in the world (Moore 2015). Individuals' understanding of language use may lead to changes in their linguistic (Silverstein 1979: 233; Irvine & Gal 2000: 36) and other practices – as language ideologies concern much more than language.

There is a strong moral dimension to the cultural ideas about social and linguistic relationships (Irvine 1989: 255). Normative centres of authority (Silverstein 2003: 194f) license linguistic behaviour and motivate evaluations of semiotic conduct in terms of 'good' and 'bad' (Silverstein 1998: 406). At the same time, language users recognise multiple centres of authority which may be revealed in the course of situated encounters. Encounters are thus potentially polycentric (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005; Silverstein 1998: 405), and language ideologies within single communities are multiple "because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions … within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership." (Kroskrity 2000: 12). Seemingly contradictory ideologies may even co-exist (Errington 2010).

All of this presupposes the indexical function of language-in-use. Some language-in-use points to other linguistic elements in the discourse, yet all language points outside of the immediate linguistic context to other signs and understandings, social and cultural stereotypes and models of behaviour.

2.2 Registers and enregisterment[2]
It is well-established within sociolinguistics (broadly speaking, encompassing linguistic anthropology/ethnography) that languages are cultural inventions. Languages, as the plural of a

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[2] This section draws on Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller (forthc.) and Karrebæk (forthc.).

countable noun, have long been taken for granted as bounded categories and natural phenomena and it is still a widespread understanding that there are particular, more natural, and more correct ways of connecting people, place and language. Languages in this sense have emerged during a particular Era with a particular political project of Nation (State) building (cf. Gal & Irvine 1995; Heller 2007; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). It does not follow from this that named languages have no meaning, and that they are to be denied existence. Yet, it does entail that we deploy an approach to the systematization of linguistic phenomena that does not validate this point of view. Languages, as countable and named entities, are far from being self-explanatory, descriptive terms.

One such approach is represented by Asif Agha (2005, 2007, etc.). Agha is fundamentally concerned with how human beings use language to organise social space, and how different cultural and social models are implied in and constructed while doing it. His central concept of enregisterment focuses on "processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population" (Agha 2007a: 81). Thus, enregisterment is a social process through which elements such as lexical items, sounds, discourses, food items and other material objects become grouped together, into cultural models, i.e. *registers*, and associated with stereotypical actors, conduct, social and cultural values. Human beings constantly create, re-create and organize their social life through reflexive models and to a large extent they do it linguistically (Agha 2007: 2, 2011). For instance, the deployment of a lexical item such as *wallah*, the (implicit or explicit) claim to know Arabic, or a refined wine-vocabulary, are stances, practices and orientations that enable social actors to demonstrate that they belong to particular social groups and to orient to particular social models (Karrebæk 2012b; Madsen, Møller and Jørgensen 2010; Silverstein 2003). At the same time, signs only emerge as social regularities, that is, as enregistered signs, when recognized and confirmed as such by other social actors. The population of speakers that recognize a register constitutes its social domain (Agha 2007a: 124). Some registers of language are named, for instance, 'upper-class speech', 'polite language', 'immigrant Danish', or 'academic language', other registers remain nameless ('the way we speak in our family'), others again are referred to by means of multiple labels ('RP'/ 'posh'). New registers may even emerge on the basis of a hybrid mix, such as when linguistic resources associated with different 'languages' (e.g., Arabic, Turkish, Kurdish and Danish) get conventionalized as a particular 'way of speaking', as we have seen in a range of studies in urban neighbourhoods around the world (Rampton 2013a, b; Madsen 2013; Pennycook &

Otsuji 2015; Quist 2000). In any case, labels relate certain ways of speaking to social relations, social practice, and identity categories of the speakers:

> Metalinguistic labels of this kind link speech repertoires to enactable pragmatic effects, including images of the person speaking (woman, upper-class person), the relationship of speaker to interlocutor (formality, politeness), the conduct of social practices (religious, literary, or scientific activity). (Agha 2007a: 145)

Some registers are well-known and highly mediatized, some are recognized only by a single friendship group or family. Some registers are highly standardized, others not. The ascriptions of values to linguistic styles can be more or less explicit, and be born by large or small communities of language users. Communities can be more or less specialized or close to larger or smaller power centres, and media also affect processes of enregisterment. However, regardless of the size of their social domain and of the degree of standardization registers that are used in processes of identification and communication are principally in a constant state of emergence. They are 'open', permeable, and unstable, as single signs are grouped, re-grouped, and assigned with new meaning. Registers may even go out of use. Also, there is probably some connection between the entrenchment, codification and standardization of a register and its trajectory and speed of change. We may assume that the less standardized, the more open and unpredictable the process.

Changes result from different types of processes and from processes on different scales (Wortham 2012), and an important source of divergence, and potentially of change, is that individuals' different trajectories of socialization may influence the understanding and re-enactment of a register (Wortham 2005, 2012). Individuals also exhibit different degrees of competence and legitimacy in register usage. Some are recognized as expert-authorities, others as legitimate users, but novices, and some are illegitimate and inauthentic users altogether. In sum, one register label may be associated with quite different elements when studied over time or from the perspective of different individuals, and it is an empirical question if, how, and to what degree social actors share understandings, knowledge of, competence and legitimacy in the use of signs indexing registers. Agha refers to such part-overlaps as *fractional congruency* (Agha 2007a: 97). Fractional congruency opens for the creation of social boundaries within society, and people's continuous assessments of interactional conduct in social encounters draws on the *meta-pragmatic* knowledge of such divisions. Thereby uses of semiotic signs in situated encounters "form a sketch of the social

occasion in which they occur" (Agha 2007: 15) and we construe social relations and social groups as effects of their occurrence. The metapragmatic classification of discourse types links linguistic registers to typifications of actors ('boy', 'good student', 'street-wise', Arabic), role relationships (peer group, student-teacher), participation frameworks, genres and types conduct (play, transgression, school). Thereby the individual's register range equips him or her with portable emblems of identity (Agha 2007a: 146).

2.3 Socialization and identification[3]

The framework of Language Socialization combines the focus on language with a focus on children and change. This was originally defined as the study of the role of language in children's socio-cultural development (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012: 1) as well as of language as an important target for socialization (Schieffelin 1990: 14);[4] socialization through the use of language and to the use of language, as it was formulated (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996:252). Language Socialization countered a dominant Chomskyan decontextualized approach to language acquisition with accounts of the formation of communicatively competent language users and culturally competent participants who were situated in time and space (Heath 1983; Hymes 1972b; Ochs & Schieffelin 1994). Language socialization, as a process, is not regarded as teleological and does not mean the gradual approximation towards a – or *the* – linguistic Standard; all language users get acquainted with different norms and registers (e.g., Duranti 1994; Kyratzis, Reynolds & Evaldsson 2010; Ochs 1988). Also, culture, linguistic norms and groups are not static, and it is highly important to describe trajectories in more indeterminate space, characterized more by flux and mobility, where experts and novices are identity roles that need to be defined relative to particular events, event types, practices and communicative acts. Thereby language socialization involves a constant and creative struggle between continuity and transformation (cf. Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002).

Language socialization has often concentrated on recurrent types of events but as pointed out by Wortham (2005) this "would be to miss the indeterminacies and complexities of how individuals move across specific trajectories and how events in a trajectory are linked." (Wortham 2005: 97). The observation of the exceptional should be considered in interplay with the observation of the recurrent, as both may offer important perspectives on the process of

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[3] This section draws on Karrebæk (Forthc.)

[4] Over the years the Language Socialization framework has expanded its area, and today children as socializing agents (e.g., Kyratzis 2004; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007), adult novices, trajectories of socialization into non-standard or deviant subjects and subject behaviour (e.g., Capps & Ochs 1995; Karrebæk 2011a; Kulick & Schieffelin 2004, Ochs & Schieffelin 2012) are all among the central research foci.

socialization and as both contribute to the trajectories of socialization, although in different ways. For sure, utterances may be evanescent but "things that last for seconds can have effects that last for years" (Agha 2007: 2). In addition, the usual and unusual trajectories and patterns are also relevant to consider in relation to individuals. "(S)ome individuals follow atypical paths to the usual ends, while others do not get socialized into the usual behaviors and identities at all." (Wortham 2005: 99) Wortham (2005) suggests that we acknowledge the principled indeterminacy of the communicative encounter. This is only gradually (and never fully) overcome as participants work to establish coherence, and through this, they establish (and create) context. Last, he suggests that in addition to socialization into speech types, genres, grammatical competence we also look at the solidification of particular identities over time: "Socialization happens, and social identities emerge, across several events as subsequent ones come to presuppose an identity for an individual." (Wortham 2005: 98). Wortham (2005, 2006) is interested in social identity as a (semiotic) process (compare also Blommaert 2005; Eckert 1989, and numerous others). It is not something we *have*, but something we also *construct* along the way in communicative situations and action. Identity is created on the basis of a repertoire of available semiotic resources which the individual has access to or is associated with. Which ones that are made relevant depend on the particular situation, the aim of the communicative act, etc. Furthermore identity is what we 'give off' as well as what we offer (i.e. perform and produce) more intentionally. We do not control all perceivable signs, and we may not even be aware of how our appearance and behaviour can be read as (indexical) signs. Also, it comprises both what we produce in the moment and what we bring along, both what we intentionally suggest to others to take up, and what others ascribe to us. The accomplishment of identity is never finished but always in the making and an object of negotiation, and acts of identification depend on their uptake, possible recognition - or maybe rejection. From this perspective (social) identity is to be seen as a process – *identification* – rather than a one-shot accomplishment.

3 (Dis)Identifications, (layered) simultaneity and registers of language

In this section I present three short illustrations of children's linguistic lives in Copenhagen. In all three cases, socialization, mobility, enregisterment and (dis)identification are central themes. Thus, we are going to engage with "identity formation processes among individuals who either physically travel or ideologically straddle geopolitical borders and boundaries" (Baquedano-Lopez & Figuera

2011). We are also going to engage with processes of linguistic enregisterment and with linguistic ideologies.

3.1 Tommy the Arab

The first excerpt comes from a group conversation among four 6-year-old school starters who attended the same class. They had been placed in a room by a researcher who had given them the task to do a "birthday drawing" together. (When somebody in their class had his or her birthday the entire class would make one drawing each for them.) Incidentally all four had non-immigrant background.

Spring 2011; audio-recording.
Participants: Tommy (boy), Konrad (boy), Michelle (girl), Ella (girl).

01	Mih:	fuck (.) ☺undskyld☺	*fuck (.) ☺sorry☺*
02		(.)	*(.)*
03	Kon:	NÅ NU KA NU KA DEN	*WELL NOW IT ((the recorder))*
04		HØRE DET (.) den har	*CAN NOW IT CAN HEAR IT ((the*
05		lige hørt det	*utterance)) (.) it ((the*
06			*recorder)) has just heard it*
07			*((it = Michelle's exclamation))*
08	Tmy:	nu har den optaget det	*now it has recorded it*
09	Kon:	hehe[he	*hehe[he*
10	Mih:	[(håhå)und↑skyld	*[so(hoho)↑rry (.) hh it*
11		(.) hh det var ik min	*wasn't my intention that (thing)*
12		mening det der	
13	Tmy:	å: fucking l:ort (.)	*o:h fucking sh:it (.) IH[III (.)*
14		IH[IIII (.) hi]hihi	*hihihi*
15	Mih:	[Tommy (.) hva	*[Tommy*
16		lav:er [law:er] du]	*what are you do:ing*
17	Mih:	har du din øh kx[xx	*have you your eh kh[xxx*
18	Kon:	[ER DU	*[ARE YOU*
19		ARABER?	*AN ARAB*
20		(.)	*(.)*
21	Mih:	nej:h	*no:h*
22	Kon:	jahahaha[ha	*jahahaha[ha*
23	Tmy:	[mjeg er	*[mI am an Arab*
		araber	
24		(.)	*(.)*
25	Kon:	nhihi	*nhihi*
26	Mih:	hva rager det dig	*it's none of your business*
27	Tmy:	♪demundisundi:♪	*♪demundisundi:♪*
28	Kon:	i arabere [de	*you / in Arab [they*
29	Tmy:	[KHABAKHALÆ	*[KHABAKHALÆ*
30		[xɑbɑxɑle̞] (.) jeg	*[xɑbɑxɑle̞] (.) I say khabakhalæ*
31		sir khabakhalæ	*[xɑbɑxɑle̞] that means ☺tha:t*
32		[xɑbɑxɑle̞] det	*shh: [(.) s: it] means that >s h*

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33              betyder ☺de:n lh: [(.)  │ i t<☺
34              l: det] betyder det >l
                o r t<☺
35  Mih:                    [hehe]      │ [hehe]
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Michelle exclaims "fuck" but quickly excuses herself while giggling. In this way she shows both to be aware that the kids are placed in a context (school) where certain words (such as *fuck*) are not appreciated and that she is among other kids, a particular social community with very different norms of behaviour and authoritative centres. Michelle's transgressive linguistic act is responded to immediately as such – transgression – and it is pointed out that it is being recorded. Also, as a reaction to Michelle's use of a swear word, "fuck", she is asked by Konrad whether she is an Arab. Somehow there seems to be an association between linguistic transgressive acts and the categories of Arabs. Michelle refuses this but after an upgrade of Michelle's transgression, Tommy responds by claiming that he is exactly that, an Arab (line 23). After some language play, Tommy presents the others with a lexical item *khabakhalæ* which he translates as shit, but makes this clear by spelling the word. He thereby stays within the same keying as Michelle – transgression, fun, orients to the same normative centres (showing awareness of the transgression of school norms by spelling rather than saying out loud what *khabakhalæ* supposedly means), and deploys a term equivalent in pragmatic value to Michelle's *fuck*.

However, there is also a great deal of difference between Michelle and Tommy's language use. *Fuck* and *khabakhalæ* differ on (some) of their indexical value and association with style, languages or registers, and this has in fact been indicated by Tommy already. Tommy is identifying as an Arab, explicitly, and now we may assume with some reason that *khabakhalæ* is associated with this identity, that is, it is treated as Arabic. Notice however that *khabakhalæ* is not standard Arabic, but its resemblance to Arabic *khara* 'shit' is most surely non-coincidental. Notice also that Tommy implicitly suggests that the others don't know this word, and they grant him the expertise to translate. I suggest that they do this because he is the "Arab".

So, to sum up this example illustrates how a white boy of ethnic Danish background deploys linguistic resources associated with other languages than Danish alongside linguistic resources associated with Danish in an interaction among other children of ethnic Danish background, and that he does so to identify as an Arab, as well as a cool, smart, maybe even street-wise kid. These identifications work together and confirm or consolidate each other in fact.[5]

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[5] For more in-depth analysis, see Karrebæk (forthc.).

3.2 Selda the magician-clown

A team of researchers have followed the cohort of school children that Tommy belongs to (see Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller forthc.). Here I will turn to a recording from their 3rd grade. This time the recording comes from a situation where all 3rd graders (app. 70) are gathered to perform for each other in what was labelled a 'circus'. The ringmaster presents Selda, who is wearing the audio-recorder, as the next on the floor. Selda is of Turkish descent and attends Turkish mother tongue classes. She is rather good in school and speaks Danish in a way that bears no trace of her immigrant background. Incidentally three researchers are present.

Spring 2014; audio-recording

Participants: Selda (Turkish descent), all other 3rd graders (=audience, AUD), their teachers, three researchers (Lian Madsen, Thomas Nørreby, Birte Dreier)

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01 RNU:    det næste er Selda der skal vise os sin tryllekunst
           the next is Selda who is going to show us her magic trick
02 AUD:    applause
03 SLD:    ui jeg kom fra Tjyrki∘et↑ (0.7) ((sætter sig ned)) de:t må jeg
           ui I came from Turkey (0.7) ((sits down)) I just have to
04         lige sige tje jer↑ (1.2) ((tager sin rygsæk)) og nu ska jeg
           tell you tha:t (1.2)((takes her bag)) and now I am going to
05         vise jer en tryllekuo nst↓ (3.3) ((begynder at tage ting ud af
           show you a magic trick (3.3)((takes items out of the
06         rygsækken)) nej det er ik den∘ (2.7) ((flere ting)) slet ik
           bag)) no it isn't that one (2.7) ((more items)) not at all
07         den∘ (2.0) slet ik (1.3) nattjøj
           that one (2.0) not at all (1.3) pyjamas
…
34 SLD:    ø:h jeg vil gerne ha: dig med bonushår (1.8) undskyld (3.8)
           e:h I want you with the bonus hair (1.8) sorry (3.8)
35         ((en dreng fra en anden klasse kommer frem))
           ((a boy from one of the other classes comes forward))
36         jeg kan ik finde ud af dansk så: jeg tjaler lidt mærkeligt
           I can't work out Danish so: I speak a litte strange
37         (1.3) du må kun prøve det én gang↑ (0.7) eller så dræber jeg
           (1.3) you can only try it once (0.7) or else I'll kill
38         dig↓ ligesom hende der↓
           you like her
39 AUD:    laughing
40 SLD:    han der↓ (.) tja den tja den (1.7) tja den med tjo hænder
           he there (.) take it takeit (1.7) take it with two hands
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Selda is doing magic tricks and accompanying her non-linguistic actions with a linguistic performance. This certainly invites the evaluation of her use of language features (form) by her audience (Bauman 2011; Bell & Gibson 2011; Coupland 2011). She identifies explicitly as a Turkish immigrant and she represents this persona as incompetent, aggressive, and ridiculous. This is accomplished through her inability to locate props in the bag (instead she finds irrelevant and foolish objects such as a pyjama), threatening her helpers in an exaggerated way ("or else I'll kill you") if they fail to living up to directions, and using non-standard pronunciation features. These are not part of her habitual repertoire and we can thereby see her as stylizing the Turkish immigrant. Among the non-standard features used the most striking is [tj] for written t (rather than standard [t^s] or [d]), but she also has very few of the standard glottal stops, and an exaggerated and deviant prosody with remarkably strong final raise in many of her turns. She characterizes this as a failure to speak proper Danish ("I can't figure out Danish") and (therefore) speaking "a little strange". In terms of the indexicalities, this way of speaking may point in different directions. Selda's use of [tj] could point to immigrant versions of Danish ("accented Danish") but also to the youth style spoken widely by pupils at her school and in her neighbourhood. The phrase "or else I'll kill you" could be associated with the stereotype of the young, maybe un-integrated, aggressive minority Danes rather than a (new) Turkish immigrant. In any case, this contrasts with the school as a normative centre where violence, even in words, is prohibited and very inappropriate. The act is clearly meant to be humorous, and Selda receives a lot of appreciative laughter from her classmates. She may have invited this laughter for a number of reasons: because she performs a persona who is so different from her usual self; because of her use of the particular linguistic features (of which some are certainly well-known and even used by some of the other children); or because she does not orient to the usual, default school norms. Selda's classmates probably differ in terms of what reason is the most important.

One of the researchers, Thomas Nørreby, was also present when the teachers reflected on the circus event with the children. The following is from his fieldnotes. "Jørgen [a teacher; MSK] praises Selda and asks her how she got the idea for the Turkish accent. Selda replies: "It's because yesterday I saw a man who couldn't speak Danish" (end of quote from the fieldnotes). Jørgen seems to associate the 'bad Danish' performed by Selda with Danish with a Turkish accent, probably because Selda claimed that she had just arrived from Turkey. Moreover, as Nørreby notes, this Danish with a (supposedly) Turkish accent seems to constitute non-Danish to Selda. According to Nørreby, the other teacher also praises Selda and says: "It was good that you had such a clear

voice – even though you were supposed to sound as if you spoke poor Danish". None of teachers mentions the fact that Selda was doing a parody, and that it was a parody of a stereotype with whom she and other of her classmates would often be associated or identified. So, while this was a humorous performance with the aim of entertaining the other children, by identifying as a Turk with poor Danish skills, Selda's magical trick constitutes an act of *disidentification* and *disalignment* with (some) Turks.

3.3 Arash and the Arabs

The third example comes from a Farsi (mother tongue) classroom. The broader sociolinguistic and linguistic ideological area is purification and 'pure' language. As all other registers of language, what is usually labelled Farsi consists of linguistic resources with a variety of origins. In particular, a lot of lexical items are borrowed from Arabic. These have been the object of negative attention, and there is a long history of language purification, beginning with the Reza Shah in the early 19th century, and continuing. The reasons for purification are probably numerous – as are the meanings associated with what is recognized as both pure and impure linguistic features, which here are words with or without Arabic origin. But in this context, the "Arabic" items seem to index a non-independent Iran, and for some Iranians also Arabic influences which for one reason or the other are unwanted. Ghandchi functioned as an assistant teacher in the Farsi classrooms, and here she is working with two of the oldest pupils on vocabulary and idioms in a text on Michelangelo. The title contains a 'pure Farsi' word coined by the language academy: *peykartarâsh* 'sculptor'. Arash is unacquainted with this, whereas he is familiar with the more commonly used *modjassame* which has Arabic origin.

Participants: Narges Ghandchi (NG; researcher), Arash (ARS; student 16 years old)

```
11 NG:     vali peykare yani (.) djâyi beshnavi yani modjassame in kalame
12         arabiye (.) az arabi gerefte shode
           but peykare means (.) if you hear it somewhere means statue
           this word is Arabic (.) is taken from  Arabic ((i.e.
           modjassame))
13 ARS:    argh ((choking sound))
14 NG:     in kalame fârsiye
           this word is Farsi ((i.e., peykare))
15 ARS:    uhum
16 NG:     vali dotâsh fârsiye (.) yani tu fârsi estefâde mikonim montâhâ
17         lâneord hast
           but both are Farsi (.) means in Farsi we use them both but
           ((the first one)) is a loan_word_Da
18 ARS:    âre vali arabi dige dust nadâram
```

```
            yeah but I don't like the Arabic ((one))
19          (.)
20 NG:      cherâ arabi dust nadâri
            why don't you like the Arabic ((one))
21          (1)
22 ARS:     barâyenke omadan Iran (.) goftan ke (.) mâ dige mosalmun hastim
            because they came to Iran (.) and said (.) we ((i.e., the
            Iranians)) are now Muslims
23 NG:      âhâ
            aha
24 ARS:     madjburemun kardan
            they forced us
```

When explaining the meaning of *peykartarâsh* and the difference to *modjassame* to Arash Ghandchi pursues an academic line and takes a sociolinguistic perspective. She says that both word forms can be considered Farsi as they are both used in Farsi. Arash at first demonstrates surprise and disgust – it sounds as if he is choking on something gross – and then he exchanges his normal academic interest in Farsi for an emotional approach: 'I don't like the Arabic (ones)' (l. 18), that is, he doesn't like the word(s) of Arabic origin. He accounts for this sudden stance shift and dispreference by referring to the Arabic invasion of Persia (AD 651) during which, according to him, all Persians were forced to choose between death or Islam (l. 22, 24). And so, because *modjassame* has now been related to the Arabic language, to Arash it is also associated with Arabs, it has come to signify oppression and Islam, and hence it is not to be used.[6]

3.4 Summing up on the illustrations

These three illustrations all feature children who are born and live in Copenhagen. Yet their lives are fundamentally affected by mobility, although in different ways and with very different consequences. All the illustrations also demonstrate the children's a metalinguistic – or metapragmatic – reflexivity, that is, the level of understanding that concerns the use of language and is expressed through language; we have for instance the association of Arabic words with a specific cultural stereotype labelled Arabs, and the use of accented Danish associated with a stereotype of a Turkish immigrant (or is it the use of youth language which is associated with children of other ethnic backgrounds than Danish?). We also have a particular evaluation of the way of speaking, as good or bad, useable or unmentionable. These associations point to processes of enregisterment, too, as form features are used to point to different stereotypes. The registers of speech may well be incipient, they may be underdetermined or ambiguous. For instance, is Tommy

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[6] For in-depth analysis see Karrebæk & Ghandchi (2015).

really speaking what most people call Arabic, or is he indexing the widespread youth vernacular which carries many of the associations that he indexes? And is Selma speaking accented Danish, youth vernacular or Turkish Danish[7]? Here however they are recognized, thereby shared, at least to some degree, and they succeed communicatively.

Among other things the examples demonstrate how "language ideologies and discursive categorizations – of others as well as of self – have a decisive impact on linguistic repertoires." (Busch 2015: 7). All three cases involve processes and acts of (dis)identification – Tommy is an Arab; Selda is not the Turkish immigrant; Arash (and his family – who is the source of his apparent dislike of Arabs; he later says that in fact he does not really care) differ from some other Iranians who blindly accept the use of 'Arabic' words. These identifications go somewhat against received associations between categories such as Dane and Turk, and the involved children's ethnicity, birthplace and country of origin. Selda and Arash' cases are similar as they illustrate how a child's heritage background may not be easy to embrace. In Arash' case we see that political matters cannot be excluded from classrooms, and that children reflect on them. What it means to be Iranian is certainly not treated as a shared and indisputable understanding in this classroom, except for it involving speaking Farsi, Persian or Iranian. Yet even linguistic competence in the supposed mother tongue is a complex matter; even apparently insignificant details in language (which the language user may not be aware of before being made so) point to large socio-historical and ideological differences, as I will show later. In any case, in this as well as in the other cases, we observe the existence of simultaneous norm centres and the children's recognition of their multiple possibilities of identification.

The examples point to the fact that "someone's linguistic repertoire reflects a life, and not just birth, and it is a life that is lived in a real sociocultural, historical and political space" (Blommaert 2008: 17; see also Blommaert & Backus 2011). In general we can't predict or know in advance how linguistic resources, individuals, activities and settings are related (cp. Blommaert & Rampton 2011). We can't accept received notions of group identities, standard languages, and speakers of them (Perez-Milans 2015: 6). Instead, in order to make theoretical sense of what we meet in the world, we can take a principled starting point in people's – here that is our research participants' – own understandings of their lives, their local and momentary experiences, the speech chains (Agha 2003), and trajectories (Wortham 2006), and thus, how lives unfold over time. We will also need to take seriously the small and large scale socio-political contexts in relation to which

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[7] Notice that Selda's imitation of 'immigrant Danish' lacked one of the most common features of this register, namely the word order Subject V$_{[finite]}$ in main clauses also with a pre-subject constituent.

lives are lived and expressed. Otherwise we will not come to understand the new social structures, how they differ from former structures, and how they differ from those received notions and associations between categories that we are currently breaking up academically. In other words, otherwise otherwise we will not understand the world as it is, and not as it was, or as it was imagined to be. Compare here Hymes' formulation of the general aim of (socio-/anthropological) linguistics which is: "to explain the meaning of language in human life, and not in the abstract, not in the superficial phrases one may encounter in essays and textbooks, but in the concrete, in actual human lives" (Hymes 1972b: 41).

4 Mother Tongue Education in the Superdiverse Metropolis of Copenhagen[8]

This section concentrates on the field of mother tongue education (henceforth MTE) in a Danish/Copenhagen context, as studied by a team of researchers over the past 2½ years. The sections prior to this also dealt with the field explored by the project, but here we shall dwell more on particular specificities of Danish MTE. This area represents an intriguing 'layered simultaneity' in terms of linguistic ideologies and norms. By this I mean that in MT classes, a generally pervasive monolingual norm and linguistic hegemony with Danish as all-dominant is temporally substituted, overlaid or supplemented by a different linguistic order, as the base language is something else than Danish. The question is what norms and orders are practiced, how they are promoted by teachers and oriented to by children, and how, why and if children identify as 'mother tongue speakers' and legitimate or even obligatory participants here. We continue to look at that.

4.1 Societal context

Immigrant background children typically have parents whose main means of communication (first language or mother tongue) is not Danish. In the public discourse, in particular on education, these children are often referred to as *tosprogede børn* 'bilingual children' (see also Nørreby Forthc.). The label 'bilingual' applies regardless of the children's competences in any linguistic repertoire they have access to. Also, it is not used to describe children who have grown up in households with one native speaker of Danish as a parent. The term is defined in the Educational Act as children with a different mother tongue than Danish who only get access to (or: 'learn', as it says) Danish through contact with larger society, in preschool, kindergarten, school etc. (Undervisningsministeriet 'Ministry of Education' 2003). In this way *tosproget (barn)* 'bilingual

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[8] This section builds on Karrebæk (Ms.)

(child)' has been usurped by the Central Administration and become a legally defined, rather than linguistically or academically meaningful, term. In addition, 'bilingual (child)' seems to have particular indexical meanings in the most general use of it, as it is generally used to characterize children with Middle-Eastern, North African or Asian background; children whose home languages include recognized EU languages are (more often than not) erased (Gal & Irvine 1995). Also, as already suggested, there seems to be a tendency to use 'bilingual' as almost self-explanatory when treating educational failure, or at least to use this in discourses on the demise or challenges of the public school system. It is 'bilingual' children's access to more than one 'language' which is taken to be fundamentally implicated in their educational failure. This causality is argued to reside in different relations, but overall we find two models of understanding circulated in the media. Either (non-elite) multilingualism is regarded as societally superfluous and detrimental to the individual's acquisition of Danish (culture as well as language) or the educational failure is regarded as due to the lack of interest in the bi- (or multi-) lingualism of these children which therefore remains un(der)-developed and educationally un-recognized (Holmen 2009; Holmen & Jørgensen 2000, 2010; Kristjansdottir & Timm 2007). This was also put forward in an OECD report (Nusche et al. 2010; see also Karrebæk 2013). I return to this.

4.2 The regulation of Mother Tongue Education

Outside of the modern foreign language section children's non-Danish linguistic resources are in focus in one educational context: Mother tongue education. MTE is offered to linguistic minority students as a supplement to compulsory education, but there are two legislative preconditions in order to be eligible for publically funded MTE: The child should speak a different language than Danish at home, and it should to be the language of (one or both of) its parents. In case the child's parents speak two different languages, none of which is Danish, one has to be selected as the mother tongue. In this sense, and similarly to *tosproget* 'bilingual', *modersmål* 'mother tongue' has a particular institutionalized, administrative and legal meaning. It also has a range of different interesting indexicalities, depending on who it is applied to, when and where, but it would lead too far to engage with this aspect.

　　　Due to international (EU) obligations there are different possibilities with regard to MTE for different types of minority language childrens. For children of EU or EØS migrants (or who come from the Faeroe Islands or Greenland), and who speak official EU (and EØS, etc.) languages, MTE is an obligatory offer. In these cases, it is financed by the Danish state. Children

without EU background and who do not speak official EU languages, are not entitled to free MTE. A few municipalities have chosen to offer MTE to students who come from a wider range of linguistic backgrounds. Copenhagen is such a municipality, and in the school year of 2014-2015 MTE was offered in Albanian, Arabic, Dari, English, Farsi, Finnish, French, Faroese, Greek, Icelandic, Italian, Chinese, Kurdish, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Somali, Spanish, Swedish, Tigrinya, Turkish, Urdu and Vietnamese.[9] Children from these linguistic backgrounds can receive MTE up to 5th grade paid by the municipality. After 5th grade it is possible to set up (partly) fee financed classes upon request (but in reality there were no such classes in 2014-15). In municipalities where there is no such free offer, parents can request that MTE classes are set up. If there is a sufficient demand (+5 children), and that it is possible to find a qualified teacher, the municipality will do this. MTE will then be offered within the public system but it will be financed through user fees. In addition to these public offers an unknown number of private ("complementary") language classes are organized by cultural and religious organizations, embassies, etc. Also, a couple of schools have more experimental programs where the children's linguistic resources are incorporated into the general curriculum. This goes for instance for the classes documented by the research project Signs of Language, carried out by a team under the leadership of Helle Pia Laursen (see Laursen 2014). In general all these educational endeavors are referred to as 'Mother Tongue Education' as this label has become nationally institutionalized. (see also Daugaard 2015 for a comparable study from a different part of the country.)

4.3 Mother tongue education in Denmark: Aims and structure

Danish MTE has a chequered history, but it has been included in the same educational legislation, formulated and managed by the Ministry of Education, as ordinary schooling since the mid-70's (Kristjánsdóttir & Timm 2007). According to the preamble in the guidelines ("Fælles Mål" 'Common Aims), MTE aims to ensure students' linguistic competences in their mother tongue as well as their cultural and societal competences with respect to what is regarded as their country of origin. MTE should facilitate the development of metalinguistic insight, strategies and skills and support the children's general school and societal participation in the 'host country', i.e., Denmark. In addition, MTE has as a goal that it should encourage the students to have a global perspective on language and culture:

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[9] This information comes from the municipality website. It is not specified what kind of Chinese is taught.

The aim of mother tongue education is that the students acquire competences and skills in order to become capable of understanding the spoken and written language and of expressing themselves in speaking and writing. Simultaneously the instruction will develop the students' linguistic consciousness with a starting point in the understanding that they use two languages in their everyday life

Part 2.

The instruction will contribute to the enhancement of the students' wish to work with language and culture in a global perspective.

Part 3.

The instruction will contribute to the development of the students' prerequisites for participating actively in school and societal life as well as prepare them for further education. The instruction will give the students' insight into the culture and society of the country of origin, among other things in order to ease the students' possible return to this country.

(Ministry of Education 2009: 3; translation by MSK)

Interestingly the Common Aims are not reflected very clearly by the teachers and municipal administrator whom we interviewed. Part 3 contains the following passage: "The instruction will contribute to the development of the students' prerequisites for participating actively in school and societal life as well as prepare them for further education." This may be what lead to the interpretation that MTE should further the students' acquisition of Danish. Part 3 also refers to the children's "country of orign". Not surprisingly this does not refer to Denmark despite the fact that many of the children are born in Denmark. The country of origin is not the country of birth as it is clear from the part of the text where it states that MTE should ease their possible return to the country of origin.

Although the publically financed MTE is regulated by the Ministry of Education, in Copenhagen it is generally marginalized institutionally. Children receive two-three hours once or twice a week. Classes take place after compulsory classes, or on Saturdays, thereby competing with leisure activities such as sports, afterschool clubs, playing or hanging out with friends. The classes usually include children from different grades – 1st (6-8 y) through 5th (10-12y), although it is

recommended that there is no more than three years of class difference. In the privately organized MTE the age span may be even greater. The teachers are often poorly integrated in the staff at the schools, and they may even travel from school to school. Also, teachers are not entitled to any supplementary education or upgrading. There is no quality control of the educational endeavor, nor of the initial level of the students or their accomplishments. Clearly it is not straightforward how the teachers could coordinate the MTE with the children's ordinary classes, should they wish to do so.

Children, teachers and parents' relations to a 'country of origin' and to an alleged 'mother tongue' vary greatly, both in terms of linguistic competences, trajectories of socialization, identification, and social relations. Many children are born in Denmark, some have moved to Denmark in early childhood, and others are newcomers. Some live in families that expect to return to the parents' home countries, others are not inclined to do so. Some children speak their parents' language fluently, some are more hesitant speakers, and some understand it but do not have any speaking competences. As a consequence, although the meaning and meaningfulness of the term 'Mother tongue' is often taken for granted, at least outside of academia, MT classes show that the institutional assignment of the children to a category of 'mother tongue speakers' certainly does not guarantee any homogeneity in their linguistic repertoires.

It is recommended that the language taught is the mother tongue of the teacher, or that they have teaching competences in it. In our case three of the teachers were actually originally speakers of Kurdish and learned the language they teach upon entering school themselves. All teachers were trained as teachers in their home countries (Turkey, Iran, Iraq), and some have followed teacher training in Denmark, too.

4.4 Media borne understandings of MTE

MTE is generally lacking social recognition. It constitutes a stark contrast to the otherwise dominant monolingual language ideology. This may also be the reason why MTE brings forward the strongest responses and the most clear understandings of and attitudes towards societal multilingualism, 'bilingual' children's resources, and the main challenges of the educational system. From searches on the largest national newspapers over the past 10 years I have identified three common themes in the public debates on MTE, namely Integration; Globalization and economic benefits; and General educational effect (on Danish).

Integration

In public debates on MTE, language choice and use is deployed as an icon of (degree of) integration; thus the well-integrated immigrant speaks Danish and Danish only. In extension, the support of other languages than Danish will prevent immigrants from becoming integrated. Multi-culturalism and the acceptance of such other languages (which most normally do not include large European languages such as English, French, German or Spanish) is constructed as detrimental and tightly connected to linguistic issues; two quotes will exemplify this. The first is an ironic statement:

> "The Party of Promotion of Segregation, Sharia and Parallel Societies - in the vernacular called *De Radikale* 'Denmark's Social Liberal Party' [their own translation; MSK] – wants to aid the capital in becoming 'more diverse (read: Islamic). **Among other things by working for 'mother tongue education', that is, Arabic, new-Danish pupils in the public school.** There is nothing to add to this except that it is very unambitious. Because in this way you do not get solved all the problems with the immigrants who are letting themselves getting integrated into the Danish culture. And it is not at all sufficient to strengthening the rapidly growing parallel communities." (Selsing; Berlingske; 26-05-2014)

The second is a quote from the then draftsman for integrational issues by Dansk Folkeparti, which is most well-known for its immigrant hostile politics:

> "It is important that immigrant children get a Danish social circle and a natural attachment to the Danish language. Danish needs to be their first language rather than their second language" (Martin Henriksen; BT; 03-04-2014)

Globalization and neo-liberalism
In terms of globalization the argument has two parts. 1) The possibility of isolating Denmark; 2) the potential economic gain from having specific linguistic competences. This is supported by the Confederation of Danish Industry and the Danish Teachers' Association:

> "It is a good idea to introduce Arabic as a test language in the public school, because it is a world language, and because 280 millions Arabic speaking people border the EU. With Arabic we can interact more with the worl, export more, and in that way become a stronger society. In addition we have a significant Arabic speaking minority

in Denmark who has good preconditions for getting their Arabic competences strengthened." (Tommy Petersen, child- and youth draftsman for Denmark's Social Liberal Party; BT; 23-05-2014).

The leader of the Conservative Party in the municipality of Copenhagen disagrees with Denmark's Social Liberal Party:

> "Debate: No, Arabic is anti-integration. It is not evident that you should teach Arabic. Arabic is pretty far down on the list of the linguistic competences that we need in Denmark, I'd say. There are many other languages which are more important, if you are to extend the choice of the second foreign language beyond French and German." (Rasmus Jarlov; BT; 23-05-2014)

Effect

Language skills and (language) education are the most frequent and central elements in discussions on MTE. Two lines of argumentation dominate. One concerns that it is time wasted educationally when the children speak Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, etc. This is allegedly because these languages do not contribute to the pupils' Danish competences, and the Danish competence is the highest valued competence within the educational system (see also Holmen 2009).

> "The Pisa numbers also covered up a pedagogical failure that is caused by a hodge-podge of misguided education, which over-focused on the immigrant children's ethnicity, mother tongue education, which is an administrative term for prioritizing the language that the children will not need in Denmark..." (Kristelig Dagblad; editorial column; 04-04-2014)

On the other hand, professor from University of Copenhagen Anne Holmen claims that if you have good mother tongue skills, this will make the acquisition of other languages easier – as the more languages you know, the easier it will be to acquire new ones:

> "The more languages you learn, the better you become at languages… It is not about choosing between the languages, but about bilinguals needing to exploit all of their languages, and that the mother tongue is a way to better Danish competence and to

better school competences." (Holmen; cited in the Danish Radio 26/1 2013; from their website)

The most left-wing party represented in parliament *Enhedslisten* claims to draw on research in their support of mother tongue education:

> "We know that bilinguals get better in Danish and maths if they receive mother tongue education, research shows that." (Rosa Lund; educational draftsman for Enhedslisten; BT 03-04-2014)

The most frequent source cited as 'research' by defendants of Mother Tongue Education is a large US report (Thomas & Collier 2002) that concluded (among other things) that Spanish speaking minority students would perform significantly better if they followed bilingual (Spanish-English) instruction in 4-7 years. This situation of course differs tremendously from the object of discussion in Denmark – where mother tongue tuition is an afterschool activity with very few hours of instruction. A large Swedish study concluded a positive effect on grades for students who had attended MTE, whereas in Denmark, a neighboring and very similar country, an equal effect could not be found. In response to this surprising difference, the (then) Minister of Education launched a large project to investigate the effects of MTE on Danish and science.

> "They lack some concepts in Danish, and we are going to investigate if they become better when we include their original languages." (Ulla Tørnæs, Minister of Education; cited in the Danish Radio 26/1 2013)

However, it is most interesting that both supporters and opponents of MTE are represented as sharing the understanding that the teaching of MT should be evaluated in terms of its effect on the children's Danish competences. (Notice that I do not claim this to be what all people cited actually mean; this is merely how public media presents it.)

4.4 Local understandings of MTE

We have interviewed six mother tongue teachers and a municipal employee in Copenhagen. In these interviews we also discussed the aims of MTE. Strikingly all agreed that MTE was supposed to support the general school results. Here the municipal employee:

Audio-recording; Spring 2015
Participants: Juni Arnfast (Researcher), Martha Sif Karrebæk (Researcher), Mun (Munipal employee)

```
01 Mun:   Argumentet kan man sige fra forvaltningen fra o- altså for at
02        fjerne er jo at det er usikkert hvorvidt det hjælper eller ej
          the argument from the administration from o- that is for
          withdrawal is that it is unsure whether it helps or not
03 MSK:   men hjælper på hvad
          but helps on what
04        (.)
05 Mun:   ja på børnenes videre faglige resultater
          yes on the children's further academic results
06 MSK:   mm mh (.) det vil sige resultater i det almindelige
07        skolesystem?
          mm mh (.) that is results in the ordinary school system?
08 Mun:   i det almindelige skolesystem
          in the ordinary school system
09 MSK:   mm mh
10 Mun:   ja (.) og det er jo sådan (.) kan man sige  det faglige vi (.)
11        primært kigger på og ikke så meget hvorvidt (.) de kan snakke
12        med deres bedsteforældre eller hvad de nu kan bruge det til det
13        er mere (.) det rent faglige (.)
          yes (.) and it's the (.) can you say the academic we (.)
          primarily look at and not so much whether (.) they can talk
          with their grand parents or what they may be able to use it for
          it's more (.)the strictly academic
```

The administrator is strictly interested in the academic area, but the academic area here is confined to the general school results. Although Danish competences are not mentioned it is clear that MTE is conceptualized as a compensatory measure. The MTE teachers mirror this too:

Audio-recordings; 2013
Participants: Mehmet (ZGN; Turkish teacher), Martha Karrebæk (XMK; researcher), Anna (LAR; Arabic teacher)

```
ZGN:      … mother tongue education is supposed to support eh the
          ordinary eh school
XMK:      is that why you teach mother tongue (.) in order for it to help
          Danish
ZGN:      yes if you look at this mother tongue para (.) eh purpose
          paragraph it should help Danish …

LAR:      … because it helps so much when in particular when we speak
          Arabic and stuff like that it helps and it's good for the
          students  both for Arabic and Dani:sh
MSK:      mm
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LAR:       right so: we have mother tongue education it's not only 'cos
           they want to learn Arabic (.) it is also for strengthening
their      Danish
```

As mentioned MT classes take place after compulsory classes, with students form different grades, maybe from different schools, and with very different degrees of linguistic competence, there is no official evaluation of the accomplishments, the teachers are generally not integrated in the staff at the schools, not entitled to supplementary education, upgrading, or supervision which could secure a high educational standard. It is a rarely posed question how such an organization of MTE – with almost no connection between the ordinary classes and the mother tongue classes – should have any possibility of leading to increased competence in the general school system and in Danish.

4.5 The structure of the Copenhagen MTE project

Our questions to MTE differ from this effect-focused perspective. We have taken a practice orientation and we have been interested in understanding issues such as the following:

- What happens in Mother Tongue classes?
- What relations exist between participants, linguistic resources and classrooms?
- What ideologies [of language, culture, identity] are represented in classrooms?
- What are the relations between classrooms and other activities?
- Why are children, teachers and parents involved in this type of educational initiative?
- What does mother tongue mean in larger society?

The project has had four linguistic focal points, namely classes in Arabic (2; age graded classes), Farsi (2; in two different municipalities), Polish (2; two different parts of Copenhagen), Turkish (1). The Turkish and Arabic classes took place at the same school as we were doing fieldwork in prior to the, and some of the children who attended the classes we already focused on, were also taking MT classes. Turkish, Arabic and Polish were publically financed, whereas Farsi was privately organized. See Karrebæk et al. (2013) for more detailed description of the project.

4.6 An illustration: Pouria and the priests

I will end with an illustration from the mother tongue project, from the Farsi classroom. Among the many different angles I have chosen again to focus on processes of identification and

(dis)alignment, but also on issues that are rarely treated in relation to education, namely insecurity and securitization (for more in depth analysis and a different angle, please see Karrebæk & Ghandchi 2015, forthc.).

The situation is an exceptional event (in fact, the only one of its sort) where a father (who was in fact of Danish descent) is showing pictures and telling about a recent holiday in Iran in Farsi. He depicts a friendly and hospitable Iranian people and a country full of opportunities, but one of the children – Pouria – suddenly presents a rather different picture of the country:

Audio-recording; participants: Pouria (pupil), Parsa (pupil), Mehran (pupil), NG (Ghandchi), the rest of the class, MSK (Martha Sif Karrebæk), Mansour (the principal teacher), a couple of other mothers

```
27 Pouria:        hvis vi skal til Iran (.) så kommer far ikke med
                  if we travel to Iran (.) then dad won't be with us
28 NG:            hvad siger du
                  what do you say
29 Pouria:        hvis vi skal til Iran så kommer far ikke med
                  if we travel to Iran then Dad won't come with us
30 Parsa:         shu:t dig
                  shu:t you
31 NG:            nå nej (.) det er derfor ok
                  aha no that's why ok
32 Pouria:        fordi(hihi) så bliver han slået ihjel
                  beca(haha)use then he'll be killed
33               General laughter
34 Parsa:         å:h ne:j
                  o:h no:
35 Pouria:        jo:
                  oh yes
36 Parsa:         ne:j
                  no:
38 Mehran:        hvorfor gør han det
                  why will he be killed
39 Parsa:         jah (.) det spørger jeg faktisk også (1.0) bliver han
                  slået ihjel
                  yeah (.) I have the same question (1.0) will he be
                  killed
40 Pouria:        fordi han har
                  because he has
41 Mehran:        er han eftersøgt
                  is he wanted
42 Parsa:         er han eftersøgt (.) ee bliver sl eller er det en
                  are they after him (.) ee 'll be ki or is it a
43               gulerod der vil [gribe ham]
                  carrot who wants [to catch him]
44 Pouria:                       [er du klar hvor mange](.) er du
                                 [do you realize how many] (.) do you
45               klar hvor mange i Iran der hver dag bliver henrettet
```

	realize how many in Iran are executed every day
46	for at gå imod præsterne
	for going against the priests

Pouria exclaims that if his family travels to Iran, his father will not be able to join them – as he will be killed. Pouria accounts for this through the statement that in Iran the priests execute a number of people every single day because they oppose the priests. This constitutes a rather dramatic contrast to the picture painted by the father who is telling about his family's holiday. Interestingly, despite the serious content of Pouria's information, he receives appreciative laughter in response. The laughter may be invited by his own small laughter tokens; it may come because of the obvious contrast to the children's (rather comfortable middle-class) lives in and around Copenhagen, or it may be because everybody feels uneasy with Pouria's outburst. In fact, we know from our fieldwork that in these classrooms all topics that could index the contemporary political system of Iran were unmentionable (we return to this later). In any case, the example shows how 'Iranian' is not a homogeneous category at all, that the internal differences have potential serious consequences, and that this is made relevant in a Farsi classroom in Copenhagen. Rather than disidentification as such this example points to specific circumstances that complicates Pouria's relation with his family's country of origin and the place that he is assumed to share with the rest of the children in the mother tongue Farsi class. Ideological struggles of people with Iranian background are transported into a classroom in Copenhagen, and it reminds us that pedagogical choices need to be understood in the light of their political context (Uhlmann 2010: 306). MTE thereby offers something entirely different than a possibly increased Danish competence. It offers an opportunity to play with and investigate Iranian identities and ideologies – and this is a difficult task for both children and teachers. In this case we get a small glimpse into the fear and insecurities of the Iranian background individuals, voiced by a young boy. The sequence thereby both mirrors the boys own and the Copenhagen located, Iranian background people's struggle with complex meanings, interactions, and experiences, which build on their own life trajectories as well as on historical relations and narratives.

5 Language, mobility and growing up: Notes from the day and the concluding discussion
Although migration and mobility have been conceptualized as a problem within the Danish educational sector, change is historically a fact of life and society. The study of children is traditionally treated as a study of change-in-progress. One of the major insights provided by the so-

called 'New Sociology of Childhood' (James, Jenks & Prout 1998) was that children had been considered only as unfinished, and thus imperfect, human beings. They were "becoming" rather than "being". Instead, it was suggested to start taking seriously children's own agency, their ways of organizing their own worlds, their practices, and socio-structural positions. Children are also something in themselves and they may provide us with interesting perspectives and unique perspectives on society. In addition, we learn a great deal from focusing on children's everyday life conditions (Qvortrup 1999). Yet, I suggest that we also remember that children are *both* becoming and being. They are both individuals today, of a particular age and in a particular social category, but today's children are also tomorrow's adults. What we see happening to and affecting children will most surely have an impact on the future, and thus, research on children is to some extent research in the future and can therefore never be dismissed as without serious implications and no general import for society.

About 10% of pupils in the Danish (obligatory) educational system are of immigrant background, and in the capital, Copenhagen, the number is about a quarter of the student population (Danmarks Statistik 2014). Children of immigrant background succeed to a much lesser degree in the educational system than students (considered to be) of majority Danish background, as it has been documented several times over the recent years, most notably in a series of PISA reports (e.g., Egelund *et al.* 2011). From a societal perspective, this is a waste of money as well as of human resources. In fact, a great number of children are conceptualised as never becoming genuine contributors to society, and this causes other than educational worry too, including security and national cohesion. Mother tongue education is one institutionalized educational setting in which the official Denmark tries to take into account the particular linguistic backgrounds of children. This however is very controversial and the general public opinion seems to be summarized by professor in pedagogy Niels Egelund cited here: "mother tongue education is simply a waste of money." (DR.dk; 18/8 2012). It is also somehow paradoxical that this educational endeavor is generally supposed to support the children's Danish skills – but whether or not it works is object of polarized debates. Egelund, an oft-cited source, concludes that as the proof that mother tongue education works (works in terms of supporting the children's Danish skills) is so unsure, you should rather not offer it (DR.dk; 18/8 2012). The question of prioritizing public money is of course an important one. But one could wonder what would happen to these heated debates (of the legitimacy and whether or not MTE "work") if one conceptualized the aim of MTE differently – as for instance giving children the possibility of upgrading their skills in a heritage language or trying out different

positions associated with heritage identities; or even as upgrading the pool of (qualified) linguistic resources within the country.

In this paper I have tried to sketch the context and the discursive space established for the seminar on Language, mobility and growing up. I have added to this illustrations from a project on Mother Tongue Education in and around Copenhagen. The main point was to suggest an alternative to the societally widespread negative picture which takes into account newer sociolinguistic insights to "language, mobility and growing up." This is an endeavour to be continued.

MSK, Frederiksberg July 2015

6 References

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Appendix 1: Program from seminar "Language, mobility and growing up: Children in linguistically complex situations of socialization"

Date: June 24 2015
Time: 10-17:15
Place: Room 23.0.49

10-10:25 Welcome by Martha Sif Karrebæk (INSS, KU)
10:25-11:00 Narges Ghandchi (INSS, KU): Who is the authority? The study of language registers in and around heritage language classrooms in Copenhagen

11:00-11:15 Coffee & tea

11:15-11:50 Marie Maegaard & Anne Larsen (NFI, KU): "English is a gift": Discourses on language choice among parents in bilingual English/Danish families in Denmark
11:50-12:25 Shannon Ward (New York University): Style and Standardization: Tibetan Parent-Child Interaction in Greater New York

12:25-13:30 Lunch

13:30-14:05 Thomas Nørreby (INSS, KU): Globalized ethnicities
14:05-14:40 Malg Machowska-Kosciak (Trinity College Dublin): First and Second Language Socialisation of Polish adolescents in Ireland
14:40-14:55 Coffee & Tea

14:55-15:30 Paulina Bala (INSS, KU): Investment in Polish: Perspectives on Polish Mother Tongue Education
15:30-16:05 Juni Arnfast (INSS, KU): Narratives about multilingualism - the case of Polish speaking families in Copenhagen

16:05-16:20 Refreshments

16:20-16:50 Final discussion, future directions and ideas

Unfortunately Line Møller Daugaard (VIA University College) had to cancel her participation in the last minute. She would have presented a paper entitled "Linguistic practices in and around mother tongue teaching. A linguistic ethnographic case study of language teaching across the curriculum in a Danish primary school"

Appendix 2: Activities

Presentations

Juni Arnfast:

- "*Udviklingen i synet på tosprogethed*" ved NUOP's (Den nordiske Forening for Polske Modersmålslærere) årskonference i Kbh.

- "*Modersmålsundervisning af sproglige mindretalselever i den superdiverse storby København*" ved NUOP's (Den nordiske Forening for Polske Modersmålslærere) årskonference i Kbh.

- "*Polsktalende københavnerfamiliers narrativer om Flersprogethed*"; NORDAND 12 i Hamar

- "*Narratives about Tasks & Multilingualism - the Case of Polish Speaking Community in Copenhagen*"; at seminar Language, mobility, and growing up; University of Copenhagen

Narges Ghandchi:
- "*Who is the authority? The study of language registers in and around heritage language classrooms in Copenhagen*"; at Seminar on "Language, mobility and growing up – Children in linguistically complex situations of socialization", University of Copenhagen, presentation

- "*Peer socialization in the Farsi classrooms*"; at 2nd International Symposium on New Speakers in a multilingual Europe; Barcelona

- "*Political anxieties and the pedagogical structures of the language classroom*"; Explorations in Ethnography Conference, Language and Communication; Manchester; with Martha S. Karrebæk

- "*Insider-outsider hybridity: some challenges of fieldwork in relatively known linguistic communities*"; Sociolinguistics Summer School 5, University College Dublin, poster presentation:

- "*Who is listening? Politics and ideologies in and around the Farsi complementary classroom*"; Sociolinguistics Symposium 20, Jyväskylä (Finland); w. Martha S. Karrebæk

- "*Troubled relations between language, ideologies and participants in a Farsi heritage classroom in Copenhagen, Denmark*"; LDC colloquium on 'Conflict, security and the politics of language learning', King's College London; w. Martha S. Karrebæk

Ulla Lundqvist:
- Linguistic landscapes among Danish-Arabic children in Copenhagen; at panel "Mother Tongue Education in Contemporary Copenhagen", *2nd International Symposium on NEW SPEAKERS IN A MULTILINGUAL EUROPE*

- 'Social identifikation af 'den kloge elev''. Årgangsforelæsning. Læreruddannelsen Zahle, UCC,

Kbh. d. 27.10.14

- ’Hvorfor modersmålsundervisning? Forståelser af modersmålsundervisning for sproglige minoritetselever i den superdiverse storby København’. Plenarforedrag på *Multikulturelle skoler*, Nyborg, 11.11.14

- ’The social identification of a ’smart student’ in the Arabic complementary classroom’, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, September 2014

- Sprogundervisning - fra et standardmæssigt eller multikulturelt perspektiv? Workshop. Dansk i mange retninger. Workshop på *Dansk i mange retninger*, forår 2015; med Malene Als Nielsen

Martha Sif Karrebæk
- Arabs, Arabic and urban languaging: Indexicality, incipient enregisterment & the total linguistic fact in a Copenhagen primary school; invited keynote at seminar *Linguistic Anthropology: Perspectives and potentials. The first Stockholm roundtable in linguistic anthropology;* June 2015

- Popular culture and less popular culture in the Turkish classrooms; at 2nd International Symposium on NEW SPEAKERS IN A MULTILINGUAL EUROPE; w/ Özgün Nergiz

- ”The very sensitive question”: Political anxieties and the pedagogical structure of the language classroom; at Explorations in Ethnography, Language and Communication 5, Manchester; w/ Narges Ghandchi

- Understandings of Mother Tongue Education in superdiversity: Insights from the capital of Denmark; AILA, Brisbane; August 2014

- Everyday languaging in Copenhagen; invited speaker, Sydney Technological University; August 2014

- “*Political anxieties and the pedagogical structures of the language classroom*”; Explorations in Ethnography Conference, Language and Communication; Manchester; with Narges Ghandchi

- “*Who is listening? Politics and ideologies in and around the Farsi complementary classroom*”; Sociolinguistics Symposium 20, Jyväskylä (Finland); w. Narges Ghandchi

- Everyday languaging: Sociolinguistic studies among children and youth in Copenhagen; invited speaker, Norrköping Universitet; June 2014

- “*Troubled relations between language, ideologies and participants in a Farsi heritage classroom in Copenhagen, Denmark*”; LDC colloquium on ‘Conflict, security and the politics of language learning’, King’s College London; w. Narges Ghandchi

- “Don’t speak to her like that”: Language ideologies, interaction and language choice among immigrant children and their non-immigrant peers in primary classrooms in Copenhagen, Denmark; American Anthropological Association, Annual Meeting, Chicago, 2013.

Seminars & panels:
Seminar: "Language, mobility and growing up: Children in linguistically complex situations of socialization." 24 June 2015.

Panel: "Mother Tongue Education in Contemporary Copenhagen" på *2nd International Symposium on NEW SPEAKERS IN A MULTILINGUAL EUROPE: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES, Barcelona, nov 20-22 2014;*

Papers and publications:
Ghandchi, N. 2015. *What we talk about when we talk about mother tongue*. København: Københavns Universitet. MA thesis.

Karrebæk, M. S. & Ghandchi, N. 2015. 'Pure' Farsi and troubled relations: Language and Ideologies in Farsi complementary classrooms in Denmark. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 19(1), pp. 62-90.

Karrebæk, M.S. & Ghandchi. Forthc**.** *The very sensitive question*: Chronotopes, insecurities and Farsi heritage language classrooms. *Pragmatics & Society*.

Karrebæk, M.S. Forthc. 'Arabs', 'Arabic' and urban language use: Polycentricity and incipient enregisterment among primary school children in Copenhagen. In Madsen, Karrebæk, Møller (eds.) (forthc.): Everyday Languaging. Mouton de Gruyter.

Karrebæk, M.S. (Ms.). Why teach Mother Tongue? Minority language education, language ideologies and diversity.

Lundqvist, U. The social identification of a 'smart student' in the Arabic complementary classroom'. In Madsen, Karrebæk, Møller (eds.) (forthc.): Everyday Languaging. Mouton de Gruyter.

Nassri, L.: "Well, because we are the One Direction girls": Friendship, hierarchy and social status in the peer group. In Madsen, Karrebæk, Møller (eds.) (forthc.): Everyday Languaging. Mouton de Gruyter.

Data collection
Polish

13Q4-14Q1	Klasseobservationer og lydoptagelser af klasseundervisning
13Q4	Spørgeskemaundersøgelse om modersmålsundervisning, sprogbrug samt læse- og medievaner blandt familier i det kommunale MMU-tilbud i Kbh.
14Q2	Indsamling af foto-optagelser af hverdagsgenstande foretaget af fire udvalgte børn
14Q2	Kvalitative interviews med fire udvalgte børn om billeder og sprogbrug
14Q2	Kvalitative interviews med forældre til udvalgte børn
14Q2	Kvalitativt interview med modersmålsunderviser i Kbh. komm. (samt hendes mand, som er tidligere modersmålsunderviser sammesteds

14Q3	Optagelse af 2 fokusgruppeinterviews blandt polsktalende forældre og undervisere i Skandinavien
15q1	Spørgeskemaundersøgelse på nettet om modersmålsundervisning, sprogbrug og fritidsaktiviteter (v. Stud.mag. Paulina Bala)
2015	Interview med repræsentant fra KK's policy-afdeling (JA & MSK)