

# Typology of Small-scale Multilingualism Conference 2 (SSML2)

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## Abstracts

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# 1. Abstracts of the keynote talks

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Brushing the Colorful Malian Carpet<sup>1</sup>: Multilingualism to Unite and Rebuild a Nation at War

Mali is a country built on the foundations of great empires (Ghana, Mali and Songhay) and kingdoms (Ségou, Macina etc.). The social, cultural and linguistic diversity visible in the country (several dozen ethnic groups and sixty languages) is as old as these political entities<sup>2</sup>.

In the oral and written traditions of the empires and kingdoms of West Africa, there is no evidence that such diversity was seen as an obstacle in the consolidation of social cohesion or governance. On the contrary, sources such as the Kurugan Fuga<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> indicate a particular emphasis by political leaders and populations on cohabitation and interdependence in social, cultural and linguistic diversity.

Local political leaders' perception of linguistic diversity seems to take a completely different turn from the colonial period (19th century) when France colonized this region. At this point, France, which built its system of belonging to a single nation through the imposition of one language in education and in governance, went on to impose its model on communities that had lived since (at least) the Middle Ages in political groups that were close to federated states with an acceptance of linguistic diversity.

The question of the diversity of languages therefore becomes (from the 19th century) a problem to be solved rather than a reality with which the colonies and later the new independent states in Africa must contend in the management of power.

In this keynote speech, I will explore children's language socialization in multilingual environments (within families and in school spaces) and that of the relationship between languages and powers.

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<sup>1</sup>Amadou Hampate Ba, a scholar from Mali, states (about diversity) that : "The beauty of a carpet lies in the diversity of its colours"

<sup>2</sup>Fauvelle, F. (2018). *L'Afrique ancienne: De l'Acacus au Zimbabwe. 20000 avant notre ère - XVIIe siècle (Mondes anciens) (French Edition)*. BELIN.

<sup>3</sup>Manden Charter proclaimed in 1236 in Kurukan Fuga (Mali) and inscribed in 2009 (4.COM) on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/manden-charter-proclaimed-in-kurukan-fuga-00290>).

<sup>4</sup>Niane, D. T. (1971). *Soundjata ou l'épopée mandingue (French Edition)*. Présence Africaine.

I will report preliminary results of a study of language socialization strategies involving 12 children aged 5 months to 3 years who grow up in central Mali. The results of the study highlight the central place of travel and inter-ethnic mixing in the development of a multilingual language repertoire for rural and urban populations, for both adults (parents) and children in Mali. As for the observations on language socialization within schools, they are based on a study of the language practices and usage of 19 children aged 8 to 13 in a school in Bamako (capital of Mali). The results obtained confirm that there is a gap between the expectations of the school authorities and the language practices of members of the school community, in particular the students. One of the consequences of this mismatch is the rapid mastery of languages considered to be excluded / absent from the school space (here, Bambara) and the lack of mastery of the language of instruction by students (in this case, French).

The results of these two case studies make it possible to discuss and compare two language socialization strategies (family vs. school) and question the relevance of the choice of the language of instruction (French or one of the 13 national languages in Mali) in line with macro-sociolinguistic realities.

The relationship between languages and powers will be addressed through the lens of the crisis that took place in Mali from May to August 2020. This crisis is characterized by a popular protest led by an imam and members of the political opposition to the democratically elected regime of Ibrahim Boubacar Keita (former president of Mali). Opposition members used all the languages in their repertoires to mobilize populations against the ruling power, while state officials seem to favor French despite the fact that 85% of the Malian population does not understand this language. The language practices of members of the protest movement and state representatives will be analyzed and presented.

The keynote speech will close with proposals for practical solutions to the issues of language in education and in governance, adapted to the sociolinguistic realities of Mali. These proposals will be linked to the challenges and opportunities that arise in this period of debate on rebuilding Mali.

*Discussant:* Michael Rießler (Professor of general linguistics at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland)

Annelies Kusters

Associate Professor in Sign Language and Intercultural Research at Heriot-Watt University,  
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### Small-scale sign multilingualism

Multilingual sign ecologies are environments where two or more sign languages are used in the same spaces, often in addition to one or more spoken and/or written languages. Here I describe three multilingual sign ecologies that seem to fit the framework of small-scale multilingualism.

The first ecology is Adamorobe village in Ghana, where deaf signers live their lives using both Adamorobe Sign Language and Ghanaian Sign Language during their everyday interactions with others in the village and surrounds.

The second and third ecologies are comparably more ephemeral communities of practice that arise where deaf signers of multiple sign languages gather temporarily for the purpose of work and study: (1) Castberggaard campus in Denmark, where young deaf people from different countries are supported to collaboratively learn and develop their International Sign during the 9-month "Frontrunners" course; and (2) DOOR International campus in Kenya, where teams of practitioners from different countries (mostly from Africa) work and live to create sign language translations. In both campus ecologies, multiple sign languages and written languages are used by all.

I suggest there are main themes of small-scale sign multilingualism uniting these ecologies. Firstly, language separation. The signers in all three ecologies have developed local discourses about their respective language socialisation, especially regarding the extent to which signers should engage in language separation. Secondly, language mixing. Individuals in all three ecologies often mix different kinds of signing and talk explicitly about how these languages and mixed forms are named or labelled. These two themes point to a third theme: languageness. All three ecologies contain local ideologies about the relative "languageness" of non-prestigious sign languages, and of these mixed forms, and of signing that contains intensified uses of gestures.

I show how these ideologies about language separation, mixing and languageness are both impacted by and challenge some long-standing foundational underpinnings of research on sign languages.

*Discussant:* Nick Palfreyman (Reader in Sign Languages and Deaf Studies at UCLan, Preston, Lancashire, England)

Ruth Singer

Australian Research Council Future Fellow at the Research Unit for Indigenous Languages and the Centre for the Dynamics of Language (COEDL), University of Melbourne, Australia

Small-scale multilingualism: the view from Warruwi

In this talk, I will present the findings of collaborative research on multilingualism with Warruwi Community, an Indigenous Australian community. The research began a decade ago with linguistic biography interviews that included the language portrait task and then expanded to include the analysis of multilingual conversations and other tasks. The research has shown that receptive multilingualism facilitates the continued use of very small languages at Warruwi. In conversations in the receptive multilingual mode, each person sticks to their preferred language, while understanding the others' language. I will discuss some recent work on measuring receptive competence (passive competence), and also consider the role of Indigenous sign at Warruwi. The field of small-scale multilingualism has created a productive space for a linguists to discuss the language ecologies which support small languages. I will reflect on the strengths of our field and how we might build on these to form stronger connections with other researchers of multilingualism.

*Discussant:* Pierpaolo Di Carlo (Postdoctoral associate at the Department of Linguistics, University at Buffalo – SUNY, USA)

## 2. Abstracts of the session papers

Robert Adam and Beverly Buchanan

Heriot-Watt University, Scotland, and Lamar University, Texas, USA

Minority sign language communities in attrition – where do MINORITY SIGN LANGUAGES come from and WHY do they go into decline?

Australian Irish Sign Language (AISL) and Maritime Sign Language (MSL) are two minority sign languages in attrition because there are no young signers of the language, and so their language communities are in decline. What are the current patterns of language use of these communities and what are community members' views on their language's attrition? This paper will examine the characteristics of minority sign language multilingualism within the context of contact with a majority sign language and a majority spoken language.

Events resulting in minority sign language multilingualism in two locations, Australia and Canada will be examined, tracing the growth of these minority communities (as a result of colonialism), and subsequent decline of these communities (as a result of educational policies). AISL was exported to Australia by Dominican nuns (including a deaf nun) who established a school for deaf children in Newcastle in 1875 (Adam, 2016) but has not been taught in schools since 1953. This resulted in a language shift to Auslan (the majority sign language in Australia) and is now a moribund sign language. Maritime Sign Language (MSL) arrived in the maritime provinces in Canada as British Sign Language (Yoel, 2009), with establishment of a school in Halifax in 1856. After the closure of the school in 1961 and coming into contact with the majority sign language currently used in Canada, American Sign Language, MSL has also been subject to community language shift to ASL and attrition.

Conversation data and interview footage will be used to examine the language attitudes of the community members and their patterns of language use. Themes from the video data include language attitudes (within both the majority and minority groups), the social experiences and language use of the minority language community members and the centrality of schools for deaf children in sign language transmission. Historical and archival data will also be used to identify significant events in the history of each of AISL and MSL, in order to understand the growth and decline of these language communities, and how minority languages also undergo language diffusion.

Language shift and attrition (Ostler, 2011) within a minority sign language community will also be analysed, identifying the catalysts for language shift and attrition in these communities and a framework specific to sign languages, which highlights the centrality of schools for deaf

children, contact with a majority sign language and the lower status of sign languages whether they are majority or minority community languages is discussed.

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Angiachi D. Esene Agwara and Pierpaolo Di Carlo  
University of Bayreuth and University at Buffalo

Language use, individualistic gain, and social distancing in the market

*Multilingual behaviors during market transactions in Lower Fungom (Cameroon)*

Markets in Africa are generally recognized as among the public domains that are linguistically most heterogeneous, where people from diverse linguistic backgrounds meet to trade. The relatively few studies that have focused on the patterns of language use in African markets suggest that local languages are often selected strategically during transactions. There are cases in which customers tend to use the local codes of the sellers to bargain at cheaper rates—like, e.g., in the rural market of Somié in the Mambila area of Cameroon (Connell 2009)—and there are cases where the opposite has been observed, namely that traders adopt the local languages of the customers to convince them to buy—like, e.g., in several Ethiopian markets (Cooper and Carpenter 1976). Speech data recorded by Esene Agwara for her doctoral studies in the rural market of Abar, the central village of the linguistically highly diverse area of Lower Fungom in western Cameroon, provide insights into a somewhat different situation. The languages are not strategically chosen just for individualistic gain—be it by sellers or customers—but can be used also to obtain, surprisingly, social distance.

The detailed biographical information available about the speakers recorded is suggestive that one of the motivations animating multilingual behaviors during market transactions is that of obtaining a certain degree of social distance in order for the seller to be released from the burden of social obligations that representing too close a relation with customers would produce. Most customers align with, or even anticipate this request of “economic solidarity” from the seller. This interpretation would fit the possibility of an unexpected but fully logical consequence of the observed prevalence of relational identity targets in the local language ideologies, as opposed to categorical identity targets (Di Carlo, Esene Agwara, Ojong Diba 2020).

The data that will be presented are certainly insufficient to make general claims as all the recordings have been centered on the activities of and around one single stall where a woman sold her farm produce. At the same time, this case study can be taken as a good example of what it might take for one to try to explore local metapragmatic knowledges in a context of small-scale multilingualism that is hardly captured by existing, urban-based sociolinguistic models.



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### Social representations of sign language in Sudan: A pilot study

Sudan is inherently a multilingual and multicultural country. This multilingualism is conceptualized with reference to verbal media of communication, while other semiotic modes of communication are systematically excluded from this dominant conceptualization of multilingualism in Sudan. The 'languageness' of signing practice is discredited. This study is part of an ongoing project which aims to study social representations of sign language in the context of Sudan among 'vocal languages' users. The guiding question is: How do 'vocal language' users view sign language? To address this question, we will use a survey questionnaire accompanied by a multimodal material which is specifically constructed for this study. It is based on a generally widely known song about the symbolic status of the teacher in Sudan. The multimodal frame of the song includes a pictorial representation, verbal performance, subtitling in Arabic, sign-language interpretation by an interpreter (one of the research team). The participants in the study (who will all be vocal language users) will be targeted according to the dimensions of age, gender, education, and place. The aim is to explore the effects of these social factors on the patterns of social representations. The data will be analyzed using statistical analysis (t-test and ANOVA). Although it is expected that elements of social structure such as education or age are likely to affect cultural conceptions of vocal language users towards sign language in Sudan, the precise nature and substance of this relationship can only be empirically found out. To inspect the data, we will draw on the insights provided by critical multilingualism and discursive studies of language ideologies.

Nina Dobrushina

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One woman between two languages: mutual intelligibility in mixed marriages across  
Daghestan

Marriages across linguistic borders, typical for many multilingual societies across the world (Singer & Harris 2016, Lüpke 2016), lead to situations of language choices, including the choice between the patrillect and the language of the spouse.

As many studies have shown, Indigenous people usually identify themselves with their patrillects (Aikhenvald 2003; Epps 2018, Singer 2018, Verstraete & Rigsby 2015). In-married spouses (usually women) often find themselves facing a difficult choice between two loyalties (Stanford & Pan 2013, Stanford 2009; Chernela 2013). The wife has to maintain her identification with her patrillect, while her new community might expect her to show loyalty to their language by speaking it and bringing up children with it. This paper studies the ideologies underlying the language behaviour of the in-marrying spouses in highland Daghestan (Northern Caucasus, Russia).

The language with which Daghestanian people identify themselves is their patrillect. For women who enter mixed marriages, we observe different situations, depending on the distance between the lects of the spouses.

As my study of 60 mixed couples from 15 villages all over Daghestan shows, if there is no mutual intelligibility, at least without some practice of communication, the woman invariably switches to the language of her husband, speaking it with him, her children, and all his fellow-villagers. She would use her own patrillect only when she interacts with her relatives, most often when visiting them. Even if there are several in-married women coming from the same village, they communicate using the language of their husbands. At the same time, the woman can be reproached for abandoning her patrillect.

This does not apply to the marriages between the speakers of different dialects of the same language. So far, I have studied such marriages at two locations. In the Sirhwa Dargwa area (villages of Urtsaki, Sutbuk and Uragi), women are required to maintain their lects. This attitude is very clearly articulated by all villagers. At the second location, village of Kina (Rutul, Lezgi) the situation is less clear. While in-married women with other L1 invariably have to switch to Rutul, there seem to be no strict attitudes with respect to cross-dialect marriages. Some women claimed to maintain their own dialects, but some others said that they had switched to the Kina dialect. Both groups were criticised, either for not speaking Kina variety, or for abandoning their patrillect.

To sum up, there is a certain correlation between mutual intelligibility of the lects and maintaining vs. abandoning patrillect by in-married woman. This finding is important also in relation to the notorious problem of distinguishing between languages and dialects. Scholars sometimes assume that this is a merely theoretical dispute which is irrelevant for the speakers of the divergent lects themselves. This study shows that linguistic distance may influence sociolinguistic attitudes. Widening the geographic scope of this study across Daghestan may help to establish how close her patrillect must be to the lect of her husband to make it possible for an in-married woman to speak the former, and what other social and cultural factors may be at stake.

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Mapping shared semantic patterns in the light of multilingualism in Western Siberia: a diachronic approach.

Understanding peculiarities of small-scale multilingualism contributes to language reconstruction and diachronic studies in lexical semantics and etymology. [Laakso 2014] stresses the notion of the “prehistoric multilingual speaker”. [Kallio 2015] claims that development of Proto-Uralic was shaped by the conditions of small multilingual communities. How can research in multilingualism help studies in diachronic semantics?

On a global scale, the areal aspect of cross-linguistic polysemies and colexifications has recently been studied in lexical typology [Gast, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2018]. Focusing on the history of a specific multilingual region, this paper deals with the shared semantic patterns in Western Siberia within the scope of basic vocabulary. This area is particularly illustrative due to ample evidence of small-scale multilingualism. As shown in sociolinguistic research [Khanina, Meyerhoff 2018], [Amelina 2020], one family in a small settlement may consist of speakers of 3 and more languages. Four non-related language families are present: Ket, Turkic, Tungusic and Uralic (with two distant branches - Samoyed and Ob-Ugric).

Which of the shared semantic patterns in basic vocabulary are caused by multilingualism or language contacts?

As a tool for answering this question, we used diachronic maps of the shared semantic shifts, including polysemy and diachronic semantic evolution, from a reconstructed proto-meaning to current state. Such maps were on the linguistic platform LingvoDoc. This platform makes possible cross-linguistic search by semantic, phonological and grammar parameters, as well as etymological connections. In addition to this source, published dictionaries of the languages under investigation were also used to check and provide more material. The results demonstrate the maps with the following semantic patterns:

semantic evolution

- ‘grandfather’ > ‘bear’ in Nenets and Evenki,
- ‘old woman’ > ‘wife’, ‘old woman’ > ‘woman’ in Samoyed and Khanty

polysemy

- ‘earth’, ‘sand’, ‘ashes’ in Khanty, Nganasan and Turkic

- 'earth', 'clay' in Mansi, Samoyed and Turkic
- 'earth', 'place' in Khanty, Samoyed, Turkic and Tungusic
- 'new, fresh' in Ob-Ugric and Tungusic
- 'head', 'end' in Khanty, Samoyed and Turkic.

The shape of the areas, their scale and connection to each other supposedly indicate the intensity of language contacts in the past and present. This also might explain occurrence of specific semantic shifts.

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A review of language dominance: Insights from the multilingual experience of Babuyan Claro, Philippines

The construct of language dominance is central in investigating patterns of multilingualism—that is, how people use their various languages in everyday life. However, our understanding of the construct has been and continues to be biased towards the perspective of monolingualism, and based on the contexts of large-scale, industrialised, and educated societies (Treffers-Daller 2016, 2019). Examining how language dominance influences language choice and use needs to be grounded in a broader empirical foundation, in particular, one that includes the experiences of small-scale multilingual communities, where different norms and practices may apply. This paper responds to this need by comparing the factors that shape language dominance in large-scale settings as described in the literature, with the everyday multilingual experiences of Babuyan Claro, a small-scale island community in the far north of the Philippines.

Language dominance is gradient and multidimensional, and it is typically measured with (1) a psycholinguistic component, which involves the individual's relative language proficiencies, (2) an external component, which involves the amount of linguistic input and exposure, and (3) a functional component which involves domains and contexts of language use (Montrul 2016). Measures of language dominance, either through direct assessments (such as tests of language skills) or indirect ones (through self-reports), should be tailored to the specific context of the community under study, where locally meaningful categories may play an important role.

In Babuyan Claro, people are multilingual in at least three, genetically related languages: (1) Ibatan, the local language of the island, (2) Ilokano, the regional lingua franca, which is typically learned alongside Ibatan, and (3) Filipino, the national language of the Philippines, which is taught formally in schools and is used as the medium of instruction from basic to higher education. The ways in which people acquire and use these languages shape individual patterns of dominance. In addition, residency within the geographical divisions of *daya* 'east' and *laod* 'west', which coincides with membership to particular clusters within the social network, religion, language ideologies, and language choice and use, is likewise central in shaping dominance.

It is evident then that the construct of language dominance, while a psycholinguistic notion, is equally influenced by the sociolinguistic landscape of the community. Therefore, individual

patterns of dominance are directly tied to dominance patterns on the level of the community. The dynamic language ecology of the Babuyan Claro community, which led to a shift from egalitarian to hierarchical multilingualism, has profound effects on changing individual- and population-level patterns of dominance. The multilingual experience of Babuyan Claro contributes to building a broader empirical and theoretical foundation for language dominance by highlighting the importance of setting our understanding, operationalisation, and measurement of the construct within the specific history and dynamic setting of the community under study.

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Jeff Good and Clayton Hamre

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### Lexical and spatial networks in a rural multilingual setting

**Background and data:** This paper reports on exploratory work applying network-based analytical approaches to the study of the linguistic situation of a region of Cameroon known as Lower Fungom, where precolonial patterns of small-scale multilingualism dominate daily life (Esene Agwara 2020). Two kinds of data are considered: (i) individual-based lexical data, which was collected in one-on-one sessions without any attempts at standardization across individuals, and (ii) a spatial network representing the interconnections among the region's villages and the difficulty of travel between them. The lexical data consists of word lists from two individuals from each of Lower Fungom's thirteen villages, all of which are associated with their own named linguistic variety. The spatial data was developed using GIS tools.

**Methods and research questions:** In order to compare the wordlists, the ALINE method (Downey et al. 2017) was used to produce lexical distance scores across the lists, which were then used to generate phylogenetic representations of the data (see Figure 1) as well as multidimensional scaling visualizations (see Figure 2). The goal was to determine: (i) the extent to which named varieties, which are taken to be the same "language" in the local space, were clearly represented in the lexical data and (ii) what factors may explain lexical distance patterns among the varieties. Lexical distance measures were additionally compared directly with travel difficulty scores between all villages using the Mantel test (de Filippo et al. 2012) to uncover (iii) the extent to which lexical distance and travel difficulty correlated with each other.

**Results:** Unsurprisingly, wordlists from pairs of speakers providing data from the same named variety clustered most closely together in the phylogenetic representations. However, interesting patterns emerged with respect to the variation found among these pairs of speakers. For some villages, e.g., Fang, there was relatively little lexical variation within the pair, while, for others, such as Biya, there was substantially more variation. Strikingly, the multidimensional scaling representation, which reduced variation in the lexical distance measurements to two dimensions appeared to show a strongly spatial pattern, where one dimension laid out villages in a way that roughly matches their west–east orientation and the other their south–north orientation. This result is in line with the results of the Mantel test which showed a highly significant correlation between the travel difficulty between two villages and their lexical distance.

**Conclusion:** The results of this study suggest that network-based analytical approaches to the study of small-scale multilingualism can provide a useful snapshot of variation among speech

varieties and are particularly valuable for visualizing how named varieties can be associated with different levels of internal variation. They also demonstrate the usefulness of taking a spatial approach to the analysis of data from societies characterized by small-scale multilingualism to determine the extent to which linguistic distance correlates with travel difficulty between settlements. More broadly, we believe this work supports adopting an individual-based approach to data collection in small-scale multilingual societies that also takes into account the fine-grained details of their spatial relations.

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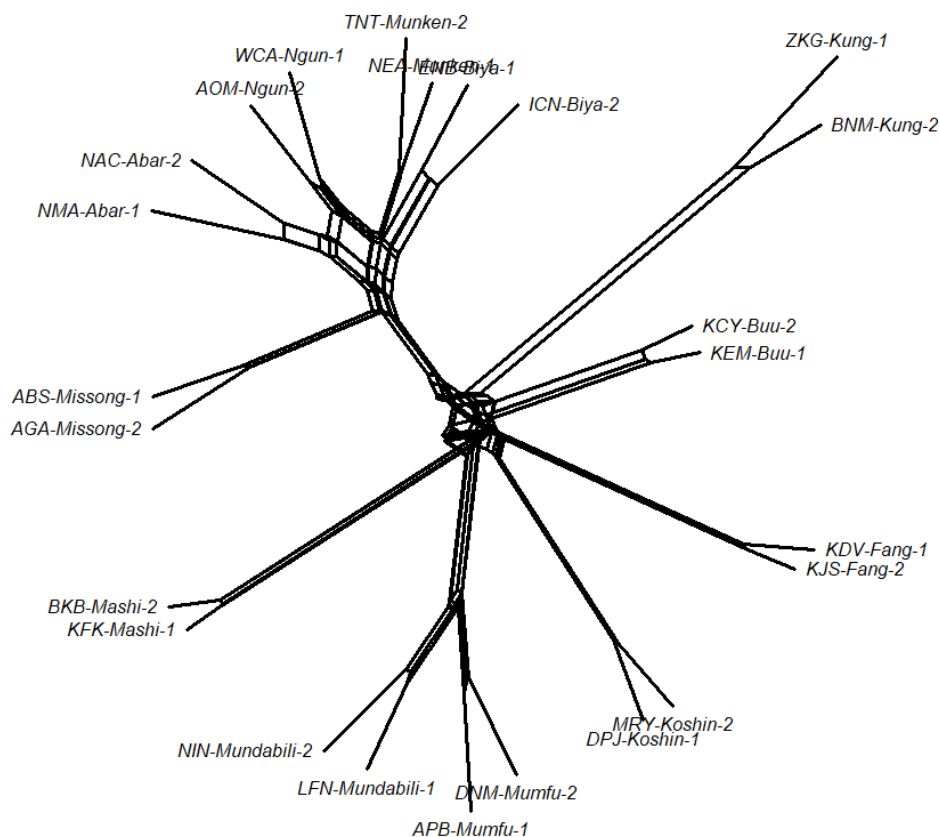


Figure 1: NeighborNet representation of lexical distance data across the 26 wordlists

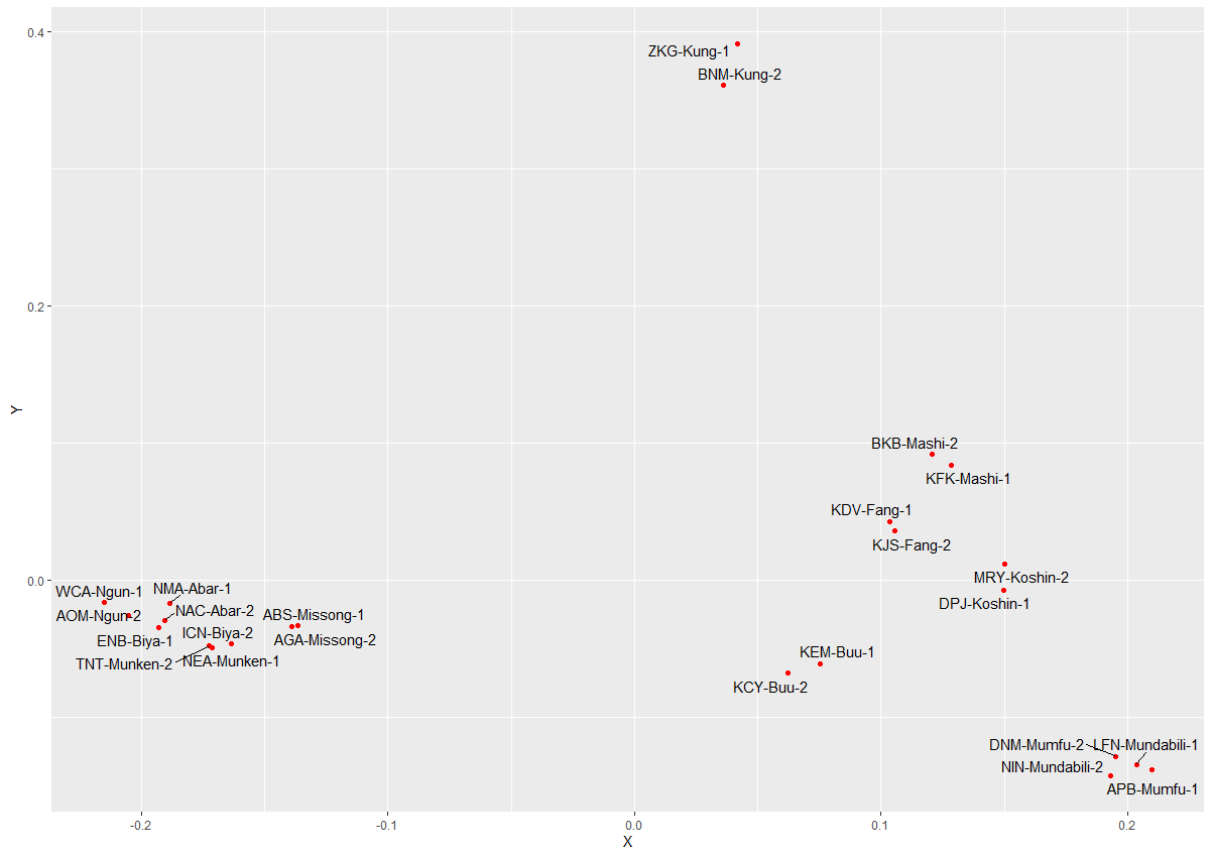


Figure 2: Multidimensional scaling applied to the lexical distance data from the 26 words lists

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Languag-e/-ing is mono-/multi-lingual: overlapping scales and chronotopes in a village  
setting in the Casamance, Senegal

Essyl, a village in the Casamance, Senegal, has been described by many residents and researchers (Sagna 2016; Sagna & Bassène 2016) as monolingual in the language Joola Eegimaa, a.k.a. (Joola) Banjal. Simultaneously most residents have extensive, and highly individualised, linguistic repertoires dependent on life history and migration experiences (Goodchild 2018). In this talk, I focus on individuals' experiences and perceptions of language, mono-, and multi-lingualisms. I use ethnographic data taken from participant observation, interviews, focus groups, linguistic biographies and informal conversations to analyse how participants construct their own scales of analysis concerning linguistic practices and language ideologies in Essyl.

As Gal (2016) reminds us: all scale making is an ideological process. In studying small-scale multilingualism, I put forward that it is important to consider the multiplicity of overlapping and intersecting scale-levels (Blommaert 2007), e.g. the local through the national to the global, whilst recognising that it is incredibly difficult to separate practices, perceptions and ideologies from one theoretical scale to the next. Linguistic practices and people's perceptions thereof can be understood using a combination of a scalar analytical approach combined with the Bahktin's concept of chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981). The chronotope is an understanding of time and space as a whole, and how this is then represented in language and discourses. Time and space are inherently fused together, and people carry with them experiences, emotions, and linguistic resources from past chronotopes (Blommaert & De Fina 2017), which they reflect on and may make use of or not in present-day interactions. If we only focus on the small-scale, local, individualised practices, we run the risk of disassociating the complexities inherent on the small-scale from higher-scale processes and the time-spaces present, latent and possible in participants' linguistic practices and ideologies.

I will present with empirical data, how using a combined chronotopic-scalar approach (Karimzad 2020) helps to pay attention to the intricate complexities of both actual linguistic and ideological practices in Essyl. Different time-spaces through participants' life histories and trajectories have meaningful impacts on the availability of different linguistic resources in interaction and sociolinguistic space (Busch 2015; Juillard 2016). Taking multiple scales into account, from the personal to the global, as well as considering the chronotopically layered structure of participants' repertoires (Busch 2015) helped to understand participants' and previous researchers' analyses of Essyl as a monolingual village where multilingual people

live and interact. I conclude that through critically probing participants' and researchers' perceptions of scale and investigating the ideological underpinnings of these through the analytical frame of chronotopes, a more nuanced understanding of language as concept and practice is possible, where it is simultaneously mono- and multi-lingual.

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Kolyma and Amur: Riverine multilingual areas in the Northern Pacific

In our paper, we offer a comparative analysis of multilingual ecologies of two riverine areas in the Northern Pacific – the Lower Kolyma and the Lower Amur, located in the Far Eastern Federal District of the Russian Federation. There is historical evidence that in the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries both areas were multilingual, though the patterns of small-scale multilingualism varied. The goal of the paper is to identify and analyse relevant parameters responsible for the emergence, character, preservation, and decline of local multilingualism.

The Lower Kolyma area comprises the Nizhnekolymskii District of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and adjacent areas. The core contact area is the downstream tundra surrounding the rivers Kolyma and Alazeya, with its northern border at the East Siberian Sea. The languages spoken in this area represent five different linguistic stocks: Tundra Yukaghir (isolate), Lower Kolyma Ewen (Tungusic), Kolyma Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Yakut (Turkic), and Russian (East Slavic). The Yukaghir, Ewen, and Chukchi were traditionally nomadic, whereas Yakuts were more sedentary, being cattle and horse breeders. Russian fishermen settled in small villages in the estuaries of local rivers since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with seasonal travelling along them. The area of Lower Kolyma still retains traces of active multilingualism.

The Lower Amur area is located in the southern part of Khabarovskii Krai, which in the north borders on Sakha. It embraces the reaches of the Amur, which flows into the Strait of Tartary, separating the mainland from the Island of Sakhalin. The most active contact zone was historically formed around Lake Kizi, which is located at the crossroads of traditional trade routes. The majority of languages historically spoken in this area belong to the Tungusic group (Manchu, Udeghe, Nanai, Ulcha, Oroch, Neghidal, Ewenki). Two other languages – Nivkh and Ainu – are isolates. Russians came to the Amur in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Among the local indigenous groups, only the Ewenki were nomadic reindeer-herders, whereas all others were sedentary fishermen, maritime and forest hunters. The Lower Amur area is nowadays either monolingual in Russian or at most bilingual.

We plan to compare Kolyma and Amur ecologies according to the following parameters: (i) geographical setting (e.g. landscape features, facilitating and preventing movements; big rivers as ‘attractors’ of multilingualism), (ii) traditional technologies (e.g. economic habitat: nomadism vs. settled economy; trade patterns), (iii) social structure (e.g. clan structure, marriage practices: exogamy vs. endogamy), (iv) language ideologies (e.g. ethnic vs. linguistic

identities, language choice, language status), (v) social and political dynamics (e.g. resettling of ethnic groups, changes in the political rule).

The methodology presented in our paper can be further utilized for making comparisons with other currently multilingual areas of the world and for establishing their historical background. It can also help to reconstruct patterns and dynamics of former multilingualism in areas that today are mono- or bilingual.

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## Features in linguistic environment of children acquiring Finnish Sign Language

Children acquiring sign language form a highly heterogeneous group with varying levels of hearing and access to different languages. These children can be hearing or deaf children of hearing or deaf parents. However, the access to different languages and the visibility of the languages the children acquire across different modalities can vary greatly, depending on the community and the contexts in which the languages are used and acquired. The majority (95%) of deaf children are born to hearing parents who usually do not have much experience or knowledge of sign language before their child's hearing loss has been diagnosed (Mitchell & Karchmer, 2004). In addition, the majority (95%) of children born to deaf parents are hearing, and only a small number (5%) of deaf children have deaf parents. Thus, most of these children are acquiring the spoken language and sign language of the surrounding community but often the linguistic environment where the language acquisition takes place is actually multilingual. The aim of this research was to describe the features of the linguistic environment among hearing and deaf children acquiring Finnish Sign Language (FinSL). The aim was to study the amount of language exposure to different languages and language usage practices and possibilities to use acquired languages in different interaction contexts with family members, close relatives and friends and in an educational context.

A total of 143 children participated in the study: 66 KODAs, 40 deaf children of deaf parents, 30 deaf children of hearing parents and 7 hearing children of hearing parents. The data was collected by using a parental questionnaire that aimed to investigate the features of children's linguistic environments. The questionnaire was based on the parental questionnaire methods of PaBiQ (Questionnaire of Parents of Bilingual Children in Tuller, 2015), BiLEC (Bilingual Language Experience Calculator in Unsworth 2013) and MAIN (Multilingual Assessment Instrument of Narrative in Gagarina et al., 2012), which have been used in previous research on bi- and multilingual children.

The results showed that the amount of language exposure from different languages, the language usage practised and the possibilities to use different languages in different contexts varied greatly between the children studied. Of all the children studied, 58% of children received language exposure from FinSL and Finnish and their linguistic environment was mostly bilingual. However, 42% of children received language exposure from at least three different languages and their linguistic environment was mostly multilingual. Language usage practices and possibilities to use FinSL in different interaction contexts also varied between the children. FinSL was used more in deaf-parented families compared with the families of



hearing parents. In the educational context, hearing children of deaf parents had clearly less opportunity to use FinSL compared with deaf children. Thus, hearing children of deaf parents received most FinSL exposure in the home language context, but deaf children of hearing parents received most FinSL exposure in the educational context. These results bring forth the unique features in the linguistic environments of children acquiring FinSL which will be discussed in the presentation.

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More than meets the eye - multilingual Finnish Sign language signers' learner beliefs and views on languages

Finnish Sign language (FinSL) is one of the signed minority languages in Finland. Sign language is multimodal by nature; as in Kusters et al. (2017), the concept of modality here refers to visual-gestural modality, auditory-oral modality and the written modality of the language. In the context of multilingualism, the focus here is on the subjective approach to multilingualism, including "how multilinguals themselves feel about becoming or being multilinguals, or what the different languages and their use might mean to them personally" (Kalaja & Melo-Pfeifer 2019, 3).

In this qualitative study, the purpose was to study the learner beliefs and views on language learning and use of two multilingual FinSL signers, who study Finnish Sign language at the university. Before entering the university, they have gone to different types of schools, one attending deaf schools and the other attending schools intended for hearing students. These students are of interest here since before entering the university, signers often have acquired a more versatile language background in comparison to users of spoken languages.

In our previous study concerning university students of Finnish Sign language, it was noticed that the boundaries of different languages in their lives were becoming fuzzy and that multilingualism had a presence in their lives (Kelly, Dufva & Tapio 2015). In this study, the purpose was to show what multilingualism meant in practice for these two FinSL signers by exploring how they see themselves as learners and users of different languages (both spoken and signed).

In this study, visual research methods (Busch 2006; Park Salo & Dufva 2018; Kusters & De Meulder 2019), were used to enable the two students, as users of visual languages, to express themselves in a visual mode. The visual methods were complemented by interviews carried out with a FinSL interpreter. During the interviews, the students' multimodal ways of using many different languages in their language repertoires was explored further. This study expands the understanding of FinSL signers as English learners (Kelly 2009, Tapio 2013), taking into account the many elements of multilingualism and the rich linguistic environment in their lives, showing that for these two students, despite their different educational backgrounds, multimodal multilingualism is a natural, everyday phenomenon.

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Translation as accommodation in a multilingual setting

Studies of language choice and use in small-scale multilingual settings tend to focus on how the volume and the content of the interlocutors' repertoires are associated with the languages that ultimately get chosen for communication. The main strategies that have been identified include linguistic accommodation, or the choice of common language, which may be a lingua franca or a local variety, for all parties in interaction (such as Tukano in Northwest Amazon, Chernela 2013), and receptive multilingualism, when different parties choose to speak different languages (quite often, their patrillects) but can understand the language(s) spoken by their interlocutors, and, as a result, several languages are used in the communication (such as in the Warruwi community in northern Australia, Singer & Harris 2016). This study, focusing on a multilingual setting in South-Eastern Guinea with Mano and Kpelle as the core languages, seeks to complement these descriptions. We bring at the forefront situations where the languages that get to be spoken are actually not shared by all the parties in interaction and where translation plays an important role in communication. Translation from, into and between indigenous languages is in fact quite common, albeit rather understudied, for rural multilingual settings, especially on particular ceremonial occasions be it in the ritual (Epps 2014) or political contexts (Salisbury 1962), and for indigenous languages in contact with colonial languages (Mufwene 2015).

The study proceeds with analyzing real-life encounters which were either witnessed by the authors or reported to us by our consultants, as well as discussing the relevant patterns in everyday Mano-Kpelle communication. We focus on encounters happening as part of the Catholic religious practice. For historical reasons, most Catholic priests are Kpelle speaking and religious documents used in Mano celebrations are often written in other languages than Mano: in Kpelle or French (Khachaturyan 2020). Written and oral translation and interpreting from a Kpelle text or spoken discourse is a common practice in Catholic celebrations taking place in Mano villages. We explore the contextual and linguistic properties of such translatory practices and situate them within the context of everyday multilingual practices.

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Aboriginal linguistic exchange in an Australian city

Tropical northern Australia is a region of high linguistic diversity, with dozens of language varieties spoken in many cases very small numbers of people. Traditionally, Aboriginal social organisation did not involve monolingual blocs, but instead consisted of multilingual networks within localised subregions. This level of diversity has been supported by the practice of receptive multilingualism, where interlocutors each maintain their own variety rather than converging on a shared code (Elwell 1982; Wilkins & Nash 2008; Singer & Harris 2016; Rumsey 2018). Multilingualism of this type has persisted in some Aboriginal homeland settlements such as Warruwi (Singer & Harris 2016) and Maningrida (Vaughan 2018), but in other settlements such as Wadeye, people have converged onto a single local language (Mansfield 2019: 35ff.).

In this study, I focus on linguistic practices deployed by homelands Aboriginal people when they meet in the regional capital of Darwin. This is the only major city in the region, and it brings together Aboriginal people from homelands that are too distant to have traditional social connections. The city thus fosters new connections, including multilingual marriages, which provide the context for new types of multilingualism. Aboriginal people speaking languages as distant as Murrinhpatha and Tiwi, or Djambarrpuyngu and Kuninjku, now learn each others' languages in Darwin. Kriol (a local English-lexified creole) is also used as a lingua franca, which means that contemporary receptive multilingualism in Darwin usually involves partial use of peoples' respective homelands languages, with Kriol as a 'fall-back' to mitigate gaps in understanding. Nonetheless, most homelands people in Darwin continue to use their own languages for building new social connections, rather than converging purely on Kriol. I argue that this reflects a system of social capital in which local languages bestow rights and responsibilities (McConvell 1985; Irvine 1989; Garde 2008). Languages are a medium of exchange for developing new social connections in the city.

The linguistic practices of homelands Aboriginal people in Darwin suggest that urban mobility is not necessarily detrimental to traditional practices of multilingualism. In fact, the urban centre provides new contexts for such multilingualism. At the same time, the recontextualisation of multilingualism produces qualitative changes, for example in the use of a lingua franca as a fall-back language.

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 The case of Soure Sign Languages: a Multilingual Community Between Homesigns and  
 Micro-Community Sign Language

This work is a contribution to the thematic of small-scale multilingualism among a rural deaf community in Brazil.

My theoretical approach (the Semiological Approach)<sup>1</sup> assumes a phylogenetic and ontogenetic link between sign languages (SLs). For instance, each homesign and each micro-community SL can become an institutional SL. Though this is not obligatory: a homesign can remain a homesign, etc.

Currently, the stage between 'Homesign' and 'Micro-community SL' is poorly documented. Soure SLs correspond to this stage: the existence of approximately fifty isolated deaf people was uncovered in 2007 and gatherings were organized since. Then, multiple homesigns developed by deaf individuals were shared to create a micro-community SL. In addition, the surrounding institutional SL started to be taught in the city a few years later.

From the analysis of SL data gathered in the field (approximately 30 min. of elicited and spontaneous data), I tried to provide a first description of Soure SLs. One of the issues at stake was to find out what they could tell about the process of *structural bifurcation*. In the Semiological Approach, it corresponds to the step in the development of a SL where iconicity used by a signer reaches a high level of structuring. This would lead to the emergence of two types of linguistic structures: Transfer Structures (TSs — highly iconic structures) and Standard Structures (such as Lexical Units, LUs). Once the bifurcation occurred, both units co-exist in SL. According to the Semiological Approach literature, one way to assess the state of the structural bifurcation is quantification of LUs: a high number of LUs (as in institutional SLs) corresponds to an advanced bifurcation.

In total, 2,122 units from Soure SLs were annotated and quantified. The results show that signers share a limited lexicon (39 LUs). They rather often use adaptive strategies to understand each other. For instance, they preferentially use various types of TSs and regularly discuss the use of some LUs. The mastery of diverse types of TSs varies between signers. This seems to emphasize the link between some sociolinguistics characteristics (such as social integration through work) and a better command of TSs diversity.

Interestingly, signers who produced the highest number of LUs were also those who used the highest diversity of TSs. This suggests that structural bifurcation could be displayed not only

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<sup>1</sup> Cuxac 2000, Sallandre 2003, 2014, Bonnal 2005, Fusellier-Souza 2006, 2012, Garcia and Sallandre 2020, etc.



by quantifying LUs, but also by analyzing TSs diversity. This advocates for a better consideration of TSs in the analysis of multilingual practices among deaf people.

The situation in Soure is probably more frequent than we think (Reed et al. 2018, Kusters 2019). It challenges the still widespread view of deaf people as either monolingual individuals or without any proper SL before two generations of deaf signers.

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Holding the mirror up to converted languages: Two grammars, one lexicon

This talk describes an unusual result of language contact occurring in North-Central Australia, where extensive long-term contact between speakers of the genetically unrelated Jingulu and Mudburra has resulted in a high degree of lexical borrowing, with little if any change to syntactic or morphological structure in either language. What is particularly unusual about this borrowing is that it is bidirectional, with almost equal numbers of words being borrowed from Jingulu into Mudburra as vice versa. This situation mirrors that of converted languages, where two varieties have come to share a grammar through contact, but retain separate lexicons. We use a comparative database to establish the direction of noun and verb borrowings between these languages. The comparative database consists of 871 nouns and 452 verbs shared by Jingulu and Mudburra and also includes corresponding nouns and verbs from a number of geographically and phylogenetically neighbouring languages: Wambaya, Gurindji, Jaminjung, Jaru, Warlmanpa and Warumungu. We show that for nouns, Mudburra and Jingulu share 65% of their forms, and for verbs they share 40% of forms. What makes the Jingulu-Mudburra situation even more unusual is the relatively balanced bidirectional nature of borrowings, with 32% of shared nouns and 33% of shared verbs originating in Mudburra and 24.5% of nouns and 18% of verbs from Jingulu. We suggest that this situation of bidirectional borrowing represents a hitherto unreported type of language hybridisation scenario, which we dub 'lexical convergence'. We claim that this unusual situation is the result of long-term cohabitation of the two groups, a shared cultural life, and relative socio-political equality between the two groups. We venture that these may be requisite to the sort of extensive bidirectional borrowing and maintenance of individual grammatical systems found in lexical convergence more generally.

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Multilingualism, marriages and language acquisition patterns in the village of Karakurt,  
Ukraine

Our research focuses on the situation in the multiethnic and multilingual village of Karakurt (Zhovtnevoe in 1944–2016) near the town of Bolgrad in southwestern Ukraine. Together with Moldovans, Russians and Ukrainians, this region is inhabited by Bulgarian and Gagauz minorities, who migrated from the Balkans in the 19th century (Kisse et al. 2014). Karakurt is the only location where one may also find Albanians who came from the northeastern Bulgaria and settled in this village in 1811 (Novik et al. 2016).

Since the 19th century the population of Karakurt has been predominantly multilingual. Russian spread as a sociolinguistically dominant language after the establishment of Soviet school education, and everyone in Karakurt knows it. However, Russian is not necessarily used as lingua franca in the interethnic communication, at least by the people older than 30, because nearly all of them possess one or two of the community's minority languages – Albanian, Bulgarian, and Gagauz (Morozova 2016).

On the one hand, the modern situation in Karakurt is “polyglossic” (Lüpke 2016: 41), because it involves hierarchical relationships between Russian/Ukrainian and the minority languages of the community. On the other hand, in SSML communities of the post-Soviet states sustainable linguistic diversity depends on a variety of community-internal social factors, see (Dobrushina 2019; Dobrushina & Moroz 2021) about Daghestanian multilingualism. Based on our field data, collected in 2011–2013, 2019, we will try to provide insight into the historical development of SSML in Karakurt and show that the following interrelated factors are essential for this community. Comparing this situation with the previously investigated ones (Morozova, Rusakov 2021), we will argue that Karakurt-like cases comprise a particular type in the typology of SSML situations.

#### 1. Language community size

Three main ethnic groups of Karakurt – Albanians, Bulgarians, and Gagauz – have been relatively similar in number and neither of them dominated the others from the linguistic point of view. Even though Bulgarian- and Gagauz-speaking population prevails in the region, Albanian speakers maintain their language and use it within the Karakurt community.

#### 2. Linguistic exogamy vs. community endogamy

Linguistic exogamy is a common practice in SSML areas (Lüpke 2016: 53; Singer & Harris 2016, etc.). A less widespread linguistic endogamy seems to be related to the community

endogamy, i.e. marriages within the (monolingual village) community, see Dobrushina 2019 about Daghestan. In Karakurt, village-level endogamy results in a large number of mixed marriages. However, according to most respondents, they were uncommon until the 1940s, due to the marriage rules that used to be rather strict at that time.

### 3. Patterns of language acquisition

Women in Karakurt usually moved to the husband's house after marriage and linguistic exogamy combined with strong tendency to have only one dominant language in the family. This usually resulted in the (late) acquisition of the family's language by women and the non-acquisition of their mother tongue by children in the early childhood. Due to the tendency to maintain ethnic and linguistic boundaries, this still resulted in the maintenance of linguistic diversity in the Karakurt community.

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 Interfacing Low-Scale Multilingualism

To what extent multilingualism can be reflected in different interfaces through which we represent language? This is a critical issue which linguists working in low-scale multilingual social contexts may be faced with. We designate as ‘interface’ any form of representation of the linguistic information, whether dictionaries, grammars, databases, transcription tools, maps, etc. Quite often than not, linguists take for granted that, interfaces have to be unidimensional, as well as reflect one-to-one mapping of the information from one language to another.

For example, linguists usually assume that there has to be one and only one language to describe at a time (e.g. vernacular language vs analysis language); any information which overlaps from the nexus of the description has to be threatened either as dialectally situated, transfer-induced, code-switched, and so on. Also, variation of linguistic forms is usually assumed to be unidirectional; for example, considering two forms *táŋnê* and *táyŋê* both meaning "uncle (mother’s brother)" and respectively attested in Kelleng and Nyambat, two neighboring language varieties spoken in Cameroon, Fieldworks Language Explorer (Flex) accepts only a unidirected relationship to describe variation between the two forms<sup>1</sup>. In other words, *táyŋê* may be declared as a variant form of *táŋnê* and vice-versa, but *táyŋê* and *táŋnê* cannot be variants of one another.

Likewise, mainstream methodologies in the modeling of the linguistic information (e.g. grammar writing) either adopt a reductionist perspective through simplification of complex match (e.g. phonemes vs allophones; morphemes vs allomorphs), of repetition, of variation, or reify the linguist’s representations by restoring ‘missing’ forms (i.e. zero morpheme) where the model of description logically expects a slot of information to be filled, etc.

Low-scale multilingualism involving the intertwining of individual or group repertoires into a complex and extensible network of linguistic resources can result in permanently remixed lexicon or grammar, making it difficult to represent the linguistic information like a monolithic system. This is the case with the named Bati language group found in Cameroon, which is indeed a received glossonym shared by three sub-linguistic groups inhabiting three distinct villages (Kelleng, Mpage and Nyambat), and each overtly claiming a separate ethnolinguistic identity (Ngué Um, Makon & Assomo, 2015, 2020). Although mutual intelligibility is generally

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1 <https://b2drop.eudat.eu/s/Z3ng8zcQwqsg2zp>

achieved between members of the three sub-groups, compiling a unified set of descriptive works for the three varieties is a challenging enterprise which may only be achieved at the cost of considerably skewing the reality of the linguistic experience.

This presentation will discuss the shortcomings of three interfacing models in representing the complexity of the language experience across Kelleng, Mpaage and Nyambat ; namely, grammar writing for language standardization, compilation of lexical database using Fieldworks Language Explorer and language annotation with ELAN. After which a sketchy model of interfacing will be attempted for representing multilingualism in the Bati situation, which will run along the lines of Koskenniemi's (1983) Two-Level Morphology.

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How fragile is small-scale multilingualism?

*A multidimensional assessment of the endangerment of small-scale multilingualism in Cameroon*

Childs, Good, and Mitchell (2014:172) declare that “Sociolinguistic contexts are more fragile than lexico-grammatical codes and, therefore, intrinsically more endangered. It is these contexts that will disappear first as smaller communities become transformed by contact with larger ones. Significant lexical data can be collected from even a single ‘rememberer’...but documenting a language’s sociolinguistic context requires an active speech community.” This leads one to contemplate the fragility of the current state of small-scale multilingualism (henceforth SSM) and relatedly, the urgent need to investigate and document it especially as it is language preserving. The relevance of SSM in the maintenance of the local small languages is clear, especially as it correlates with the need for multiple identities (see, e.g., Cobbinah 2020:97 for Lower Casamance in Senegal, and Singer & Harris (2016) for Western Arnhem Land in Australia). Ojong Diba has collected data on SSM in Lower Fungom (North-West Region of Cameroon) for her PhD thesis (2019) and, more recently for an ELDP project, in the Littoral region, where Internally Displaced Persons from Lower Fungom have sought refuge from the violent socio-political crisis affecting Cameroon’s North-West and South-West Regions. Through analyzing this data, our aim in this paper is to provide a principled overview of what is changing in both ideologies and practices of Lower Fungom multilinguals who have moved to the Littoral Region.

The data comprises sociolinguistic interviews resulting in self-reports, recordings of natural conversations of multilingual speakers and prolonged observation resulting in field-notes. Data will be analyzed from three dimensions that would give some indications of possible changes and therefore of possible endangerment of SSM in the Littoral diaspora community:

- Distribution of identity targets in observed behaviour (based on findings in Di Carlo, Esene Agwara and Ojong Diba (2020))
- Composition of self-reported multilingual repertoires
- Code-switching and loanwords (Ojong Diba 2019)

This will allow us to start answering the question: “how fragile is Lower Fungom SSM?”

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Language Ideologies and multilingualism in West Hunan Hmong Prefecture, China

For a long time, West Hunan minority ethnic autonomous had been the margin of ancient Chinese empires. In the process of China's modern nation-building, both the external influences and the social transformations taken place inside China had incurred many profound changes to West Hunan's political economy and its people's language ideologies. The current language complex in West Hunan is very complicated due to its ethnic composition and regional history. This paper aims at exploring language ideologies and social socialisation in this region.

In West Hunan the distribution of languages varies between small geographical units. Multilingualism is very common in most places, and it enters daily utterances and the code-switching in daily contacts or literature as a feature of locality. Through examining the three processes of linguistic differentiation taking place in historical, folkloric, institutional and daily contact aspects, my research will demonstrate that the understanding of relationship between speech forms and identity needs to be understood in its historical memories.

The promotion of the official national language – Mandarin Chinese – is written into the Constitution and implemented by all local governments in various ways. Bilingual education policy is generally applied in primary and secondary education in all minority ethnic autonomous prefectures, where the results vary greatly in different areas. In most cases instructions are unevenly delivered by both Mandarin Chinese and the standardized form of the language(s) spoken by certain area's biggest minority ethnic group(s), while all schools are administrated with Mandarin Chinese. Understandably, whether these minority ethnic languages have writing systems and/or widely accepted standardized forms greatly influence the effects of literacy and language socialization processes. No less important, political, religious and sociology-economic statues of the ethnic groups also influences how this policy works out. Language inequality is also observed in all public sectors and induces inequality in employment and other opportunities.

Small-scale multilingualism is connected to language socialization of speakers. Linguistic anthropologists believe that discriminating different languages and associating each with certain identity or characteristics in most circumstances is a reflection of hegemonic supervision. The participation in literacy activities is governed by secondary language socialization. And the process depends on how institutions and professional organizations socialize individuals, who are competent speakers of their native languages, through entextualization - the process of transforming experience into text - and recontextualization

- the process of making texts relevant to the ongoing situation. In this paper I will also present several examples of language socialization in West Hunan Hmong prefecture which draw a comparison between socialization within community and outcomes of institutional education.

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### Puerto Rican Sign Language: The Decline of Identity and Culture

This presentation examines Puerto Rican Sign Language (PRSL), a variety of American Sign Language (ASL) first introduced to Puerto Rico in 1902. Once widely used in the Puerto Rican Deaf community, PRSL is now considered a moribund variety, losing popularity to more 'standardized', international ASL. Although ASL has become the mainstream signed language, ASL is only taught in deaf schools in the northeastern part of the island. PRSL is still being used in the western and central parts of the island (which are considered harder to reach areas due to being mountainous and country regions). Dr. Maria Laguna Diaz, linguist, author, and researcher of PRSL has uncovered traces of the language in Puerto Rico, where many are still in denial of the language. The denial of this language stems from a lack of knowledge of what makes a linguistic system, as well as the role that the political status of the island has depicted over the last 120 years.

This presentation argues that just as many indigenous spoken languages are threatened by the global spread of the English language (Phillipson 1992, 2009, inter alia), so are many local signed languages threatened by the spread of ASL. Due to the contact among the languages (PRSL and ASL, Spanish and English), it is increasingly difficult to determine the nature of PRSL. Is it indeed a dialect of ASL has it become a full-fledged creole? Even though PRSL words are in the Spanish spoken language, the signs are either ASL signs or a cross between Spanish words and ASL signs. This *pidgin* or perhaps *creole* language is a form of communication that has been established by both communities Puerto Rican deaf people without any resources, and Puerto Rican deaf people who have been exposed to ASL on and off the island. ASL is having a very strong influence on the culture and the language in Puerto Rico, and sooner or later PRSL may be completely replaced by ASL. Since the Northeastern part of the island is where the schools for the deaf are located, also it is where ASL is mainstreamed, the people that are located on more remote parts of the island may continue PRSL until it has died out. The new generation might be more influenced by the abundance of resources for ASL that are not only in larger, more populated cities but also on the internet. This includes, but is not limited to, online ASL resources, social media, news media, etc. Slowly but surely, ASL may be wiping out the use of PRSL altogether.

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### The impact of globalization in International Sign Language uses

The overall goal of this paper is to show that globalization has an impact on International Sign as a full-fledged language (ISL) and as well as interaction within ISL in diverse settings including small-scale multilingual settings in regions. ISL is multimodal, as it is the case for national/regional sign languages. It is combined with visual properties (Perniss 2018) that deaf signers take advantage of, shaping its use.

Following the framework of Sociolinguistic Globalization (Blommaert, 2010), 'local' is relative nowadays, as observed in ISL usage. Deaf communities have always had an extensive network at local, regional and global levels. Unlimited opportunities for creating discourse within ISL at the global level became possible due to two main factors: use of technology (social media) and intersectionality. This phenomenon can be described as *language shift in form of strategy for survival* (Blommaert 2010).

Within this framework of globalization, the paper provides six distinct arguments for the emergence of ISL: (1) non-local ISL practices as a way to have massive interaction (migration movement, employment-related mobility, culture, science, sport, politics, interpreting and translation); (2) availability of digital publications in ISL; (3) standardized use of ISL lexicon in international settings (conferences, sports, cultural events and tourism); (4) social media; (5) transmission from one deaf generation to the next one; and (6) grammaticalization of ISL (similar to grammaticalization of national/regional sign languages).

However, access to ISL practices in the global world is critical and interrelated with ISL proficiency. According to Blommaert (2010), *heteroglossia* is seen as the default mode for the occurrence of global communication. Differences in language materials present a fundamental complication for communication. Opportunities for accessing international spaces through ISL discourse might be restricted for a variety of reasons. The paper explores the complexity of ISL practices and the reasons for limited access to ISL practices.

First, the global discourse in ISL make it virtually possible to interact with signers from anywhere in the world. However, power relations are established in a certain way. One of the issues that comes into play is related to fluency in English. Deaf signers may become highly fluent in ISL, but not necessarily in English. The primacy of English is checked in discourse spaces, mostly formal ones. The historical primacy of English continues to be a force that is much more profound than the languages that the ISL signers use themselves, and it has an impact on the dynamics of global discourse.

Second, interaction with multimodality plays a crucial role for interaction management. Signers can decide how to shape their semiotic repertoire in their interactions (Kusters et al 2017). The interactions may include or exclude access possibilities in different spaces.

Globalization, however, seems to have a positive effect, as it forces the 'global' on the 'local', favoring different possibilities for connections (Blommaert, 2010), as is evidently the case for ISL discourse. This is related to space and time (Blommaert 2010, Silverstein 1998). The translocal and deterritorialized forms of language use thus impact the ways people relate to languages.

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Supporting maintenance of small-scale multilingualism for young members of Vatlongos-speaking communities

Vatlongos is one of ~140 local languages in Vanuatu. In the national context of small-scale multilingualism, Vatlongos is fairly large with ~3000 speakers (François et al. 2015). As well as in rural Southeast Ambrym, Vatlongos is spoken by migrant communities in Vanuatu's urban centres. The most established, Mele Maat, was founded in the 1950s following a major volcanic eruption (Tonkinson 1968).

This paper will report on written interviews conducted via instant messaging with 16 young members of Vatlongos communities, targeting the 18 to 30 age group. The interview schedule addressed multilingualism in daily life, patterns of language acquisition, emotional connections with language varieties, metalinguistic awareness of variation, and language support strategies.

This paper will focus on conversational strands that identified factors supporting the maintenance of small-scale multilingualism in Vatlongos communities. Some of these result from the actions and relationships of highly multilingual individuals, others are features of the wider sociolinguistic context.

As in many contexts, marriage practices are central to the maintenance of SSML for communities and individuals (Evans 2017). In language acquisition histories, meeting a partner was the most frequently cited reason for learning another indigenous language as an adult. Southeast Ambrym is traditionally patrilocal, so women marrying into the community tend to acquire Vatlongos. The wider community consequences of this were especially apparent in the participation of the brother of a woman who had married into the Vatlongos community. Beyond the individual moving into the community, intermarriages like this can create wider social networks dependent on multilingualism.

Institutional contexts can also support the maintenance of small-scale multilingualism. While education and employment domains are usually associated with pressures to speak colonial languages, the broader context of small-scale multilingualism in Vanuatu can surface through national institutions. Seeing the importance of local languages for other students at secondary schools was a frequent factor cited for valuing and sometimes acquiring Vatlongos by participants who had Bislama as their sole L1 (Ridge 2019). Employment opportunities in international aid organisations can also encourage acquisition of local languages. Desire to work in a particular region was cited as a reason for learning a different indigenous Vanuatu

language by one of the participants, showing that these institutions can have supportive effects on small-scale multilingualism if they value the linguistic resources of aid workers.

Emotional connections with languages can be very affirming and supportive of language maintenance, but can also feel like additional pressures and anxieties for young speakers in the context of wider language ideologies. Many speakers aligned knowledge of Vatlongos with rights to claim an identity, community membership and land rights (cf. Singer & Harris 2016). These high stakes can generate extra fears around making ‘mistakes’ for some young speakers who have not acquired Vatlongos as a child, while for others these are key motivations for acquiring or maintaining the language as a teenager or young adult.

This paper will discuss these supportive factors while also reflecting on the modality of these interviews as a way to conduct remote fieldwork by engaging with community members’ existing digital literacy practices, which was especially important in gauging emotional responses.

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The legacy of Ottoman small-scale multilingualism among members of the Armenian minority of Plovdiv, Bulgaria

In this presentation, I focus on the trilingual competencies of a segment of the Armenian community living in the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv, interpreting them as a legacy of the patterns of small-scale multilingualism once common during the Ottoman period.

To contextualize the topic, I first describe the city's "post-Ottoman" multilingual environment in the interwar period, characterized by spontaneous interactions between members of different communities (including Bulgarian, Armenian, Sephardic Jewish, Roma, Greek, Turkish, Albanian). In spite of the nation-building processes inaugurated in the country, it was still common for people to possess some multilingual skills that enabled them to address members of the other groups in their languages.

I then reflect on how the affirmation of the nation-state principles exerted a major impact on linguistic diversity and multilingualism, as they created new boundaries between ethnic groups and worked towards "monolingual" policies, as a consequence of which both phenomena began to decline, similar to what happened in other post-imperial societies in the wider Eurasian space.

I subsequently show that, after more than a century since the end of the Ottoman Empire, there are still some interesting exceptions to the prevailing official line of monolingualism, one of which can be found in the practices of a segment of the local Armenian community, presenting a situation of triglossia (and to a certain degree of "trigraphism") with knowledge of Turkish alongside Armenian and Bulgarian. This segment of the community consists of the descendants of the Genocide survivors who reached Plovdiv after the First World War and settled in the city as refugees. They came from different parts of the Ottoman Empire, ranging from Eastern Thrace to Syria, and what they had in common is that they all spoke Turkish (and in fact knew little Armenian in some cases).

Today, the members of this community who can still speak Turkish are becoming fewer and fewer, and among the people who can speak the language we find mostly old women who have found new ways to keep their knowledge alive, for example by watching the popular Turkish soap operas on TV.

In my presentation, based on data collected through iterative ethnographic fieldwork with the Armenian community of Plovdiv, I highlight some important features of this phenomenon of trilingualism by relating language skills to different settings of social life and linking practices of multilingualism to the expression of belonging to multiple cultural identities.

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Multilingual literacy for multilingual students: Using scripts of national language, Thai for writing home languages of minoritized students in Chiangmai, Thailand

Most ethnolinguistic minority students in Thailand learn new academic contents in a language of instruction that is considered to be a foreign language to them, Thai. However, the students enrolled in a mother-tongue based multilingual education (MTB MLE) program are fortunate to learn in their home language for the first few years while developing Thai proficiency (Unicef, 2018). Most of these schools cannot continue this program beyond grade 3 due to various reasons. From grade 4, students join the normal class of Thai medium of instruction. If they are in Thai medium class, which is the case for the absolute majority of students in Thailand, the linguistic feature of their home languages becomes invisible in school or is seen as a problem or obstacle for learning if it is visible. That their home language is not formally recognized in school does not mean that they are Thai monolinguals. They are multilingual. Multilingual learners can learn new knowledge and show their knowledge best when all of their linguistic repertoire is encouraged to be utilized. If they are to use only school language, they have to suppress a significant part of their linguistic repertoire as García (2017) argues and can use only part of their linguistic repertoire to the extent they know Thai.

In this paper, I will discuss how to utilize students' whole linguistic repertoire to develop biliteracy for those students who have never learned how to write in their home language but learn so only in school language. I will share some experiences about writing the home language of students using the script of the school language, Thai, which may be examples of what Lüpke calls language-independent literacy or repertoire-based literacy (Lüpke, 2020; Lüpke et al., 2021). The students of grade 3, 4, and 7 from different schools in Chiangmai, for example, were encouraged to write key terms, summary of the day's lesson, an applied Math problem, etc. in both Thai and home language using Thai script. The repertoire-based writing will be argued to be necessary for these multilingual students to develop biliteracy in their both home and school languages, for the students' cognitive advantages, to leverage students' whole linguistic repertoire for literacy rather than a distant standard Thai only, etc. Lastly, I will discuss the role of the teacher as an "arbiter" (Mohanty et al. 2010) between the monolingual language policy and the necessity of utilizing students' linguistic repertoire consisting of more than one language and how they transformed their stance from ignorance and simplification to amplification (García & Kleyn. 2016) in terms of students' home language and bilingualism between before and after translanguaging pedagogy training they received.

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From *being* multilingual to *doing* multilingualism in the Vaupés

The term ‘multilingual’ can describe societies and individuals, as well as characterize communication involving multiple languages or, minimally, deployment of resources that speakers understand to come from different languages. Such deployment by speakers brings multilingualism into life for particular interactional purposes situated in specific social and sequential contexts. Our research examines multilingual practices in relation to explicit and implicit language ideologies in the “small-scale” multilingual Vaupés setting, and our multi-disciplinary approach facilitates direct comparison of language use in diverse multilingual settings, ultimately contributing to an empirically grounded typology of multilingualisms around the world.

The Vaupés, in northwest Amazonia, is among the world’s better-known “small-scale” multilingual societies (Lüpke 2016). Twentieth century ethnographic work illuminated the building blocks of this “unusual” social system that produced individuals proficient in multiple indigenous languages. Structural features maintaining these languages included norms of exogamous marriages within intricate “in-law” group networks, virilocal settlement patterns, and longstanding sociolinguistic equilibrium among participating populations (Goldman 1979; Sorensen 1967; Jackson 1983). Later work turned to regional language ideologies, essentialist in nature, identifying “loyalty” to one’s patriline as key in shaping avowed and observed (on a certain level) elements of language use “etiquette”, ranging from conscious avoidance of lexical borrowing to overt downplaying of individual multilingual abilities, with differences in group-specific ideologies moreover argued to provide insight into regional language contact phenomena (Aikhenvald 2002; Chernela 2013).

Yet we are still far from understanding the full picture. Our view of the region is still heavily skewed toward the (somewhat idealized) “Tukanoan” experience, with variation among groups and experiences of non-Tukanoan peoples relegated to the fringes (Epps 2018). Additionally, even the traditional literature acknowledges that speakers use different languages in everyday communication in much more diverse ways than what explicit ideological norms predict (cf. Jackson 1974). Focus is now shifting to micro-level empirical case studies discussing apparent “departures” from the expected norms and showing these to be emblematic of individuals’ multilingual experience (Stenzel & Khoo 2016; Silva 2020).

Our talk and recent work (Stenzel and Williams, forthcoming) analyzes data from a large corpus of video recordings of sociolinguistic interviews and spontaneous interaction collected in Kotiria and Wa’ikhana communities between 2017-2020. Our findings illustrate the need

to distinguish *explicit* ideologies, observable in “people’s opinions about the languages around them”, from *implicit* ideologies, “covert systems of beliefs” revealed in actual language use (Pakendorf, Dobrushina, and Khanina, forthcoming) and how these may compete within speakers in different contexts. Excerpts from interviews and informal everyday interactions demonstrate both speaker perspectives on “being multilingual” (often orienting to explicit ideological norms) and their actual behavior “doing multilingualism” through a range of attested and common practices — from monolingual exchanges to cases of code-switching and accommodation — long presumed rare or highly dispreferred. Our analysis and findings pose the question of *whether* and *how* multilingualism “on the ground” might actually differ between “small-scale” and other multilingual scenarios and argue that part of the answer depends on empirical investigation — broad documentation of everyday interaction in a variety of multilingual settings — and comparative interactional analysis.

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### A shared signing community in a family of several deaf and hearing children

Most deaf children are born to hearing parents, usually being one deaf child among hearing siblings. In some families the hearing members have learned sign language (SL) in order to give the deaf child access to language development and to communicate with the child. Many times the deaf child is excluded from the main part of the family communication.

This paper presents a shared signing community (cf. Kirsch 2008, Nyst 2012) in a large family with seven hearing and seven deaf children born to hearing, previously non-signing parents. The parents started to learn SL after their second child's deafness was recognized at the age of three, and gradually the use of signing increased in the family. This paper is part of a larger research project into the bilingual practices of the family focusing on the bimodal bilingualism of the hearing children: the age and the manner of acquisition of the two languages, the usage of the languages and the nature of the linguistic identity. The data are collected using ethnographic interviews (e.g. Blommaert & Jie, 2010) and analyzed by content analysis.

The results show that the oldest hearing child first acquired speech and started to acquire SL at the age of five years. The second hearing child first acquired speech and then started to use gestures/signs to communicate with his older deaf brother. When the third hearing child was born there were already four deaf older siblings and SL had become stronger in the family. Thus he learned to sign and to speak in parallel. When the seven youngest children were born, SL was already used widely in the family among the older deaf and hearing siblings, and the youngest hearing siblings started to sign first. Although the use of SL was natural for all of the children, according to their own reports and the estimation of their deaf siblings, the bimodal bilingualism of the younger hearing children seemed to be stronger than that of the two oldest. Every-day communication between hearing and deaf children took place in SL. The hearing children used spoken language between each other and SL when communicating from a distance, through window, when telling secrets etc. The hearing siblings acted as mediators for the contents of spoken communication with the deaf children at home and with other hearing people. The parents were the least competent in the family in using SL, and more complicated matters were communicated in spoken language with some of the hearing siblings interpreting the discussion.

In conclusion, the age of the hearing child in relation to the age of the deaf children and the emergence and boost of SL in the family seemed to have affected bilingual identity. However, usage of both languages was a natural part of their life.

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### Sociolinguistic Influence in Speech Heterogeneity

The languages covered in this paper on speech heterogeneity in a small-scale multilingual society are from the Yemne-Kimbi group (Good et al 2011) also referred to as Western Beboid (Hombert 1980). These languages are Abar, Ajumbu, Biya, Buu, Fang, Koshin, Kung, Mashi, Missong, Mundabli, Mufu, Munken, and Ngun, and are spoken in Lower Fungom in the Menchum Division of the North West Region of Cameroon.

The incorporation of the metadata of each individual consultant helps to account for the internal speech heterogeneity within a language demonstrating a link to its multilingual ability. Typologically, the heterogeneity occurs in vowels, consonants, tones, affixes, noun classes, syllabification and whole word across the various multilingual consultants and across separate languages. The table below exemplifies some speech heterogeneity between three consultants who self-report to be native speakers of Munken.

	Munken-2-TNT	Munken-3-NGT	Munken-4-NUN	Gloss	Remark
1	ífê-ìfê / áfê-àfê	ífā: / áfàsá	ífê / áfê	<i>head</i>	B has -a- root and the -sá suffix
2	àtsò / bèàtsò	bíá / bəbíá	àtsò / bàtsò	<i>friend</i>	A, C same word
3	òsó / kìsólá	òsó / kìsólá	ámúó / bìmúó	<i>case(court)</i>	C has a diff. word
4	ìzán / àdzán-àzán	ízán / ádzánèsá	ízán / ázán	<i>tooth</i>	B has -èsá suffix
5	ìlám / àlám	ílám / álámèsá	lám / àlám	<i>tongue</i>	B has -èsá suffix

Table 1: Speech Heterogeneity Among Multilingual Munken Speakers

This paper explores speech heterogeneity in 10 of the 13 languages of Lower Fungom. The languages are randomly selected; Abar, Ajumbu, Biya, Buu, Fang, Koshin, Kung, Mundabli, Munken, and Ngun. The corpus is collected from three consultants with varying sociolinguistic profiles in each language. The study of sociolinguistic profiles of consultants reveals that social contexts contribute to account for heterogeneity in speech. What could be responsible for the absence of circumfixation in Buu\_2-KCY, 2018, for instance? The aim of this paper is to account for such speech nuances between speakers of the same language:

*tsǎ:ŋ / kàtsǎŋtá*

Indian bamboo

Buu\_1-KEM, 2018

*tsǎŋ / tsǎŋ*

Indian bamboo

Buu\_2-KCY, 2018

The heterogeneity is weaved with the sociolinguistic profile and will be presented in an Excel spreadsheet where the sociolinguistic profiles and the lexical items would be presented simultaneously, as in the example below providing examples of the word for *head* produced by different speakers.

Gender	Speech: HEAD	Year of Birth	Place of Birth
Male	ífā: / áfàsá	1988	Munken-Mbu
Female	ífê / áfê	1996	Munken-Atshafe
Male	ífê~ífê / àfê~àfê	1975	Munken-Bitshe

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Teams, territory and talk: reflexes of small-scale multilingualism in the Maningrida  
Football League

In Maningrida, north-central Arnhem Land (northern Australia), over a dozen Indigenous Australian languages are ideologically and enduringly connected to local tracts of land and the clan groups associated with them. Individual linguistic repertoires in the community typically take in up to six of these languages, as well as English, a range of contact varieties like Kriol (an English-lexified creole spoken across northern Australia), and local alternate sign language. The long-standing small-scale, egalitarian language ecology of the region has been reshaped to an extent by linguistic incursions following European contact, with emergent polyglossic formations observable in urban settings especially (Vaughan 2018). Yet in spite of the region's intensive linguistic diversity, a clear lingua franca has never emerged at Maningrida since its founding in the late 1950s, unlike elsewhere in northern Australia (e.g. Elwell 1982).

Against this backdrop of contemporary small-scale multilingualism, we consider the nature of multilingual communication in one particularly dynamic local domain: the football. In Maningrida, the local Australian Rules Football league is serious business. Football is cultural practice, a major focus for social integration in the region (Altman 2018), and also a "high mobility event" (Kral 2012: 63; Altman & Hinkson 2007). The games and the oval are 'hybrid spaces': spaces shaped by the interaction of diverse groups, institutions and ways of speaking, and characterised by "official scripts and counterscripts" (Gutiérrez et al. 1999: 287). Such spaces are created and transformed agentively through the shared endeavours of multilingual communicators (cf. Bhabha 1994; Pennycook and Otsuji 2014).

Each dry season, around ten teams compete for the Grand Final trophy. Local football teams have strong associations with regional clan groups and, by extension, with broader identity categories, especially language groups. The composition of teams, social practices around games, and language choices during games reflect long-term intergroup alignments and divergences, but language use is also responsive to the shifting demands of the local interactional context.

This paper draws on collaborative and community-led research to explore the deployment of multilingual repertoires at the Maningrida football. Data consists of recordings of commentary and public crowd talk from three Grand Finals as well as several regular matches and coaching sessions between 2014 and 2019. In this paper we focus on language use at the 2014 Grand Final between teams Hawks and Baru. In analysing multilingual strategies drawn

on in commentators' and crowd speech, we consider how reflexes of small-scale multilingualism play out in this contemporary forum and how resources from long-standing local languages as well as more recent arrivals (English, Kriol) are 'soft-assembled' (García & Li Wei 2014: 25; Thelen & Smith 1994) in the moment to meet communicative needs. Furthermore, we aim to show that a focus on 'spatial repertoires', here through use of the notion of hybrid space, can provide a viable and revealing level at which to analyse complex community language dynamics.

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