Multilingualism

lexical taxonomies irony cinematic discourse

language complexity

glottophagy

LANGUAGE deverbalisation

crosslinguistic awareness

metacognition intercultural competence

school curricula linguistic landscape

multilingual identity

humour socialisation

social space multilingual operationalizations

telicity

language ideology Danes' humour

text structure

Germanic and Romance languages

foreign language teacher education

Theme:
When language typology meets multilingualism. From languages to uses and people

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Introduction

Marco Gargiulo, Bergen Universitet
Åsta Haukås, Bergen Universitet
Iørn Korzen, Copenhagen Business School

This special issue of *Globe* comes in the wake of a research symposium held at the University of Bergen on 14-15 October 2019, where members from the *Multilingualism on My Mind* and *TYPOlex* research groups gathered to share and discuss, from a variety of perspectives, the findings from their various projects on multilingualism and language typology.

For additional information regarding the symposium, see this link:
https://www.uib.no/en/rg/multilingual/131220/momm-meets-typolex-talk-about-languages-multilingualism-and%E2%80%A6-humour

The symposium participants, many of whom have contributed to this special issue and served as its editors, use multiple languages and dialects in a variety of ways. Their multilingualism encompasses not only Scandinavian languages like Danish, Norwegian (Nynorsk and Bokmål), and Swedish but also Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish.

It is not surprising that those researching multilingualism and language typology can be multilingual. This is simply a reflection of our times, where more and more people are becoming multilingual as societies becoming increasingly more diverse and interactions and communication take place in multiple languages on a daily basis. Such developments are also an outgrowth of the societal and individual multilingualism that existed in the past, when knowledge of multiple languages was similarly seen as an asset in terms of advancing political, social, and trade-related endeavours.

The members of the research group *Multilingualism on My Mind*, which was founded in 2018 at the University of Bergen, approach multilingualism from diverse research perspectives. The group's name, *Multilingualism on My Mind*, too, can be interpreted in several ways. For instance, it alludes to the interests of the group's members: multilingualism is constantly on our minds as we try to understand how languages are learned, taught, and portrayed in education, in society, in the media, and elsewhere. The name also hints at the need for teachers and students to boost their awareness of multilingualism in all its varied forms. Several countries, institutions, and regional blocs have emphasised the importance of drawing on multilingualism as a resource in education through the publication of white papers and by making revisions to language curricula for schools. However, for multilingualism to become a resource that individuals and societies can harness effectively, teachers and teacher educators need to develop a deeper understanding of what a multilingual pedagogy entails and how one can implement such a pedagogy.

The research group *TYPOlex* was established at the Copenhagen Business School in the autumn of 1997. Michael Herslund is the group's leader and its members include Irene Baron, Hanne Korzen, Iørn Korzen, Lita Lundquist, Henrik Høeg Müller, and Viktor Smith. *TYPOlex* focuses on research related to language typology (hence the "TYPO" in its name), as well as lexical differences and rules and regularities at various levels of communication (represented by the "lex" in *TYPOlex*). In addition to researching these areas vis-à-vis Danish and English, the group's members also specialise in French (Michael, Irene, Hanne, Lita), Italian (Iørn), Spanish (Henrik), and Russian (Viktor). Their research

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encompasses typological differences in the lexicon, syntax, and text structure, as well as in contextual phenomena such as nation and city branding and the use of humour in "endo-" and "exocentric" languages (see below). During the group's 23 years of existence, the members have organised linguistic seminars in 13 different European cities in collaboration with local colleagues, for which the group has earned the nickname Rejseholdet (the Travel Gang – also the name of the police's Flying Squad). The group usually makes it a point to publish the proceedings from each seminar in the country where the seminar was held. However, in the case of the *TYPOlex meets Multilingualism on My Mind* symposium in Bergen, where language typology so to speak met multilingualism (we decided to keep that as the title of the proceedings), the proceedings were published in Denmark.

At the symposium, TYPOlex presented five papers: The narratives of tourism destinations (Irene Baron & Michael Herslund), Free predicatives: A contagious construction, illustrated by French, English and Danish (Hanne Korzen), Complementarity and division of labor between endo- and exocentric languages: The case of Danish and Spanish (Henrik Høeg Müller), Are some languages more complex than others? On text complexity and how to measure it (Iørn Korzen), and Studying the use of humour across languages and cultures: Methods, results and perspectives (Lita Lundquist). Of these, the last three were developed into articles and included in this special issue.

Henrik Høeg Müller's contribution can be described as an example of classic *TYPOlex* research. Müller elaborates on the fundamental lexical differences between nouns and verbs in the Germanic and Romance languages, here represented by Danish and Spanish, respectively. The Germanic languages are labelled "endocentric" due to the lexical weight in their verbs, i.e. in the centre of the sentence, whereas the Romance languages are labelled "exocentric" due to the lexical weight in the nouns, i.e. outside the centre of the sentence. Furthermore, Müller links some of these lexical differences to differences in verbs' syntactic possibilities in Danish and Spanish.

Iørn Korzen focuses on Danish and another Romance language, Italian, when discussing the concept of language complexity, in itself an extremely complex concept, and he begins by citing a number of definitions and examples of language complexity. Korzen then focuses his attention on text structure, which can prove to be particularly complex in Italian. He specifically investigates, based on a corpus of intra- and cross-linguistically comparable texts, two text structure phenomena, the number of textualised propositions in each period, and the degree of deverbalisation of these propositions. These are phenomena where Italian and Danish differ considerably.

Lita Lundquist goes beyond narrow conceptualizations of language and studies manifestations of verbal humour. Lundquist believes that society and language mould humour and suggests the concept of "humour socialisation", which can lead to very different ideas of what passes as humour. The typical Danish manifestations of humour, irony and self-irony, is often misunderstood by non-Danes and can lead to frustration, anger, and an unpleasant work environment. Lundquist's study draws on questionnaire and interview data provided by 28 Danes and 45 non-Danes who worked together in Denmark or abroad.

Of the contributions dedicated to multilingualism in this special issue, three papers investigate multilingualism in education.

Maj Schian Nielsen analyses a number of white papers, school curricula, and teacher education course descriptions from Denmark and Norway. She argues that, for teachers to implement a multilingual pedagogical approach, the documents they use as references need to include information on important concepts such as multilingualism, crosslinguistic awareness, and metacognition. Schian Nielsen

concludes that while both Denmark and Norway seem to have embraced multilingualism as a valuable resource, they have done so at different levels of teacher education.

Given the lack of consensus regarding what counts as multilingualism, Gro-Anita Myklevold examines language teachers' and language teacher educators' beliefs about multilingualism and how a multilingual pedagogy can be operationalised in the Norwegian educational system. Her findings reveal that teachers and teacher educators hold positive views about multilingualism, although they feel unsure of how multilingualism can be implemented in an effective and systematic way.

The research team *Ungspråk*, comprised of members André Storto, Irina Tiurikova, and Åsta Haukås, sets out to examine multilingualism and multilingual identity among students in lower secondary schools in Norway. In their article, they discuss the theoretical background and rationale for developing the *Ungspråk* project. The mixed-methods design of the project serves as an example of how various research methods and instruments can be meaningfully combined to investigate questions related to multilingualism and multilingual identity. Furthermore, the *Ungspråk* team intends to explore how young students can interact with research data and researchers to uncover new insights that benefit both themselves and the research field.

Two papers in this special issue explore multilingualism in society.

In his quantitative study, Guowen Shang investigates people's attitudes towards multilingualism in the city landscapes of Eastern China. His findings suggest that most people evince positive attitudes towards the increasingly multilingual city landscape. However, the study reveals several differences between the attitudes of students and working professionals.

Marco Gargiulo, on the other hand, focuses on the representation and interpretation of multilingualism in the cinematic space, analysing the particular condition of language contact in Italy. Starting from a historical reflection on language policy during fascism, Gargiulo explores the concepts of spatiality, glottophagy, and camouflage. Using these concepts, he proposes a theoretical framework in which he reproduces a language contact model to analyse the Italian sociolinguistic space. Using this model, Gargiulo examines how urban sociolinguistic complexity and the relationship between language, space, and society are represented in Italian cinema and then presented to the spectators. In doing so, he draws on case studies that cover fascism and its language policy.

As organisers of the symposium in 2019 and editors of this special issue, we are grateful to PhD candidate Irina Tiurikova for helping us plan and organise the symposium, and to the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Bergen for giving us the opportunity to meet and work together. We would also like to thank all the authors that contributed to this special issue for their enthusiasm and cooperation. Their exciting research projects and interesting approaches to language typology and multilingualism have contributed to making this special issue attractive to a wide international audience. All contributions have undergone a rigorous double-blind peer review process, and we would like to thank our reviewers for their time and the useful comments and suggestions they provided to the authors. Finally, we would like to thank Lotte Dam, *Globe*'s editor-in-chief, and her colleagues for their continued trust and support, as well as for their help with the final editing of this special issue.

September 2020

Marco Gargiulo, Åsta Haukås, Iørn Korzen

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Complementarity and division of labor between endo- and exocentric languages. The case of Danish and Spanish

Henrik Høeg Müller, Aarhus University

Abstract: This paper is based on comparative data on Danish and Spanish, and argues that systematic variations between the word-formation (Müller 2013) and syntactic pat-terns dominating these two languages correlate with deep-rooted lexical differences between endocentric (Germanic) and exocentric (Romance) languages. The paper follows the lexical–typological assumption that endo- and exocentric languages complementarily distribute semantic information on the two major word classes, nouns and verbs (e.g. Baron & Herslund 2005; Baron et al. 2019; Korzen 2016). Whereas the former concentrate information in the main verb and leave the nominal arguments underspecified, the latter act oppositely, that is, they tend to use general verbs (e.g. Herslund 2014; Müller 2014, 2019) and specific nouns. With respect to word-formation, a consequence of the vagueness of endocentric nouns, and, thus, their hyperonymic-level lexicalization, is that in order to designate entities at a hyponymic level, the Germanic languages tend to use the composition system. In contrast, exocentric nouns are already semantically saturated, so presumably the Romance languages have not developed a complete system of morphological composition to tackle the task of creating lexical hierarchies. In these languages, either the semantic components are already encapsulated in the simple noun, or they use an alternative strategy, namely, derivation. Therefore, composition in the Romance languages has not generally been routinized as part of a morphological system, but has the status of a syntactic device, prototypically following the formative pattern [N prep. N]. As regards syntactic patterns, the high level of specificity of Danish verbs correlates with a structural flexibility that allows inherently intransitive, manner-expressing activity predicates of this language to be constructed telically. In contrast, the possibility of constructing telic variations of such predicates is generally considered a rather marginal phenomenon in the Romance languages (e.g. Korzen 2003: 85-89 and references therein).

Keywords: Clause patterns, general vs. specific verbs, lexical taxonomies, telicity, word-formation.

1. Introduction

This paper argues that contrasting word-formation and syntactic patterns in Danish and Spanish correlate with deep-rooted lexical differences between *endocentric* (Germanic) and *exocentric* (Romance) languages.

Specifically, this paper adduces and defends two hypotheses about the assumed link between the basic semantic structure of nouns and prevalent patterns of word-formation in Danish and Spanish, on the one hand, and, on the other, structural tendencies of these two languages to differently encode information into the VP, and, more broadly, the clause as such.[1]

First, I suggest that the integration of composition—especially nominal—into the grammatical system of the Germanic languages as a highly automated and productive morphological word-formation process is directly connected to the observation that Danish simple nouns tend to lexicalize on a generic or hyperonymic-family level (e.g. *tæppe* "carpet" and *vogn* "wagon" in (5) and (6)). A "natural" consequence of the reduced intension, and corresponding broad extension, of its nouns is that to designate entities on a hyponymic level, that is, to create subtypes, Danish is predisposed to

[1] A preliminary and simplified version of the analysis of word-formation patterns has been published as pre-proceedings by the University of Algarve in Faro (Müller 2013), whereas aspects of the hypothesis concerning encoding different information into the VP have been treated by Müller (2014 and 2019). Moreover, a condensed version in Spanish of the word-formation issue has been accepted for publishing in the proceedings of the CILPR 2019 in Copenhagen (Müller to appear). However, this paper presents a new and unified account of how the structure of the lexicon interacts with morphological and syntactic aspects.

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use compounding as a preferred word-formation strategy (e.g. *sengetæppe* "bedcover" and *lastvogn* "truck" in (5) and (6)). In contrast, Spanish simple nouns predominantly lexicalize the hyponymic level, that is, they specify entities on a lower conceptual level (e.g. *colcha* "bedcover" and *camion* "truck" in (5) and (6)), and, therefore, it is assumed that compounding is a relatively marginal phenomenon in Spanish, when compared to Danish, for example. Consequently, Spanish simple nouns are denotatively more precise than their Danish counterparts, which could be an explanation for the extensive use of derivation in Spanish.

Second, I propose that a central element for understanding differences in linguistic event-structuring in the Germanic and the Romance languages is the (im)possibility of, or at least tendency to, accepting manner-verbs in the center of clause, and letting them express both telic and atelic events. In Danish, inherently intransitive manner-verbs are structurally flexible, in the sense that they may systematically project different argument structures, referring to events conceptualized as both having endpoints (telic) and not having endpoints (atelic) (see e.g. the contrast between *sejle bidevind* "sail by the wind" and *sejle agterud* "lag behind" in (19)), whereas in Spanish, generally the possibility of transitivizing or causativizing intransitive manner-verbs and using them as main verbs in both telic and atelic event descriptions is very limited (almost non-existent). Generally, Danish is very concerned with the manner in which an event takes place, whereas Spanish focusses on the result of the event, and leaves the semantic component MANNER to be expressed on the periphery of the clause, if at all.

This paper starts by briefly explaining the distinction between endo- and exocentric languages, which concerns the distribution of semantic traits among word classes. This introduction to the framework is followed by an investigation of the two hypotheses outlined above, concerning the relationship between the structure of the lexicon, and morphological and syntactic phenomena. The final section presents a brief conclusion.

2. Endocentric vs. exocentric languages

The distinction between the so-called endocentric and exocentric languages takes its point of departure in the basic typological assumption that the Germanic languages, in their prototypical clause formation pattern, concentrate information in the verb, and leave the nominal arguments relatively underspecified semantically. In contrast to this distribution of information, the Romance languages concentrate information in the nominal arguments of the verb, whereas the main verb of the clause itself has a relatively reduced semantic weight.[2] In the case of the Germanic languages, these information-balancing principles prototypically result in a description of the relevant state of affairs as rather concrete relations between underspecified entities (endocentric = concentration of information in the center of the clause), whereas in the case of the Romance languages, the description of the state of affairs in question materializes as abstract relations between specific entities (exocentric = concentration of information in the periphery of the sentence). The following two contrastive examples from Danish and Spanish illustrate this basic difference in information distribution.[3]

[2] The theory of endocentric and exocentric languages has been developed by the Danish research group, TYPOlex, at the Copenhagen Business School (CBS), and it is comprehensively described in various publications, e.g. Herslund & Baron (2003), Baron & Herslund (2005), and Korzen (2016).

[3] In this paper, no interlinear glossing is provided, as the issues studied generally concern the semantic content of lexical items, and the explanations accompanying the examples and the translations into English should make them entirely transparent. However, it must be noted that because of English's status as a hybrid of Germanic and Romance languages, at least as far as its lexicon is concerned, in many cases it is possible to supply both a Germanic- and a Romance-oriented English translation of the original Danish and Spanish examples. In this context, the Germanic versions of the English translations have been chosen.

(1) *Chaufføren kørte vognen ind i hallen.*
El conductor introdujo el coche en la nave.
"The driver drove the car into the hall."
(2) *Tæppet ligger på stolen.*
La manta está en la silla.
"The blanket lies on the chair."

Briefly explained, the Danish main verbs, *kørte* "drove" and *ligger* "lies", incorporate the semantic component MANNER in their lexical makeup, that is, they specify the way in which the motion event takes place, and the particulars of the positional event, respectively. Consequently, assigning concrete theta-roles to the argument structure is semantically governed and restricted by the main verb, which by definition constitutes the center of the clause. In contrast, the Spanish main verbs, *introdujo* "introduced" and *está* "is (located)", impose few or no restriction in terms of theta-role assignment, due to their lack of a MANNER component, which indicates that the informational weight of the clause is outside the center.

With respect to the nominal arguments, the nouns, the opposite holds true in the sense that the Spanish nouns are denotationally precise, whereas the Danish ones are vague. The Danish nouns, *vognen* "the car", and *hallen* "the hall" in (1), and *tæppet* "the blanket", and *stolen* "the chair" in (2), do not specify which type of *hal* "hall" or *stol* "chair" is actually implied by the nominal expression. The nouns do not explicitly indicate whether they refer to, perhaps, a *danse**hal*** "dance hall", *sports**hal*** "sports center", *svømme**hal*** "public swimming pool", *støbe**hal*** "foundry", *vaske**hal*** "car wash bay", *ride**hal*** "indoor riding arena", or *øreklap**stol*** "wingback chair", *sække**stol*** "beanbag chair", *tron**stol*** "throne", *barber**stol*** "barber's chair", *flugt**stol*** "deck chair", and so on.[4] In many cases, the context will clarify the meaning of the nominal to a certain extent, but the point is that the noun itself does not contain information about the subtype. On the other hand, the Spanish nouns have a more precise denotation, in that they explicitly refer to certain specific kinds, or subtypes, of the entities in question. Consequently, *nave* "hall" and *silla* "chair" can never refer to a public swimming pool or a wingback chair, that is, they do not have the status of broad concepts that encompass all kinds of halls and chairs. From this it also follows that it is impossible to translate denotatively non-specific Danish nouns into Spanish without a proper context.

We have seen that Danish verbs and Spanish nouns have a more specified intension than their contrasting counterparts in the other language, which means that the set of entities covered by these linguistic expressions is relatively reduced, that is, an enriched intension is matched by a narrow extension. Conversely, Spanish verbs and Danish nouns have relatively few semantic traits, and, therefore, the set of entities defined by these expressions is broad. This basic distribution of information may be illustrated as in (3).

(3) **Lexico-semantic complementarity**

Endocentric languages (e.g. Danish):	n—VP—n
Exocentric languages (e.g. Spanish):	N—vp—N

Capital letters indicate where the semantic weight is concentrated in the clause, and the distinction between the designations "VP" and "N" (as opposed to a more or less expanded "NP") specifies that in the case of the verbs, it is predominantly—in my eyes at least—a question of language

[4] The heads of the nominal compounds are marked in bold face to highlight the fact that this part functions as a constant that, used in isolation, has a very broad denotation, but with a prenominal modifier specifies a more precise concept.

use, whereas in the case of the nouns, the difference between the language types lies exclusively in the structure of the lexicon. This last point will be developed later in the paper.

3. Simple nouns, compounds, and derivations

Based on the theory of endo- and exocentric languages, this section treats the well-known empirical observation, or morphological fact, that the Germanic languages often use *nominal* compounds to express what the Romance languages convey with simple nouns and derivations (Bally 1932; Rainer & Varela 1992). This means that the translated Danish equivalents of many simple and derived Spanish words are compounds (cf. (3) and (4)) (see Müller 2013 and Müller to appear).

(3) **Simple noun → compound**

butaca – arm-stol	[arm-chair] "armchair"
veterinario – dyr-læge	[animal-doctor] "veterinarian"
manta – slumre-tæppe	[slumber-blanket] "blanket"

(4) **Derivation → compound**

platanal – banan-plantage	[banana-plantation] "banana plantation"
campanario – klokke-tårn	[bell-tower] "belfry"
torada – tyre-flok	[bull-herd] "herd of bulls"

Next, I argue that the variation between the word-formation patterns of the two types of language does not seem to be random, but, instead, correlates to deep-rooted lexical differences between endocentric languages (Germanic) and exocentric languages (Romance).

As suggested previously, the nouns of the two language types show opposite lexicalization structures, cf. (5), (6) and (7).

(5)

Endocentric languages [Danish]		**Exocentric languages [Spanish]**	
tæppe	[carpet, etc.][5]	[Ø]	lit. transl.
*senge**tæppe***	[bedcover]	*colcha*	[bed –]
*væg**tæppe***	[tapestry]	*tapiz*	[wall –]
*gulv**tæppe***	[carpet]	*alfombra*	[floor –]
*væg-til-væg **tæppe***	[wall-to-wall carpet]	*moqueta*	[wall to wall –]
*teater**tæppe**/scene**tæppe***	[curtain]	*telón*	[theater/ stage –]
*slumre**tæppe***	[blanket]	*manta*	[slumber –]

(6)

Endocentric languages [Danish]		**Exocentric languages [Spanish]**	
vogn	[wagon, etc.]	[Ø]	lit. transl.
*person**vogn***	[car]	*coche*	[person –]
*last**vogn***	[truck]	*camión*	[load –]
*gods**vogn***	[goods wagon]	*vagón*	[goods –]
*sække**vogn***	[hand truck]	*carretilla*	[sack –]
*hyre**vogn***	[taxi]	*taxi*	[hire –]
*lad**vogn***	[flatbed truck]	*plataforma*	[platform –]
*vare**vogn***	[van]	*furgoneta*	[goods –]

[5] The etceteras in (5)-(7) in this position indicate that the English translations are, in fact, more precise than the Danish simple nouns and, therefore, cover them only partially.

(7)

Endocentric languages [Danish]		**Exocentric languages [Spanish]**	
hal	[hall, etc.]	[Ø]	lit. transl.
*svømme**hal***	[swimming facility]	*piscine*	[swimming –]
*ride**hal***	[riding arena]	*picadero*	[riding –]
*lager**hal***	[warehouse]	*almacén*	[storage –]
*slagte**hal***	[slaughterhouse]	*matadero*	[slaughter –]
*fabriks**hal***	[factory hall]	*nave (industrial)*	[factory –]

As appears in the examples above, generally, exocentric nouns—here, Spanish simple nouns—are lexically more content-bearing and precise than the endocentric ones, here, Danish nouns. Whereas exocentric denominations of artifacts tend to lexicalize the formal quale, in a Pustejovskyian sense (1991, 1995 and 2001), that is, regarding the shape, dimensionality, and structure of the object, endocentric, artifact-denoting nouns are inclined to lexicalize only the telic quale, that is, the object's functional dimension. This exclusive focus on the purpose of the object, or lack of focus on its form, means that in many cases Danish simple nouns are semantically vague, and, therefore, they may function as denominators on a generic prototype level, that is, a general hyperonymic level (also see Rosch 1975, 1978), which frequently does not exist in Spanish. The nouns *vogn* "wagon", an object used for transportation, *tæppe* "carpet", an object used for decoration or for covering things, and *hal* "hall", a large, high-ceilinged room or building usually for some kind of activity, represent family-level lexicalization, whereas the corresponding Romance nouns, because of their lexical specification of form, must denote configurationally defined, specific objects (also see Müller 2013 for a similar description of data).

The high degree of semantic bleaching of the Danish simple nouns corresponds strongly to a specific emphasis on the functional dimension of the object denoted by the noun. According to Wierzbicka (1985), the meaning of artifact-denoting lexemes is always conditioned by our thoughts about the function that these objects have been produced to realize, that is, man-made objects and their linguistic expressions, the nouns, continuously carry a meaning of function in them as an inherent feature (also see Baron 2002: 53). Based on this, we may hypothesize that the polysemic nature of the Danish artifact-denoting nouns, which makes their final denotative interpretation heavily and differentially dependent on their context, is strongly connected to the fact that function defines the fundamental meaning of such nouns. In other words, the functional-meaning dimension is specifically what remains when no other semantic features are present.

As the Spanish nouns also denote artifacts, by definition they also include a functional semantic feature—a *vagón* "goods wagon" clearly has the purpose of transporting goods—but at the same time, they express the configuration of the relevant object. So, apart from being familiar with its function, we know more or less how the entity type denoted by *telón* "theater curtain" looks, that is, we can create a mental picture of it—we might even be able to draw it. Without a proper context, it is impossible to create an image of the entity types denoted by the Danish simple nouns *tæppe* "carpet", *vogn* "wagon", and *hal* "hall." They remain abstract linguistic representations of entity types to which we can ascribe a function—for example, *vogn* "wagon" specifies an object meant for transportation, but offers no information about how this type of entity may look.

The examples above systematically indicate that in Danish, when a level below the general hyperonymic level is needed, this is usually achieved by nominal composition. Subtypes are specified by adding prenominal modifiers to the semantically abstract head noun, and this linguistic process clearly indicates that each compound denotes a subtype of the super-type referred to by the head noun. In contrast, the Spanish simple nouns do not show any family relationships or resemblance to each other at the linguistic level, that is, the Spanish nouns do not specify subtypes of a super-type, because there exists no such expression or concept on the hyperonymic level. In fact, in Spanish there is no

linguistic cue that signals any kind of conceptual association among the various kinds of entities denoted by the nouns.

When it comes to natural kind terms, as opposed to artifact-denoting nouns, we can identify lexicalization patterns similar to those presented above, although apparently to a limited extent. The shellfish taxonomy presented in (8) offers yet another example of how Spanish tends to not have a general hyperonym, only a class term, and, therefore, concrete species of shellfish are not correlated to each other by their linguistic denomination, so to speak. Danish dispenses with a general hyperonym for this category, and its hyponymic level is lexicalized based on compound nouns.

(8)	1. generic hyperonym, class	(*skaldyr – marisco*) [shellfish]
	2. general hyperonym, family	(*musling – Ø*) [mussel, etc.]
	3. hyponyms, species	(*blå-musling* "blue-," *hjerte-musling* "heart-," *kam-musling* "comb-," *venus-musling* "venus-" *– mejillón, berberecho, vieira, almeja*) [mussel, cockle, scallop, clam]

Both Danish and Spanish lexicalize the top class-level with generic hyperonyms (*skaldyr – marisco* "shellfish"), whereas only Danish has a general, intermediate-family-level hyperonym (*musling* "mussel", etc.), which is then, as a lexicalization strategy, used as head in nominal compounds, to create expressions at the bottom level of individual species (*blå-**musling*** "blue-" *hjerte-**musling*** "heart-", etc.).

It is quite clear that in the case of terms for natural kinds, it would make no sense to claim an intrinsic meaning of function, as these entities are not made by man and, therefore, are not born, as it were, with a built-in purpose. However, it still holds that the noun *musling* "mussel, etc.", for example, is an abstraction—probably based on a set of common visual features—that does not correspond with a clear mental image of how this kind of entity is supposed to be configured.

Possibly, given the absence of function or purpose, the lexicalization patterns within the realm of natural kinds show a great deal of variation. To give just a few examples, we see hierarchies where both Danish and Spanish have an expression on the family level, as in the case of *træ – árbol* "tree", but only Danish can lexicalize the hyponymic level by using compounds: *ege-**træ** – roble/encina* "oak [tree]", *bøge-**træ** – haya* "beech [tree]", *birke-**træ** – abedul* "birch [tree]", and so on.[6] Moreover, there are cases where Spanish, to a certain extent at least, seems to follow the Germanic pattern, by lexicalizing the species level based on compound-like structures: blå-**hval** – ***ballena** azul* "blue whale", *pukkel-**hval** – **ballena** jorobada* "humpback whale", *nar-**hval** – **ballena** narval* "narwhal", and so on. However, exceptions to this pattern are terms such as *cachalote – kaskelot-**hval*** "sperm whale" and *rorcual – fin-**hval*** "fin whale", which in most cases seem to appear without *ballena* as the head of the NP.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the nominal lexicalization patterns discussed above are representative of how lexical hierarchies are created in endocentric and exocentric languages, although this study is not based on statistical data. To further support the claims presented in this section, a number of additional examples from various ontological areas are listed below (see Herslund 1997 for similar examples from French, and Müller 2013, where the same examples are used).

[6] In Danish, terms of trees also occur naturally as non-compound structures (simple lexemes), cf. e.g. *eg* "oak" and *bøg* "beech".

(9)

Professions:	
læge → "doctor"	*dyr-læge* "animal-", *børne-læge* "childrens-", *øjen-læge* "eye-" *veterinario, pediatra, oculista* [veterinarian, pediatrician, oculist]
Institutions:	
ret → "court"	*by-ret* "city-", *lands-ret* "land-", *højeste-ret* "supreme" – *juzgado, audiencia (territorial), tribunal supremo* [city court, high court, supreme court]
Artifacts:	
stang → "bar/rod"	*jern-stang* "iron-", *fiske-stang* "fishing-", *plejl-stang* "flail-" – *barra, caña (de pescar), biela* [bar, rod, connecting rod]
Plants:	
nød → "nut"	*hassel-nød* "hazel-", *val-nød* "wal-", *pistacie-nød* "pistachio-" – *avellana, nuez, pistacho* [hazelnut, walnut, pistachio]
Animals:	
ugle → "owl"	*horn-ugle* "horn-", *slør-ugle* "veil-", *nat-ugle* "night-" – *búho, lechuza, cárabo* [horned owl, barn owl, tawny owl]
Body parts:	
skæg → "beard"	*fuld-skæg* "full-", *over-skæg* "over-", *fip-skæg* "pointed-" – *barba, bigote, perilla* [(full) beard, moustache, Vandyke beard]
finger → "finger"	*tommel-finger* "thumb-", *pege-finger* "pointing-", *lang-finger* "long-", *ring-finger* "ring-", *lille-finger* "little-" – *pulgar, índice, corazón, anular, meñique* [thumb, index finger, middle finger, ring finger, little finger]

Up to this point, we have discussed a number of examples that show that Danish, an endocentric, Germanic language, generally has semantically vague simple nouns that, in terms of lexical hierarchies, designate entities on an abstract, intermediate family level. To reference specific species or subtypes of artifacts on a hyponymic level, Danish applies the compositional system as a common strategy, and thereby uses prenominal modification to specify the constitution, shape, purpose, or origin of the non-figurative object in question. In contrast, Spanish, an exocentric, Romance language, in the main lacks abstract family-level expressions, and instead uses specific simple nouns that refer to actual species or artifacts. Against this background, and without assuming teleological necessity or inevitability, it seems reasonable to recognize a relationship between any language's obvious need to conceptualize and communicate about entities on a specific level, and the existence of a highly automated and productive word-formation system in the form of composition, in the Germanic languages. The main communicative task performed by the compositional system is to specifically narrow down the denotation of the modified head noun. Conversely, it may be argued that the specificity of simple nouns in Spanish, for example, correlates with the fact that the Romance languages have not developed a complete system of morphological composition, following the logic that the Romance simple nouns already encapsulate sufficient semantic information to designate physically configured entities. As a rule, in these languages, either the semantic components are already integrated lexically into the simple name, or they use an alternative strategy, namely derivation, to lead the original lexical unit in another semantic direction, that is, towards greater specificity.

Following the line of reasoning presented above may be a way to strengthen our basis for understanding why composition in the Romance languages has generally not been routinized and incorporated into the grammatical system as a morphological mechanism, but has the status of a syntactic device, prototypically following the formative pattern [N prep. N].

Yet another consideration that supports the assumption of a fundamental typological difference between word-formation patterns in endo- and exocentric languages is the observation illustrated with the data in (10).

(10)

*banan – banan**plantage***	*plátano – platan**al***
[banana – banana plantation]	
*bro – bro**afgift***	*puente – pont**aje***
[bridge – bridge toll]	
*høns – hønse**hus***	*gallina – gallin**ero***
[hens – henhouse]	
*klokke – klokke**tårn***	*campana – campan**ario***
[bell – bell tower (belfry)]	
*sennep – senneps**glas/-krukke***	*mostaza – mostac**era***
[mustard – mustard pot]	
*tand – tand**sæt***	*diente – dentad**ura***
[tooth – tooth set]	
*tyr – tyre**flok***	*toro – tor**ada***
[bull – bull herd]	
*ur – ur**mager***	*reloj – reloj**ero***
[watch – watchmaker]	

The foregoing examples show that when the semantically under-specified Danish simple nouns appear as heads of compounds, they closely resemble the Spanish derivative suffixes, which are also semantically vague. We generally say that affixes express relatively abstract concepts compared to lexemes, and there is the obvious functional difference between them that lexemes may occur in sentences in their own right, as fully developed syntactic constituents, whereas affixes are licensed in syntactic structures only in combination with a lexeme. However, from a translingual perspective, endocentric head nouns and exocentric affixes actually have a noticeable functional and semantic similarity to each other. From the perspective of dependency linguistics, the functional analogy arises from the fact that both the derivational suffix of the Spanish nominal lexeme and the head noun of the Danish compound function as governors that take a root as their dependents, either the derivational base or the pre-head nominal modifier (Müller 2010). This is to be understood as meaning that in both cases, the governor transforms the root into a noun, that is, the governor instantiates the root as belonging to the word-class of nouns.

Semantically, the assumed analogy relates to the fact that in isolation both the Danish head nouns and the Spanish suffixes do not convey any specific meaning. The analogy is further supported by the fact that Danish nouns, when they function as heads of compounds, are even reduced prosodically, and pronounced with a secondary stress. We may say that they share the characteristic of semantic non-specificity, although as mentioned previously, Danish nouns can function as independent lexemes, whereas Spanish suffixes require a lexical basis to act as independent elements in syntax. In terms of denotation, there is, of course, an obvious difference between lexemes—no matter how vague they may be semantically—and suffixes: Lexemes—and not suffixes—have a lexical meaning which is usually described in a dictionary.

Following the foregoing line of reasoning we might ask ourselves in what sense a lexeme such as *hus* "house" (cf. *høns**hus*** "henhouse" in (10)) is supposed to be semantically imprecise. *Hus* means house, and that is that, one might claim. Well, the key point is that *hus* "house" constitutes a lexicalization at the hyperonymic family level, and thus is heavily polysemous. Consequently, the lexeme *hus* "house" lacks a precise equivalent in Spanish and other exocentric languages. To further

illustrate this argument, it suffices for us to ask ourselves whether the correct translation into Spanish (corresponding Danish terms in brackets) should be *pajarero* (*fugle**hus***) "bird house", *rascacielos* (*høj**hus***) "skyscraper", *heladería* (*is**hus***) "ice-cream stand", *correos* (*post**hus***) "post office", *ayuntamiento* (*råd**hus***) "town hall", *concha* (*snegle**hus***) "snail shell", *almacén* (*vare**hus***) "warehouse", *posada* (*værts**hus***) "pub", or *gallinero* (*hønse**hus***) "henhouse". The fact of the matter is that all these Spanish lexemes match with *hus* "house" in Danish, which makes translating a decontextualized statement such as *hun så på huset* "she looked at the house" into Spanish essentially impossible, although in the most likely scenario, *huset* 'the house' would probably refer to some kind of residential building. As mentioned previously, we cannot translate Danish hyperonym lexemes into exocentric languages without access to a context that clearly indicates the type of entity, relationship, or activity involved in each case.

The analyses presented above discuss the fact that Danish nouns are semantically imprecise or ambiguous (underspecified in a denotational sense), and that this factor seems to correlate with a highly productive compositional system. Similarly, we may observe that Spanish has not developed a full morphological system of nominal composition—it presents more difficulties when combining its semantically heavy nouns, one might assume—and that this circumstance correlates with the fact that the exocentric languages make comparatively greater use of their derivational system.

4. Argument structure expansion and telicity

This section focuses on the second hypothesis outlined in the introduction, namely that the different degrees of specificity of the verbs of endo- and exocentric languages show a correlation with verbs' potential to be constructed telically and with an expanded argument structure.

According to Herslund (2014: 76), endocentric languages favor the use of specific verbs, that is, verbs that generally lexicalize the semantic component MANNER, whereas exocentric languages tend to use general verbs, that is, verbs whose formal definition includes relatively few semantic features. This difference is illustrated by the examples in (11), (12), and (13) (also see Müller 2014: 126 and 2019: 47).

(11)	*lægge kabale*	*hacer solitarios*	"play solitaire"
	pjække	*hacer corrales*	"play truant"
	sno sig/siksakke	*hacer culebra*	"twist oneself/zigzag"
	strikke	*hacer punto*	"knit"
	hoppe af	*hacer defección*	"defect"

(12) *Han stopper bukserne ned i støvlerne.* *Se mete los pantalones en las botas.*
"He stuffs his trousers into his boots"
Hun satte retten ind i ovnen. *Metió el plato en el horno.*
"She put the dish in the oven"
Han sætter/lægger/stiller tingene på plads. *Coloca las cosas en su sitio.*
"He is putting away/back the things"

(13) *Hvalen svømmede ind i havnen.* *La ballena entró en el puerto.*
"The whale swam into the harbor"
Fuglen fløj ud af buret. *El pájaro salió de la jaula.*
"The bird flew out of the cage"

The Danish verbs in (11) and (12) have a narrow extension, as, in their intension, they include the semantic feature of MANNER, that is, they express the manner in which the relevant verbal activities are carried out. They impose selectional constraints on their internal arguments, either the direct object or the unaccusative, intransitive subject, and, thus cover a relatively limited number of

situations descriptively. On the other hand, the Spanish translational equivalents, *hacer* "do", *meter* "put", and *colocar* "place", do not contain any information about manner in their lexical composition. Therefore, generally, they license all kinds of nominal arguments, and are very little restricted in terms of the real-world events they may be used to represent (also see Müller 2014: 127).

In the more restricted context of motion events, (cf. 13), these reflections on contrasts between the verbal specificity of endo- and exocentric languages have already been discussed by traditional comparative linguists, who were typically oriented to the description of expressions of movement in German and French (e.g. Strohmeyer 1924, Malblanc 1944, Bergh 1948, Vinay and Darbelnet 1958 and Tesnière 1959). In this connection, Talmy's typological approach (e.g. 2000), which describes the various ways of expressing movement as systematic typological contrasts in the encoding of semantic information in lexical elements, should also be mentioned. Briefly stated, the Danish verbs used in (13) to express the activities in question, conflate the semantic components of MOTION and MANNER, whereas the directionality or path of the movement is communicated by the particles *ind* "into" and *ud* "out of". The corresponding Spanish verbs integrate MOTION and PATH, and do not specify the manner in which the event takes place. Again, this leads to the general condition that Danish imposes semantic restrictions on the arguments—not all types of entities can swim or fly—whereas this is not the case in Spanish, where the only requirement seems to be that the subject referent can perform a movement.

The examples in (14) and (15) show how in Danish it is systematically possible to construct various types of activity verbs with alternative argument structures, so they denote telic situations, instead of unbounded activities. Thus, Danish activity verbs are highly flexible in terms of the argument structures to which they may give rise, which is generally not the case in Spanish.

(14) *Ana ror/ kører/ flyver/ sejler/ cykler [Maria] derop//til Norge.*
**/?Ana rema/ conduce/ vuela/ navega/ pedalea [*a Maria] allí (arriba)//a Noruega.*
"Ana rows/ drives/ flies/ sails/ bikes [Maria] up there//to Norway"

In (14), a number of activity verbs are constructed with the post-verbal particle, *derop* "up there", or an adjunct PP, *til Norge* "to Norway", each indicating the direction and endpoint of the motion event, and thereby prompting a telic interpretation. This is generally not possible in Spanish, although we do find telic constructions with some activity verbs, such as *remar* "row", *volar* "fly" (e.g. Müller 2014). The direct object in square brackets, *[Maria]*, shows that in Danish, all these activity verbs may freely occur as transitive structures, whereas transitivization of intransitive activity verbs is generally not licensed in Spanish. Accordingly, the "**/?*" sign that introduces the Spanish form indicates the general absence of the possibility of unaccusativization (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995), whereas the asterisk in front of the direct object rules out transitivization. Moreover, this argument structure transformation option is not limited to verbs that conflate MOTION and MANNER, but may be applied more generally to both transitive and intransitive, non-displacement manner of activity verbs (cf. (15) and (16)).

(15) *Brudgom **løj sig død** for at slippe for brylluppet.*
"Bridegroom lied about his death to escape the wedding"
www.udeoghjemme.dk (accessed August 20, 2014)

(16) *Lad **sovsen koge tyk** i ti minutter.*
"Let the sauce boil until thick, for ten minutes"
www.femina.dk (accessed March 27, 2020)

The Danish verb *lyve* "lie" is originally intransitive, but here it is made reflexive, and its argument structure is expanded to include a subject predicate *død* "dead".[7] *Koge* "boil" is transitive, but in (16) it occurs with an object predicate, *tyk* "thick". Both expressions denote change-of-state situations, in the sense used by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995).

(17) *El novio intentó evadir la boda* ***mintiendo/con mentiras***.
"The Bridegroom tried to escape the wedding by lying"

The example in (17) has been included to show that in Spanish and other Romance languages, the MANNER component is standardly expressed on the periphery of the clause with a gerund or a PP complement, and not in the center by incorporating it into the main verb (e.g. Korzen 2003: 85-89 and references therein). Consequently, in Danish the impulse to express manner in the center of the clause overrules the lexically defined, essential argument structure, including telicity marking, of the manner verbs, so that their MANNER component may be exploited in alternative syntactic environments.

The idea behind the template format in (18) is to show that the foregoing argument structure expansion is, in fact, a systematic way to add telicity to inherently non-telic manner verbs, here illustrated with the pair of verbs *sejle – navegar* "sail".

(18)

[Danish]	**[Spanish]**
V = *Sejle*	V= *Navegar*
Non-telic use S+V+(O) = *Ole sejler (Pia) rundt langs kysten.* "Ole takes (Pia) for a sail along the coast"	S+V *Ole navega (*a Pia) a lo largo de la costa.*
Telic use Intransitive S_i+V+[$_{RSC}$ $Ø_i$+A][9] = *Ole sejler over Atlanten* "Ole is sailing across the Atlantic"	Ø[8]
Transitive S+V+[$_{RSC}$ O+A] = *Ole sejler Pia over Atlanten* "Ole is taking Pia for a sail across the Atlantic"	Ø

[7] It is also possible to analyze *død* "dead" as an object predicate and the reflexive pronoun as direct object, but this does not have a decisive influence on the present discussion.

[8] It should be pointed out in this connection that a number of Spanish manner of motion verbs can, in fact, be used in telic constructions if they, according to Pedersen (2010: 181), imply a sense of direction in their lexical make-up (see also Müller 2014: 122-125). A verb like *navegar* "sail" falls under this definition and, therefore, we see it in telic constructions such as *navegar a/hasta América* "sail to America". However, it must be emphasized that this potential of Spanish manner of motion verbs for being constructed telically is marginal compared to what applies to Danish manner of motion verbs.

[9] "A" stands for "Adject" and is to be interpreted as the third argument, which may materialize as subject and object predicatives, indirect and prepositional objects, particles and certain (bounded) adverbials.

In both languages, *sejle – navegar* may be used in non-telic constructions, but only Danish allows for transitivization, as discussed previously. Moreover, and in contrast to Spanish, Danish offers the possibility of constructing both intransitive and transitive telic expressions based on *sejle*. The impossibility of unaccusativization in Spanish is marked by Ø.

The transitive telic use is to be understood as follows: the direct object, *Pia*, becomes the logical subject of the tenseless predicate, *over Atlanten* "across the Atlantic", that is, a resultative small clause (RSC) is created between these elements (Hoekstra 1988). The state denoted by this RSC specifies the endpoint of the event expressed by the main verb, which makes the whole sentence telic. In the intransitive version, the subject of the small clause predicate, *over Atlanten*, is co-referential with the matrix subject, which is indicated by the subscripts.

Finally, (19) shows a Danish–Spanish dictionary entry for the verb *sejle* "sail."

(19) **Non-telic use**

sejle bidevind	*ir/navegar de bolina*
"sail by the wind"	
sejle på bestikket	*navegar a la estima*
"navigate by dead reckoning"	
sejle i ballast	*navegar en lastre*
"sail in ballast"	
sejle i konvoj	*navegar en conserva*
"sail under convoy"	

Telic use

sejle agterud	*dejar atrás*
"lag behind"	
sejle forbi	*pasar (delante de)*
"sail past"	
sejle en tur	*dar un paseo en barco*
"go for a sail"	
sejle over dammen	*pasar/cruzar el charco*
"cross the Atlantic"	
sejle uden/rundt om Kap Horn	*doblar el Cabo de Hornos*
"sail around Cape Horn"	

As expected, the non-telic use of the verb denotes various sailing activities, and corresponds to the Spanish activity verb *navegar*, whereas when *sejle* is used in telic structures, the Spanish equivalent changes. In these cases, *navegar* no longer works, because it cannot be constructed telically.

5. Conclusion

This paper discusses how both morphological phenomena, such as languages favoring either derivational or compositional word-formation strategies and syntactico–semantic phenomena, such as argument structure projection and telicity, are related to deep-rooted lexical differences in *endo-* (Germanic) and *exocentric* (Romance) languages.

On the morphological level, it may be said that, functionally, both endo- and exocentric languages must be able to produce terms that refer to specific types of artifacts and natural kinds, that is, they require a linguistic system to establish hyponymic relationships, but do so in different ways that reveal a correlation with the distinct patterns of primary lexicalization of these two types of

languages. Moreover, the two language families' significant difference in their respective preference for using either specific or general verbs as main predicates is shown to have broad consequences for the syntactic structuring of clauses, including their capacity to express telic events.

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Are some languages more complex than others? On text complexity and how to measure it

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Abstract: In this paper, I discuss the concept of linguistic complexity, which has been high on the linguistic agenda during the last few decades (Merlini Barbaresi (ed.) 2003, Sampson et al. (eds.) 2009, Moretti 2018 and many others). I first cite the most important definitions of complexity proposed by different scholars, I then apply and compare particular elements of these definitions to linguistic phenomena found in two specific languages, Italian and Danish. I focus mainly on the number of propositions per sentence and on the degree of their subordination (as conveyed by verb implicitness and nominalisation), two manifestations of complexity that are numerically measurable and cross-linguistically comparable. I give both cross- and intralinguistic examples taken from comparable texts that exhibit differences in these kinds of complexity, and in this way I demonstrate that linguistic complexity is clearly linked to and dependent on the language type in question as well as the given uses and people. In the case of Italian, we might talk about a "language-internal multilingualism". However, I conclude the paper by giving a positive answer to my question: Some languages are indeed more complex than others.

Keywords: Language complexity, text structure, text density, deverbalisation, intra- and cross-linguistic text comparison.

1. Introduction

"Italian is a very complex and complicated language". I am certain I am not the only Scandinavian language teacher who has heard such a lamentation or complaint from students, and probably not just about Italian, also more generally about the Romance languages. But is it true? Are some languages or language groups more complex than others? If so, by which parameters, and can it be measured and proved?

Some decades ago, the general answer from the (at that time relatively few) scholars who were investigating the concept of complexity was "no". A well-known and often quoted statement is the following by Richard Hudson (1981: 2.2): "There is no evidence that normal human languages differ greatly in the complexity of their rules", a statement that originally appeared in a paper in *Journal of Linguistics* with the eloquent title "83 things linguists can agree about". The assumption, later baptized "ALEC" ("All Languages are Equally Complex"), implies that a relative simplicity in one respect in a language would entail a relative complexity in another respect in the same language (McWhorter 2001: 127-129), and was partly based on the supposition that all languages should generally be acquired equally readily by children as their first language (Hudson 1981: 2.5.i; Ferguson 1982: 61).

However, already a year later the axiom was questioned, and it was acknowledged that "like any other proposed general principle, it requires empirical verification" (Ferguson 1982: 62). It was later dismissed altogether, and it was recognised that some linguistic systems are indeed more difficult and more complex than others (Trudgill 2009: 99); cf. also McWhorter (2001), Moretti (2018) and most of the contributions to Sampson et al. (eds.) (2009). Much debate has also focused on whether language complexity is a universal constant or an evolving variable (Sampson 2009: 1), cf. e.g. many of the contributions to Sampson et al. (eds.) (2009), which also bears a very eloquent title: *Language Complexity as an Evolving Variable*. This question has been examined particularly in sociolinguistics, and mostly with a focus on the opposite concept of complexity, i.e. simplicity and simplification, cf. e.g. Fiorentino (2009) and Moretti (2018). Berruto (2012: 176) concludes – in agreement with my students – that instead of considering popular Italian as a simplified linguistic variety, one could and

should consider *standard* Italian as a particularly complex and in a certain sense "unnatural" linguistic variety due to its early literary and "elitist" standardization, cf. also Migliorini (1971).

But it should be specified which features or aspects of a given language we consider to be complex or difficult. It could be equally argued that when it comes e.g. to pronunciation and simple sentence structure, Italian is a fairly uncomplicated and easy language to learn. We shall return to the particularly challenging aspects of Italian in sections 3-4.

2. Definitions and examples of complexity

The notion of "complexity" came to linguistics from other sciences such as physics, anthropology and philosophy, and was basically defined as the quantity of information necessary to comprise and adequately understand and explain a system or set of elements (Merlini Barbaresi 2003: 24, 2005: 302). The same parameter is found in many definitions of linguistic complexity. Some scholars distinguish between "absolute or objective" and "relative, perceptual or agent-related" complexity, the former being intrinsic to the linguistic system proper and the latter the complexity experienced by language users as features that are costly or difficult to speakers, hearers and language learners (Masi 2003; Merlini Barbaresi 2004: sect. 1; Miestamo 2009: 81ff; Dahl 2009: 50-52; Fiorentino 2009: 282ff). On the particular difficulties that web texts create for the receiver, see Prada (2003).

In his sociolinguistic approach, Moretti (2018: 40-42) subdivides the systemic complexity in "spontaneous (or primary) complexity", linked to the creation of the language in question, and a "second phase (or secondary) complexity", caused e.g. by the diffusion of written language and normativisation of particularly formal varieties, a very evident characteristic of Italian.

Bisang (2009: 35, 37-38) suggests a distinction between "overt" and "hidden complexity", where the former "forces the speaker to explicitly encode certain grammatical categories" (as e.g. in obligatory case marking in nouns or pronouns or mood marking in verbs), and the latter consists of either grammatical markers that have a wide range of meaning but are non-obligatory, or simple surface structures open to more than one interpretation, as e.g.,

(1) I saw the man in the park with the telescope. (Bisang 2009: 43),

where *in the park* can modify either *the man* or *I saw the man,* and *with the telescope* can modify either *the park* or *I saw the man in the park*. "Hidden complexity" always depends on pragmatic inference and makes quantitative analyses very difficult (Bisang 2009: 49).

Scholars generally agree with McWhorter (2001: 133) that "ranking any human language upon a complexity scale is a daunting task". Deutscher (2009) states: "I argue that it is in fact impossible to define the notion of overall complexity in an objective, meaningful way. At best, the "overall complexity" of a language can be understood as "a vector (one-dimensional matrix) of separate values" (Deutscher 2009: 247), i.e. as the accumulation of different values that together bring the complexity to a higher or lower point in the same dimension. See also Bertuccelli (2003: 139), Maas (2009: 177), Nichols (2009: 120ff) and Moretti (2018: 37). Even the mere notion of textual complexity is a very complex one: "[T]extual complexity turns out to be the result of the cumulative effects of the interaction among different variables that belong to all levels of texture" (Masi 2003: 142).

The scholars that go into more specific definitions take their point of departure in the general approach to complexity of an object as "the amount of information needed to recreate or specify it" (Dahl 2009: 50). McWhorter (2001: 125) defines linguistic complexity as "the degree of overt signalling of various phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and semantic distinctions beyond communicative necessity", and as cases of such "unnecessary overspecification" he mentions (McWhorter 2001: 161) gender marking, multiple past tenses, subjunctive marking and nominalised

intransitive verbs. In the same vein, Fiorentino (2009: 282-286) quotes as factors contributing to linguistic complexity a high number of subtypes of a given item, a high number of alternative variants of a (typically morphological) function, a high number of syntactic rules (and exceptions to the rules) to generate an output, i.e. more syntax than pragmatics, and less transparency in the relation form-function. For a similar definition, see Nichols (2009: 111-112).

Fiorentino is inspired e.g. by Ferguson (1982: 60), who gives a number of examples of complex linguistic structure, among which are: Larger lexicon in a given semantic domain, extensive inflectional systems, syntactically subordinate clauses and word order conditioned by syntax. A similar, but more detailed, overview can be found in Masi (2003: 140-141).

On the topic of second language acquisition (SLA), cf. also Ellis (2016). As particular difficulty factors in an SLA context, Ellis (2016: 342) lists "perceptual salience, semantic complexity, morphophonological regularity, syntactic category, and frequency", of which perceptual salience plays a special role. The notion of salience is defined (Ellis 2016: 342) as "the ability of a stimulus to stand out from the rest", and it "can be independently determined by physics and the environment". Particularly important for perceptual salience are "the number of phones in the functor (phonetic substance), the presence/absence of a vowel in the surface form (syllabicity), and the total relative sonority of the functor", and "linguistic forms of low psychophysical salience are more difficult both to perceive and to learn". However, the constant of "learner-related complexity" is at best dubious since it will largely depend on the distance between the learners' L1 and their L2 (Deutscher 2009: 247).

In an analysis of the differences between spoken and written language, Chafe (1985) introduces the concept of "idea units" that contain "all the information a speaker can handle in a single focus of consciousness" (Chafe 1985: 106). Such idea units are textualised as sentences in written language, and as "devices" for expanding the complexity of written idea units, Chafe mentions (Chafe 1985: 108-117) nominalisations, pre- and postposed present and past participles, participle clauses, dependent finite clauses and appositives. Non-finite verb forms are an important factor also in Merlini Barbaresi's (2003: 40ff, 2004: sect. 6) analyses of text complexity in written recipes found in cookbooks.

Spoken idea units are generally shorter than written ones and more independent of each other. According to Chafe (Chafe 1985: 108), the average numbers in written and spoken English are 11 and 7 words per sentences, respectively.

3. The complexity of Italian (from a Danish viewpoint)

As a teacher of Italian in Denmark for more than 40 years, my personal experience is that the most challenging complexity a Scandinavian student faces when learning Italian, and probably more generally a Romance language, is found at the text level. More precisely, some of the main challenges are indeed found exactly in the "complexity devices" outlined by Chafe and McWhorter, devices with which the Italians embellish their (especially written) idea units in their quest for "il bello stile", the beautiful style.

This complexity is largely made possible by some typological phenomena and differences from Scandinavian; one very important one is the inventory of synthetic verb forms, which regarding Danish and Italian can be listed as illustrated in Table 1 – together with the linguistic distinctions expressed by the verb forms.

Table 1: Morphological differences between Danish and Italian verbs (synthetic forms)

Danish	**Italian**	**Distinction**
present, preterite	present, imperfetto, passato remoto, future	temporal/aspectual[1]
indicative, imperative	indicative, imperative, subjunctive, conditional	modal
infinite, present/past participle, nominalisation	infinite, present/past participle, gerund, nominalisation	rhetorical (foreground – background)

As Table 1 shows, Danish has fewer morphological possibilities than Italian to express temporal distinctions (no future form), no imperfetto/passato remoto to express an aspectual distinction, fewer modal distinctions (no subjunctive and conditional), and fewer rhetorical distinctions given the inexistence of the gerund and a much lower frequency of the other non-finite verb forms (see below). Since Danish functions quite well with such limitations, what Italian (together with the other Romance languages) has in addition to the Danish morphology, could, in McWhorter's (2001: 125) terminology, be considered as "distinctions beyond communicative necessity", and hence as linguistic complexity.

The richer Romance inflection can be learned by Scandinavian language students and may even become a positive factor in text perception and decoding, as aptly expressed by Masi (2003: 141): "Regular morphological patterns that have been internalised by the reader … may even help text decoding". However, other text structural problems may arise. It could be hypothesised that the mentioned morphological richness could have particular consequences as it entails a higher tendency towards distinguishing, narratively and/or pragmatically, between propositions: aspectually, modally or rhetorically, as outlined in the right column of Table 1. Such distinguishing might logically imply a higher tendency to include more propositions in the same idea unit – precisely with the purpose to compare or distinguish between them. Since some propositions would be interpreted as aspectually, modally or rhetorically subordinated another proposition, the same analysis could imply a higher tendency towards subordination. Vice versa, less aspectual, modal or rhetorical differentiation, as in the Scandinavian languages, could imply less comparison, hence incorporation of fewer propositions in the same idea unit, and a higher tendency towards parataxis (Korzen 2017, 2018).

Can such hypotheses be tested and possibly proved?

Well, I would say at least partly. It is clear (from Table 1) that the Italian verb morphology is considerably richer and more complex than the Danish one. Furthermore, a comparison of the number of propositions per sentence and the degree of subordination of such propositions in comparable texts will – as we shall see in the following sections – show a clear tendency of a higher text structure complexity on both parameters in Italian texts than in Danish. In this context, comparable texts are understood as authentic texts produced independently of each other (hence not translations) but in equivalent situations, with an equivalent content and intended for equivalent receivers.

4. The corpora

I conducted a number of quantitative and qualitative analyses on the basis of three different corpora of comparable Danish – Italian texts, argumentative, narrative, and expository texts respectively. The three corpora are:

- The *Europarl corpus,* consisting of political speeches held in the European Parliament (Koehn 2005, http://statmt.org/europarl/): argumentative texts.

[1] I here ignore the modal values that some of the mentioned verb forms can convey.

- The *Mr. Bean corpus*, 90 retellings of two Mr. Bean episodes produced by 18 Danish and 27 Italian university students (Skytte, Korzen, Polito, Strudsholm 1999, http://blog.cbs.dk/mrbean-korpus/): narrative texts. This corpus was produced in 1995 by a group of researchers from Copenhagen University and the Copenhagen Business School, including myself.
- The Danish project *SugarTexts - Telling the SugarStory in diverse languages*, led by our TYPOlex colleague Viktor Smith (Smith 2009, http://www.sugartexts.dk/): expository texts on the production of sugar from sugar beets.

The total number of words and the average number of words per sentence in these three corpora are cited in Table 2.

Table 2: Total number of words and words per sentence in three Danish-Italian corpora

		1. Total number of words	2. Words per sentence	
			Average numbers	Difference
Corpus Europarl	**Danish**	14,737	21.7	53.9 %
	Italian	14,708	33.4	
Corpus Mr. Bean	**Danish**	7,262	20.0	14.0 %
	Italian	7,278	22.8	
Sugar Texts	**Danish**	4,851	14.8	67.6 %
	Italian	4,819	24.8	

In all three cases, the Danish and Italian corpora are practically of the same size regarding the number of words (column 1) – and fairly modest because all the following analyses are carried out manually. Moreover, the Italian sentences are longer, i.e. contain more words, than the Danish ones, the differences being most evident in the argumentative and expository texts.

Of course, reservations should be made when operating with calculations based on the unit "(graphic) word". Some typological differences lead to a lower number of words in Danish (e.g. the definite article which in Danish is often enclitic and the many Danish nominal compounds that correspond to noun phrases N + preposition + N in Italian). On the other hand, other differences entail a lower number in Italian (e.g. verb + enclitic pronoun in Italian, non-existent in Danish, and the pro-drop phenomenon, i.e. the fact that the overt subject pronoun in Italian is only used for emphasis and otherwise omitted). However, most of the cross-linguistic differences mentioned in this and the following tables are of a size that in my opinion allows them to be used as indications of fundamental textual differences.

In itself, a simple number count of words per sentence may or may not be indicative of a high or low complexity. Even though Merlini Barbaresi (2004: sect. 2) claims that "Longer discourse units can be predicted to be more complex … because every addition, during the progression of discourse, requires integration at a more general level"; Masi (2003: 141), on the other hand, states that "long structures and a great deal of linguistic information … may even help text decoding". Cf. also Fiorentino (2009: 309) who, in this matter, compares written and oral language:

> il parlato, come è noto, produce più materiale linguistico per realizzare uno stesso significato se compariamo la versione scritta e orale di un discorso.
>
> 'oral language, as is well-known, produces more linguistic material to achieve the same meaning if we compare the written and oral version of a speech'

4.1. Propositions

In order to understand the purpose the "extra words" in Italian sentences serve, and thereby possibly get a more precise impression of text complexity phenomena and differences, I then counted the number of propositions per sentence, i.e. per "idea unit" in Chafe's terminology. The propositions are the linguistic structures composed by a predicate + its connected arguments and related to a particular instance or circumstance, whereby a truth value can be ascribed to it (Herslund 1996: 37). The propositions can be said to constitute the "ideational skeleton" of a sentence (Herslund & Smith 2003: 113-114), i.e. in Halliday's terminology (e.g. Halliday 1985: xiii) the basic elements of reference to the environment, the other two metafunctional components of linguistic communication in Halliday's system being the interpersonal (the communication situation and its components) and the textual (the way in which the text is structured).

The propositions can be described as formulas $P\ (A_1, A_2, A_3)$, where *P* is the predicate and $A_{1\text{-}3}$ the arguments. Applied to the two sentences in (2), an example taken from the Sugar Text corpus:

(2) Når vognmanden kommer til sukkerfabrikken, kører han først op på en vægt. Her bliver lastbilen med roerne vejet. Når læsset er tømt af, bliver den tomme lastbil vejet igen. (DA1)
[liter. transl.] 'When the truck driver arrives at the sugar factory, he first drives on to a scale. Here the truck with the beets is weighed. When the load is emptied, the empty truck is weighed again.'

the propositions could be described in this way:

(2)' sentence 1: *komme (vognmanden, til sukkerfabrikken)*
køre (han, op på en vægt)
sentence 2: *veje (lastbilen)*
sentence 3: *tømme af (læsset)*
veje (den tomme lastbil)

As illustrated in (2)', if the predicates are verbs, which is most often the case, these are typically cited in their infinitive form, the actual morphological realisation (tense/mood/aspect/diathesis/finiteness etc., as illustrated in Table 1) belonging to the metafunctional textual level in Halliday's system. However, the description in (2)' clearly illustrates a fairly simple text structure in (2), with only one or two propositions per sentence, which we shall return to below.

4.2. Non-finite verbs

I also counted the number of non-finite realisations, i.e. implicit verbs (infinitives, participles, gerund), and nominalisations. These forms, which Chafe includes as "complexity devices", are particularly interesting in that – deverbalised as they are in lacking modal, temporal and aspectual values – they unambiguously mark the proposition in question as a rhetorical satellite, i.e. a clause expressing a background situation with regard to a rhetorical nucleus (Matthiessen & Thompson 1988; Fox 1987; Rigotti 1993; Korzen 2007, 2009, 2017)[2]. In my analysis I therefore only include implicit and nominalised verb forms that function as predicates in propositions, and thus can be substituted by finite verb forms, see examples in (3)-(5) below.

These forms are also very interesting in connection with the notion of "text density" and the distinction between more or less "binding texts". Text density is defined as the relation between the

[2] Nominalisations constitute an exception to that rule in that they may function as valency constituents, e.g. ***L'arrivo di Luca*** *non era previsto da nessuno. '**Luca's arrival** was not expected by anyone',* in which case the nucleus-satellite relation is much more complicated. For discussions on this topic, see e.g. Korzen (1999: 348-354; 2000: 86-88).

quantity of linguistic material of a text (span) and the information that the text (span) in question intends to express (Fabricius-Hansen 1996, 1998, 1999; Jansen 2003; Hansen-Schirra, Neumann & Steiner 2007; Korzen & Gylling 2017). (For binding/non-binding texts, see below.) Non-finite verb forms are perfect examples of dense text structures since they convey a textual content using less linguistic material than an equivalent finite text structure, which will typically contain a conjunction, a finite auxiliary verb, and a subject (Korzen 2014, 2015). Cf. the following two (very typical) Italian non-finite structures in (a), a past participle and a gerund respectively, compared with the finite structures in (b), more typical in Danish, as we shall see below:

(3) a. *Arrivato tardi*, Luca ha perso l'inizio del film. '*Having arrived late*, Luca missed the beginning of the film'.
b. *Eftersom Luca var ankommet sent*, gik han glip af begyndelsen af filmen. '*Since Luca had arrived late*, he missed the beginning of the film'.

(4) a. *Arrivando tardi*, perderai l'inizio del film. '*By arriving late*, you'll miss the beginning of the film'.
b. *Hvis du kommer for sent*, går du glip af begyndelsen af filmen. '*If you arrive late*, you'll miss the beginning of the film'.

In all cases, the main clause *Luca missed the beginning of the film / You'll miss the beginning of the film* constitutes the nucleus part of the short texts, and the implicit structure / subordinate clause conveys the satellite expressing either cause (3) or condition (4). In (5), the nominalised satellite expresses time:

(5) a. *All'arrivo di Luca*, siamo andati al cinema. '*At Luca's arrival*, we went to the cinema'.
b. *Da Luca var ankommet*, gik vi i biografen. '*When Luca had arrived*, we went to the cinema'.

At the same time, the non-finite structures are less binding since they leave a precise semantic interpretation (e.g. cause, condition or time) up to the receiver to a much higher degree than a finite – and more explicit – structure. Cf. Sabatini (1999) who proposes a text typology based on the "communicative pact" between the speaker and the receivers including the degree with which the speaker binds the receivers in their interpretation of the text. A higher linguistic density requires a greater interpretative commitment by the receiver, in other words: it is more complex.

4.3. Count results and analyses

The number of propositions per sentence and the percentage of non-finite textualisations in the mentioned corpora turned out as is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Propositions per sentence and percentage of non-finite textualisations in three corpora

		1. Propositions per sentence		2. Implicit verb forms	3. Nominalisations
		Average numbers	Difference		
Corpus Europarl	**Danish**	2.15	55.8 %	13.4 %	1.8 %
	Italian	3.35		25.5 %	4.3 %
Corpus Mr. Bean	**Danish**	3.28	32.6 %	15.7 %	2.4 %
	Italian	4.35		33.7 %	5.9 %
Sugar Texts	**Danish**	2.54	82.3 %	8.9 %	11.5 %
	Italian	4.63		26.7 %	25.6 %

In all three cases, the number of propositions per sentence is considerably higher in the Italian texts (column 1), and both implicit and nominalised verbs (columns 2-3) are more than twice as frequent in Italian as in Danish (except the implicit verbs in the Europarl Corpus, which are however almost twice as frequent). Clearly these two accounts show a much higher text complexity in Italian than in Danish.

Whereas the Europarl and Bean corpora are fairly homogeneous, i.e. the individual texts vary relatively little from the average numbers cited in Table 3, the Sugar Text corpus displays considerable intralinguistic differences regarding these values, differences that are illustrated in the following Danish and Italian examples, of which I repeat ex. (2) from section 4.1:

(2) Når vognmanden kommer til sukkerfabrikken, kører han først op på en vægt. Her bliver lastbilen med roerne vejet. Når læsset er tømt af, bliver den tomme lastbil vejet igen. (DA1)
[liter. transl.] 'When the truck driver arrives at the sugar factory, he first drives on to a scale. Here the truck with the beets is weighed. When the load is emptied, the empty truck is weighed again.'

(6) La barbabietola immagazzina nella sua radice lo zucchero che fabbrica. Una volta raccolta essa viene trasportata velocemente allo zuccherificio. …
Lo zuccherificio è una fabbrica molto moderna: tutto il lavoro viene svolto da macchine, dall'arrivo delle barbabietole alla partenza dello zucchero. (IT10)
[liter. transl.] 'The sugar beet stores in its root the sugar that it produces. Once harvested it is quickly transported to the sugar factory.
The sugar factory is a very modern factory: all the work is done by machines, from the arrival of the beets to the departure of the sugar.'

(7) Ved fremstilling af sukker fra sukkerrør og sukkerroer bliver plantematerialet vasket og findelt, sukkeret ekstraheret og den resulterende sukkersaft renset og inddampet, og endelig bliver sukkeret isoleret og tørret. (DA10)
'In the production of sugar from sugar cane and sugar beet, the plant material is washed and finely divided, the sugar extracted, and the resulting sugar juice purified and evaporated, and finally the sugar is isolated and dried.'

(8) Dopo averlo grossolanamente filtrato attraverso depolpatori che trattengono le particelle di fettucce tenute in sospensione, il sugo viene depurato per aggiunta di calce, spesso sotto forma di latte di calce (*defecazione*), che agisce trasformando i sali di calcio insolubili, gli acidi liberi

presenti e i loro sali alcalini, facendo variare il pH del mezzo e coagulando parte dei collodî. (IT8)
[liter. transl.] 'After having been filtered roughly through pulpers that retain the particles of cossettes held in suspension, the moisture is purified by the addition of lime, often in the form of milk of lime (*defecation*), which acts by transforming the insoluble calcium salts, the free acids present and their alkaline salts, by varying the pH of the substance and coagulating part of the collodion.'

In (2), we have three short sentences with a very simple syntax, one or two propositions per sentence, see (2)' above, and only finite verb forms, that is: only one level of subordination. Also in (6), the sentences are short and syntactically simple; the text contains one implicit verb *(raccolta 'harvested')* and two nominalisations *(arrivo, partenza 'arrival, departure').* In (7), the sentence is longer, there are several propositions per sentence, however most of them coordinated, and one implicit verb form, *resulterende 'resulting',* and one nominalisation, *fremstilling 'production'*. The Italian example in (8) displays the longest sentence, the most complex syntax and the highest number of implicit verb forms, *averlo filtrato, tenute, trasformando, facendo variare, coagulando 'having filtered it, held, transforming, varying, coagulating',* and nominalisations, *sospensione, aggiunta, defecazione 'suspension, addition, defecation'.*

Thus, the differences regard precisely the values quoted in Table 3, and precisely the texts cited in (2), (6)-(8) differ most from the average values. Texts (2) and (6) are well below the average values, whereas texts (7) and (8) are above (except for the implicit verb forms in text (8)), cf. Table 4:

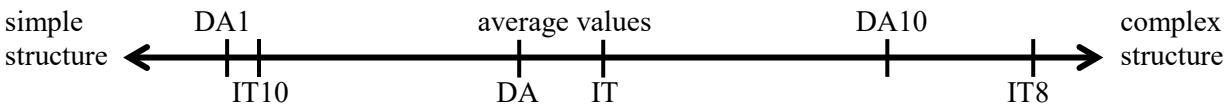
Table 4: Propositions per sentence and percentage of non-finite textualisations in four Sugar Texts

Texts	**1. Propositions per sentence**	**2. Implicit verb forms**	**3. Nominal-isations**
(2) DA1	1.66	0	0
(7) DA10	3.56	12.5 %	18.8 %
(6) IT10	2.31	16.7 %	6.7 %
(8) IT8	8.80	20.5 %	38.6 %

One very good reason for these differences is the fact that texts (2) and (7) are actually NOT perfectly comparable with (6) and (8); we are here dealing with different receiver types, in other words with different uses and different people. The Danish text (2), DA1, is an illustrated description, *Sukker, 'Sugar',* by Nanna Gyldenkærne (København, Mallings 1984), intended for the first five years of school. Similarly, text (6), IT10, consists of two short chapters from the book *Il tuo primo libro della fattoria, 'Your first book about the farm'* by Emilia Beaumonte (Milano, Larus 2004) for children between 5 and 8 years of age. On the other hand, texts (7) and (8), DA10 and IT8, are both encyclopaedic: the entry *Sukker - Fremstilling ('Sugar - Production')* of *Den Store Danske Encyklopædi* (Copenhagen 2017), and the entry *Produzione dello Zucchero ('Sugar production')* of the Italian *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano* (Rome 1961).

If we imagine a relative complexity scale, based on the two parameters suggested here, with the most simple and the most complex text structure at each end, the figure could look something like this:

Figure 1: The Sugar Texts complexity based on the two suggested parameters



In all three cases: the most simple texts, the most complex texts, and the average values, the Italian texts have higher values than the Danish ones, and the Italian intralinguistic differences are greater than the Danish ones except for the implicit verb forms. It is particularly interesting that the Italian values are higher than the Danish ones in the two simple texts since the Danish text, DA1, is intended (also) for older children than the target group of the Italian book, IT10.

The greater intralinguistic differences in the Italian texts, which are manifestations of the different uses and different people in play, one of the leitmotifs of this issue of *Globe*, make it tempting to talk about a kind of "language-internal multilingualism" in Italian, which can be seen as the background also for the phenomena described by Gargiulo (this issue). If such a concept is reasonable, this will no doubt be the case in many languages, but in some more than in others (as we have just seen), and precise definitions and criteria should be proposed and pursued. However, such a topic exceeds the framework of the present paper, and I shall leave it for (hopefully) later discussions and debates.

5. Conclusions and discussion

As many scholars have stated, it is probably impossible to determine and define such a notion as the "overall complexity" of a language; at best, it can be seen as the accumulation of many separate values, as Deutscher (2009: 247) expresses it. The two parameters suggested in this paper, the number of propositions per sentence and their degree of subordination, are of course by no means the only indicators of the complexity of a text. However, my personal experience as a teacher of Italian in Denmark for over 40 years tells me that they may very well be the two most difficult Italian text structure phenomena for a Dane to master perfectly. From a pedagogical point of view, I can confirm that they are indeed relevant, and I think the above observations show that they can function as useful scales by which we can measure two elements of the set of values that contribute to determining the complexity of a text. In my view, the data quoted in Tables 3-4 confirm the usefulness of the two parameters in both intra- and cross-linguistic comparisons, and from a text structure perspective, I am much inclined to agree with my students that, *ceteris paribus,* i.e. talking about the same uses and people, Italian (and generally Romance) text structure does tend to be more complex than Scandinavian structure.

I have, at least partially, linked the two text structure phenomena and the cross-linguistic differences to typological differences in verb morphology, cf. Table 1. It should be emphasised that these typological differences are absolutely not the only reason for a predisposition to a more complex text structure in Italian than in Danish. Substantial cultural-historical differences, such as the great importance given to Italian text composition and text structure and the high value set upon written and literary Italian, play a very important role as well (D'Achille 2003). The ability to express oneself in an appropriate manner according to the communication situation is of much higher socio-cultural importance in Italy than in Denmark, and linguistic and communicative competences are very highly regarded in the Italian school and university system (Korzen 2003, 2019).

In some cases, Danish has other ways of expressing the mentioned – or other – nuances, for instance modal distinctions such as those conveyed by the modal particles *jo, nu, da, vel, skam, dog*. There is little doubt that these particles constitute a big problem for learners of Danish L2, see also Lundquist (this issue), but I do not consider their ability to instantiate a (potential) opposition to a parallel proposition, e.g. without a particle, to be as strong as that of modal verb forms like the Italian

subjunctive and conditional. Such verb forms more overtly express what Reinhart (1984: 802) calls "alternative modes of events": "Modal propositions (including 'irrealis' statements of alternative modes of events) … are background. Such propositions function as clues for the understanding of the foreground by comparing its events to alternative modes of development".

Danish can express similar irrealis statements e.g. by means of the modal verb *ville 'will'* in the preterite or past perfect. In such cases, we are dealing with "alternative modes of events" also in this language, but as a "hidden complexity" in Bisang's (2009) terminology (cf. section 2 above), i.e. with what may look simple on the surface but can be based on a more complex background of different potential inferences.

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Humour socialisation.
Why the Danes are not as funny as they think they are

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Abstract: The article presents the main idea from my recently published book on Danes' use of humour in professional relations with non-Danes. The key notion is *humour socialisation*. This notion contributes to describing the dynamic role played by language and society in moulding a person's humour. It also brings the aspect of personal humour to the level of "national humour", which again helps to explain why people from different countries who speak different languages do not always share the same kind of humour.

Keywords: Danes' humour, national humour, humour socialisation, language, society.

1. Introduction: studying humour

When I first began studying humour and its use in professional settings, I had no idea that humour studies had been going on for more than two thousand years. Nor did I know that they had produced a tremendous amount of literature, in fields as diverse as philosophy, psychology, literature and media studies, linguistics, and sociology. In our times, humour studies have exploded into a broad array of studies of the multiple forms, variations and situations in which humour is used – from stand-up comedians, political satire and social media, to therapeutic uses of clowns in hospitals and old people's homes, to mention but a few. This diversity is also seen in the heterogeneous programmes for the international humour conferences with humour studies related to religion, gender and sex, sports, translation, artificial intelligence, video games, internet memes, health benefits and law.

1.1. Studying a specific use of humour

I delimited my own object of investigation to a very specific use of humour:

> Spontaneous verbal humour in international professional interactions between people from different countries.

Which I further narrowed down to:

> Danes' use of humour in professional relations with non-Danes.

This led me to read an extensive range of literature within humour studies in general (Bergson 2007; Bateson 1952; Freud 1916; Morreall 1983, 2012), and within studies on humour in the workplace in particular (Martin 2007; Robert 2017). The aspect of *verbal* humour was developed by reading linguistic – mostly semantic – studies of humour, such as the seminal work of Raskin (1985), with its focus on "semantic scripts", whereas the comparative aspect of how humour is used in different countries was inspired by works such as Ziv (1988) and Gundelach (2000). I shall not go into detail regarding these studies here, since I have referred to them extensively elsewhere[1].

[1] Lundquist (2010a, 2010b, 2013, 2014, 2016, 2019, 2020).

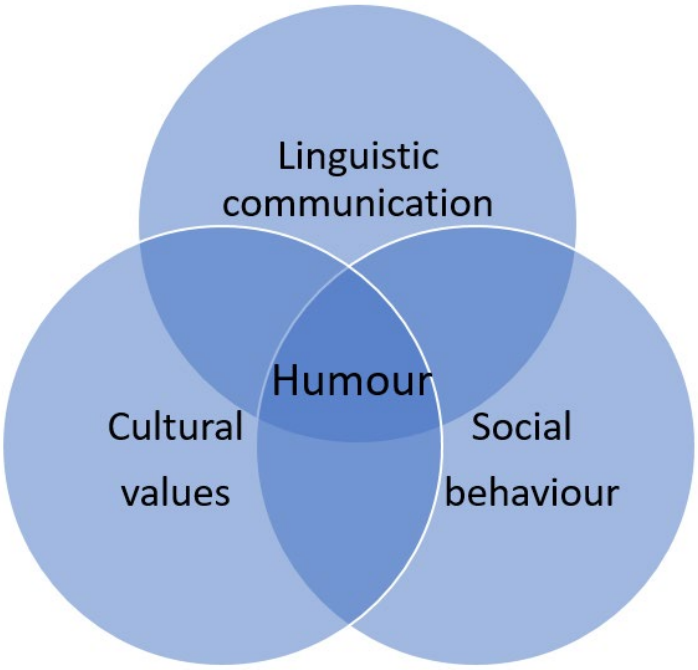
2. Aim

My aim here is both more specific and more general: specific in the sense that I will refer only to the literature that was most inspirational for my research on Danish humour from a comparative perspective; and general, because I will focus on outlining the main idea that emerged from my research: the notion of *humour socialisation*, which I consider to be an important contribution to humour studies, and which I have developed in Lundquist (2020)[2]. My intention here is to distil the essentials of that book into the present article.

I shall retrace the steppingstones used to elaborate the notion of humour socialisation: first, as I focus on *verbal* humour, I see humour as *linguistic communication*. Second, as I am interested in humour in professional interactions, I see humour as a specific *social behaviour*. And third, as my focus is on international relations, i.e. involving people from different countries, I add an *intercultural aspect*.

Many studies of humour across borders touch on "culture", but often leave the notion hazy. I wished to dig further into "culture" and did so by *combining* a linguistic and a sociological perspective in the concept of humour socialisation. In other words, I studied the use of humour in international professional relations at the intersection between *linguistic communication*, *social behaviour* and *cultural values*, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Humour at the intersection of linguistic communication, social behaviour and cultural values



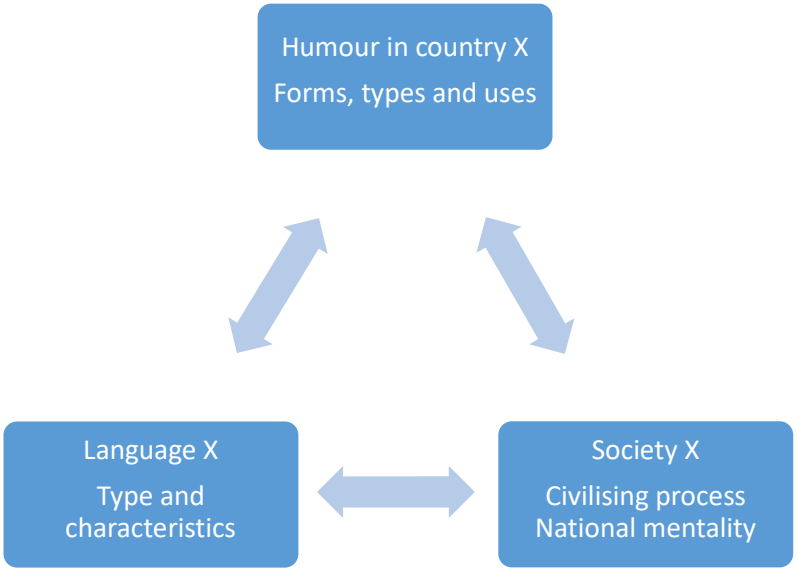
3. Humour socialisation

While searching in humour studies, linguistics and sociology, I perceived certain parallelisms and links between and across these three disciplines, which struck me as significant; parallelisms that led me to suggest the concept of humour socialisation. This concept is my attempt to grasp the interaction between the following three components and to discover relations and mutual influences between

[2] The book has almost the same title as the present paper but in Danish: "Humorsocialisering. Hvorfor er danskerne (ikke) så sjove (som de selv tror)".

them: the *dominant forms, types and uses of humour* found as a particular humour behaviour in a specific country, as one component; the *characteristics of the language* spoken in that country, as another; and the third component as a form of social organisation moulded by the specific *process of civilisation* that the country has undergone, resulting in a particular *national mentality*.

Figure 2: Humour socialisation



Studying humour with this model makes it possible, I contend, to be more exact in describing humour as a verbal, social and cultural phenomenon. Within humour studies (Section 6.1. below), we can zoom in on the forms and uses of humour specific to a country X, which for Danes means the two prevailing "national forms" of humour: irony and self-irony. When it comes to the sociological study of society X and its workplace culture and norms (Section 6.2), we can narrow down to historical and organisational sociology, which for Denmark, as we shall see, entails further particularities. Finally, within linguistics (Section 6.3.), our focus on conversational humour naturally leads to pragmatics and the Gricean *logic of conversation*. This seems to be flouted in spontaneous conversational humour. When considering specific languages, linguistics point to expressions that may contribute to signalling that the utterance is meant for fun. Such signals are frequent in Danish in the form of the characteristic "dialogical particles".

Before addressing these three dimensions and the literature that supports them, a few words follow on the methodology applied.

4. Method

The method presented in detail in Lundquist (2020) is summarised below. Here I will concentrate on two basic concepts and a few empirical findings that I find illustrative.

4.1. Basic concepts

My focus on spontaneous verbal humour considers humour as an *event*; hence the concept of "*humour event*".

4.1.1. Spontaneous humour as an event

Humour seen as an event emphasises the *dynamic* dimension, the moment when humour is used, the form it appears in, but also its impact on the communicating parties. In other words: the notion of a "humour event", or "humour process" (Latta 1998), includes both how the linguistic exchange intended as humour affects the receiver, and how it *changes* the relations between the sender and the receiver in the flow of communication.

Figure 3: The dynamic *humour event*

This is even more important when considering humour with a focus on "professional interactions", where humour must not be misunderstood, because this might have negative effects on further cooperation. On the other hand, the positive effects of humour on human relations can pave the way for fruitful cooperation between the communicating parties, who are working together towards a common goal[3].

4.1.2. Humour as a social mediator

I have selected the term *mediator* to describe the active role that a humour event plays in a conversation, where it steers the relationship between the communicating partners in a positive or a negative direction. I borrowed the term *mediator* from the French sociologist Bruno Latour, who says that the result of a mediator is that "lots of *surprising aliens* may pop up" (Latour 2005: 58-59). The keywords here are '*surprising*', which, when applied to humour, refers to the *non-predictable effects* of spontaneous verbal humour, and '*aliens*', which describes the new, *emergent* relations, into which the participants are "reshuffled together".

Via the humour event, participants are "reshuffled" into a new rapport, which may be characterised by a feeling of amusement and wellbeing, in which case the event has been a *positive social mediator*. But, in other cases, where it creates an atmosphere of misunderstanding and frustration, the humour event acts as a *negative social mediator*. The notion of the humour event as being a social mediator, negative or positive, makes it possible, I think, to both circumvent and subsume the two traditional humour (and laughter) theories: the *superiority* and the *relief* theories (see Section 6.1. below).

4.2. Empirical findings

The study was based on interviews and questionnaires with 28 Danes and 45 non-Danes working with each other in Denmark or abroad (Lundquist 2014). The interviews were semi-structured and qualitatively analysed (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015). The interviewees were employees in Danish firms or embassies, and members of the European Parliament, with the addition of international business students (for more details, see Lundquist 2020: 183-190). When asked about their experience with Danish humour, each group showed a remarkable consensus *between themselves*. The Danes saw their own humour as predominantly open, warm ('lun') and cosy ('hyggelig'), but non-Danes had

[3] These aspects are supported in sociological humour research, e.g. in the so-called *encryption* and *AAA model*, where the *A*s stand for assortment, affiliation and altruism (Flamson & Barrett 2008, 2013; Curry & Dunbar 2013a, 2013b). See Lundquist (2020: 149-155).

often experienced their first meeting with Danish humour as "blunt", "in your face", aggressive and frustrating (Lundquist 2020: 33).

4.2.1. Some interview examples of reactions to blunt Danish humour

On her way to begin studying at Copenhagen Business School, a young Serbian woman encountered a Danish passport control officer in Copenhagen airport who made the following remark: "You have something on your lip", he said, referring to her piercing. She was shocked, frustrated, and felt he was intruding into her private life. Coming from another country, she was actually afraid that the Danish officer, an authority figure, was hinting at something that may potentially bar her entry to the new country.

Another young student, this time from China, opened a conversation with his Danish friend with this positive observation: "I have heard that Denmark is the happiest country in the world", to which the Dane replied: "That's because of excessive use of alcohol and sex!". The Chinese student described his own reaction in these terms: "I was very surprised. I would have preferred a more discrete and restrained form of humour. (…) Maybe because I am from a country with a tradition for censorship and reserve".

Analysing the difference between how the two groups perceived Danes' use of humour with the concept of social mediator, we can say that the Danes see their own humour mainly as a *positive social mediator*; as expressed here by a Danish MEP[4] who considers self-irony to "be the absolutely most important quality if you want to get your message across". However, other Danish MEPs are aware that Danes' frequent use of irony may cause problems, because it makes other people see us as "shamelessly rude", so that "we often have a lot of patching up to do afterwards".

As non-Danes in the interviews often perceived Danes' humour as "in your face" and "aggressive", it acted as a *negative social mediator*. It turned out that Danish humour was not only at the time in the actual conversation perceived as negative, but that it often had long-term consequences; as in the case of the French scientist who said that he generally felt insecure in the company of his Danish colleagues: "Half of the time, I do not know if they are joking or being serious. I feel I'm becoming paranoid".

5. Danish irony and "self-irony"

The two abovementioned examples of blunt comments from Danes can be perceived, from a Danish perspective, as examples of the "typical Danish humour", which all Danes in my interviews, and many Danes in general, qualify as *irony* and "*self-irony*" (Lundquist 2020: 57-63). This is exemplified in these quotes from two other interviewed Danish MEPs: "We have a humour based very firmly on irony (…) and we have another form of humour, a form where you sort of laugh a little at yourself", i.e. self-irony: "Danes use a lot of self-irony … it is just a form of social custom"[5]. Irony and self-irony are forms of humour that are not used to the same degree at workplaces in other countries, where people tend to avoid this kind of what they see as hostile and self-deprecating humour, respectively (Lundquist 2020: 143).

This difference between Danes and non-Danes in their judgement of Danes' use of humour leads to a question and a generalisation. First, the question: what explains this difference? The explanation is found in "cultural differences", which in turn can be explicated via the language people speak and the form of society where they live. This is exactly what humour socialisation is about. It also makes it possible to *generalise* from Danish humour to any case of clashes between (national) humour used across borders and cultures. My theory is that a person's humour tends to be seen as a positive social mediator among this person's countrymen, but often as a negative social mediator

[4] MEP stands for Member of the European Parliament.
[5] For more on Danish humour, see Levisen (2018).

among people from other countries. Why? Because people are socialised to different uses and forms of humour in the countries where they grow up and through the language they learn as their mother tongue. It is true, of course, that people belonging to the same country may also differ in their attitudes to and use of humour, since they are socialised into more specific and idiosyncratic uses of humour via traditions and norms in their families and close surroundings. Still, I contend that, as a general rule, people within a community have more features in common between them than with people from other communities.

6. Literature findings

As mentioned above, the concept of humour socialisation was not a ready-made, pre-existing tool, but the end result of exploring a great deal of literature within three fields: humour studies, linguistics and sociology. Ploughing my way through this mass of literature from diverse fields, I was to some extent unconsciously attracted to some writers, who acted as beacons in my quest for a notion of humour socialisation. These writers and theorists shared what I found to be an appealingly *dynamic*, *evolutionary* aspect in their thinking; an aspect that is, of course, also the very essence of the idea of socialisation in terms of a specific form of humour. Naturally, the dynamic aspect had already been planted, as this work focuses on the *humour event* and its power as a *social mediator* between the communicating parties.

6.1. Humour studies

Humour studies or, more precisely originally studies of *laughter*, are well known and can be traced back to Aristotle and Plato via Hobbes, Descartes, with their insistence on the feeling of *superiority* which is inherent in laughter, via Kant and Schopenhauer, who introduced the logical concept of *incongruity* as being the essence of humour, to Shaftesbury, who was the first philosopher to focus on humour as such. He saw humour as a *relief* from inner (physical) tensions. This idea was continued by Freud, an important guiding light in my research, not least because he was the first to explore the link between the linguistic aspects of humour that he called the "techniques" of humour on the one hand, and the psychological effect of humour as a "subconscious" strategy to elude internalised social constraints on the other (Freud 1916).

However, what I find most important is the *Danish contribution to humour research* with its specific insistence on the *existential* question of the role of humour in the life of human beings. Kierkegaard stands out in emphasising the role played by humour and irony as two *transition phases* in between the three *stages of life*. Thus, *irony* intervenes between the first stage: the *aesthetic stage* and the second: the *ethical stage*, whereas humour constitutes the transition from this stage to the last, the *religious stage* (Koch 2010: 11-12).

Figure 4: Irony and humour as transitions between Kierkegaard's three "stages of life"

6.1.1. The Big Humour

The person who opened my eyes to the role played by social life in the formation of our humorous "habitus", our *sense of humour*, was, however, the Danish psychologist Harald Høffding. In his exceptionally interesting book, *Den Store Humor* (1916), "The Big (or Great) Humour", Høffding describes and explains how a person's "humour habitus" is gradually built up via experiences with

glimpses of "teeny-weeny humour" ("den lille-bitte humor"), which stir certain emotions of mirth and well-being. Later, in the various social groups the individual grows up in, such as education, apprenticeship, workplaces, sport, charity, etc., people acquaint themselves with "the little humour" ("den lille humor"), which takes the form of "singular moods" ("enkeltstående stemninger"). Together, these experiences develop into a "total state of the personality" ("totaltilstand"), i.e. a specific "view of life" or "attitude to life" ("livsanskuelse"). This is "the big humour", the specificity of which is, according to Høffding, "seeing life as big and small at the same time" ("Den store Humor ser livet som stort og som småt" (Høffding 1916: 73)). It takes skill to maintain a distance between one's self and the pressures of the world. The big humour contains a superiority of the mind to contradictions and conflicts with which it must struggle ("sindets overlegenhed over de modsigelser og modsætninger, det har at kæmpe med" (Høffding 1916: 70)). And in doing so, the big humour expresses consideration for and an understanding of what life brings us ("stiller sig hensynsfuld og forstående over for hvad livet medfører" (Høffding 1916: 82)). It is an open attitude, which makes it possible for new values to *emerge* ("det er måske begyndelsen til en ny værdirække" (Høffding 1916: 86)), an idea close to the concept inspired by Latour that the humour event is a social mediator, inviting *surprising aliens* aboard.

Let us return to the Danes' use of humour in focus here. If, as a general rule, Danes consider irony and self-irony as their preferred forms of humour, it is because they have been frequently exposed to these forms during their childhood, adolescence and adulthood; and the reason that they can use irony and self-irony with other Danes and be understood, is that, having grown up in the same society and the same type of social groupings, they stand on *common ground*. And having common ground is crucial for decoding irony and self-irony, which exists in a playful act of *pretence*: sender and receiver pretend to be more naïve than they are, and both are aware of this double-dealing (Lundquist 2020: 89). This need for sender and receiver to be on common ground in order to join in irony and self-irony is spelled out in Clark & Gerrig (1984):

> The pretense theory makes clear how *common ground* will be needed (since) the *perception of irony* often hangs on subtle judgments of what is *common ground* to whom [...], so a listener or reader not supplied with the right information *may not make these judgments accurately*" (Clark & Gerrig 1984: 124. My emphasis).

The notion of common ground thus explains why using irony and self-irony when interacting with people from other countries, who have been socialised to humour under different cultural circumstances, may lead to misunderstanding, frustration, anger, and eventually to withdrawal and a sour atmosphere which jeopardises further cooperation.

I see a link between the idea that people who have been exposed to the same type of humour experiences during childhood end up with a common "big humour", and the concept of a "national humour disposition". This finds support in historical sociology, which brings individual experiences and socialisation to the level of countries and nations, and which I shall mention briefly below.

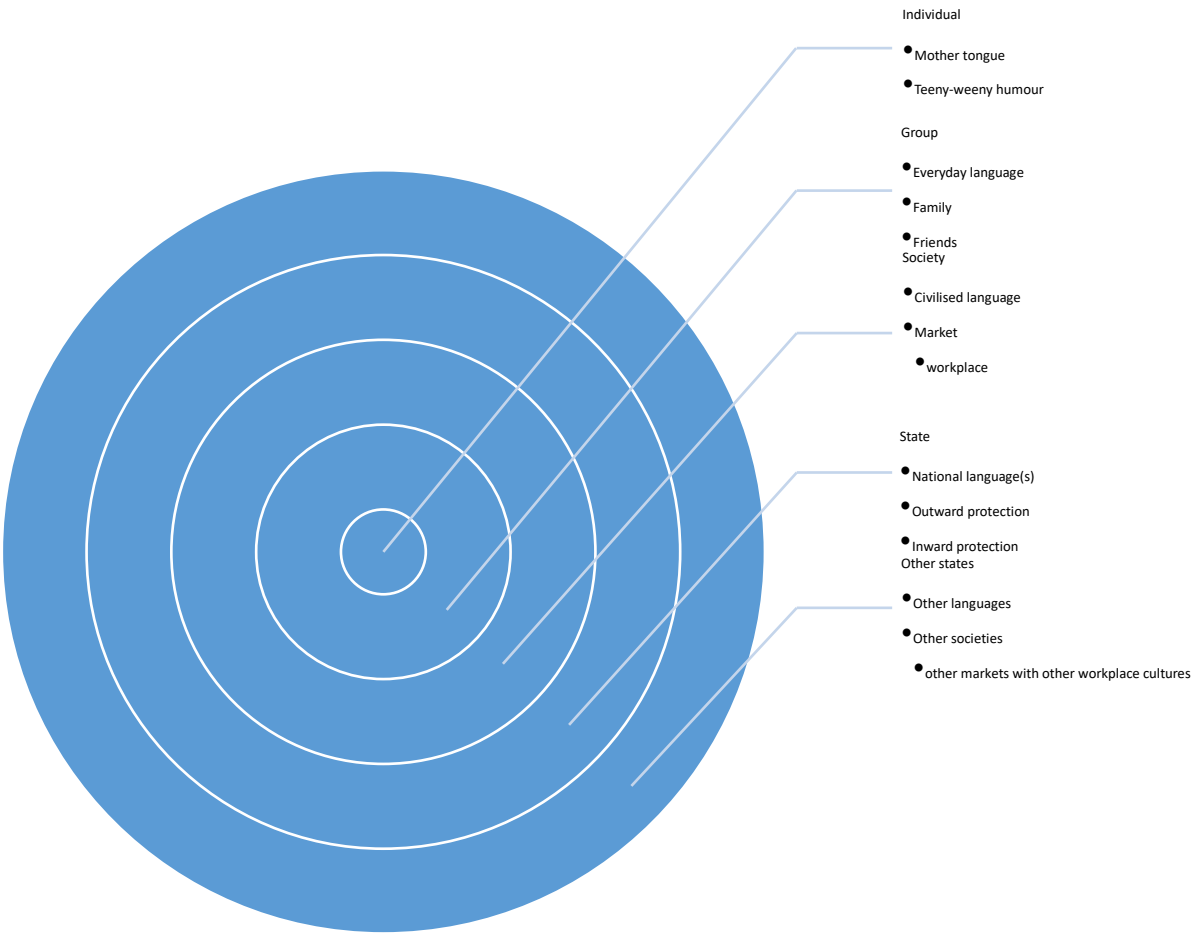
6.2. Historical sociology

The seminal work of the German sociologist Norbert Elias (1897-1990) has been my main inspiration for digging deeper into the general explanation of people's different attitudes to humour as being a result of different *cultures*. Elias' theories have been applied to the Danish situation in several publications by the Danish historian and sociologist Lars Bo Kaspersen. Kaspersen explores both the geopolitical and historical circumstances that steered the *civilising process* (Elias 1994) of Denmark towards the present Danish society with its characteristic *consensus mentality* and '*we feeling*' (Kaspersen 2020: 184, 185). Kaspersen also develops Elias' "relational and dynamic group perspective" (Kaspersen 2008: 14), which is not only the basis of my notion of *humour event* with its

focus on the interacting parties, but also crucial for the very conceptualisation of *humour socialisation*.

Kaspersen presents a detailed description and explanation of the different types of groupings and, more importantly, of the *interdependence* between these groupings (Lundquist 2020: 131), which makes it possible to flesh out the societal process of humour socialisation. But, also, to elucidate the role of language in this process (see Figure 5 below)[6]. Indeed, when children are nurtured and protected in their intimate relations with their parents, they are exposed, in Høffding's terms, to a dose of "teeny-weeny" humour events presented in their *mother tongue*; this exposure continues in the broader family with relatives and friends, still in the *everyday language* of the mother tongue, where humour experiences gather into forms of "the little humour". Later, the individual participates actively in groups at the level of Society. "Society" includes the Market with its groupings in the workplace, and the Civil Society, with groups such as clubs, charities and other associations, with specific social and cultural norms, which include *civilised language* and "the big humour" representative of a given country. Encompassing all of it, we have the State, which protects its citizen inwards and outwards. This is achieved with rules and regulations formulated in the *national language(s)*.

Figure 5: Humour socialisation of the individual via experiences in different social groupings



[6] For a more detailed description, see Lundquist (2020: 128-131, 138-141).

I have added yet another level to this web of interdependent social groupings, which are held together by the common language and use the potentialities of that language for performing communicative tasks specific to that society. Given my perspective of "Danes' humour as compared to non-Danes'", I have had to augment the model with a *supra-national level* "Other States". This means a repetition of all levels and a recursion of the interdependence between individuals from one country and individuals from other countries, each population having grown up with their mother tongue and their personal experiences of "teeny-weeny humour" and "little humour", totalised in their "big humour". The "big humour" varies from country to country, because each population participates in groups with different norms and cultures at all levels: family, market, civil society and state figuration. In short, at the supra-national level, as witnessed by the interviewees from the European Parliament (Lundquist 2020: 147-155), people interact with people who are socialised to other forms of humour[7].

In the context of Danish humour, the Danish way of living together is characterised by a general *we feeling*, into which the Danes have been civilised as the result of a historical geo-political necessity to survive as a national entity in the face of political pressures from outside (cf. "unit of survival" (Kaspersen 2008: 244))[8]. This *we feeling* has been characterised first as a *tribe feeling* (Mellon 1992), then more precisely, in my view, as a *campfire mentality* (Jespersen 2004). The *we feeling* of the campfire mentality is illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: The Danish campfire mentality

It is evident that Danes' national mentality, as illustrated above, constitutes a "natural habitat" for the use of irony – we actually sit on and refer to common ground – and particularly for the use of self-irony which thrives around the fire. When everybody sits on the same level, they all have to stick to the cultural norms of equality and homogeneity and to respect the "hygge" (cosiness), which dictates that you should not distinguish and heighten yourself, but rather "lower yourself" and melt in with the others – on the common ground.

6.2.1. Organisational sociology and Danish irony and self-irony

In line with the general Danish attitude to life and humour, seeing life as small and big in the terms expressed by the Danish philosophers Kierkegaard and Høffding, we find Danish literature on

[7] See also Lundquist & Gravier (2019).

[8] Especially after the loss of the duchies in 1864, but also caused by other crises such as WWI and WWII (Kaspersen 2020).

management and organisation in which humour, irony and self-irony have been praised as *management strategies* in their own right (Lundquist 2020: 155-160). Thus, the Danish professor of philosophy of leadership, Ole Fogh Kirkeby, recommends the use of *irony* in leadership as a "corrective" to seriousness, as "a mild shadow" that follows seriousness in order to create *trust*; next, *humour* is to be used as a "soothing" corrective to irony that may be too sharp in creating an "unarticulated *communitas*" (Kirkeby 2003: 27-29).

I see a link between the notion of "unarticulated *communitas*" and the notion of "common ground", suggested by the pretence theory (see above). Both notions implicitly refer to a distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders", between those who have access to the *communitas* because they are on common ground, and those who are excluded from the *communitas* because they are not on common ground. Both notions help describe why non-Danes so often misunderstand Danish irony.

In a seminar on humour for international students at Copenhagen Business School, Kirkeby vividly summarised how "the true leader" should use humour and irony: "Humour and irony constitute the way of the true leader, as the wax melted away when the statue of the organisation has been finally cast".

However, such a "flat" organisation, where the boss seems – or pretends? – to melt away, can often cause confusion and misunderstanding, perplexity and uncertainty among non-Danes working with Danes. A young Bulgarian woman among the interviewees was confused when her boss joked with her, because she did not know if she could return the joke or should just smile. In general, she said, she does not know "if people are joking or not, because they do it with everything". Her Danish boss's humour confuses her. As she does not know whether he is being serious or joking, she ends up being generally uneasy in her professional relationships with her Danish colleagues (Lundquist 2020: 161).

Self-irony, too, is recommended as a special leadership tool, because it is supposed to be the antidote to self-pompousness, which is the worst thing imaginable to a Dane, be it at home or at the workplace. Another Danish professor of organisation and leadership, Jan Molin, is very sharp on this point. He argues that self-irony is crucial for cooperation in the workplace, because the "exposure of one's self" creates an *affinity* based on the recognition of being (more or less) equal and mutually engaged, responsible and connected (Molin 2006: 32). Again, the underlying metaphor of the Danish campfire mentality also applies, it seems, to professional leadership and management contexts.

6.3. Linguistics

We saw above that the concept of common ground is fundamental for the existence of a "national mentality", and consequently for a "national humour". Common ground is also crucial for the correct decoding of the typical Danish humour forms, irony and self-irony. In addition, common ground plays an important theoretical role in *linguistics*, where it is considered a central aspect of interpreting utterances in conversations. The need for common ground is even more acute when explaining interpretation of humour as a spontaneous event in linguistic interaction. This is evident both when it comes to the general aspect of conversational humour independent of language, which leads to linguistic pragmatics, and in terms of the characteristics of a particular language. Since I am focusing on Danish humour, I looked for explanations in Danish grammar.

6.3.1. Pragmatics: conversation, logic and humour

While focusing on the dynamic aspect of interpreting humour events in conversation, I have been especially attracted by *pragmatics*, not least by Grice's general "principle of cooperation". As general as this may initially seem, being derived from a universal "logic of conversation", in the final analysis, however, when applied to humour used in international contexts, it founders on the problem of *common ground*; on the presence or absence of common ground between the communicating parties.

The general "logic of conversation" is described in Grice's seminal paper "Logic and

Conversation" as follows:

> Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks and would not be *rational* if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, *cooperative efforts*; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a *common purpose* or set of purposes, or at least a *mutually accepted direction* (Grice 1989: 26. My emphasis).

The cooperative principle is derived from this conversational rationality and the common purpose:

> Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. One might label this the *Cooperative Principle* (Grice 1989: 26).

I assume that the parties in a professional interaction act in accordance with this principle. Not least because they are steering towards a *common purpose*, such as sealing a business contract or reaching a political agreement, so that they expect the other party to contribute to the negotiation in a way that is *rational* and *relevant* with respect to this common purpose. So, what happens when an utterance in a professional context is intended as a humour event by A, but not expected as such, and hence not immediately perceived as such by B? B becomes confused because the "mutually accepted direction" seems to change, and the *conversational implicatures* he or she would normally work out on the basis of the cooperative principle (Grice 1989: 24; Lundquist 2020: 82-86) do not seem to make sense in that particular situation. What can A possibly mean by his or her seemingly irrational remark? I imagine that this happens more often when A and B come from different countries and speak different languages, i.e., when A and B are socialised in and to different forms of humour. Or, in pragmatic terms, when A and B are not geared for making the same conversational implicatures because they are not acting on common ground. I have (Lundquist 2020: 90-92) proposed three types of conversational implicatures specific for humour events: a general "conversational implicature *cum* humour" and, with a special view to the two typical forms of Danish humour, two specific implicatures: a "conversational implicature *cum* irony", and a "conversational implicature *cum* self-irony". Such implicatures, which swiftly guide you in the direction that "this is not serious but meant to be fun" are readily at hand for Danes, but not easily arrived at by non-Danes, as apparent from the examples mentioned above.

The need for *common ground* becomes especially acute when interpreting irony, as stated in the linguistic *pretence* theory (see above), with what can be seen as its "double audience": "(Irony) may be defined as the use of words *intended to convey one meaning to the uninitiated part* of the audience and *another to the initiated*, the delight of it lying in the *secret intimacy* set up between the latter and the speaker" (Fowler 1965: 305-306. My emphasis). The division between the "initiated" and "the uninitiated" finds a better explanation in the notion of humour socialisation: every person is socialised into their country's "big humour", with a common ground shared with their countrymen, which makes countrymen more initiated than the uninitiated non-countrymen.

6.3.2. The Danish language

It is tempting to consider conversational humour events as *acts of humour*, maybe even as a certain type of *speech act*. Or more moderately as an *illocutionary act*, i.e. a linguistic layer added to the locutionary act, signalling that the utterance has to be interpreted as an act of humour, irony, self-irony, etc. (Lundquist 2020: 90-92).

This seems obvious for humour used as we find it in Danish. Danish is a language that has

particular linguistic devices for expressing common ground, which are essential and necessary for assuring a successful humour event. Such devices are frequently used by Danes in conversation and dialogue, for which reason they have been called "dialogical particles" (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 1046-1108). They consist of short, often monosyllabic and unaccented adverbs such as *jo, vel, nok, vist, bare* (Lundquist 2010a, 2010b, 2014, 2020: 100-104), and their function is to guide, maintain and regulate the interaction between the communicating partners, and more specifically, to refer to an implicit common background of knowledge, assumptions, feelings and attitudes. They create a relationship of understanding and "secret intimacy", as mentioned by Fowler above; thus, these short Danish particles have a "bonding function", in that they create a fertile ground for using humour, irony and self-irony among Danes. Since, in addition, the ground is already present in the Danish campfire mentality (Figure 6), these dialogical devices naturally invite conversational implicatures of the kind "*cum* humour", "*cum* irony", and "*cum* self-irony" as suggested above. Danes are already initiated into the "big Danish humour" and its preferred forms, and the linguistic devices at hand are constantly used for social purposes, thus reinforcing the interdependence between language, social behaviour and common cultural values.

As an example, let us imagine that the remark perceived by the Chinese student as blunt and 'in your face', could and would have been soothed by his Danish buddy, if he had said it in Danish. The Dane would probably have inserted one or more dialogical particles:

"That's {*jo, nok*, *vel*, *vist*, *vist nok*, *vel nok*} because of excessive use of alcohol and sex!"

The English equivalents of these Danish adverbs are roughly: 'you know', 'I suppose', 'as far as I know', 'probably'; i.e. longer words and paraphrases, more articulate and not as subtly slipped in everywhere as Danish particles are in everyday dialogue.

For non-Danes, these particles, monosyllabic and unaccentuated as they are, are practically imperceptible, even for those who master Danish. Add to this that each of these particles in itself has a fine web of meanings, which in combination with their recursivity in natural dialogue, end up creating an intricate net of understanding and intimacy that is mostly inaccessible to the uninitiated. And, because they refer to a certain sum of presupposed knowledge, the uninitiated non-Danes may not grasp the irony, and thus they feel excluded.

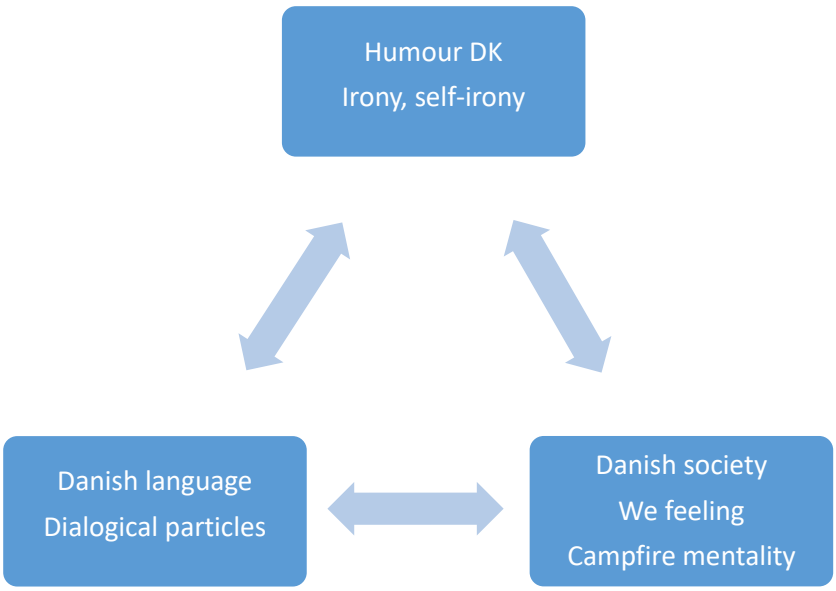
To sum up: for a Dane, the Danish dialogical particles clearly signal a certain distance and a personal attitude to the utterance. That is why these linguistic devices are well suited for expressing irony and self-irony; irony that "is intimately connected with the expression of a feeling, an attitude or an evaluation (Grice 1978: 124) and the delight of which lies in the *secret intimacy* set up between the speaker and the receiver[9].

7. Conclusion

I have demonstrated the main idea behind the notion of humour socialisation focusing on how Danish humour has been moulded in an interaction with Danish society and the Danish language. I have presented the fact that Danes characteristically use two humour forms, irony and self-irony, even in professional relations with non-Danes, and that these forms have gradually become their specific "big humour", as a result of growing up in Danish society with its distinctive *we feeling* and campfire mentality, which is fuelled by the presence of dialogical particles in the Danish language. This is recapped in Figure 7.

[9] In Lundquist (2019), I mention other characteristics of the Danish language that contribute to making the term 'humour' in itself a "cultural word" (Levisen 2012, 2018), referring to a recurring phenomenon in Danes' lives.

Figure 7: Humour socialisation in Denmark

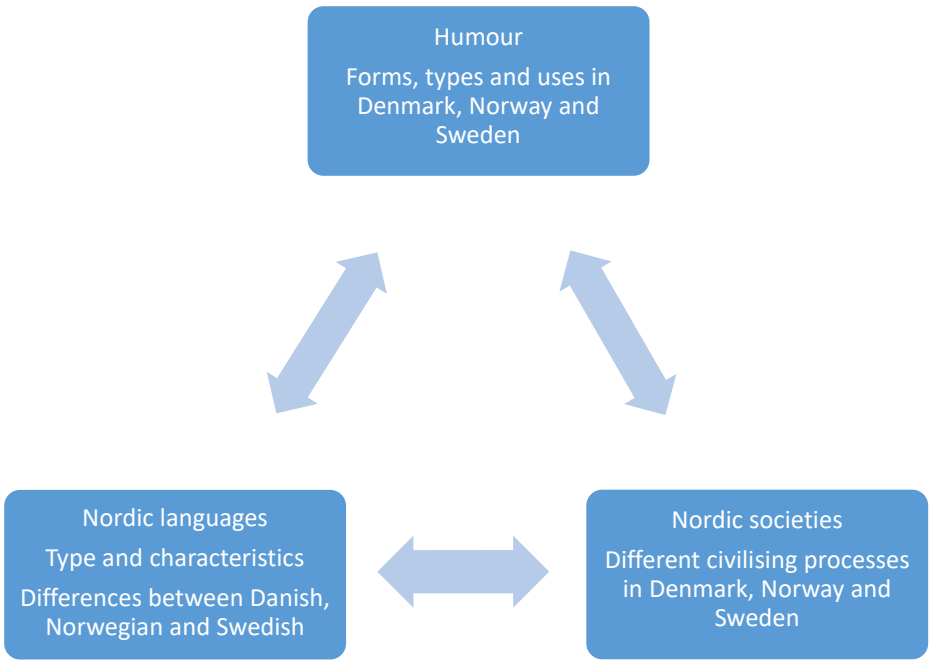


7.1. Perspectives

From another perspective, however, it would be interesting to test the soundness of the notion of humour socialisation proposed here by transferring it to other languages and countries. I can think of two scenarios for continuing humour research along this line. First, since we are working with three "variables": humour, language and society, we could strive to keep one variable more or less constant. We could do that by comparing humour uses in three Nordic countries: Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which have similar languages[10] and possess the same kind of dialogical particles. Differences in the use of humour could then be attributed to different processes of civilisation ending up in different "national mentalities". Ultimately, differences in the use of dialogical particles may be revealed across the three countries, in general and in connection with humour events in particular. Such differences might also be attributable to differences in historic "processes of civilisation" – and ensuing differences in mental nationality and specific form(s) of "big humour".

[10] The Danish, Swedish and Norwegian languages constitute the northern branch of the Germanic language family. Danish and Swedish constitute its eastern sub-branch, Norwegian the western sub-branch.

Figure 8: Comparing humour socialisation across the Nordic countries



On a larger scale, we could imagine a comparison of humour use between societies with Germanic languages and societies with Romance languages. I have carried out an initial comparison between the use of humour in Danish and French in professional settings. I found systematic differences (Lundquist 2013), which I explain (Lundquist 2020: 136-145) using the following theory: French mentality has been moulded from above, from the court society (Elias & Mennell 2006), into a hierarchical society with formalised civil manners and norms for elegant conversation as a means of social distinction (Gordon 1994; Le Roy Ladurie 1997). Denmark, on the other hand, has been moulded from below, from the peasant society, into a horizontal organisation with more informal social norms (Elias & Schröter 1996).

From a linguistic point of view, there are typological and systematic differences between the two languages that may also have an impact on humour forms, some of which will be more easily at hand than others. Where, as described above, Danish offers an inventory of short bonding adverbials, French has special morphological, derivational and metric characteristics (Herslund 2003), which are easily adopted in the forms of humour preferred by the French: elegant play on words ("jeux de mots", "mots d'esprit", "bons mots"), into which they are socialised via their court society. The comparison seems to confirm the theory that there is an interrelation between humour forms, language and society.

This observation lies at the base of the notion of humour socialisation. However, it also invites further investigations, of other humour situations, across other countries and other languages.

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Are future L3-German teachers prepared to increase students' metacognition and crosslinguistic awareness in the multilingual classroom? An analysis of teacher education programs at Danish and Norwegian universities

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Abstract: The multilingual turn in Europe requires an adaption of foreign language teaching approaches. This study provides theoretical and empirical reasons to treat crosslinguistic awareness as a potentially beneficial metacognitive tool for multilingual language learners. Furthermore, it explores whether future foreign language teachers are introduced to crosslinguistic awareness as a teaching tool in university teacher education. A sample of 27 national and local documents concerning parts of German foreign language teacher education in Denmark and Norway were analyzed for concepts such as *multilingualism*, *metacognition*, and *crosslinguistic awareness*. The document analysis showed that the three main concepts appeared comparably across the countries, but the distribution within the countries differed across the levels of teacher education. In Denmark, the university level focused the most on the concepts. In contrast, the findings in Norway show a more significant level of multilingualism in the national subject curriculum for foreign languages that language teachers are expected to base their instruction on. Multilingualism was not referenced in the samples at the Norwegian university level. Regardless of the appearance of the concepts in both countries' documents, the findings are not conclusive as to whether crosslinguistic awareness is applied primarily as a learning tool for prospective teachers or whether it is promoted as a didactical tool for future teachers' teaching.

Keywords: Metacognition, crosslinguistic awareness, foreign language teacher education, German as a foreign language, language curricula.

1. Introduction

Europe is often characterized as a diverse yet united continent. While most people refer to this fact as a European strength, it does not only entail advantages.

> A specific issue is the learning of languages. … Multilingualism represents one of the greatest assets in terms of cultural diversity in Europe and, at the same time, one of the most substantial challenges. … [O]ne [key factor contributing to an improved education] is the quality of teachers and of teaching. Teachers play the central role in the process of imparting skills, competences and knowledge as well as in fostering international perspectives early in a young person's life. The better the teacher, the better the outcome. (European Commission 2017b: 7)

The above quote demonstrates that Europe is struggling with multilingualism. Any proposed approach to this challenge should meet the European demands for utilizing multilingualism as an asset and improving teacher education. One possible means of approaching both challenges at once might be through increased *crosslinguistic awareness*, a metacognitive concept, which refers to the "knowledge of the *relationships* holding between one's … languages" (James 1996: 139 [italics in original]).

The present article consists of two parts. The first section accounts for the multilingual turn in foreign language learning in Europe. It introduces multilingualism and suggests how it can be used as a theoretical resource. Furthermore, metacognition and its subdomain crosslinguistic awareness are proposed as potential approaches and possible beneficial tools for multilingual language learners and teachers. The second section analyzes if and to what extent the concepts multilingualism,

metacognition, and crosslinguistic awareness are promoted in teacher education. The analysis considers a series of national and local official documents governing the theoretical part of the teacher training program in two European countries: Denmark and Norway. The study investigates if the concepts in question are (1) just mentioned, (2) used as part of the teacher's language training, and/or (3) presented to the pre-service teachers as didactical resources for their own future teaching.

2. Multilingualism and foreign language learning and teaching

2.1 Defining multilingualism

As stated in the quote above, multilingualism simultaneously has great potential and is problematic for European countries.

The Council of Europe, as a widely respected authority, has contributed to the acknowledgment of multilingualism in the educational field. According to the Council's definition (2007), multilingualism covers two related concepts, one concerning the societal presence of language (varieties) and one regarding the individual speaker's language repertoire.

The present article uses *multilingualism* to cover both the societal and individual domains and considers anyone who has knowledge of more than one language or language variety a multilingual. The level of required proficiency is not critical in this definition, and, accordingly, any European child from age 10 –at the latest – must be considered a multilingual. [1]

2.2 Applying multilingualism as a theoretical resource

Historically, multilingualism has had a bad reputation, resulting mainly from misunderstandings and prejudices toward bilingual children's supposed cognitive disadvantages (Jessner 2008: 15). Yet, according to a number of newer studies, a diversity of individual and rather complex factors can influence the language learning process (e.g. Dörnyei 2005; Haukås 2012; Haukås et al. 2018). Therefore, a combination of different approaches - including multilingualism - can be beneficial for the language learner (e.g. Norris & Ortega 2000; Ellis et al. 2006; Haukås 2011). However, the possible benefits of "multilingualism … should not be regarded as an automatic asset" (Haukås et al. 2018: 4) in improving multilingual learners' language acquisition.

In an institutional setting, it is primarily the responsibility of teachers to apply theoretically established models for their own and their students actual learning process. To be able to successfully integrate an approach, teachers need to not only know of the approach but also its reasoning. Since an approach might consist of various parts, understanding also entails understanding its elements in isolation and their interrelation.

Given the previous reasoning of this article and Neuner's (2009) analysis of how to successfully change language curricula, teachers need to be made aware of at least three conditions as shown in Figure 1 below to be able to apply multilingual pedagogical approaches:

[1] This consideration is based on data from the European Commission's Eurydice report *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* (2017a: 30). The only exception are some areas in the UK and Ireland. In Wales and Northern Ireland, the first foreign language is only a compulsory subject from age 11, and Ireland and Scotland do not have foreign languages as a compulsory subject.

Figure 1: Conditions for teachers to successfully integrate multilingualism (based on Neuner 2009)

(1) Teachers need to understand what the conditions for their teaching responsibilities are, i.e., the multilingual setting.

(2) Teachers need to gain knowledge on what condition (1) has to offer, i.e., students' previous language knowledge and learning experience.

(3) Teachers need to gain insight into how they can facilitate resources (2) and what condition (1) can offer in their teaching (and learning).

While the three conditions might seem like a complex challenge, one possible way to familiarize teachers with all three is by introducing them to metacognition, a concept the next section focuses on.

3. A metacognitive approach to language learning and teaching

Various studies have shown that metacognition (hereafter MC) can have a positive effect on language learning among students (e.g. Wenden 1998; Haukås 2014; Haukås et al. 2018). However, while MC, introduced by John Flavell, has been known as a concept since 1976, terminological "inconsistency marks the conceptualization of the construct" (Veenman et al. 2006: 4).

3.1 Defining metacognition

Different domains, subcategories, and terms for MC have been suggested over time (see Tarricone 2011 for a proposed taxonomy), but "it is not always clear how these concepts relate to metacognition" (Haukås 2018: 12). When applying MC to the learning environment, prior knowledge has long been stated as one of the most important components, but emotional awareness is now identified as a central component as well (e.g. Fisher 2018; Hiver & Whitehead 2018). As a broad understanding of MC in all domains, Haukås operates with an integration of several models and defines MC as "an awareness of and reflections about one's knowledge, experiences, emotions and learning" (2018: 13). The present article utilizes Haukås' definition.

3.1 Knowledge in metacognition: challenges and opportunities

One of the essential parts of MC, prior knowledge, is not new to the field of language learning. The impact of previous linguistic knowledge on language acquisition (often called *transfer*) has been a widely discussed factor for many years (e.g. mentioned by Fries 1945 and Lado 1957). One approach to facilitating previous linguistic knowledge is often referred to as *contrastive analysis* (CA). The general idea of early CA research was contrasting a learner's native language with the to-be-learned language to predict any difficulties the learner will face during their acquisition. CA could, however, not live up to its aim of giving a precise prediction of the areas foreign language teachers needed to bear in mind in language learning classes. Studies have shown that "not all L2 errors could be predicted by identifying the differences between the learners' native language and the target language" (R. Ellis 2008: 360). Furthermore, when analyzing learner errors, not all could be explained by using CA descriptions. Some errors, for example, turned out to be intralingual, stemming from the language to be learned rather than from an L1 transfer, or the errors were triggered by other complex or uncertain factors (James 1998: 138, 200). Moreover, not all differences between a learner's L1 and the target language resulted in learning problems or errors (Gilquin 2000: 101).

Nonetheless, as Hasselgård (2018: 99) notes, "knowledge about, and reflection on, relationships

between the languages (presumably similarities and differences) can feed into strategies for learning and using … [the foreign] language". This knowledge and reflection, however, do not come as resources automatically integrated into the foreign language learners. For their native language, the language learners usually rely more on intuition than on deliberately deciding how to use what they have been born into (e.g. Jessner 2006: 54; R. Ellis 2008: 418). A multilingual learner, however, while not necessarily being aware of it either, has already experienced learning (and perhaps even comparing) language(s), be it simultaneously or consecutively. Hence, a multilingual learner has even more elaborate resources than their native language intuition. Inevitably, this leads to a more complex set of prerequisites for choosing a suitable learning strategy amongst multilingual learners. Based on Jessner (2008), Haukås et al. concluded that "the languages in multilinguals' repertoire … belong … to one dynamic psycholinguistic system in which the languages influence each other in sometimes unpredictable ways" (2018: 3).

3.3 Facilitating knowledge and experience for language learning and teaching

It is important to appreciate that realizing how the different parts of earlier language knowledge and previous learning experience influence the learning of a foreign language can be an overwhelming task for a teenage (or, really, any) language learner. If these influences, however, are to be exploited effectively by either the learner or teacher, it is crucial to reach a degree of acknowledgement of those conditions. While this acknowledgement can be achieved in various ways, in the education sector, qualified instruction given by teachers or other educators—like university faculty functioning as teacher educators—is commonly expected (Haukås 2018: 18).

This expectation seems reasonable, yet, it entails a fundamental dilemma. The awareness of teaching and learning conditions requires teacher education that prepares prospective teachers for the task of guiding language learners to develop their multilingual awareness. Arguing that it is the teacher's task to facilitate all sorts of resources and apply various models for learning and teaching would be shortsighted as it disregards that teachers first need to be trained to do so (Haukås 2018: 22). Haukås et al. (2018) state that,

> [a]lthough metacognition is now regarded as an essential tool for lifelong learning and flexibility in ever-changing multilingual and multicultural societies, it can still be claimed that metacognition has not yet been recognized as an integral part of language learning and teaching. (1)

One of the few studies to focus on the benefits of MC in a multilingual setting by Haukås (2016) found that the teachers in her focus group,

> believed that their own multilingualism had been beneficial to their language learning, but they did not come to the same conclusion regarding their students. The teachers believed that this difference could be explained by differences in awareness: the teachers were aware of how to use their previous knowledge in further language learning, whereas their learners may not be equally aware. This belief seems to parallel and support the conclusions of several researchers that awareness is necessary for multilingualism to be an asset. (12)

To assume awareness as a prerequisite for learning complies with the idea that knowledge and experience cannot be separated from new learning (e.g. Bransford et al. 2000; Robinson & N. Ellis 2008). One possible integration of multilingual learners' previous knowledge with a reflection upon this knowledge may be achieved by applying a crosslinguistic awareness approach.

3.4 Crosslinguistic awareness

One of the most dominant European guidelines on language learning, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR) (2001), states that as a person's experience of language expands, they do not keep these languages "in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather build … up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact" (4).

To account for this knowledge and experience stemming from different languages and their interrelation, one needs awareness (De Angelis et al. 2015). When learners combine language awareness with an awareness of how the awareness of two or more languages interact with each other, the learners demonstrate crosslinguistic awareness.

Giving a comprehensive definition of crosslinguistic awareness might prove as complex as accounting for MC. This article treats crosslinguistic awareness similarly to Jessner (2006), as "[t]he language learners' awareness of the links between their language systems expressed tacitly and explicitly" (116). While Jessner's definition continues by restricting crosslinguistic awareness to language production and use, the present article treats any explicit awareness of language relationships without actual productive manifestation as crosslinguistic awareness (hereafter XLA).

The way language teachers teach is based on several factors, including their education. As is expressed in the first quote in the introduction of this article, teachers are expected to lead Europe out of its ambivalent monolingual tradition and into the multilingual area. They should equip their pupils with traditional language skills now but, in doing so, also prepare them to become more aware language learners for the rest of their lives. As future teachers presumably cannot draw on their own experiences, they will need particularly goal-oriented training to be able to cope with this challenge.

This assumption is supported by Haukås' (2016: 12) study on teachers' beliefs, in which teachers could exploit their previous knowledge for their own learning but seemed unable to find an appropriate way to assist their pupils in doing so. In a study on L2 learners of English, Hasselgård concludes that most of the students in her analysis found that "it makes good sense to take advantage of this competence [i.e., the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind] in learners, i.e. to draw on first-language competence when learning or teaching a second language" (2018: 116).

Based on the outlined advantages of a metacognitive approach in a multilingual setting in the above studies, teacher education should offer training for future teachers to experience those advantages themselves and to prepare them to facilitate those advantages in their learners. As Haukås states, "language teacher education should play a key role in training future teachers to reflect on their own knowledge and practices as well as in implementing a metacognitively oriented pedagogy" (2018: 22).

To conclude this first section, in recent years, multilingualism has often been referred to as a resource for mutual understanding and variety (e.g. Hufeisen 1998; Kemp 2001; Jessner 2018). In a language learning context, the advantages are, however, not an automated result and require appropriate knowledge (e.g. MC) and skills (e.g. XLA), both in the language learner and in the teacher (e.g. Hufeisen & Marx 2007; Haukås 2012; Haukås et al. 2018). One of the complex conditions for success is teacher education, which is treated in the following part of this article.

In the following section, a study of a series of documents regarding foreign language teacher education is analyzed in order to find out if and how multilingualism, MC, and XLA are integrated into teacher training.

4. Multilingualism, metacognition and crosslinguistic awareness in teacher education methods

After establishing the feasible value of multilingualism, MC, and XLA, the following section addresses how multilingualism, MC, and XLA are represented in local and national documents guiding foreign language teacher education in Denmark and Norway.

To approach this question, an adaptation of Altheide's *Process of Document Analysis* (1996)

was applied, including the following steps: (1) establishing inclusion conditions for documents, (2) collecting documents, (3) formulating basic areas of analysis, (4) document coding, and (5) analysis. The first four are presented as subsections below. The analysis consisting of results and discussion is to be found in section 5.

4.1 Establishing inclusion conditions for documents: scope and relevance of method

The present study focuses on teacher education in two Northern European countries: Denmark and Norway. As teacher education varies across the two countries,[2] the study only considers the following educational factors to ensure better comparability:

- teacher education at the university level
- teacher education to train upper secondary teachers
- study programs meeting the minimum subject requirements for upper secondary teachers, i.e., 90 ECTS in Denmark and 60 ECTS in Norway
- study programs qualifying German foreign language teachers

For Denmark, the considerations allow for an analysis of three universities, and five universities comply with the requirements in Norway. All eight universities are listed under "study program" in Figure 2 below, but the study only considered six universities in the analysis; three Danish universities and equally three representative Norwegian universities.

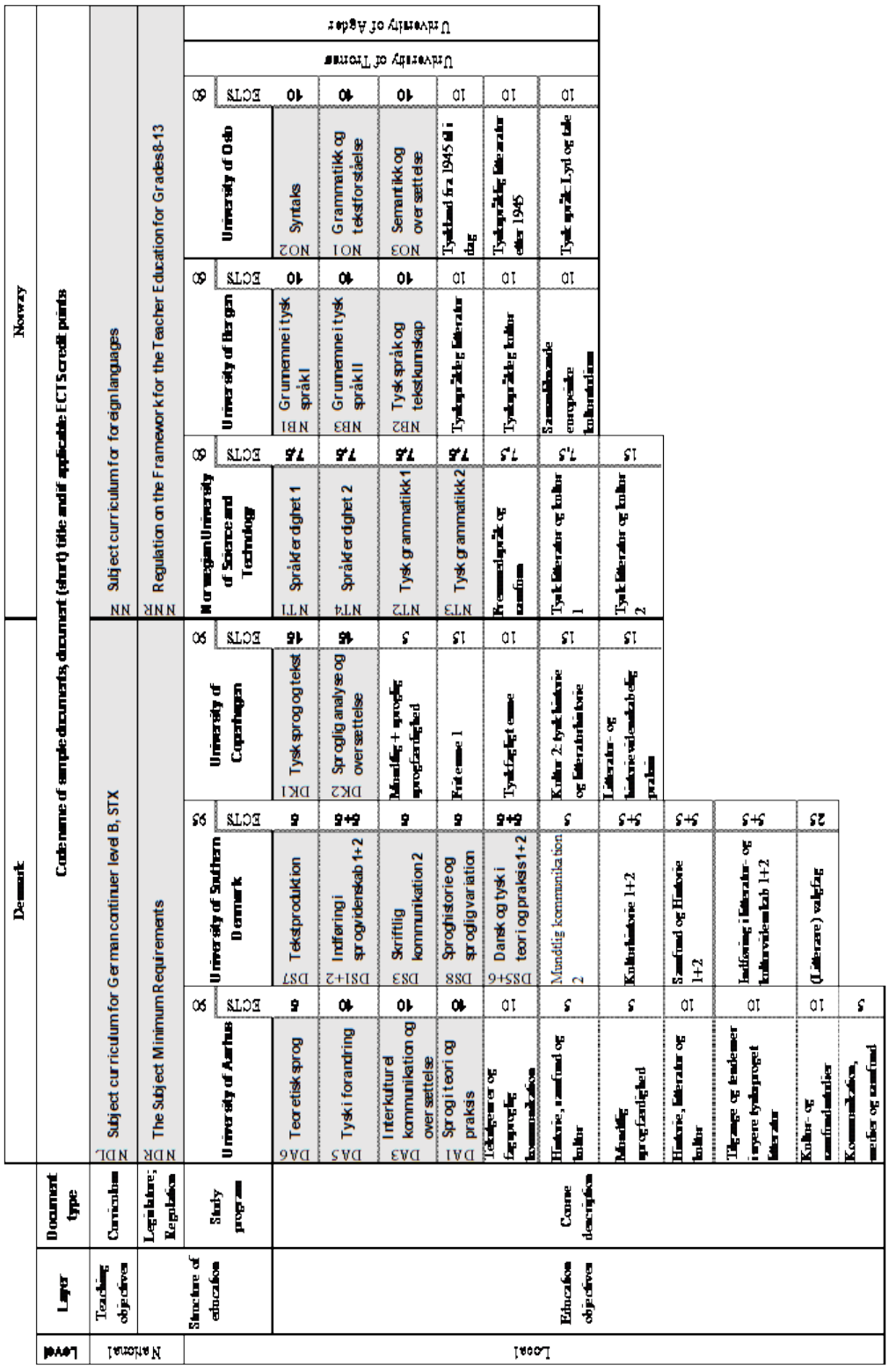
In addition to analyzing the general structure of the teacher training (nationally and locally), the application of the national requirements in courses at the university level were included in the analysis. Moreover, the national target requirements for prospective teachers, that is, the national school curricula, were considered. Since the Danish upper secondary school system consists of four different professional orientations, each with their own individual German curriculum, only the most general orientation, STX (general high school degree without specific professional direction), was included in the study.

Due to the organization of education in Denmark and Norway, the legally binding guidelines for teacher education are publicly available in the form of official documents such as national legislation and local policy documents. The high level of accessibility of the documents, in combination with the documents' broad area of application, allows for the extraction of valuable data in a qualitative analysis of teacher education through document analysis. As in any form of qualitative research, a document analysis "will be colored by [the researcher's] own reality" (O'Leary & Hunt 2017: 272) and needs to thoroughly state any researcher biases or concerns about any single document's credibility. While documents are a stable entity, which makes data gathering easy, the documents do not adapt to researcher's needs and are written with an audience in mind other than researchers. This is to be seen as positive, as a researcher will not inflict on any of the data. However, there is a risk of not finding desired answers and making inappropriate choices about which documents to include in an analysis.

In this study, the issues include, in particular, the researcher's bias due to belonging to some of the documents' target groups. When deciding on a pool of documents to be analyzed, this bias presented itself more than initially anticipated and is discussed further in section 4.2, on the selection of data. Due to the nature of the documents, most of them refer directly to either their nationality or institutional belonging through language use and other witting and unwitting evidence. This fact together with the researcher's bias call for particular attention in the analysis.

[2] For Denmark, see: Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education] 2019: chap. 7, § 56, sec. 4; for Norway, see: Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research] 2013: § 3.

Figure 2: Data pool and selected documents (marked with grey background)[3], by author.



[3] A reference list of the analyzed documents is available in Appendix A. Unless stated differently, all document titles in the figure and any quotes in the analysis are originally in either Danish or Norwegian and are translated by the author for the purpose of this article.

4.2 Collecting documents: from initial assessment to dismissal

Figure 2 above provides an overview of the levels, layers, and types of documents complying with the outlined educational factors stated in 4.1. The overview is based on an initial assessment of available documents and excludes some data that may be valuable to investigate further. The data that are under investigation in this study are shaded gray in the figure. The sample comprises 27 documents in total, of which four are nationally rooted—two for each country—and the rest are locally rooted at the six universities. For the convenience of the reader, Figure 2 includes code names that allow for more efficient reference to the documents.

In addition to the stated university courses, prospective teachers are required to receive didactical and pedagogical training (Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research] 2013; Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education] 2019). This more professionally oriented part of teacher education more extensively includes teaching approaches and methods than more subject-specific and language-related courses. Regardless, the didactical and pedagogical courses are not considered in this study for several reasons.

These courses are not necessarily directly integrated into teaching education and may—especially in Denmark—be taken later or at another university and are not a critical requirement to start teaching (Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education] 2018: chap. 1, § 3, sec. 3). This tendency is supported by The Danish National Union of Upper Secondary School Teachers' study from 2018, which found that 90% of Danish teachers have more than one year of teaching experience before receiving their pedagogical qualification (Romme-Mølby 2018).

During the initial review of possible data for the study, it became obvious that a prospective teacher's educational input greatly depends on the individual candidate's program design. Since all candidates regardless their educational path qualify to become teachers, only the bare minimum requirements to practice are included in the analysis. In Norway, this means training in a German-relevant pedagogical subject corresponding to 15 ECTS-credits, but if the candidates received their pedagogical training at, for example, the University of Oslo (2019), they have been introduced to much broader general didactical topics than the candidates at, for example, the University of Bergen (2019). The latter pedagogical program has a much more detailed and German-specific focus, with concrete foreign language teaching–related aims.

4.3 Formulating basic areas of analysis

While seeking to analyze a broad sample of documents, not all texts could be considered, for reasons of viability, to ensure a rich understanding of the data. The study programs disclosed a study structure in which approximately half of the courses were related to language and communication, while the other half covers topics like history, literature, and culture. Multilingualism, MC, and XLA might (and should) have been found across all courses, but only the most linguistic and theoretical courses were considered in the present study, partly because these courses constituted a vast amount of the total study program and partly because these courses were expected to be influenced by recent views on multilingualism. The latest version (fall 2020 term) of the descriptions of these language-courses were included in the sample.

Since the selection was based on the German study programs for each university, it is essential to bear in mind that these programs were not exclusively for pre-service teachers and included elements and topics only relevant to some of the students.

4.4 Document coding

The exploration of the content was undertaken by means of a qualitative coding mechanism. Each sample document was treated independently first with a deductive and then an inductive approach. In the first reading, any instances of multilingualism, MC, XLA, and related concepts were assessed broadly, allowing for other relevant focus areas to arise. Approximately 1000 segments across the

entire sample were identified through close reading and re-reading. The segments were grouped to be re-examined by applying creative coding of the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. New segments were added while others were modified in their belonging to the code-concepts. Questions and concerns occurring during the analysis were noted and evaluated reflectively together with the findings.

5. Analysis: results and discussion

The existence of a national guideline to structure teacher education suggests that teacher education should be based on the needs in school, which are manifested in the national curricula. Therefore, the presentation of the data starts by presenting findings from the national curricula, followed by the national guidelines for teacher education, and finally relating them to the individual theoretical university courses which aim to preparing teachers to maintain the national curricula.

5.1 The national subject curricula

The Danish curriculum is from 2017, while the Norwegian is entirely new and valid from August 2020. The documents are of approximately equal length and consist of similar sections dealing with the subject's relevance and values, main topics, and professional objectives. The Norwegian document is aimed at a much broader audience as it is valid for any foreign language subject (excluding English and Norwegian as a foreign language) and covers lower secondary and upper secondary levels in one document. The Danish document in the sample only treats the subject of German as a foreign language. It only covers the upper secondary level for students with prior knowledge of German from the lower secondary level. As a result, only the higher-level objectives (*nivå II*) in the Norwegian documents were compared to the Danish objectives.

When comparing the curricula's sections, both documents focus on similar areas, namely communication and culture, and objectives of knowledge, competence, and skills. While the Norwegian curriculum highlights "language learning and multilingualism" (NNL: 3) as a core element, the Danish curriculum does not introduce multilingualism as a concept. Furthermore, the Norwegian curriculum treats foreign language learning as part of the individual development process of the learner. By repeatedly using phrases like "will help promote", "can help develop", "should help to gain awareness", and "should help give an understanding" (NNL: 2), the Norwegian curriculum gives many examples of metacognitive strategies. The Danish curriculum focuses on development as well, but does not state foreign language learning as a developmental process but more as a goal thereof. Both multilingualism and MC are more integrated into the Norwegian curriculum; the former is not explicitly mentioned in the Danish curriculum and the latter is only touched upon.

Another difference concerned the level of abstraction in the curricula. The Norwegian curriculum is quite general and bases many decisions on how to reach the professional objectives on the competence of the teacher. The professional objectives are more freely stated as well and are similar to the CEFR's objectives. While the reason for the less concrete objectives might be the broad audience of the Norwegian curricula, it can be seen as a low level of restriction on the teacher. This can be exemplified through the expected receptive reading skills.

Norwegian teachers need to make sure their students manage to "read and understand different types of texts, and authentic ones, about personal and professionally relevant topics and current issues" (NNL: 5). In comparison, Danish teachers need to fulfill the same task in addition to using more specified materials. For example, "German fictional and non-fictional multimodal text types and genres that can give students creative experience and varied and nuanced insight into cultural, historical and societal conditions" (NDL: 2) should be part of the syllabus and "at least one of the topics must include German text from before 1945" (NDL: 2).

Similar tendencies of abstract vs. concrete content can be observed in the arenas of productive and receptive oral skills and productive written skills. A lexical search of both curricula confirmed

this trend. Anything that could point at grammar in the Norwegian curriculum is generalized with the term "linguistic structures" (NNL: 3;4;6). The Danish curriculum uses the term grammar only once: "analyze and describe the German language grammatically using appropriate terminology" (NDL: 1). However, it has multiple instances of mentioning more concrete grammatical elements, like "morphology", "syntax", "chunks", and "awareness of linguistic structure." Hence, while focusing less on broader concepts such as multilingualism and MC, the Danish curriculum has greater focus on more concrete concepts or methods which are relevant for XLA.

Danish teachers were, consequently, not only more restricted than their Norwegian colleagues when designing their courses but also not offered a theoretical rationale for the methodological choices already made for them. The Norwegian teachers were, however, more likely to reflect on multilingualism as an objective but might have struggled to find out how it can be done.

5.2 The national teacher education regulations

The national guidelines for teacher education present a picture similar to the curricula. The Norwegian one is broad and general, while the Danish one has a more restricted focus and is more detailed.

The Norwegian *Regulation on the Framework for Teacher Education for Grades 8–13*, from 2013, covers all teacher education and does not require any subject-specific objectives or content. Instead, the document outlines the framework for teacher education as a whole, the distribution of minor and major subjects, and the requirements for pedagogical training. While the scope of the document is to serve as a baseline for the design of study programs at individual universities, it presents some learning objectives, which can be related to multilingualism, MC, and perhaps even XLA, when treated as a sub-concept of MC. For example, the regulation requires future teachers to have "in-depth knowledge of relevant research literature and the current legislation and curriculum, and they should be able to apply this knowledge in new areas" (NNR: 2). Furthermore, a teacher needs to be able to describe characteristics of competence, assess and document student learning, provide learning-promoting feedback, and help students reflect on their own learning and professional development (NNR: 3).

The comparable Danish version, *The Minimum Subject Requirements*, from 2018, consists of a short general section. This introduction states the document's overall aim of "providing a guideline for universities to offer a program that qualifies teachers in two subjects to teach across Denmark, regardless of where they studied" (NDR: 1). Additionally, the general part specifies that "the requirements apply to all of the previously mentioned 'upper-secondary school directions' " (NDR: 1). This is particularly interesting, considering that all of these directions have individual curricula with partly varying content and objectives. The second part of the requirements consists of a 52-page appendix specifying the subject requirements for more than 50 subjects. German is treated as part of the modern foreign language group, together with Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish.

The requirements for German are divided into three sections, namely Language and Communication; Culture, Media and Literature; and History and Society. The first section is of the most relevance to the present study and involves several objectives that can be related to MC and partially to XLA. For MC, the most prominent idea seems to be the ability to reflect upon one's or other's language use. The reflection is either based on the level of correctness (i.e., quality judgement and fluent communication with an appropriate degree of correctness) or adjustment to external needs (i.e., varied communication and knowledge of language variation: regional, social, functional, and historical; see NDR: 14–15). The main focus seems to be placed on the ability to improve the learner's communicative skills. Linguistic knowledge and skills are listed as tools to "provide linguistic guidance in a systematic way (phonetics, orthography, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics)" (NDR: 14). While most of the objectives do not indicate the level of knowledge, competence, or skill, the last bullet point requires a "basic knowledge of foreign language acquisition"

(NDR: 14). Multilingualism or related topics are not mentioned in the language section, but the idea of a regional and global context can be found in the section on history and society.

Assuming that the teacher training program is based on the teacher education guidelines and prepares prospective teachers to be able to work within the curricula framework, the above tendencies should appear in the course programs for teacher education.

5.3 The local course descriptions

As mentioned in section 4.3, the 21 course descriptions stemming from six universities are coded independently, focusing mainly on concepts related to multilingualism, MC, and XLA, in addition to establishing new concept categories. The following nine categories were the most prominent and are here applied as ground for comparison. The abbreviation of the category name, as it appears in Figures 3 and 4, is given in parentheses:

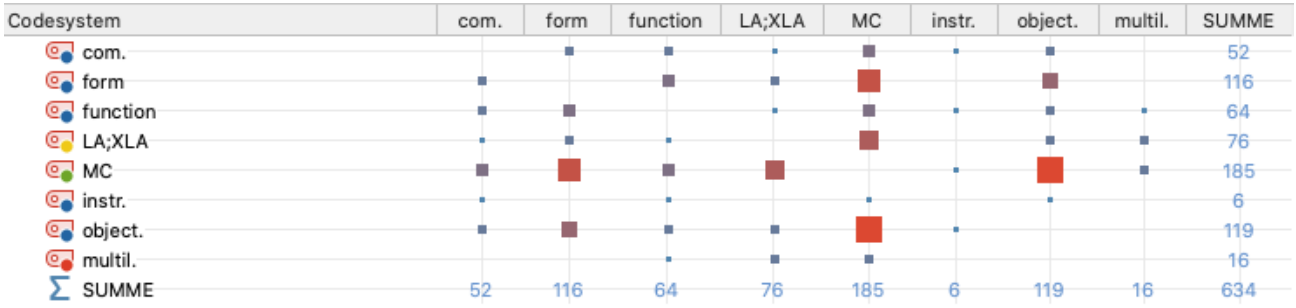
1) communication and proficiency (com.)
2) form
3) function
4) language awareness and crosslinguistic awareness (LA;XLA)
5) metacognition (MC)
6) instruction form (instr.)
7) entry level + requirements (entry l.)
8) objective level (object.)
9) multilingualism (multil.)

There are two main disadvantages of the categories: First, some categories are too broad and include a high number of segments, which are not necessarily related to any parameters other than the overall category. This means that the broad categories further need to be qualitatively treated before any generalizations can be proposed. Second, due to certain overlaps, segments can fit into various categories and need to be double- or multi-coded. This is not an issue per se; however, it requires additional reflection when considering the relationship and dependency of the categories.

Document NB1, for example, includes the following objective for knowledge: "Upon completing the course, the student is expected to … possess satisfactory knowledge about German grammar" (2). This segment needs to be coded first in the broad category *MC* due to the phrase *knowledge about*. The segment should also be coded for *form* since it concerns grammar. The segment can, however, not without further discussion, offer a conclusion on whether grammar is an additional focus here or if it appears as an integrated part of MC.

Although an in-depth review of the almost 600 coded segments in the course descriptions could be enlightening, the presentation here will instead focus on some general tendencies in the distribution of the categories and their interrelationship (see Figure 3). The size of the shapes indicates the extent of overlap between the categories. The presentation must not be mistaken for a quantitative representation of the data and exclusively aims at providing an inclination of interrelations of concepts in the course descriptions.

Figure 3: Code interrelations in the course description segments, by author[4]



Considering the broad character of the *MC* category, it is not surprising that almost one-third of the coded segments are found in that group. Neither is it unexpected to find a considerable overlap of *MC* and *object*. (49 segments),[5] as the objective levels merely consist of different levels of knowledge, skills, and competencies. It is still questionable if these segments truly are concerned with MC or if they only appear as structural or textual elements in the course description.

The second most prominent category, *form*, is unexpected considering the main focus of the training teachers' target profession. As has been established, there should be a match in what the teachers will need in schools—that is, what the curriculum requires—and what they are taught in their university teacher courses. The above analysis of the school curriculum includes only a few *form* segments and has a tremendous focus on *function* and *com*. The course descriptions, however, include 52 segments on *com.*, 64 on *function* (of which 15 are overlapping), and 116 segments on *form*. This indicates a mismatch between the university courses, which apparently have a great focus on form, and the school curricula, which focus on function and communication instead.

While the overlap of *LA;XLA* and *MC* seems obvious, it is striking how rarely (14 instances) *LA;XLA* appears together with *form* (i.e., grammar). This might indicate a focus on acknowledging the existence of the crosslinguistic phenomena without specifying the resources (i.e., form) or purpose (i.e., function and ultimately communication) needed to apply that knowledge. The majority of the documents include phrases like "[t]he candidate is conscious of differences between the Norwegian and German languages" (NT4: 1). But only a few examples of an application of this consciousness can be found. Interestingly, the segment from NT4 stems from a course on proficiency and does not include any requirements on the use of that ability. In contrast, a grammar course at the same university required the students to "reflect on differences between Norwegian and German and make use of this in both written and oral German" (NT3: 1).

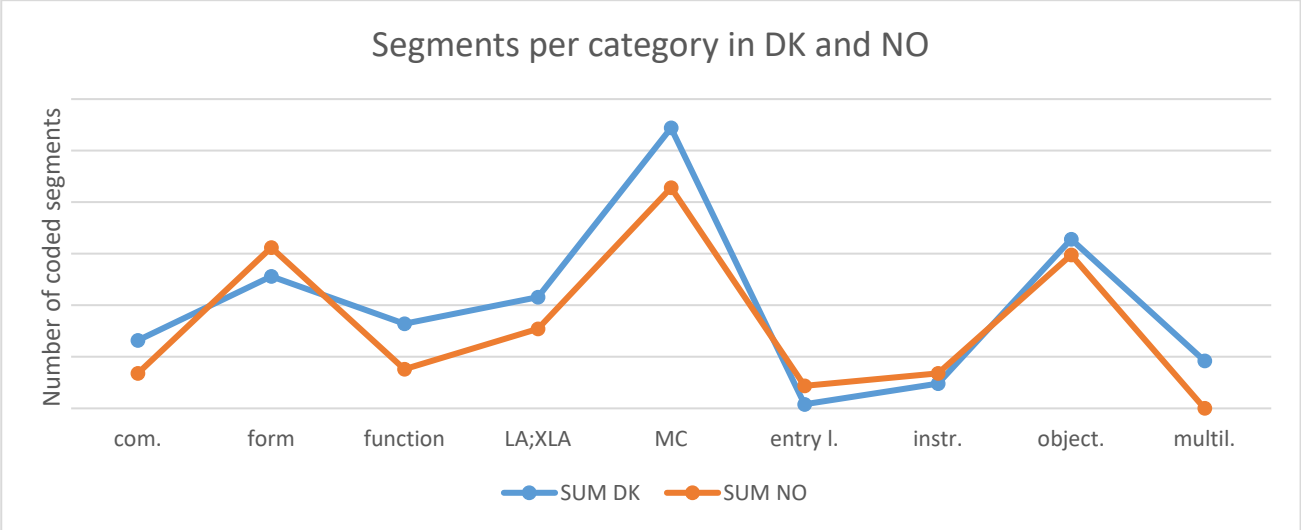
The third area of interest for this study, multilingualism, rarely presents itself in the course descriptions. A total of only 16 segments across the 23 documents were coded as belonging to this concept. What is more striking than the low number of instances, however, is the type of documents in which these segments appear. All 16 were retrieved from the Danish documents, even though neither the Danish curriculum nor the Danish teacher education guidelines include this concept. Conversely, in Norway, multilingualism is stated as a core element in the curriculum. However, according to the course descriptions in this sample, it cannot be found in the teacher training for those who will have to work based on that curriculum.

Even though the data indicate some deviations across the layers under observation and across countries, it is essential to emphasize that the general tendencies across all three document types are comparable. Figure 4 compares the number of coded segments for the nine categories in Denmark

[4] The *entry level + requirements (entry l.)* category is excluded from Figure 3 as no interrelations occurred.
[5] For a table on the numbers referred to, see Appendix B.

and Norway. The graph can probably serve best to illustrate the insufficiency of the established categories, as far too many segments appear in the *MC* category without further distinction; but, nonetheless, it shows how the key elements to be expected in curricula and program plans are distributed similarly across the countries.

Figure 4: Sum of segments per code category in Denmark and Norway, by author



It is important to remember that the majority of segments stem from only one document type—the course descriptions. Hence, the graph must not be mistaken for an indication of a focus on the different categories across the entire educational system, which is obvious by reviewing the *multilingualism* category in the graph. Denmark appears to have greater focus on this area, but this focus only results from segments in the university course descriptions, as multilingualism is not represented in the school curriculum. The opposite is the case for the Norwegian documents, which according to the graph have almost no focus on multilingualism, but actually have an entire focus area in the school curriculum.

6. Concluding remarks

Even though the sample of this study only considers a selection of the minimum subject requirements and entirely disregards any pedagogical or didactical courses for future L3 German teachers, the analysis indicates that multilingualism, MC, and XLA are to some degree part of the teacher training curriculum in Denmark and Norway. The distribution of the concepts appears, however, not to be equal across the receiving side (the upper secondary schools) and the providing side (the teacher education programs).

In Norway, the introduction of new concepts seemingly happens bottom-up, that is, new demands are put forward on teachers first. Only then are the universities expected to prepare future teachers accordingly. While this direction of implementation can be seen as more pupil-focused as it is starting the improvement among the many, practicing teachers might feel insecure about the new framework. They might not be able to appreciate the proposed improvements due to a lack of training and guidance. An inclusion of different university courses or including the pedagogical part of the teacher training program would be necessary to verify this tendency.

According to the analysis, the situation presents itself differently in Denmark. Here, the universities seem to adjust faster to societal requirements than schools do. In practice, change takes longer to be established on the ground in the schools' classrooms, and the more recently trained teachers may feel the need to defend their practices as more valid or current. As soon as the entire

education system has adapted, however, the needs and requirements might have changed again and the long transitional phase starts all over. The Danish results exemplify how difficult adaption can be and that a change alone in one of the levels or layers may be insufficient.

Therefore, the political or administrative order of change might not be as relevant if a better integration between practicing and researching takes place. Haukås et al. (2018: ix) state in their introduction to *Metacognition in Language Learning and Teaching* that "connections between theory, research and class room practice" are urgently needed.

While this study has shown that the educational sector seems to accommodate the current needs of teachers who are navigating in a multilingual setting, the documents do not tell anything about the concrete teaching situation. In particular, only very little can be concluded on how or to what extent multilingualism, MC, and XLA are actively discussed and enhanced in teacher education. Observational studies in teacher education are necessary to support the theoretically established findings of this study. In future research, it can also be fruitful to consider the perspectives of language teacher educators. What are the requirements for these first-level initiators of the next generation of teachers, and how is their approach concerning, for example, multilingualism, MC, and XLA?

The demands for foreign language teachers keep changing as a result of—among other things—the multilingual turn. However, the subject-specific, language-related university courses in teacher education for German foreign language teachers and the national school curricula in Denmark and Norway seem to adapt rather slowly to those changes and show only little integration of promising concepts such as MC and XLA.

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Appendix A

References of the sample documents, cf. Figure 2

Level	Layer	Document type	Denmark			Norway		
			Code name of sample documents, document source					
National	Teaching objectives	Curriculum	NDL: Undervisningsministeriet [Ministry of Education] (2019). 'Bekendtgørelse af lov om de gymnasiale uddannelser. '. [Consolidation Act of Upper Secondary School Act]. LBK nr 611 af 28/05/2019. https://www.retsinformation.dk/eli/lta/2019/611; Attachment 132 'subject curriculum German B, stx https://www.uvm.dk/gymnasiale-uddannelser/fag-og-laereplaner/laereplaner-2017/stx-laereplaner-2017 Retrieved May 4, 2020			NNL: Kunnskapsdepartementet & Utdanningsdirektoratet [Ministry of Education and Research & The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training] (2019). 'Læreplan i fremmedspråk'. [Subject curriculum for foreign languages]. Læreplankode: FSP01-02. https://www.udir.no/lk20/fsp01-02. Retrieved May 11, 2020		
	Structure of education	Legislature; Regulation	NDR: Uddannelses- og Forskningsministeriet & Styrelsen for Forskning og Uddannelse [Ministry of Higher Education and Science & Agency for Science and Higher Education] (2019). 'Retningslinjer for universitetsuddannelser rettet mod undervisning i de gymnasiale uddannelser samt undervisning i gymnasiale fag i eux-forløb (Faglige mindstekrav)'. [Subject Minimum Requirements]. VEJ nr 9698 af 28/08/2018. https://www.retsinformation.dk/eli/retsinfo/2018/9698. Retrieved May 11, 2020			NNR: Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research] (2013). 'Forskrift om rammeplan for lektorutdanning for trinn 8-13'. [Regulation on the Framework for the Teacher Education for Grades 8-13]. FOR-2013-03-18-288. https://lovdata.no/forskrift/2013-03-18-288. Retrieved May 11, 2020		
Local		Study program	**University of Aarhus (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://bachelor.au.dk/tilvalg/tysk/ Retrieved May 17, 2020**	**University of Southern Denmark (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. BA https://odin.sdu.dk/sitecore/index.php?a=sto&id=25582&listid=2027&lang=da; MA https://odin.sdu.dk/sitecore/index.php?a=sto&id=25688&listid=2027&lang=da Retrieved May 17, 2020**	**University of Copenhagen (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://hum.ku.dk/uddannelser/tilvalg/oversigt/tysk/ Retrieved May 17, 2020**	**Norwegian University of Science and Technology (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://www.ntnu.no/studier/aatysk/oppbygging#year=2020 Retrieved May 17, 2020**	**University of Bergen (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://www.uib.no/studier/ÅRHF-TYS Retrieved May 17, 2020**	**University of Oslo (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://www.uio.no/studier/program/tysk-sammenhet/oppbygging/ Retrieved May 17, 2020**
	Education objectives	Course description	DA6: Teoretisk sprog - see study program	DS7: Tekstproduktion- see study program	DK1: Tysk sprog og tekst - see study program	NT1: Språkferdighet 1 - see study program	NB1: Grunnemne i tysk språk I- see study program	NO2: Syntaks - see study program
			DA5: Tysk i forandring - see study program	DS1+2: Indføring i sprogvidenskab 1+2- see study program	DK2: Sproglig analyse og oversættelse - see study program	NT4: Språkferdighet 2- see study program	NB3: Grunnemne i tysk språk II - see study program	NO1: Grammatikk og tekstforståelse- see study program
			DA3: Interkulturel kommunikation og oversættelse- see study program	DS3: Skriftlig kommunikation 2 - see study program		NT2: Tysk grammatikk 1- see study program	NB2: Tysk språk og tekstkunnskap - see study program	NO3: Semantikk og oversættelse- see study program
			DA1: Sprog i teori og praksis - see study program	DS8: Sproghistorie og sproglig variation- see study program		NT3: Tysk grammatikk 2 - see study program		
				DS5+6: Dansk og tysk i teori og praksis 1+2- see study program				

Kunnskapsdepartementet [Ministry of Education and Research] (2013). 'Forskrift om rammeplan for lektorutdanning for trinn 8-13'. [Regulation on the Framework for the Teacher Education for Grades 8-13]. FOR-2013-03-18-288. https://lovdata.no/forskrift/2013-03-18-288. Retrieved May 11, 2020.

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University of Oslo (2020). 'Study Program German as minor subject and course descriptions'. https://www.uio.no/studier/program/tysk-aarsenhet/oppbygging/. Retrieved May 17, 2020.

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Appendix B

Quantified code interrelations in the course description segments, by author

Codesystem	com.	form	func...	LA;...	MC	instr.	obje...	multil.	SU...
com.		11	6	3	21	2	9		52
form	11		16	14	46		29		116
function	6	16		5	21	1	13	2	64
LA;XLA	3	14	5		34		13	7	76
MC	21	46	21	34		2	54	7	185
instr.	2		1		2		1		6
object.	9	29	13	13	54	1			119
multil.			2	7	7				16
SUMME	52	116	64	76	185	6	119	16	634

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"That is a big shift for us": Teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of multilingualism and multilingual operationalizations

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Abstract: This article explores how teachers and teacher educators perceive multilingualism in general, and how they comprehend four specific multilingual operationalizations in particular. It also examines how the participants perceive multilingualism in relation to their language subject(s) in the new national curriculum (LK20) in Norway. Data were collected using semi-structured interviews with four teachers and four teacher educators, and the analysis yielded three main themes. First, the participants regarded multilingualism as an important resource for both minority and majority language students in language acquisition and language use. Second, they reported a big shift in how they perceived multilingualism; from a narrow focus on language skills and fluency, to a wider emphasis on knowledge of languages, dialects and language learning. Third, despite this shift, the participants declared that they had insufficient knowledge of how to operationalize multilingualism systematically in their language classrooms. The implementation of the new curriculum (LK20) was viewed to be a good opportunity for developing more knowledge of multilingualism and multilingual operationalizations, but potential challenges to this were identified as the monolingual traditions underpinning the school structures and assessment cultures.

Keywords: Multilingualism, multilingual operationalizations, metacognition, language teaching and learning.

1. Introduction

Multilingualism is now seen as the norm rather than the exception in language education (Conteh & Meier 2014; May 2014; Dewaele 2015), and since some argue that "most people are multilingual to a certain extent" (Conteh & Meier 2014: 2), multilingualism may be regarded as a continuum, rather than a fixed category. Multilingualism is therefore here defined in a holistic sense "that takes into account all of the languages in the learner's repertoire" (Cenoz & Gorter 2011: 342).

The concept of "the multilingual turn" has also been upheld by several scholars within language acquisition studies (Conteh & Meier 2014; May 2014), and this has involved a paradigm shift in how language learning is perceived; from the static, monolingual ideal of the native speaker towards a more fluid, dynamic and multilingual speaker (May 2014; Makalela 2015). However, several studies show that this shift has mainly been a theoretical shift, and that monolingual teaching practices still dominate around the world (Paquet-Gauthier & Beaulieu 2016; Cummins 2017; Kirsch et al. 2020). Consequently, there seems to be a discrepancy between research and language policies encouraging multilingualism on the one hand, and actual classroom practices on the other hand (Cummins & Persad 2014; Lundberg 2019).

Some researchers therefore point to the need for a Gestaltshift in attitudes for major educational stakeholders, and claim that: "it appears that the most important challenge is … the need for a shift in attitudes of those who work with highly diverse classrooms on a daily basis, teachers, educators and policy-makers" (Herzog-Punzenberger et al. 2017: 34). Since teachers and teacher educators are important stakeholders who interpret and implement reforms and curricula, it is important to examine their perceptions of these in order to comprehend what hinders or promotes changes. "Perceptions" here denote opinions and perspectives, and is used synonymously with "beliefs" and "attitudes" since they often "[travel] under alias" (Pajares 1992: 309). They also "affect [the teachers'] behaviour in the classroom" (Pajares 1992: 307) and although teachers' perceptions are generally seen as difficult to change (Borg 2011), some studies have found that curriculum reform can bring about rapid and comprehensive alterations in teachers' perceptions (Sopanen 2019).

In order to analyze what promotes or hinders multilingual classroom practices in schools and teacher education, more empirical evidence on this is needed (Haukås 2016; Krulatz & Iversen 2019; Lundberg 2019), and semi-structured interviews have therefore been conducted with teachers and teacher educators in order to "enter into the other person's perspective" (Patton 2002: 3341). The aim of the current study is therefore threefold; 1) it will examine teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of multilingualism, 2) it will examine their perceptions of multilingual operationalizations, operationalizations here refer to how multilingualism is implemented in the classroom, and 3) it will analyze how they perceive multilingualism in relation to their language subject(s) in the new national curriculum (LK20) in Norway. To do this, three research questions were developed:

- RQ1: What are the teachers' and teacher educators' general perceptions of multilingualism?
- RQ2: What are the teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of four specific multilingual operationalizations?
- RQ3: What are the teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of multilingualism in relation to their language subject(s) in the new curriculum (LK20)?

2. Theoretical background

When analyzing teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of multilingualism, it may be appropriate to utilize the theoretical lenses of language ideologies by Richard Ruiz (1984) and the expansion of his theories into multilingualism-as-a-resource by Ester de Jong et al. (2016; 2019).

In his seminal article, Ruiz (1984) is concerned with language ideologies behind national language policies and language attitudes. He proposes three different orientations: language-as-problem, language-as-right and language-as-resource. However, he underlines that these are "competing, but not incompatible approaches" (Ruiz 1984: 18).

Language-as-problem refers to a view where one identifies and resolves certain problems related to language use and language planning, and stems from the one nation-one language ideology and reductionistic language views of the past where anything outside of the majority language was identified as problematic or challenging. This view has been found in educational policy documents in Norway, where "multilingualism", in Norwegian called "flerspråklighet", has been previously linked to minority language students and a lack of competence in the majority language (Sickinghe 2016; Haukås & Speitz 2018).

Language-as-right, on the other hand, stems from the idea that considers languages as basic human rights, and to be free "from discrimination on the basis of language" (Ruiz 1984: 22). This language ideology has reduced the discrimination of the culture and languages of many native peoples around the world, including the indigenous Sami population in Norway. However, Ruiz is also ambivalent about such a rights-perspective in language policies due to its confrontational nature "where the rights of the few are affirmed over those of the many" (Ruiz 1984: 24).

Therefore, Ruiz proposes a third, less confrontational and more holistic language ideology: language-as-resource. Here, he claims that "language is a resource to be managed, developed and conserved" (Ruiz 1984: 28), and that when languages are viewed as concrete resources in for example schools, industry and diplomacy, language minorities will also be viewed as "important sources of expertise" (Ruiz 1984: 28).

Building on Ruiz (1984), de Jong et al. (2016, 2019) argue that there is a need for a fourth, new paradigm called "multilingualism-as-a-resource" (de Jong et al. 2019: 107). They assert that it is vital to view *multilingualism* as an asset in schools, and that it is both destructive and inefficient to

disregard the students' diverse, multilingual realities outside of school. They also claim that teachers and teacher educators have a great responsibility when interpreting and applying new curricula in their classrooms, and that educators "must recognize and build on what students already know and our understandings of multilingual development and learning as they develop and implement their curriculum" (de Jong et al. 2019: 108-109). It is furthermore stated that a multilingualism-as-a-resource orientation is often contradicted and hindered by rigorous separation of languages and "overt policies that require monolingual environments in the language of instruction" (de Jong et al. 2019: 115).

2.1. Studies on multilingualism in education in Norway

Also in Norway, the concept of multilingualism as a significant resource has been highlighted in important steering documents like the previous Norwegian national curricula of English and foreign languages (LK06), the new national curricula (LK20) and in different white papers (see for example "Språk åpner dører"/ "Languages open doors", published by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, henceforth Udir 2007). Despite all this, reports still find that multilingualism to a large degree has been neglected in Norwegian schools (Language Council of Norway 2015; Dahl & Krulatz 2016; Haukås 2016; Iversen 2017; Burner & Carlsen 2019; Myklevold forthcoming).

Several studies also report that teachers lack knowledge of multilingualism and that multilingualism is still not fully operationalized in language teaching (Šurkalović 2014; Dahl & Krulatz 2016; Haukås 2016; Iversen 2017). In one survey, almost 80% of the teacher respondents had no education or training in working with multilingual pupils (Dahl & Krulatz 2016: 9).

Šurkalović (2014) reported similar findings in her study on multilingualism in teacher education, where she argued that the teacher students had insufficient knowledge of the prominence of multilingual pupils in Norwegian schools and that the teacher education programs did not assist them in compensating for that knowledge gap (Šurkalović 2014).

A study by Haukås (2016) examined teacher's beliefs about multilingualism and found that even if teachers are positive towards multilingualism, they do not often promote multilingualism, as they do not utilize learners' previous knowledge of languages. Haukås also reported that even though teachers think that collaboration between teachers across languages could strengthen their pupils' learning outcomes, such a collaboration is non-existent (Haukås 2016: 11).

Iversen (2017), in his study on the role of minority pupils' L1 when learning English, claims that even though the pupils make use of their L1 when learning English, for example through translations and grammatical comparisons, the teachers do not support or encourage such a multilingual and metacognitive way of learning languages (Iversen 2017: 35).

Myklevold (forthcoming), investigated the operationalization of multilingualism and the students' and teacher's perceptions thereof in a foreign language classroom in Norway. The operationalization consisted of a multilingual lesson plan based on cognates, internationalisms and textual patterns (see Method), and even though the teacher perceived a challenge to be the acquisition of knowledge of all the students' first languages, the multilingual lesson plan was reported by both the teacher and the students to facilitate text comprehension and metacognition.

2.2. Metacognition

As both Haukås (2014), Iversen (2017) and Myklevold (forthcoming) point to, an interesting aspect of multilingualism as a resource for improving language learning, is the importance attributed to metacognition. Flavell (1976) was the developmental psychologist who was the first to coin the term, but in language learning and teaching metacognition may be defined as "an awareness of and reflections about one's knowledge, experiences, emotions and learning" (Haukås et al. 2018: 3). Studies have shown that metacognition is important in order to strengthen language learning (Anderson 2008; Haukås et al. 2018), and as Dahm (2015) also observes, "[w]hen learners notice

similarities between two languages, they show a metalinguistic activity" (Dahm 2015: 45). Interestingly, the new national curriculum (LK20) also stresses the significance of metacognition such as "reflecting over own and others' learning" (Udir 2019: 11, my translation).

2.3. The new national curriculum (LK20) in Norway

In the new national curriculum (LK20), which was introduced and gradually implemented in Norwegian schools on August 1, 2020, the value of linguistic and cultural diversity is strongly emphasized. In the general curriculum, which is a separate document that lays down the core values and principles of the Norwegian school system, linguistic and cultural diversity is strongly promoted:

> Knowledge about the linguistic diversity in society provides all pupils with valuable insight into different forms of expression, ideas and traditions. All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and society at large (Udir 2017: 5).

Furthermore, the individual subject curricula for Norwegian, English and Foreign languages all underscore the notion of multilingualism as a resource and that the knowledge of several languages shall be viewed as an important asset. In the Norwegian curriculum, it is stated that "the students are to become confident in language use and aware of their own linguistic and cultural identity within an inclusive collective where multilingualism is valued as a resource" (Udir 2019: 2, my translation), similarly, in the English curriculum it is stated that "the students shall experience that knowing several languages is a resource in school and in society" (Udir 2019: 2, my translation). This is even more highlighted in the Foreign languages curriculum, since a whole focus area, or core element, is named "Language learning and multilingualism", and where it is argued that "When starting the subject of foreign languages, the students are already multilingual and have comprehensive language learning experiences from different contexts" (Udir 2019: 3, my translation).

3. Method

Data were collected using semi-structured interviews with the teachers (n=4) and the teacher educators (n=4). The interviews were mainly conducted in Norwegian, since this was the major language of school instruction, and then translated into English by the researcher. However, since half of the participants had another mother tongue than Norwegian, they were informed that we could also conduct the interviews in English if this felt more natural for them, something which two of the informants wished to (see appended Interview guides in English and Norwegian). The participants were asked to comment on a multilingual lesson plan explored in a previous study by Myklevold (forthcoming). The aim of the previous study was to explore students' and teacher's perceptions of the usefulness of a multilingual lesson plan in German and English language education. This multilingual intervention consisted of a four-week multilingual lesson plan which employed four specific multilingual operationalizations taken from a set of descriptors identified in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) *Companion volume with new descriptors* (Council of Europe 2018). These operationalizations were chosen because they were concrete and easily applicable to language learning in the classroom, and because they represent important multilingual competence:

1. Capacity to use knowledge of familiar languages to understand new languages, looking for cognates and internationalisms in order to make sense of texts in unknown languages – whilst being aware of the danger of 'false friends' (Council of Europe 2018: 157)

2. Capacity to exploit one's linguistic repertoire by purposefully blending, embedding and alternating languages at the utterance level and at the discourse level (Council of Europe 2018: 158)
3. Can use his/her knowledge of contrasting genre conventions and textual patterns in languages in his/her plurilingual repertoire in order to support comprehension (Council of Europe 2018: 160)
4. Can use what he/she has understood in one language to understand the topic and main message of a text in another language (Council of Europe 2018: 160).

In the current study, the multilingual lesson plan was distributed to the eight participants 24 hours before the interviews were conducted, in order for them to have enough time to read through and go into depth of it. Both teachers and teacher educators were included as informants since they are important educational stakeholders providing essential information when interpreting and implementing curricula (de Jong et al. 2019).

3.1. Context and participants

The participants were purposefully recruited from two upper secondary schools (four participants) and two universities (four participants) in Norway. Purposeful sampling may be described as focusing on "selecting information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study" (Patton 2002: 230), and furthermore that "Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in depth-understanding rather than empirical generalizations" (Patton 2002: 230). In order to obtain these information-rich cases, a maximum variation sampling (Patton 2002: 234) was chosen.

Three criteria were followed for the selection of informants: a) participants with both longer and shorter teaching experience, b) participants with and without Norwegian as their first language (L1), and c) participants that represented as many language subjects as possible. Informed consent was obtained from all the informants, and their anonymity was protected through utilizing codes for both the schools and participants. As Table 1 demonstrates, half of the participants had another L1 than Norwegian; English, Frisian, French and Spanish. All participants were rather experienced teachers, and their teaching experience from the sector ranged from 8 to 31 years. The language subjects of the eight informants at their current institutions were either English, French, German or Norwegian, or a combination of these:

Table 1: Overview of participants' first languages, language subjects, years of teaching experience and institutional belonging

PARTICIPANT CODE	FIRST LANGUAGE (L1)	LANGUAGE SUBJECT(S)	YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE	INSTITUTION
TEACHER 1 (T1)	Norwegian	Norwegian	10	School 1
TEACHER 2 (T2)	Norwegian	English, German	18	School 2
TEACHER 3 (T3)	Frisian	English, Norwegian	23	School 2
TEACHER 4 (T4)	French	English, French, German	31	School 2
TEACHER ED. 1 (TE1)	Norwegian	German	22	University 1
TEACHER ED. 2 (TE2)	English	English	8	University 1
TEACHER ED. 3 (TE3)	Norwegian	English	20	University 2
TEACHER ED. 4 (TE4)	Spanish	English	12	University 2

3.2. Analysis

The interviews of the participants ranged from 42 to 65 minutes, and were subsequently transcribed by the researcher. The interview transcripts were examined using QSR NVivo10. The transcripts were analyzed in three cycles, and in order to validate the analysis, both analyst triangulation (Patton 2002) and respondent validation (Silverman 2013) were used. In the first cycle, in order to get acquainted with the material, the transcripts were read through and comments were made to text extracts which seemed to inform the research questions (RQs). In the second cycle, In Vivo coding was used in order to allocate preliminary codes to the transcribed material (Miles et al. 2014) by using the informants' own words and phrases as categories. In this phase, a colleague checked my suggested analysis, comparing the codes with the informants' statements, from which they were developed. Wherever he disagreed with my suggestions, we discussed the codes and I subsequently modified the ones we disagreed on. On the basis of these codes, I analyzed the rest of the material. Such analyst triangulation, that is use of another coder or analyst, is regarded as a way of enhancing the trustworthiness of the results (Patton 2002: 560). The In Vivo codes were compared internally in the third cycle, and in allusion to the theoretical framework presented above, the In Vivo codes were substituted by descriptive codes when they seemed to be more pertinent (Miles et al. 2104). In the final stages of the analysis, respondent validation techniques were also used, in that the researcher went back to two of the informants, one teacher and one teacher educator, with the tentative findings and adjusted them after their reactions (Silverman 2013: 288).

4. Findings

4.1. RQ1: teachers' and teacher educators' general perceptions of multilingualism

The participants all perceived multilingualism as a natural and important resource in language acquisition and language use. Teacher 1 (T1) described a multilingual person simply to be "somebody who has quite a lot of knowledge about languages", and teacher educator 3 (TE3) similarly used a holistic definition of multilingualism:

> TE3: I understand 'multilingualism' as knowledge about different languages. And then there is obviously a question of how we define languages. If we are thinking about variants of a language, then we can include dialects, or if we talk about languages in a bigger context, for example national languages. But in language learning, I think it concerns how to involve the linguistic resources one possesses at large, in order to learn languages, and use languages.

Interestingly, six of the eight participants also reported that they related multilingualism to *all* students in Norway, not just the minority language students, which supports the argument that all students in Norway are multilingual (Haukås & Speitz 2018: 304). Teacher 4 (T4) for example claimed that:

> T4: First and foremost, I think it's important to be aware of the students who come from regions with minority languages, and that we in Norway do not know, but which provides them with an enormous competence. … But also Norwegian students who are raised in Norway, have been exposed to Danish and Swedish, and start learning English very early, and maybe they have a grandmother from Germany, or France, or something, … and that also adds something, so I think that multilingualism is something that relates to almost *everyon*e.

The participants with other first languages (L1s) than Norwegian reported that multilingualism was a natural asset, for example teacher 3 (T3) reported that "It is the natural state of the world, … there

is nothing hocus-pocus about it" and teacher educator 2 (TE2) claimed that this was a continuum where it was enough to "touch on" or briefly use multiple languages for her to label it multilingualism: "what I know now about 'multilingual' is just being able to touch on other languages, so most people in this world are multilingual".

However, six of the eight participants also reported that they had experienced a 'shift' in their perception of multilingualism the last few years, and now had a wider definition of multilingualism. They also reported that their definitions had changed from a native speaker and fluency perspective to a more holistic perspective:

> T2: My definition has definitely changed, just in the last couple of years, actually. Because now I have perhaps become less anxious to call it multilingualism, or to define it as that. Because I don't think you have to be fluent to be multilingual, I think it can also involve knowledge, and knowledge about cultures, as well.

This new way of defining multilingualism was perceived by TE2 to be holistic and liberating, since this participant previously had had a monolingual view of language learning and claimed that "I have just spent a lot of years in my life feeling guilty … about mixing languages".

When substantiating their views of multilingualism, all the teacher educators and two of the teachers referred to the same steering documents of CEFR, LK06 and LK20. Teacher Educator 1 (TE1) claimed that:

> TE1: You obviously learn Norwegian and English in school, and German, or French, or Spanish… My entire language competence makes me say that I am multilingual today. The same is true for anyone who starts school, really, anyone who grows up in Norway, anyone who is exposed to these languages. And the dialects, and the diversity. But also because there are steering documents that state that we use our multilingual resources when we learn new languages, and that is with us all the way.

4.2. RQ2: teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of four concrete multilingual operationalizations

All of the respondents viewed the multilingual lesson plan which employed four specific multilingual manifestations taken from CEFR (Council of Europe 2018) as a useful starting point for incorporating multilingualism in language education. T2 perceived this kind of operationalization to be "an unused resource" in the language classroom, and that it was a useful metacognitive learning strategy for the students if the teacher helped them become aware of it:

> T2: There is so much more to be gained here. If you think about the foreign languages, both on level I and level II, then there are especially words that look like your L1, or words that look like your neighboring languages, or … international words. … And I think that we cannot take for granted that each student immediately spots this alone, you should think that, but I experience it in the classroom, that that is not the case, so you have to help them to find that strategy.

However, multilingualism was also reported to be a vague and challenging concept, so the multilingual operationalization was therefore seen as a concrete attempt to manifest *how* multilingualism could be implemented in a classroom:

> TE3: I think that this is very interesting, because in my opinion one of the main challenges

> with the term multilingualism is that it is quite vague. Very few have a firm grasp of how to use it in the classroom. And how to understand it, and how to operationalize it. So I find it important to be able to pin it down, and then I think that what the Council of Europe has suggested here, with cognates, and genres, and internationalisms, and so on, is a very interesting starting point to try out a way to comprehend multilingualism.

Teacher Educator 4 reported that this kind of multilingual task could motivate the students and all of the informants supported the view that the students could become more metacognitively aware through such a multilingual operationalization. Teacher Educator 4 (TE4), the informant with the biggest multilingual repertoire, reported a metacognitive advantage both for the teacher and for the teacher students, and was the only participant in the study who employed a systematic mapping of the previously learnt languages of the students through language biographies and language silhouettes:

> TE4: Normally for the [teacher] students … there is always a first assignment which is sort of a language biography. And then they have to talk about the languages they speak, and their relationship to them. And then of course, especially English, but any other as well, and bringing in also the affective things, like 'How do you feel about this language?'

In contrast, T2 reported that systematic mapping was not employed in the foreign language teaching at her school and claimed that "it is used to a very small degree, I think, which clearly is a weakness, as I perceive it now".

When asked about the importance of linguistic proximity in relation to the multilingual operationalization, several participants were unsure of this, but T2, T3, TE2 and TE4 suggested that one could work more in terms of language strategies, grammatical structure or metaphors than with cognates or vocabulary when languages were very different. However, TE1 perceived that the focus could both be on cognates and the transfer of language learning experiences when working with different languages such as Arabic and German:

> TE1: Berlin is probably called Berlin in Arabic as well, for example. … I don't know enough Arabic to know this, but I can imagine that these terms exist, and there are pictures here as well, aren't there? … But what you could say to…somebody that has Arabic as their mother tongue, is that you must focus on the language learning experience that this person has …

4.3. RQ3: teachers' and teacher educators' perceptions of multilingualism in relation to the new curriculum (LK20)

All of the teachers perceived the introduction of the LK20, and its emphasis on deep learning to be a good opportunity to use more time on multilingualism. One of the teachers, T2, also linked the introduction of LK20 to a clearer expectation of accentuating multilingualism: "I think there is a much clearer expectation now, which will be of help, I believe. Because now we have to work with that kind of learning here as well, we must raise our awareness ...". Similarly, one of the teacher educators, TE1, claimed that the introduction of LK20 will help strengthen the focus on multilingualism in teacher education: "[H]ere [in LK20] there is more force behind our claims and it is made more visible, I think. More legitimized, perhaps?"

However, several of the participants also noted several challenges behind the implementation of LK20 and multilingualism in their language subject(s), and the most preeminent issues identified were time restraints, lack of research on operationalizations of multilingualism and the monolingual

traditions behind school structures and assessment. T3 claimed that in order to change the current teaching practices, extensive collaboration between the language teachers is required, and reported that "we lack an arena for that". TE2 reported that the monolingual ideologies in academia are still prevalent, and that there is a "shift in thought" needed in order to avoid "the English only" paradigm. Also, the assessment culture was problematized by TE2: "Because, ehm… you have a limited amount of time in the classroom. … And so… if we start mixing into these different languages, how can we document that there's progression?". Similarly, TE3 argued that one of the biggest challenges in implementing multilingualism and multilingual operationalizations was the lack of clarity of the concept and that there is a need for more extensive, longitudinal research within all aspects of this field:

> TE3: [W]e need research on how this can be utilized, and on how the students perceive it, and how the teachers view it, and maybe also studies of learning effects. … Much research is needed over time, and it needs to materialize in learning resources, text books for teacher students, for pupils, courses, research on how to use it … and assess it.

5. Discussion

When the participants reported that they had experienced a shift in their perception of multilingualism, and now had a wider definition of multilingualism than what they previously had, this may be due to many reasons. The impact of 'the multilingual turn' in language learning (May 2014) may be one of the reasons for this, in addition to the important steering documents of CEFR (Council of Europe 2001, 2018), the previous Norwegian national curricula (LK06), the current reform (LK20) and the participants' own personal trajectories, but the teachers and teacher educators nevertheless seem to have undergone a change in how they perceive multilingualism. Sopanen (2019) claims that curriculum reform can assist in changing teachers' perceptions and make them more conscious of their own practices, and several of the teachers in the current study either refer to the new national curricula or the other steering documents when elaborating their views of multilingualism. Teacher educator 1 even argues that LK20 now 'legitimizes' an emphasis on multilingualism, which may imply that curriculum reform is being utilized as an important argument for devoting more time on multilingualism within teacher education.

Multilingualism was also perceived by the participants as an important resource and asset in language learning in schools, linking it closely to the language-as-resource ideology (Ruiz 1987) and multilingualism-as-a-resource orientation (de Jong et al. 2016, 2019). Most of the participants included both minority and majority language students in their definitions, and seemed to regard multilingualism as a continuum, rather than a fixed category. They included knowledge of languages, dialects, language learning and cultures in their wide definitions. However, despite their broader, heteroglossic definitions of multilingualism, they also often pointed to the fact that they lack knowledge of incorporating multilingual teaching practices systematically. There may be several explanations for this, but one important reason may be due to the monolingual assumptions underlying the school culture, assessment and teaching practices, which do not provide for opportunities to experiment with or develop multilingual lesson plans. As noted by de Jong et al. (2019), a rigorous separation of languages in time tables and monolingual assessment practices will discourage many opportunities for language teacher co-operation and obstruct multilingual teaching practices. Several of the participants claimed that there were no arenas for structured language teacher co-operation in their schools, which is supported in other studies (Haukås 2016), and that this was perceived as a flaw in the schools' structure and a missed opportunity for transfer of knowledge. Many opportunities for focusing on language awareness across the languages were lost, some reported. Other perceived weaknesses within the school structure were also identified by the participants, like for example the lack of mapping the students' previously learnt languages in a comprehensive way,

which may be due to the pervasive monolingual structures conserving traditional teaching practices, and which prevents flexibility or innovative thinking across languages for the teachers.

When asked about whether they perceived any opportunities or challenges concerning multilingualism in the new curriculum, several of the participants pointed to both the pressing time issue due to increased pressure for documentation, and the monolingual structures behind the assessment culture. TE2 asked "Because, ehm… you have a limited amount of time in the classroom. … And so… if we start mixing into these different languages, how can we document that there's progression?", and TE3 similarly argued that there is a need for more research on multilingualism and how to assess it. Here, the participants illustrate de Jong et al.'s (2019) point that the strong monolingual ideologies behind schools' assessment culture may impede a multilingualism-as-a resource orientation for teacher educators and teachers. This also makes it difficult for teachers and teacher educators for adjusting and "finding themselves in linguistically diverse classrooms" (Lundberg 2019: 267), and may explain some of the participants' insecurity behind how to operationalize multilingualism in their classrooms. This challenge identified by TE2 also supports the argument made by Cenoz & Gorter (2017) that new, more holistic approaches should be introduced in both language policy and assessment of languages, something that the new curriculum in Norway so far has not grappled with, perhaps because it requires a comprehensively new structure of language learning and assessment practices. If monolingual, summative assessment awaits at the end of the school year, the time spent on multilingual practices will be diminished, because the teachers are preoccupied with documenting progression for each student in each, isolated language. This will probably also hinder some of the courage needed to utilize more time on language awareness and innovative, multilingual approaches in the classroom, as T2 reported.

The participants' perceptions of how to operationalize some of the competence goals concerning multilingualism in the LK20 were scarce, and few concrete examples were given. Several of the respondents claimed that this was a work in progress and would take some time, exactly because it was a big shift for them. The context of a new educational reform that has barely started may have added to this feeling of insecurity, but there may be other explanations as well. One of them may be the lack of operationalizations of the concept, in schools, textbooks and curriculum reforms, another one may be the previous lack of focus on multilingualism in schools and teacher education.

Despite the fact that the language subjects in LK20 highlight multilingualism and have at their foundation a multilingualism-as-a-resource orientation (de Jong et al. 2016, 2019), even here there seems to be a lack of operationalizations of the concept. How to define and implement multilingualism appears to be only scarcely treated in LK20, which may prove to be problematic for the teachers and teacher educators when incorporating the new subject curricula in their teaching. If this is the case, the concept of multilingualism may be perceived by the teachers as equally vague and difficult to apply in practice as it was in the previous curricula LK06 (Myklevold forthcoming).

The need for more operationalizations and scaffolding of multilingual teaching practices is also a point made by the participants, when claiming that more research is needed on how to concretely design, utilize and assess multilingual lesson plans. In order for the new curricula in English and foreign languages to be properly implemented, multilingualism should therefore be emphasized in teacher education, and teachers and teacher educators should be assisted in operationalizing multilingualism through research, courses and text books. This, in addition to a more flexible structure of language education where language separation is avoided and multilingualism is comprehensively valued as a vital asset (de Jong et al. 2019), could assist in maximizing the multilingual potential in contemporary classrooms for important educational stakeholders like students, teachers and teacher educators.

There are several limitations to this study. It should of course be noted that the participants in this study are composed of a small sample, that the data is self-reported and that only one data source (interviews) is used. It should be complemented with a bigger sample, and with more data sources

like classroom observations and questionnaires to improve the validity. Also, the fact that the participants had 24 hours to read the multilingual lesson plan prior to the interviews may have caused some of the participants to read up on the issue or use other sources of influences. Therefore, it would be useful to observe multilingual practices in situ, and over a longer period of time, to observe whether the findings could be validated further.

6. Conclusion

The participants reported that they had experienced a shift in perceptions of how they perceive multilingualism and now relate it more to language knowledge than to language skills or fluency. They include both minority language students and majority language students in their definitions, and refer to important steering documents such as CEFR, LK06 and LK20 as the basis of their definitions.

However, despite this shift in perceptions, many of the informants also reported that they possessed insufficient knowledge of how to concretely utilize multilingualism in their language classrooms, and that the provided multilingual operationalization was a useful starting point in this respect. Even though monolingual traditions underlying schools and teaching was perceived by some participants as potentially hindering the multilingual emphasis in LK20, the implementation of the curriculum reform was seen by most respondents to be a good opportunity for developing knowledge about multilingualism and multilingual operationalizations, and encouraging metacognition in their classrooms.

Since a holistic view of multilingualism seems to be dominant among the teacher and teacher educators in the sample, where they report that they relate multilingualism to *all* students in Norway, more studies on the experiences and effects of multilingualism for both minority language and majority language students should be carried out. In addition, future research could involve curriculum studies on how multilingualism is constructed and should be assessed in language learning. More research on *how* multilingualism can be implemented in language classrooms is also needed in order to provide present and future teachers and teacher educators with research-based knowledge of how multilingualism as a resource (de Jong et al. 2016, 2019) can be thoroughly utilized. This may be essential in order to mend the gap between multilingualism in research and multilingualism in practice, and advance from a shift in teacher perceptions to a shift in teaching practices.

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Appendices

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS, INTERVIEW GUIDE, MYKLEVOLD, G.-A.:

A) Multilingualism in general:

i) How do you perceive 'multilingualism'? Or 'a multilingual person'?
ii) Does 'fluency', how fluent you are, or frequency, how often you use the language, have anything to do with how you view multilingualism?
iii) Some researchers associate multilingualism mostly with minority language students, i.e. students who have another mother tongue than Norwegian, what are your thoughts on this?
iv) Has your definition of multilingualism changed in any way?
v) Do you have any thoughts on how your understanding of multilingualism can be used in practice in the classroom, for example regarding methods, tasks, etc.?

B) Operationalizations of multilingualism:

A lesson plan for achieving multilingual competence for students can, for example, be one that contains a focus on: A) cognates, B) international words, C) genre knowledge and D) common textual patterns (CEFR 2018). The idea behind this is to "use knowledge of familiar languages to understand new languages" (Council of Europe 2018: 157).

i) Based on your experience with language teaching, how did you perceive the multilingual lesson plan provided?
ii) Some of the students in the previous study claimed that they thought that such a multilingual lesson plan improved their metacognitive skills, and one said that "It was useful to focus on it in more detail, because then you become more conscious of it". What is your opinion on this? And on language awareness?
iii) Do you usually map your students' languages in any way before you start teaching them?
iv) Some of the students also reported that they perceived the multilingual lesson plan as more useful in "similar" languages and in initial training in German than e.g. in English, as they already know many English words. What are your thoughts on this? With similar/dissimilar languages, and beginner/advanced language learners?
v) One student also asked "Can I use my Arabic when I learn Norwegian, or do the languages have to be more similar?" Do you have experience with this, or suggestions in terms of how to concretely solve this in language teaching?

C) Multilingualism and the new curriculum (LK20):

When the new curriculum is implemented in the autumn, it is among other things stated that "multilingualism is to be valued as a resource" and that the students are to be able to "compare distinctive features of Norwegian with other languages […]" (from the Norwegian subject curriculum, my translation) and that the students are to be able to "Use knowledge of connections between English and other languages the students know in their own language learning" (from the English subject curriculum, my translation).

i) How do you view the new competence goals in the new curriculum (appendix) in your language subject(s)?
ii) How do you view the new competence goals related to multilingualism in your language subject(s)? For example the competence goal in Norwegian: The students are to be able to "compare distinctive features of Norwegian with other languages and show how linguistic encounters can create language changes".
iii) How do you think that one could work with the above mentioned competence goals (or others concerning multilingualism) in your language subject(s)?
iv) Do you see anything that creates new opportunities or that is challenging in the new competence goals in your subject?
v) Are there any of these competence goals that you have focused on earlier in your teaching?
vi) To what extent do you think that the LK20 will bring any changes in your language teaching in the future?

SEMI-STRUKTURERT INTERVJU, INTERVJUGUIDE, MYKLEVOLD, G.-A.:

A) Flerspråklighet generelt:

i) Hvordan forstår du 'flerspråklighet'? Eller en 'flerspråklig person'?
ii) Har 'fluency', altså hvor flytende du er, eller hyppighet, hvor ofte man snakker det, noe å si i din forståelse av flerspråklighet?
iii) En del forskere forbinder flerspråklighet mest med minoritetsspråklige elever, altså de som har et annet morsmål enn norsk, hva er dine tanker rundt dette?
iv) Har synet ditt på flerspråklighet forandret seg?
v) Har du noen tanker rundt hvordan din forståelse av flerspråklighet kan brukes i praksis i klasserommet, f.eks. med hensyn til metoder, oppgaver, etc.?

B) Operasjonalisering av flerspråklighet:

Et forslag til å oppnå flerspråklig kompetanse for elevene er f.eks. et undervisningsopplegg hvor elevene bla. fokuserer på A) kognater (felles ord), B), internasjonale ord, C) sjangerkunnskap og D) felles tekstmønstre (CEFR, 2018). Tanken er at man skal «use knowledge of familiar languages to understand new languages/ bruke kunnskap om kjente språk for å lære nye språk» (Council of Europe 2018: 157, min oversettelse).

i) Utfra din erfaring med språkundervisning, hva er ditt inntrykk av det flerspråklige undervisningsopplegget?
ii) Noen av elevene i den første studien sa at de syntes et slikt flerspråklig opplegg hjalp dem med hensyn til metakognisjon i egen språklæring, én sa f.eks. at «Det var nyttig å fokusere på det mer i detalj, for da ble du mer bevisst på det.» Hva er din oppfatning av dette med språklig bevissthet?
iii) Pleier du å kartlegge elevenes språk før undervisningen starter?

iv) Noen av elevene rapporterte også at de så det flerspråklig undervisningsopplegget som mer nyttig i «like» språk og i (nybegynner) tysk enn i f. eks engelsk, hvor de kan mange ord fra før. Hvilke tanker gjør du deg rundt dette med like/ulike språk og nybegynner/mer øvet språk?

v) Én elev spurte også «Kan jeg bruke min arabisk når jeg skal lære norsk, eller må språkene være mer like?» Har du noen erfaring rundt dette, eller forslag til hvordan konkret løse rundt dette i språkundervisningen?

C) Flerspråklighet og Fagfornyelsen (LK2020):

Når Fagfornyelsen blir implementert til høsten, står det bla. i ny Læreplan at «flerspråklighet skal bli verdsatt som en ressurs» og elevene skal kunne «sammenligne særtrekk ved norsk med andre språk […] (norsk) og at elevene skal kunne «Bruke kunnskap om sammenhenger mellom engelsk og andre språk eleven kjenner til i egen språklæring» (engelsk).

i) Hvordan opplever du de nye kompetansemålene i *Fagfornyelsen* (vedlagt) i ditt/dine språkfag?

ii) Hvordan forstår du de nye målene relatert til flerspråklighet i ditt/dine språkfag? F.eks. målet i norsk etter Vg1: Elevene skal kunne «sammenligne særtrekk ved norsk med andre språk og vise hvordan språklige møter kan skape språkendringer»?

iii) Hvordan tenker du at man kan jobbe konkret med det ovennevnte målet (eller andre rundt flerspråklighet) i ditt/dine språkfag?

iv) Ser du noe som gir nye muligheter eller som er utfordrende med de nye kompetansemålene i ditt fag*?*

v) Er det noen av disse målene du har vektlagt tidligere i din undervisning?

vi) I hvilken grad tror du *Fagfornyelse*n (LK20) kommer til å bety endringer i din språkundervisning framover?

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The Ungspråk project: Researching multilingualism and multilingual identity in lower secondary schools

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Abstract: The main objective of this article is to discuss the theoretical background and rationale for developing Ungspråk, a longitudinal, mixed methods study set in Norwegian lower secondary schools. The paper starts with an overview of different scholarly approaches to the study of multilingualism and their implications for research on multilingualism in education. After a brief introduction to multilingualism in Norwegian society and educational contexts, we present our research areas of interest and the main research questions. Particular attention is paid to the relevance of the concept of multilingual identity to the study. In addition, we discuss how the project will contribute to furthering the understanding of the relationship between multilingualism and intercultural competence. The mixed methods design of the Ungspråk project innovatively explores how different research methods and instruments can be combined to investigate questions related to multilingualism and multilingual identity and to create opportunities for meaningful interactions between researchers and participants. When discussing the mixed methods design of the project, we focus on how quantitative and qualitative components are integrated to address the research questions, engage participants in the research process and strengthen the overall validity of the findings. Overall, we hope that the Ungspråk project will contribute new insights into how languages can be learned and cultures explored in the 21st century multilingual classroom. Furthermore, the project may impact how researchers and participants interact with and benefit from empirical studies on education.

Keywords: Multilingualism, multilingual identity, intercultural competence, mixed methods research, interactive sessions, visualisations, interviews.

1. Introduction

To be or not to be multilingual remains an important question in applied linguistics and educational research. Even though multilingualism has always been a feature of countless individuals and societies throughout history (Adams et al. 2002; Pahta et al. 2018), the recent increase in transnational mobility associated with globalisation has brought the topic to the forefront of the research agenda. More than ever, educators and scholars feel the need to understand what it means to learn and use different languages, both at school and in other contexts (May 2013).

The objective of this article is to add to this discussion by presenting the design and ongoing implementation of the research project Ungspråk (2018-2022), a longitudinal mixed methods study conducted at the Department of Foreign Languages of the University of Bergen, Norway. The main aim of the project is to investigate young learners' multilingual identity in the Norwegian lower secondary school context. The term Ungspråk consists of the words *ung* (young) and *språk* (language). In Norwegian, *språk* is both singular and plural form and thus may refer to either one or several languages. In coining the term Ungspråk, we wanted to capture the main participants in our research, young learners. Furthermore, the choice of the non-transparent word *språk* alludes to the linguistic diversity of the learners along a continuum and the possibility for them to self-identify as monolingual or multilingual. The paper begins by discussing current definitions of multilingualism, language and multilingual identity and to what extent Norwegian pupils can be called multilinguals. We then go on to present the epistemological rationale underpinning the research project Ungspråk and its bearing on the main research questions and methods for data collection and analysis. Particular attention is paid to the sequential design of the mixed methods study (Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017) and how the research instrument designed for the first phase of the project (the Ungspråk

questionnaire) helped develop the interactive sessions with the learners and language teachers in the second phase. The interactive sessions are attempts to move away from a sole research *on* multilingualism, in which learners and teachers are *research objects*, towards a more participatory and collaborative approach in which participants also explore and contribute to the research process according to their own interests and concerns (Hales 2006; Kubanyiova 2008).

2. Defining the main concepts and theoretical framework

Multilingualism, a buzzword of our times, has been defined in several ways. In her overview of the various definitions of multilingualism, Cenoz (2013) sorted the most common approaches along three dimensions: the individual versus social dimension, the proficiency versus use dimension and the bilingualism versus multilingualism dimension (for further discussions on the concept of multilingualism and related terms, see Kemp 2009; Hammarberg 2010; Butler 2012).

The individual versus social dimension includes definitions that differentiate between a person's knowledge of multiple languages and the presence of multiple languages in a given society or geographical area. Some scholars refer to individual multilingualism as plurilingualism, which is the term used by the Council of Europe (2001).

The proficiency versus use dimension comprises definitions that take into account certain competency levels or frequency of use of a person's languages as criteria. The definitions vary from having an encompassing approach that includes people who are in the process of learning an additional language, irrespective of their proficiency levels (see for example Fisher et al. 2018), to restrictive definitions at the other end of the scale requiring near-native control of the languages in question. Definitions in the latter category, such as Braun's (1937: 115) "active, completely equal mastery of two or more languages" (orig. "aktive vollendete Gleichbeherrschung zweier oder mehrerer Sprachen") are rarely seen in current research studies, but Aronin and Singleton (2012: 2) suggested that this understanding of multilingualism typically represents the "man-in-the-street perspective".

Usage also belongs to this dimension. Do the languages have to be in active use in everyday life (see for example Commission of the European Communities 2007; Grosjean 2010: 4), or is receptive knowledge of a language also included in the researchers' definition of who is multilingual? Receptive multilingualism means that people understand and communicate with each other, normally using closely related languages and not a lingua franca (Zeevaert & ten Thije 2007; Rehbein et al. 2012). This phenomenon is quite common in several regions of the world, for example, in Scandinavia. Furthermore, does the criterion of everyday usage encompass learners in less authentic contexts, such as in the language learning classroom, or are the definitions limited to use in authentic communication?

According to Cenoz (2013), the bilingualism versus multilingualism dimension refers to the number of languages a person needs to know to be regarded as multilingual. Most definitions require either proficiency in more than one language or proficiency in more than two languages. The term *bilingualism* is commonly used to refer to the first category, and research includes, but is not restricted to, the investigation of bilingualism in educational contexts (García 2009; Cummins & Swain 2014). The term is also used in a more general way to include all individuals who are not monolingual. Some scholars argue, however, that bilingualism (knowledge of two languages) and multilingualism (knowledge of three or more languages) should refer to distinct phenomena, as having previously learned a second language, the learning of additional languages is different in multiple ways, including increased metalinguistic awareness and cognitive flexibility (De Angelis 2007; Jessner 2008).

The Ungspråk research team takes a broad, holistic approach to multilingualism (Cenoz 2013), defining it as the dynamic and integrated knowledge and/or use of more than one language or language variety. Briefly, a holistic view on multilingualism considers the whole linguistic repertoire

of the learners as an integrated set of resources that are in constant interaction and development, both in their practices and in their language learning processes. Rather than focusing on one language at a time and looking into the acquisition of discrete syntactic, lexical and phonological items, a holistic approach seeks to relate "the way multilingual students (and multilingual speakers in general) use their communicative resources in spontaneous conversation to the way languages are learned and taught at school" (Cenoz 2013: 11). In order to achieve this, it is crucial that we gain a deeper understanding of the participants' practices, their own beliefs and attitudes towards learning and using different languages and their self-identification as multilingual.

In the context of this project, we need to clarify what is meant by *language*. For example, should only official or national languages be included in studies of multilingualism, or can knowledge of dialects and other semiotic systems such as body language, sign language and iconography also count when deciding who multilinguals are? Many studies on multilingualism still seem to focus on standard languages such as English, French or German without problematising what a language is. More recently, however, several scholars have moved towards a broader understanding of language. Wei (2018: 26), for example, referred to language as "a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource that human beings use for thinking and for communicating thought".

With this widened view of what constitutes a language, one might claim that, strictly speaking, we are all multilingual, as everybody uses various semiotic resources in communication on a daily basis. Considering different approaches to the understanding of language, in this project, we define language as any semiotic system used for communication purposes, and, as discussed earlier, the languages of an individual are not static, discreet entities. Instead, they are in a constant state of change and interact with each other in the multilingual brain (Herdina & Jessner 2002).

However, no matter which definitions scholars use in their research to determine a language or to classify someone as multilingual, we believe the individuals' own perceptions to be equally relevant in the understanding of multilingualism, especially in educational contexts. Therefore, the concept of *multilingual identity* is of central importance in our study. Multilingual identity refers to a person's explicit self-identification as multilingual because of an awareness of the linguistic repertoire one has (Fisher et al. 2018).

Fisher et al. (2018) suggested that people who explicitly identify themselves as multilinguals may have several advantages. First, to see oneself as multilingual may strengthen one's self-esteem and motivation to learn additional languages. Second, it may foster an increased language awareness in and across the languages one knows and is learning, which again may result in better learning outcomes. In addition, research has suggested that being multilingual is positively correlated with certain personality traits that could allow for more effective intercultural encounters. For example, Dewaele and Oudenhoven (2009) and Dewaele and Wei (2012, 2013) indicated that there is a link between multilingualism and tolerance of ambiguity, cognitive empathy and open-mindedness.

In education and research, these traits are often associated with intercultural competence (Tiurikova fc). According to some recent studies (e.g. Dervin 2010; Dypedahl 2018; Hoff 2014, 2019), intercultural competence is often defined as one's ability to deal (constructively) with diversity and differences, whether these are "within a society (differences due to age, gender, religion, socio-economic status, political affiliation, ethnicity, and so on) or across borders" (Deardorff 2019: i). In comparison to traditional approaches that emphasise ethno-cultural differences between participants during an intercultural encounter, more recent approaches stress the idea that one's identity is always diverse and multidimensional (i.e., it is comprised of various facets, such as gender, class, language repertoire, interests and personal experience) (Dervin 2010; Dypedahl 2018). Therefore, intercultural competence is related to dealing with "diverse diversities" (Dervin 2010: 166), rather than ethno-cultural ones, and to the ability "to navigate conflict, contradiction, complexity and ambiguity" in contemporary societies (Hoff 2019: 444).

Stemming from these recent theoretical views, we suggest that open-mindedness, understood

as open and unprejudiced attitudes towards diversity and differences in general, can be an indicator of one's predisposition to develop intercultural competence. Based on previous research, which shows a possible connection between multilingualism and open-mindedness (Dewaele & Oudenhoven 2009), it can be assumed that multilingualism is related to and can be a resource for the development of intercultural competence. However, research that has investigated the connection between these two elements in the school context is surprisingly scarce, although the fostering of pupils' multilingualism and intercultural competence are central aims in language curricula in Norway and elsewhere. Furthermore, to our knowledge, there have not yet been any studies examining the connection between multilingualism, intercultural competence *and* multilingual identity. Consequently, a main contribution of the Ungspråk project is that it investigates the intersection of these three elements using an innovative mixed methods design.

3. Why the Norwegian context?

To some extent, Norway can be called a multilingual paradise (Røyneland 2009; Haukås fc). The official national languages are Norwegian and Sami, a group of indigenous languages spoken in northern Scandinavia. The use of local dialects and regional varieties are highly valued in Norway, and their use is promoted in all domains of society (Kulbrandstad 2018). At school, all children are taught the two written varieties of Norwegian, Nynorsk and Bokmål. They are usually taught one of the varieties in primary school, but from the first year of lower secondary school (Grade 8), all students learn to use both varieties in written communication. Receptive multilingualism is also quite common in Norway, as most Norwegians can understand standard Swedish and Danish. However, mutual understanding among young people seems to be declining, perhaps due to the increasing influence of English (Delsing & Åkeson 2005).

When children start school and begin learning Norwegian or Sami, they simultaneously start learning English, which is a compulsory subject during the 10 years of mandatory education. English is also mandatory in the first year of upper secondary school (Grade 11) and can also be studied in more depth if pupils decide to take English as a programme subject. Norwegians are well known for their excellent English-language skills, which are ranked among the best in Europe (Education First 2019), likely because of the omnipresence of English in the Scandinavian context. Recent research has suggested that many young Scandinavians' extensive use of the Internet (for gaming, social media, etc.) has positively impacted their English communicative skills (Sundqvist 2009; Sundqvist & Wikström 2015; Brevik 2016). Moreover, a growing number of pupils in Norwegian schools know and/or speak a host of other languages due to increased immigration in the last decades. According to Statistics Norway (2020), 18.2% of the total Norwegian population are immigrants or Norwegian-born children of immigrant parents. However, this number varies across demographic settings, as more immigrants and, consequently, more linguistic diversity can be found in urban centres.

When pupils start lower secondary school (Grade 8), they are offered the choice of learning an additional foreign language besides English. The most commonly taught languages are Spanish, German and French. Some schools also offer other languages such as Italian, Chinese and Norwegian sign language. In the 2018/2019 school year, around 77% of the pupils opted to take a second foreign language class, whereas the remaining group chose between extra classes in English, Norwegian, maths or the more vocationally oriented subject *arbeidslivsfag* (work experience), depending on the availability of the subject in each particular school (Foreign Language Centre 2018). In light of this linguistic diversity, Norwegian schools offer a rich groundwork for studying multilingualism and multilingual identity.

Lower secondary schools are a particularly interesting setting because starting in their eighth year, learners have the choice to expand their linguistic repertoires and begin learning a second foreign language in a formal educational context. This was the foundation for this longitudinal study investigating the development of pupils' beliefs and attitudes in relation to multilingualism and

language learning throughout lower secondary school.

Furthermore, investigating lower secondary school teachers' beliefs about multilingualism and related topics, as well as their preparedness for implementing a multilingual and intercultural pedagogical approach in their classrooms, provides a broader understanding of multilingualism in an educational context, as teachers play a key role in fostering pupils' multilingual awareness and identity (Haukås 2016; Fisher et al. 2018). In the following section, we present the Ungspråk project in more detail, focusing on the areas of interest, research questions and their relationship to the mixed methods design of the project.

4. Areas of interest and research questions

The Ungspråk project is comprised of three main areas of research interest. The first concerns students' multilingualism and multilingual identity in Norwegian lower secondary schools. Despite the recent focus on multilingualism in the field of language education, many researchers and practitioners tend to assume that multilingual speakers are primarily students originating from ethnic minorities or who have migration backgrounds (Haukås fc). The example of Norway, however, illustrates that this view has never been adequate in this society with its rich linguistic diversity.

Hence, in our research, we shift away from the academic and educational discourses that reproduce this bias. Instead of following certain criteria to identify students as mono/multilingual, we focus on students' own perceptions of multilingualism, their language habits and repertoires as well as whether or not they see themselves as multilingual. For this purpose, we address the concept of multilingual identity as central to our project, viewing identity as dynamic, contextual, hybrid, unstable and changing over time (Block 2009, 2010, 2013; Norton 2010; Fisher et al. 2018). Consequently, we also aim to investigate how students' views of their multilingualism change over time, and specifically what role language learning plays in these views.

The second area of interest relates to the intersection between multilingualism, multilingual identity and intercultural competence. Both internationally and locally, there is an increasing emphasis on the interconnection between multilingualism and intercultural competence, which is reflected in key official documents. For instance, the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2001, 2018) considers individual multilingualism and intercultural competence as two facets of the same skill: plurilingual and pluricultural competence. In Norway, school subject curricula have recently been revised by the Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training (2017). Of particular interest to the Ungspråk project is the new emphasis on multilingualism, language awareness, intercultural competence and global citizenship in the core curricula as well as in the language subjects:

> The teaching and training shall ensure that the pupils are confident in their language proficiency, that they develop their language identity and that they are able to use language to think, create meaning, communicate and connect with others. Language gives us a sense of belonging and cultural awareness … knowledge about the linguistic diversity in society provides all pupils with valuable insights into different forms of expression, ideas and traditions. All pupils shall experience that being proficient in a number of languages is a resource, both in school and in society at large (Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training 2017: 7).

The emphasis on these issues is particularly strong in the foreign language curriculum (Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training 2019), which includes multilingualism and intercultural competence as two of its four core elements. This tendency towards connecting and emphasising the role of intercultural competence and multilingualism in education indicates a clear

need for empirical research that can shed light on the intersection between these phenomena. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the link between students' multilingualism, multilingual identity and intercultural competence, we also examined their relationship with other variables, such as gender, experience living or travelling abroad, migration background and number of languages learned in and out of school.

The third area of interest is grounded in an approach to research ethics that seeks to go beyond the general principles of procedural ethics (Christians 2005). Kubanyiova (2008) stated that the three core principles that serve as a standard for studies conducted with humans (respect for persons, justice and beneficence) should be followed in any research field, including language education and applied linguistics. However, the author argued that these principles are "by no means sufficient (and unambiguous) guides in making ethical choices in the actual practice of conducting research" (Kubanyiova 2008: 506). Therefore, there is a need for an interpersonal approach to ethics in research that sees ethical challenges as intrinsic and integral components of the whole research process (Guillemin & Gillam 2004; Haverkamp 2005).

In our view, such an approach to ethics entails expanding the scope from mainly doing research *on* to doing research *with/for* the participants. In our project, we seek to respond to the need for an increased interpersonal approach to ethics by sharing the research results with participants and establishing a dialogue with them. Through interactive sessions with students and teachers, we seek to investigate how research can be meaningfully presented to participants and in which ways a collaborative exploration of research can create new insights for all involved and for the research field in general.

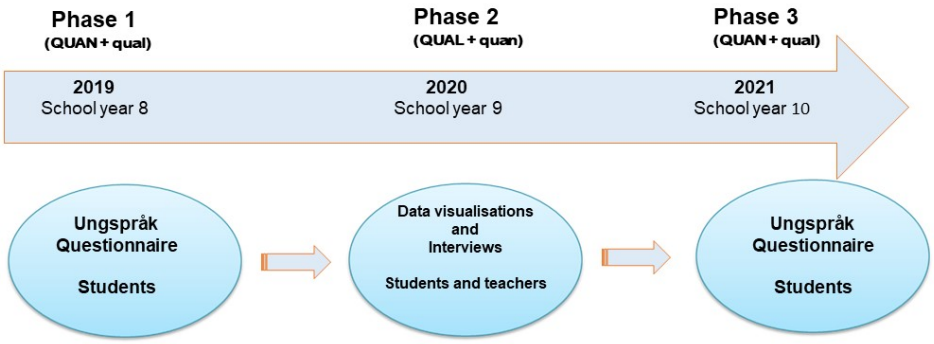
With respect to these three areas of interest, the Ungspråk project raises the following main research questions:

> Area 1: What does it mean to be multilingual for pupils in Norwegian lower secondary schools? Do their views on what it means to be multilingual change throughout lower secondary school?
> Area 2: To what extent does multilingual identity correlate with intercultural competence and a number of other variables, such as students' multilingualism, language use habits, gender, experience abroad and migration background?
> Area 3: How can research on multilingualism and multilingual identity be designed to engage participants with the research processes and findings? How can participants' involvement in research contribute to a deepened understanding of multilingualism and multilingual identity?

5. Methodology: using a mixed methods design to research multilingualism

In order to integrate the three areas of interest, we opted for a mixed methods research design for our project. Figure 1 provides an overview of the Ungspråk project. It shows the timeline for data collection (2019-2021) in three different phases, the type of data to be collected in each year and the participants in each phase. Capitalisation of either QUAN or QUAL in the figure signals the predominance of either quantitative or qualitative methods, respectively, in the phases.

Figure 1: Overview of the Ungspråk project and its mixed methods design



The Ungspråk project assigns equal status to both its quantitative and qualitative components. This is based on an epistemological stance that sees the persistent dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative paradigms as unproductive, and sometimes even detrimental, to the overall quality of research (Hammersley 1992: 159). In practical terms, this means that in the Ungspråk research project, the qualitative and the quantitative components "take control over the research process in alternation, are in constant interaction, and the outcomes they produce are integrated during and at the end of the research process" (Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017: 123).

The research questions address multilingualism and the development of multilingual identity from a processual, longitudinal perspective and call for a sequential design in which the later phases of the research project are dependent on and emerge from the insights and findings gathered in previous phases. In other words, the broader scope of the design allows for the triangulation of data collected at different phases and the use of results from previous research components to develop and inform the subsequent components of the project (Greene et al. 1989; Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017: 4). Since the Ungspråk project is currently ongoing, our discussions are focused mainly on the first and second phases of the project.

5.1 Phase 1 – the Ungspråk questionnaire: the first round of quantitative data collection

To tap into learners' multilingual identity and related variables and thus gather data to help answer the questions of the first two areas of research interest, we developed an online instrument, the Ungspråk questionnaire. The starting point for developing the questionnaire was a paper-based survey used in the Multilingualism: Empowering Individuals, Transforming Societies (MEITS) project at the University of Cambridge[1]. However, a number of changes were made to adapt the Ungspråk questionnaire to the Norwegian educational context and our research needs. For example, whereas the MEITS questionnaire takes a special interest in pupils' use of metaphors to describe language

[1] The cross-disciplinary project MEITS (2016-2020) has six strands and aims at fostering awareness of multilingualism and multilingual identity in a variety of ways. Our collaborators at strand 4 (with strand leader Dr Linda Fisher, Faculty of Education) take a somewhat similar approach to multilingualism as in the Ungspråk project; they are researching learners' multilingual identity development in lower secondary schools in England.

learning, the Ungspråk questionnaire included statements on pupils' beliefs about multilingualism, their views as future multilingual speakers and their intercultural competence. Nevertheless, the two questionnaires are similar in several respects, which make them a solid foundation for comparing the results across countries.

In order to facilitate the data collection and analysis, we decided to develop an electronic questionnaire. The survey tool SurveyXact was used to design the layout and administer the questionnaire. It is available in two languages, Norwegian and English, and respondents were able to switch between languages during completion. English was chosen as an additional language for the questionnaire because all pupils in Norway study it from Grade 1 and usually have a good knowledge of the language. Besides, given the status of English as a lingua franca, we aimed to provide an opportunity for students who are not native speakers of Norwegian to use a language that can contribute to their better understanding of the questionnaire. We recognise that some of our respondents could benefit even more from the translation of the questionnaire into other (e.g., minority) languages. However, considering that the translation of a questionnaire into several languages is a time-consuming process and that the collection of the data in different languages would have complicated the analysis, especially in relation to open-ended questions, we decided to opt for these two languages.

When recruiting the schools, we aimed for a combination of different socioeconomic areas with varying linguistic diversity, including schools from rural areas where pupils have Nynorsk as their first priority language. In total, 593 pupils from seven schools responded to the questionnaire in the first phase of the project during spring and summer of 2019. Of all respondents, 86% listed Bokmål as their first choice form of Norwegian, while 14% indicated Nynorsk. These numbers correspond to the proportions of Bokmål and Nynorsk users in Norwegian schools at the national level (Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training n.d.). By adding this dimension of linguistic diversity (i.e., being a user of Nynorsk may be viewed as belonging to a minority), we sought to investigate to what extent students' different language constellations in and out of school (Aronin & Singleton 2012) influenced their language practices and multilingual identity.

The Ungspråk questionnaire includes a mix of multiple choice and open-ended questions as well as Likert scale questions to assess students' attitudes and beliefs (Dörnyei & Taguchi 2010: 5). The research instrument and the predominant type of data collected determined the primarily quantitative aspect of the first phase of the project. However, the textual responses generated by the open-ended questions added a secondary qualitative element.

The Ungspråk questionnaire is divided into four main sections. Section 1 was designed to examine pupils' language habits and contexts of language use. It contains six statements which provide an overview of what languages the participants study in school; what other languages they know; and how often, with whom and in which situations they use their various languages. In addition, four statements investigate learners' views related to each of the languages they know. In sum, Section 1 provides a general mapping of all the languages known and used by pupils in and out of school as well as an overview of the contexts in which these languages are used.

Section 2 is concerned with different aspects related to having a multilingual identity. In total, there are 25 statements in this section comprising three different constructs: beliefs about multilingualism, future multilingual self and open-mindedness. The answers to the statements use a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Section 3 has one open-ended statement in which pupils are asked to define what it means to be multilingual. After that, they are asked if they identify themselves as multilingual (by choosing yes, no or not sure in response to the question "Er du flerspråklig?/Are you multilingual?") and to provide an explanation for their answer. The first open-ended statement "To be multilingual means…" was designed to investigate a practical problem that is only partially addressed in the research literature about multilingualism in Norway: in institutional discourses, the word *flerspråklig*

(multilingual) is frequently used to refer to students with immigrant backgrounds who struggle to learn Norwegian (Sickinghe 2016; Haukås fc), thus portraying multilingualism as problematic. By understanding what it means to be multilingual according to the students themselves, this statement calls for "the voices of individuals who have not been heard" (Clark & Baddie 2010: 10).

The following question ("Are you multilingual?") constitutes our main dependent variable to assess what factors influence self-identification as multilingual. After marking either yes, no or not sure, students are asked to provide a brief written explanation for their answer. It is important to highlight that, apart from these two cases, the word *flerspråklig* does not appear in any other statements in the questionnaire to avoid that participants' answers being influenced by what they read. However, by asking questions related to their language habits in the first section, we cannot entirely exclude that this has influenced their perceptions of what it means to be multilingual. Section 4 of the questionnaire asks for background information that can shed more light on students' experiences with certain languages (for example, their experiences living in a different country, travel habits, languages that their parents or carers know and self-reported grades in each of the languages studied in school).

The questionnaire was piloted twice in two lower secondary schools in the same area during spring 2019. The validation process suggests that the final version of Ungspråk is a reliable and valid instrument for examining pupils' multilingual practices, multilingual identity and related variables. An article discussing the validation processes adopted for the Ungspråk questionnaire is discussed in detail in an upcoming issue of *Language Learning Journal* (Haukås et al. fc).

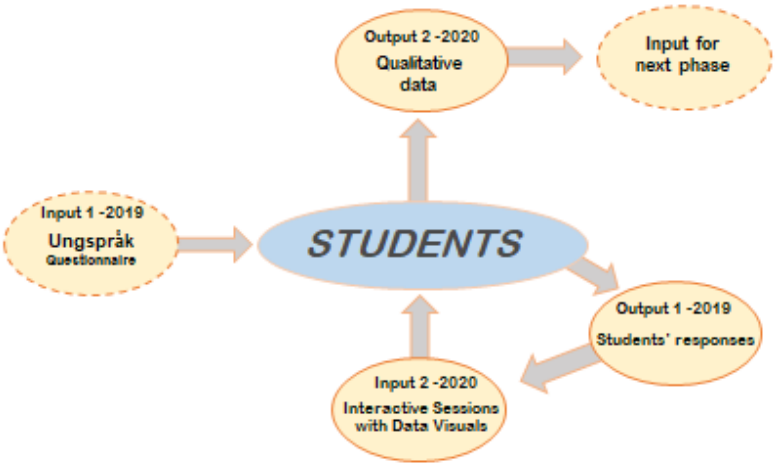
5.2 Phase 2 – interactive sessions: qualitative data collection

Interactive sessions are actions through which researchers and participants in a study can engage with the data and each other in a dialogical manner. The interactive sessions correspond to the qualitative components of the mixed methods design of the study and are built on the findings from Phase 1 of the project. They will be implemented in two forms. First, we will conduct facilitated discussions with students based on data visualisations that present the research results from the Ungspråk questionnaire. Second, we will interview the teachers regarding their perceptions of multilingualism and the potential benefits and outcomes of the study for participating schools and teaching practice. Below we discuss the interactive sessions in detail, focusing on their ethical, epistemological and pedagogical implications for the project as a whole.

5.2.1 Interactive data visualisation sessions with students

In order to integrate the quantitative and qualitative components of the study and to promote participants' engagement with the research findings, the Ungspråk team developed data visualisations for use in the interactive sessions in the autumn of 2020. Figure 2 below presents the development of the sessions and their timing (Guest 2013: 148).

Figure 2: Development and timing of the interactive sessions with students



As shown in the image, some of the responses to the Ungspråk questionnaire (Output 1) were converted into data visualisations for future use in classroom discussions during the interactive sessions (Input 2) with the participating schools. The procedure will create a feedback effect whereby qualitative data (Output 2) will be obtained based on the participants' interactions with the quantitative data they helped generate via the Ungspråk questionnaire. The interactive sessions are designed to offer participants the opportunity to reflect on their reflections by giving them tasks that are open to their own explorations and interests. Thus, the sessions address ethical concerns that are usually overlooked in research in education: the fact that, more often than not, participants do not get much feedback from researchers once data is collected and are rarely invited to interact with and give feedback on the data themselves.

The purpose of the sessions follows the epistemological rationale of mixed methods research. The sessions are the result of a point of integration (Guest 2013: 146) that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches with the aim of achieving "heightened knowledge and validity" (Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017: 4). First, one dataset (quantitative answers to the Ungspråk questionnaire) will provide input for the design of subsequent research instruments, data collection and analysis procedures (Guest 2013: 148; Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017: 8). Second, the sessions will provide valuable complementary data to answer the research questions related to the first area of research interest, and the second dataset (qualitative data from the interactive sessions) will enhance the results from the first dataset.

The Ungspråk research team opted for data visualisations for two interrelated reasons. The first reason was determined by a practical challenge that can be summarised in the following question: How can we present and make students interact with quantitative data in a way that is both accessible and engaging to participants? The second reason introduces a current pedagogical concern related to the development of visual-numeric literacy among schoolchildren as a consequence of the widespread and increasing use of data visualisations in contemporary societies (Lankshear 2003; Shield 2004; Bhargava & D'Ignazio 2015; Tønnessen 2020).

The data visualisations designed for the Ungspråk project include three graphs (a pie chart, a bar graph and a multi-layered icon crowd) representing participants' responses to the question "Are you

multilingual?". Each graph explores different affordances of data visualisations (Kress & Van Leuwen 2002). A fourth visualisation groups the participants' responses to the open-ended comment "To be multilingual means…" into different categories. Participants will create visual data using a sorting task and later compare their categorisations to those of the researchers. In addition, each category contains a brief comment and a set of questions to be answered by the participants. Here, the pupils will be free to choose the categories that interest them the most, thus giving them more autonomy to explore their own questions and interests. Their written answers and visual data will be used as qualitative data for the analysis. Altogether, the interactive sessions have the overt aim of promoting further discussions on multilingualism among students and the covert aim of practicing visual-numeric literacy, thus partially addressing the pedagogical need outlined before.

5.2.2 Interviews with teachers

The second type of interactive sessions that will be implemented in the Ungspråk project are interviews with teachers. In order to provide consistency between the two phases of the project, the language teachers will be recruited from the same schools that participated in the first phase of the project. Interviews will be conducted with foreign language teachers (i.e., teachers of Spanish, German and French) in the autumn term of 2020. We chose to introduce this method into our research design primarily to expand our knowledge in relation to the second area of interest in our project, which concerns the intersection between students' multilingualism and intercultural competence. Foreign language teachers' views are of special interest given the particularly strong emphasis on multilingualism and intercultural competence in the new curriculum for foreign languages that will be implemented beginning in August 2020 (Norwegian Directorate of Education and Training 2019).

The choice to interview foreign language teachers was selected as one of the main research methods for the second phase of the project for several reasons. First, we aim to enrich the research findings by introducing the perspective of teachers, who are central actors in the implementation of the new foreign language curriculum. We want to investigate how teachers conceptualise multilingualism, multilingual identity and intercultural competence and determine if they see an interconnection between these phenomena in their students' development. By gaining a better understanding of teachers' perspectives, we hope to contribute to the implementation of the new curriculum.

In addition, the interviews with teachers will also address the third area of interest, which concerns the meaningful presentation of research results to participants and stakeholders. As a research method, interviews engage participants in a meaningful discussion with researchers and can serve as a platform for collaborative exploration of research findings.

In order to provide a meaningful discussion on the research results, the teachers will have the opportunity to explore and discuss the same visualisations on multilingualism and multilingual identity that were presented to the students. In addition, they will explore the questionnaire data obtained on the construct of open-mindedness, which is used in the study as the main indicator of students' intercultural competence development, and its interrelation with multilingualism and multilingual identity. By inviting teachers' perspectives and views on the intersection between students' multilingualism, multilingual identity and intercultural competence, we aim to provide a diversity of views (Bryman 2006; Schoonenboom & Johnson 2017) that will contribute to a deeper understanding of the research results. Moreover, discussing and exploring the findings with language teachers will help us to assess the usefulness and potential benefits of the study outcomes for teachers and language education in general.

5.3 Phase 3 – the Ungspråk questionnaire: the second round of quantitative data collection

The main purpose of the third and last phase of the Ungspråk project is to provide data for a longitudinal assessment of pupils' opinions and beliefs about multilingualism and their multilingual

identity. In order to do so, the research instrument envisaged for this phase is similar to the one used in Phase 1 (the Ungspråk questionnaire). However, the design of the Ungspråk project leaves room for the final questionnaire to be adapted to explore unexpected outcomes that emerge from and are dependent on previous phases of data collection and analysis. Therefore, at the current stage of the project, the final design of this research instrument is yet to be determined.

6. Conclusion

The main objectives of this article were to discuss the theoretical background and rationale for developing the Ungspråk research project, to present the research questions and to explain how they will be answered using a mixed methods design. Prior to designing the study, several gaps in the existing research on multilingualism and multilingual identity were identified, resulting in three areas of interest. First, research on learners' own definitions of multilingualism, their multilingual habits and self-identification as multilingual in a lower secondary school context is limited both in Norway and internationally. Findings from this part of the project will contribute to scholarly discussions in several ways. Understanding how multilingualism is perceived and practised by young people may add new ideas on how multilingualism can be conceptualised and used as a resource in the classroom. Moreover, the longitudinal design of the project will provide new insights into young learners' multilingual identities as dynamic and emergent phenomena. These contributions may impact how languages are taught and how learners' multilingualism is explored in education.

Second, research on the correlation of young learners' multilingual identity with other variables is limited. Among these variables, exploring learners' open-mindedness has received particular attention given the increased emphasis on intercultural competence in the school curricula and the need for educating flexible, empathic, global citizens in a rapidly changing world. With insight into the correlation between learners' multilingual identity and open-mindedness, the study aims to contribute to research on the intersection between multilingualism and intercultural competence in the field of education.

Third, although ethical principles of research recommend that findings are shared with participants and should ideally be of benefit to them, the number of studies in applied linguistics that have reported doing so is minimal. In particular, studies that share the results from quantitative research with young participants are largely missing. In response to this gap, the Ungspråk project aims to examine how the research results can be shared with pupils and collaboratively explored. In addition, the project will pay attention to the key role of teachers in deciding how languages are taught and how topics related to multilingualism, multilingual identity and intercultural competence are approached in the classroom. For this reason, the sharing and exploration of research results will also include interviews with lower secondary school language teachers. An increased understanding of their beliefs and practices, as well as a collaborative exploration of data, may lead to new and innovative research-based teaching approaches. Moreover, our goal to meet fundamental ethical principles by presenting and exploring our research with the participants will create new questions regarding how research can be meaningfully shared.

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Multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of Eastern China: City residents' perceptions and attitudes

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Abstract: Linguistic landscape (LL) is a thriving strand of inquiry in sociolinguistics to interpret the multilingual representations in public space. Taking city residents as LL readers, this paper examines their opinions about the urban multilingualism visible in Eastern China's big cities in order to find out how the language displays are perceived and evaluated by the public. LL-related language policies and the LL practices in three representative cities are sketched out as the backdrop for the language attitude exploration. A questionnaire survey was administered among 1302 participants from Eastern China to investigate their perception of and attitudes towards the urban multilingualism in their lived space. It is found that most participants are aware of the multilingual practices in the written environment, and they respond positively to the Chinese-dominant, English-rich multilingual practices in the LL. The inscriptions of English and other foreign languages are generally conceived of as instrumental in the construction of an international-oriented city image. Moreover, the non-standard language variations (e.g. Chinglish) in the LL tend to be seen as a problem, though traditional Chinese characters are not turned down. The findings in the study can help us gain an understanding of the bottom-up language ideologies in China and contribute to the 'experiential' dimension of LL studies.

Keywords: Multilingualism, linguistic landscape, language attitudes, English, language ideology, China.

1. Introduction

In the past decade, the research on linguistic landscape (LL), namely the written language displayed in public space, has become a thriving strand of inquiry in sociolinguistics to scrutinize and interpret societal multilingualism in urban contexts. Taking LL as a symbolic construction of multilingual spaces (Ben-Rafael 2009) and "a major mechanism of language manipulation" (Shohamy 2006: 123), researchers examine the representations of various languages visible in material environments in order to "understand the motives, pressures, ideologies, reactions and decision making of people regarding the creation of public signage" (Shohamy 2012: 538) in the post-modern multilingual society. In light of its unique lens to the social fabric and dynamics of linguistic diversities, LL is applauded as a new approach to urban multilingualism (Gorter 2006), and a fine method to probe into a city's sociolinguistic ecology (Spolsky 2009). The descriptive, analytical and transdisciplinary potentials of LL study, according to Blommaert (2013: 3 [original italics]), make it an extremely useful toolkit for sociolinguistic researchers to attain "a diagnostic of social, cultural and political *structures*" of a multilingual area.

The visible multilingualism featured in LL has received much academic attention, and multifaceted dimensions of social, cultural and historical meanings associated with multilingual uses *in place* have been unveiled (see Gorter 2006; Backhaus 2007; Shohamy et al. 2010; Gorter et al. 2012; Hélot et al. 2012). However, previous investigations to the 'attitudinal' or 'experiential' dimension of LL (Trumper-Hecht 2010) are relatively scant. Garvin (2010), for example, conducted a walking-tour interview to examine the participants' self-reported understandings and visual perceptions of the public signage in Memphis, Tennessee. The interview responses demonstrate the psychological and emotional impact of LL on the identity and belongingness of the participants as immigrant residents. Aiestaran et al. (2010) carried out street interviews with passers-by in the central part of Donostia-San Sebastián city of Spain to find out their perceptions of languages on signs. Trumper-Hecht (2010) used a telephone questionnaire to examine the diverse perceptions, preferences and attitudes held by Arab and Jewish residents in a mixed city of Israel regarding the visibility of Hebrew and Arabic in the public space. In a recent study, Vessey and Sheyholislami

(2020) analysed internet users' attitudes towards the Chinese LL in Richmond, Canada to spell out the language ideological debate in the country. These attitudinal explorations to LL have enriched our understanding of the interactions between social actors and linguistic facts in the public space.

Situated in the urban context of Eastern China, this paper explores local inhabitants' attitudes towards urban multilingualism represented in the LL. I first provide a background to the LL-related language policies and the LL practices of large cities in the eastern region of mainland China (henceforth China). Then the results of an online questionnaire survey examining local city residents' opinions about LL are presented. Such a direct approach to bottom-up language attitudes towards LL can provide valuable insights into the language ideologies of the participants, and the local Chinese people in general, in an increasingly globalized and multilingual world. It also responds to the call for LL researchers to "situate and contextualize our studies in the lives of those who read, write and conduct their lives amongst the signs" in the urban space (Malinowski 2009: 124).

2. Multilingual landscape in Eastern China: management and practice

2.1. LL-related language regulations

As the chief social actor in language planning, Chinese government has made tremendous efforts to manage language issues that loom large in the society since the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 (e.g. Zhou 2004; Spolsky 2014; Li 2015). For instance, *Putonghua* (literally 'common speech') or Mandarin was enforced as the national "common language" and promulgated across the country, making it a superior Chinese variety in the multi-ethnic and multilingual society. In order to raise Chinese literacy of the population, the Chinese writing system was reformed, and simplified Chinese characters were promoted as the standard Chinese orthography in place of the traditional characters. Moreover, *Hanyu Pinyin* (henceforth Pinyin), namely the Romanization system for Chinese language, was developed to transcribe the pronunciation of Chinese characters. There are also other language planning initiatives undertaken in China, such as maintenance of minority varieties, diffusion of Chinese language worldwide, and reform of English language education, to name just a few (see Spolsky 2014). Such planning endeavours demonstrate the Chinese government's top-down governance of language matters as a means to modify the language practices and beliefs of Chinese people.

With regard to the LL in public space, numerous standards, decrees, guidelines or governmental notices have been mandated by the state and local governments to manage the language uses on signs. Among them, the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* (or the *Language Law* in short), coming into effect since January 2001, is the first national law on language uses approved by the state legislature to "promote the normalization and standardization of the standard spoken and written Chinese language" (Wang 2016). According to this law, simplified Chinese characters shall be used as the basic written form on the facilities in public places, signboards and advertisements (Article 14). In cases where bilingual signs have to be placed, standard simplified characters must be used, as stated in Article 13, "if public services require the use of both a foreign language and the Chinese language in signboards, advertisements, notices, signs, and so on, the Chinese language that is used shall be the standard Han characters" (Wang 2016). Traditional Chinese characters, on the other hand, are only allowed in limited situations, such as on cultural relics and at historical sites, in handwritten inscriptions or on handwritten signboards (Article 17). In addition, Pinyin is endorsed as the unified norm for transliterating place names (Article 18).

Apart from the *Language Law*, many other official documents pertinent to language displays have been published by national institutions as *ad hoc* policies regulating specific signs, including place name signs, advertisements, public service signs and so forth. Documents entitled *Geographical Names-Signs* (GB17733-2008), *Interim Provision on Governing the Usage of Spoken and Written Languages in Advertisement* (State Council Decree 84 1998) and the *Guidelines for the Use of English in Public Service Areas* (GB/T 30240-2013) are some typical examples of language standards or

regulations in this regard. In these documents, the legal status of *Putonghua*, simplified scripts and Pinyin in the public domain is reinforced, contributing to a culture of standardization in the country. In addition, such documents stipulate, among other things, that English-only texts and code mixing on signs are prohibited; when foreign languages are used, Chinese must be presented as the prioritized code.

Apart from the national language management measures, there are also regional standards or regulations issued by provincial or municipal governments to provide more practical solutions to the language issues in local contexts. It is in these documents that local language policies are formulated. The local versions of standards or regulations are generally in pursuance to the national language policies. However, there are occasionally incoherent or contradictory provisions. For instance, some capital cities or municipalities stipulate in their standards that English shall be inscribed on street name signs, which contradicts the national standard of inscribing Pinyin for Romanized place names (see Shang 2020).

2.2. LL practice in China's Eastern cities

In this part, the LL features of three typical and geographically proximate cities in Eastern China (Shanghai, Hangzhou and Ningbo) are sketched out to provide a general picture of the LL practices in Eastern China's typical cities. Located in the Changjiang River Delta area, one of the most open and economically affluent regions in China, these cities are modern, international-oriented metropolises. Apart from accommodating a large size of local population (25 million in Shanghai, 10 million in Hangzhou and 6 million in Ningbo), these cities also attract millions of tourists from abroad every year. In the urban space, different languages and varieties deployed in the LL demonstrate the interplay of various social, political, economic and cultural factors in the cities. The following generalizations are based on observations during my walking tours of the core district streets of the three cities in the years 2016 and 2017.

First, since Chinese is the common language of the country, Chinese language occupies the primary and salient positions on most signage in the LL. Monolingual and multilingual signs without using Chinese are very rare. Simplified Chinese characters as standard Chinese orthography are predominantly presented on public and private signs. In contrast, traditional characters are much fewer in quantity and mainly seen in historical streets, tourist destinations or building names. On commercial signs, traditional scripts account for a very small proportion. Second, though Pinyin is the national standard for the Romanized form of street names, Shanghai and Hangzhou display English instead of Pinyin on street name signs, while Ningbo follows the national standard and inscribes Pinyin. The wrestling between Pinyin and English on street name signs is a long-standing debate in China (see Shang 2020). Moreover, there are also Chinese shop names transliterated into Pinyin on commercial signs. Third, English is widely used on official and commercial signs due to its wide accessibility and abundant symbolic meanings. For instance, on public facilities such as public toilets, dustbins and parking, Chinese-English inscriptions are the standardized form on signs. In view of the policy documents mandating English inscriptions on public signs and the prevalent English signs in practice, Chinese-English bilingual signs[1] are becoming the *de facto* standard in the LL. On commercial signs, vogue display of English is prevalent in city space. In high-end commercial streets or shopping malls, stores without English inscriptions are less common. Many shops display English-only signs, a practice at odds with the official regulations on advertisement language uses. Moreover, Chinglish, a mixture of English and Chinese (Henry 2010; Radtke & Yuan 2011), is occasionally spotted on public or commercial signs (such as 'Slip carefully' to mean 'Caution, wet floor'). Fourth, other foreign languages are occasionally seen on public and commercial signs as well. In scenic spots, for example, there are sizable multilingual signs with Korean and Japanese in addition

[1] In this paper, bilingual signs are also seen as a type of multilingualism.

to Chinese and English to illustrate the attractions, give directional guidance or heed warnings. On commercial streets, shop names written in Korean, Japanese, French, German, Vietnamese or Thai are sometimes inscribed together with Chinese.

Taken together, the diversified language choices render the LL in Eastern China's cosmopolitan cities a site of visual multilingualism. However, how the multilingual practices are perceived or evaluated by the general public is yet to be known. To fill the research gap, I carried out an in-depth investigation of local residents' language attitudes towards the LL practices in these cities. The research question to be addressed is as follows: *How do the city residents perceive and evaluate the LL practices in the public space of their cities?* Addressing this question can help us better understand the language ideologies that prevail in the most open and developed cities in China and shed light on local residents' lived experiences of the multilingual landscape in the era of globalization.

3. The current study

3.1. Research instrument

In order to elicit city residents' opinions about the multilingual practices in Eastern China's public space, an online questionnaire survey was developed as research instrument. A list of multiple-choice questions was formulated in Chinese concerning the uses of various languages/scripts on public and commercial signs. In the instructions of the survey, the purpose of the research was clearly stated, and the participants were required to answer the questions based on their personal experiences of and attitudes towards the LL in their cities. The survey was anonymous, and the participants were informed that all information obtained from the survey was used for research purpose only. The questions in the survey can be categorized into five dimensions, namely the awareness of urban multilingualism, purpose of urban multilingualism, necessity of multilingual landscaping, attitudes towards the English uses on signs, and attitudes towards language variations. The survey was posted on wenjuanxing, a renowned online survey platform in China, for participants to answer. For the convenience of discussion, an English translated version is provided in this paper (see the appendix).

3.2. Research participants

Due to time and financial restrictions, we only sampled a small number of residents living or working in Eastern China's major cities to participate in the research. Since the survey contains some questions about the uses of English on signage, a certain level of English competency is expected for the respondents. From December 2016 to December 2017, we distributed the survey form mainly via Wechat, a widely used social media app in China. The participants were randomly selected based on the research team's personal connections. In addition, the wenjuanxing service team also helped sampling participants in their large pool of active users[2].

In the end, altogether, 1302 valid survey forms were collected in Eastern China's major cities. Among them, participants aged between 19 and 40 comprise the majority, accounting for over 77% (N=1005). Male and female participants account for 40% (N=522) and 60% (N=780), respectively, and the average time for survey completion was approximately 7 minutes. Most participants (89.2%, N=1161) have 6 to 10 years or an even longer period of English learning experience. In terms of occupations, nearly half of the respondents (49.8%, N=648) are college students studying at the tertiary institutions in Eastern China, and the rest (50.2%, N=654) are working professionals in a wide range of occupations such as teachers, researchers, civil servants, lawyers, journalists, and sales. Admittedly, the participants are far from representing the whole community of city residents. However, as educated and professional individuals, their subjective opinions about the urban LL can project the attitudes of the core social groups residing in Eastern China. In the ensuing analysis, the

[2] According to the official website of wenjuanxing www.wjx.com, there are about 1 million active users who create or answer surveys every day. The participants can be randomly sampled based on the criteria set by the survey makers.

participants are broadly categorized into two focal groups, i.e. students and working professionals, and their responses to the survey questions are presented in detail.

4. Results and findings

In this part, the participants' general perceptions of and attitudes towards the LL in Eastern China's urban space are analysed according to the five thematic dimensions of the survey. Since the code choices on street names have been analysed in Shang (2020), the results to be presented here do not include responses concerning road/street name signs.

4.1. Awareness of and reactions to urban multilingualism

I first examine to what extent the participants are aware of the multilingualism in the LL (Q1-Q4). Statistics shows that the vast majority of the students (81.2%, N=526) and working professionals (87%, N=569) often or occasionally attend to the Romanized scripts (i.e. English or Pinyin) on public signs, in comparison to 18.8% of the students (N=122) and 13% of the working professionals (N=85) who rarely take notice of such forms on signs. For the language forms on commercial signs, nearly equal proportions of students (83.6%, N=542) and working professionals (83.8%, N=547) pay attention to English or Pinyin on a frequent or occasional basis, while others rarely attend to such forms in the urban settings. As for tourist destinations, even more participants (students: 86.3%, N=559; working professionals: 86.7%, N=567) have showed conscious awareness of the multilingual representations on signs. Moreover, the traditional Chinese characters displayed in urban space are often or occasionally noted by nearly 80% of the students (N=515) and 77.7% of the working professionals (N=508). These results demonstrate that most participants have noted the urban multilingualism in their cities. The aggregate percentage of conscious awareness among the working professionals is slightly higher than the student group (83.8% vs. 82.6%), and the Mann-Whitney U test shows that the two groups have a statistically significant difference in the awareness of Romanized scripts in the LL (Q1, Q2 and Q3) at the confidence level of 95% (Table 1). These results suggest that the working professionals are more sensitive to the multilingual displays in urban space.

Table 1: Independent sample test statistics[a]

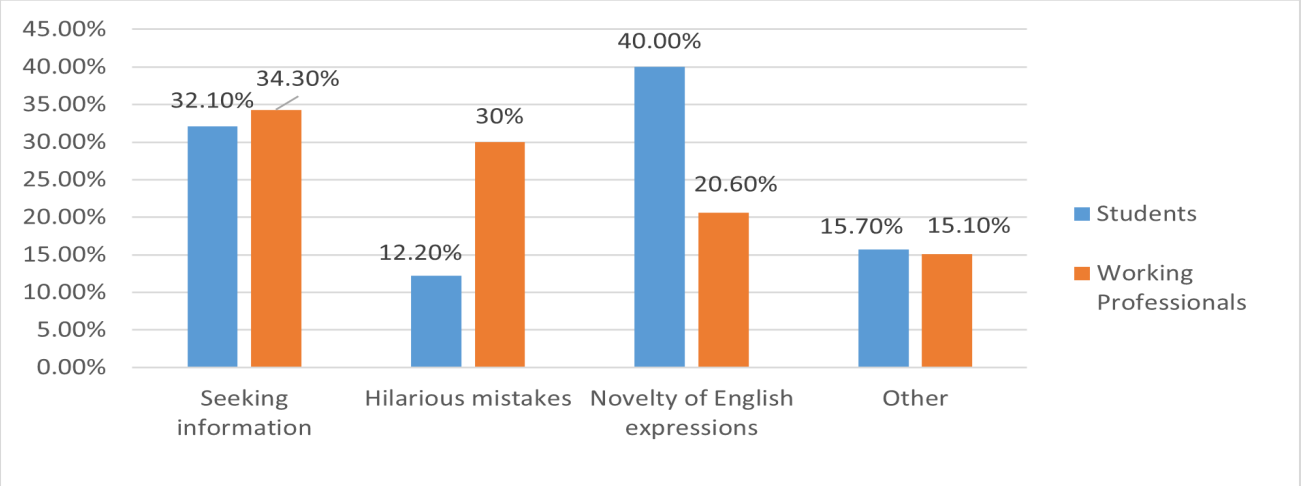
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Mann-Whitney U	178050.000	193831.500	190559.000	203500.000
Wilcoxon W	388326.000	404107.500	404744.000	413776.000
Z	-5.579	-2.985	-3.459	-1.376
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003	.001	.169

a. Grouping Variable: Occupation

Regarding the English language on public or private signs (Q5), about 41% of the students (N=265) and 33.8% of the working people (N=221) often read the printed English texts, whereas 31.3% of the students (N=203) and about 42% of the working professionals (N=275) often check the accuracy of the English forms. Other participants, relatively fewer in number (students: 27.8 %, N=180; working professionals: 24.2%, N=158), usually ignore the English texts and read only the Chinese message. Though the reactions vary widely, the result suggests that the majority of the participants tend to engage themselves with the displayed English in one way or another. In fact, the participants take heed of English in the LL for various reasons (Q6). As shown in Figure 1, the novelty of English forms and the need for information are two major factors cited by students (72.1%,

N=468), while the information need and the hilarious English mistakes are two aspects most likely to attract working people (64.3%, N=420). The Mann-Whitney U test indicates that the inter-group difference for this question is statistically significant (p=0.002, α=0.05), showing that the two groups have different interests with regard to English signs. English in the LL can be consumed actively or passively, serving as a means for advertising creativity, cues of information or merely a source of amusement. While students tend to take English signs as a site of creative ideas, a large proportion of the working people often attend to faulty English in the public space mainly for fun.

Figure 1: Reasons for noting English signs



Regarding the uses of other foreign languages (e.g. Japanese, Korean, French) on commercial signs (Q7), 43.2% of the students (N=280) and 43.6% of the working professionals (N=285) claim that they read the languages or use the scripts as a medium to elicit useful information about the business. Moreover, 36.4% of the students (N=236) and 24.9% of the working professionals (N=163) indicate that store owners need such languages/scripts for marketing purposes. The rest of the participants (students: 20.4%, N=132; working professionals: 31.5%, N=206) think otherwise, contending that these foreign languages are of little use for them, and they read only Chinese in such situations. The figures suggest that most respondents tend to believe that the non-English foreign languages in the LL are useful either for the business owners or for themselves as customers. Albeit largely intelligible to local people, such foreign languages are symbolic of exotic culture and identity, thus going a long way to manoeuvre the clientele's consumption. Though the participants' opinions on this matter are diversified, no significant inter-group difference is found (p=0.067, α=0.05).

4.2. Purposes of urban multilingualism

Indubitably, urban multilingualism is purposefully played out by LL authors such as governmental agencies, enterprises or individuals. The participants are inquired to speculate the possible reasons or purposes of presenting various languages/scripts in the LL. Though the respondents are not sign authors, their viewpoints can reveal sign readers' perspectives to the motivations or rationale for multilingual representations in urban settings.

For the Romanized scripts printed on public service signs (Q8), nearly 94% of the students (N=605) and 86.1% of the working professionals (N=563) believe that they are meant to bring convenience to foreigners or exhibit the city's internationalization-oriented image, showing that the informational and symbolic functions of English/Pinyin in the official LL are generally appreciated by the participants. Those respondents voting for language strategy or other purposes are much fewer (10.3%, N=134). As for the purpose of presenting English on commercial signs (Q9), the two groups express statistically different viewpoints (p<0.001, α=0.05). The majority of the students (75.5%,

N=489) contend that English signs are intended to convey symbolic meanings such as international orientation, fashion, taste and sophistication of the commodities and/or service. Other students hold that English is inscribed on commercial signs either for economic ends, i.e. to attract customers of various language backgrounds (18.2%, N=118), or merely for aesthetics of decoration (6.3%, N=45). For the working professionals, in contrast, the purposes in descending order are the economic ends (42.2%, N=276), international orientation (34.9%, N=228), fashion, taste or reliability (19.9%, N=130) and decoration (3.1%, N=20). The contrast suggests that the students advocate the symbolic representations of English in the marketplace, whereas the working people underscore the instrumental values of English on commercial signs.

When it comes to English on tourist signs (Q10), the majority of the participants (students: 78.7%, N=510; working professionals: 76.3%, N=499) agree that English is mainly presented for communicative purpose, as the English translations can help international tourists better understand the meanings and functions of the signs inside the tourist attractions. A small portion of participants (students: 14.7%, N=95; working professionals: 16.8%, N=110) subscribe to the branding functions of such English signs. After all, internationalization is a sought-after branding goal for most Chinese megacities, and a tourist-friendly environment is believed to be able to facilitate the city's image construction. The rest (3.2%, N=23) voted for other purposes.

With regard to the display of Korean or Japanese languages on signs (Q11), the majority (students: 60%, N=385; working professionals: 77.8%, N=509) contend that the increasing influx of East Asian tourists to China is an impetus for inscribing Korean/Japanese on public signs. Obviously, the informational functions of such signs can bring convenience for tourists from the two countries. Other respondents attribute the Korean/Japanese display to the rising impact of Korean and Japanese economics and culture (students: 17.9%, N=116; working professionals: 11.9%, N=78), close bilateral relationship between the city and Japan/Korea (students: 17.1%, N=111; working professionals: 7.5%, N=49), or other reasons (4.1% of the total, N=54).

When it comes to traditional Chinese characters on shop signs (Q12), the participants' views are diversified with significant difference between the two groups (p=0.000014, α=0.05). Among them, 42.1% of the students (N=273) and 48.5% of the working people (N=317) think that such scripts can represent tradition or authenticity of the brands or commodities. Indeed, Chinese shop owners often resort to traditional scripts' indexicality of authentic Chinese culture in the marketing (Shang & Guo 2017). Nearly one fourth of the respondents (students: 24.2%, N=171; working professionals: 24.5%, N=160) believe that in the LL where simplified Chinese is predominant, traditional characters can make the signs stand out from others, a reflection of the "presentation of self" structuration principle of LL (Ben-Rafael 2009). Moreover, some participants subscribe to the aesthetic effect of traditional scripts vis-à-vis simplified characters (students: 15.3%, N=99; working professionals: 20.3%, N=133), or other reasons (students: 18.4% N=119; working professionals: 6.7%, N=44). For instance, traditional characters may mark off the origin of the marketing brands where traditional Chinese characters are the officially endorsed Chinese orthography (e.g. Hong Kong or Taiwan). In general, the results suggest that the participants recognize the multiple functions of traditional Chinese characters in the LL.

4.3. Necessity of urban multilingualism

When asked about the necessity to set up more English signs in city space (Q13), the majority of the participants (students: 69.8%, N=452; working professionals: 62.2%, N=407) respond affirmatively, contending that more English signs symbolize a more internationalized city image. Those clearly opposing to placing more English signs are much fewer (9.1%, N=118). This contrast shows that English signs in the LL are generally welcomed by the city dwellers. About 20% of the students (N=129) and 24.2% of the working group (N=158) hold that it should be determined by the volume of international tourists. They seem to prioritize the real communicative needs of the English language

rather than the sheer quantity of English signs. The rest (2.9%, N=38) take no sides.

As for the inscription of English on traffic signs (Q14), the vast majority (students: 87.7%, N=568; working professionals: 77.8%, N=509) believe it is necessary, as it can bring convenience for the drivers lacking in Chinese literacy, and the semiotic needs of domestic and foreign drivers can thus be accommodated. A small portion of the participants (students: 5.6%, N=36; working professionals: 9.9%, N=95) take a contrary opinion on the ground that too much information on traffic signs may cause confusion for ordinary drivers. The rest (7.2%, N=94) stay neutral on the matter.

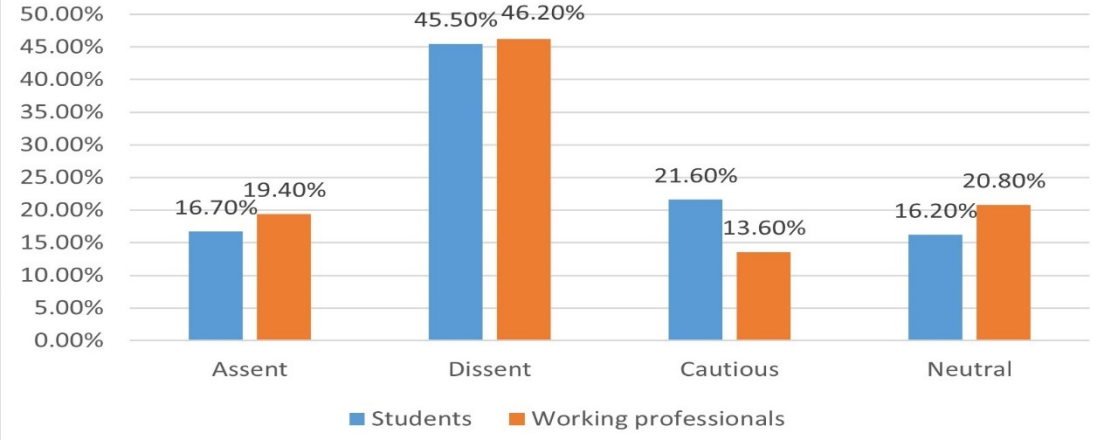
There are minority group enclaves in many cities where Han people are the predominant community. As for the inscription of minority languages in such enclaves (Q15), most respondents (students: 86.4%, N=560; working professionals: 72.6%, N=475) think it necessary as it is conductive to the preservation of minority languages and culture. In contrast, about 9% of the students (N=58) and 16.7% of the working people (N=109) hold that minority groups should learn and use the national common language (i.e. Mandarin Chinese), and it is not worthwhile to display minority languages. The different percentages between the two groups suggest that the students are more enthusiastic in the protection of minority languages through LL, while the working people tend to advocate an assimilationist approach to minority languages. The rest (7.7%, N=100) take a neutral stance.

4.4 Attitudes towards English uses on signs

This section presents the participants' attitudes towards the uses of English in the LL. In response to the increasing English signs in commercial districts (Q16), the vast majority (students: 89.3%, N=579; working professionals: 87.8%, N=574) take it as a natural phenomenon. In their opinion, English signs are used to meet the needs of consumers pursuing international brands, and the profusion of English is a typical feature of cosmopolitan cities worldwide. The rest (students: 10.7%, N=69; working professionals: 12.2%, N=80) argue against it, claiming that Chinese language should be prioritized in the LL, and vogue display of English is a symptom of blind faith in foreign products.

With regard to the display of English-only shop names (Q17 and Q18), the Mann-Whitney U test results show that the students and working people hold significantly different viewpoints ($p<0.001$ and $p=0.023$, respectively, $\alpha=0.05$). The working professionals having negative perceptions of English monolingual signs (50.6%, N=331) outnumber those of the student group (37.8%, N=245). In their opinion, presenting English-only shop names is nothing more than a marketing gimmick. In contrast, others mainly take such English signs as expressions of symbolic meanings such as internationalization taste, high-end brand or reliable quality (students: 62.2%, N=403; working professionals: 49.4%, N=323). These figures seem to show that English-only signs appeal to students more than the working people. When evaluating the placement of English-only signs, as shown in Figure 2, the majority (students: 45.5%, N=295; working professionals: 46.2%, N=302) show dissent in that English-only shop names are unfavourable for the businesses. In contrast, those who advocate English-only signs for their direct branding strategy are relatively fewer in number (students: 16.7%, N=108; working people: 19.4%, N=127). Moreover, it can be seen that more working professionals than students take a neutral stance concerning this issue, holding that shop owners have freedom to choose any languages to display on signs, whereas students take a more cautious attitude than the working group, arguing that English-only signs have pros and cons in the marketplace.

Figure 2: Attitudes towards English-only signs (Q17)



In different cities, the density of English signs in the urban environments may vary to some extent. In response to such differences (Q19), the majority (students: 64%, N=415; working professionals: 67%, N=438) think that it is caused by the different internationalization levels of the cities. That is, high internationalization engenders a high density of English signs, or vice versa. Others attribute such differences to the macro policy for urban planning (students: 17.4%, N=113; working professionals: 19.9%, N=130), the economic vibrancy of the cities (students: 15%, N=96; working professionals: 10.9%, N=71), or other reasons.

The LL forms a multilingual repertoire available to all readers. For the possibility to take LL as a resource for language teaching and learning (Q20), most of the participants (students: 73.6%; N=477; working professionals: 77.7%, N=508) give a positive response. This resonates with English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' attitudes towards the pedagogical values of English in cities of China (Shang & Xie 2020). Nevertheless, more students take a cautious attitude than the working group (22.8% (N=148) vs. 10.1% (N=66)) on the ground that the poor quality of English on signs may not be favourable for English teaching/learning. The rest (students: 3.5%, N=23; working professionals: 12.2%, N=80) deem English in the LL to be of little pedagogical value.

4.5 Attitudes towards language variations on signs

Lastly, participants' attitudes towards the language uses deviant from official standards are investigated. Public signs sometimes present English translations that are deviant from Standard English. Known as Chinglish, such English forms displayed on signs are often backlashed in the media (Shang & Xie 2020). With regard to Chinglish on signs (Q21), most participants (students: 72.4%, N=489; working professionals: 77.7%, N=508) hold that it will tarnish the images of the city, thus it must be eradicated. To do that, English native speakers need to be consulted in order to provide more accurate translations. In contrast, a small proportion of participants (students: 22.7%, N=147; working professionals: 16.1%, N=105) accord values to Chinglish, believing that it deserves to be explored further. The rest (5.7% of the total, N=74) contend that Chinglish is forgivable in China's EFL context.

Regarding the officially mandated guidelines for English translation on signs (Q22), the vast majority (students: 93.4%, N=605; working professionals: 84.4%, N=552) deem them necessary and worthwhile, believing that the quality of displayed English can be warranted. Other respondents (students: 6.6%, N=45; working professionals: 15.6%, N=102) take a contrary attitude, arguing that they do not raise local people's English proficiency. Nevertheless, they tend to be optimistic regarding the long-run effect of such measures.

As for the lettered words (such as SPA, KTV, 2F, P) on signs (Q23), the vast majority of the

participants (students: 92.1%, N=597; working professionals: 88.1%, N=576) hold that such words should be accommodated, as they are an integral part of the Chinese language system and can express meanings concisely and effectively. Only about 10% of the respondents (N=129) contend that such expressions may ruin the purity of languages or impose barriers to people with low English competency and, thus, should be avoided.

Some stores use Pinyin (rather than English) on shopfront signs to transliterate the Chinese shop names (e.g. *Yi Pin Tang Xiao Chi Dian* instead of *Yipintang Restaurant*). For such an inscribing practice (Q24), the participants' attitudes vary widely with a significant inter-group difference ($p<0.01$, $\alpha=0.05$). Over half of the respondents (students: 56.6%, N=367; working professionals: 51.4%, N=336) deem it acceptable as it can provide convenience for non-Chinese readers, and some even wish to see more Pinyin signs. In contrast, 31.5% of the students (N=204) and 35.9% of the working people (N=235) contend that Pinyin shop names are meaningless for the targeted audience; instead, English translations would be more apt. The rest (students: 12%, N=77; working professionals: 12.7%, N=83) are more flexible for the shop name coding, noting that both Pinyin and English are acceptable on shop signs. Generally, the students seem to be more tolerant of the Pinyin transliteration of shop names.

For the traditional Chinese characters on private signs (Q25), most respondents (students: 62.4%, N=404; working professionals: 64.3%, N=421) take them as an essential element of Chinese language, thus no intervention is needed. In contrast, 21.8% (N=141) and 16.2% (N=106) of the working group hold that since the orthographic standard is instituted, it must be strictly followed in practice. As fervent standard defenders, they insist that the traditional scripts on signs shall be replaced by simplified characters. The rest (students: 15.9%, N=103; working professionals: 19.4%, N=127) take a middle course, claiming that strict measures for orthographic standards can be imposed on new signs rather than the signs already in place.

5. Discussion

5.1 Urban multilingualism embraced

Taking city residents as sign readers, this study has used a survey to examine their attitudes towards the multilingual LL in big cities of Eastern China, showing that urban multilingualism is generally embraced by the participants in the current era of economic globalization and internationalization. In China's language regime, Mandarin Chinese plays an overarching role in the state's language practices, and the top-down language planning and policies warrant the predominance of simplified Chinese in the LL. Moreover, English, as a world language and global lingua franca (Crystal 1997), is gaining widespread currency in Chinese society due to its enormous cultural and symbolic capital (Cortazzi & Jin 1996; Pan 2015). The dynamics of urban multilingualism in Eastern China is substantially attributed to the influx of English into the otherwise Chinese-dominant society at large. The survey results show that most respondents have noticed the urban multilingualism in the physical environments and act in some way to tap into the social-cultural meanings associated with the various codes in their daily encounters. The working professionals are generally more sensitive to the multilingual LL in the cities than the students, and the two groups show slightly different interests when engaging with the LL. As for the public signs with English or other foreign languages, the participants seem to appreciate the official language ideologies to engage more with the international world through the construction of foreigners-friendly language environments. In their opinion, increasing presence of non-Chinese languages in the LL is indexical of the economic vibrancy and degree of internationalization of the cities, a situation in consonance with the national and regional development agenda. These findings make it clear that the city residents valorise the multilingual representations in the LL, taking urban multilingualism as a necessary landscaping mechanism and a natural outcome of population mobility, economic liberty and/or cultural integration. In this sense, the "discourse of profit" outweighs the "discourse of right" (Heller 2011) in the perspective of the

participating city residents. Provided the dominant role of standard Chinese is not challenged, the non-Chinese languages/scripts in the LL are welcomed to fulfil informational and symbolic functions to the readers at large.

5.2 Rationalist attitude toward urban multilingualism

People's language attitudes towards LL are closely related to their conceptualization of the functions of various languages. In his account of language variation and language standardization, Geeraerts (2003) proposed two cultural cognitive models underpinning people's conceptualization of sociolinguistic realities: the rationalist model which originated in the Enlightenment thinking, and the romantic model which mainly emerged as a countering dialectic of the Enlightenment. According to Geeraerts (2003), the rationalist model takes language as a medium of communication, and language standardization as a means of attaining social participation and emancipation; the romantic model, in contrast, posits language as an expression of individual identity, and language standardization as a tool of discrimination and exclusion. Albeit the partial convergence in the nationalist and postmodern transformations over the last centuries, the tensions between the two competing models have never been defused. The cultural models can be applied to interpret people's attitudes towards various languages in the LL.

The participants' attitudes towards urban multilingualism in this study are largely situated within a rationalist frame, as they view language forms as a medium of communication for various purposes. While the national language policies clearly promulgate standard Chinese, the regional policies have created conditions for capitalizing on multiple languages in city life. According to the rationalist approach, an English-rich multilingual environment is instrumental and can bring more opportunities for the cities to engage in the globalization process. English in the LL can provide more accessible information to international tourists, thus facilitating the communication between the sign authors and the non-Chinese readers from abroad. Other foreign languages, all having their functional domains in urban language life, are also useful communicative tools conducive to the social participation and population mobility. These viewpoints resonate with the mechanisms of linguistic instrumentalism (Wee 2003) or commodification of languages (Heller 2010), namely perceiving various languages as commodifiable resources to exchange for economic or other profits. In contrast, the romantic perspective, positing the spread of English as a threat to the nation, is not remarkably manifested in our survey. The urban multilingualism is seldom challenged by the surveyed participants, and the potential risks of cultural hegemony and language homogeneity caused by the spread of English (Phillipson 1992) have not raised much alarm. However, the romantic model of multilingualism is not totally irrelevant. It is found that the participants largely subscribe to the uses of traditional characters and minority languages for their markings of cultural identities, showing that the values of the peripheral languages are appreciated by the local residents. In comparison to the working professionals, there are more student proponents for the values of language forms deviated from the stated standards (e.g. Chinglish, traditional Chinese characters, English-only signs), suggesting that they are more inclined to be romantic defenders of identity expressions.

5.3 LL practice and city images

Under the impetus of economic globalization and encouraged by China's economic reforms and opening-up policy, many Chinese cities set their goals to become a global or international city (Wu 2006; Zhou 2002). Terms like *modernization* and *internationalization* have been explicitly incorporated into the official discourse of city images (Berg & Björner 2014). For instance, English in public space is considered as an essential aspect of constructing international cities, as English is often regarded as a symbol of modernity, international orientation, sophistication and fashion (Piller 2003). In a bid to improve the city images, many large-scale bilingual infrastructural projects are launched, and campaigns to eradicate nonstandard language uses on signs are frequently carried out

in Chinese cities.

This study shows that the participants accord with the idea of constructing positive city images through the multilingualism in LL. The dominant political and media framings of internationalization and modernity as noble goals to attain for cities have clearly exerted an influence on city residents, who advocate an English-rich cityscape to symbolize an open, inclusive and diverse image of the cities. In light of the prevailing standard language ideology (Milroy 2001), Chinglish in the urban space is treated as a problem, as the language forms deviate from the recognized "authority of centre" (Blommaert 2010). For most participants, only Standard English in LL is considered congruent with the aspired city images, and those deviated English forms have to be eradicated. Chinglish is perceived as substandard English expressions which would tarnish the images of the cities and thwart the speakers' intended identity of English-speaking elites in the society. As English is perceived as "a powerful index of identity" (Blommaert 2010: 130), the participants' fetish for standard English also suggests that people with English competency wish to affirm their membership to an elite group of the cities characterized by "prestige multilingualism" (Vogl 2012). Especially for the working professionals, their tolerance of the deviated language forms is relatively lower than the students. It should be noted, however, that not all language variations are equally frowned upon. The traditional Chinese characters, for instance, as non-legitimate orthographic forms, are generally acceptable for the respondents due to their symbolic marking of Chinese cultural traditions. This position is understandable in that the variation is primarily relevant for Chinese readers and has little impact on the "face" of the city to the outside world. In this sense, the city images to be constructed through LL are mainly external-oriented.

6. Conclusion

The multilingual practices in the LL are subject to interpretations for the people living and acting within them. As Kelly-Holmes (2014) argues, the practice of visible multilingualism in urban contexts "enriches and potentially challenges the monolingual's world". This paper has offered an account of the bottom-up language attitudes towards the LL in Eastern China's cities. Conceptualized as a social fact, the urban multilingualism in the LL has been investigated from the perspective of local city dwellers, thus revealing the ideological affordances of urban multilingualism in the "globalized localities" (Heller 2011). The results of the questionnaire survey show that the multilingual representations in the LL are generally accommodated and embraced by the participating residents. Most participants take a rationalist stance towards the LL, holding that various languages on signs serve as a medium of communication to meet the diversified semiotic needs of the readership home and abroad. The construction of a foreigners-friendly language environment is essentially welcomed by the participants. In addition, the traditional characters and minority languages are also viewed as valuable semiotic resources in the LL. The thrust of English in the LL is taken as a marker of modernity and internationalization of cities. Nevertheless, only Standard English is conceived of as compatible with the aspired city images, alluding to the powerful standard language ideology. Though the global spread of English may have repercussions for the language habitus of the general public, the multilingual representations in the LL are perceived more as an opportunity than as a threat for the metropolitan cities.

Finally, it should be noted that the language attitudes analysed in the survey are indicative of the viewpoints of two focal groups of the city residents. For most of the questions, the opinions expressed by the students and the working professionals are parallel, though subtle attitudinal differences do exist between the two groups. For example, the students are relatively more tolerant of the deviated language forms in the LL, while the working professionals are keener on regulating them. This contrast might suggest that the students, mostly young people, are more open to postmodern thinking such as linguistic diversity and individual freedom of choice, whereas the working professionals prefer more rigour in language standards, placing high value on the importance

of standardization. In the future, people from more diversified backgrounds (especially people with no English competency) need to be engaged, supplemented with in-depth interviews, in order to gain more extensive views about the urban multilingualism in the LL of China.

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Appendix

A Survey on Linguistic Landscape in Cities of China

This survey is aimed at understanding your perceptions and attitudes towards the language uses on signs in the cities where you are living or working. For each question, please choose ONE answer that best matches your opinion.
Gender: Male / Female
Age: 18 or below / 19-25 / 26-30 / 31-40 / 41-50 / 51 or above
Education: Pre-college / Undergraduate / Master or PhD
Experience of English learning: 3-5 years / 6-10 years / 11 years or more
Name of your city: _____

1. I ____ notice the Pinyin/English language on public signs (e.g. road signs, street names) in my city.
A. rarely;
B. occasionally;
C. often.

2. I ____ notice the Pinyin/English language on commercial signs in my city.
A. rarely;
B. occasionally;
C. often

3. I _____notice the foreign languages displayed on signs in scenic spots in my city.
A. often;
B. occasionally;
C. rarely.

4. I_____ notice the traditional Chinese characters on signs in my city.
A. often;
B. occasionally;
C. rarely.

5. As for English displayed on public or commercial signs, I tend to ____
A. read it to gain useful information;
B. check whether the use of English is correct;
C. ignore it and just read the Chinese message.

6. English signs in my city attracted my attention mainly because of_____
A. the need for information;
B. the hilarious English mistakes;
C. the creativity of English expressions;
D. other (e.g. the ubiquity of such signs).

7. As for other foreign languages (e.g. Japanese, Korean or French) displayed on shop signs, I tend to_____.
A. read them to gain information;
B. look at the scripts to elicit useful information;
C. ignore them and just read Chinese;
D. skip them with the feeling that they are necessary for the stores.

8. The main purpose of presenting Romanized scripts on public signs is_____.
A. to bring convenience for foreigners.
B. to exhibit an internationalized image of the city.
C. to implement the language policy of the nation or the city.
D. other.
9. The main purpose of presenting English on shop name signs is_____.
A. to signify the symbolic values of fashion, sophistication or reliability;
B. to attract customers of various language backgrounds;
C. to signify the international taste of the product or service;
D. for decoration.
10. The main purpose of presenting English on signs at tourist attractions is _____.
A. to help international tourists to know more about the attractions;
B. to show an image of the internationalization of the cities;
C. to create an environment friendly to international tourists;
D. other.
11. At tourist destinations, the main reason for presenting Japanese or Korean on signs is _____.
A. the increase of Japanese and Korean tourists;
B. the growing impact of Japanese and Korean economy and culture;
C. the close relationship between the city and Japan/South Korea;
D. other.
12. Traditional Chinese characters are used in some shop names. The main purpose is_____.
A. to reflect tradition or authenticity of the business;
B. the elegance of traditional characters in calligraphy work;
C. a way of standing out from other signs;
D. other.
13. Do you think it necessary to place more English signs in your city?
A. Necessary, as it can create an image of internationalization;
B. Not necessary, as English may challenge the dominance of Chinese language;
C. It depends on the number of international tourists;
D. It does not matter.
14. Do you think it necessary to use English on the traffic signs above the streets?
A. Necessary, as it can bring convenience for non-Chinese drivers and tourists;
B. Not necessary, since too many words on such signs can cause confusion for drivers;
C. It does not matter as long as the Chinese information is clear;
D. Not sure.
15. In the minority group enclaves in the city, is it necessary to present minority languages on signs?
A. Necessary, as it facilitates the maintenance of the minority groups' languages and culture;
B. Not necessary, as minority groups should learn to use Mandarin Chinese;
C. It does not matter, as the maintenance of minority languages should not rely on public signs;
D. Not necessary, as the majority population cannot read the minority languages.
16. How do you evaluate the numerous English signs on commercial streets in your city?
A. Understandable, as English signs can meet the consumers' need for brand products;
B. Chinese should be given priority on such signs;
C. It is a sign of blind faith in foreign things;
D. Not surprising, as the prevalence of English is common on commercial streets in the world.
17. Some stores display English-only shop names. How do you evaluate such a practice?
A. They make the brands salient;

B. Not all potential customers can understand such names;
C. The business owners have the right to choose what languages to display;
D. English-only signs have pros and cons.

18. What is your possible feeling concerning the sight of stores with English-only shop names?
A. The goods have high-end brands;
B. The quality of the goods is reliable;
C. The goods are internationally oriented;
D. Nothing but a marketing gimmick.

19. The proportion of English public signs varies in different cities mainly because of_____.
A. the different levels of internationalization of the cities;
B. the different vibrancy of economic development;
C. the different urban planning policies;
D. other.

20. Do you agree that English on signs can become a resource for English learning?
A. Agree, and teachers should consider using them in the classroom;
B. Disagree, as the pedagogical value of English is low;
C. Agree, as it may help English learning in a subtle way;
D. Not sure.

21. What actions should be taken concerning the signs with Chinglish?
A. Regulate them as they stain the images of the city;
B. Seek an English native speaker's opinions and provide more accurate translations;
C. Study them as they indicate the Chinese way of thinking;
D. No need to worry as English is just a foreign language.

22. The city authorities issued English translation guidelines to warrant the quality of English on signs. Do you think such measures are necessary?
A. Very necessary;
B. Necessary;
C. Not of much use, as the English proficiency of the Chinese people has not essentially improved.
D. They are 'face projects', but may be conducive to the elevation of the internationalization level of the city.

23. On the Chinese signs, lettered words such as SPA, KTV, P and 2F are sometimes used. What do you think about the presence of such lettered words?
A. They undermine the purity of Chinese language;
B. They make concise expressions and should be accepted;
C. They have become a part of Chinese language, thus should be accommodated.
D. They should be avoided, as people with low English proficiency may not understand them.

24. Some stores put Pinyin on shopfront name signs (e.g. Yi Pin Tang Xiao Chi Dian rather than Yipintang Restaurant). What do you think about such a naming practice?
A. Acceptable, as it can be useful for non-Chinese customers;
B. I want to see more of such Chinese-style signs;
C. Unacceptable, and English translation would be more meaningful;
D. It does not matter whether you use Pinyin or English.

25. Do you think interventions should be taken towards the traditional Chinese characters used on building names, shop names or tourist spots?
A. Yes, they should be fixed;
B. No need, as traditional characters are also part of Chinese language;
C. Not necessary to launch large-scale campaigns to fix the established signs with traditional characters;
D. Strict measures should be targeted at new signs to be displayed rather than the signs in place.

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Language conflict, glottophagy and camouflage in the Italian cinematic city

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Abstract: In this paper, I would like to present an analysis of the social environment of language contact in Italy exploring how historically the language policy in the era of fascism produced a complex idea of the Italian language community. I will use the notions of spatiality, glottophagy and camouflage to indicate, describe and analyse how this came to be and still is the case, and I will try to contextualize this process in the fascist history of Italy. In the second part, I will focus on the relationship between language, space and society as represented in Italian cinema, unpacking the relationships between fascism and Italian language policy and the language structured by socioeconomic and cultural conflicts. Discussing the language structure in three cinematic cases, I want to demonstrate how Italian cinema has interpreted the relationship between different languages and conflict in the repertoire in the moment when social conflict started to be filmed by some film directors at the end of the Second World War.

Keywords: Multilingualism, fascism, cinematic discourse, social space, language conflict.

1. Introduction: fascism and languages

This article is divided into two parts. The first part is focused on presenting and discussing an analysis of social environment in relation to language contact in Italy: starting from a historical reflection upon language policy during fascism and an analysis of the complexity of the Italian language community, I will introduce the concepts of spatiality, glottophagy and camouflage. These three concepts could be useful to reproduce a language contact model working in the Italian language space. In the second part, I will try to examine the different ways the urban sociolinguistic complexity and the relationship between language, space and society are represented in Italian cinema, focusing on the cinematic discourse[1] in some case studies that share a connection with fascism and its language policy.

Between 1922 and 1943, Italy experienced the so-called *ventennio fascista*, a period of dictatorship and deprivation of liberty in different ways, which included an autarchic idea of the language: inspired by theories of language purism, the myth of Latinity and the myth of the *Risorgimento*, Mussolini aimed to submit language policy to the authority of the state. The idea behind the fascist language policy was to build the new Italian Nation in relation to only a single language. The complex multilingual Italian space - the vast variety of dialects, regional languages and, most of all, the large number of minority languages - had to be reduced to a single language space, dominated by the language of the Italian classical literary tradition. This language coincides with the language of the ruling class, which holds the cultural and economic power. Mussolini's attempt was, obviously, not successful, partly because of the lack of a concrete language program, and Italian society remained basically multilingual.

One of the consequences of this language policy could be detected in people's perception of dialects or of any other variety different from a standard and from a norm: fascism reinforced a status of *diglossia*, which more often, in concrete situations, can lead to *dilalia.* As Berruto (2012: 560) stresses, in a situation of co-presence of two languages (High language and Low language) in

[1] I use the term according to Jannis Androutsopoulos (2012: 140): "'Cinematic discourse' pinpoints a contextualised approach to film as a site of sociolinguistic representation, including its relations to production and/or reception and the sociolinguistic knowledge that it articulates and presupposes. This is not trivial from a language studies perspective, since film-as-text is already difficult to handle analytically with regard to the role of language in a complex system of audio-visual signifiers, which produce meaning in their interrelation".

everyday speech, we can have *dilalia* if both the H language or variety and L language or variety are used in ordinary conversation. On the other hand, we have *diglossia* if only the L language or variety is used in ordinary conversation, and the H language or variety is used in official and formal conversation. The condition of *dilalia*, in fact, occurs when the speakers in their daily communication are not always acquainted with the social rules that determine sociolinguistic appropriateness, suitability and acceptance, due to their sociolinguistic competences. According to Ferguson (1959: 328), indeed, one of the most important features in a situation of *diglossia* is not a separation between the two languages, but a specialization of their functions. The quality of social appropriateness, recognized for the dominant language in public spheres, enforces the idea of a language hierarchy. In *dilalia*, a community of speakers live in a chaotic language space, where a large number of individuals cannot recognize and keep the main languages and language varieties of their linguistic repertoire separated in their linguistic uses.

Furthermore, in schools, many Italians have been educated according to an ideal monolingualism, and to a hierarchical idea of the relationship between languages and language varieties, where Written Standard Italian occupies the top position, whilst spoken local varieties are on the bottom (cf. De Mauro 2016). According to this idea, every sociolinguistic stratification concerns and reproduces the hierarchical structure of society.

The status of language conflict created during the *Ventennio*, influencing dialect and local languages perception, esthetic evaluation and social discrimination, made possible the fact that even today language variation is often perceived as socially harmful, and dialects are corruptors of a pure language. Multilingualism, which is one of the main topics of this issue of *Globe*, and intralinguistic differences can be perceived as chaotic and, consequently, one of the reasons of an assumed extreme complexity of the Italian language (cf. Korzen 2021).

2. Language variation and space: spatiality, glottophagy, camouflage

There are two theoretical points I would like to stress at this point to frame the object of my argumentation:

1. Social differences are intimately connected to sociolinguistic variation, and language stratification designs and it is designed by the social space, i.e. the system of relations among individuals, based on cultural or economical networks and regardless of the physical space;
2. The effects of the political process during fascism are that the internal social structure generates and supports language conflict and language appropriation, with the result of a situation of complex *dilalia* where, in ordinary speech, the two languages and their social varieties tend to blend into each other.

To discuss the relationship between linguistic variation and space, it is necessary to analyze the definition of spatiality, a concept useful to understanding the complexity of a three-dimensional space.

Space is a necessary condition for interaction and linguistic action and plays a fundamental role in shaping linguistic variation. This role is not limited only to the relationship between regional variation and geographical space, but it generally involves the relationship between variation and space, between language as a social tool and spatiality.

To analyze spatiality (Britain 2013a: 472-473), we must observe space focusing on its three-dimensionality: the Euclidean space, the social space and the psychological and perceived space. Spatiality is the 3D model that offers the opportunity to consider variation in relation to the geographical representation in Euclidean terms - which means in physical proportions - to the effects of the relationships between the linguistic elements in the social space and to the cultural and psychological representation of these relationships. Referring to Lefebvre could be useful to make

the concept clearer:

> *(Social) space is a (social) product* [… T]he space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; […] in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence domination, of power; yet as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it […] Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other (Lefebvre 1991: 26).

Language, indeed, is a social fact which needs spatiality to act, i.e. to exist: spatiality reproduces and shapes sociolinguistic relations.

In fact, if we consider what Lefebvre has stated about the way societies produce space, we can figure also the way languages produce social spaces as follows:

> The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (Lefebvre 1991: 38).

The deciphering of space is possible because languages produce and shape spatiality. From this perspective, sociolinguistic varieties play a fundamental role in determining the composition and in setting or redressing the balances of the spatial social structure. Furthermore, following David Britain (2010: 76), we can consider space as a process in constant evolution, since it also takes shape from linguistic varieties and socio-communicative interaction:

> All interaction is spatialised. The coming together to engage in face-to-face interaction involves both movement through (socially created) space and the overcoming of "coupling" (constraints on people's abilities and resources to participate in face-to-face interaction) and "steering" (or "authority") […]. The interactions themselves take place within normatively defined spaces (routinely, we adhere to these norms of where we talk – we talk intimately with lovers in bedrooms, over a candlelit meal or perhaps on a secluded beach, we don't answer our mobile phone in the middle of a church, we don't give lectures in our bedrooms – failing to adhere to these (culturally defined) norms is socially sanctioned).

A "sociolinguistic model which places interaction at the very centre" (Britain, *2010: 76*) allows us to reflect upon social groups in interaction. Using such a sociolinguistic model, the analysis can reveal interesting questions about the way individuals play their roles inside their social-networks, the sociolinguistic rules that enforce the sense of belonging, the way non-belonging individuals are refused and marginalized outside the spatiality of coupling constraints.

The tension between the varieties and the variety considered as standard in the linguistic system causes the most evident social differentiation. In fact, the speakers mark their belonging to their social groups through linguistic uses and spatial occupation: social groups in positions of economic, political or cultural prestige share prestigious varieties, while sub-standard or non-prestigious varieties become symbols of social groups in positions of economic, political or cultural subordination.

The social varieties of a language and the other (minority or regional) languages in contact, in a given area during a specific period of time, structure a certain sociolinguistic space and a network

of relationships that shape a specific architecture of the language/languages (Berruto 2012) into a specific spatiality.

Looking again at the historical facts, I believe that three main cultural effects can still be partially visible in language perception in Italy. These three effects, corresponding to the three main points that Gabrielle Klein (1989: 39) identified in Mussolini's language policy[2], can be extremely simplified as follows:

1) Even though dialects and local languages can have a positive evaluation if considered in a local context and as symbols of cultural identity, a partial sentiment of dialectophobia or negative perceptions of local variation is still quite frequent.
2) A popular idea of monolingualism based on the relation "one nation: one language", and a consequent misperception of the connections between language use and language attitudes.
3) A contradictory relationship, between repulsion and fascination, with foreign languages and minority languages[3].

At this point, I would like to introduce the concept of glottophagy, translated from the French term *glottophagie* described by Louis-Jean Calvet (1974, 2002: 15) as the absorption and/or replacement of a minor language by a major and dominant language. In other words, glottophagy is the result of a relationship of power.

According to Calvet, the process can be observed in two phases. The first phase works on a vertical dimension: language social diversity is manifested following the vertical hierarchy of social classes. The decline of the dominated language (dl) is more evident when the dominant language (DL) is adopted by those who are close to or represent the political, economic or cultural power, and by those who want to become members of that elite, or to look like them. The second phase works on a horizontal dimension, when the linguistic differentiation is visible also on a geographical scale: the city (with DL) against the countryside (with dl). This change of direction is accompanied by a superstructural change, which means the passage from bilingualism (dl and DL) to monolingualism (only DL) in the dominant groups and in the city; the passage from monolingualism (dl) to bilingualism (dl and DL) in the working and under classes and in the countryside. By way of explanation, the upper classes, which for political and social reasons have gained access to the dominant language, tend to abandon the dominated language, whereas the lower classes tend to learn and use the dominant language in diglossia with the dominated language. Concisely, Calvet explains that,

> Alors que dans notre premier stade nous avions une classe au pouvoir bilingue et un peuple monolingue, nous avons dans notre second stade une classe au pouvoir monolingue, un peuple citadin bilingue et un peuple campagnard monolingue, ce qui constitue une nouvelle superstructure linguistique[4].

Based on what has been observed so far, along with the process of glottophagy, we can speculate about a specific phenomenon which intervenes in language behavior and which is caused by the transformation of the sociolinguistic relationships and the languages balance inside the repertoire.

We call this phenomenon *camouflage*. If we observe the speakers in their language behavior

[2] Cf. Klein (1981, 1986). About language planning during fascism, see Foresti (2003).

[3] Cf. Istat, Report 2017. On language behavior and dialect perception in Italy, cf. at least Galli de' Paratesi (1984), D'Achille (2003), Ruffino (2006) and D'Agostino (2002, 2012).

[4] 'While, in our first stage, we had a bilingual ruling class and a monolingual people, on the second stage we have a monolingual ruling class, a bilingual urban people and a monolingual country people, which constitutes a new linguistic superstructure'. (My translation).

and their perception, not focusing only on the relationship between two or more languages in conflict, we can consider camouflage as a possible sociolinguistic process in action in a situation of language contact. Camouflage is related to the concept of leveling (cf. Dillard 1972), which can be described as the process of eliminating stereotypable features of differences between language varieties (cf. Dillard 1972), and of disguising language elements with strong connotations to avoid social stigma.

According to Kerswill & Trudgill (2005: 198), one of the keywords is,

> "stereotypable". Stereotyping of a feature may occur when it is either demographically a minority form in the new community, or when for some reason it has become 'salient', perhaps because it deviates linguistically or because it has become associated with a stigmatised social group.

The other keyword is "disguising", which suggests the concept of camouflage and the avoidance of social stigma and social discrimination. In his study on Creoles, Le Page formulated his hypothesis about how people accommodate to each other linguistically in their conversational interactions.

Le Page's *Act of identity hypothesis (and four riders)* (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) should work as a model of linguistic accommodation. We can paraphrase Le Page's model (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 115) as: The individuals create their system of language behavior so as to resemble those common to the group or groups which they wish to be associated or identified with, and so (second step) they perform an act of appropriation of the language of the group in which they wish to blend. This is an act of *camouflage*.

The minor language speakers are socially solicited to the status of diglossia where the two languages are occupying their own linguistic domain, defining their own linguistic and social space in which other languages are not supposed to be used. The two languages are also blending in spatiality, if there is a complex situation of dilalia where other languages can also occur to get in contact with the two main ones.

What happens when a speaker wants to move from their social space to a more prestigious one? First, they have to change their clothes and habits, which means their language; they must play someone else's role; they have to learn how to behave, look and, first and foremost, speak the model language of the group which they want to accommodate[5] to, which they want to belong to.

2.1. Camouflage and second glottophagy

Finally, a phase of camouflage, which also involves a risk of ridicule and marginalization, is followed by another type of glottophagy.

The concept of camouflage "originates from biological studies to describe a range of strategies used by organisms to dissimulate their presence in the environment" (Bertolotti, Magnani & Bardone 2014: 65) and this is also useful for human beings, since we are, as individuals, constituents of each other's environment" (Bertolotti, Magnani & Bardone 2014: 67), which we have called *spatiality*.

As already stated, in this specific situation of language contact, the privileged classes tend to abandon the dominated language for the dominant language, with a consequent sentiment of alienation of the dominated one. On the other side, the lower classes, not totally able to have access to language education, tend to use a "dialectalized" variety of the dominant language in diglossia/dilalia with the dominated language. For the Italian case, Berruto (2005: 83)

> drew a distinction between four classes of phenomena: (1) dialectisation of Italian; (2) Italianisation of dialect; (3) koineisation; and (4) hybridisation. The first of these is the

[5] On language contact accommodation see also Britain (2013b: 209-210).

> dialectisation of varieties of the national language, i.e. Italian, in other words situations in which the influence of the dialects on the national language among essentially dialect-speaking people leads to the formation of varieties or variants marked by dialect interference. The result is called *italiano popolare* 'popular Italian', or, better still, 'popular regional Italian', a low diastratic variety which differs from the standard language on several levels of analysis.

The minor language (dl) only apparently disappears, supposedly devoured by the dominant one. In fact, the minor language (dl) gives ground but it is not completely lost: it starts behaving like a virus, with its variants living quite invisible for a while inside the cells of the major language and eroding some of its forms from the inside, silently and protected in secret language sanctuaries.

A new social space is thus determined by this variation, and a new periphery has been created where the speakers, who do not succeed in their attempt to camouflage, are pushed out. A new structured space, marginalizing the speakers of the new corrupted language, develops from the process of camouflage and second glottophagy.

After a while, the dominant language changes in some parts of its linguistic structure, letting the original social and language conflict develop through different types of interference, redesigning the structure of the social space (i.e. code mixing, code switching, dialectization, hybridization). This space is an illusionistic reduplication of the real dominant space, and it is used by the dominant group to confine the camouflaged group between the center and the extreme periphery.

If we multiply this example of Language DL, language dl and the resulting Language DL (+dl) - for multiple possibilities - the result is a multilingual space, which gives us an idea of the complexity of language variation, languages and language varieties in contact and in relationship to one another.

3. Camouflage and glottophagy in the cinematic city: some case studies

3.1. Case 1: pre-neorealism and neorealism films

The fascist cultural project was focused on building a national identity based on unity and on a traditional view of society, without questioning the class differences, although fascism was originally an anti-bourgeois movement.

On the one hand, language variety was perceived as an obstacle to the concept of national unity; on the other hand, though, dialects were also perceived as traditional languages, in opposition to the cultural and artificial language of the Italian bourgeois. With the autarchic language model, which has its roots in the nineteenth-century purism (Raffaelli 1983), Mussolini aimed to speak to the middle-class, to the petty-bourgeois against the international plutocracy, where the conflict between Italian and regional languages was (and still is) more evident.

The aim of my article is now to analyze the way Italian cinema has interpreted the relationship between different languages and conflict in the repertoire in the moment when social conflict started to be filmed by some film directors at the end of the Second World War.

Although the propaganda films are not many compared to the total number of films produced during the *ventennio*, the cinematic world, more or less tacitly and more or less openly, adhered to Mussolini's ideology (Aristarco 1996). Therefore, the films of the period reflect the social and cultural climate of Fascist Italy also with regard to linguistic ideology, which influenced a political representation of the relationships between the national language, regional and social varieties, dialects and other languages (cf. Argentieri 1979; Rossi 2006, 2016, 2017), although with a lot of contradictions related to the necessity of a populistic representation of dialects (Rossi 2015: 31-32).

The fascist cultural policy was focused on representing a new middle-class man, with his feet on the Italian traditional ground. This image also works in reference to languages, as already stated: "Parlare italiano vuol dire pensare in italiano […] quando noi strappiamo il bambino al dialetto del

suo paese, non gli insegniamo soltanto un linguaggio più educato, ma in effetti lo portiamo in un orizzonte intellettuale e morale che gli era ignoto[6]" (Parente 1937: 388). The school formation of the new fascist man went through the acquisition of pure Italian and the denial of dialects, and the same happened with other cultural agencies.

Indeed, the Italian cinema industry during the fascist regime, especially in the second half of the *ventennio*, supported this project fulfilling its educational and entertainment functions in that direction. Since the foundation of Cinecittà studios in 1937 (Bruni 2017), the national film production developed quickly, opening theatres not only in the cities but also in the provinces, and it supplied more than half of the product in circulation on the national scene, being able to take part in the international market, too (cf. Sorlin 1994 and Brunetta 2009). Some films, like *1860* (Alessandro Blasetti, 1934), *Scipione l'Africano* (Carmine Gallone, 1937), *Luciano Serra pilota* (Goffredo Alessandrini, 1938) *Grandi Magazzini (*Mario Camerini, 1939) are good examples of a project of dissemination that portrayed the different aspects of a country in the process of renovation to modernity following a specific socio-cultural model. For instance, *1860* is a film about the Risorgimento and the unification of Italy, presenting the heroes from the mass who fought against foreign rulers: the two protagonists speak Sicilian and represent the common people's contribution to the building of the nation. Relating the story of a Sicilian family who fought to create their nation, Blasetti wants to relate the story of the Italian family, creating a narrative in which Italians could see the traditional structure of the fascist Italian society. As main characters,

> Gesuzza and Carminiddu can be viewed as symbolizing fascist efforts of ruralization and restoration of traditional patriarchal values, it is the role of the female protagonist to synthesize cinematically the fascist desire to reconcile the demands of modernity with the will to maintain a fundamentally traditional society. […] Blasetti, in fact, proposes the figure of the mother and the trope of motherly love as a focalizing element for his general agenda of endorsement of Risorgimento values. The female character, thus, represented in motherly fashion, becomes a main carrier of Blasetti's cinematic project of Risorgimento myth-making (Romani 2002: 392).

Blasetti, by employing also non-professional actors, filmed a mosaic of regional languages and dialects, in contrast with the Italian, basically literary, of the cultural and political elites and the languages of the foreign enemies. The intention of the film is to explain the Risorgimento as a popular movement that built Italy from below: "Garibaldi ha detto che amu fatto l'Italia[7]" shouted Carminiddu, hugging Gesuzza at the very end of the film. This sentence, in which Carminiddu blends Italian and Sicilian, celebrates the birth of the nation, but marks the passage from the local language to a national language in the making. It is the interlingua resulting from the language never totally acquired by illiterate dialect speakers, an unconscious and unintentional mix of regional and literary language, that fascism will reinforce.

Some late fascist films are already on the way towards neorealism and they are setting people inside an urban social space which represents the social conflict on the verge of exploding in the 40s. I am referring to *I bambini ci guardano* (Vittorio De Sica, 1943) and *Ossessione* (Luchino Visconti, 1943), two films where space and languages are deeply connected and which are opening to a new concept of cinematic reality. Both films criticize the contradictions of the social structure, especially with regard to the family model and the relation between genders, which had been celebrated in *1860*

[6] 'To speak Italian means to think Italian […] When we pull a child out of the dialect of their village, we not only teach them a more educated language, we bring them to an intellectual and moral horizon which was unknown to them'. (My translation).

[7] 'Garibaldi said that we have made Italy'. (My translation).

as the foundations of the nation. The language representation in the film is not fully realistic yet, although De Sica and Visconti are clearly moving in that direction (cf. Gargiulo 2019).

The analysis of some specific film cases in which we can identify examples of the cinematic interpretation of space and language contact continues with *Roma città aperta* (Roberto Rossellini, 1945), which can be regarded as the manifesto of Neorealism.

The space shown by Rossellini is a space that must be built again after the social and physical devastations caused by the war, and the problems connected with the enormous number of people, and language varieties, that moved to Rome from the countryside and the South. The war, the bombs, the Resistance and the civil war created a heterotopic space – i.e. a parallel alternative space created to avoid the imperfections of an ordinary living (Foucault 1984, now 2019) – where time is suspended and the distance between the different social classes is momentarily reduced. In *Roma città aperta* a heterotopic space is shown with its complex multilingual urban space, where the different languages represent the vibrant reaction to fascism and to the German Nazi occupation: this means dialects and especially the local Romanesco variety, filmed in opposition to an annoying standard Italian, and to some other dialects and German; used as language of identification and reality, not only for its expressive and theatrical characteristics.

The main subject of neorealist cinematic narration is the postwar reconstruction and the creation of a democratic state in the form of a Republic, which helped to start a restoration of a solid social system and balance the relationship between the social classes, including internal migrants and poor people, economic victims of the war. Each of these groups represents several language communities in search of their own identity.

De Sica's films such as *Sciuscià* (1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (1948), *L'oro di Napoli* (1954), and *Il tetto* (1956) present a new Italian society immediately after the war and during the reconstruction and the beginning of the economic expansion, revealing and analyzing the Italian social and sociolinguistic conflicts. Since the very first scenes of *Ladri di biciclette*, we are struck by a new social structure based on at least three levels and three language/linguistic varieties: the state and the politicians represented by the public administration, the new rururban[8] landscape which is a chaotic view of buildings growing without control in rural space, the dream of democracy and distribution of job offers to a large number of desperate unemployed people, and their families. The story of the film is known: everything is focused on the desperation of a man and his child in search of a bike, necessary to work and ensure a decent daily life. The language conflict, with Romanesco in close-up, designs a social space which is slowly occupying the new urban space, the conflict between suburbanity and rururbanity. In the final scene of the film, the two characters, Antonio Ricci (Lamberto Maggiorani) and his son Bruno (Enzo Staiola), tired and demoralized, hand in hand, leave the city that has rejected them, to return to their sad life in the suburbs.

The fluctuating social landscape of the periphery and the complex stratification of its multilingualism will be, from now on, one of the most favored cinematic landscapes of Italian film-directors. Inspired by the political esthetics of Neorealism, in the 50s, Pier Paolo Pasolini started his analysis of this social dimension represented by the contradiction of the Italian urban and suburban space; Pasolini elected the so called *borgata*, the working-class suburbs of Rome and their dialects, as his preferred point of observation: a peripheral and out-of-history space where new buildings began to rise here and there, contaminating the rural nature of the landscape. The *borgata* is a specific multilingual space which is neither country nor city, which is probably a heterotopic place bound to explode in different no-places and junk spaces, and where both country and urbanity seem to overlap one another (cf. Rhodes 2007: 75).

[8] I use the term rururban, and derivates, to refer to countryside and villages under the impact of the city (cf. Ghurye 1963).

3.2. Case 2: Mamma Roma

I have already mentioned the migration movement that affected Rome from the very end of the Second World War, and that influenced the way the reconstruction was planned until the so-called Economic Boom: if some of these new arrivals were members of a possible middle class, moving to Rome to work in the growing public apparatus, many others were desperate peasants who arrived in the city in search of a better future, from the South and the Roman countryside, attracted by the promises of better living conditions, abandoning a destiny of an impoverished rural existence. Pasolini described this situation and deeply analyzed it in many of his essays, journal articles, debates, novels, and since 1961 and 1962 also in films.

For the purpose of this article, I will proceed by taking into consideration the depiction of camouflage and the relationship between languages and social groups in Pasolini's second film, *Mamma Roma* (1962).

The protagonist, Mamma Roma (Anna Magnani), is a middle-aged ex-prostitute who has saved up money for about 15 years and bought a place to sell vegetables and fruit at the local food-market. She wants to redeem herself and give a new life to her 15-year-old son, Ettore, who was sent to live in a village in the countryside when he was a little child. Mamma Roma also managed to buy one of the new apartments in the buildings that represent the economic boom in the Rome suburbs; she aims to be accepted by the working class, like any other peasant who has succeeded. In the scene where Mamma Roma meets her son Ettore for the first time after 15 years, we have an interesting representation of language conflict and the attempt of glottophagy that Mamma Roma wants to put in place. First and foremost, she wants to be seen and recognized as a lady from the city when she walks with difficulties on a gravel road; then she argues with her son because of his coarse manners and his rural dialect[9]:

MAMMA ROMA: Mannaggia, 'sta stradaccia, co' tutti 'sti sassi!
'Damn it! Damn the countryside with all these pebbles!'
[…] Quanto sei cresciuto, 'a E'! Me pari 'n'altro!
'How you have grown! I hardly recognize you!'
Ettore: Che, devo restà sempre uguale?
'Did you think I'd stay the same?'
MR: Beh? Che, cjiò un fio burino io? Ahò! Rispondi mejo a tu' madre, sa'!
'Do I have a son who is a hick? Don't talk that way to your mother, you know!'
E: E che ho detto?
'What did I say?'
MR: Meno male che te sò venuta a ripijà, e che te porto subito a Roma! Se no qua te sai come me diventavi...
'Good that I'm taking you back to Rome with me, or who knows what you'd end up like here…'
E: Che me porti a Roma? E che vengo a fà a Roma?
'Why are you taking me to Rome? What am I gonna do in Rome?'
MR: A fà compagnia a Ciceruacchio! Ma che voi passà 'a vita qua, te piace proprio 'a zappa?
'To keep company to the pope! You want to spend your life working the land here? You really like the hoe'.
E: No.
MR: Te sei imparato a legge e scrive, almeno?
'Have you at least learned to read and write?'

[9] The translation is mine.

E: No.
MR: Annamo bene aò
'Oh great!'
[…]
E: E che ce vengo a fà io a Roma, io?
'What am I gonna do in Rome?
MR: A dritto mica messo al mondo un figlio per farlo diventà un burino! Ma che te dirà il cervello! […]
'You cool guy, I didn't have a child to see him becoming a hick! Use your brain'

In the following scene, the two protagonists are in Rome, and Mamma Roma is introducing Ettore to the new life she has built for themselves:

MAMMA ROMA: Ecchela laggiù casa nostra, la vedi? Quella finestra lassù, la terza, andò batte er sole! Indò stanno quelle mutande stese. All'ultimo piano. Ma guarda che qua stamo solo 'n'altro po' de giorni! Poi vedrai in che casa te porta tu' madre! Vedrai quant'è bella! Proprio 'na casa de signori, de gente perbene! In un quartiere de 'n'altro rango!
'That's our house over there, you see it? That window in the sun and the panties hanging down. There on the top floor. We'll only stay for a few days, then you'll see what a home your mother takes you to, how beautiful. A house of fully respectable, high-class people, a high-level neighborhood'.
[…]
MR: Cjai fame? 'Are you hungry?'
E: Stamattina me so magnato un tozzo de pane con i papati.
'This morning I had some bread with some spuds'
MR: Che hai detto? Che hai detto? Che sò 'ste parolacce! Tu devi parlà come parla tu' madre, no come quei quattro bigonzi, là! Guarda te meno, sa'!
'What did you say? What have you just said? What's this language? You have to talk like your mother talks, not like those hicks down there. Or I'll cuff you one!'

Mamma Roma speaks a Romanesco urban dialect and she wants Ettore to do the same, not to use the rural dialect that makes him sound like a *burino*, a hick. She is trying to make her child devour quickly a new identity and a new language, to complete the process of camouflage she has started. But the transition from one social level to another, from the out-of-history *borgata* to the new urban space is not permitted.

The *borgata* is like a labyrinth in which the two characters are condemned to their existence. The symbolism in Pasolini's film is here at its beginning, and Ettore is like a poor Christ, damned, like *Accattone* was in 1961. They both die, condemned not to be included in a social and language change, in a fight against spatiality and history. Mamma Roma, who was fighting hard, is doomed to live without her child, and to see that her dream cannot become true.

3.3. Case 3: A special day

The third case is *Una giornata particolare*, *A special day*, directed by Ettore Scola in 1977, with Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni, playing the role of a housewife and that of a radio speaker, respectively. In this film two narrative levels are present: in the foreground, a special day at the micro-daily life level which is connected with a macro-historical level during a special day in 1938.

The film begins with the presentation of the pompous and monumental rhetorical fascist regime,

using the vintage images taken from a documentary by Istituto Luce, which takes up and comments on the scenes of the gathering organized on the occasion of Hitler's visit to Rome on May 6, 1938, symbol of the radicalization of fascism in Italy. Immediately after the black-and-white documentary images and the example of the autarchic language preferred by fascism, Scola takes us inside everyday life during fascism, more familiar and intimate, also in terms of language. Scola opens the curtains of an Italian window and discovers the fragility of a family as a social system based entirely on a superficial, ambiguous and shaky structure. Therefore, the setting in the dense apartment-complex of Palazzo Federici in Roma, where the story is set, is functional to this way of proceeding that leads the gaze from the external to an internal vision, with an intimate and participatory observation. The images and the architectural structure of the apartment-complex leads us from the historical dimension to the private fact, following a process of disintegration of history that introduces us to the micro-history consumed in a day that will turn out to be special from different points of view (see also Uva 2016: 204).

The cinematic narrative then moves to another level, focusing on the Italian social macro-history, i.e. the question of the position of women in Italian society and the discrimination against homosexual people. Antonietta is a devoted and resigned housewife, committed to her home, her husband and their six children; fascinated with the figure of the Duce, she conducts a simple life without other interests or passions. Gabriele is a homosexual radio speaker who has just been dismissed because of his sexual preferences. The film recounts the meeting of two marginalized solitaries, two members of a society which considers them, in different ways and for different reasons, socially and morally inferior: Antonietta is inferior as a woman, but included in society for her role as a wife and mother; Gabriele is inferior because he does not play any significant social role, he is in fact "neither father, nor man, nor soldier", quoting his words from the script. While Gabriele is an outsider, Antonietta can fall back on a role which can assure her a well recognizable and respectable identity.

As I have already mentioned, the film starts precisely in fascist Rome, and with the images of the city that celebrates the visit of the Nazi dictator to Rome: the language of the documentary is full of rhetoric and, for the historical contest it recalls, ridiculously irritating. The black and white and the fascist propaganda of the documentary leave space to an intimate moment, while the family slowly wakes up to take part in the parade. The scene is immersed in a bittersweet atmosphere spiced with a dash of irony (cf. Gargiulo & Catolfi 2019: 9).

As regards the linguistic framework, we can observe several language varieties spoken by the characters: the rhetorical fascist celebrative Italian; the Romanesco dialect spoken by the family and the caretaker; Neapolitan-Italian which characterizes Antonietta, and plain Italian used by Gabriele.

The encounter between Antonietta and Gabriele, both lonely and trapped in a complex system of signs, will set in motion a profound change, and the same will happen to the languages they speak. In fact, only through the displacement of the symbolic significance assigned to the social labels – the woman as a wife and a mother, the man as a soldier and a father, the two characters manage to recognize each other's reality and become aware of their respective social condition.

According to the language architecture erected in the film, language is also used as a defense tool, because they are both speaking a language useful to interpreting the role that fascist society has assigned them. The defense, which is enabled by language camouflage, falls down when the communication becomes intimate and private, unraveling the fragile structure of a contradictory society. The continuous references to the fascist language policy and to that language which must be *virile* are used to represent the superficiality of their interpersonal relationships, as well as individual and social interrelationships. The grotesque incursions of the gossipy caretaker are used to rebalance the relationship of intimacy between Antonietta and Gabriele, and her language attitude symbolizes the interference of dictatorship in people's private life. In these examples, we can clearly see the representation of camouflage and glottophagy, especially during the family's private conversations

and the intimate dialogues between the two protagonists: the language appropriation in Antonietta and her family is a hybrid language, resulting from the contact between standard Italian, perceived as a model for a good citizen, and the chaos of a dialectal sphere, which became an uncomfortable space; the heterotopic space set up by the two protagonists with their language negotiation is an attempt to escape from the real world.

4. Conclusions

As Manuel Castells (2004: 83) has stated:

> Spatial transformation must be understood in the broader context of social transformation: space does not reflect society, it expresses it, it is a fundamental dimension of society, inseparable from the overall process of social organization and social change.

Following Castells, I have used this reasoning for sociolinguistic purposes: space does not reflect the sociolinguistic transformation; space is language transformation's more evident expression, so I would state:

> Spatiality, interpreted as the dimension of linguistic variation, is constantly created by human interaction and it is the resultant of the exchange relationship between the linguistic (transform)actions and the space (transform)actions.

In other words, language spatiality is based on the mutual (transform)action between space – which, with its 3 dimensions, gives continuously form to the sociolinguistic categories – and language – which specularly shapes and transforms space. With this concept in mind, I have tried to discuss how the Italian cinematic urban space is defined by the sociolinguistic structure created by multilingualism: a complex relationship of languages, often in conflict, and a social network where people's identities are based on the language varieties they use or are defined by. I have presented some examples based on a sociolinguistic analysis of a group of Italian films related somehow to fascism. In the analysis of these films, I have focused on the different representations of the internal relations in language conflict situations and analyzed some cases regarding the relationship between diversification and unification. Showing the differences in telling and (re)building a pluralistic cultural identity in opposition to a politically standardized dominant identity, I have tried to direct attention to the strategies of language camouflage and glottophagy activated to survive strong language conflicts in the complex Italian system of identities and the interconnection between language identities and urbanity, suburbanity and rururbanity. The thing that these films have in common is the representation of language conflict in a specific condition of an unbalanced and problematic social relationship between center and periphery, urban and suburban space, in and out of society conditions. In other words, the representation of a situation of language and power, language and domination, with different levels of language appropriation, camouflage and glottophagy, which also could be represented, more rarely, in the process of minorization of a standard language by a host of minority varieties, which are dl if taken separately, and together can become DL in relation to a standard, perceived as alien, which could go from a status of DL to a status of dl. My intent is to continue with more recent films, like the new wave of neo neo-realistic Italian cinematic movement, focused on the complexity of a new urban space, and a new definition of urban multilingualism.

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