

## Both sides now – on affect in Sámi language education policy in Norway

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Sámi language education in Norway is first and foremost a political question, as is the case in Indigenous contexts worldwide. In an historical perspective, Norway's policy for Sámi language education is primarily developed on basis of the political interests of two stakeholders. Firstly, the state of Norway's politics and practices towards the Indigenous Sámi people was until 1950s characterized colonization and the Norwegianization politics. The aim was to take control over the Sámi areas and practices, and to promote Norwegian language and identity at the expense of Sámi. Since the 1950s the state has made important steps towards a more decolonizing politics as ways of coming to terms with their colonizing politics and practices. Secondly, Sámi ethnopolitical mobilization has since early 20th century had education for Sámi students as a key topic, arguing for a more just educational system. Following Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) this policy development can be seen as Norway's continuing struggle over cultural differences, and considerations of Sámi language education as a threat and benefit for a shared national identity. From a student perspective Sámi language education is a safety zone (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006), where some practices are allowed or possible, while others are not. As a nexus of practice (cf. Scollon & Scollon, 2004), the safety zone is dependent on national political decisions, but also other layers of past and contemporary individual, interactional and situated discourses.

Adding the perspectives of Ahmed (2004, 2014), affect is an integrated dimension of the political struggle over Sámi in the educational system. To explore affect in Sámi language education policy I will use data from previous and ongoing discourse ethnographic research in the city of Tromsø, and I focus on the experiences of two students of North Sámi. The students have different educational trajectories regarding Sámi but share a desire to learn Sámi language. Importantly, the data shows that affect is multidimensional, as learning Sámi is filled with joy but also with sadness and melancholy. This is found in how affect circulates and sticks between the students of Sámi and artefacts and spaces they link to Sámi language and culture.

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## **The view from the edge: language ideologies about the centre from the (colonial) periphery**

David Britain (Bern)

As a dialectologist, even though the collection of data has as its central aim the investigation of the core phonological and morphosyntactic structures (variable or otherwise) within specific communities, one can't help but notice that talk during the recording process almost inevitably at some point comes round to language and dialect itself, and, also inevitably, one gathers rich evidence of language ideologies through these orientations to talk, often without specifically seeking it out.

Almost all of my own research and fieldwork has been conducted in sites that one might want to call rural, or peripheral, or isolated in some way. A good number could also be called colonial, or post-colonial in some sense. All are, in some sense also, in relationships of inequality with some other, usually more urban, usually colonising centre. In answering a call to examine "the diverse and unpredictable ways in which language forms part of everyday inequalities" in such communities, I look here at the language ideologies that underpin linguistic relationships between my fieldwork peripheries and the centre. They are, indeed, both diverse and unpredictable. In some cases, the ideologies of the centre have next to no impact or bite in the periphery, in others the centre is an almost mystical demon, to be resisted at all costs, in others still the 'edge' contests centrist ideologies in playful ways that serve to cast positive light on their peripheral sites, whilst undermining and critiquing those of the urban core.

I illustrate these perspectives with evidence from four very different sites:

- The Falkland Islands, a British Overseas Territory in the South Atlantic. Once a rather poor and isolated sheep-farming community, today the islands have a diverse and successful economy much stronger than that of their colonial rulers, although retain extremely strong ties – physical and psychological with the United Kingdom.
- Micronesia – a group of small islands, spread across the Northern Pacific, divided into 7 political unities with varying degrees of independence, all with English as an official language, and with economic and migratory ties with either the US or Australia and New Zealand.
- The English Fenland – agriculturally rich, but socio-economically poor, this (in English terms) sparsely populated area 150km north of London sits in an infrastructurally isolated part of Eastern England, at the periphery of a number of different regions. Over the past 50 years, it has experienced, like most of rural southern England, significant counterurbanisation of migrants from the English South-East (i.e., the economic centre).
- Rural Switzerland – although rural Switzerland forms the ideological 'alps, cows and chocolate' heartland of the country, the vast majority of Swiss live in the much wealthier urbanised areas, and the political, economic, social and ideological divide between urban and rural is especially marked.

**From Frost to Flow: What a river can tell us about language ideologies and inequalities?**  
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Language ideologies are powerful tools with the capacity to reconfigure relationships between languages, speakers, places, and resources, typically resulting unequal distribution of access, legitimacy and status. Amidst the ongoing and multidirectional ecological, economic, and socio-political transformations in today's Arctic, I take the Arctic Torniojoki River as a focal point to examine language ideological contestation and innovation. Situated at the rhizome of historical and present languages, including Sámi, Meänkieli, Finnish, Swedish, and English, Torniojoki also connects traditional and contemporary ways of making a living, including reindeer herding, salmon fishing, mining, and tourism. At this moment of change, language ideological lines by the river have become reconfigured and revalued with material and affective impact on speakers and communities. I discuss how this kind of language ideological complexities can be productively unpacked with the help of assemblage thinking by Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987, see also Pietikäinen 2021). Using Tornio River as an example, I explore how assemblage helps in expanding our focus from essences and layers to connections and lines and moving beyond binaries towards critical interactions and flows between material, discursive, and affective. This approach provides, I believe, an insightful alternative to engage with the power of language ideologies in addressing critical questions in the changing Arctic and beyond.

Deleuze, Gilles & Félix Guattari. 1980/1987. *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

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## **The erasure and stigmatization of Upernavik-dialect**

Kalaallit Nunaat is often seen as a role-model when it comes to preserving the language in the Inuit communities, and the language that is being preserved is usually referred to as Kalaallisut. However, the situation is more complex because Kalaallisut is a term that is mostly used about the dialect spoken in the central-western part of Kalaallit Nunaat, and this is the dialect on which the written standard language is based.

In this paper I want to problematize the term “Kalaallisut” and show how the ideology behind the standard language is erasing (Irvine & Gal, 2000) the other varieties of Kalaallit Nunaat. Focusing on the Upernavik-dialect, I will examine the stigmatization and discrimination that is happening against the speakers who do not speak the standard language. My methods are based on interviews with speakers from and around Upernavik.

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Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic (LIIA)

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Title: “Folk evaluations of L2 accent in Icelandic in light of long-standing ideological beliefs about L1 Icelandic”

It is well known that the sociolinguistic circumstances in Iceland have been somewhat special compared with other linguistic communities (Auer 2005; Árnason 2005). Having been a linguistically and ethnically homogenous society for centuries, the Icelandic language serves as a key element in the construction and maintenance of Icelandic national identity (Hálfðánarson 2001; Skaptadóttir & Innes 2017), and there are strong beliefs about the language’s homogeneity and purity, that are tightly interwoven with Iceland’s ideology of linguistic purism (Hilmarrsson-Dunn & Kristinsson 2010), also resulting in distinct ideas on language correctness (cf. Milroy 2001).

In the past few decades the number of L2 speakers has risen substantially. Now, that L2 accents are part of the everyday linguistic environment, this sparks questions as to how L1 speakers of Icelandic react to those accents, particularly in the light of the special sociolinguistic circumstances and little formal variation in the L1 as well as knowledge on social consequences for speakers of non-standard forms (e.g., Lippi-Green 1999; Dovidio & Gluszek 2010).

Drawing on methods and concepts established by folk linguistics (e.g., Niedzielski & Preston 2003), this qualitative study involved five focus groups with thirty-two participants, employing a semi-structured interview guide. The L1-speaker participants were presented with a voice-placing task, based on six verbal guises, one L1 speaker of Icelandic and five L2 speakers. Subsequently, they elaborated on their perception of those guises according to the concepts of pleasantness and correctness.

Results indicate that evaluations of L2 accents rely upon perceptions of familiarity with the accent, comprehensibility, and attribution of speaker origin as to pleasantness. Considering

correctness, outcomes imply that the category might not be suitable for (overt) evaluations of L2 accents in the Icelandic context.

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## **The Slowness of Language, the Speed of Capital: Conflicting Temporalities of the “Green Transition” in the Swedish Arctic**

Recently, applied linguists have begun to explore the temporalities of contemporary multilingual practices in more depth (Barnawi, 2023). As critical scholars across disciplines have long contended, the advent of capitalist production fundamentally reshapes the human experience of space and time; the inherent logic of competition engenders societies marked by technical and social acceleration (Rosa, 2013), where time, as Marx (1993) famously put it, annihilates space. While language can undoubtedly function as a tool to facilitate the circulation of capital, it can also become an unwanted barrier in the accumulation process, particularly as part of the embodied practice of language *learning*, which demands both space and time to be successful.

This paper explores the relationship between language and speed in the industrial-led “green transition” unfolding in the Arctic region. Following substantial investments in battery production and fossil-free steel, a few selected places in northern Sweden are currently undergoing rapid economic and cultural changes. Against the backdrop of decades-long depopulation in the rural north and the surge of anti-immigration sentiments in European politics, I consider the role of language in this social transformation.

Drawing on a wide range of data from an ongoing ethnographic study in a small town where a giga-factory for battery production has recently been located, the analysis suggests that, when it comes to sociolinguistic dynamics, the profit motive of capital takes precedence over all other values. The speed of the process precludes the development of more inclusive forms of multilingualism, but it also dismisses narrower nationalistic concerns for the Swedish language. Hence, there is neither time to learn the languages of each other nor the dominant national language; English rules alone. However, in strategic attempts to slow down the mobile populations attracted by the rapid development, Swedish is used as a form of anchoring device, with the seemingly futile objective of fostering a more enduring connection to the local place.

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## **Ontological Ideologies and the Marginalization of Nonverbal Communication in the Arctic**

Alex Oehler & Dwayne Drescher

In a globalizing world, the dark side of language ideologies is known for its insidious capacity to marginalize, and at times even repress, ancestral and minority tongues. Less often considered is the possibility that our preoccupation with the spoken and written word may amount to an ontological ideology in itself. As part of the ongoing research project “Sensory Acts: More than Human Communication in the Circumpolar North,” this paper interrogates the often-disproportionate emphasis put on revitalizing spoken and written language skills in places historically known for their sophisticated nonverbal (and at times nonlinguistic) communicative repertoires. The authors operate from the assumption that Inuit societies were able to secure their success over the millennia thanks to maintaining reciprocal relations with more than merely humans. To upkeep the status of such relations has relied on each generation’s fluency in species-transcending nonverbal communicative repertoires. These repertoires far exceed what have been termed trans-species pidgins. In a recent article for *Anthropology Now*, co-authors, anthropologist Alex Oehler and Inuvialuit hunter and language instructor Dwayne Drescher, reflect on the state of ancestral language revitalization as decolonial act. But they also interrogate the Euro-centric tendency to foreground the importance of the spoken and written word in contexts of cultural heritage, identity politics, and political sovereignty. In this paper, they argue for renewed attention to the protection of nonverbal communicative skills and the underestimated role of such skills in cultural and political self-determination. They present preliminary findings from ongoing ethnographic work with Inuit hunters and drum dancers of the Western Canadian Arctic in order to highlight the visceral qualities of Inuvialuit nonverbal communication. These skills—unlike common European language and abstraction-based models—embrace a more than human sociality by drawing on posture, gesture, scent, and sound. The authors conclude, it is time to interrogate the power of ideologies that marginalize nonverbal (and pre-linguistic) forms of communication in the Arctic today.

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Hear my name: <https://namedrop.io/alexoehler>

On the territories of the Nêhiyawak, Anihšīnāpēk, Dakota, Lakota, and Nakoda, and the homeland of the Métis/Michif Nation on Treaty 4 lands with a presence in Treaty 6.



## Language and culture instruction in a language endangerment context

In this paper we discuss the ideologies and inequalities present surrounding Akuzipik (a.k.a. St. Lawrence Island Yupik), an endangered Inuit-Yupik language spoken on St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Akuzipik is estimated to be spoken fluently by approximately 500-600 L1 speakers on the island (Schwartz et al. 2019), and is undergoing a significant generational shift that began in the 1990s (Koonooka, et al. 2021). Community members (speakers and non-speakers alike) are supportive of the language, and are concerned about its vitality.

Speakers in school through the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century were chastised or punished for use of Akuzipik at school, but continued to speak it at home. As late as the early 1990s, most students still came to school with little or no English. Now, most students come to school with little or no Akuzipik, and receive varying degrees of language and culture instruction at school. While the current school board is supportive of Akuzipik, this has not always been the case, and instruction has suffered from the unequal support for English over Akuzipik in the school system. Some parents have expressed a desire for increased Akuzipik instruction in school; however, the language and culture instructors are restricted by the length of time they have available for instruction and by a lack of material support.

We (the two Yupik authors) would like to instill a love of the language in our students. We find Akuzipik to have more depth, more meaning, more emotions, more life, more of everything than English. It is part of our *kiyaghtaalleq* – our way of life. We teach lessons that are based on the seasons (summer is for picking and camping, fall is for hunting seal and walrus, etc.), our traditional values (including love, respect, and patience), and our traditional activities (for example, hunting, picking, putting away food and sharing with elders).

A project (led by the university-affiliated author) is currently underway to engage in reciprocal capacity-building training between researchers and speakers/instructors, develop language materials, and increase documentation (particularly with elders). We are hopeful that this work will increase the chances of maintaining the vitality of Akuzipik in the future.

Nanik Joeliaine Annogiyuk, Sylvia Lauren Schreiner & Avruuy Miriam Toolie.

Language-learning Tailored to Endangered Language Communities  
Abstract for Language Ideologies and Inequality with a Perspective on the Arctic (LIIA)  
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The communities of endangered languages face many unique challenges that learners of more prominent languages do not, and any successful revitalization effort must overcome the particular difficulties of the community. For instance, L1 speakers of the target language often doubt their own linguistic abilities, or they may genuinely experience attrition; meanwhile, potential learners may lack exposure to speakers or view the target language as insurmountably difficult. There may be few qualified teachers and limited pedagogical resources, and the community at large often faces contact-induced decay or trauma. These issues, coupled with the fact that endangered languages are already on a time crunch, make revitalization a daunting task.

This project examines how the revitalization program adopted by one such endangered language community, Aleut (Unanga̋), has aimed to address these unique difficulties. Aleut is home to the Aleutian Islands of Alaska and is currently spoken by fewer than 100 elderly speakers. While multiple revitalization attempts have been made since the 1970s (Bergsland 1994:ix-x), the most successful one to date began with the Where Are Your Keys (WAYK) program around 2016. WAYK programming trains young learners to pinpoint specific acquisition goals, conduct monolingual elicitation sessions with elder speakers that target these goals, build language lessons from these sessions, and then teach the lessons to fellow learners. This system requires no formal pedagogical materials or training and positions learners as the driving force, allowing them to go at their own pace and focus on their personal language goals. Learners are simultaneously empowered to become teachers and construct curriculum, fast-tracking the revitalization process. WAYK additionally addresses the potential linguistic insecurities of speakers by placing all learning in a strictly monolingual environment, where speakers are not required to translate or compare English and Aleut, and where naturalistic Aleut is encouraged over prescriptive knowledge. I show that WAYK's consideration of the state of endangered language groups has made it a successful revitalization program that has strengthened the Aleut community.

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Madeleine K. Snigaroff

## **Identity construction in the context of language endangerment**

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The threat of language endangerment worldwide has fomented a rush to document the “last remaining speakers” of disappearing languages, often without an appreciation for (not to mention documentation of) the unique societal circumstances in which these languages continue to be used, and how these circumstances (along with the very nature of interaction with an “outsider” researcher) condition language use. Speakers in small-scale communities use their language in highly contextualized, nuanced spaces (Luepke 2021), in ways that have been undertheorized but have meaningful effects on linguistic structure and variation. This is especially true of minoritized language varieties—which would include virtually all Indigenous languages of the Arctic—whose speakers are constantly engaged in the evaluation of their language with respect to an artificial standard variety as well as the more politically prestigious colonizer language.

One small-scale speech community in the Arctic is that of Chukchi (ISO ckt, Chukotko-Kamchatkan), an Indigenous language of the Russian Far North-East whose speakers have been shifting to Russian since the mid-20th century. Today, Chukchi is highly endangered (no longer spoken anyone under the age of 30) and is used primarily within families, with researchers, or symbolically during cultural events—for the youngest speakers, the language exists mainly as a valorized (Perley 2012) marker of authentic ethnic identity.

This paper investigates morphological variation among the remaining speakers and the social factors that condition it, concluding that two major driving forces behind variation are stance-taking and the construction of a positional identity (Kroskrity 1998) with respect to authentic or “good” language use. We find that variation is conditioned not just by speaker background (experience with the language or degree of bilingualism in the colonizing language), as is expected in shift, but also by the ways that speakers choose among available linguistic variants to position themselves as authentic or authoritative language users.

Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic (LIIA)  
International conference at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland), Nuuk, Greenland  
23-24 May 2024

Abstract

**Linguistic repertoire in transitions: multilingualism in upper secondary education in Northern Norway**

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The linguistic diversity in the Arctic, much shaped by immigration and the presence of historically minoritised groups, has been well-documented. Yet, there is still a need to better understand the ways in which people with minoritised backgrounds navigate structures of inequality and competing language ideologies that circulate in this richly diverse sociolinguistic site. With a focus on adolescents with transnational background in Northern Norway, in this paper I present preliminary findings of an ongoing project in which I examine the choices students make in relation to what languages to start, continue, or stop studying through the completion of their secondary education. In particular, I analyse the ways in which Jayden, an adolescent from East Africa, claims, contests, and enacts subject positions through language. Based on fieldwork engagement initiated in April 2023 at an upper secondary school in Tromsø, I draw primarily on analytical tools of visual ethnography to examine a set of six entries into a multimodal digital journal with photos and texts authored by Jayden. Analysis of these materials is further substantiated by analysis of fieldnotes and semi-structured interviews conducted with Jayden. Initial findings highlight Jayden's preference for pedagogical practices that legitimise the use of linguistic resources across named languages in classroom settings and his awareness of strategies that facilitate his own learning of Norwegian outside of the school. These findings help us to understand how Jayden perceives the role of language in the regimentation of access to different paths in the Norwegian educational system. Furthermore, I demonstrate how such language-based regimentation, as a result of ideological work that hierarchically structures language practices, is rendered meaningful in upper secondary education in Tromsø and finds resonance across contexts in Norway.

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**successful codes for the educational system – a case study from a *gymnasium* in kalaallit nunaat (secondary school).**

the law on the *gymnasiale uddannelse* (secondary school with academic ambitions) from 2021 in kalaallit nunaat acknowledges kalaallisut and danish as the primary teaching languages (§31), and the language ideological situation recognises kitaamiutut (central west greenlandic or western greenlandic – considered to be the largest dialect), as the standard variety – as kalaallisut. accordingly, young people who grew up speaking a different variety are met with the double challenge of educating themselves in two ‘foreign’ codes, in danish and kalaallisut.

this paper is about a case study from the SUN project (*sprog og uddannelse i nuuk* – language and education in nuuk). the project is a two-point-in-time study where the data are collected from a class at the *gymnasium* (secondary school) in nuuk over a period of three months, in two consecutive years. the aim of the project is to investigate the impact of the sociolinguistic situation on the students’ potential for social mobility.

in my case study i focus on a female student, T, who faces this double challenge. using a mixed methods approach of ethnographic observation, questionnaires and interviews, i wish to portray T’s sociolinguistic situation and her way of negotiating the challenges it poses, as well as the consequences the dominating language ideologies have for her present educational situation and her future.

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*Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic (LIIA)*

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Language Ideologies and Education in the Canadian North

The long history of dominant colonial language encounters has necessitated “strong and long” approaches to Indigenous language education at many sites across the globe. These are seen as necessary not only to improve the well-being and “academic success” of students, but also to support the inherent sovereignty of Indigenous peoples (McCarty and Baker 2023).

This paper examines the case of Arctic Quebec (Nunavik) in Canada, where high school graduation rates and entrance to higher education have remained low. It poses questions about the structure of education and the language of instruction models that have persisted since the signing of the 1975 *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*, the first “modern treaty” or land claim in Canada. Although changes have been made in Nunavik schools over the years, there remains room to transform models of language of instruction, including actions to address the complexities of education in the North, such as language standardization, teacher training and recruitment, and curriculum development.

This paper is a reflective contribution that looks backward and forward and is grounded in my two and half years of teaching and research in Nunavik (between 1989 and 1994) and subsequent work with Inuit in Ottawa and Montreal over more than 20 years. The questions that I will be asking include the following ones: What role do language ideologies play in shaping expectations and folk beliefs about what “good schooling” is or could be? How do language ideologies shape perceptions on the role of the school and school-based knowledge? And how do they shape beliefs about what languages are appropriate – and desirable – for content-based learning? This investigation is part of a larger one to address how and why particular language education models, systems, and outcomes persist, despite research developments in bilingual and dual-language education and calls for change.

## **Ittoqqortoormiit – an unacknowledged dialect in eastern Kalaallit Nunaat**

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The Kalaallit oqaasii, languages of Kalaallit Nunaat, is defined in the National Language Act as the official language of Kalaallit Nunaat. It is also described in the Act as consisting of three main dialects, the dialects from Avanersuaq, Tunu and Kitaa, respectively (Greenland Parliament Act #7 of May 19th 2010 §3).

One of these dialects is the dialect used in Tunu, the eastern part of Kalaallit Nunaat. There are several linguistic descriptions of the dialect spoken in eastern Kalaallit Nunaat (Petersen 1975, Thalbitzer 1923, Rischel 1975, Dorais 1981, Robbe 1986, Tersis 2008 ect.) However, when linguists describe east greenlandic dialect, or tunumiit oraasiat, in fact what they are describing is the dialect from Tasiilaq and nearby places.

Ittoqqortoormiit is mentioned in some of the work (Petersen 1975, Rischel 1975, Tersis 2008, Dorais 1981), as a place where people speak the tunumiit oraasiat, but this is not based on actual studies of the dialect spoken there. The dialect used in Ittoqqortoormiit has never been studied in any detail, and this means that it could potentially be quite different from the dialect spoken in Tasiilaq. We could see this lack of linguistiv interest in the Ittoqqortoormiit dialect as an erasure of potential differences within the eastern Kalaallit Nunaat area, leading to a possible downgrading of the Ittoqqortoormiit dialect (Irvine & Gal 2000).

In this paper I will present preliminary results from an analysis of the differences between the dialects in Tasiilaq and Ittoqqortoormiit, based on data from the ongoing project: “Last call: dialect as a cultural heritage in Kalaallit Nunaat”.

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## Abstract

### Avanersuarminusut – the North Greenlandic dialect

Kalaallisut has three main dialects, Kitaaminusut 'West Greenlandic', Tunumiusut 'East Greenlandic' and Avanersuarminusut 'North Greenlandic'. Due to migrations over about 500 years the dialects have developed very different vocabulary, and grammar, resulting in limited intelligibility between the dialects. The dialects of Tunumiisut and Avanersuarminusut are threatened dialects in Greenland because there are only few speakers in both areas, and they are not thoroughly described, and have no orthography of their own. There are about 3000 speakers of Tunumiusut and about 400 speakers of Avanersuarminusut. The project 'Last Call – Greenlandic dialects as a linguistic heritage', we (researchers from Denmark and Greenland) collect the dialects of Greenland to document and describe the different dialects before it is too late especially the threatened dialects as Tunumiusut and Avanersuarminusut. This paper will focus on the Avanersuarminusut dialect, which is formed after the last migration to Greenland in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> hundreds, where Inuit from Canada came to North Greenland and had contact to the Canadian Inuit until they became Christianized in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Avanersuarminusut has a unique vocabulary and grammar. One of the grammatical differences from Kalaallisut is the use of participial mood in declarative sentences as *isertoq* 'he came in', where Kalaallisut uses indicative mood. Another peculiarity is that the Kalaallisut *s* is *h* in Avanersuarminusut as *hila* for *sila* 'weather'. Based on digital data collected in 2023, and from other registrations of Avanersuarminusut, (Fortescue 1991, Leonard 2015), this paper will describe the main differences to Kalaallisut within vocabulary and grammar, and discuss what this difference means to children starting at school with the standard language, Kalaallisut.

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Dolgan: a language constructed by ideologies

Dolgan is a contact variety that emerged through contact between Sakha (Turkic), Evenki (Tungusic), and Russian in the Taimyr Peninsula, which is home to the majority of the population today. Together, Dolgan and Sakha comprise the North Siberian branch of Turkic. The largest group of Dolgan speakers outside of the Taimyr lives in the Arctic region of the Anabar District, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). Fieldwork confirms the existence of two varieties, Taimyr and Anabar Dolgan. Taimyr Dolgan exhibits greater influence from Russian, while Anabar Dolgan shows more influence from Evenki and northern Sakha. An analysis of the linguistic structure of Anabar Dolgan shows that it has no features not shared by *northern* Sakha dialects. Critically, it differs from Standard Sakha, and from colloquial Sakha spoken in the capital Yakutsk.

Dolgan linguistic affiliation is a complicated issue. It was long classified by Soviet scholars as a Sakha dialect (not a language); Ubrjatova (1985) argued that Dolgan is an independent language, and is officially classified as such today. Even so, it is often defined negatively: politically, socially and linguistically, Dolgan people and language are defined in relation to Sakha, and how they differ (or not).

Fieldwork with the Anabar Dolgan community shows a strong sense of Dolgan ethnic identity, claiming a Dolgan way of life and language. This notion of identity is defined by dominant national ideologies that correlate ethnicity with language, and that define what counts as a language as the standardized variety. This puts the Anabar Dolgan, who speak a northern dialect, in a difficult position, as they speak neither Taimyr Dolgan nor Standard Sakha. Thus while some self-identify Dolgan speakers, others claim to use a “mixed language” or their “own” language. These claims stem directly from the ideologies that construct identity on the basis of usage of a standard language.

On marketing Arctic ideologies on adventure tourism websites:  
Comparing Sápmi, Svalbard and Greenland

In Ädel & Östman (forthc.), we discuss adrenaline hunting in Sápmi from the point of view of risks and responsibilities, focussing on establishing “positive risk” as an important notion in Risk Discourse Analysis (cf. also Ädel & Östman 2023). In the present study, we use collocational analysis, with a particular focus on n-grams and collostructural analysis in order to investigate the differences and similarities in how Sápmi, Svalbard and Greenland are marketed for the international (English-language) traveller looking for adventure. We investigate the ways in which advertisers utilize (presumed) local ways of thinking as selling points. In particular, we focus on how both positive and negative risks and responsibilities are dealt with, hidden or downplayed. The study is based on data collected from different tourism sites, including both world-wide sites, such as Manawa ([www.manawa.com](http://www.manawa.com)), and local sites.

**References**

Ädel, Annelie & Östman, Jan-Ola. (eds.). Forthcoming. Positive and negative risk in adventure tourism discourse: Adrenaline hunting in “arctic Lapland”.

Ädel, Annelie & Östman, Jan-Ola. 2023. *Risk Discourse and Responsibility* [Pragmatics and Beyond 336]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Anneli Ädel & Jan-Ola Östman

**Abstract: The linguistic landscape of the Faroe Islands – perspectives on tourism, conflicts of interest, and the bilingual climate**

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In this paper, I will discuss tourism on the Faroe Islands from a sociolinguistic perspective, namely how tourism is manifested in the linguistic landscape (LL) in 5 different locations frequently visited by tourists. In recent years, the Faroe Islands have experienced a significant increase in the number of visiting tourists; I am therefore interested in investigating which effect this growth in tourism has had on the Faroese society as a language community. In the LL study, I look at the distribution of languages, especially with a focus on Faroese, English, and Danish to examine the positions and functions of these languages. My analyses are based on pictures of approx. 600 signs from the above-mentioned 5 tourist “hotspots”. Preliminary results suggest that English is a prominent language in remote tourist sites, where the frequency of English signs exceeds the frequency of Faroese signs. In these cases, the use of English seems to not only have an informational function, but rather a “restrictive” function. Bottom-up signs from the local population can be seen as efforts to manage the large number of tourists, in a situation where the landscape and the community are undergoing changes. Therefore, the use of English seems to not only have a commercial function – to “sell the area” to tourists – but rather to *control* the tourism in question. This implies that tourism on the Faroe Islands entails some degree of local challenges and conflicts of interest. Aside from the significant amounts of English signs, my results also show an almost non-existent presence of Danish. This absence is remarkable considering the language policy on the Faroe Islands where Danish is still an official language – and when considering that a large amount of tourists on the Faroe Islands are from Denmark. At the conference I will discuss the findings with a focus on globalisation, periphery vs. centre, ownership of place, and more broadly: the overall role of different languages in the Arctic, where some languages are – in different ways – linked to mobility and contact (like English and colonial languages), and others are linked to ideologies of national or indigenous identity (like Faroese, Kalaallisut or Inuktitut).

### **Variation and colonial linguistics in Kalaallit Nunaat: The subtle coloniality of language**

In Kalaallit Nunaat the official language is Kalaallit Oqaasii, around 80-90 % of the population speak Kalaallit Oqaasii, and the language is not categorized as “endangered” in UNESCO terminology. This situation is very different from other Arctic regions, and it could be read as a story of linguistic success. It often is, both internally in Kalaallit Nunaat and – perhaps even more pronounced – as part of the Danish construction of colonial exceptionalism. However, the linguistic situation in Kalaallit Nunaat is far from being untouched by colonial domination, and in this paper we argue that colonial ideology permeates central aspects of the sociolinguistic situation in Kalaallit Nunaat. This is evident in the obviously different positioning of Kalaallit Oqaasii and Danish in Kalaallit society, which, despite the official recognition of Kalaallit Oqaasii, favors Danish in many contexts. However, it is also present in less obvious ways, inscribing Kalaallit registers into specific linguistic ideologies, legitimizing or sanctioning their use. In our presentation we show how the colonial history of the country has led to different Kalaallit registers being positioned as either central or inferior, and how the creation of an orthography, of dictionaries, of grammars, and of linguistic knowledge more generally, has taken place as part of a colonial practice. We draw on material and ideas from two ongoing research projects and aim to set the stage for a discussion of theoretical and methodological approaches to a decolonial linguistics.

Naja Blytmann Tronhjem & Marie Maegaard

## **Inequalities in archaeological terminology in Saami archaeology**

Presentation proposal for the conference *Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic*

In this presentation, I will ponder how archaeological terminology in the indigenous Saami context can create situations that lead to unequal circumstances for the Saami people of northern Fennoscandia. Most archaeologists researching the Saami past are non-Saami and publish research in the majority languages of the Nordic countries, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish, or in English. Their skills in Saami languages are often minimal.

This has led to situations in which the Saami archaeological cultural heritage, e.g., burial types, types of dwelling structures and artefacts, is renamed in the language of the research publication and the original Saami terms used to name different types of archaeological cultural heritage in the Saami languages have been ignored. After the emergence of Indigenous Archaeologies in the 1990s, an understanding for the significance of the use of Saami terms to name Saami archaeological cultural heritage has arisen. However, there are no policies or norms as to how Saami terms should be used.

I will present how term-use in Saami archaeology has changed over time, and what kind of problems arise when Saami-terms are used without knowledge in Saami languages. The data of the project are Saami archaeological publication forums such as scientific journals, series and monographs. I have collected the used Saami-terms and their usage context by the method of content analysis and conducted a lexicological analysis for the terms to answer the questions presented above.

The non-use of Saami terms as well as incorrect term-use might alienate the Saami people from their own past and send a message that the research is done only for other researchers. In my presentation, will suggest steps that could be taken in term-use for more equal representation of the Saami past.

## Language ideologies and sign languages: Examples from Icelandic Sign Language

Rannveig Sverrisdóttir & Valgerður Stefánsdóttir, University of Iceland

Icelandic Sign Language (ÍTM, íslenskt táknmál) is a natural language indigenous to Iceland, representing the sole minority language native to the country. Despite its limited number of users, it holds a significant place in Icelandic heritage. The Icelandic government officially acknowledged ÍTM in 2011 through Act No. 61/2011, which designates it as the primary language for individuals who rely on it for communication, including their children. The legislation mandates government support and promotion of ÍTM. Despite its inclusion in elementary school curricula since 1999 and the formulation of a language policy proposal in 2021, ÍTM faces a critical threat of extinction, marked by a decline in users.

Like the historical suppression experienced by sign languages worldwide, ÍTM was prohibited in schools from 1944, replaced by a period of oralism where only spoken language was deemed legitimate. Although the ban was eventually lifted, contemporary challenges echo the colonial-era construction of indigenous languages as inferior, unfit for modern life, and in need of eradication. The persistence of orality in the discourse surrounding ÍTM reflects this colonial legacy.

Spolsky's (2004) framework identifies language policy as comprising practices, ideologies, and management. In our study, participants noted a misalignment between language practices for ÍTM children and established laws and public documents. Negative ideologies, such as impairment, audism, burn-out, and contempt, were reported, reinforcing the need for both of Iceland's languages to be accorded equal status within the educational system. Participants emphasized the importance of valuing both languages for their cultural significance, viewing them as equally powerful, effective, and legitimate means of communication.

The unequal treatment of ÍTM in comparison to spoken or written Icelandic has led to the endangerment of the language and language deprivation for ÍTM children. We contend that this critical situation results from prevailing language ideologies and the failure to recognize ÍTM as a legitimate language, echoing arguments made by Reagan (2019).

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## **Language ideologies and inequality with a perspective on the Arctic**

*International conference at Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland), Nuuk, Greenland  
May 23-24, 2024*

### **ReDes\_Ling: An international network to understand and resist language inequality**

This presentation describes the goals and activities of ReDes\_Ling, an international and interdisciplinary network whose goal is to research language inequality. Our network is made of ten institutions from Argentina, Colombia, Denmark, Luxembourg, Mexico, and Spain, and brings together scholars and different social actors (a grass-roots indigenous organization, a farm workers' union, cultural institutions, and media outlets). Thanks to a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Staff Exchanges project (2024-2027), ReDes\_Ling will delve into the way that different populations in Europe and Latin America conceptualize, experience, and fight language inequality. Our objectives are to strive for an equal distribution of resources among different linguistic communities, to challenge the unfairness of the current sociolinguistic order, and to promote political participation in multilingual contexts. Our action focuses on three key areas that are fundamental pillars of economic and social prosperity: education, health, and work. Departing from a systematization of initiatives already underway, we will produce a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework to study language inequality and propose innovative strategies to revert its pernicious social effects. On the one hand, we will put together a corpus of actions to respond to language inequality. On the other hand, we will create an inventory of interventions to promote an alternative discourse to foster sociolinguistic justice. After describing the network's composition, its goals and activities, this presentation will discuss the progress made in the first quarter of 2024. We intend to train ourselves in the different epistemologies and worldviews represented in the network, through theoretical readings, oral wisdom, and practice in order to systematize our collective knowledge of how language inequality operates. In particular, this presentation will focus on processes that our network and the Arctic share, namely, the colonial experience, the marginalization of indigenous language, and the current context of globalization and immigration.

Laura Villa Galan



## **“They hasten to put on the headphones” – constructions of monolingualism in a multilingual parliament**

*Janus Spindler Møller*

In this paper, I present the notion of ethnolinguistic cornering (Møller 2021) and employ it to analyze a case from the Greenlandic parliament (Inatsisartut).

The analytical purpose of ethnolinguistic cornering is to understand the role ethnolinguistic assumptions play in lived lives. Ethnolinguistic assumptions are defined as the alignment of languages with ethnic or cultural group identities (Blommaert et al. 2012). An example is the perceived relation between speaking Greenlandic and being Greenlandic. Ethnolinguistic cornering denotes interactional sequences where a speaker positions the interlocutor(s) in relation to an ethnolinguistic assumption and the interlocutor(s) treats it as negatively charged.

The case is based on an interview conducted with a member of Inatsisartut. It concerns the language choice in parliament and reactions from the interlocutors. In Inatsisartut, it is possible to speak Danish as well as different varieties of Greenlandic from the lectern. All speech is interpreted via headphones. However, the language choice in parliament is ideologically loaded – not least because of the colonial past (Kleemann-Andersen 2021). The interviewed politician describes how some interlocutors choose to pick up the headphones with translation when Danish is spoken in spite of the fact that these interlocutors are bilingual in Greenlandic and Danish. In other situations, West Greenlandic speakers abstain from listening to the interpretation when East Greenlandic is spoken even though the varieties to a large degree is mutually incomprehensible.

I will analyze such acts from the perspective of ethnolinguistic cornering. I argue that the headphone becomes a mean for the interlocutors to assign different identities to the speaker and that this can be interpreted as a strategic and ideological construction of monolingualism. Finally, I discuss how these findings relate to larger studies of language ideological debates in Greenland (Kleemann-Andersen 2020).

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Kirsten Thisted: **Language, identity and belonging in recent Greenlandic literature.**

Throughout the colonial period, Kalaallisut became the dominant marker of Kalaallit identity. Literature in Kalaallisut became important in the nation-building process, and oral tradition, memoirs and literary fiction became an internal source of history: "The inner life of Kalaallit Nunaat" (as opposed to academic historiography, which was written by Danes). The Greenlandic elite had wanted Danish introduced as a second language, but during the modernization after 1953, Danish became more and more dominant and associated with the future, while Kalaallisut was seen as "backward". The home rule process started as a rebellion against the Danishized language policy, and with the Home Rule Act from 1979, Kalaallisut became the country's official language. The Danish influence continued, however, and a considerable number of Greenlanders became primarily Danish-speaking. This has made literature a space for the negotiation of language and identity, where the role of language as an inclusive/exclusive factor is examined and discussed. At the same time, English has been added as an apparently more "neutral" entity, free from the highly charged Danish/Greenlandic opposition. The paper examines language choice and code-switching in the literature of the past decades, with reference to texts by Jessie Kleemann (born 1959), Niviaq Korneliussen (born 1990), and Josef Tarrak-Petrussen (born 1998). It is the hypothesis that in recent years there has been a greater focus on the importance of mastering - and respecting - Kalaallisut, but that practice has become more inclusive and forgiving, maybe as a result of the focus on decolonizing, which at once is a global and national process.

**Title****The Entanglements of English in Contemporary Greenland****Author**

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**Abstract**

Greenland's international presence intertwines with its emerging status as an autonomous Arctic nation and with reconfigurations of the postcolonial identities of its people. In this article, I explore the positions and practices of English in Greenland and their relations with two conditions of ambivalence: The ambivalence of English as both imperialistic and empowering, and the ambivalence that textures postcolonial Kalaallit-Danish relations. I consider how exploring the arguments, desires, and contestations of English, gathered through diverse empirical fragments, demands attention to the entanglements of multidirectional aspirations, diverse communities, new technologies, and altered geographies. The connections to English emerge in the everyday communicative practices of Greenland's people and in the demands of organizations and industries. These connections are just as formidable as those stemming from political rhetoric and policies. I propose that the significance of English is in the making and conclude by outlining three areas of further collaborative research to follow this development for Kalaallisut, for Kalaallit-Danish relations, and for producing new forms of equalities and inequalities.

## **Kellie Gonçalves (University of Bern, Switzerland)**

### **Abstract:**

“It was a combination of horrible but at the same time gave me a good feeling”  
Indexical iconization and embodied practices of yoga practioners in Oslo, Norway

According to Woolard (2021: 2) “language ideologies occur not only as mental constructs and in verbalizations but also in embodied practices and dispositions and in material phenomena such as visual representations”. In this paper, I show how language ideologies of Norwegian, English, and mixed repertoires are verbalized, embodied, and also represented within a local Bikram yoga studio in Oslo, Norway and on its website, which are informed by other hegemonic sites of yoga circulation on a more global level that include the Bikram franchise and Lululemon Athletica apparel company.

Drawing on the analytical concepts of enregisterment (Agha 2007) and mediatization (Agha 2011) of these three institutional sites, I explore the relation between linguistic and nonlinguistic signs in enregisterment processes of Bikram yoga. This is done through analyses of interviews with yoga practioners as well as multimodal images found both offline and online where mediated messages of flexible, embodied and highly commodified practices emerge as linguistically, culturally, and socially valued and dialectally embedded in bodily, material, and technological environments. It will be shown that the linguistic repertoire found within the Bikram Yoga script as well as Lululemon’s branding both inform the ways in which Bikram practioners speak about their practice as a socially recognized register that indexes speaker status and cultural values within the bikram community on a local level that resonates with bikram yoga practioners on institutional and more global scales by means of indexical iconization (Eckert 1990; Bucholtz & Hall 2016; Esposito & Gratton 2020). In these ways, ideologies about language extend well beyond mental constructs and create links between language and other social phenomena including national, social, gendered, ethnic, class and racial identities and inequalities (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) where conceptions of personhood, bodily comportment, and authenticity are stylized and performed. In this study, practioners’ identities are also determined by ideologies of Western aesthetics, physical ability and seriousness of their yoga practices that are frequently indexed by nonlinguistic signs of enregisterment grounded in 21<sup>st</sup> century consumer pursuits resonating with neoliberal and capitalist values of the global market economy (Laverence and Lozanski 2014; Godrej 2017) which includes Arctic contexts.

The data for this critical sociolinguistic and digital ethnographic study consist of *spoken data* (11 open-ended interviews, 60-90 minutes in length); *Spoken/visual/embodied data* (8 recorded 90-minute yoga classes); *observational data* (320 hours of participant observation & participation in yoga classes myself); *written/multimodal data* (screenshots of different websites) all of which were collected from 2018-2020.

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