

Sprachliche Selbstpositionierungen von Jugendlichen in Südtirol: eine subjektzentrierte Perspektive auf sprachliche Repertoires und Sprachideologien

Deutsche Kurzzusammenfassung der Dissertation von Verena Platzgummer, eingereicht an der Universität Wien mit dem Titel „Positioning the Self: A Subject-Centred Perspective on Adolescents’ Linguistic Repertoires and Language Ideologies in South Tyrol“.

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Südtirol blickt mittlerweile auf rund ein Jahrhundert als Teil Italiens zurück, seitdem das Gebiet 1920 vom damaligen Königreich Italien annektiert wurde. In vielen Bereichen des gesellschaftlichen und politischen Lebens in dieser Autonomen Provinz Italiens spielen ethnolinguistische Kategorien in Form von Zugehörigkeiten zur deutschen, italienischen oder ladinischen Sprachgruppe strukturell eine wichtige Rolle. Forschung im Bereich der Soziolinguistik und der linguistischen Anthropologie konnte zeigen, wie solche ethnolinguistischen Kategorien Sprache, Ethnizität und Nation ideologisch miteinander verknüpfen (Heller, 2006, 2011; Irvine & Gal, 2000). Neuere soziolinguistische Arbeiten haben zudem auf das Entstehen von Sprachideologien hingewiesen, nach denen Sprache in erster Linie als eine messbare Fähigkeit und eine wirtschaftliche Ressource konstruiert wird. Diese beiden zugespitzten Vorstellungen von Sprache existieren nebeneinander und wirken auf komplexe und teils widersprüchliche Art und Weise aufeinander ein (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Heller, 2011).

Die Dissertation verfolgt einen subjekt-zentrierten Ansatz (Busch, 2015, 2017, 2020) und untersucht, wie Jugendliche in Südtirol ihr sprachliches Repertoire darstellen, wie sie sich selbst als sprechende Subjekte positionieren und wie solche Positionierungen mit Sprachideologien zusammenhängen. Ziel ist es dabei, Einblick darüber zu erlangen, wie Sprachideologien Eingang in die sprachlichen Repertoires von Sprecher*innen finden – eine Frage, die ein wichtiges Desiderat für die Soziolinguistik darstellt. Der Südtiroler Kontext bietet sich für eine solche Untersuchung angesichts der besonderen gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung von Sprache an (Alber, 2012).

In der Arbeit stütze ich mich auf sprachbiographische Interviews mit vierundzwanzig Jugendlichen, die in Südtirol verschiedene Sekundarschulen aller drei sprachlicher Ausrichtungen (mit deutscher oder italienischer Unterrichtssprache und Schulen in den ladinischen Tälern) besuchen. Am Anfang dieser Interviews stand die Erstellung eines Sprachenportraits als kreative Visualisierung ihrer sprachlichen Repertoires (Busch, 2018), und auch ein früher erstelltes Sprachenportrait wurde besprochen. In der Analyse betrachte ich die Interviews als ko-konstruierte Interaktionen (Talmy, 2011), woraus folgt, dass ich neben Konzepten der Positionierung (Davies & Harré, 1990; Spitzmüller, 2013) auf verschiedene

Ansätze der Interaktionsanalyse zurückgreife und auch körperliche Aspekte der Interaktion miteinbeziehe (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016).

Die Schilderungen meiner Interviewpartner*innen zu ihrem sprachlichen Repertoire gruppierten sich um drei Hauptthemen (Braun & Clarke, 2006): Sie beschrieben ihre sprachlichen Praktiken, positionierten sich als mehr oder weniger kompetente Sprecher*innen und positionierten sich affektiv-emotional.

Beschreibungen von sprachlichen Praktiken beschränkten sich größtenteils darauf, eine Sprache oder einen Dialekt einem bestimmten sozialen Raum zuzuweisen oder zu schildern, wie einem bestimmten Ordnungsprinzip folgend zwischen Sprachen und/oder Dialekten gewechselt wird. Sprachen und Dialekte wurden in der Analyse als soziale Konstrukte gefasst, und es wurde auch untersucht, was die Bezeichnungen dieser Konstrukte über die Konstrukte selbst aussagen.

Kompetenzpositionierungen nahmen unterschiedliche Formen an und erfüllten im Interview unterschiedliche Funktionen. Einige solcher Positionierungen waren von der ideologischen Figur des Muttersprachlers geprägt, dessen Kompetenz als selbstverständlich dargestellt wird (Bonfiglio, 2010; Knappik, 2016; Rampton, 1990). Zudem habe ich darauf hingewiesen, dass Sprachideologien kompetente Sprecher*innen als solche konstruieren, die eine normativ korrekte, „reine“ Sprache mühelos sprechen und sich in einem möglichst breiten Spektrum von Interaktionen erfolgreich verständigen können.

In Bezug auf affektive Positionierungen stellte ich fest, dass meine Interviewpartner Positionen der Verbundenheit, des Begehrens bzw. Strebens, der Freude, der Gleichgültigkeit und der Abneigung gegenüber bestimmten Sprachen oder Dialekten einnahmen. In Erzählungen aus ihrem Spracherleben positionierten sie sich außerdem als beschämt, ängstlich, stolz, bedauernd, verletzt, wütend oder frustriert. Diese affektiven Positionierungen waren wiederum von unterschiedlichen Sprachideologien geprägt, wobei z. B. Verbundenheit oft mit ethnolinguistischen Kategorien oder Abneigungen mit Positionierungen als nicht ausreichend kompetente*r Sprecher*in zusammenhingen.

Aus einer forschungstheoretischen Perspektive zeigen die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit, was eine Verlagerung des Schwerpunkts von der klar abgrenzbaren Sprachgemeinschaft (Gumperz, 1964) auf das sprechende Subjekt (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012, 2015) für das Konzept des sprachlichen Repertoires leisten kann. Der subjektzentrierte Ansatz, der in der Arbeit verfolgt wurde, ermöglichte es, das Zusammenspiel zwischen Sprachideologien und sprachlichen Repertoires von sprechenden Subjekten zu untersuchen. Dadurch konnte die Arbeit zeigen, wie zentral soziale Interaktionen und Beziehungen für das Spracherleben und die Positionierungen der teilnehmenden Jugendlichen waren und wie Sprachideologien über ebendiese sozialen Interaktionen Eingang in deren Selbstpositionierungen fanden.

Alleinstellungsmerkmale der Arbeit sind aus methodischer Sicht die prozessorientierte Analyse der Gestaltung von Sprachenportraits, das quasi-longitudinale Element der zusätzlichen Reflexion zum älteren Sprachenportrait und die multimodale interaktionale Interviewanalyse. Weitere Forschung kann somit auf diesen Strategien der Datengenerierung und -analyse aufbauen.

Aus gesellschaftlicher Perspektive gibt die Arbeit einen Anreiz zur kritischen gesellschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit Sprache, Sprachideologien und ihren Konsequenzen für Menschen. Besonders relevant ist dieser Anreiz für Bildungsinstitutionen, da Bildungseinrichtungen als institutionelle Orte sozialer Interaktion eine besondere Verantwortung tragen. Sprachideologien werden in solchen Orten reproduziert, können aber genau dort auch transformiert werden.

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Positioning the self

Repertori linguistici e ideologie linguistiche dei giovani in Alto Adige: una prospettiva centrata sul soggetto

Riassunto in italiano della tesi di dottorato di Verena Platzgummer, presentata all'Università di Vienna col titolo "Positioning the Self: A Subject-Centred Perspective on Adolescents' Linguistic Repertoires and Language Ideologies in South Tyrol".

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La provincia di Bolzano fa parte dell'Italia da circa un secolo, più precisamente dalla sua annessione nel 1920 dall'allora dissolto impero austro-ungarico. In molti modi, la vita sociale e politica della provincia è oggi organizzata intorno all'appartenenza al gruppo linguistico tedesco, italiano o ladino, e quindi intorno a delle categorie etnolinguistiche. La ricerca sociolinguistica e antropologico-linguistica ha mostrato come tali categorie leghino ideologicamente la lingua all'etnia e all'idea di nazione (Heller, 2006, 2011; Irvine & Gal, 2000). Più recentemente, tuttavia, la ricerca all'interno degli stessi campi ha visto emergere un secondo insieme di ideologie che tratta la lingua principalmente come un'abilità misurabile e una risorsa economica, e ha mostrato come queste due prospettive coesistono e interagiscono in modi complessi (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Heller, 2011).

Questa tesi ha contribuito a queste linee di ricerca adottando un approccio centrato sul soggetto (Busch, 2015a, 2017a, 2020) per esaminare come gli adolescenti altoatesini costruiscano i loro repertori linguistici e si posizionino come parlanti, e per indagare come tali posizionamenti si relazionino alle ideologie linguistiche. L'obiettivo è stato quello di produrre un quadro di come le ideologie linguistiche entrino e lascino tracce nei repertori linguistici dei parlanti, domanda, questa, a cui la sociolinguistica ha solo iniziato a rispondere. Il contesto altoatesino si presta a un'indagine di questo tipo, dato che le questioni relative alla lingua sono molto salienti (Alber, 2012).

In questa tesi, mi sono basata su interviste linguistico-biografiche con ventiquattro adolescenti che frequentano diverse scuole secondarie altoatesine in lingua tedesca, italiana e nelle valli ladine. Ho condotto queste interviste a partire dai ritratti linguistici realizzati come visualizzazioni dei loro repertori linguistici (Busch, 2018b) e ho considerato le nostre interviste come interazioni co-costruite (Talmy, 2011). In base a questo principio analitico, ne è seguito che, accanto ai concetti di posizionamento (Davies & Harré, 1990; Spitzmüller, 2013), ho attinto ai *toolkit* analitici sviluppati all'interno di diversi approcci

all'analisi interazionale e ho incluso nell'analisi anche gli aspetti corporei dell'interazione (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016).

Ho scoperto che i racconti degli intervistati sui loro repertori linguistici si raggruppavano in tre temi principali (Braun & Clarke, 2006), ovvero descrizioni di pratiche linguistiche, posizionamenti in termini di competenza e posizionamenti in termini affettivi.

Per quanto riguarda le pratiche linguistiche, ho dimostrato che gli intervistati le hanno in gran parte descritte o assegnando una lingua o un dialetto a uno specifico spazio sociale, descrivendole come alternanze di lingue e/o dialetti, considerati nella loro natura di costrutti sociali. In questa prospettiva, ho anche esplorato ciò che i nomi delle lingue e dei dialetti rivelano sulla loro natura come costrutti.

Sui posizionamenti in termini di competenza, invece, si può senz'altro dire che hanno assunto forme e svolto funzioni diverse all'interno delle varie interviste svolte con parlanti più o meno competenti. In particolare, un posizionamento rilevante riguarda il rapporto con la figura idealizzata del madrelingua, il quale è concepito come evidentemente competente (Bonfiglio, 2010; Knappik, 2016; Rampton, 1990). La mia tesi esplora altresì il ruolo delle ideologie linguistiche nella costruzione del profilo del parlante competente, percepito come colui che parla una lingua normativamente corretta e 'pura' senza sforzo, e può comunicare con successo nel più ampio spettro possibile di situazioni.

In termini di posizionamenti affettivi, ho scoperto che gli intervistati hanno assunto posizioni di attaccamento affettivo, di desiderio, di divertimento, di indifferenza e di antipatia verso specifiche lingue e/o dialetti e che hanno narrato istanze della loro esperienza vissuta della lingua in cui si posizionano come imbarazzati, ansiosi, orgogliosi, rammaricati, addolorati, arrabbiati o frustrati. Ho anche dimostrato come questi posizionamenti affettivi siano stati influenzati da diverse serie di ideologie della lingua, con attaccamenti affettivi spesso legati a categorie etnolinguistiche o con posizioni di antipatia spesso legate a posizionamenti come parlanti non sufficientemente competenti.

Da un punto di vista teorico, questa tesi sottolinea i vantaggi dello spostare l'attenzione dalla comunità linguistica chiaramente delimitabile (Gumperz, 1964) al soggetto parlante (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012, 2015a) nella concettualizzazione dei repertori linguistici. L'approccio centrato sul soggetto adottato in questa tesi mi ha permesso di produrre un quadro su come le ideologie linguistiche entrino nei repertori linguistici dei parlanti, e di mostrare quanto le interazioni e le relazioni sociali siano state centrali per l'esperienza linguistica vissuta e i posizionamenti degli adolescenti partecipanti, nonché di mostrare come le ideologie linguistiche abbiano trovato la loro strada nei loro auto-posizionamenti proprio attraverso queste interazioni sociali.

Da un punto di vista metodologico, le caratteristiche uniche della tesi sono l'analisi orientata al processo della progettazione dei ritratti linguistici, l'elemento quasi longitudinale della riflessione aggiuntiva sul ritratto linguistico più vecchio e l'analisi multimodale dell'intervista interazionale. Ulteriori ricerche possono basarsi su queste strategie di generazione e analisi dei dati.

Da una prospettiva sociale, la tesi fornisce uno stimolo per un impegno critico con la lingua, le ideologie linguistiche e le loro conseguenze per le persone nella società. Questo stimolo è particolarmente rilevante per le istituzioni educative, poiché esse hanno una particolare responsabilità come luoghi istituzionali di interazione sociale. Le ideologie linguistiche si riproducono in tali luoghi, ma è proprio lì che possono anche essere trasformate.

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Positioning the Self: A Subject-Centred Perspective on Adolescents' Linguistic Repertoires and Language Ideologies in South Tyrol

Abstract of the PhD thesis with the above title, presented defended by Verena Platzgummer at the University of Vienna

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Formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the northernmost Italian province of South Tyrol is now looking back on about a century as part of Italy, since its annexation in 1920. In many ways, social and political life in the province today is organised around affiliation with either the German, Italian or Ladin language group, and thus around ethnolinguistic categories. Research in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has shown how such categories ideologically tie language to ethnicity and to the idea of a nation (Heller, 2006, 2011; Irvine & Gal, 2000). More recently, however, research from within the same fields has observed the emergence of a different set of ideologies that treats language primarily as a measurable skill and an economic resource, and has shown how the two sets of ideologies coexist and interact in complex ways (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Heller, 2011).

This thesis has contributed to these lines of research by adopting a subject-centred approach (Busch, 2015, 2017, 2020) in order to examine how adolescents in South Tyrol construct their linguistic repertoires and position themselves as speakers, and to investigate how such positionings relate to ideologies of language. It thereby aimed to produce a situated account of how language ideologies enter and leave traces on speakers' linguistic repertoires, which represents a question that scholars in sociolinguistics have only begun to answer. The South Tyrolean context lends itself to such an investigation, as issues around language are highly salient there (Alber, 2012).

In the present thesis, I have drawn on language-biographical interviews with twenty-four adolescents attending different 'German', 'Italian' and 'Ladin' secondary schools in South Tyrol. I conducted these interviews around language portraits as visualisations of their linguistic repertoires (Busch, 2018) and considered our interviews as co-constructed interactions (Talmy, 2011). From this analytical principle, it followed that alongside concepts of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990; Spitzmüller, 2013), I drew on the analytical toolkits developed within different approaches to interactional analysis and also included embodied aspects of interview interaction into analysis (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016).

I found that my interview partners' accounts of their linguistic repertoires grouped into three major themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006): they involved descriptions of language practices, positionings in terms of competence, and positionings in affective terms.

With regard to language practices, I showed that my interview partners largely described these by either assigning one named language or dialect to a specific social space, or by describing them as orderly alternations between a set of named languages and/or dialects. I also explored what the specific labels carried by these named languages and dialects reveal about their nature as social constructs.

As far as positionings in terms of competence are concerned, I found that such positionings as more or less competent speakers took different forms and served different functions within our interviews. I showed how positionings in terms of competence were at times informed by the ideological figure of the native speaker, who is conceived of as self-evidently competent (Bonfiglio, 2010; Knappik, 2016; Rampton, 1990). I also showed that language ideologies construct the competent speaker as one who speaks a normatively correct, 'pure' language effortlessly, and can successfully communicate across the widest possible spectrum of encounters.

In terms of affective positionings, I found that my interview partners took stances of affective attachment, of desire, of enjoyment, of indifference and of dislike towards specific named languages or dialects, and that they narrated instances of their lived experience of language in which they position themselves as ashamed, anxious, proud, regretful, pained, angry or frustrated. I also showed how these affective positionings were informed by different sets of ideologies of language, with affective attachments often being linked to ethnolinguistic categories or with stances of dislike often being linked to positionings as insufficiently competent speakers.

From a research-theoretical point of view, this thesis points to the merits of shifting the focus from the clearly delimitable speech community (Gumperz, 1964) to the speaking subject (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012, 2015) in conceptualising linguistic repertoires. The subject-centred perspective taken in this thesis enabled me to produce a situated account of how language ideologies enter speakers' linguistic repertoires, and to show that social interactions and relationships were central for the lived language experience and the positionings of the participating adolescents, and that language ideologies found their way into their self-positionings via precisely these social interactions.

From a methodological perspective, unique characteristics of the thesis are the process-oriented analysis of the design of language portraits, the quasi-longitudinal element of additional reflection on the older language portrait and the multimodal interactional interview analysis. Further research can build on these strategies of data generation and analysis.

From a societal perspective, the thesis provides an incentive for a critical engagement with language, language ideologies and their consequences for people in society. This incentive is particularly relevant for educational institutions, as these have a special responsibility as institutional places of social

interaction. Language ideologies are reproduced in such places, but can also be transformed precisely there.

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