COST Action IS1306

Workers as new speakers (WG3)

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Collaborative final report[1]

Preliminary note

The following report provides insights into the discussions and work activities of WG3. Members of the working group were asked to actively participate in the production of this document; some members did so by proposing amendments and also – and most importantly – by reflecting explicitly on the ways in which their research could contribute to a better understanding of workers as new speakers. The view reflected in this paper is not, however, totally representative of all the debates that took place during our various meetings. In the process of drafting this paper, we tried to acknowledge the best we could the various contributions of the members of WG3, but the paper is of course also marked by processes of selection, entextualization and possible erasures and omissions. We thus apologize for any forms of misunderstanding or shortcomings, and we also want to emphasize that this report should still be considered as a work in progress.

We begin this report with a discussion of the point of departure for WG3 so as to establish the framing for the group's discussions and work activities (section 1). In section 2, we address both the various conditions (historical, economic, political, etc.) which may facilitate the emergence of *new speakerness* in relation to the workplace, and the specific terrains on which members of WG3 have observed and analyzed processes related to this emergence. Section 3 then turns to the processes that effectively articulate *new speakerness* with particular moments in the life trajectories of workers. Finally, the conclusion of this paper sets forth proposals for the WGs that will be formed during Phase 2 of the Action.

1. The point of departure: the search for a tentative working definition

As an initial undertaking, WG3 sought to work on the problematization of the concept of new speakers as workers and came up with the following (still unfinished) working definition:

> WG 3 is concerned with new speakers as workers and offers a perspective on this notion through the lenses of work activities and professional mobilities. The category *workers* can include various categories of people (indigenous speakers, immigrant workers, mobile workers etc.) who have in common to learn and practice various forms of linguistic repertoires, which are not their primary ones, in relation to work activities. We believe

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[1] The paper was initially drafted by Alexandre Duchêne, and commented on by Sara Brennan, Lotte Thissen and Sari Pietikäinen. It is based on the comments, remarks and contributions of various members of WG3 that are explicitly mentioned in this paper.

that the focus on workers helps to question: what are the reasons for workers to learn/use particular languages or linguistic resources; what becomes a desirable linguistic repertoire to learn in regard to job access and professional mobility; what languages and linguistic resources might be considered as (un)desirable or constructed as a (dis)advantage; what competence/skill is expected in order to do what; what is the importance of work in the life of new speakers; what roles do new speakers specifically fill in the contemporary workplace; and in which ways are their language skills (de)valorized and (mis)recognized or not in contemporary workplaces. Through this work, WG 3 also aims to problematize and complexify the notion of new speakers by taking into account the ways in which categories like *majority speakers*, *indigenous speakers* and *immigrant speakers* articulate with – or are challenged by – other forms of social categories, such as workers in both institutional and professional roles.

This definition has been the object of constant debate but has served as a productive orientation for our work activities. As such, it has pointed to the following issues in relation to the definition of new speakers:

- Language cannot be considered as a given fact but rather as a set of resources and practices that form a repertoire which can be partial and heterogeneous, as well as subject to situational variation and to social evaluation. This points towards a need for re-considering how we understand language, and particularly towards a processual, situational view. Additionally, circulating discourses constructing the ways in which we understand categories of *language* and *speaker* must also be the object of our inquiry.
- The *new speaker* category should also be seen in a processual way, in the sense that who or what counts as *new speakers* needs to be conceived not only diachronically, but also interactionally and in relation to specific trajectories. It is thus rather a question of the practices that define and construct *new speakerness*.
- The category of *new speakers* is not self-evident and is subjected to negotiation and struggle. The categorization process as such should be the object of investigation. *New speaker* can also be a category that is ideologically loaded and embedded in power relations, and that can confine workers and speakers in a specific subaltern status just as it can – under certain conditions – provide prestige and recognition. Consequently, this category links to the wider processes and practices of social inequality.
- In relation to the workplace and to work activities, the relevance of the notion of *new speaker* cannot be understood without a closer analysis of the particular conditions under which language practices emerge as central both in order to access certain positions and in relation to the distribution of resources. Similarly, an understanding of the consequences of employing the category of *new speaker* calls for an ethnographic approach.
- Furthermore, the meanings of *work* and *worker* depend on the different types of production and industrial sectors (such as services, knowledge, manufactured goods, etc.) that are the markets towards which the specific workplaces are oriented, as well as the position a worker holds in an enterprise. All this impacts significantly the ways in which language practices entail a particular importance for a speaker and a workplace, and as such need to be taken into account in the analysis of *new speakerness*.
- Finally the emphasis on workers also points towards a particular epistemic status of the category in contrast to the two others developed in WG1 and WG2. Indeed workers can be indigenous speakers, they can be migrants, they can be locals with no indigenous knowledge but who might want/have to learn the language, etc. The category *workers* thus transcends the two other categories.

In WG3, the process of developing a working definition for a *new speaker* has constituted an attempt to productively think the concept, but also at the same to clearly adopt a critical perspective that necessarily raises questions concerning:

- The relevance – or otherwise – of the notion: what makes us believe it is a useful notion, and why?
- The possible instrumentalization of it: for instance, for how long will any given speakers be *new*? Will they ever be other than *new*? What consequences does this have? Who decides that a speaker is new? On the basis of what and with what particular interests?
- The need to clarify which perspective we adopt by using the notion: the emic or etic perspective?

Bearing all this in mind, we have tried in the following text to highlight: a) the particular historical, political and economic conditions under which *new speakerness* might emerge in relation to the workplace and on what concrete terrains issues of *new speakerness* can be observed and analyzed (section 2); and b) the various processes that link *new speakerness* to particular moments in the lifespan of the workers (section 3). We conclude the paper by proposing some perspectives for new WGs that could be of interest for the Network as a whole, independently of the category *workers* concerned here.

2. Shifting work practices, new speakers and terrains

In contemporary (post)industrialized societies, we are experiencing a shifting face of labour. First of all, there is a shift from the primary and secondary sectors of activity to the tertiary sector (although the tertiary sector does not completely erase the first two). Secondly, the development of information technologies has created new conditions of/for work (e.g. distance working, flexible work schedules, (electronic) availability of workers, outsourcing of work), while also creating the conditions for an accelerated and increased transnationalisation of the workplace (as seen in market expansion, joint venture, mergers of companies, etc.). Finally, ideologies of neoliberal work conditions have resulted in technologies of the self (Foucault 1988) for the sake of employability, as well as in the skillification of work (Urciuoli 2008; Lorente 2012).

Furthermore, the last two decades have seen a dramatic increase in the circulation of people for labour purposes across the globe (especially from south to north but also from north to south (Vigouroux 2004, Lan 2003)). In Europe, internal labour mobility (mainly from east to west) has been facilitated by the 'free movement of persons agreement'. Mobility is not only understood in geographical terms (see also Pietikäinen & Kelly Holmes 2012 in relation to the notion of periphery); rather, mobility also occurs across different professional spaces and across social classes, and with different temporalities. Mobility is often constructed as a desirable process (Takahashi 2012), and marketed in various institutions as one of the means of human and professional development. However, mobility is clearly unequally distributed across spaces, people and places and is strongly associated with new forms of inequalities that often materialize in the workplace, from the exploitation of mobile workers to the hypervalorization of mobility as a sign of flexibility, openness, life-long learning, etc. (Bauman 1998).

These political economic transformations related to tertiarisation, transnationalisation and mobility have inherent consequences for/on our understanding both of the workplace and of the nature of work. First, much greater focus on communication and language can be observable in some activities linked to the new economy. Language and communication have become primary resources of work (Cameron 2000, Heller 2011, Duchêne 2009, 2011). Access to language-as-resource and communication-as-resource is strongly linked to certain language skills, and work productivity is controlled through various forms of language evaluations and regulations. Furthermore, due to the

growing need for multilingual competence(s) of staff in transnationally operating workplaces, language has become strategically salient for many enterprises that rely on the linguistic expertise of their workers in order to enter certain markets. This expertise, however, can be constructed either as hard or soft skills (Urciuoli 2008) and entails various forms of recognition at the workplace, from salary increase and forms of distinction to banalization and naturalization.

Second, this increase in the linguistic salience of work activities coexists with more classical assumptions that language is not at all relevant for other sectors of activities. Precarious labour is often confined to activities where language competence is completely neglected (Duchêne 2012), thereby preventing the workers from valorizing their linguistic capital and converting it into economic capital, or reducing the scope of professional activities due to a certain construction of the lack of linguistic competence. It is only under certain conditions that language emerges as economic capital; under other conditions, the commodification of language can take the form of exploitation (Irvine 1989). Social and work-related mobility as such is highly conditioned by various forms of language ideologies that create the conditions for mobility but also constrain some people to immobility (professional, social, economic, geographic, etc.). As such, future research needs to recognize the social dynamics arising between mobility and stasis, change and endurance. It also needs to account for the growing interdependence between politics and markets as complementary societal structuring mechanisms.

Terrains: the exploration of new speakerness at work by WP3 members

The conditionalities described earlier are at stake on the various terrains studied by the members of WG3. These terrains, though diverse in nature, are indicative of the structural, institutional and interactional complexities in which *new speakerness* is defined, challenged, negotiated and regimented in the workplace. The terrains also inform the heterogeneous understanding of who counts as new speakers and/or as the legitimate speaker-workers. Furthermore, the brief descriptions of WG3's terrains included here seek to anchor the processes that will be discussed in the next section (3). These descriptions are based on the information provided by certain members who actively engaged in this collaborative activity (on the report itself and/or through presentations at the Barcelona meeting), which means that this inventory does not fully reflect the range of terrains of all members.

The terrains can be categorized in four main industries

a. Education industry
b. Health industry
c. Extraction and construction industry
d. Minority entrepreneurship
e. Community service and service industry

a. Education industry

Carla Jonsson conducts research in an international school in Sweden and shows how implicit language ideologies shape discourses and language practices at meetings in the school. The school is portrayed as 'international', and at information/marketing meetings for parents (held in English) English is described as the "key to the future". In practice, 'international' mainly means English. Other languages are not necessarily valued as resources, and they might even pass unnoticed. At meetings the staff is assumed to speak English. Carla Jonsson's data from staff meetings shows how new speakers of English, mainly Swedish dominant

speakers, can become silenced due to the language practices at such meetings. These new speakers do not always feel comfortable speaking English and may therefore only speak at the meetings when absolutely necessary, e.g. when they feel it is important to state their point of view. Her data also shows that at times, the language policies of the school are challenged by individual teachers who defy and challenge the language norms by making comments in Swedish at the meetings. The implicit language policies of the school suggest that English should be used at meetings, although this is not explicitly stated anywhere. Swedish is devalorized as a linguistic resource in these settings. In another setting, a bilingual Spanish-Swedish school in Sweden, the opposite happens. Swedish is expected to be used at meetings with parents and at staff meetings. Teachers who are new speakers of Swedish are expected to learn Swedish whereas teachers whose first language is Swedish are not necessarily expected to learn Spanish. The implicit language policies of the school suggest that Swedish should be used at meetings although this is not explicitly stated anywhere. Spanish is not used a linguistic resource in these settings. (Jonsson, work in progress).

Three scholars focus more specifically on university settings. *Josep Soler-Carbonell* and *Merike Jürna* are interested in transnational scholars in Danish and Estonian higher education and examine the ways in which they manage linguistic challenges at work. More particularly, they investigate international academics' use of English and the local societal languages (i.e. Estonian and Danish at the respective national universities) and highlight the common motivational factors for learning and using Danish or Estonian, looking at how these transnational scholars adapt to the local work context linguistically. *Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir* examines the importance of English in the Icelandic university system, highlighting the various ways in which becoming a new speaker of English appears as a central part of the work activities of scientists in non-officially Anglophone countries.

b.   *Health industry*

Minna Suni explores Estonian medical doctors working in Finland in Finnish. As speakers of a closely related language, they have relatively easy access to Finnish (they learn quickly in comparison to others), but at least in public debates their language is sometimes referred to as a strange mixture of Finnish words used in Estonian sentences or simply as Finnish spoken in Estonian. As a whole Suni highlights that international recruitment practices in the health sector (east-west, south-north) reflect quite well the tendencies described above in section 2. Investing in language studies is usually worth it for Estonian doctors. Russian medical specialists, however, encounter more difficulties because their degrees are not accepted as such in the EU. They must start almost from the beginning and thus carefully calculate whether it is worth it or not to move to Finland for work. Losing one's permanent position, relatively high status etc. and again becoming a real beginner in relation to both language and career is a weighty decision and also a challenge for one's professional identity. Not being able to communicate like a professional may mean not being a professional anymore.

Stefanie Meier and *Beatriz P. Lorente* investigate another central aspect in relation to health and care: the processes of exportation and importation of workforces in the health industry. More specifically, their particular terrain focuses on the recruitment of Philippine nurses for work in Germany and Switzerland, and they show how this recruitment is facilitated by a migration apparatus (Feldman 2011); that is, a network of institutions and discourses that structure the migration of speakers. As such this migration apparatus becomes central to the making of (new) speakers, and this specific terrain allows for a better understanding of the making of legitimate speaker-workers as well as the various forms of subjectivation that become part the governmentality of the self within a neoliberal and transnational workplace.

Melissa Moyer conducts research on new speakers in the context of public institutions providing health services to mobile social actors. Overall, her research focuses on language diversity and multilingual practices of mobile citizens. She is concerned with overcoming the limitations of methodological nationalism in order to understand social, political and economic processes that go on among different kinds of mobile people that are not usually captured by an analysis that contextualises mobility and language practices from the perspective of the nation-state.

Nora Schleicher has researched and published in the areas of English-Hungarian bilingualism, gender and language use at the workplace and the narrative construction of identity. Presently, she is planning research on the role of language in the migration decision and migration experience of Hungarian health care workers that will address the interrelationship of migration, language use, identity and power/agency. This research will examine how the different and changing levels of proficiency in languages other than Hungarian influences the migration decisions and experiences of her research subjects, namely Hungarian health care workers working or planning to work in the Nordic countries and in the UK. Her work will focus on how their new speaker characteristics relate to their performance of professional, national and European identities and to their perceived level of power/agency.

Beverly Costa studies the experiences of multilingual psychotherapy patients. She examines how the protective and expressive psychological functions as well as one's sense of identity are affected by the language in which we choose to speak. Patients reported that switching languages helped them to self-regulate proximity and distance to/from feelings and that language-switching in therapy could allow them to express themselves more completely. As such she provides insights into the role of language practices in sustaining psychotherapeutical work practices.

c.   *Extraction and construction industry*

Leonie Cornips works on coalmining. The former coalminers live and work in an area that is peripheral from the national perspective (Eisden, Belgium), but is also peripheral within the Limburgian area (to the edge of the border), within the coalmining area (the most eastern one), and within Eisden itself. This geographical periphery is imagined and perceived as social isolation. The experienced isolation and exclusion (not being able to marry women from the old neighborhoods in Eisden, not being able to leave the coalmine or to find work outside the pit) created in-group linguistic practices, a way of speaking among themselves (only men, not women) that differentiated them from their immigrant parents and 'local' people. A way of speaking that belonged entirely and exclusively to the coalminers was thus created.

Kamilla Kraft studies workplaces in the secondary sector. Since manual labour is the primary activity in this sector, the case is initially one of language/communication IN work rather than AS work. This condition is brought about by such factors as: EU worker mobility; companies' desire to have a flexible work staff they may up- and down-scale *ad hoc* (for this purpose they use companies that 'lease' manpower, often workers from Eastern Europe); or some companies' ability to only attract and recruit migrant workers. The resulting diversity includes linguistic diversity, and some of the workers will have little or no proficiency in the local language (which is always the workplace language). Due to this condition there is a transformation from language in work (linguistically diverse labour-force) to language as work, as the linguistic diversity has to be managed in order to ensure productivity. For this purpose multilingual workers are given communication tasks in addition to their manual tasks so that they may handle communication between work units that do not share any linguistic repertoires. Acquiring the desired language skills is the responsibility of the

individual worker, as the workplaces are not contexts of formal language learning or places that provide the opportunity to become a new speaker; rather, they are contexts of language (de)valorisation as multilingual staff members are recognised as 'smart workers' on an ideological level and furthermore receive monetary bonuses for proficiency in valued languages. The geographical context is important to the extent that the country depends on migrant workers, thus access to work becomes easier; however, many of the migrant workers still live in their countries of origin, and as such the workplace is their migrant context. Those who do invest in acquiring skills related to the geographical context (e.g. learning the language) are generally rewarded to some extent within the workplace context, but it is still highly unlikely that they will receive greater rewards, such as a permanent position.

d. *Minority entrepreneurship*

Sara Brennan focuses on contemporary attempts to promote the Irish language as an economic resource for businesses in urban areas located outside the traditionally Irish-speaking regions of the Republic of Ireland. In order to make Irish a 'cost-efficient' resource, the language advocacy organisations that she studies promote a largely visual Irish-English bilingualism, with spoken Irish reserved mainly for tokenistic/symbolic greetings, expressions, etc. This strategy enables the organisations to promote a certain set of skills in Irish as a universally accessible marketing tool; however, not all members of the local business communities use Irish, and not all employers/employees within individual 'bilingual' businesses engage with the language. Through upcoming fieldwork, she seeks to better understand the conditions under which: a) certain social actors can(not) and/or choose (not) to engage with practices of 'new speakerness' in the workplace, and b) the various promoted forms of linguistic capital can(not) be converted into economic capital.

Florian Hiss examines how speakers of the traditional minority languages of the region of Northern Norway (first and foremost Sámi, but also Kven) and speakers of immigrant languages, as well as economic activities, get embedded in an overall frame of linguistic and cultural diversity in the region. He explores the ways in which a coherent narrative of diversity and economic exchange merges traditional (historical) with new diversity and frames the evaluation of new speakers (of Norwegian and of minority languages) in economic contexts, as well as how the commodification of linguistic diversity challenges the notions of new speakers and old minorities in relation to the workplace.

Sari Pietikäinen explores the ways in which indigenous Sámi resources are capitalized for global markets in the Finnish Sámiland. With a particular focus on consumption of authenticity, she explores the ways in which resources that in the past have had mainly identity-political value, such as Sámi language speakers, are put into circulation as authentic forms of "peripheral cool" within the logic of the new economy. The changing commodification of these cultural resources provokes intense debates over legitimate access, distribution of profit, and respectful use of indigenous resources within new markets.

e. *Community service and service industry*

Marsaili MacLeod explores the role of work in the socialisation of new speakers of Scots Gaelic in the so-called Gaelic 'language industries'. She is particularly interested in the notion of occupational community, referred to as 'Saoghal na Gaidhlig' (the Gaelic world). Her presentation explained how membership in 'Saoghal na Gaidhlig' gives access to new symbolic and material spaces in which new speakers can enact and legitimise their Gaelic-speaking identities.

Sonya Sahradyan explores discourses about language, integration and employment in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and within the wider Finnish context. The key participants of the research are multilingual migrant NGO practitioners, who are from two rather different types of NGOs: mono- and multi-ethnic associations.

Lotte Thissen conducts research in a supermarket located in a peripheral area of the Netherlands. The neighbourhood where the supermarket is located is highly influenced by migration from outside the Netherlands and Europe. The assortment of the supermarket reflects the composition of the neighbourhood in that it sells products from all over the world. In the supermarket, Turkish, Kurdish, Moroccan-Arabic, English, German, Polish, and many others languages can be used for ordering, paying for or requesting products. This means that there are many opportunities for the owners and employees as well as customers to engage in new speakerness.

While not focused specifically on questions of *new speakerness* in a particular industry, other members of WG3 have contributed invaluable insight on language issues in the workplace across a variety of terrains and from diverse perspectives.

Heiko F. Marten focuses on language policy, minority languages and language maintenance, Linguistic Landscapes, the role of international languages, discourses on multilingualism and language learning motivation, with a focus on the Baltic states and Germany. He has worked on new speakers at the work-place in the context of regional and minority languages, e.g. with regard to increasing opportunities to use the Latgalian language in Latvia, and on attitudes and motivation of learners of smaller national languages (e.g. Estonian) and international languages (e.g. German) in the Baltic states in relation to the need to acquire these languages for work-related purposes.

Tom Van Hout specializes in qualitative approaches to discourse in the professions. His current research interests include narratives of success in autobiographical identity work, and in open innovation meetings. By supervising PhD research on the dual role of language as a technical skill in the workplace and as a saleable resource in the marketplace, he explores issues related to the (de)valorisastion and (mis)recognition of linguistic resources as economically valuable or desirable.

Kiran Kaur is considering the issues of voice, understood through habitus and communicative competence, and agency of forced migrants as development actors. As such they represent potential new speakers in civil society and the wider context of law and development. The local lived realities of forced migrants are influenced by the discourses and narratives constructed by normative legal structures and development practices. One aspect of the discussion will focus on how their voices have been shaped the legal pluralities of the contexts they live in. Forced migrants additionally provide a relevant framework for discussion of the vernacularisation of human rights in the daily social practices in both home and host countries. This aspect of the discussion will consider how forced migrants have been able to utilise the language of human rights in order to achieve their aims. Nevertheless, their voices are often marginalised from the same discourses as a result of a lack of communicative competence in framing their lived realities from the perspective of law. Taking an ethnographic approach, she will analyse the connections between forced migrants living in the UK and their partner organisations based on Bulawayo and Harare, Zimbabwe.

3. New speakerness as process for/in/out of the workplace

What these terrains highlight is a wide range of new speakers and language work that shows the importance of characterizing what *work* and *workers* mean in relation to language practices and *new speakerness*. New speakers as workers cannot be homogenized and decontextualized. Rather, practices of *new speakerness* in relation to work have to be conceptualized in a situational perspective – that is, in relation to the work activities, the organizational structure and regulation of work, and with a particular attention to the historical, political and economic conditions under which certain practices have emerged. The diversity of terrains described here also entails a diversity of conceptions of what *new speaker* means, not only within a specific terrain, but also in relation to the researcher's ontological and epistemological positioning. This necessitates the empirical questioning of the use and relevance of the concept/notion in connection to particular research questions and methodological issues. It also entails some challenging of the ways we make sense collectively of the problematic of *new speaker as worker*, in recognition of the diverging interests in the notion.

For these reasons it appeared important to conceptualize *new speakerness* in a processual and trajectorial way and to force ourselves to think beyond the singularities of our research interests and research questions. This is why we adopted an analytical perspective that focuses on four key genealogical moments (trajectories) that we believe are emblematic of *new speakerness* in the workplace:

- Becoming a new speaker for and at work
- Entering work as a new speaker
- Being a new speaker at work
- Leaving work and new speakerness

These four processes will be briefly defined and illustrated by vignettes or reflections that stem from members' work and data.

3.1. Becoming a new speaker for and at work

Many workers today learn languages and repertoires in order to become professionally mobile. Some will learn an economically relevant language in their home country in order to circulate from one country to another in the hopes of getting a (better) job, such as a Spaniard learning German in order to become employable in Germany. Others will acquire specific language skills as a means of gaining distinction in a competitive employment market; a French manager, for example, may learn Japanese during business school hoping to differentiate him- or herself from other competitors with fewer language skills.

Becoming a new speaker may also occur *at* work. For example, enterprises might strategically ask some of their employees to learn a specific language considered necessary at a specific moment in time in order for the enterprise to enter a given market. Additionally, some enterprises will create the conditions (such as a language course) for their foreign workers to acquire the local languages. Becoming a new speaker at work may also occur in a non-formal way: through daily interactions and practices, the workplace can become a space for language socialization (Schiffelin 2000).

In sum, the various processes of becoming a new speaker in relation to work address central issues around: a) desirability and expectations in language learning on the part of both (potential) employees and (potential) employers; b) variable ways of becoming a new speaker (i.e. formalized and less formalized); and c) the making of new speakers who align with and satisfy workplace expectations.

As *Thissen* remarks, in the supermarket where she did fieldwork, language learning is not a formalized aspect. It rather occurs through daily interaction and practices amongst the owners and employees on the one hand and customers, delivery businesses, and products on the other hand. Through the labels of products, the employees learn how particular products are called in different languages. She observed that the employees later use these words to greet customers or to offer them that specific product in their own language (kapusta or chleb in Polish for example). Even though the use of different languages is not obliged, the owners and employees of the supermarket acknowledge the advantages of addressing customers in what is considered to be 'their language'. New speakerness is, in this place, strongly connected to how customers are perceived: when they are perceived as fellow 'foreigners' (Thissen, forthcoming), then the owners and employees will make effort to learn particular words from the 'foreign' language in order to reach out to their customers.

For *Brennan*, the showcase initiative of one of the organisations that she studies is an annual bilingual business competition, which has local and national sponsors and rewards the winners with handsome business packages. In order to make their businesses more competitive, business owners taking part in the competition often encourage their staff to use words and phrases in Irish, often relying on the phonetic transcriptions of greetings and expressions provided by the organisation. There is perhaps less emphasis on *learning* Irish, however, and more on *using* it as a sort of verbal touch of authenticity.

Cornips notes that there was not a firm language policy underground in the pit, but that all the technical terms related to the pit were in French so the coalminers had to acquire this French register in order to be able to fulfill the requirements (for instance: porion, conducteur).

Kraft's study underlines that there are cases of informal language lessons between new speakers and local language speakers (or speakers with the same status as local language speakers). They often center on word searches or the pronunciation of a specific word. But these instances are sporadic and depend on the individual actors.

Schleicher's research shows that becoming a new speaker can not only be initiated at the individual or at the institutional (workplace) level but also at the national level. Sweden, for example, offers Swedish language courses for medical doctors in Poland and in Hungary in order to attract them to work in Sweden. The political economy of this process is noteworthy. It is cheaper for Scandinavian countries to teach East-Central Europeans doctors their language than to invest in the medical education of their own potential students. What is a gain at the individual level in East-Central Europe (higher potential for mobility for the doctors) is a loss at the national level (brain drain). What is a gain at the national level in the Scandinavian countries (saving money on education) is a loss at the individual level (difficulties faced by Scandinavian students in becoming educated as doctors in their own country).

In *Moyer's* research in the medical context, she had noted that a new speaker from the autochthonous population may attempt to learn the language of their patient-clients in order to provide a service (i.e. medical treatment).

3.2. Entering work as a new speaker

New speakerness also becomes a key issue for entering the job market. Language competence remains a central selection tool and gate keeper in regard to employment and job entering. Being a

new speaker might be a clear asset for recruitment: not being "native" in certain languages might be considered as desirable in relation to a certain construction of culture, eg. in order to sell a Swiss product in Japan. For other markets or other activities, being a new speaker is seen as an obstacle for work productivity, and new speakers are excluded from accessing certain job activities and maintained in subaltern position. In such cases, the new speaker is submitted to fluctuating evaluation processes that range from distinctiveness to lack of authenticity. The process of entering the workplace as a new speaker thus allows us to approach and challenge various issues such as: a) the strategic construction and instrumentalization of *new speakerness* in the recruitment process; b) the ways in which new speakers can capitalize or not on their multilingual skills in order to enter a job; and c) the interrelation between desirable and dangerous multilingualism and mobilities.

Hiss's research underlines that *new speakerness* is connected to (and indexical of) other, non-linguistic skills such as multicultural competence. Some employers see such skills as an advantage. Having gone through a process of language learning and (multi)cultural adaptation, new speakers are seen to have proven their ability to take responsibility and adopt new skills, which makes them attractive for some positions. (Hiss, work in progress)

Van Hout's research on and experience with supervising student interns in newsrooms has taught him that job training and other work experience programs always have (and are sometimes defined by) language socialization components. Learning to see what matters in a particular professional context and how to articulate that vision (cf. Goodwin 1996) is basically the litmus test for any intern. Here the notion of *new speakerness* is restricted to the ability to acquire and use jargon appropriately. Truncated repertoire expansion if you will…

For *Thissen*, the supermarket where her fieldwork took place was owned by two brothers who migrated from Turkey to the Netherlands when they were children. Due to this, most of the supermarket's products would count as Turkish. Moreover, she observed that all employees or interns either had a Turkish or Moroccan background. Although she did not specifically focus on this aspect, she suggests that the owners try to hire personnel who are able to speak either Turkish, Kurdish, or Arabic, in addition to Dutch.

Brennan remarks that while many of her research participants have tended to uphold the 'native speaker' (from the Gaeltacht, the Irish-speaking areas of Ireland) as the ideal Irish speaker in the workplace, she has noted that many, if not most, of the members of the language advocacy organisations she studies are themselves 'new speakers'. A closer look into if and how their 'non-native' status may have factored into their recruitment thus seems potentially important. It is perhaps possible that they were selected at least in part because they were highly proficient 'non-native' speakers, which made them both examples of success in learning Irish and less intimidating from the perspective of the 'non-native' members of the local community.

On *Cornips's* terrain, the coalminers were regarded only as work labor, so what they spoke was completely irrelevant. They just needed labor. However, as said above, they needed to acquire a technical repertoire in order to be able to do their job.

Kraft observes similar issues. For construction work, language does not matter in order to gain access – there might be language requirements in the job ads but they are often disregarded due to need for 'hands'. For internal mobility in the workplace language does matter (cf. previous comments). However, it seems to lose its mobility importance again, as

all top-level managers are local. Kraft points out that she needs more data in order to complexify this process adequately.

3.3. Being a new speaker at work

As the workplace becomes definitively multilingual, a specific examination is needed of the ways in which new speakers make use of their language competence and how these competences are recognized (or not) in the workplace. Language competence may be of different natures: as a primary tool, as in the case of a professional translator, service worker, or a call center employee making use of his or her multiple language skills as the key instrument of work; or as a more mundane or accidental resource, as in a cleaning lady being asked to translate into French an email from a Polish client. Language competence can be of written or oral nature, and new speakers might also be forbidden from practicing certain activities, such as answering the phone as a receptionist due to having an accent that expressed *new speakerness*. The work of new speakers provides insight into the ways in which these language activities are evaluated, exploited and ideologically constructed in order to perform certain tasks and activities at work. It also facilitates the consideration of the role of linguistic resources at the workplace and their link to certain forms of sociolinguistic divisions of labor.

For *Hiss*, some companies include linguistic and cultural diversity (as represented by a culturally diverse workforce) in their accounts of corporate social responsibility. In the traditionally multilingual region of Northern Norway, some companies have construed narratives of regionally anchored corporate identity that merge traditional (Sámi, Kven, Russian, Norwegian) and new (immigrant) diversity in a coherent frame that is evaluated positively. (Yet, the influence on language practices in the workplace and on new speakers as workers in these companies still has to be investigated.) (Hiss, work in progress)

Costa's research in medical settings suggests that multilingual therapists often feel isolated and disconnected as they struggle to learn how to use two or more languages in their personal and professional lives. They may be recruited for their language skills, but often they will not work in their primary language as they feel deskilled after having received all their training and their own therapy in English. In addition, managers may expect multilingual therapists to be able to work in different languages without understanding the complexity of the task. As a result, multilingual patients often receive a less than adequate service. Verdinelli and Biever's study examined the experiences of Spanish-English bilingual therapists based in the US (both native Spanish speakers and heritage speakers of Spanish) in their personal and professional language development and use. Costa interviewed six multilingual UK-based therapists. Almost all participants reported having an awareness of their limitations when working bilingually, as they had not received training to do so.

Thissen observed that three linguistic repertoires are the main repertoires for 'official tasks' (e.g. ordering meat at the butcher's counter, asking for products, or paying at the cash desk) in the supermarket: Dutch, Turkish, Kurdish. This was influenced by the employees, since most of them knew how to use these repertoires. Limburgian dialect is also used by customers, but employees then tend to respond in Dutch – with the exception of one employee. When employees use Limburgian dialect amongst each other, it was generally in mocking manners. The hybrid use of linguistic resources (such as lexical insertion by employees in order to reach out to customers) is mostly done in informal interaction and asking about specific products.

Brennan relates an example on how in one award-winning 'bilingual' cafe, the owner described how all the members of the staff (even the Italian chefs, she pointed out) were asked and encouraged to greet people or answer the phone in Irish - there was indeed a list of Irish greetings and their phonetic transcriptions hanging by the phone. If a customer actually spoke Irish, however, the one 'native speaker' employee would always be called into action.

For *Cornips,* a new speaker doesn't need to become 'multilingual', anyway what is a 'monolingual' nowadays in this era? Everyone uses linguistic resources associated with different languages occasionally. It would be worthwhile to investigate how a new speaker may be a 'monolingual' who has to acquire new repertoires in a given language. In this case, the definition of a new speaker builds on linguistic practices instead of the concept of 'speaker', which is more 'product-like' than process-like. Skills of speakers may change every minute depending on the contexts they are in.

In *Kraft's* sites, language management is dependent on multilingual practices; that is, it is realised by code-switched and parallel interactions in which a multilingual migrant worker translates between a manager and a worker who do not share a language. Alternatively, the multilingual worker might be a middle manager who then has to give orders in one language and receive orders in another himself. A specific practice in the construction site where there are linguistic restrictions is that of walkie-talkie communication. Only the local language may be used for this form of communication, and only people who have taken a course and been deemed proficient enough in the local language may use walkie-talkies. The rationale behind is that communication in other languages or translanguaging has previously caused too many accidents.

3.4. Leaving work and new speakerness:

The lifespan of a worker is not necessarily linear. Workers might change jobs or move from one place to another. They might be fired, or have to engage with the retirement process. It would therefore be interesting to reflect on the role of language and *new speakerness* in relation to processes of leaving the workplace.

The coalminers studied by *Cornips* are now in their 70's and 80's and are retired. They never speak the way they spoke when having an active worklife, with the exception of her visit to record them. In this latter instance, this way of speaking was produced by the practice of reminiscing. Though she cannot tell exactly how their way of speaking when staged or performed for the fieldwork resembled their way of speaking when they were still at work, Cornips considers that what is important is that this way of speaking is considered to be cultural heritage by these speakers and their community, and they have erected a heritage museum. Thus, at the moment it is in the phase of being commodified.

In the construction site studied by *Kraft*, leaving the workplace is a permanent condition since the migrant workers are only 'leased'. They of course still have employment with the company that leases them, and Kraft would like to gain further insight into their work conditions here, but the condition of temporariness is still there as they don't know if the company that leases them will have a new project they might work on, or how many of them there will be work for. However, temporariness is a common condition for construction workplaces and workers, though temporariness is more constant for migrant workers.

This particular process of leaving the workplace has not been the key focus of many WG members, and little data is available to date. However some scholars attempted to build some hypotheses on the basis of their current research. *Thissen,* for example, believes that the linguistic repertoires of the staff outside the supermarket will become a bit more monolingual, but that but this heavily depends on the context in which they find themselves. *Brennan* also notes that one of the main initiatives of both organisations is the hosting of Irish-language conversation circles that take place over coffee or lunch at affiliated 'bilingual' establishments. As these are often held in the middle of the workday, the participants tend to be stay-at-home parents or older retirees. Such events could help people who have left the workforce (permanently or temporarily) to continue becoming and being 'new speakers' of Irish.

3. Social processes and *new speakerness*: some perspectives

In April 2015, the initial thematic WGs based on categories of speakers will be phased out. Based on our reflections, new WGs will be created focusing on social processes rather than on specific categories of new speakers, as stated in the Action's Memorandum of Understanding:

"In line with this objective, the existing structure of Working Groups 1, 2 and 3 will change and will be reshaped according to theme as opposed to multilingual grouping. Under this new structure minority language experts will, for example, be regrouped with researchers investigating immigrant communities or transnational workers, thus allowing for intergroup dialogue and collaboration." (Excerpt of the memorandum)

Based on the discussions and research outlined above, we suggest the following social processes as themes for the new WGs:

- Regimentation, govermentality and *new speakerness*
- Axes of differentiation – How does *new speakerness* intersect with other categories (gender, age, class, race)?
- Social stratification and *new speakerness*
- Identification, recognition and ownership
- Normativity and variability
- Evaluation and (de)valorization of *new speakerness*