

The Language Youth

**A sociolinguistic and ethnographic study
of contemporary Norwegian Nynorsk
language activism
(2015-16, 2018)**

A research dissertation submitted in fulfilment of requirements for the degree of
Master of Science by Research in Scandinavian Studies
Track II

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B051 842

**Oilthigh
Dhùn Èideann**

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Declaration

I confirm that this dissertation presented for the degree of *Master of Science by Research in Scandinavian Studies (II)* has been composed entirely by myself. Except where it is stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, it has been solely the result of my own fieldwork and research, and it has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

For the purposes of examination, the set word-limit for this dissertation is 30 000. I confirm that the content given in Chapters 1 to 7 does not exceed this restriction. Appendices – which remain outwith the word-limit – are provided alongside the bibliography.

As this work is my own, I accept full responsibility for errors or factual inaccuracies.

James Konrad Puchowski

Abstract

Nynorsk is one of two codified orthographies of the Norwegian language (along with Bokmål) used by around 15% of the Norwegian population. Originating out of a linguistic project by Ivar Aasen following Norway's separation from Denmark and ratification of a Norwegian Constitution in 1814, the history of Nynorsk in civil society has been marked by its association with "language activist" organisations which have to-date been examined from historiographical perspectives (Bucken-Knapp 2003, Puzey 2011). This study, in contrast, observes this movement synchronically by describing the activities of young Nynorsk activists in the Norwegian Language Youth (NMU, *Norsk Målungdom*) using ethnographic methods between 2015-16 and again in January 2018. By observing first-hand, and reviewing events and discourses in their socio-political context – examining the behaviour of activists in NMU in reference to their interactions with the media and the public – this project creates an analytical "thick description" (McCarty 2015) of present-day Nynorsk language activism. This project critically reviews current-day definitions of language activism, arguing that more nuanced and less essentialised definitions would benefit how linguists account for how such activities vary across different locales, communities and social contexts. In response to calls to diverge away from nation-state, policy-specific *top-down* perspectives in language policy and management (Linn 2010), the project evaluates linguistic behaviour *bottom-up*, following the research aims of a "socially constituted" linguistics (Bell 2016); language users are studied in order to account for how linguistic discourse and the development of language attitudes/ideologies act as vital actors in sociolinguistic variation and change.

Keywords: Nynorsk, Norsk Målungdom (Norwegian Language Youth), linguistic ethnography, language activism, critical sociolinguistics

Lay Summary

The Norwegian language has two officially recognised written forms – Nynorsk and Bokmål. Nynorsk is used by the minority of people in Norway (around 15% of the population), whereas Bokmål is used by the rest as the dominant written language in Norway's cities and urban areas. This linguistic situation arose from much political and social interest in identity and language after Norway's separation from Denmark when Norwegians ratified their own Constitution in 1814. Opposed to continuing to use Danish, or a Norwegianised form of Danish, as the written standard for the Norwegian language, Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) travelled and researched the history of both the Norwegian language and its dialects to design Nynorsk (literally *New Norwegian*). This form would later develop, gain some support, and become popular in the west and midland regions of Norway – as well as be used also by people in all walks of society.

In today's Norway, several "language activist" organisations associated with Nynorsk exist, which linguists have detailed and examined before at particular points in time such as the early and late 20th century (Bucken-Knapp 2003, Puzey 2011). In this project, however, I have observed modern-day advocates of Nynorsk in the Norwegian Language Youth (NMU, *Norsk Målungdom*) using ethnographic methods. Ethnography uses observation and fieldwork techniques to broadly describe and assess social behaviour in different societies and cultures (McCarty 2015). I performed this fieldwork between 2015-16 and again in January 2018. In particular, I have witnessed the behaviour and activities of NMU in reference to their interactions with the media and the public.

The reason for doing this fieldwork and analysing Nynorsk language activism is to critically review what current-day linguists and scholars mean when they talk about language activism. I argue and I demonstrate in this project that broader definitions make sure we can talk about different types of this activity. I show that it is also important to look at how people talk about language and see how they are involved in popular debates about language, instead of only looking at what governments and authorities do (Linn 2010). By observing such behaviour from this perspective, my project is a type of "socially constituted" linguistics (Bell 2016) where I account for how the attitudes we have towards different linguistic behaviours contribute to variation and change in language.

Nota bene

The fonts used in this document are Linux Libertine G (front page), Liberation Sans and Liberation Serif. The primary language of this work is English. Where quotations, excerpts and citations are given in Norwegian (or other languages) in the main text body, translations by the author are provided.

Some organisation names are abbreviated to these acronyms which are used throughout:

Noregs Mållag / Norwegian Language Society = NM

Norsk Målungdom / Norwegian Language Youth = NMU

Studentmållaget i Oslo / Student Language Association of Oslo = SmiO

If you are citing a digital copy of this document, please use the following details:

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Acknowledgements & Contents

[Ethnography is] *a wonderful excuse for having an adventurous good time while operating under the pretext of doing serious intellectual work.*

van Maanen 1995: 2

For Mum, Dad, and Georgie

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Not a day has gone by without a phone call or text to my mother, sister or father to check up on them and to let them know how I have decided to spend all the supposed free-time I have had as a research student. My transition from undergraduate studies to postgraduate research may have given off the impression I have spent a lot of time doing absolutely nothing, but I hope the work presented in this modest book might at least prove I have done something worthwhile with my time! I love you all and I am sorry that we have not had a proper family holiday this year due to my August deadline. We will try again next year, perhaps. A special thank you is also due to Auntie Janet for all the blocks of post-it notes she has provided me over the years, without which I do not think I would have been able to use my bedroom wall to create the slightly chaotic mind-map on my wall I used to help me write this text.

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Edinburgh, Scotland | **23 August 2018**

Contents

Declaration.....	3
Abstract.....	4
Lay Summary.....	5
Nota bene.....	6
Acknowledgements & Contents.....	7
1 – Introduction & Preliminary Discussion.....	11
1.1. About this study.....	11
1.2. Chapter outline.....	19
2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse.....	21
2.1. Sociolinguistics and language activism.....	21
2.1.1. The social psychology of language: language ideologies and attitudes.....	22
2.1.2. Language management – <i>from below, from above</i>	23
2.1.3. Perspectives and approaches to language activism.....	24
2.1.4. The relationship between activists and linguists.....	28
2.1.5. Linguistic citizenship and grass-roots initiatives.....	29
2.2. The Nynorsk movement.....	31
2.2.1. Norsk Målungdom (Norwegian Language Youth).....	32
2.2.2. Why study NMU?.....	33
3 – Linguistic Ethnography in Sociolinguistic Case Studies.....	35
3.1. Anthropological approaches to sociolinguistics.....	35
3.1.1. Critical sociolinguistics.....	36
3.1.2. Sociolinguistics and social theory.....	37
3.1.3. Qualitative methodologies.....	38
3.2. Linguistic ethnography.....	39
3.2.1. The researcher as observer-participant.....	40
3.2.2. Grounded theory and extended case method.....	41
3.2.3. Thick description and hypothesis-generation.....	42
3.2.4. Benefits and limitations.....	43
3.3. Ethnographic research questions.....	45
4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts.....	46
4.1. An academic year with NMU and SmiO (August 2015–June 2016).....	47
4.1.1. August 2015.....	49
4.1.2. September 2015.....	53
4.1.3. October 2015.....	58
4.1.4. November 2015.....	61
4.1.5. December 2015.....	65
4.1.6. January 2016.....	67
4.1.7. February 2016.....	71
4.1.8. March 2016.....	73
4.1.9. April 2016.....	76
4.1.10. May 2016.....	82
4.1.11. June 2016.....	85
4.2. <i>Nynorsk myteknusar</i> : attending the 2018 Winter Camp (19-21 January 2018).....	87
4.2.1. Ethics.....	89
4.2.2. Event-specific remarks.....	91

4.2.3. Friday 19 January.....	92
4.2.4. Saturday 20 January.....	93
4.2.5. Sunday 21 January.....	95
4.2.6. Limitations and unfulfilled objectives.....	96
4.3. Trends and traits of contemporary Nynorsk language activism.....	97
4.3.1. The educational institution as a campaigning venue.....	98
4.3.2. Educational institutions as a forum for overt language attitudes.....	98
4.3.3. Linguistic rights discourses.....	99
4.3.4. Nynorsk identity and harnessing stereotypes.....	100
4.3.5. Responding to centralisation and municipal reform.....	100
4.3.6. Demographic change, Bokmål and English.....	101
4.3.7. Activism as lobbying and advocacy.....	102
4.3.8. Solidarity and defence against marginalisation.....	102
5 – Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism.....	104
5.1. Theoretical frameworks for language activism.....	104
5.2. Nynorsk as a medium-sized language variety.....	105
5.2.1. Language activism and geospecificity.....	106
5.2.2. Nynorsk and Catalan (Catalonia).....	107
5.2.3. Nynorsk and Scots (Scotland).....	110
5.3. A grounded framework for medium-sized language activism.....	111
6 – Reflections: Linguistic Ethnography as Socially Constituted Linguistics.....	114
6.1. Traditions in sociolinguistics.....	114
6.1.1. Does language “reflect” society?.....	115
6.1.2. Linguistic behaviour as social behaviour.....	117
6.2. Socially-constituted linguistics.....	118
6.2.1. Subjects, objects – nature, culture.....	119
6.2.2. Critical ethnographic sociolinguistics.....	120
6.3. Conclusion: language activism as a socially-constituted phenomenon.....	121
7 – Concluding Remarks & Future Research.....	122
7.1. Summary.....	122
7.2. Extending cases: further language activism research.....	123
Appendices.....	124
A.1. Full timeline and notes for 4.1.....	124
A.2. Full fieldwork notes for 4.2.....	147
A.3. Project Information Sheet (with translation) for 4.2.....	156
A.4. E-mails to the Norwegian Language Youth (with translation) for 4.2.....	160
A.5. Photographs and material/press excerpts.....	168
Bibliography.....	188

1 – Introduction & Preliminary Discussion

1.1. About this study

Whether they like it or not, [linguists] must become increasingly concerned with the many anthropological, sociological, and psychological problems which invade the field of language.

Sapir 1929 [1970]: 76-77

This study presents Nynorsk language activists in the modern day, and this study is first tasked with briefly explaining topics and events that lead up to the time period being researched. This work is destined primarily at an audience already familiar with Scandinavian Studies and the Norwegian language, though it has also been written in a framework and style appropriate for linguists and linguistic anthropologists.

Providing a comprehensive description of the Norwegian language in its contemporary history is made difficult by the reality that most readers in the Anglosphere neither come from Norway nor know much at all about this Scandinavian country's linguistic history. Additionally, they may expect to receive a description that attempts to compare this particular linguistic situation to their own, regardless of the sociopolitical differences between the world described in this research and their own.

This study is an ethnography of Nynorsk and its modern advocates as they are today; it seeks to describe a state of affairs – a social discourse about language – from the perspective of a researcher who has observed and witnessed the broad spectrum of language activism in Norway. Ethnographies are designed to generate more areas for research and they uncover more complexity and questions rather than provide a neat summary. Whilst a set of research questions will be tackled once relevant theory, methodologies, and terminological issues have been reviewed, I intend to inform our

current understanding of the situation by providing a bed of rich data and analysis, concluding with the creation of more sociolinguistic research questions.

For the purposes of this study, I will tackle the following research questions which are elaborated on further in 3.3.:

RQ1:

What kind of activity and campaigning do young Nynorsk activists and advocates engage in, and what is their *language activism* like?

RQ2:

To what extent can we relate this case of Nynorsk language activism with the cases of other *medium-sized* languages, such as Catalan and Scots?

RQ3:

Which theoretical and methodological conclusions does this study provide to modern linguistics as a discipline – how should linguists further study and reflect upon language in society, as well as political or language attitudes discourses?



Image 1.1.1.

Ivar Aasen (1813-1896)

Norwegian Nynorsk – hereafter referred to as *Nynorsk* – is one of two written varieties of the Norwegian language with official status (the other being *Bokmål*), known as *skriftspråk* (written languages) or *målformer* (forms of language). The use, standardisation, and management of Nynorsk and Bokmål have been collectively studied and examined as a textbook example of contemporary and continued efforts in language planning (see Haugen 1966, Bucken-Knapp 2003, Spolsky 2009: 148).

Nynorsk is structurally and aesthetically different from Bokmål, and like Bokmål, it offers users a range of alternative spellings and constructions within the norm to account for structural and lexical variety in dialectal Norwegian (Puchowski 2017a: 19ff). Originally the creation of Ivar Aasen following the publication of his book *Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge* in 1853, which documents his travels to research the Norwegian language's dialects and structural origins in earlier Norwegian and Old Norse, Nynorsk is used by a minority of Norwegian speakers. Estimates from school demographics suggest that 15% of the Norwegian population, approximately 600,000 people, primarily use Nynorsk (Grepstad 2015: 52).

Comparison

English: Can we go now? I am tired of waiting.

Bokmål, 2005 standard: Kan vi gå nå? Jeg er lei av å vente.

Nynorsk, 2012 standard: Kan vi/me gå no/nå? Eg er lei av å venta/vente.

Swedish: Kan vi gå nu? Jag är trött på att vänta.

Danish: Kan vi gå nu? Jeg er træt af at vente.

Nynorsk orthographic standards have gone through numerous re-standardisations (informally referred to as *rettskrivingar*, lit. “correct spellings”), and we can to-date only estimate that the number of active, primary users of Nynorsk in Norway never surpassed 34.1% of the total population (see *Språkfakta* 2015: § 8). Nevertheless, Nynorsk remains in use in several domains under the shadow of the dominant standard Bokmål – which itself was the successor of attempts to Norwegianise the remnant Danish written standard from which Nynorsk is meant to diverge.

The Norwegian state, its municipalities, and county administrations typically elect to use Nynorsk or Bokmål in communications – or to remain “neutral” – but the standard by law is that residents reserve the right to communicate with authorities in the written language of their choice and receive documents and replies in the same written language.¹

Regarding today’s situation, the majority of Nynorsk users are located outside large urban districts like Bergen or Oslo, focused in the western counties of Møre og Romsdal, Sogn og Fjordane, Hordaland, Rogaland, and Vest-Agder as well as in the fringes of Telemark, Hedmark, Oppland, Buskerud, and Aust-Agder.

¹ *Lov om målbruk i offentleg teneste [mållova]* – <https://lovdata.no/lov/1980-04-11-5> – accessed 25 June 2018.

1 – Introduction & Preliminary Discussion

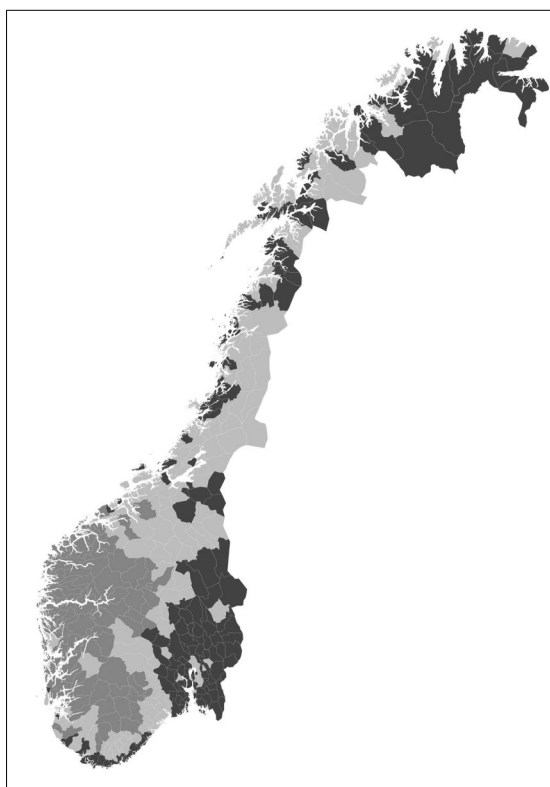


Image 1.1.2.

Municipal map, continental Norway (2013)

Nynorsk municipalities in dark grey;

Bokmål municipalities in black;

“*neutral*” municipalities in light grey

(Image: Pavel Iosad)

Since the work of Norwegian-American sociolinguist Einar Haugen (1906-1994), the continued focus on Nynorsk amongst groups of active sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists has exposed the Norwegian relationships between language and sociopolitical and cultural attitudes. The continued preservation of Norwegian dialect and linguistic variation, as well as its recent political origins in tandem with the founding of the modern Norwegian state, have all made Nynorsk a curious and unique case study.

Describing Nynorsk in contrast with other linguistic varieties is made difficult by its position in linguistic studies as a standard language that is intended for written rather than spoken use (Puchowski 2017a: 14). The fact that this country of five million people still politically endorses two orthographic standards is indicative of its linguistic history. In brief, the shift away from writing in Danish, and the debates about what the new Norwegian orthography should look like and build its structural foundations upon, continues to contrast with the language policy and planning narrative of many other developed, industrialised polities in the Western world.

As sociolinguistic situations across the world vary, linguists are accustomed to looking at studies describing social stratification, power structures and political debates about minoritised language varieties in a range of territories (see May 2008, Adrey 2009, Vila & Bretxa 2013). In cases where linguistic varieties are threatened by extinction, or exist in post-colonial political realities, campaigners at the grass-roots level work to promote change and to secure sociopolitical value for minority and repressed language varieties. This is one type of *language activism*, and as we will see later, the activities this term describes are inherently broad and varied – defined by political contexts, fused into a range of other social activisms that have little to do with language itself, and much to do with social power and influence (Vikør 1975: 18).

Nynorsk and the Norwegian language are not on the verge of extinction, and I find it difficult to apply to it the same rhetoric and analytical dialectic of studying language activism as is found in the case of extinct, dying or post-colonial languages (see Florey 2008: 121, Makoni & Criss 2017: 534). Nynorsk has maintained relative stability as a minority variety of the Norwegian written language, and is contained

1 – Introduction & Preliminary Discussion

within the politics of a developed western European nation-state. The activism and advocacy for Nynorsk have, therefore, a flavour of Norwegian sociopolitics.

For a comparative scholar of language, it is worth considering what it is about the Norwegian context that caters for such sociolinguistic discourse and widespread Norwegian dialect use today, and how definitions of language activism elsewhere conflict with Nynorsk's own situation. Theoretically, as sociolinguists we should address what this says about definitions of language activism, and how we can establish comparative frameworks without falling into static definitions of such terminology that do not consider nuance and the dynamic nature of a language and its community of users as social entities.

This study intends to highlight theoretical ramifications for sociolinguistics as a modern discipline. As well as aiming to give detailed focus on Nynorsk, this study also addresses how we better define *language activism* as a term, as well as laying the ground to develop frameworks which other linguists can use to compare different cases.

Nynorsk's continued maintenance and use have been successful in part because of support given by cultural and sociopolitical organisations that have existed almost as long as Nynorsk has been recognised as an official language of Norway. Organisations such as Noregs Mållag (NM, the Norwegian Language Society, founded 1906 as *Norigs Mållag*) and Norsk Målungdom (NMU, the Norwegian Language Youth, founded 1961 as *Noregs Student- og Elevmållag*, or *the Norwegian Language Society for Students and Pupils*) are, as we will see, examples of language activist organisations in as far as they engage in activities to campaign on behalf of the Nynorsk-using community and advocate for social and political change with respect to Nynorsk, maintaining linguistic rights, preserving Norway's dialects, and supporting the minoritised Sámi and Kven

language varieties. Perhaps the most well-known example of extralinguistic political work in the Nynorsk movement is the role of these two organisations during referenda on Norwegian membership of the European Economic Community (1972) and the European Union (1994), advocating for “no” votes in opposition to (further) European integration for fear of perceived detrimental political centralisation (more discussion in *Almenningen* 1992).

Here, we focus on the Norwegian Language Youth (NMU) and its associated groups. Departing from historiographic approaches to detailing the activities of this group and the Norwegian Language Society (NM), this work describes NMU from a synchronic perspective. There is no determinate reason for selecting the particular time periods covered in this study – yet – acknowledging previous studies on the Nynorsk movement (Bucken-Knapp 2003, Puzey 2011), we are aware that as time periods change, we see a reflection of the current political mood and dominant language attitudes in the activism engaged in by these groups.

Owing to the multidisciplinary nature of this project and the applications of its conclusions, I have written this text in a way which discusses minoritised language discourses where they continue to be viewed from a range of different methodological and analytical angles. An aim of this study is to consider language as it is “socially constituted” – to borrow the term used by Allan Bell (2016: 395), touching on the breadth of the study of language in social contexts and the implications this has for us as linguists working across several different and varying academic domains. As Bell suggests, “the kind of quantitative correlational analysis with which variationist sociolinguistics was established [...] is now expected to be enriched with nuanced attention to the social” (*ibid.*) – a project I intend this text to help contribute towards.

1.2. Chapter outline

My work begins by addressing the phenomenon of language activism, as well as current approaches to studying it. I describe and evaluate the research method of linguistic ethnography and its applications, before presenting and examining NMU by showcasing the fieldwork and ethnographic findings that will be used to address specific questions about the nature and modern-day life of Nynorsk language activism. I then discuss how we can relate the Norwegian case study with cases of comparable medium-sized linguistic communities which share with larger acrolectal varieties like Bokmål, as well as offer comments on this study's contributions to the field of sociolinguistics regarding the methodologies and analytical approach I have used.

In **Chapter 2**, the key objects of analysis are addressed. I examine language activism as both a field of sociolinguistic enquiry and a term of linguistic discourse. The reader is then introduced to the flavour of language activism specific to the Nynorsk linguistic community as well as one of its main advocacy organisations, NMU – the group which is the primary focus of the fieldwork undertaken here.

In **Chapter 3**, I introduce and describe linguistic ethnography: a qualitative research methodology and analytical framework grounded in anthropology. I explain the reasoning why my research uses ethnographic methods, and how they are appropriate for investigating particular sociolinguistic case studies, as well as in which ways ethnography can be used to answer questions about Nynorsk language activism.

Chapter 4 contains two ethnographies:

(1) The first details events by NMU and its associated groups between August 2015 and June 2016; this is done in the style of a timeline as an introductory overview of the work, social activities and internal workings of the Nynorsk movement. This is

enhanced with accounts of my explicit work as a committee member of the Student Language Association of Oslo (SmiO, *Studentmållaget i Oslo* – a local chapter of NMU).

(2) The second is shorter in time coverage and content, examining a weekend residential event hosted by NMU in January 2018. It serves to expose in more detail the public face of the organisation to both members and guests who support and sympathise with the organisation, where the first ethnography is only able to give a brief summary of similar events.

In **Chapter 5**, considerations are made of how Nynorsk language activism can be compared and contrasted with examples in other locales. I refer to other examples of language activism outside of Norway to address how to examine language activism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon for medium-sized linguistic communities in areas of modern western Europe: Catalan users in Catalonia, and Scots users in Scotland.

In **Chapter 6**, I propose linguistic ethnography as an alternative methodological perspective with theoretical consequences for linguistics as a multidisciplinary domain. I address which theoretical and methodological conclusions this study provides to modern linguistics as a discipline, and how linguists going forward can study and reflect upon language in society, political discourse, and studies in language attitudes.

I conclude this work in **Chapter 7**, consolidating my findings, highlighting research topics for future work in sociolinguistics and language activism studies.

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

Approaching language planning from below in practical terms means allowing the views and priorities of language users, rather than top-down political will, to dictate the direction of language policy making.

Linn 2010: 115

In this chapter, I address *language activism* as a term used to describe a broad set of activities related to the promotion and advocacy of linguistic varieties, language policies, and/or ideological-attitudinal orientations. Before introducing the language activism specific to the Nynorsk community, I will give a brief overview of extant research approaches to language activism in sociolinguistics, arguing that the complexity and nuance required to define the term exposes the fact that present frameworks and definitions which examine language activist phenomena are underdeveloped (or not developed at all). My project re-addresses essentialised definitions of language activism by drafting a critical, ethnographic analysis of Nynorsk activists.

2.1. Sociolinguistics and language activism

The approach I take here is to consider sociolinguistics as a broad and multidisciplinary field which studies language varieties and linguistic behaviour in relation to “det sociala” (“the social”; Karlsson 2016: 126). Areas of study in sociolinguistics related to this project – such as language shift, variation, change, policy, planning, and management – all bridge conceptual divides between the performance of individual language users, stratified behavioural trends in language communities, and the role of societal power structures and standards – all of which inform what is perceived by users

to be acceptable or divergent use. We can discuss these sociolinguistic phenomena within the conceptual frame of a linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996: 7) or societal discourse of language (Mayr 2008: 4), which are themselves tied into greater and more extensive sociocultural discourses. By discourse, we mean systems of knowledge in which social meaning is produced between actors, groups and overarching ideologies (Morgan 2007: 952), and linguistic behaviour is to be seen as an inherent part of social behaviour where language is a cultural activity and part of social practice, equally influenced by the same exchange of attitudes and ideologies established across communities.

By synthesising dominant perspectives and approaches to language activism, I propose in this section that language activists are – at least rudimentarily, and for the purposes of this study – participants within sociolinguistic discourse, exchanging ideological stances and promoting their activity through overt attitudinal orientations towards language and linguistic behaviour.

2.1.1. The social psychology of language: language ideologies and attitudes

Language change and variation are linguistic phenomena influenced not just by geographical distances between language communities and diachronic typological structural changes, but also synchronic socio-political decision making and the proliferation of societal norms about language. Language attitudes and ideologies, which are considered to be overt and covert orientations or beliefs towards language from a social-psychological perspective (see Garrett 2010), will exert influence on and predispose instances of linguistic behaviour, covert prejudices towards specific styles and varieties, and contribute to the construction (and later development) of policy and legislation on language in organised political systems. Institutions which develop

2 – *Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse*

language policy, like state governments, have the ability to influence sociolinguistic discourse through institutionalising specific attitudes (Mayr 2008: 4).

Language attitudes and language policy mutually influence one another, and both contribute to language change and shift over time (ibid.: 16). Negative or “disloyal” attitudes towards a language in favour of another can often be a significant contributing factor towards the death of a language variety (Solé i Camardons: 2011: 46-47). Individual actors and organisations in civil society attempt to reverse such changes (May 2008: 310), with or without the support of state institutions – such campaigns promote countering attitudes and orientations towards language, attempting to change the current discourse narrative to influence collectives of authority and individual language users (Bradley 2014: 1-2). An exchange of language attitudes and ideologies exists between institutional actors and the language users; whilst language users remain under their jurisdiction and influence of these institutional actors, changes in ideologies and attitudes from above reflect changing discourse from below.

2.1.2. Language management – *from below, from above*

The development of policy itself can legitimise language varieties and standards within a socio-political system (St. Clair 1982: 165) – the process of social legitimisation of a language variety requires the participation of social actors which ranges from the actions of individual speakers to the collective efforts of authorities and legislators. Citizens of a socio-political system are not dissociated from the internal workings of modern contemporary democratic states, for example, and will not exist outwith political frameworks. As far as the social discourse of language itself is concerned, the role of individual language users in collective, grass-roots movements (and as non-state actors) can also be considered in language maintenance and management as a dynamic

exchange of views and actions *from below* at the level of the individual language user, and *from above* at the level of governments and authorities (Røyneland 2013, Sallabank 2013: 140, O’Rourke & Castillo 2014: 34). This dichotomy is theoretically useful, but the two roles can at times overlap; in Sallabank’s study of endangered heritage languages of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, she examines the work of people in grass-roots and voluntary groups who are working to revitalise these languages, but some actors involved in these efforts may also be politicians active in the creation of official language policy (2013: 140).

This leads us now to address these campaigns and voluntary efforts which originate *from below* to influence and change the linguistic status quo (with or without the cooperation of legislators) – this is one example of the behaviour associated with language activism within contemporary sociolinguistic research. Within the framework of language management proposed by Spolsky, language activists like the ones Sallabank describes are “significant participants in language management” (2009: 204) in that they are groups or individuals with set ideologies to influence policymakers and the population. The principle at hand is that activity *from below* is one of many “social determinants” in language change (Paulston 1994: 4) and can be investigated as part of a dynamic sociolinguistic landscape.

2.1.3. Perspectives and approaches to language activism

As an example of examining language-related activities *from below*, studying language activism is an exercise in observing language attitudes and language ideologies; language users are recipients of orientations towards language, constantly reorienting their own stances, informing the evolution of a language variety and its respective discourse and linguistic culture (Palviainen & Huhta 2015: 193). One theoretical

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

objective in studying language activism can be found in how it exposes the relationship between a linguistic community and the authorities – institutional or cultural – which influence it (Solé i Camardons 2001: 78-79).

We can also analyse language activists as operating within a linguistic market – what they are selling in this metaphorical market is a “charter myth”, a narrative which supports their cause and which language users can relate to (Costa 2016: 54), where arguments based on ethnicity, national identity, culture or various forms of socio-political opposition are used to give currency to prescribed sociolinguistic objectives. There are however different types of language activism, and it might be advantageous theoretically to set them apart by their characteristics. Some activists are seen to be more “conservative”, focused on essentialised ideas about language, identity and politics, whilst others are “linguistically influenced”, oriented towards questions about language rights and linguistic ecology (Etter 2016: 25, citing Jaffe 1999). Language activism in Corsica has been marked by the publishing of didactic materials in opposition to the French state’s historical linguistic/cultural policies (Adrey 2009: 180), and in the case of Bavaria, the work of activists appears to be also grounded in the simultaneous promotion of conservative cultural values (Loester 2015). This is, however, a difficult typology to enforce in language activist studies when evaluating broad movements and organisations where proponents share several overlapping argumentative stances.

Language activism can be interpreted also as a conduit for societal groups to gain power and political influence. As a particular language variety will be the medium that bodies of authority will use in relation to those it has control over, it also holds that where language varieties exist outwith a power dynamic, there exists a language

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

community also excluded from such influence (Bucken-Knapp 2003: 10ff). Particular cases of language activism are considered to be heavily politicised; in the case of Afrikaans in South Africa, the goals of Afrikaans advocates are linked to the preservation of the Afrikaner cultural community and the power of ethnic Afrikaners in politics and the formation of South African national identity (Nyika 2009: 90). Whilst Afrikaans is indeed a language spoken by many who are not ethnic Afrikaners, by engaging in a language environmentalist discourse, particular cases of Afrikaans language activist work have been seen to “disguise” an objective to (re)claim cultural and political influence for a historically hegemonic minority (Kriel 2003: 49-53).

The breadth of the phenomenon also means that language activism does not have a set definition, not even amongst those who are themselves considered to be language activists (Blackwood 2008: 133). This is further muddied by how understandings of language activism often are understood to be the same as efforts in language revitalisation, the prevention of language death (Urla 2012: 140, Florey 2008: 121-124), and issues of racism and post-colonial affairs (Flores 2017: 566, Canagarajah & Stanley 2015: 42). Furthermore, some language activist movements prefer to operate outside of the political system (Martel 1999: 50), whereas others include politicians and influential public figures within their membership and activist ranks (Blackwood 2008: 136).

The current body of work on language activism is, however, broad, and examines more than one type of linguistic culture – examples of language activism in various European cases can be differentiated by their focus on reversing language shift towards one or several hegemonic varieties as opposed to revitalisation (Blackwood 2008: 4) – yet attempts have been made to better narrow down our definition, understanding language activism as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. For example, in a

2 – *Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse*

journal issue dedicated to language activism, Makoni and Criss (2017) give an overview to define what is meant by the term, yet the angle taken by the writers provides an analysis that is mostly focused on post-colonial territories and an oppositional rhetoric between language activist movements and “the West”. Notwithstanding, their work illustrates several contrasting types of activist work, and they accept that there will be different global framings of language activism – they propose for example at one juncture that *advocates* in lieu of *activists* might be a more appropriate term for the less militant, where “language activism is a type of language advocacy, a form of social intervention in which boundaries between pure scholarship and ideological engagement are tenuous” (ibid.: 534-535).

Clearly, language activism is a diverse and broad phenomenon encompassing more than one type of activity. Some language activists will seek more than just language change by engaging in policy creation, whilst other groups operate outwith the political system. One type of activist may work to revitalise a dying language, whereas another will deal with a language variety with stable user numbers and legal protections. We can loosely identify language activists as participants in sociolinguistic discourse with a form of symbolic power, similar to that of trade unions and NGOs as political lobbyists (Solé i Camardons 2001: 196), yet effective and inclusive definitions of language activism cannot be static or essentially prescribed, and neither can it be discounted that one identified form of language activism will be associated with a whole range of other socio-political objectives.

We must also understand that applying the term *language activist* or *language activism* to individuals or activities requires us to evaluate and recalibrate what we mean by the term. Questions about revitalisation and language death, as well as language and

terminology specific to post-colonial language preservation, seem not as applicable to examples of Western, European or stable language varieties that will have been minoritised by other means (Jaffe 2007: 64ff, Canagarajah & Stanley 2015: 42). From a critical standpoint, it is necessary for us to examine language activism as a term that can be used interchangeably with a range of *from below*-sociolinguistic behaviours which participate within a wider societal discourse about language.

2.1.4. The relationship between activists and linguists

Analyses of language activism are also pertinent to the study of popular discourse about language – that is to say, the study of how those who are not linguists talk about language, to understand the development of sociolinguistic phenomena (Albury 2017: 4). By studying what people claim to know about language, we are able to see how ideas about language exist within different societies and cultures. However, I argue here that theoretical divisions between “linguists” and “non-linguists” proposed by projects such as “folk linguistics” (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 10) proves difficult to maintain when language activists are considered as mobile participants in linguistic discourse.

All language users have ideas about what is correct and what is acceptable language use (Albury 2017: 12-13), and these ideas differ from the ideas about language that institutionally legitimised linguists provide, to the extent that phenomena and trends in language are meant to be described *in situ*. Ideally speaking, non-linguists (whose claims generally lack institutional legitimacy) make assumptions and prescribe certain behaviours based on qualities and instances of linguistic behaviour which are socially prized. In essence, linguists and non-linguists alike talk about language from informed perspectives, but it is non-linguists who develop prescriptive preferences and prejudices that linguists are meant to avoid.

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

If operating within this frame of reference, we can consider language activists as part of this latter group for their advocacy (and likewise, prescription) of attitudes towards language. Yet, as discussed in the previous sub-section, it should not be discounted that institutionally qualified linguists will belong to activist organisations. If making a linguist/non-linguist divide, non-linguists are essentially expected to have developed and informed their prejudices more arbitrarily (McKenzie & Osthus 2011: 101), but activists can look to research in linguistics (and related fields) to inform their own campaigns. Indeed, the separation between “ordinary” people (Sloboda, Szabo-Gilinger, Vigers & Simicic. 2010: 110-111) and professional linguists in activist studies is muddled by how voluntary collectives can include participants from both of these proposed groups. As I will illustrate in the next section, this has historically been the case for Nynorsk language activists, where intellectuals and scholars of language have been as much a part of the movement as those without formal education in language studies (and as my ethnographic study in Chapter 4 shows, this continues).

In the case of language activism, talking about language is not reserved to those engaged in academic pursuits; the activists I describe here are “linguists” and “non-linguists” alike, and activism in this context can range from linguistically uninformed work to mediated decision making informed by research findings.

2.1.5. Linguistic citizenship and grass-roots initiatives

A supplementary framework used to consider grass-roots language policy efforts can also be found in work on *linguistic citizenship*; questions of language management and political issues are considered within, or in relation to, language rights-related discourses, which are dependent on both state political and legislative institutions. As opposed to seeing language policy change and enforcement as a matter solely for

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

institutions and politicians, linguistic citizenship describes popular sociolinguistic movements and active work motivated by a public self-determination to fulfil linguistic goals (Stroud 2001: 353). This framework is useful as we examine language activism as a phenomenon that exists in and across more than one state. This is pertinent when talking about language rights and how nation-states enforce legislation on language, as we do not assume that all polities share the same legislative apparatus. Sociolinguistic behaviour as linguistic citizenship is seen as something emancipatory, participatory and inclusive (Stroud & Heugh 2014: 214), where language in intimate, informal and local contexts can transcend the role of legislation and the boundaries of the nation-state.

This perspective is all the more appealing by virtue of dominant and influential works on language policy and management having emerged during the establishment of various nation-states in the 20th century and the political transition for many former European colonies in Africa, Asia and Oceania; much of the academic gaze until now has understandably been focused on the nation-state as the unit of study, which explains the dominant top-down approach in language management studies (Ricento 2000: 9). A growing awareness of linguistic activity as phenomena with several dynamic social, political and economic forces at play has recalibrated our attention in language policy and planning efforts to consider how legislation and top-down approaches can just as much reinforce inequality and injustice as they can work to prevent them (ibid.: 11-16, Stroud & Heugh 2014: 191, Safran 2015: 264), and the work of grass-roots groups to counter perceived linguistic hegemony can be better integrated into a framework which considers policy and planning from more than one angle.

2.2. The Nynorsk movement

The Nynorsk movement has been historically marked by its position in politico-linguistic struggles (known as *språkstriden*; Tove 2007: 124-128, Vikør 1975: 91-92) which followed the introduction of a Norwegian constitution in 1814 and independence in 1905. The early Nynorsk movement was to be found in various smaller language associations across Norway with no actual “organised” movement until 1906 when NM was founded the night before the party conference of the Liberal Party (*Venstre*) in the capital (Grepstad 2006: 147, Almenningen 1992: 99). What had existed before was an ideological fervour amongst scholars and dialect enthusiasts (Grepstad 2006: 125), which would later lead to the creation of this nationwide organisation for Nynorsk, dialects and, historically, the movement for more definitive distinction of the Norwegian language from Danish (Jahr, Nedreliid & Nielsen 2016: 11).

The early *språkstrid* had been focused on preventing centralisation of power in the young Norway by defending elements of farming and rural culture – something which would later inform NM’s opposition to membership of the EEC, galvanising support and membership for the organisation (Jahr 2014: 152-153). Minority and fringe interests also exist within the wider Nynorsk movement – the most prominent group being Ivar Aasen-sambandet, which advocates for older, more traditional Nynorsk spelling conventions (*høgnorsk*) and publishes its *Målmannen* newsletter. The culturally-focused Noregs Ungdomslag – which celebrates folk traditions, theatre and poetry – is also connected to both the Nynorsk movement and rural Norwegian interests.

2.2.1. Norsk Målungdom (Norwegian Language Youth)

NMU was founded in 1961 as a Nynorsk and dialect association for students and school pupils (Vikør, in Almenningen 1981: 263), with today's membership available to young people under the age of 26. Today both NMU and NM share the same offices in Oslo, with NMU operating semi-autonomously with voting rights in NM. Its membership elects a central committee (*sentralstyre*) whose officers work part-time for the organisation and a larger national committee (*landsstyre*) which meets several times a year. The organisation is governed by an annual general meeting (*landsmøte*) of nominated delegates from regional or university-based local chapters (*lokallag*) once a year.

NMU came to particular prominence in Norwegian sociolinguistic discourse during the 1970s due to its organisation of protests for Nynorsk textbooks at schools and its campaign against potential Norwegian EEC membership (Almenningen 1992: 180). NMU was principally able to energise its student organisations during the so-called *dialektbølge* (dialect wave) as more and more students from rural and peripheral areas of Norway attended universities and colleges for the first time (Torp & Vikør 2014: 296-297), bringing their spoken dialects (and for many, Nynorsk) with them. Through active campaigning to keep dialects in use in the academic environment, Nynorsk advocates had begun to frame linguistic matters not as something of a philological curiosity, but a question of power and equality (Grepstad 2006: 240, Jahr 2014: 152-153).

The first Norwegian referendum on Europe platformed the Nynorsk movement's perception of political centralisation, culture, and language as potential victims of political hegemony and the breakdown of peripheral identity, whereas the organisation's contemporary work focuses more on debates surrounding the compulsory examination of both Norwegian orthographies at school. Norwegian L1 school pupils without a

learning difficulty, who use Bokmål as their language of instruction must take an exam in Nynorsk, and vice versa; whether this policy should be scrapped remains a contentious debate (*sidemålsdebatten*, Jahr 2014: 168).

2.2.2. Why study NMU?

The Nynorsk movement today represents the interests of a standard language variety which has become steadily regionalised to the west and midlands of Norway, having not realised the original goal of making Nynorsk the only national written language after separation from Denmark (Grepstad 2012: 45, Hoel 2001: 20), whilst still operating as one of two legally equal Norwegian linguistic communities nationwide (Grepstad 2012: 158-159). This is indicative of a dynamic multilingual regime (see van der Jeught 2017: 181ff) of both regional and national policy perspectives. As debates about Europe and national identity have quietened down, the Nynorsk movement has shifted its concentration to preserving Nynorsk in the modern democratic framework of the state and maintaining the relationship of language with culture and tradition (Hanto 2016: 148).

The Nynorsk movement has not been documented extensively in its 21st-century state, which would take into account modern challenges and discourse within the movement and its organisations. Considering the advent of *sidemålsdebatten* since the late 20th century, perspectives from young Nynorsk and dialect advocates within NMU (with first-hand experience) will enlighten our current understanding of Nynorsk activism. The descriptive study undertaken here is a synchronic evaluation of contemporary Nynorsk activism within the context of NMU and its local chapters as an organisation; the study of these organisations should help us to understand the context

2 – Language Activism: Sociolinguistic Enquiry & Popular Discourse

within which individual actors are informed and differences in opinion and attitudes are exposed (Chen 2018: 37).

By studying activism from its grass-roots base, we depart from examining issues *from above* at the institutional level – work on Nynorsk by Bucken-Knapp in 2003 did well to examine the role of political parties during the days of Nynorsk’s institutionalisation as a national language, but his study does not encompass enough perspective on the currency and power Nynorsk activists at the grass-roots level had in political discourses about language. This is not to say that grass-roots organisations are always capable of dictating language policy, but the *bottom-up/from below* contribution to language attitudes and linguistic discourses is indeed capable of informing policy creation and wider language ideologies in a community through macro-social forces (Kroskrity 2008: 1-2) – examples of relevant Nynorsk linguistic citizenship in the 21st century would thus benefit linguists’ analytical frameworks for the relationship between *top-down* and *bottom-up* processes. The study of language activists like those in NMU can be relevant to illustrate power relations *from below* instead of considering language policy and planning purely from the perspective of institutions. Language can be studied for how it exposes the power dynamic of a society (Vikør 1975: 18), and this gives the linguist insight into the negotiation between speakers and collectives at the grass-roots level of language management.

3 – Linguistic Ethnography in Sociolinguistic Case Studies

[A]t its heart, ethnography is most focused on what happens; hence the notion many people have that it is primarily about description. As a first step, that is certainly true: the first ethnographic commitment is to discover what is going on [...]. But it is important not to stop there; the second key dimension of data collection has to do with what will help us explain why things happen the way they do, in the circumstances in which they occur.

Heller 2011: 42

This chapter presents the research method I will use to describe and analyse Nynorsk language activism – *linguistic ethnography* – a qualitative and analytical research method established in anthropological fieldwork. I first outline what anthropological approaches to sociolinguistic case studies have to offer and how they can contribute towards a critical re-evaluation of language activism. To demonstrate, I use linguistic ethnography to contextually examine Nynorsk activists and activist discourses in NM and NMU through observing their activities from the perspective of a participant in these activities. I will draw up three open-ended research questions towards which my ethnographic analyses will provide answers and contemporary perspectives. These questions are addressed individually in chapters four, five, and six.

3.1. Anthropological approaches to sociolinguistics

Unlike more sociologically-oriented traditions in the social sciences, anthropological research methods traditionally examine individual communities and groups by investigating how conceptual phenomena including culture, language and religion are meaningful within their own set contexts (Fasold 1991: 214). Trends and behaviour change over time, and anthropological methods investigate – more or less – localised

knowledge and relationships at a set period of time (Pauwels 2016: 29-30). This means traditions and discourses particular to a community. In our case, the intimate ties and understandings between groups and languages fall into this remit.

Anthropological approaches to the study of language are seen as both synchronic and as methods which look at language at the level of communication and interaction. Language is considered in terms of social meaning and its function within linguistic communities beyond communication (Argenter 2011: 49). As a social practice, or a “subtype of cultural practices” (Foley 1997: 40), language is studied by anthropological linguists as behaviours which are “inherently social” (Ahearn 2017: 303). When studying linguistic discourse, meaning and interaction both synchronically and within specific contexts, anthropological methods (like linguistic ethnography) are distinguished by their critical, analytical and qualitative attributes.

3.1.1. Critical sociolinguistics

Critical approaches in the social sciences question assumptions and ideas (or dominant theoretical ideologies) in academic work which are taken for granted (Barakos & Unger 2016: 2-3). As my object of study is language activism, and having already considered the wide and varying body of examples, we can adopt the research aims of critical approaches to sociolinguistics by considering how the contexts in which we use terminology and discuss linguistic behaviour shift and tie in with other cultural tropes in different societies, as no language “exist[s] in a vacuum” (Safran 2015: 256).

Giving an analytic account of an object of study, critical theory provides a description of the world in which it is studied and the power relations which relate to it (Albury 2017: 1-4). This requires a multidisciplinary analysis with appropriate research methods (Ricento 2000: 22). Critical sociolinguistic research methods are characterised

3 – Linguistic Ethnography in Sociolinguistic Case Studies

by their examination of language as a process which cannot be separated from social behaviour (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 2-4), necessitating qualitative or mixed-methods qualitative/quantitative data analysis.

3.1.2. Sociolinguistics and social theory

Sociolinguistics, as a discipline, seeks to answer questions about society and about language, with social theory informing perspectives on language, and linguistic theory informing perspectives on society. Until now, sociolinguists (generally speaking) have invested more of their energy in answering questions about language rather than society, “[ignoring] recent work in social theory” (Carter 2013: 581), with no unified approach to integrating social theoretical approaches into linguistic work. More recent perspectives in sociolinguistics have, however, begun to evaluate language more as an example of social practice from the perspective of subjects and communities (ibid.: 591). When researching socio-political affairs in linguistic behaviour, it will be advantageous to interpret language in a frame of reference where language is not seen as a “fixed system”, but as a system with external conditioning and potential agency in the case of its users (Morgan 2007: 952). We can employ disciplinary critical and socially-embedded approaches which are more receptive to discourse about language and linguistic behaviour being a product of historical and social innovation, as opposed to evaluating such things without socio-political context (Gilmore 2011: 122).

A pertinent point to take into consideration for the purposes of Nynorsk is how advocacy of Nynorsk, dialects or minority language rights are not entirely interpreted as a political statement by those who engage in it (Vikør 1975: 64). The use of Nynorsk and its place in several cultural remits such as theatre, poetry and folk traditions have been part of a cultural legacy, and not one that has existed for instigating active

adversarial debate or conscious challenges to power structures. Our terminological use of language activism to describe these activities is governed by its own nuance and its relationship with other cultural and social activities that are not directly related to language at all. When operating within an analytic research paradigm, the use of terminology and defined terms is indeed a desirable hallmark of consistency and rigour, and I do not abandon definitions entirely. The intention, however, is to avoid both uncritically accepting essentialisations about language activism from previous studies, and hence accepting the inevitability of complexity and exceptions to the rule (Blommaert 2013: 10-13). This requires the adoption of a research methodology which takes an appropriate theoretical orientation that examines phenomena beyond the limitations set by the precedent of essentialised definitions.

3.1.3. Qualitative methodologies

As discussed, critical sociolinguistics takes its starting point in re-evaluating commonly-held conceptions about language as a social object, and the use of qualitative methods in data analysis and synthesis is a keystone in this approach; language is seen from the angle of being a relative and socio-political affair, and whilst quantitative surveys and statistical analyses serve well to provide informed descriptions of linguistic behaviour over time, they can at times have little to show for the “subjective qualities that govern behaviour” (Holliday 2007: 7). An evaluation of language activism in real-time that is encompassing of multiple discourses and the role of organisations, members and the dominating mindsets and ideologies within these groups will be suited to broad, descriptive qualitative research methods such as discourse analysis, societal treatment studies and ethnographic observation of participants which “provide an account of the worlds [studied]” (Albury 2017: 4).

3.2. Linguistic ethnography

The analytical methods of linguistic ethnography – a qualitative, interactive and discursive approach in critical sociolinguistics – have been used to contextualise and situate social meaning in language and in linguistic communities (Creese 2008: 229, Jaffe 2007: 73-74). Linguistic ethnographic approaches have developed from anthropological orientations to linguistic fieldwork in communities through participant observation; ethnographers themselves are the research instruments, observing how local knowledge and behaviours are characterised across a community and how they change under changing circumstances (Pietikäinen 2016: 270, Meek 2011: x-xi).

Data is collated, contextualised and described through the researcher's own *gaze* – that is to say how they are positioned and their level of participation in the group studied. Through this observation, broad descriptions of linguistic behaviour at the micro-level can be given “comprehensively” (Blommaert 2007: 682) and synchronically (Heller 2011: 42). Linguistic ethnography as its own subfield is, however, a developing approach to studies in sociolinguistics, yet it has gained support as an appropriate research methodology when studying language use in communities and language advocacy (Peltz 2017: 667, Etter 2016: 31, Linn 2010: 118). Studies of how the public thinks and speaks about language locally can also benefit from ethnographic research (Albury 2017: 4). Linguistic ethnography has already a reputation as a research methodology relevant for investigating phenomena *from below* (McCarty 2015: 82, Hornberger & Johnson 2011: 273), and this is due to the legacy of research following on from John Gumperz (1922-2013) and Dell Hymes (1927-2009) who both examined language from an angle which prizes how language varieties act as a “social resource”

and how their function ties into the social fabric of various communities (Izon 2008: 65).

3.2.1. The researcher as observer-participant

Ethnography examines societies as inherently tied up with power balances and multifilar structures; the interpretation amongst *linguistic* ethnographers is that an object like language can be neither contextually nor culturally neutral, and consequently should not be studied solely in a context-free, acultural framework (Ahearn 2017: 303). The intention is not to examine linguistic structure and meaning for their own sakes, but to see how they tie in with cultural interpretations of language which inform the behaviour we analyse as social scientists (Foley 1997: 3ff). The core principle in this line of research is that linguistic ethnographers are the research instruments themselves (McCarty 2015: 85) because it is they who report on what they observe and what is most important to them in their field notes and analysis (Pauwels 2017: 70-71).

In varying cases, the researcher is responsible for selecting which instances of behaviour, documentation (including which *kinds* of documentation), and perspectives are of use and are required for the purposes of their study – meaning that one set of *gazes* and positioned phenomena will be highlighted, whilst other sets will be less so. Ethnographically speaking, all gazes are positioned (Irvine & Gal 2008: 36). To this extent, representation of what is being studied is produced not *by* the researcher, but *through* them, as the researcher has to weigh up a negotiation process throughout their observations and fieldwork to provide a holistic description of the study object which is dependent on the rapport built between the researcher and the community they are observing (Ahearn 2017: 56). Negotiation between their own testimony interaction with other perspectives they encounter through their fieldwork or in extant literature – the

description produced by an ethnography is, therefore, a “representation of the reality of the study” (Tusting & Maybin 2007: 579) and not a set of empirical truth statements (Copland & Creese 2015: 174). A considerable need for sustained self-awareness is required when undertaking ethnographic research (Ahearn 2017: 63) as the researcher’s gaze is sure to frame their description and analysis.

3.2.2. Grounded theory and extended case method

Ethnography does not utilise a set of homogeneous research methodologies, and the sort of description being produced by the ethnography can vary between two approximate approaches to data collection and construction (Jerolmack & Khan 2018: xii). Whilst ethnographers are under no obligation to operate within this dichotomy, data models usually exist either as *grounded* in an initial set of data (*grounded theory*), or as a continuation or *extension* of models from former studies to allow for comparative analysis later on with other cases (*extended case method*). Ethnography can work for those operating without any prior knowledge or assumptions about a case study, whereas others will intend to develop set theories and project them on to alternative situations. Remaining in one approach or the other is not too significant, however, as such rigidity detracts from the ability and flexibility of a researcher to use observer-participation, interviews, surveys and other qualitative methodologies in a range of different ways to elicit a broad, rich body of data (ibid.: xviii). This project does not build on any particular model or analysis from before, as it instead attempts to give ground to a model to examine Nynorsk language activism in an international context; it does not set out to satisfy any formal expectations of data quality or quantity.

3.2.3. Thick description and hypothesis-generation

The outcome of a linguistic ethnographic study is a first-hand observation serving to describe linguistic communities at internal and interactional levels to expose different discourses and processes to an external and uninitiated audience of readers and analysts. In our case, an ethnographic examination of language activism feeds into informed approaches in structural linguistics to describe processes and causation of language change and shift as complexly negotiated processes between language users, collectives and institutions (Copland & Creese 2015: 38). By engaging in the creation of a situated ethnography, what is generated is a rich body of data that can be summarised and synthesised in later analyses.

The researcher cannot, however, expect to provide an exhaustive account (Madden 2017: 76). What is produced in a linguistic ethnography can be called a “thick description” (McCarty 2015: 81) in that it is a corpus of sociolinguistic behaviours with running commentary from the researcher who acts as the interpreter. An ethnography is the creation of a product from an interpretive process (Copland & Creese 2015: 84), hallmarked by an open-ended approach to unravel complexity. Hypotheses are not set out to be proved by necessity; rather, they are (also) generated simultaneously as a space is described, since analysis and description are concurrent processes.

Engaging in ethnographic work is an exercise in theoretical epistemology – ethnographies are bodies of work which re-examine and re-evaluate for the purposes of assessing what we know, how we know what we know, and to elicit the information necessary to reconsider the veracity of long-held assumptions, theories and research approaches.

3.2.4. Benefits and limitations

Strategies for methodological data collection in linguistic ethnography are still developing; there has yet to be one unified conception of its research aims and methods (Copland, Shaw & Snell 2015: 1). Ethnography is centred on the “experiential” (Berg 2016: 5), and its research methods differ from empirical methods in that it examines human and personal phenomena personally. Experiences like these cannot be repeated with the exact same variables and conditions, and the collection and analysis of the data are both reliant entirely on how the researcher interacts with their research object (UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum 2004: 3-4); the researcher is not an “antiseptic tool” (McCarty 2015: 85). When discussing experimental research design in linguistic ethnography, Hymes writes that “ethnography cannot be assumed to be something already complete, ready to be inserted as a packaged unit in the practices and purposes of institutions whose conceptions of knowledge have long been different” (1996: 4) – a challenge for ethnographers is to stress that the research methods we use are different and produce analyses constrained by the limitations of these research methods (Hammersley 2007: 690).

A fundamental principle of ethnographic research is how the researcher interprets their observations, and whilst this means that the presentation of data and information will be presented from the researcher’s perspective, accepting this might be an advantage to the analysis of case studies where where several perspectives are studied in a discourse (Pauwels 2016: 70) – especially in cases where the researcher is able to try out some of the activities being observed in the role as observer-participant. Direct and personal experience can highlight activity at a level which is unobservable from the position of someone external. This is pertinent when studying organisations ethnographically, as the distance between the researcher and their study object would

3 – Linguistic Ethnography in Sociolinguistic Case Studies

prevent a direct analysis of synchronic stages of events (Chen 2018: 42). Ethnography's orientation as an observational and qualitative research method with open-ended questions is another limitation, as it is not a research aim to provide exhaustive answers to set questions; rather, the intention is to underline where complexity "reveal[s] fraught sociolinguistic processes" (McCarty 2015: 91), and demonstrates where phenomena interact with other local knowledge and cultural activity. Indeed, what ethnographic analyses provide are demonstrations of complexity, illustrating where this complexity originates (Blommaert 2013: 10-13).

An important task for the ethnographer is to *adapt* ethnographic methods to their research object and to simultaneously survey the field. The hands-on approach that ethnography offers can be a strength in socio-political studies on language (Albury 2016: 358) in that observation of policy processes on the ground requires direct contact and observation which is not offered by observation from a distance (for example through corpus or legislative studies). Nevertheless, as research questions are responded to, further research questions emerge, "informed by disciplinary knowledge, ethical imperatives, and face-to-face interaction in the field" (ibid.: 83). The motivation behind ethnographic studies is to inform, contextualise and describe, versus providing direct answers about affairs which are dynamic and evolving within social/cultural spaces and discourses. If contemporary sociolinguistics is at a stage where more practitioners desire that quantitative analysis "be enriched with nuanced attention to the social [... where] quantitative data need to be complemented with qualitative stretches of actual used language" (Bell 2016: 395), critical and qualitative approaches like linguistic ethnography fill this methodological role in interdisciplinary sociolinguistic research.

3.3. Ethnographic research questions

Ethnographic research is by no means subject to conservative, orthodox expectations of how fieldwork and observer-participation should be carried out, so the questions to be addressed in the ethnography in the following chapters are meant to be open-ended and broad, being built upon a range of data sources and different time periods.

All three questions draw on the data analysis in Chapter 4, with the first research question (**RQ1: *What kind of activity and campaigning do young Nynorsk activists and advocates engage in, and what is their language activism like?***) being the core section and primary presentation of the ethnographic research I have conducted. The second and third research questions (**RQ2: *To what extent can we relate this case of Nynorsk language activism with the cases of other medium-sized languages, such as Catalan and Scots?***, **RQ3: *Which theoretical and methodological conclusions does this study provide to modern linguistics as a discipline – how should linguists further study and reflect upon language in society, as well as political or language attitudes discourses?***) engage my ethnographic analysis in hypothesis-generating discussions which compare and contrast Nynorsk activism with other case studies in Catalonia and Scotland for the sake of elaborating a non-essentialist framework for language activisms which share specific sociolinguistic attributes, and how linguistic ethnographic studies in contemporary sociolinguistics address debates about methodology and the theoretical relationship between linguistic behaviour and sociocultural behaviour more generally.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts²

This is not the first time the Nynorsk language movement has undergone an ethnographic analysis – Lars Vikør’s *The New Norse Language Movement* in 1975 was a reflection on the history of NM and its associated groups from his perspective as an advocate and user of the language, and his book is an attempt to describe the culture and social background of this linguistic phenomenon to an English-speaking audience (1975: 8). My ethnography, however, is focused on affairs forty years later.

This chapter details two ethnographic studies:

- **4.1.** recounts events between August 2015 and June 2016 through a retrospective review of my time in NMU.
- **4.2.** is an overview of sessions and participant observation in January 2018 at an NMU residential event (the Winter Camp/*Vinterleir*) based on semi-structured field-notes.

They are both descriptive and chronological overviews of events – developed from records of “interactional data” (Copland & Creese 2015: 45) – where an in-depth discussion of individual phenomena, their context, potential historical precedent, and how they tie into common traits of Nynorsk activism is given later. I have decided to present events within social context and within relevant activist discourse – these ethnographic studies describe events which range from structured meetings discussing policy-related campaigns, to informal get-togethers, not oriented towards any particular sociolinguistic campaign or political objective.

² **Answering RQ1:** *What kind of activity and campaigning do young Nynorsk activists and advocates engage in, and what is their language activism like?*

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Further documentation used to produce these ethnographic descriptions is available in three appendices:

- **A.1.** is a chronological list of notes, social media post excerpts and extracts from the media pertaining to events between August 2015 and June 2016, which are cross-referenced in this chapter with their relevant date in **DD/MM/YY** format.
- **A.2.** contains typed-up fieldwork notes for sessions attended during the January 2018 Winter Camp, which are cross-referenced in this chapter by their relevant code, e.g. (**FRI-1**) is the first session on Friday.
- **A.5.** contains miscellaneous materials, media excerpts pertaining to general topics and photographs, cross-referenced in this chapter by their respective sub-section heading.

4.1. An academic year with NMU and SmiO (August 2015–June 2016)

Each month in this sub-section naturally varies in the kinds of activities I had witnessed, as well as what was on offer to me during my stay in Norway during an exchange year at the University of Oslo facilitated by the Erasmus+ programme. The descriptions are not meant to be wholly exhaustive of all events, and it has been possible to use extant social media posts and records to include other events I had not attended, as well as press interactions which broaden the descriptions of my participation over the year.

To maintain a discursive and comparative approach when presenting this data, events and discourses have been grouped under general headings. This will allow the reader to understand campaigns and activism within their context and setting, as well as

account for blur and connections between particular events and activities. I have highlighted major events and press interactions which marked the 2015-16 year under particular titles, depending on the nature of the activity and any campaign they correspond to:

Activity – arranged event(s), organised as part of the schedule of NMU, NM, or a local chapter such as SmiO – alternatively, in collaboration. Scheduled committee meetings and unstructured social meet-ups are excluded. I have prioritised activities which form part of the yearly schedule of events such as residential.

Press releases and articles – published piece(s) of writing, available to the public in print and/or online, written by individuals, supporters and members of the Nynorsk language movement, with or without positions in NMU, NM, or a local chapter. I have prioritised the examination of press releases or articles written by office-bearers in NMU.

Material – posters, advertisements, pamphlets, books, social media posts, images or related promotional items which serve to inform, entertain and illustrate the aims and current campaigning objectives of NMU, NM and/or any affiliated organisation. I have prioritised the examination of material available in print or on social media.

Participation – my own actions and contributions as a member of NMU, including activities associated with my elected role as a committee member of SmiO; any social media comments and/or posts are not accounted for by this study.

Campaigning – miscellaneous activity and work (usually separate instances) which reflect broader activity engaged in by any group associated with NMU.

4.1.1. August 2015

The Norwegian academic year begins in August. Welcome events and orientation meetings for the autumn 2015 semester at the University of Oslo are scheduled between 10 and 16 August. My first interactions with NMU through SmiO were marked by witnessing early campaigning to secure members for the new year, as well as informing students of their right to use and receive education in either Bokmål or Nynorsk. By working to recruit new members who are Nynorsk users, or sympathetic to the Nynorsk movement, as well as using local chapters to act as pressure groups within their respective educational institutions, this campaigning appears more indicative of a focus on preventing declining use of Nynorsk rather than prioritising incentives to persuade Bokmål users to make a switch.

Activity: *Vervekampanje – 2015 Membership Drive*

As stated earlier, NMU operates as a group for young people, with many members still attending school or university; the requirement to register language choices for examinations and course materials has provided a convenient campaigning platform for NMU and its local chapters to reach out to students to remind them of their right to use and receive written material in Nynorsk.

In tandem with this campaigning, NMU launches an annual membership drive (*vervekampanje*) with its local chapters, and local chapters themselves are encouraged to compete with each other to see who can recruit the most members. The 2015 *vervekampanje* officially began on 24 August, with the chapter gaining the most new members being announced at the Autumn Conference in October. Individuals who recruit new members are also able to win prizes, and the campaign is publicised through social media (**A.1.** Facebook post **24/08/15**).

Joining the organisation is efficiently facilitated through sending the word “NYNORSK” in a text message to the organisation which charges the sender with the membership fee, and the name and address records associated with the telephone number are then given to NMU for their own records. People can still apply through the website, though the use of texting allows campaigners to get new members on the spot.

During the University of Oslo’s Societies Fair, and prior to the *Vervekampanje* beginning on 17 August, I visited the table of SmiO – the local chapter of NMU at Oslo’s universities and colleges. The table was draped over with a “Slepp nynorsken til!” (*Let Nynorsk in!*) poster, with free biscuits, sweets and badges displayed on top to incentivise students to stop by; this is also a technique used by other stalls from other organisations. The two representatives appeared both eager to recruit new members, and in my case, showed no opposition to somebody who was neither from Norway, nor spoke Norwegian as a first language, wanting to join.

Material: Hald på nynorsken! – *receiving a welcome letter*

I applied for membership online on 18 August. Six days later in the post I received a welcome packet which included a welcome letter and a range of paraphernalia explaining the sociopolitical aims and constitution of NMU (known as *Tufta*), promotional materials including pamphlets with celebrity endorsements (in this case, Nynorsk-using comedian Are Kalvø), a couple of “EG ♥ NYNORSK” (I ♥ Nynorsk) badges (see A.5.1.) and a satirical sticker for postboxes asking for no junk mail in Bokmål (see A.5.2.).

The Are Kalvø pamphlet – four pages, in colour, titled “Hald på nynorsken” (*Hold on to Nynorsk*) – reflects NMU’s intentions during this period where young

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

people are asked to register which language they would like to use at schools and universities. Featuring a section of one of Kalvø's clearly satirical monologues on Nynorsk, the message directs itself to students and pupils who are Nynorsk users who opt to “switch” to Bokmål when attending upper high school or university (see **A.5.3**).

Being a satirical monologue, the text is not serious, but does highlight several attitudinal orientations towards language use in Norway that are marked by how Norwegian speakers can associate overt language choices with economic and lifestyle decisions – even without actual cause and effect. Sociolinguists and Nynorsk advocates alike have highlighted how significantly increasing numbers of students and pupils from Nynorsk-using municipalities tend to select Bokmål upon attending upper high school or university (see Idsøe 2016: 4ff), and using the text in this pamphlet serves in one way to make the reader consider whether such dire and detrimental consequences are the result of switching to Bokmål.

The pamphlet also contains text which details the Language Youth's position on language selection, underlining the stance that Bokmål dominates “in newspapers, magazines and advertising” (*Hald på nynorsken*, 2), and that the dominance of the language is similarly present in many schools across Norway. Listing the reasons to keep Nynorsk, they highlight their own key arguments about dialect preservation, demographic representativity, cultural identity and the principles of democracy.

Following on from this section, the legal and political aspects of using Nynorsk in educational institutions are also mentioned, reminding the reader of their rights to receive all textbooks in either written language, yet that despite current legislation – from the perspective of NMU – the delivery of guarantees such as this one is not consistently upheld. This activist call to “hold on” to Nynorsk can therefore be

interpreted as a call to be aware of linguistic rights in Norway, and to not be susceptible to prevalent and overt language attitudes which discourage the use of Nynorsk even in contexts where the user is in the linguistic minority.

Press releases and articles: *Challenging linguistic prejudice*

Articles by Fredrik Hope (at the time, elected Treasurer – now elected Chair of NMU) in August illustrate a major area of campaign concern for NMU – perceived prejudices not just against Nynorsk, but also other minoritised languages in Norway (**A.1.** ‘Fleirspråkleg framtid fri for fordomar’ **28/08/15**).

As students begin the new school year, the use of Nynorsk as a school subject for the majority of them remains a contested issue, even at a political level. The AGM the Language Youth held in April 2015 underlined the organisation’s resolve to improve the teaching of Nynorsk across the country, as it is understood by the group to be something which has allowed for negative attitudes to Nynorsk to prosper. With Nynorsk teaching being firmly in the domain of Norwegian language and literature, and rarely other school subjects, their understanding is that it has become something felt like a burden for certain school students. Nevertheless, a “solution” remains available, by integrating Nynorsk in other areas of the curriculum and appreciating how it can be used outwith the one school subject.

On the topic of Norway’s heritage languages, Hope highlights how a “multilingual future free of linguistic prejudices” also requires a revision of attitudes towards Sámi and Kven. This is achieved partly through the provision and political defence of public signage in these languages, requiring movements such as the Language Youth and individuals to pressure politicians to understand their responsibility

in this field. Linguistic landscapes are, therefore, understood by activists like Hope as a valuable sociolinguistic domain that activists and sympathisers can work to change.

4.1.2. September 2015

With the 2015-16 academic year underway, September is host to events by SmiO. I attend a lunchtime meet-up for the first time and am later invited to the first biannual meeting where I meet representatives from NMU. Activists from NMU also reach out in the press to reply to calls to change the *sidemål* two-language educational policy and the lack of Nynorsk visibility at folk high schools.

Activity: Lunchtime meet-ups with SmiO

For SmiO, weekly lunchtime meet-ups are a scheduled social opportunity for members to come together, even if there are no other scheduled events during the week. Members and supporters in Oslo are informed of the time and place through social media, and during my time in Oslo these meetings were consistently hosted at the University of Oslo's Blindern Campus (**A.1. Facebook post 09/09/15**).

As a group which is able to collect funds from its events and from NMU, the lunchtime meet-ups provide free tea and coffee to those who turn up, occasionally with a packet of Sjøkoklem chocolate wafer biscuits being shared amongst them. The use of coffee as a social lubricant in Norwegian culture is not at all uncommon, and also appears to be a staple of other meetings with NMU, SmiO or the Norwegian Language Society.

Normally a table in the Frederikke building's packed-lunch area is claimed, and numbers of participants usually never surpass ten. Unlike other scheduled events, this is

a social event with no schedule and no designed topic of focus. Conversations can take a linguistic or political theme, but often are an opportunity to ask how each other is doing.

Following my initial meeting, I am invited along to SmiO's biannual meeting as a member, an event also hosted at the University of Oslo – there I also meet the current Chair and Vice-Chair of NMU, Synnøve Marie Sætre and Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng. A natural incentive to come along and to review the programme of activities for the next year is free pizza and soft drinks. Retrospectively speaking, this event had allowed me to introduce myself for the first time to people from NMU, whereas my interaction thus far had been with SmiO.

Participation: *“An unlikely Nynorsk user” – Framtida.no interview*

Following my membership application, I had been contacted by NMU to ask if I would be willing to present on the linguistic situation in Scotland for the Autumn Conference scheduled for October. Word of this, with a focus on me being a non-Norwegian L2 Norwegian speaker with a personal and academic interest in Nynorsk, reached journalists at the online Nynorsk magazine for young people, *Framtida.no* (*framtida* meaning “the future”, referring to the generation of its readerships). Andrea Rygg Nøttveit asked by e-mail to schedule a meeting in Oslo to conduct an interview, and this was done at Kulturhuset Cafe at Youngstorget – an area that has itself achieved notoriety in the Norwegian political scene for being associated with trade unions, political power and protest (Jupskås 2015: 112).

The interview is conducted in Norwegian, and the article published following the meeting highlights the fact that I speak in “Bokmål-like” Norwegian with a “discreet British accent”, with a particular interest in my reasons for being a Nynorsk user. By

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

mentioning the variety of Norwegian I speak, this highlights what could be an element of surprise for the reader – it appears to be a point of interest that a Nynorsk user from outside Norway does not speak a “Nynorsk-like” variety. I assume this to mean a dialect variety from the west or centre of Norway; one possible explanation is how Nynorsk, in recent history, arguably has been regionalised to specific areas of the country. Furthermore, my own linguistic background and experiences with the Norwegian language are given some attention (see A.5.4.).

Following this interview, I was contacted by Norwegian national broadcaster NRK to be interviewed in Norwegian on radio magazine *Her og nå* on 28 October, where I could elaborate more on my reasons for writing in Nynorsk and for showing enthusiasm for the language.

Framtida.no itself is a media venture supported in part by Nynorsk group LNK (*Landssamanslutninga av nynorskkommunar* – the National Assembly of Nynorsk Municipalities), a group also supported by NM to maintain Nynorsk and expand the use of the language in its main municipalities, with specific focus towards schooling requirements and linguistic provision afforded to newcomers who do not have Norwegian as a first language.

Framtida.no has consistently proved to be an instrumental platform for Nynorsk writing amongst young people, giving opportunities to them to write in the language and discuss topical issues particular to them. This is something that not only I myself have since engaged in, but also the wider NMU (and its membership); some of the other articles included in A.1. use *Framtida.no* as a place to publish press statements and discuss recent policies and campaigns adopted by the group, keeping young Nynorsk

users updated with current developments. We later see the activities of *Framtida.no* in April during a remedial Nynorsk class for students by SmiO at the University of Oslo.

Press releases and articles: Sidemål and young attitudes to Nynorsk

With the new academic year underway, discussion about language policy in schools and the teaching of *sidemål* continues in the national media.

In September, Vice-Chair Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng responds in newspaper *Gjengangeren* on two separate occasions to individuals who have written into newspapers to express their negative orientation towards the current curriculum at school, and as NMU advertises his responses on social media, it is already clear that such *sidemål*-oriented debates are commonplace in how the organisation interacts in public debates (A.1. Facebook post 01/09/15).

The arguments used by Stavseng echo first and foremost sociopolitical principles behind the current educational policy; Nynorsk is a language which is important, in fact “necessary” (A.1. in reply to Jens and Jørgen in *Aftenposten* 28/09/15) for the sake of linguistic cohesion in Norway where a considerable minority still use Nynorsk in their everyday lives. Whereas both articles he responds to highlight how *sidemål* often means compulsory Nynorsk for the majority of Norwegians at school, Stavseng is keen to underline that competence in Nynorsk has a value that, without, would threaten the “balance” (A.1. in reply to Marianne Aakermann in *Gjengangeren* 01/09/15) between both written languages.

One particular element of the argumentative discourse Stavseng engages in is responding with reference to current studies and policy trials – in the case of replying to Marianne Aakermann, *Oslo-forsøket* or the “Oslo trial/project” where some students in

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Oslo were given the option to drop Nynorsk as *sidemål* at school to test the initiative for potential future roll-out across Norway. He illustrates that expanding on such trials would not be a serious thing to engage in or develop into full policy in the future (see **A.5.5.**).

Keeping in line with the theme of the new school year and the use of Nynorsk in society and education more generally, Chair Synnøve Marie Sætre also offered a comment on 3 September on the issue of students moving from using Nynorsk to Bokmål when leaving school – specifically regarding the use of Bokmål at folk high schools (*folkehøgskular*) which offer non-assessed lifelong education to students upon graduation from upper high school. Responding to the case of folk high schools in traditional Nynorsk-using areas “fleeing from Nynorsk” by using Bokmål as a conduit to reach out to young people who would not see Nynorsk as appropriate in such circumstances, we note NMU’s standpoint that reinforcing Nynorsk use in regions and districts where Nynorsk is based – in contrast with historical attempts to expand Nynorsk across Norway – is a key priority (see **A.5.6.**).

In sum for the month of September, we see that press interactions at the beginning of the school year went hand-in-hand with responding to various presentations of attitudes perceived detrimental to the Nynorsk-using community. These are focused on the educational institutions for young people, and advocating for the preservation and reinforcement of Nynorsk use as a way of defending the interests of the language – be it through *sidemål* teaching or the communications of a folk high school.

4.1.3. October 2015

In October, NMU hosts its annual Autumn Conference (*Haustkonferanse*) in Spydeberg. At this event, I am invited to speak about the language situation in Scotland. The month is also marked by debates about editorial policies on Nynorsk in national newspapers, thanks to Kine Gjertrud Svori's interventions in the press and on the radio. SmiO hosts two socials – one to see Are Kalvø at Det Norske Teatret, and the other being an evening of eating porridge, reciting poetry and singing folk tunes. Towards the end of the month, I am also interviewed by NRK radio following the publication of my *Framtida.no* interview in September.

Activity: 2015 Autumn Conference in Spydeberg

Following an invitation to present on the Scottish language situation at this event, I attend the 2015 Autumn Conference (*Haustkonferanse*) as my first residential event with NMU, set over a weekend at the local school the organisation has rented out; mealtimes are communal, attendees bring sleeping bags and sleep in classrooms, and social activities are planned for every evening including a traditional raffle.

The theme of this conference is language in border regions (*språk i grenseland*), with the event appropriately set in Østfold on the border with Sweden – in the style of a conference, speakers from schools and universities are invited to speak about their research and their background; topics range from sociolinguistic debates and talks on local history to visits from authors and members from NM and related groups and organisations.

This is an occasion where NMU exposes its interest in language situations around the world, and not just Nynorsk and the Norwegian dialect scene (**A.1.** Facebook post **2-4/10/15**). Like the Winter Camp (*Vinterleir*, see 4.1.6., 4.2.), the Autumn

4 – *Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts*

Conference is part of a set of annual residential events, each time with a different theme that unites the planned talks and activities. Attendance is open to members and non-members alike, with NMU refunding travel costs as long as the journey is within Norway. Some local chapters of the Language Youth, such as SmiO in my case, also refund the participation costs of their members.

As well as being educational, the event is still oriented around the cultural and political aims of NMU as an organisation to advocate on behalf of Nynorsk and dialects in Norway – with social activities such as a pub quiz about being able to identify where a dialect in a Norwegian song is from, and as with all residential events, traditional Norwegian songs are sung, and the Chair gives a speech during the last scheduled session to underline how the focus of the event ties into the aims of the organisation for that year. Further elaboration on the traits and characteristics of these residential events is given in 4.2.

Activity: *Visit to Det Norske Teatret with SmiO*

Like NMU, SmiO as one of its local chapters holds social events and activities for members along with its role as a pressure group and Nynorsk advocacy organisation for Oslo's higher educational institutions (HEIs) – a visit to see Are Kalvø perform stand-up at Det Norske Teatret on 20 October is the first opportunity I have to go along to such an event.

The theatre, founded in 1912, is located in what is a small pocket of Nynorsk-using entities located in Oslo on Kristian IV's gate, including the Hotell Bondeheimen and its clothing outlet Heimen. The theatre stands out from other Oslo venues in its exclusive use of Nynorsk and its shows being performed in a theatrical spoken Nynorsk or Norwegian dialect. Excursions such as these offer SmiO members the opportunity to

engage in an activity associated with the Nynorsk cultural milieu in a social setting, and with SmiO paying for its members to attend, the group is able to incentivise attendance.

SmiO meets again at the end of the month for its annual *grautkveld* (“porridge evening”), held in a cabin-like function room at Sogn Studentby belonging to the student union for the universities and colleges of Oslo. Although I did not attend, this event is an opportunity to eat from a communal porridge pot, recite Norwegian poetry and sing folk tunes – activities similar to those at NMU residential events.

Press releases and articles: Nynorsk in the national media

The beginning of October is marked by more interactions with the press: NMU Central Committee member Kine Gjertrud Svori on two major occasions intervenes in a debate surrounding the use of Nynorsk in national tabloid *Dagbladet*, and how using it is in fact prohibited in favour of what the editorial team has called a radical form of Bokmål. The editorial decision to not use Nynorsk, and to prevent any potential Nynorsk-using journalist from doing so, is the focus of Svori’s statement published in the competing national Berliner *Aftenposten* in its young persons’ letter section, *Si ;D* (see A.5.7).

These sentiments are again also brought up two days later when she is invited to debate this issue with an editor at *Dagbladet* on Norwegian national broadcaster NRK’s *Dagsnytt 18*. As she writes in *Aftenposten*, in her role as an elected member of NMU, her argumentation throughout the piece also highlights the arguments used by NMU generally.

The first illustrates what can be a “national” argument: these newspapers are national newspapers, and must reflect the national linguistic situation – both socially and legally – where Nynorsk is meant to be on the same level as Bokmål regarding

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

support and provision, and yet whilst a considerable minority uses Nynorsk, they are not able to see it in certain newspapers; not because no-one wants to write in Nynorsk necessarily, but because editorial decisions prevent anyone who wants to from doing so.

Another argument exposed in the piece is that Nynorsk is, internationally speaking (with the example from Iceland), not such a small language in terms of its numbers of users, and should not be treated as such; it is perceived by Svori that part of the reason why a ban exists is because Nynorsk is not used or written by the majority of Norwegians, and so by referring to the size of Nynorsk in comparison to another national language like Icelandic which is used extensively in national press in Iceland, any ban for such a reason is arbitrary.

One other argument shown here is that the visibility of Nynorsk is vital, and that banning it is detrimental – this echoes other comments from Nynorsk advocates that frequent exposure to the written language or being given material in it from an early age when at school is key to reducing prejudices and negative language attitudes towards the two-language situation and the legislation which enables it.

4.1.4. November 2015

November marks the beginning of the first assessment period of the Norwegian academic year. Activity in both SmiO and NMU appears conscious of the role of Nynorsk in exams, facilitating support for students writing in Nynorsk and help to those who want to complain about quality or absence of Nynorsk provision in exam papers.

Activity: Remedial Nynorsk courses with SmiO

With the help of member Vegard (a Nynorsk user from Holmlia, located to the east of Oslo city centre), SmiO organises Nynorsk classes – lasting no more than an hour and a

half, with complimentary pizza and drinks – during examination season for students at Oslo’s universities and colleges. These classes are not just limited to November, and are repeated throughout the 2015-16 timeline, usually in tandem with relevant examination diets. By using Facebook to create event pages for these classes, the group is able to bring together ten to twenty participants each time.

The venues are traditionally at the University of Oslo and the University College of Oslo and Akershus (now OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University) and are open to anyone seeking help with writing Nynorsk for exams where they may or may not have an option to write in Bokmål. This is often the case for students who are training to be teachers, where a proficiency in Nynorsk is a requirement, and university assessments need to evaluate students’ abilities.

Vegard is someone who has himself switched to Nynorsk; his ability to educate Bokmål users about current norms and practices in Nynorsk in 2015 (as well as offer various grammar tips) is appreciated by SmiO and the people who attend. The classes consist of him recounting the fundamentals of Nynorsk and illustrating the relative freedom in standardised norms available to students.³ He has previously written for *Motmæle* recounting his experience teaching these remedial courses (see **A.5.8.**); the courses have a purpose to give students a feeling of certainty and stability when it comes to their own proficiency in Nynorsk, and Opdahl’s comments highlight that from his own experiences the current provision of Nynorsk training is lacking for those who have a genuine curiosity about the language.

When compared to work such as responding to government consultations on educational policy (see 4.1.9.) or writing opinion pieces in the press, these training

3 *Valfridom* (freedom of choice) – mentioned in Ch. 1, further discussion in Puchowski 2017a: § 3.1.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

sessions are also much less overtly oriented towards sociopolitical or activist goals – yet they still tie into an overarching mission of the Language Youth in Oslo to promote the language by reinforcing how it is taught at HEIs in the Norwegian capital.

Campaigning: Klageportalen – *NMU's complaints portal*

NMU as a national organisation operates an online form on its website for students to fill out to issue a complaint about an exam or assessment that is not in line with legal standards and requirements for those who write their exams in Nynorsk. It is understood that NMU will then take up the complaint and contact relevant authorities to investigate any potential violations of linguistic legislation.

This complaints portal is reactivated in November in time for the exam season, and is publicised on Facebook by NMU as well as local chapters. Facebook posts presented in **A.1. 19/11/15** illustrate the clear attempts made by NMU to raise awareness of the rights students and pupils have, as well as the facilities the organisation is providing to act on their behalf if a complaint is to be lodged. The focus on the *right* to an exam paper in Nynorsk engages in a discourse of legal obligations of the institution, and less so on individual students, as it is understood that the school or university is required to provide Nynorsk materials where a student has already requested it.

The school or university, as a state institution, has an obligation; without active awareness and implementation of linguistic legislation, the current situation for Nynorsk users goes unchallenged. Registering a complaint through NMU ensures that educational institutions are contacted by a known pressure group that is aware of these legal requirements, whereas the action of one individual may not be taken so seriously – we see cases where institutions reply to individual students, especially in the case of universities, asking that the student write their exam in Bokmål as they are the only

Nynorsk student (A.1. ‘Er du sikker på at det ikke går fint med bokmål-eksamen?’ 02/06/16). Indeed, in *Motmæle* 82, NMU Chair Synnøve Marie Sætre discusses these rights, and illustrates initiatives like the complaints portal as one of solidarity amongst Nynorsk users to prevent themselves being “walked on” (see A.5.9.).

What this exercise also demonstrates is how NMU engages its rights discourse within a minority language rhetoric; as social media posts illustrate, the fact that Nynorsk is a minority language gives it the sociopolitical currency necessary to have its political rights respected and satisfied. Compare this to several decades ago, such as before the European Community membership debates, when the campaign amongst members of the Nynorsk movement may have well been to expand Nynorsk to be the eventual single Norwegian orthography, not accepting any eventual future status as a minority language.

Press releases and articles: *Teacher training and Nynorsk*

In the case of institutional language attitudes towards Nynorsk during the exam season at the University of Oslo, November is also host to some discussion in student newspaper *Universitas*. Odd Vegard Paulsen, the 2015 chair of SmiO, has an article published about the quality of the teaching for students training to be teachers (A.1. ‘For dårleg nynorskopplæring for lærarar’ 03/11/15).

A similar line as before is taken up; positive language attitudes towards Nynorsk are vital for its survival as a working language in educational institutions. The quality of Nynorsk teaching leaves much to be desired, and tomorrow’s teachers will be instrumental in how Nynorsk is received amongst students who do not use it as their first written form.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Part of the argumentative technique of NMU throughout the 2015-16 period I witnessed, in such cases, is to draw on linguistic and educational theory. Therefore, the argument espoused by modern Nynorsk activists is not just a political one, but one that is backed up by academic work and its proponents – many being active in the Nynorsk movement – such as linguist and University of Oslo researcher Jorunn Simonsen Thingnes who has featured in NM and NMU-quarterlies *Motmæle* and *Norsk Tidend* following the publication of a dissertation addressing the poor quality of Nynorsk provision at the University of Oslo through a survey of exam papers and coursework rubrics (A.1. Norsk Målungdom Complaints Portal 19/11/15).⁴

Both NMU and NM benefit from such figures in academia, as their work serves to strengthen the campaign and policy objectives of the wider Nynorsk movement. We see similar tactics with University of Tromsø professor Øystein Vangsnes, whose writing is showcased in the NMU Christmas calendar in December.

4.1.5. December 2015

December marks the end of the first academic semester, and members and activists within NMU who are students/pupils will be preparing for the brief holiday until their studies resume in January. An online Christmas calendar is launched on the group's Facebook page, and SmiO hosts a Christmas party in Stensparken.

Activity: *Jolekos med SmiO – Christmas Party with SmiO*

In line with other get-togethers thus far hosted by SmiO, a Christmas party is held on 4 December to celebrate the end of the semester and the festive season. Although I did not attend, the planned activities are only social and involve a range of winter activities such as drinking mulled wine and hot chocolate, eating gingerbread, lighting candles

4 See Thingnes 2016.

and singing Christmas-themed songs. Like the frequent lunchtime meet-ups, this activity belongs on the far end of the spectrum of activities SmiO engages in which are the least concerned with political activism or overt public engagement.

Campaigning: *Julekalender – Christmas Calendar*

Every December, NMU launches its advent calendar for Christmas on its social media platforms. Every day from 1 December to 24 December, the organisation's social media accounts open a "window" in the calendar which reveals an image containing one of several potential types of content. Content includes quotations about language/Nynorsk from writers or linguists, statements from NMU which explain current policy objectives, quiz-style questions which allow the use of the comment fields to write in possible answers to win a prize, raffle draws, and various forms of encouragement/slogans to register new members (see **A.5.10.**).

The three examples are not exhaustive of the full 24-day campaign, yet illustrate that as the festive season is underway, NMU latches onto the attention of its followers during the period with the potential of winning prizes, promoting their campaigns and underlining their cause by referring to external materials such as the book by Vangsnes cited on 1 December. This activity, and the fact that it has now become an annual tradition, means that even without physical planned activities by NMU in December, activity through social media carries on and the message of the group continues to be spread.

Press releases and articles: *Nynorsk in examinations*

Towards the end of the examination period, further complaints about Nynorsk and its use in examinations are raised. On 3 December, NMU publicises a feature article with Studentmållaget i Bergen (SmiB) members Karen Mjør and Fredrik Vonheim

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Heimsæter who, in Bergen student newspaper *Studvest*, express their frustration with the Nynorsk translation of their exam question rubrics for the winter period (A.1. ‘Lei av språkkampen’ 03/12/15), where the NMU chair is also contacted for comment (see A.5.11.) The Complaints Portal is mentioned in the article, and doing so demonstrates that interactions with the media in circumstances like these are a way to promote current campaigns and the services NMU provides.

Sætre’s comments also highlight the position taken by the organisation that satisfying legal requirements about Nynorsk is not just centred on the provision of written materials as standard, but on the requirement that they be correct and accurate translations that carry the same meaning as the Bokmål text; not only is there a legal standard to be satisfied in access to Nynorsk examination texts, but a social obligation within this discourse that the Nynorsk text should be of a standardised quality.

The phenomenon of incorrect Nynorsk in academic texts is not just isolated to this one incident, and is witnessed again in May.

4.1.6. January 2016

The Norwegian academic year resumes in early January, being host to several organised events by NMU – in particular, the awarding of the annual Dialect Prize and the residential Winter Camp. This is also the month in which I am elected to the committee of SmiO for one semester, and contribute a written piece on behalf of the group to Oslo student newspaper *Universitas*.

Activity: 2016 Winter Camp in Stange

My second residential event experience with NMU is the Winter Camp (*Vinterleir*), this year held in Stange in Hedmark. Like the Autumn Conference, attendance is open to all,

and the event attracts participants in and outwith the membership from all corners of the country. In contrast to the Autumn Conference, the event is less styled on formal lecture-style talks, and a greater focus on activities which are centred around smaller groups doing activities such as going skiing or knitting inside with hot drinks. There are the usual guest talks including discussions hosted by lecturer Eli Bjørhusdal whose PhD thesis⁵ examines Norwegian language politics, and Åse Wetås, who is the Director of the Language Council of Norway and also a Nynorsk user.

Like the Autumn Conference, these residential events seem to follow a usual pattern of communal mealtimes, singing out of NMU's songbook, bringing along sleeping bags, selling raffle tickets and holding a quiz that everyone can take part in. A full analysis of a residential event is given in 4.2. when the 2018 *Vinterleir* is discussed.

Participation: *Writing in Universitas and the 2015 SmiO AGM*

My own first intervention in the Norwegian press occurs before being elected as a committee member of SmiO. The incoming Chair of SmiO and former Chair of NMU, Karl Peder Mork, who is from Oslo and made the switch from Bokmål to Nynorsk before heading to university, writes about the same issue. Both of our pieces are in response to a member of staff at the University of Oslo, Carl Henrik Gørbitz,⁶ a chemistry professor who wrote in the previous issue to express frustration with having to write two versions of the same examination paper – one in Bokmål and one in Nynorsk – when few, if no students at all, use the Nynorsk version. His idea to resolve this is to no longer require Nynorsk translations of examinations unless there is an

5 See Bjørhusdal 2014.

6 The original piece by Gørbitz in *Universitas* 2016/2 mistakenly spells the surname as *Görbitz with umlaut diacritics. Mork and I therefore respond to the professor's letter with the inaccuracy, which was later corrected in Gørbitz' response to us in *Universitas* 2016/4.

4 – *Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts*

explicit request. Our pieces are put together on one page underneath the heading “Nynorskdebatten” (the Nynorsk debate).

The conversation between ourselves and Professor Gørbitz reflects what is an ongoing discourse amongst students, who will know and have opinions about the range of uses of Nynorsk at the University of Oslo which are manifested in legislative requirements and student rights. Whereas my text is principally concerned with language attitudes and the visibility of Nynorsk as a key factor in maintaining positive attitudes towards the language, Mork – as a seasoned member of the student Nynorsk-using community – showcases a form of argumentation we have seen so far throughout letters and articles penned by advocates from NMU.

I respond with argumentation reflecting on the impact of linguistic visibility on language attitude exchanges, and the experiences I have as an outsider from an Anglophone linguistic community which is less engaged in sociopolitical discourses of linguistic diversity (see **A.5.12.**). Mork’s response follows similar lines, but is quicker to highlight the obligations of the university as a state institution within a language rights-based discourse, referring also to academic work which considers the current state of Nynorsk in academic contexts (see **A.5.13.**). He maintains that language rights and the obligations of the university are not up for debate or discussion, and that the university itself is at fault for not providing enough support or resources to prevent situations where either legal requirements are not satisfied or the quality of Nynorsk texts are poor. This discussion about Nynorsk and assessments at Norway’s state universities is marked by an activist discourse centred on obligations, requirements and rights provided by the state; when institutions sideline linguistic demands, a direct conflict is tackled by NMU and their branch activists in the public forum of the press.

Press releases and articles: 2015 Dialect Prize

An annual tradition of NMU is to award their Dialect Prize to an individual, group, or organisation which has worked to promote Norwegian dialect diversity and/or Nynorsk in the public sphere, with a particular focus on its promotion amongst young people (A.1. Facebook post 19/01/2016).

Following the success of singer/songwriter Daniel Kvammen, who is from Geilo in Hallingdal, and sings in his home dialect (the most notable song at the time being “Du fortentar ein som meg” from his debut album *Fremad i alle retninga*), NMU awarded this year’s prize to him at Det Norske Teatret in Oslo. With the prize previously awarded to other musicians such as Tønes and Lars Vaular, broadcasters Harald Rønneberg and Linda Eide, and even sports personality Therese Johaug, the intention of the award is to select a Norwegian figure of recent notoriety whilst they are still in the public conscience. Their own active use of dialect marks them out in public discourse about language in Norway, and NMU’s approach by awarding an annual prize to such people (see A.5.14.) underlines the organisation’s role as one that wishes to defend dialect use in the same way that it promotes Nynorsk and the rights of young Nynorsk users.

The prize’s public function is to encourage those who use their dialect to continue doing so, presenting their linguistic behaviour as something which is indicative of positive and overt language attitudes. Nynorsk and dialect advocates in NMU indeed subscribe to current platforms of argumentation from contemporary sociolinguistics, furthermore illustrating that domains of language use exist, i.e. between local domains of use (Hallingdal as a geolinguistic community) and non-local domains of use (the

domain of the Norwegian music charts), and that promotion of linguistic varieties in both is vital to safeguarding dialect diversity in the country.

4.1.7. February 2016

In February, student parliamentary elections are held at the University of Oslo, and the Green List (*Grøn Liste*) works with SmiO to develop a policy motion which responds to issues regarding the right to use Nynorsk in exams and the quality of Nynorsk used in teacher training and in the University of Oslo's own administration. Earlier in the month, NMU sets up a choir of its members during a meeting in Oslo.

Activity: Songlaget Symra (the Symra Choir)

The third rehearsal of NMU's choir – Songlaget Symra – is held in Oslo on 7 February. Several NMU members located in and around Oslo attend – not limited to people from SmiO, with the event coinciding with an AGM. The first official rehearsal of the group was on 29 November in 2015, which I had not attended. Although I did attend due to being enticed by the offer of coffee and cake afterwards, the group, and its relationship with NMU, showcases further the opportunities for members to get together as a social community united by common interests like music, whilst still in keeping with the objectives of promoting dialects and variation in the Norwegian language. The songs sung are folk tunes as well as dialect poems set to music, keeping in line with the attitude shown thus far by NMU to traditional music and communal singing at its residential events. This meeting manages to attract around 10 participants, and invitations by NMU to attend these rehearsals are given through Facebook.

The song rehearsed at this meeting is “Den fyrste song eg høyra fekk” by Per Sivle, a known poem from the 1870s set to a melody by Lars Søråas. Rehearsals like

these are held in enough time for the choir to sing at the 17 May Constitution Day celebration organised by SmiO, where the choir is planned to sing as part of the entertainment for the evening. Participants are given sheet music in an SATB arrangement to read from, and are accompanied by a member playing the organ which is located in the flat in Oslo we use to rehearse.

Subgroups within NMU which are associated with cultural activities are not unheard of, and Songlaget Symra follows the precedent of other collectives such as Fivefondet (a fund established in 1916 to fund publications and translations into Nynorsk), *Mål og Makt* (a journal published several times a year with contributions discussing issues related to language, power and society), and Skuleboknemndi (which supports the funding of publication of textbooks and resources in Nynorsk for universities and university colleges) – all of which are associated with SmiO.

Campaigning and participation: *Student politics at the University of Oslo*

Students at the University of Oslo are represented by a “parliament” of 36 students who are elected: 28 of them through an annual vote using a PR list system similar to the one used at national Norwegian parliamentary elections, and the other 8 elected by the student body of each faculty of the university. This student body acts as a vehicle for the voice of students at the university, being intertwined with the governance of the university through its staff and rector.

Due to my activity in green politics in Scotland, I had already been asked to be on the “Green List” for the next student parliamentary election in Oslo, and my connections to SmiO raised several issues regarding complaints about Nynorsk exams. Jonas Nilsen, the list’s number two candidate and also a student training to be a teacher,

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

asks SmiO to develop a policy motion. Between myself, Nilsen, and SmiO Chair Karl Peder Mork, a motion is drafted to be voted on in the Student Parliament (**A.1. Motion text 25/02/2016**).

The motion passes at the end of February. This exercise of language advocacy engaged in by SmiO indicates that language policy creation and public engagement is not limited to the domains of national or municipal government; by working within the framework of a university student parliament, the contemporary Nynorsk movement has the ability to act as a pressure group through groups like SmiO and NMU in various sociopolitical discourses which effect linguistic debates and legislation. It furthermore highlights how the activity of Nynorsk activists and advocates promotes sentiments that are not just limited to Nynorsk users or dialect enthusiasts. As a public organisation, the activism engaged in by SmiO on behalf of NMU works with its allies, similar to an advocacy coalition.

As structures like the Oslo Student Parliament facilitate such work, this example illustrates how Nynorsk organisations have placed themselves within relevant democratic frameworks, enhancing the legitimacy of these frameworks to make decisions on language in Norway and contributing to official sociolinguistic discourse.

4.1.8. March 2016

During March, Studentmållet i Stavanger (SmiS) hosts a student gathering over a weekend where university students in NMU are able to have their own residential event. Like the Autumn Conference and Winter Camp, this event features guest talks, presentations by members and social activities in Stavanger. March is also host to another social by SmiO where members listen to music, drink, eat waffles and knit.

Activity: *NMU – 2016 Student Gathering in Stavanger*

Another residential is held, this time in Stavanger by its own Studentmållag. In line with the custom of events attended so far, the student gathering is hosted in a school over a weekend, and participants sleep in sleeping bags in classrooms. Talks and social activities are held each day, with mealtimes remaining communal. The event differs from NMU events in that the consumption of alcohol is permitted, as all attendees are over the age of 18. SmiO encourages its members to attend, and covers the travel costs.

Amongst the activities are a visit to a museum about Stavanger's fishing industry and a lecture from Roger Lockertsen (whose talk underlines the role of language conflict in modern Norwegian society and the way that public and state language policy efforts interact). Like previous residencies with NMU, guest talks discuss areas of language policy and planning which are of interest to members regardless of their own subject background, and folders are given out with songbooks which are used in-between activities to sing the same traditional folk tunes.

The student gathering is an annual event for members who are at university, with the most recent one in 2018 being coordinated by Studentmållaget i Tromsø (SmiT).

Activity: *SmiO – “Strikk og drikk” (knit and drink)*

Another social activity is held on the evening of 10 March by SmiO. The attendees are mostly members of the committee, with Vegard from the Nynorsk remedial courses joining us. The focus of the social is rather simple – to casually knit and/or drink beer – but a quiz is organised by Vegard towards the end.

Being a social occasion, there is nothing overtly activist about this event, and we gather at the flat belonging to a committee member. Waffles and biscuits are also

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

served, and the chatter between us ranges from updating each other on our own personal lives to recent topics in the language movement, including SmiO's current work and events.

Participation: *About writing for Motmæle*

During March, I am able to publish a piece in NMU member newspaper *Motmæle*, which has been mentioned several times so far as a forum for discussion amongst members of the organisation and the wider Nynorsk movement. In the 2015-16 period, I manage to contribute on two separate occasions. The desire from the editors is that the pieces I write reflect a linguistic topic, and encourage me to write about areas specific to my own interests as a linguist. In my case, I contribute a piece on diglossia in Catalonia, and another on the linguistic situation in Scotland following my talk at the 2015 Autumn Conference.

Like the talks at residential events, as well as NM's own work with Sámi and Kven language minority rights, interest within the Nynorsk movement exists for other similar sociolinguistic conflicts and issues at home and abroad. There is interest with regard to the diaglossic language continuum between Danish and Norwegian dialects which mimics the historical situation between Scots and Scottish English, and my piece on Catalan diglossia catches attention for its focus on full language rights having been denied in an international context.

Writing in *Motmæle* as a member provides me with an opportunity to involve myself with the rest of the members who also use the magazine to write in about different topics related to the campaigning and policy platforms of NMU. Members are

thus acquainted with my interest in the modern Norwegian language situation with a specific focus on Nynorsk and dialects.

4.1.9. April 2016

April is the busiest month of the year for the 2015-16 period. During April, both NMU and NM host their AGMs (*landsmøte*) which debate and discuss campaign objectives and policy for the coming year, along with electing members or re-endorsing current members who are in the central committee. Synnøve Marie Sætre is re-elected as Chair of NMU, and in NM a dialect enthusiast from Østfold, Magne Aasbrenn, takes over as Chair. Major issues of discussion for both meetings include municipal merger (*kommunesamanslåing*), the teaching of Nynorsk when new foreign residents move to Nynorsk-using municipalities, and the role of Bergen and the western region of Norway as a hub for Nynorsk use in the future.

The month also features further Nynorsk courses run by SmiO and organised by Vegard Storstul Opdahl. Continuing with the theme of Nynorsk in university teacher training, SmiO's committee works on its response to a government consultation on teacher education requirements.

Activity: NMU – 2016 AGM in Hommelvik

The AGM is a democratic instrument of NMU designed to convene members and chapters of the organisation, to elect central committee members and national committee members, and pass policy and campaign motions which design the political direction of the group for the coming year. The AGM plays the same role for NM.

SmiO is designated eight delegates, and I am internally chosen to attend the 2016 AGM with a group of others. The residential event-style model appears tried and

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

trusted for NMU, and like the Autumn Conference and Winter Camp the AGM is spread over a weekend at a school complex. Again, there is a raffle and quiz, communal mealtimes, and attendees bring along sleeping bags as classrooms are used as makeshift bedrooms. The same sort of folders with the songbook and travel reimbursement forms are distributed to attendees. Hashtags are also used for this event (#nmulm/#nmulm16) which is used on Twitter by attendees for PR, as well as to make humorous comments about proceedings, including the posting of memes (see **A.5.15.**).

Elections to positions are organised in a regimented fashion, informed by the work of the elections committee (*valnemnd*) which comprises individuals who throughout the year have attended events and meetings to find suitable candidates for all vacant roles – ideally those who are most active in their contributions to the organisation. This method is also used by NM (to follow below); elections committees appear to act on behalf of the membership to find the informed and active candidates, allowing for the positions to be elected by acclaim at the AGM.

The AGM proceedings are managed in a similar hierarchical manner, with a working group proposing the majority of new policy in the form of motions (*fråsegner*) to be voted on during the session. Individual chapters like SmiO are also able to propose their own motions, and these are included within the main document (*nemndsinstillingane*) given to attendees listing the proposed motions. The motions of the 2016 meeting focus on increasing the number of local chapters, working to increase and improve the provision of Nynorsk materials and teaching at schools for the benefit of all students, pressuring online national and government services such as Altinn⁷ to ensure that Nynorsk users are registered as such, and asking political parties and their

⁷ Altinn is the Norwegian Government's online platform for digital services between private individuals, businesses and government agencies.

groups for young people to produce election materials and manifestos in both written languages (see **A.5.16.**). An important motion at the conference is that to improve attitudes towards Nynorsk at school; it cannot remain as a language taught for the *sidemål* exam, and it should also be used in other subjects, and pupils should get used to seeing Nynorsk and reading it at an earlier age.

All attendees are free to offer amendments (*endringsframlegg*), either individually, as a group of independents, or collectively with their respective chapter. The hall is arranged with tables, chairs and a podium at the front, attendees are able to indicate a desire to talk by raising their voting sign which is allocated a number; those without the right to vote, such as non-member visitors, are provided with a pink voting sign. I respond to one particular motion on improving teacher training in Nynorsk, recommending that NMU should remind current teachers of changes in the standard passed in 2012 (*2012-rettskrivinga*) which no longer permit *-i* as an affix for inflected verbs in the past composed tense (*eg har *vorti*), nor as a definite affix for neutral plural and feminine singular nouns (**husi, *boki*) (**A.1.** Motion text «gjera tilsette merksame på...» **1-3/04/2016**). Upon review, the motions' committee recommends that delegates vote against my motion, as it is covered in another submitted amendment which they prefer.

The AGM is also marked by visits from representatives from political parties such as Raudt (the Red Party), SV (the Socialist Left Party) and Høgre (the Conservative Party) – namely those from the young persons' groups which elect their own spokesperson. Their visit is mainly to give a speech (*helsingstale*) on behalf of the party to underline its appreciation for the work of NMU and to argue that their party is working alongside for the same political objectives.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

The social activities during the AGM primarily coincide with mealtimes, including the traditional quiz and raffle draw. Before the main dinner on Saturday evening, attendees are encouraged to change into formal clothing (*bunad*, traditional costumes, suits, dresses), and join hands in a line and dance whilst two other attendees play festive music on the fiddle. As we are in Trøndelag, our meal is a nod to traditional food eaten in the region: *sodd* (a soup with vegetables and mutton) and *skjenning* (a sweetened flatbread). The formal dinner is a tradition at every NMU AGM.

Activity: *NM – 2016 AGM in Bergen*

Not too long after NMU's AGM, NM holds its own in Bergen on 15-17 March. Unlike NMU's own practices, the AGM is held in a hotel where some delegates, including myself, have been given rooms. It is also clear from the outset that the agenda for the AGM touches on slightly different policy ideas and objectives than those made at the meeting for NMU (**A.1.** Facebook post **15-17/04/16**).

NMU sits as one delegation at the back of the room, but the set-up is similar, with a lectern at the front and motions being processed through a specific committee. Whereas the NMU committee was re-elected by acclaim, NM's Chair has stepped down, and the NM elections committee recommends dialect enthusiast and teacher Magne Aasbrenn to the position. He is elected at the end of the AGM by acclaim.

The motions processed at this meeting focus, like for NMU, on the improvement of Nynorsk provision in schools, but this time focus centres on immigrants who need to learn Nynorsk. Other resolutions reflect encouraging municipalities in the west of Norway to do more for Nynorsk in light of the eventual municipal reform when

counties and municipalities are expected to join together in a cost-saving measure by the government (*samanslåing*).

There is a desire to improve Nynorsk linguistic visibility in Bergen as the largest city in the western Norway region (*nynorskbyen Bergen* [Nynorsk-city Bergen] is the tag-line used here). A report (Lilleholt & Kihl 2014) on the effects of municipal reform has already been published by NM by Kåre Lilleholt and incoming Vice-Chair and Nynorsk journalist Jens Kihl which examines the sociolinguistic history of those affected by eventual reform and the consequences that would follow. This report is given out in a printed edition at the AGM as a reference for delegates.

NMU received praise at the AGM due to Gunnhild Skjold's defence at the lectern for a motion to give NM official names in Sámi and Kven – following a similar action taken by NMU last year. The motion is passed with an overwhelming majority in the hall. This decision is also reported on by NRK, and NMU takes the opportunity to publicise itself on this point (**A.1.** Facebook post with NRK article link **15-17/04/16**).

The overwhelming support of attendees in the hall is indicative of a move of solidarity for other languages in Norwegian society which lack national visibility in the same way as Nynorsk, and also offers a hand to those working for Sámi and Kven language rights, recognising that their issue is a common cause for NM. For the sake of campaigning, however, it also gives NM currency in Norwegian sociolinguistic discourse that it is not just a single-issue organisation and that its work is about linguistic diversity – not just the proliferation and protection of Nynorsk.

This is a commitment also of NMU, and seeing the same effort made in both organisations underlines here the contemporary Nynorsk movement's own positioning

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

in current discourse as a minority language in an alliance of solidarity and common cause with other minoritised language varieties.

Material: *SmiO response to government consultation*

Following a government consultation on future frameworks for primary school teacher training, SmiO earlier deliberated over a response to send to the government; SmiO was not specifically invited to provide a response, though all organisations are free to do so regardless. The letter was formalised in a committee meeting in March before being sent off and published online through the government's website *regjeringen.no*.

With other campaigns this year reflecting the wishes of NMU to make changes in teacher training favourable to Nynorsk for the sake of encouraging a change in pupil attitudes towards the language, the letter sent to the government on this matter is in line with many of the other interventions in the press described so far. The particular impetus to write a response derives from the desire of SmiO members who are also training to be teachers in Oslo, and have direct experience of current policy and how it can be improved/changed, engaging in an informed academic discourse (see **A.5.17.**); SmiO considers itself a viable organisation which can involve itself in policy decision making, and sees its role as a university organisation with members training to be teachers key to how it presents its response.

The letter, amongst various points, argues for more Nynorsk reading material for school pupils at a young age, a generation of teachers who feel comfortable using both Nynorsk and Bokmål and are capable of teaching in both, and no allowances for students training to be teachers to be allowed to avoid examinations in either written language (see **A.5.18.**).

SmiO considers the active teaching of language, be it Nynorsk or Bokmål, to be a vital player in the dissemination of language attitudes and practices. Teachers who are not equally competent in both contribute to a lack of confidence and interest, so stringent measures need to be in place to ensure that all teachers are able to use Nynorsk and Bokmål in all circumstances. Raising the profile of this in the teacher training curriculum is also seen as beneficial and would allow students training to be teachers to have a greater appreciation for the role they play in how they use Norwegian in their own teaching.

4.1.10. May 2016

May is the month of the Norwegian Constitution Day, and SmiO traditionally holds festivities for that day at Ivar Aasen's grave and at an events hall in Oslo in the evening. SmiO also arranges a debate at Litteraturhuset in Oslo to discuss further the issue of teachers' competence in Nynorsk at schools. The end of the month is marked by complaints about an examination at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) at Gjøvik with incorrect Nynorsk (*kvisleis-eksamen*, the *kvisleis-exam*), which went viral on social media and received strong criticism from NMU.

Activity: 17 May traditions in Oslo

The Constitution Day, alternatively called National Day, on 17 May is Norway's largest annual celebration, marked by parades of children through town and city streets, dressing up in traditional Norwegian costumes or fine clothing, and celebrating in all manner of forms the establishment of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814. SmiO's day programme appears to follow a set pattern every year (**A.1.** Facebook post **17/05/2016**).

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

The celebrations organised by SmiO on 17 May mark an understood historical relationship between the work and legacy of Ivar Aasen with the celebration of the Norwegian state on its constitutional anniversary; with the Constitution having been written and ratified in 1814 to be later followed by the historical linguistic discourse which led to the creation of Nynorsk and Bokmål as orthographical projects, SmiO's dedication underlines the importance of the National Romantic era to both the political foundation of Norway and the Norwegian language.

Attending the event as a committee member, my role is to hold the wreath whilst Oslo Deputy Mayor Khamshajiny Gunaratnam speaks. Her speech references the importance of linguistic diversity and Nynorsk to modern Norwegian society, which is appreciated by the audience at the gravesite, consisting of SmiO members, NMU figures residing in Oslo and members of the public who pass by.

The event also repeats a trend we see throughout NMU events, with an esteemed place in the programme for poetry and singing as part of Norway's cultural and linguistic heritage. At the end, we sing the well-known poem by Ivar Aasen "Nordmannen" (also known as "Millom bakkar og berg") as well as the main two verses of the Norwegian national anthem.

A reception follows at Kafe Løve – joined to the Det Norske Teatret on Kristian IVs gate – keeping in line with the Nynorsk movement's use of Nynorsk-friendly establishments when the occasion arises. The evening gathering at Korsgata contains activities similar to those at NMU residential events, with a communal meal, singing traditional folk tunes, and a raffle. We are also accompanied by members of Songlaget Symra (see 4.1.7.) who sing a range of songs they have rehearsed for this event.

These 17 May celebrations tie together both the reverence shown by NMU for national traditions, culture and heritage and the social community aspects and events I have described thus far. An event such as this is not a demonstration of activist campaigning or public engagement on particular policy platforms. Instead, it is providing members and supporters with the opportunities to come together as a community as most Norwegians will also gather with families and loved ones on this day of the year.

Material: *The kvisleis controversy*

Following the several cases of poor Nynorsk provision in university exams, NMU uses a social media post on Facebook to illustrate its continued frustration with institutions violating their obligations to use both Norwegian written languages in assessment materials.

On 30 May, one particular exam comes to light from NTNU, where the Nynorsk translation was not at all in keeping with orthographic standards, and at times using words that have never been considered part of the Nynorsk lexicon. One word – **kvisleis* in lieu of *korleis* (meaning “how”) – catches the attention of people on social media, and NMU capitalises on the opportunity to gather more members (**A.1. Facebook post 31/05/16**).

The examination text also catches the attention of NRK, which publishes an article the same day explaining how this exam had even been allowed to be published, with Nynorsk students expressing their bemusement with how the translation had rendered the assessment instructions meaningless. NMU again uses social media, this time to spread the article and outline its current policy on examinations in Nynorsk (**A.1. Facebook posts 31/05/16** – referencing NRK article). Their statement is that the

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

educational institution in particular is to blame here, with another argument being brought to the fore: it is not enough for an institution to apologise for not satisfying their legal linguistic obligations.

The line taken here is that institutions like NTNU are required to also take steps to prevent similar situations from happening again, and this line of argument echoes comments from Karl Peder Mork in *Universitas* (cf. 4.1.6.) which highlight that sending members of staff to courses to help them to improve their Nynorsk is an ideal way of stopping this. The insult to injury, from the perspective of NMU, is the fact that the Nynorsk is incorrect beyond normal expectations or conventions.

By asking the members to join in response to this event, as advertised in the social media post, the organisation furthermore highlights its role as a pressure group for those who are concerned with the behaviour of these universities. Again, engaging in a linguistic rights discourse provides a vehicle for the organisation to present these cases as violations of rights of a minority language form which are being continually overlooked.

4.1.11. June 2016

My time in Oslo ends at the beginning of June. Before I leave Norway, there is further uproar regarding Nynorsk exams – this time at the University of Tromsø – and SmiO hosts a summer closing party as its last event of the 2015-16 academic year.

Activity: *Sommaravslutning (Summer end-of-year get-together)*

The SmiO committee, plus other members, organise to meet up to end the academic year as summer approaches. We meet up in Oslo's Frognerparken where we have sausages grilled on a barbecue, drink and have several games of *kubb*. The event is

advertised on Facebook (**A.1.** Facebook post **09/06/16**) and is social, acting as a formal close to the academic year.

Press releases and articles: *More exam issues*

Before leaving Oslo, another Nynorsk exam scandal arises, this time affecting Chair of SmiT Gunnhild Skjold. Like Karl Peder Mork, she made the switch to Nynorsk from Bokmål and is not from an area where Nynorsk is traditionally in widespread use. She has received a phone call from her university which has asked her if it would be okay for her to take the Bokmål exam question so that they do not have to produce a Nynorsk translation for her. The story on this occasion reaches the front page of NRK's news website, and once more the rhetoric in the immediate response from NMU is centred on the obligation of the institution to fulfil linguistic requirements set by law (see **A.5.19.**).

Skjold's response highlights also a shared experience of other Nynorsk users who could have backed down if they had received such a phone call, and accepted to take the exam in Bokmål. Her argument is that without sufficient education about language rights in Norway, certain Nynorsk users will be pressured into using Bokmål in academic contexts.

By inviting Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng to respond to this case, NRK is also allowing NMU to provide an official statement in the media regarding this issue which has come up several times during the year in the national press. Stavseng's statement seems to tie up the familiar linguistic rights discourse with the principle that Norway is a multilingual country, meaning that Norway having more than one written language necessitates institutional respect and satisfying the requirements of what has been written out in law. Not only is it seen as disrespectful to not provide a Nynorsk

translation in the first place, but it is wrong to ask a student if they could switch to Bokmål because it shows that an institution is attempting to avoid its own linguistic responsibilities.

4.2. *Nynorsk myteknusar*: attending the 2018 Winter Camp (19-21 January 2018)

This second ethnographic study enhances findings from 4.1. by referring to further rounds of data collection from active fieldwork in January 2018. What follows is an overview of the 2018 Winter Camp.

In the contemporary history of the organisation, the calendar of NMU is marked by three major residential events held annually (along with their AGM): the Autumn Conference (*Haustkonferanse*) held in late September, the Summer Camp (*Sumarleir*) held in late June or July, and the Winter Camp (*Vinterleir*) held in January. All are typically held at a school, hostel or activity centre that is rented out for a long weekend to accommodate for activities, guest talks and outdoor activities, as well as communal mealtimes.

The 2018 Winter Camp was held between Friday 19 and Sunday 21 January at the Jønnebu Mountain Church Centre in Bø in Telemark. Under the direction of Chair Fredrik Hope and Deputy Elise Tørring, the academic year's main campaign was titled *Nynorsk myteknusar* (Nynorsk “mythbuster”), with social activities, social media work and school visits oriented around “busting” perceived negative statements about Nynorsk, all considered untrue and mistaken.

At the time of writing, a website⁸ outlines the campaign with videos and text articles set out to debunk statements which the group considers the most prominent and

8 <http://www.nynorskmyteknusar.no> – accessed 16 May 2018

widely discussed; at the Winter Camp itself, free stickers and other paraphernalia tied to this campaign were given out (see **A.5.20.**). With this update in campaign focus in mind, the 2018 Winter Camp was to be observed from my perspective as a participant with the intention of re-addressing and ethnographically re-grounding several research themes from the description given in 4.1.

Field-notes from 2018 Winter Camp were meant to assist in collecting information relevant to the following questions:

- What sort of language activism does NMU engage in?
- What happens during a typical Winter Camp?
- What are the main themes (in terms of activities, talks etc.)?
- What are the sessions and activities about?
- What do NMU and its members think about the language situation in today’s Norway?

Having reviewed the timetable of events for the Winter Camp before attending, I created a field-note template that would be written out by hand for each activity, to code the data, and make it accessible in the analysis – all in step with critical sociolinguistic research and fieldwork traditions (see Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 59ff; 171-177).

These templates allowed notes to be written in a flexible semi-structured fashion, noting the activity’s name, the number of participants, location, time and duration, with a description and overview taking into account the surrounding setting and atmosphere:

CODE	
SESSION NAME	
OBSERVER	
No. PARTICIPANTS	

PLACE	
TIME	
DURATION	
DESCRIPTION	
OVERVIEW	
SETTING	
ATMOSPHERE	
NOTES	
PICTURES	YES / NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	YES / NO

In total, 14 sessions from Friday evening to Sunday afternoon are described in 4.1.2.. The majority of sessions were attended by most participants, with a handful of “parallel sessions” where I had to choose one of several sessions being held at the same time.

4.1.1. Ethics

A primary consideration of this fieldwork has been to make sure it abides with ethical practice and addresses any ethical implications. NMU, as an organisation, accepts members from the age of 14, and residential events such as this one are designed to reflect this age bracket of attendees. It is, for example, strictly prohibited to drink alcohol or smoke, and the online registration form also includes a message for parents and guardians, who have concerns about sending their children, to assure them of the safety protocols taken by the organisation.⁹

Having understood the sensitivity of this, and for the purposes of documenting the event without eliciting personal information from the event’s participants, several actions were taken before, during, and after the Winter Camp to ensure ethical transparency:

⁹ *Informasjon til føresette* - <https://malungdom.no/organisasjon/tilskippingar/informasjon-til-foresette/> - accessed 16 May 2018.

(1) The Central Committee of NMU, who is responsible for the organisation and coordination of residential events, were contacted by e-mail on 13 December 2017

(A.4.):

- The e-mail explained that the research intends to look at NMU's residential events, and that there would be no interviews – nothing interruptive or expectant of the participants;
- Research notes were to be written with pen and paper, and any pictures would be taken with a mobile phone camera without participants in the shot;
- Participants would have the right to request that information about their participation be redacted and deleted, as well as the right to withdraw at any time from the researcher's observation;
- In any case where specific individuals had to be discussed, a pseudonym would be used – with the only exception to the rule being those who have a role in the organisation who, due to their public involvement internally and externally through media profiling, are not able to be effectively anonymised.

Vice-Chair Elise Tørring responded to this e-mail on 20 December 2017, and whilst positive and thankful for the ethical rules I had already outlined, she took the opportunity to underline that only members of the Central Committee should be named, and that it would be important that everyone attending be made aware of the research taking place. She recommended that including a sheet of paper outlining the research would be useful to include in participants' folders, and that it would be good if I took the time to talk to everyone at the beginning of the Winter Camp to outline what my plans were, as well as to answer any questions.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

(2) Following on from the e-mail conversation, I agreed to write up an ethics declaration and project description in Norwegian (see A.3.) to be inserted into participants' folders – which would also serve as a formal opportunity for participants to be made aware of their rights to withdraw and not to be researched upon. This form highlighted areas where methodological and theoretical sensitivities would be of interest to the participants. NMU agreed to include this information sheet in the folders provided to every participant:

- It outlined that participants “have the right to withdraw at any time”;
- The principles of ethnographic research were also explained to the participants: the researcher reflects over their own participation, what the researcher says, what is said by the participants, and what is done in the environment around them;
- Notes were to be only made with pen and paper;
- All research questions were listed;
- Participants would also have the right to withdraw when the Winter Camp was concluded, as well as the right to look at notes and the pictures taken during the event and ask any questions.

4.2.2. Event-specific remarks

At every residential event, participants are given a folder which usually contains a pen, some plain paper, a list of all participants, a travel remuneration sheet, a feedback sheet, a copy of the NMU songbook containing folk tunes, and a copy of Nynorsk weekly newspaper *Dag og Tid* and/or quarterly magazine *Syn og Segn*. The songbook is an important item in the folder as it will be used to sing a song or two in-between scheduled activities, after practical announcements or whenever the mood arises. The

songbook contains poems by Ivar Aasen set to music, traditional folk melodies and more recent additions written by NMU members in the past.

Organisers from the central committee hang banners and posters with slogans from previous campaigns and work throughout the rented venue (see **A.5.21.**), and a kiosk (see **A.5.22.**) selling snacks, drinks, raffle tickets, NMU-branded merchandise and books is readily set up prior to the arrival of participants. Books typically range from examples of Nynorsk literature to books which are about language history or the history of a particular Studentmållag – or NM itself. Older members, most often former office-bearers, are tasked with the role of preparing food. As mentioned, alcohol and drugs are strictly prohibited at NMU residentials.

4.2.3. Friday 19 January

Following my late arrival in Bø, at 20:00 as announcements were being given, I am given the opportunity to explain the study in my own words. One question is raised about the right to withdraw, and I stress again that participants could withdraw at any time as long as they make themselves known to me.

At around 22:00 games are scheduled with the aim of participants getting to know each other (**FRI-1**). Some of the participants have been delegated the job of running these games, which involve exchanging fun and trivial facts about each other. The final game is titled *Ivar Aasen smiler til...* (Ivar Aasen smiles at...) which engages with the stereotypes of Nynorsk users such as coming from Sogn og Fjordane or having driven a tractor. Exercises like this indicate that participants to an extent embrace and are able to make fun of the social clichés associated with the linguistic identity of Nynorsk and dialect users. The jocular use of the long-deceased Nynorsk creator Ivar

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Aasen as a quasi-transcendental personality who smiles upon certain individuals for attributes which reinforce the Nynorsk sociolinguistic stereotype is overtly tongue-in-cheek. He has become, to an extent, a character or mascot for the organisation; a cardboard cut-out of him at the venue has been dressed up in NMU-branded clothing and campaign slogans (see A.5.23.). This is the only scheduled evening session, apart from the dinner held before my arrival.

4.2.4. Saturday 20 January

Following breakfast (SAT-1) at 09:00, practical announcements and singing “*Dei gamle fjelli*” from the NMU songbook, I attend the first parallel session (SAT-2) at 10:00 which is focused on board-games. Following a presentation of various games, participants play a self-published Nynorsk version of *Monopoly* called *Det nynorske festspelet* which, like last night’s social games, capitalises on a range of exaggerated stereotypes and clichés associated with Nynorsk, farmers and rural Norwegians e.g. the banker has to be a person from Sunnmøre. The chance cards also use further stereotypes, in-jokes and absurd scenarios (see A.5.24.). Another parallel session is held upstairs where some are knitting and listening to music. Lunch follows (SAT-3) at 13:00 with announcements about the next session.

Like residential events attended in 2015-16, the Winter Camp receives guest talks. The first one (SAT-4) is given at 14:20 by Margit Ims from the Bø Mållag, who is also a former Vice-Chair of NMU; her talk showcases Nynorsk and the dialect situation in the local region, the shrinking use of Nynorsk at the local upper high school, and some discussion on the local University College of Southeast Norway which was established in part to reduce migration of local residents to larger conurbations in pursuit of higher education – this can also be considered a linguistic measure in as far as

preserving the local Nynorsk- and dialect-using population is concerned. Her presentation leads to a discussion of the perceived threat of municipal mergers (*samanslåing*), new residents who use Bokmål, and the potential minoritisation of Nynorsk users in Bø. A journalist from local newspaper *Bø Blad* is also in attendance, who takes the opportunity to interview Chair Fredrik Hope before the session.

The next guest to arrive is fiddle-player Knut Buen (**SAT-5**) who performs at 15:30 for everyone in the main hall. Not only is he from Telemark, but his music is firmly in the traditional folk music genre, much to the delight of all those in attendance.

The next parallel session I attend at 17:00 is run by Chair Fredrik Hope (**SAT-6**). For about an hour, Hope details current Norwegian language law regulations and explains their history. The session is meant to inform attendees about what the law requires of state institutions and how individuals can report violations or cases where signage or documentation is not provided in Nynorsk where it should be; this session is meant to educate and give know-how to participants who want to be able to submit complaints themselves in the future. Handouts are also provided (see **A.5.25.**), and Hope gives anecdotes and examples of historical cases throughout his talk to detail first-hand experience of engaging with the legal complaints procedure.

Dinner is served at 18:00 (**SAT-7**), before everyone in the dining room gets ready for the traditional quiz and raffle at 20:00 (**SAT-8**). Like the games on Friday evening (**FRI-1**), the quiz is organised by a volunteer, and participants answer questions in teams on a range of topics including local Telemark facts, TV celebrities and facts about languages around the world. There is a final rush to buy raffle tickets before the draw. Prizes include copies of Nynorsk literature and non-fiction books, Ivar Aasen-branded products, and some of the merchandise from the NMU kiosk.

4.2.5. Sunday 21 January

Breakfast is served at 09:00 (**SUN-1**) with practical announcements about transport to the train station later that day; like for all residential events, all transport costs are reimbursed by NMU, and feedback sheets in participants' folders can be filled in and handed in before leaving.

The first parallel session of the day at 10:00 (**SUN-2**) is a presentation on debate technique, with a particular focus on master suppression techniques (*hersketeknikkar*) as a tool when facing unwarranted critical comments against Nynorsk and dialect usage. Examples of usage from the feminist movement are also presented as an example of another group which has engaged with this method. The argument by the speaker during the session is that these techniques can be used to activists' advantage and that we can learn from others in society who have to face similar debates and negative comments in society.

This is followed by a talk for everyone at 11:45 by a visiting speaker from the planned Vinje Centre, Kristian Rantala (**SUN-3**). The Vinje Centre is to be a multipurpose cultural centre and museum, opened in the nearby municipality of Vinje, with a particular focus on journalism, Nynorsk and poetry. Rantala has visited to ask questions to NMU about how the centre could better cater for visitors and tourists, but this is also an opportunity for him to advertise the centre to participants before it opens.

Prior to everyone's departure in the afternoon, the Winter Camp ends with a short speech by Chair Fredrik Hope at 13:15 (**SUN-4**). This is a traditional part of every residential event where the Chair addresses attendees with NMU's objectives going further, reporting on current membership figures and the achievements of the

organisation since the last residential or general meeting. He addresses political challenges with regard to the recent Norwegian general election, but explains that with centrist and traditionally Nynorsk-friendly¹⁰ *Venstre* in government, any new language legislation should be in favour of Nynorsk and the preservation of Norway's linguistic visibility. This is the final scheduled session of the Winter Camp, and the event ends with all participants singing "Nordmannen".

4.2.6. Limitations and unfulfilled objectives

Some sessions described in the field-notes were mealtimes (**SAT-1**, **SAT-3**, **SAT-7**, **SUN-1**), and it was not possible to produce extensive notes on these sessions apart from occasionally detailing what was eaten and what any announcements given before or after were about. I had arrived after the event had officially started on Friday evening, and it was also not possible to give notes on session **SUN-5**, as all participants, including myself, were packing up their belongings before being transported to catch a train from Bø to Oslo at 14:29.

I cannot say that the fieldwork notes I have recorded are fully exhaustive of this residential event (due to not being able to attend more than one parallel session at the same time), though they do serve to recognise and discuss any key areas of activity that I and others were exposed to. Indeed, being aware of organisational discourse, ideological concerns and related tropes of NMU from my time in the group between 2015 and 2016 did allow me to enter into this event with an auto-ethnographic and slightly grounded approach (with expectations and prior knowledge about the organisation), knowing what to look for in content by examining the *Vinterleir* from the perspective of an attendee at previous and similar residential events. In addition, I was a

¹⁰ Further discussion in Bucken-Knapp 2003: 147.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

known face, a competent Norwegian speaker, and had some social currency in that I was a former committee member of SmiO who was present at the 2015 AGMs of NM and NMU. To echo remarks from Chapter 3, I was not an antiseptic research instrument during my stay, though previous experience with the organisation was necessary to contextualise the information given in my field-notes.

A reason for completing a second ethnography at a social and resident event was to highlight elements of the interpersonal relationships between members, as well as highlight areas of organisational culture outwith the discourse of the organisation's own objectives and political campaigning. The ethnographic model I chose was itself a limiting factor in my data collection, as I did not perform interviews, nor did I seek to engage in one-to-one/group conversations that could have been recorded to complement my field-notes.

I was an observer-participant in the most conservative sense of the term, trying to not make my research front-and-centre to conversations with other participants; interviews and conversation analysis would be helpful for my analysis, though they would have both been intrusive – inappropriate for some of the younger, less experienced participants – and would have also disrupted the pre-prepared schedule in that that they would have detracted from the flow of activity I was meant to be observing.

4.3. Trends and traits of contemporary Nynorsk language activism

Both ethnographic studies detail with reference to a rich body of data and material the range of activities and work that NMU and its local chapters engage in, and I will conclude this chapter outlining macrosociolinguistic trends in the language activism

specific to this group. Based on the “thick description” this ethnography has provided, I highlight eight particular tropes which define Nynorsk activism within time periods I have examined, and I will list examples accordingly:

4.3.1. The educational institution as a campaigning venue

NMU’s membership is (unsurprisingly) young and consists primarily of school pupils and university students where the use of Nynorsk, Bokmål and other languages such as English are part of a dynamic and geolinguistically varying linguistic community at institutions of education. The organisation’s attitude in press and self-published material treats schools, universities and other HEIs as a primary ground for campaigning, recruiting and broadcasting its message; a prominent theme of discussion has been the role and stability of current legislation on language, as well as how institutions violate it and young people’s awareness of their linguistic rights.

Examples: NMU proposing an “early start” with Nynorsk/using Nynorsk in other school subjects (A.1. 13/08/15); NMU responding to Nynorsk use at folk high schools (A.1. 03/09/15).

4.3.2. Educational institutions as a forum for overt language attitudes

This attitude towards language policy and institutional responsibility is a running theme in NMU campaigns and how it, and its chapters, interact with the state and its employees. Within the Norwegian sociopolitical context where schools and universities are state, and public and collective community institutions – and are also the domains where most Norwegians will be in contact with Nynorsk in their compulsory education

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

– it is seen as a key area of sociolinguistic discourse where overt and powerful language attitudes are broadcast and exchanged between all young people. Activist work approaches the educational institutions as forums which are instrumental in spreading positive language attitudes about Nynorsk, dialects and linguistic diversity. NMU expects the state, its schools, public universities and colleges to uphold Nynorsk and Bokmål equally and strengthen Nynorsk's use within an academic and therefore non-local and non-regionalised context.

Examples: SmiO writing letters to *Universitas* in response to University of Oslo staff comments (A.1. 27/01/16); NMU responding to incorrect Nynorsk in exam papers (A.1. 30/04/16).

4.3.3. Linguistic rights discourses

Much of the campaigning here is invested within a linguistic rights discourse, where Nynorsk is now a stable minority language in Norway and legislation exists in theory to maintain its use at state and municipal levels. NMU takes legal requirements and obligations seriously when defending members and young people who file complaints, which are usually oriented around the state of their education and rights to use Nynorsk in the public sphere. 2015 and 2016 were both marked by stories about Nynorsk examinations and assessments not being properly delivered, and the firm position of NMU was consistently broadcast in the media at opportune moments. Not violating legislation on language is interpreted as a social responsibility that is meant to favour the Norwegian language as a working language in all domains.

Examples: NMU activating their complaints portal for pupils and students, highlighting the “right to complain” (A.1. 19/11/15); NMU Chair Fredrik Hope’s parallel session on how to report language law violations (A.2. SAT-6)

4.3.4. Nynorsk identity and harnessing stereotypes

NMU also operates as a social group, tied to its history, and its cultural and social tropes indicative of a Nynorsk identity – like NM, its membership has an affinity for folk traditions whilst at the same time sarcastically embracing some of its stereotypes which are often tied down to the regional stereotypes of peripheral and non-urban Nynorsk-using counties and municipalities; language activism is seen here to be connected to cultural and sociopolitical stances which act both as a hallmark and as a focal point of identity outwith the remit of what the linguistic variety itself provides. Nevertheless, the *Nynorsk myteknusar* campaign of January 2018 works to counter some of the stereotypes which are perceived as detrimental to the stability of Nynorsk as a contemporary language variety.

Examples: SmiO commemorating Constitution Day at Ivar Aasen’s grave, Kafé Løve and *Grendehuset* in Oslo (A.1. 17/05/16); NMU playing ice-breaker *Ivar Aasen smiler til...* (A.2. FRI-1); NMU inviting fiddle-player Knut Buen to perform (A.2. SAT-5).

4.3.5. Responding to centralisation and municipal reform

In a similar vein, the politics of decentralisation has appeared on several occasions as an area of concern to both NMU and NM; current activism in NMU pays attention to political developments in Norwegian language policy and planning, and is aware of how changes to municipal boundaries can have adverse effects. Its work is not just in the

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

domain of linguistic policy and planning, but also in political and geographical questions at both state and municipal level. In the context of Norway, the Nynorsk movement can be seen as a prominent Norwegian counter-culture, along with the temperance movement or presence of free churches and the lay movement in particular districts of the country; in line with the history of the Nynorsk movement being against membership of the European Economic Community and the European Union, there is a precedent amongst activists to engage in efforts to resist what is otherwise considered the rapid tide of modernisation, urbanisation and the disenfranchisement of rural and peripheral communities (Hellevik 2001: 121). This is best observed in Nynorsk activists' approach to meeting the challenges raised by the role of English, internal migration from non-Nynorsk-using areas and immigration to Norway as causes of demographic (and therefore sociolinguistic) change.

Examples: NM discussing effects of municipal mergers (*samanslåing*) on Nynorsk use at 2016 AGM (A.1. 15-17/04/16); Margit Ims' talk on demographics and Nynorsk use in Bø (A.2 SAT-4).

4.3.6. Demographic change, Bokmål and English

Bokmål, as the majority standard, carries an inherent prestige; it is the Norwegian which is used overwhelmingly across domains, as well as in urban centres of the country. As seen at the NM AGM, schemes to integrate newcomers require concessions and nuanced decision making to maintain Nynorsk-using communities, and NMU is aware through its press interactions of how language shift to Bokmål amongst Nynorsk users at university or upper high school is motivated by prevailing negative attitudes towards Nynorsk as a suitable academic language.

Examples: NMU central committee member Kine Gjertrud Svori intervening in the national press in response to editorial bans on Nynorsk (A.1. 04/10/16, 06/10/16); NMU discussing Nynorsk signage/visibility at the future Vinje Centre (A.2. SUN-3).

4.3.7. Activism as lobbying and advocacy

The activism studied is also marked by its grass-roots style of organisation, acting as a movement which lobbies actively on several sociopolitical levels. Likewise, the Nynorsk movement works in (tacit) advocacy coalitions with political party members/factions, trade union groups and non-governmental organisations to formulate policy and/or put pressure on authorities to enact it. Nynorsk activist groups are aware of political developments in Norway and engage in national and local discourses relevant to language politics, centralisation of administration, and state education.

Examples: SmiO working with Grøn Liste in the University of Oslo Student Parliament to enact Nynorsk-friendly policy (A.1. 25/02/16); SmiO responding to government consultation on teacher education requirements (A.1. 05/04/16).

4.3.8. Solidarity and defence against marginalisation

As is evidenced at both of the AGMs in 2016, there is a concerted effort to show solidarity with other marginalised and minoritised linguistic groups, which not only works for these organisations as part of their public image and position within the national linguistic conversation, but also carries with it some sociopolitical currency to legitimise the concerns and objectives of the wider Nynorsk movement as matters of promoting diversity and defending against marginalisation of minorities.

4 – Norsk Målungdom: Ethnographic Accounts

Examples: NMU's Fredrik Hope writing in the press to lobby for multilingual Sámi/Norwegian signage in Narvik (**A.1. 28/08/15**); NMU criticising proposals to close a Sámi language school (*Sameskolen i Midt-Noreg*) (**A.1. 02/11/15**).

5 – Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism¹¹

If there are such generalities that apply all over the world, is it possible to make general sociolinguistic statements that apply to all the countries of the world, or at least to groups of them?

Fasold 1991: 61

In this chapter, I give an abridged comparison of Nynorsk activism with similar cases of grass-roots language activism, proposing that Nynorsk can be classified as one of several *medium-sized* language varieties which share specific traits. I introduce what is meant by medium-sized and evaluate to what extent Nynorsk fits into this theoretical grouping of language varieties. I compare the Nynorsk activism highlighted with brief, non-exhaustive examples from Catalan in Catalonia and Scots in Scotland to suggest we could develop a theoretical framework to study language activism in cases of medium-sized language communities. This framework can be elaborated through further investigations of similar case studies using ethnographic methods/fieldwork, and the conclusions from this study as a hypothesis-generating springboard.

5.1. Theoretical frameworks for language activism

One example of the features of contemporary Nynorsk language activism I have highlighted is the importance of non-governmental organisations (or civil society generally) as a platform to achieve goals and implement campaign objectives, reflective of some cases of language management around the world (Safran 2015: 253) – but not all. The traditional focus on policy and planning as top-down affairs has often necessitated a historiographical approach to examine legislative frameworks, language

¹¹ **Answering RQ2:** *To what extent can we relate this case of Nynorsk language activism with the cases of other medium-sized languages, such as Catalan and Scots?*

5 – Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism

rights and rather static nation-state/standard language discourses. Bucken-Knapp's thesis on historical Nynorsk political debates succeeded in outlining how institutions and politicians engaged in popular linguistic debates to gain support (2003: 10), but the processes which create language policy and public attitudes towards language are not solely the issues related to institutions of political decision making, as we know by now that organised efforts to realise the aspirations of language users and those who advocate on behalf of them exist at the grass-roots level.

There is a political and social influence on the part of activists and pressure groups, and a social theoretical framework to evaluate the extent of this influence would be desirable for our purposes. Linguistic communities around the world vary by their political systems and socio-cultural traits, sociolinguistics should not give off the impression that the communities we study follow the same monotonous template of social stratification and hierarchies of power (Romaine 1982: 235). We should be sensitive to how links between language and the sort of society being studied can be distinct in terms of features and attributes (Bretxa & Vila 2018: 26-27).

5.2. Nynorsk as a medium-sized language variety

The term *medium-sized* describes language varieties usually characterised by their relationship with and distance from a dominant language variety in a sociolinguistic space, though they are not a homogeneous group; they can range from standard orthographic languages to solely oral vernaculars (Vila & Bretxa 2013: 3). What these language varieties lack is status as a hegemonic language, or acrolect (Hyvik, Millar & Newby 2016: 18-19, 25), and whilst not necessarily endangered, these languages exist within various sociolinguistic discourses where they face resistance and challenges over how they are presented in linguistic landscapes and domains of use.

These language varieties are nevertheless marked by their foothold in specific domains, as opposed to having “no political power and/or low levels of technocratic development” (Vila & Bretxa 2013: 14-15), positioning them above smaller minority languages and below dominant acrolects. I put forward here that Nynorsk fulfils proposed requirements to be a medium-sized language variety by being fully elaborated, though by no means exclusive (Vila & Bretxa 2018: 42); Nynorsk users are overwhelmingly competent in Bokmål, but the majority of Bokmål users are evidently not fully competent in Nynorsk. Nynorsk remains a domestically sustainable language despite conflicts which reflect the obligations and attitudes of both the state and its citizens (in terms of national and regional media, its codified use in Nynorsk municipalities and counties, and its contested role in the state education system; Vila 2013: 181-182, Aarebrot & Unwin 1979: 95-96).

5.2.1. Language activism and geospecificity

To talk about medium-sized languages is nevertheless to use a term of convenience, to which for my own purposes I am reluctant to apply a strict definition. One reason for not doing so is due to Nynorsk’s own nature as one of two national orthographies of what is considered by its users the same language – and this entails a range of peculiarities when comparing and contrasting it to other case studies. Medium-sized languages as described in extant literature are mostly regionalised language varieties which belong to a particular community or sub-nationality (see Vila 2013 (ed.)), and (unsurprisingly) there are language activist groups related to movements advocating formal independence or greater political autonomy within the “language-nation-state nexus” (Heller 2014: 283-285).

5 – Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism

Popular sociolinguistic movements that are motivated by social and political self-determination do however engage with linguistic citizenship efforts, especially where language rights discourses have failed them (Stroud 2001: 353). Nynorsk activists themselves appear to perform a balancing act between linguistic rights and linguistic citizenship discourses, as linguistic citizenship efforts here appear to be made to attain and sustain rights within the legalist discourse that already exists. Despite there being no actual Nynorsk region, nation or ethnicity, it shares a characteristic with smaller language varieties in that it is used predominantly in one area of its respective nation-state, serving successfully as a carrier and defender of peripheral identity and cultures in western and central Norway (Vikør 1975: 48-49).

Nynorsk is, however, not meant to be (legally, politically, or ideologically) a regional language variety, as Nynorsk and Bokmål are on the same level as two orthographic variants of the same multidialectal, yet national, standard Norwegian language. The language activism I have exposed illustrates this, and the historical position of organisations like NMU and NM has on record set out to defend Nynorsk and dialect usage across the country – not one specific area (ibid. Vikør: 91).

5.2.2. Nynorsk and Catalan (Catalonia)

Catalan is a standard Romance language variety primarily spoken today in Andorra (as the official language), the French department of Pyrénées-Orientales, the Sardinian town of L'Alguer/Alghero, and the Spanish autonomous communities of Catalonia, Valencia (as the Valencian language) and the Balearic Islands. The Catalan language organisation *Plataforma per la llengua* (PL, lit. “Platform for the Language”, styled in translations as the “Pro-Language Platform”) is a non-governmental organisation and pressure group which operates across Catalan-speaking territories. In 1993, PL was

established by members of the Esbarzer Collective (*Collectiu l'Esbarzer*), a Barcelona youth organisation, interested in improving the situation of the Catalan language.¹² It has since engaged in a range of campaigns to promote the Catalan language and raise awareness of its own sociolinguistic issues. I will discuss in this section their language activism within Catalonia only.

Following the death of the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, who espoused a fascist linguistic regime of Castillian Spanish supremacy, subsequent active autonomous government and grass-roots efforts have worked to bring Catalan back to the status of both a language of use and as the historical language of Catalonia – having been politically suppressed and dismissed as a provincial dialect to be banned from public use (Woolard 2016: 39). The second half of the 20th century brought rapid urbanisation to many parts of Spain, with internal migration to large cities (such as Barcelona) bringing increased numbers of monolingual speakers of Castillian without prior knowledge of “regional” languages like Catalan (Pujolar 2007: 125, Rei-Doval 2016: 2). Following the re-establishment of the Catalan Government (*Generalitat de Catalunya*) and adoption of the Catalan *estatut* (regional constitution) in 1979, the state education system would later take on Catalan as the language of instruction in schools (which continues to this day), regardless of whether students use either Castillian or Catalan at home.

Like with the Galician and Basque languages, the continued use of Catalan in resisting domestic and cultural contexts during the Franco dictatorship had “counterbalanced” demographic shifts towards full Castillian monolingualism in Spain’s own multilingual communities (ibid. Rei-Doval), yet Catalan and Castillian

12 “un grup de joves [...] que volien millorar la situació del català” - ‘a group of young people [...] who wanted to improve the situation of the Catalan language’ – <https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/qui-som/historia/> – accessed 24 July 2018.

5 – Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism

remain in domain-specific conflicts due to Castillian being the single national language of Spain that all citizens are constitutionally required to know, with additional pressure due to political and economic centralisation towards Madrid and the *de facto* use of Castillian in state institutions (such as the courts) in Barcelona (Pujolar 2007: 126, Williams 1991b: 19). As a medium-sized language, an issue related to the contemporary institutionalisation of Catalan is that monolingual speakers of Castillian, who wish to migrate to Catalonia to work in public services, need to be proficient in Catalan, and that therefore their employment opportunities are diminished by not being Catalan speakers even if fully qualified (Woolard 2016: 44).

This already sets some ground for comparison with Nynorsk in terms of an extant negative attitude discourse. At the time of writing – as a brief example – in conjunction with the publication of a report written by PL, an on-going campaign “Les xifres canten” (lit. “the figures sing”, lit. the numbers speak for themselves)¹³ asks members of the public to sign a petition demanding that Catalan Culture Minister Laura Borràs improve Generalitat policy on subsidies for Catalan and Occitan language music. Like the Nynorsk activists studied, PL is able to conduct linguistically-informed surveys for the purposes of developing campaign policies (cf. Lilleholt & Kihl’s 2014 report on municipal mergers for NM) and motivate supporters and members of the public to engage with these campaigns through social media (cf. NMU’s complaints portal, see 4.1.4.). Like with NM and NMU’s work with regard to the Sámi and Kven languages, there is a consideration of the wider linguistic community in Catalonia by encompassing Occitan within PL’s campaign, which is also a recognised language in Catalonia for the Occitan-speaking Aran municipality and its local government.

13 <https://www.lesxifrescanten.cat/> – accessed 24 July 2018.

5.2.3. Nynorsk and Scots (Scotland)

Under the United Kingdom’s ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Scots is a recognised language of Scotland along with English, Scottish Gaelic and British Sign Language. Scots refers to a group of non-standard language varieties derived from Old English – mutually intelligible with Scottish Standard English – primarily spoken in Lowland Scotland, the Northern Isles and parts of the Scottish Highlands (Maguire 2012). Varieties are also spoken in Northern Ireland and Donegal in the Republic of Ireland, where the language is known as Ulster Scots. To the extent that Scots refers to a language variety with this state recognition, I group Scots together with Nynorsk and Catalan as medium-sized languages.

Studies on contemporary language activism in the case of Scots in Scotland – comparable to that of Catalan and Nynorsk described here – are unfortunately lacking in the current literature. As a non-standard language variety, Scots has no single official written standard due to a range of historical and socio-political reasons (Puchowski 2017b) and is not formally taught as a language of use at Scottish schools. Indeed, Catalan and Nynorsk are themselves similar in that they have established themselves as academic and institutional languages within a multilingual nation-state apparatus (Vila 2018: 259), whereas the institutionalisation of Scots as a standard language remains underdeveloped in comparison.

Organisations related to the promotion and cultivation of Scots as an autonomous language variety do exist – in particular, the Scots Language Society (Scots Leid Associe; SLA, founded 1972) and the Scots Language Centre (Centre for the Scots Leid; CSL, founded 1994). Together, these two organisations engage in activities of language advocacy similar to NM and PL. SLA is focused on the promotion of Scots as a language of prose and poetry, self-publishing a journal of various written works –

Lallans – for its members four times a year, and hosts an annual *colloque* (symposium) of talks, poetry readings, short-story recitals and prize-giving ceremonies for pieces in written Scots. CSL is a group of Scots users and advocates who promote Scots to the public, advertise works in Scots and cooperate with authorities such as the Scottish Government to promote the language in policy and day-to-day proceedings.

As Nynorsk and Catalan are already elaborated standard language varieties, Scots remains behind in its activism, yet the organisations listed are engaged in promoting the language as a recognised language in Scotland and developing public consciousness and positive attitudes which still remain objectives for Catalan and Nynorsk activists. Along with being a journal for poetry and short stories, *Lallans* has also been host to linguistic discussions and debates between members, such as the potential creation of an official Scots orthography (*Lallans* 56 & 57, 2000). Likewise, CSL lobbied to list Scots as a language in Scotland’s Census 2011 where respondents could report their linguistic ability in the language (Macafee 2017), and its website¹⁴ contains textual and audio resources to help visitors learn Scots, explain the history of the language, its relationship with English, and its own dialectal variation.

5.3. A grounded framework for medium-sized language activism

My brief survey of the Scots and Catalan examples illustrates potential for a comparison between more than one medium-sized language like Nynorsk, especially within the context of the work of organisations which engage in popular sociolinguistic debates and attitudinal discourse. Each linguistic community exists within different political and social contexts, yet their relationship with their respective acrolects and the recognition they have within the framework of the nation-state allows us to see how Nynorsk

14 <https://www.scotslanguage.com/> – accessed 24 July 2018.

activism lines up with its counterparts in other territories. By examining the Catalan and Scots cases with the ethnographic methods used in Chapter 4 – with my Nynorsk study as a “grounded theory” – a comparative framework to study medium-sized language activism could be built out of this broader set of data and perspectives.

In the case of these medium-sized languages, the language activists I have identified operate in wide-ranging circumstances, usually affected by how political and economic control is closely tied to the *acrolect* (Hanto 2016: 141) – consequently, activism has to defend what territory it has to prevent language shift due to social demands (Bruthiaux 2008: 21). There are large discrepancies between what laws say and how they are implemented (Stepanenko 2003: 121), where the lack of a level sociolinguistic playing-field necessitates the active institutionalisation of the medium-sized minority language (May 2000: 101-102, Jarve 2003: 92), lest the stability of the language variety deteriorate. Behind varieties with state recognition and (some) institutionalisation, activists work to maintain their status, and react to violations on the part of the state or equivalent authority (Daftary & Gal 2003: 62). As tolerance loses ground as demographics evolve and generations move on, the protection of a medium-sized minority language variety needs to be subsequently addressed (May 2008: 14). The role of grass-roots language activist organisations is indicative of this exchange – in the case of Nynorsk, such as highlighting the potential benefits of knowing two written standards due to assumed bilingual-like cognitive advantages (cf. **A.1.** ‘Userløst av Unge Høgre’ **01/09/15**; **A.5.5.**). Such an argument was never part of the original ideological reasoning for Nynorsk, but it offers access to a feature – a form of sociolinguistic “goods” (Foley 1997: 342-343), indicative of commodification where

5 – *Comparing Nynorsk: Grounding Approaches to Language Activism*

minority languages become like products (Heller & Duchêne 2016: 140ff) – legitimising the sociolinguistic discourse they need to survive.

From the “grounded theory” established by my ethnography, Nynorsk’s current stability as a language of use appears characteristic of a form of language management dependent on “attitudes, policies and knowledge or ignorance of the speakers of the large or dominant language, in whose orbit the threatened language is spoken, or with which its speakers have close contacts” (Wurm 2014: 15). One core objective of this medium-sized activism is to engage in a discourse which means that the majority of the wider community tolerates the current linguistic culture; languages are kept if they are seen to have value, and if a language has fewer urban demographic strongholds there can then emerge active efforts to maintain favourable sociolinguistic conditions (Wardhaugh 1987: 17-19).

6 – Reflections: Linguistic Ethnography as Socially Constituted Linguistics¹⁵

Linguistics is so fascinating that it is easy to forget its connections with the world around it.

Hymes 1996: 221

To conclude this study, I propose that using critical research methods in sociolinguistics, like linguistic ethnography, is required to establish a “socially constituted” approach to linguistic research (Bell 2016). By outlining current criticisms of traditionally dominant research approaches in sociolinguistics, I address the discipline’s handling of the relationship between the linguistic and the social as a social science. Having agreed with the premise that sociolinguistics has largely neglected a wider research focus on language in its varying social contexts, I propose that the study of attitudinal and popular discourse in relation to language variation and change – through researching language activism – is appropriate ground to engage in more socially-oriented studies on language.

6.1. Traditions in sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics, by virtue of its consideration of linguistic behaviour within the context of society, individuals and communities, is extremely broad in not just what it investigates but also how we define it (Hymes 1974: 195). As an epistemological project in the social sciences to unite the study of language with the study of the social (Karlsson 2016: 126), we are exposed to a wide range of research traditions and competing theoretical inclinations. This being said, it has been remarked that

15 **Answering RQ3:** *Which theoretical and methodological conclusions does this study provide to modern linguistics as a discipline – how should linguists further study and reflect upon language in society, as well as political or language attitudes discourses?*

sociolinguistics is limited in its ability to describe society to the same extent that it describes language (Sealey & Carter 2004: 57).

It is no secret that contemporary, mainstream Anglo-American sociolinguistic work has been affected, in part, by trends in academia to focus on seemingly more prestigious “abstract, theory-driven research” (see Wolfram 2008: 189-191) that has tied linguistics down to academic capital in quantitative methods and statistical enquiry (Copland & Creese 2015: 25-26). Variationist sociolinguistics has been guided by the long-standing empirical research approaches of scientific positivism, which requires practitioners to examine set definable variables in repeatable research environments (Schiffman 1996: 279) – operating within a scientific dialectic that treats language as a natural object. This has obscured how we try to holistically account for non-natural political and social factors in linguistic behaviour (May 2008: 3-4). Work by, and after, renowned sociolinguist William Labov to consider the role of socio-economic stratification in language variation and change (variationist sociolinguistics) has generally lacked focus on the origins of such stratification, and understanding discrepancies and outliers between or within individual linguistic communities; such information has not always been observable in variationist datasets (Romaine 1982: 235), and the research outcomes are limited by the extent to which they describe the social to the same degree that they describe linguistic behaviour.

6.1.1. Does language “reflect” society?

Sociolinguistics after Labov is part of a reaction to the Chomskyan “turning-point” in general linguistics (Kalogjera 1997: 212); language has been studied in its state as a product of psychological behaviour, illustrating heterogeneity of linguistic behaviour across classes, across (sub-)communities and other social variables. Linguistics has thus

6 – Reflections: Linguistic Ethnography as Socially Constituted Linguistics

historically rejected the “culturally embedded speaker’s perspective” for fear of tacitly endorsing the social prejudices and prescriptivism of language users. Consequently, language has had to be studied as an autonomous unit of analysis independent of however users feel about language (Irvine & Gal 2008: 78).

Variationist sociolinguistics illustrates accordingly how linguistic stratification and variation reflects variation in the social world. However, correlation of linguistic variables with examples of behaviour we witness in sociolinguistic research does not sufficiently function, and does not itself serve, as an explanation for why particular variables should be statistically associated with language variation and change – whether we speak from the micro-level of sociophonetic analysis, or from macro-level of analysis where language attitudes and ideologies are concerned. The primary motivation amongst variationists has been to illustrate how linguistic hetero-variation mirrors hetero-variation in society, but the way they do so says little about the origin of and social meaning behind such variation (Cameron 1990). A practitioner of sociolinguistics is therefore under no obligation to actively unite variables and research findings with social or cultural phenomena which may be responsible, as if suggesting that such work remains outwith the domain of contemporary sociolinguistics.

The alternative perspective is to see language and society as a singular unit of analysis; linguistic behaviour must not be seen as separate from wider societal or cultural behaviour, and therefore, we need to examine linguistic behaviour as something that is socially embedded (Williams 1992: 66-68). In this vein, sociolinguistics should not discuss society in essentialised terms or refer to the speaker as an essentialised unit of analysis without first acknowledging how linguistic behaviour and phenomena exist

within social conflicts of style and performativity, seeing “language as part of the social and indeed an active element in its construction” (Pennycook 2001: 50-53).

The challenge at hand now is to “enrich” traditional variationist research with “nuanced attention to the social” (Bell 2016: 395) which necessitates the use of traditional quantitative methods complemented by qualitative methods (like ethnography) to illustrate social meaning in the variation and complexity we expose. By having historically decontextualised language from social practice, questions of power and influence are not always addressed directly, and theoretical frameworks do not always account for the interplay of social variation and attitudinal forces.

6.1.2. Linguistic behaviour as social behaviour

Criticism of the dominant research approach in sociolinguistics suggests that its practitioners have neglected the direct study of language in contexts where language is politicised and socially tainted by culturally-relative contexts (Ahearn 2017: 8). The work of Chomsky, and those who have succeeded him in major fields of linguistics, has inevitably decontextualised language from social practice (Kalogjera 1997: 212-214), where questions about power, culture and social forces are not issues to be addressed explicitly in structurally-oriented research.

Where structural behaviour and variation is the result of sociopolitical forces, verbal hygiene, language attitudes/ideologies and sociocultural norms – this has yet to be a focal point for sociolinguistics across the board. Nevertheless, if the study of these phenomena contributes to our linguistic understanding of variation, attitudes and other contributive factors to language change – for example – how is a linguist meant to integrate both their study of the code and matters that go well beyond it? The challenge is to see linguistic behaviour which is a mix of rationalised and non-rationalised acts of

decision making, where we account for the “power of economics and other aspirations of language use” (Brumfit 2006: 37).

Language should also be considered in a manner that is attentive to the needs of language users and the power relations that govern them (Williams 1991a: 317). Language is after all not an entirely physical phenomenon, and the social world – of which language is a part – should be examined in its complexity and variability, affected by different conditions over time and space (Joan i Marí 2002: 28). The cultural phenomenon of language activism itself illustrates that linguistic behaviour is dynamically mediated between being both a communicative tool and a marker of identity, social distance and power relations. It is in these circumstances that it will appear theoretically irresponsible to argue that language is a reflection of society when linguistic behaviour is already embedded as part of our social behaviour.

6.2. Socially-constituted linguistics

Going forward, sociolinguists can modify their theoretical standpoint to better unite the social with the linguistic where language use is examined as a multifaceted and diverse set of behaviours (Mühlhäusler 2014: 34-38). To end long-standing conceptual divides between language and society, we can turn towards developing a linguistics which is “socially constituted” as correlational analysis is examined simultaneously with language in its socio-political context (Bell 2016: 395-399).

In the same vein, when studying language in relation to the social, it does not serve us well to study language as a unit of analysis itself, but as a set of actions related to wide-ranging discourses about, and attitudinal orientations towards, language (Brumfit 2006: 41). Alternatively, we can say that sociolinguists should also study linguistic behaviour as a regime, or a cultural legacy with dynamic and intertwined

traditions (Safran 2015: 257). This is important to not to talk only of language as a product of our cognition.

6.2.1. Subjects, objects – nature, culture

Language, as a human phenomenon, has two human realities. Governed on one hand by natural biology and the traits of our psychologies as an object, on the other hand, language is bound by society and culture, dependent on our social interactions as language users: as subjects. In the scientific modernist tradition, we recognise this distinction, but linguistics in both its theory and its methods can do more to acknowledge the connection between this divide and the mutual dependence between language-as-culture and language-as-nature (Latour 1993: 51).

As discussed, traditional variationist sociolinguistics has been limited by how its findings are able to describe and account for the causation of sociolinguistic variables (Kalogjera 1997: 214). What is required of current-day sociolinguistic work is a necessary understanding that prevalent language attitudes and ideologies are not “cultural givens” (Kroskrity 2008: 6ff), but are instead “discursive constructions” (Pietikäinen 2016: 271) – products of wide-ranging, shifting and dynamic factors dependent on the evolving discourses of societies all around the world. Sociolinguistics is limited in its approach to studying society if it does not account for how users draw upon language as a cultural resource at their disposal (Hymes 1974: 3-4).

We should not be afraid of examining political and social questions related to language as a form of social discourse. As something so tied to identity – creating bonds and divisions between individuals – it is true that these discourses “play a significant part of the political disputes of the world today” (May 2008: 316). Essentialising linguistic behaviour without consideration of the agency of the user and how language

is used as a social differentiator and marker of identity (Morgan 2007: 950-951) does not help, as linguistic behaviour does not live within an apolitical bubble, whether the social psychological attitudes that envelop it are acknowledged by speakers/writers/signers or not. More work is to be done at the level of the subject, so as not to “[remain] mute with respect to the ways speakers engage, resist, or exploit social change” (Errington 2003: 729).

6.2.2. Critical ethnographic sociolinguistics

The “mounting empirical evidence of multilingualism and linguistic hybridity in contemporary societies, and the value and role of language in political and economic life” has begun to put pressure on research traditions and methods in linguistics (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 7), and re-addressing our terminology and assumptions about language is now part of the research process when dealing with different societies and communities (Fasold 1991: 68, Albury 2016: 357).

In truth, this theoretically critical stance necessitates the collection of broader, thicker data and describing language in its own complexity (Blommaert 2013: 10-13). Discovering complexity is still part of the research process (Sealey & Carter 2004: 184), and this gives us the opportunity to appraise “fraught sociolinguistic processes” (McCarty 2015: 91). The use of ethnographic research methods allows us to examine differences and inequalities instead of dismissing them outright (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 106). We can “open up” sociolinguistics to include interdisciplinary studies, apply alternative research methods, and collaborate with those who may not share our own research persuasions (Bell 2016: 408), Whilst observational methods like ethnography are a form of intervention in the social world that can make us part of the “power game” (Calvet 1998: 202-203), holistic theoretical frameworks still require the

nuance that they provide to establish the socially-constituted linguistics that makes strides to account for language as a social resource.

6.3. Conclusion: language activism as a socially-constituted phenomenon

It should be now apparent that language activist studies – accounting simultaneously for social and linguistic discourses and require critical research methodologies – are fertile ground for this socially-constituted linguistics. Linguistic behaviour, as social behaviour, is tightly linked to political and economic factors that require us to dismiss any conception of the “sociopolitically disinterested language user” (Kroskrity 2008: 8), and appreciate the local contexts in which language is as much an affair for culturally-dependent subjects as it is a natural object.

Fundamentally, it may appear contrastive for sociolinguists to collect data about the practices of knitting, singing folk tunes and going to the theatre (as I have done), yet given that language is a cultural phenomenon (Schiffman 1996: 59), I would argue that extralinguistic activities that inform and correspond to language and linguistic culture are an integral part of the lives and discourses of all language users, and still worthy of our attention.

7 – Concluding Remarks & Future Research

7.1. Summary

Having presented the Nynorsk language, its modern history, and the organisations and individuals who advocate on its behalf (Chapter 1), this study assessed the broad and dynamic set of activities related to the term “language activism” (Chapter 2), used ethnographic methods (Chapter 3) to critically assess and illustrate the phenomenon of language activism in a Norwegian social context (Chapter 4).

The ethnographies show that Nynorsk language activism in NMU is integrated into several linguistic discourses as a grass-roots, from-below effort, responding to relative challenges and opportunities in linguistic legislation, political (de)centralisation, the Norwegian state education system, popular language attitudes and ideologies, cooperation with other organisations and political parties, and the wider visibility of language in terms of demographics, and the prominence of Bokmål as the dominant standard of the written Norwegian language.

This study has also compared and contrasted the Nynorsk variety of language activism with other linguistic cases which share certain attributes as medium-sized language varieties (Chapter 5) – grounding a theoretical framework for further studies on activism within such language communities – before rationalising how studies into language activism generally form part of an emerging approach of socially constituted linguistics, which evaluates linguistic behaviour in social contexts and applies critical research methods alongside traditional variationist practice (Chapter 6).

7.2. Extending cases: further language activism research

This study has been developed as a grounded ethnographic description of Nynorsk language activism using a broad qualitative data corpus which illustrates more than one time period. Consequently, we can extrapolate from its analysis as a basis for developing wider and extended theoretical statements about the nature of language activism within a critical sociolinguistic framework. The corpora given in the Appendices are also suitable for a critical discourse analysis where media texts and press statements are concerned – such a study would be an overview of the movement’s rhetoric and transmission of the discourse in which they are involved.

Finally, this survey of contemporary Nynorsk language activism in NMU is a broad sketch of observational and interactional data. As an ethnography, the conclusions can be built upon to establishing a theoretical framework to evaluate language activism, critically assess the analyses given here in contrast to these cases. As discussed in Chapter 5, a long-term observational study of Catalan and Scots activists undergoing similar analysis would examine to what extent the nature of medium-sized language activism holds up to the standards set here. Additionally, a study on NM as the larger and older Nynorsk activist organisation would better evaluate how ideological and attitudinal goals are shared in the Nynorsk movement overall. Similarly, performing another observational study of NMU during a future time period would examine how the changed socio-political context has influenced the goals and aims of the organisation and its members.

Appendices

A.1. Full timeline and notes for 4.1.

2015

August

Arrival in Oslo

13/08/15: Article published: *Framtida.no*; ‘Løysinga på sidemålsfloken’

Norsk Målungdom provides a view into how teaching Nynorsk can be improved across Norway, reflecting policies approved at the 2015 *årsmøte*. NMU (through Fredrik Hope) proposes an early start with Nynorsk at schools as well as the integration of Nynorsk into other subjects outwith the remits of Norwegian literature and language.

The sidemål debate is an ongoing issue from campaigning in 2015

Motmæle 77, 2015, ‘I går og i dag’, page 2, Karl Peder Mork:

“Språkleg jamstilling er ei gåve. Språket høyrer til kvar og ein av oss. Derfor er språkleg jamstilling ei personleg gåve vi kan gi kvarandre.”

“Linguistic equality is a gift. Language belongs to each and every one of us. Therefore linguistic equality is a personal gift we can give each other.”

Motmæle 77, 2015, ‘Språkpolitisk lausbart’, page 14-15, Vebjørn Sture:

“Kort sagt: Tillitsvalde, folkevalde og ungdomspolitikar frå regjeringspartia fremjar systematisk forslag om lokale forsøk med valfritt sidemål. Det gjer dei i eit omfang og ei takt som avslører at det som eigentleg skjer, er ein brei kampanje for å hola ut sidemålsordninga, under dekke av å vera lokale prøveprosjekt.”

“In short: People with responsibilities, people we elect and youth politicians from government parties systematically put forward proposals to introduce local attempts making sidemål optional. What they do in a way that hides what is actually happening is a broad campaign to weaken the sidemål policy, under the cover of being a local project.”

17/08/15: I meet Studentmållaget i Oslo (SmiO) stand and members at UiO campus on *Foreiningsdagen* (Societies Day)

Appendices

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 17 September 2015):

“I dag er me på foreiningsdagen på UiO og helsar på nye og gamle studentar. Kjekt at mange er interesserte i det me driv med og vil sleppa nynorsken til! Kom gjerne innom idrettshallen på Frederikkebygget og slå av ein prat om du er på Blindern. Me kan by på bokstavkjeks og fine jakkemerke. Kjenner du nokon som har byrja å studere i Oslo og som er glade i nynorsk og dialektar? Inviter dei til å like denne sida! Her kjem snart invitasjon til både matpakkesamling og medlemsfest.”

“Today we are at the Societies Day at UiO and we’re saying hello to new and old students. It’s cool that so many are interested in what we do and want to let Nynorsk in! Come and visit us in the sports hall in the Frederikke building and have a chat if you’re at Blindern. We have alphabet-cookies and lovely badges. Do you know someone who has begun studying in Oslo and loves Nynorsk and dialects? Invite them to like this page! There will soon be invitations out for our lunchtime meet-up and members’ party.”

Stand is positioned in Frederikke building at Blindern – table is draped in a “*Slepp nynorsken til*” poster. Badges (Eg <3 NY NORSK, portrait of Ivar Aasen), biscuits and sweets given. Eager to give information of how to join.

18/08/15: My membership fee to NMU is sent

Online payments are taken – but easiest and most advertised way is to text ‘NYNORSK’ to their number. Makes it easier when campaigning – instant members, and addresses and ID-related information are always attached to every phone number in Norway.

23/08/15: I receive my welcome packet

Includes items such as Eg <3 NY NORSK badges, promotional materials (*Hald på nynorsken!*) and documents such as the Constitution (*Tufta*).

24/08/15: This year’s NMU *vervekampanje* begins, with the intention of getting current members to get as many new members to join as possible in order to win prizes. Ends 27 September 2015.

From Facebook image (Norsk Målungdom):

“I dag byrjar vervekampanjen 2015! Som vervar kan du vinne feite premiar, men det beste er at vi blir fleire medlemer. Med fleire medlemer blir vi ein større og meir slagkraftig organisasjon. Fleire medlemer betyr meir nynorsk! 1, 2, 3, verv! SMS til 2090: NMU100, namn, fødeår, epost, namn på vervar. (100 kr blir trekt frå mobilrekninga).”

“Today the 2015 membership drive begins! As a recruiter you can win great prizes, but the most important thing is that we get more members. With more members we become a bigger and more effective organisation. More members

means more Nynorsk! 1, 2, 3, recruit! Send a text to 2090: NMU100, name, year of birth, e-mail, name of the recruiter. (100kr is added to the phone bill).”

28/08/15: *Sentralstyremedlem* Fredrik Hope writes in *Fremover* about multilingual signage in Norwegian and Sámi in Narvik; ‘Fleirspråkleg framtid fri for fordomar’.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“Fleirspråkleg skilting i Narvik vil på sikt gjera språkmangfald kvardagsleg og fjerne fordomar meiner sentralstyremedlem Fredrik Hope i dagens *Fremover*. Kva kan me gjera for å få fart på politikarane?”

“Multilingual signing in Narvik will in the long run make linguistic diversity something we see every day and get rid of prejudices, says central committee member Fredrik Hope in today’s *Fremover*. What can we do to get politicians to act?”

There is also attention given by Noregs Mållag and Norsk Målungdom to the status of sign language in Norway; see following article:

Norsk Tidend 4, 2015, ‘Lærte alle barna teiknspråk’, page 22-23, Ragnhild Thomsen Thornam

September

01/09/15: Deputy Chair Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng writes in *Gjengangeren* a response to Unge Høgre leader Marianne Aakermann, defending teaching Nynorsk and Bokmål as compulsory elements at school; ‘Useriøst av Unge Høgre’.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“I dag svarar nestleiar Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng på utsegnene som leiar i Horten og Holmestrand Unge Høgre, Marianne Aakermann, kom med i eit intervju førre veke. Det handlar, som det ofte gjer, om valfritt eller obligatorisk sidemål.”

“Today deputy Chair Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng responds to statements from the Chair of Horten and Holmestrand Young Conservatives, Marianne Aakermann, which came from an interview last week. It was about, as it often is, optional or compulsory *sidemål*.”

Sidemålsdebatten continues. Compare commentary from former Noregs Mållag chair:

Norsk Tidend 4, 2015, ‘Udir skal skrive søknadene om valfritt sidemål’, page 2-3, Marit Aakre Tennø:

“Me var mange som pusta letta ut då det var klart at støttepartia sytte for at det ikkje vart noka valfri sidemålsundervising med ei ny regjering [...] Om

Kunnskapsdepartementet no skal innvilga alle forsøk som kjem om valfritt sidemål, vil det vera ei utholing av sidemålsordninga. Og om elevar i alle dei store byane i Noreg no skal ha høve til å velja om dei vil få opplæring i nynorsk eller ikkje, er det svært uheldig. Nynorskkompetanse er mange stader vanskeleg å få tak i.”

“There were many of us who could breathe easy when it was clear that the supporting parties in government made sure that there wasn’t going to be optional *sidemål*-teaching from the new government [...] If the Department for Education now give the green light to all attempts to introduce optional *sidemål*, this will be a weakening of the *sidemål*-policy. And if pupils in all the large towns in Norway now get the opportunity to choose if they want to be taught Nynorsk or not, this would be incredibly unfortunate. Competence in Nynorsk is very difficult to get hold of in many places.”

03/09/15: Chair Synnøve Marie Sætre writes in *Framtida.no* about people who write in Bokmål as they think it is the appropriate language to use when reaching out to young people; ‘Folkehøgskular flyktar frå nynorsken’.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“I dag er leiar Synnøve Marie Sætre i Framtida. Ho er klar i talen om oppfatninga av bokmål som eit ungdomsspråk: – Eg trur det er ei misoppfatning at for å nå ut til ungdommen, så må ein skriva bokmål. Eg tykkjer ikkje det er nokon grunn til å ikkje bruka nynorsk.”

“Today Chair Synnøve Marie Sætre is in *Framtida*. She is speaking about the judgment that Bokmål is a language for young people – ‘I believe it is a misjudgment that in order to reach out to the young you need to write Bokmål. I don’t think it is a reason to not use Nynorsk.”

09/09/15: I go along to *Matpakkesamling* with SmiO

Hosted informally (usually) every Monday at 12 in Blindern’s Frederikke canteen – SmiO pays for everyone to have a coffee, sometimes accompanied with *sjokoklem* biscuits.

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 20 September 2015):

“Det er fort gjort å tenkje at måndag er ein dårleg dag. Som regel regnar det på måndagar. Som regel er bussen sein. Og naboen, han naboen som skriv bokmål og heier på Liverpool, han hoiar og skrik som regel heile natta, så i tillegg er du alltid som regel trøytt på måndagar. Men for dei som skriv nynorsk, og for dei som er medlem i SmiO, er måndag som regel ein bra dag. For i morgon er det nemleg matpakkesamling klokka 12.00 på Frederikke, i den delen av kantina som ligg nærmast gymsalen. Då er det gratis te og kaffi for alle som kjem. Og er du ein av dei fem fyrste som kjem, då ventar det deg ein varm og god croissant. Ser deg i morgon klokka tolv!”

“It’s easy to think that Monday is a bad day. It usually rains on Mondays. The bus is usually late. And the neighbour – that neighbour who writes in Bokmål and supports Liverpool – he’s usually screaming and shouting all night, so you’re usually tired on Mondays as well. But for those who write in Nynorsk,

and for those who are members of SmiO, Monday is usually a good day. Because tomorrow we have our lunchtime meet-up at 12 noon in the Frederikke building, in that part of the canteen closest to the gym hall. So there's free tea and coffee for everyone who comes along. And if you're one of the first five to come, a nice warm croissant awaits you. See you tomorrow at 12!"

17/09/15: I attend SmiO's *halvtårsmøte* at Helga Eng's Hus, Blindern; we are joined by representatives from Norsk Målungdom; pizza and coffee served

24/09/15: I am interviewed by Framtida.no (journalist: Andrea Rygg Nøttveit)

26/09/15: Interview with Framtida.no is published; 'Ein usannsynleg nynorskbrukar'

28/09/15: Deputy chair Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng writes in *Aftenposten* responding to Jens and Jørgen about why they learn Nynorsk at school; 'Sidemålet er nødvendig.'

October

02-04/10/15: I attend Autumn Conference in Spydeberg, Østfold

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 22 September 2015):

"Litt aust for svenskegrensa, berre ti mil frå Trysil, ligg Älvdalen. Der talar dei ei svært særmerkt dialekt – eller er det eit eige språk? På haustkonferansen til Norsk Målungdom i Spydeberg 2.-4. oktober kan du lære meir om övdalsk, som dei sjølv kallar målet sitt. Det blir òg innleiingar om språkstoda i Skottland, den finske språklova, i- og a-mål og mykje meir. Og det er GRATIS for SmiO-medlemer! Meld deg på her og bli med på haustens og Austfolds vakraste eventyr: <http://malungdom.no/sprak-i-grenseland/>"

"A little east from the Swedish border, just ten miles from Trysil, is Älvdalen. There they speak a rather marked dialect – or is it its own language? At the Norwegian Language Youth Autumn Conference in Spydeberg between 2-4 October, you can learn more about Elfdalian, as they call the language. There are also talks on the language situation in Scotland, the Finnish language law, i- and a-endings and much more. And it's FREE for SmiO-members! Sign up here and come along to autumn's and Østfold's most beautiful adventure: <http://malungdom.no/sprak-i-grenseland/>"

03/10/15: I present on Scots and Scottish English at Autumn Conference (*Språk i grenseland*); *Språkstoder i jamføring*

04/10/15: *Sentralstyremedlem* Kine Gjertrud Svori writes in *Aftenposten* about the implicit ban on Nynorsk in national newspapers; 'Kvifor skal det vere forbod mot nynorsk i avisene'

Appendices

06/10/15: *Sentralstyremedlem* Kine Gjertrud Svori is interviewed and debates with an editor at *Dagbladet* on NRK's *Dagsnytt 18*; 'Nok er nok'

20/10/15: I attend a trip with SmiO to Det Norske Teatret; *Are Kalvø*

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 6 October 2015):

"MERK: Framsyninga startar 20.00, men me møtest i foajeen ein halvtime før. Me i Studentmållet i Oslo inviterer alle medlemene våre på teatertur! 20. oktober skal me sjå "Kalvø" på Det norske teatret. Det er heilt gratis for SmiO-medlemer, men det er lagt av berre 15 billetter, så her er det fyrstemann/-kvinne/-hen til mølla! Send ein e-post til oddpaulsen2@gmail.com om du vil vera med!"

"NOTE: the performance starts 20:00, but we will meet in the foyer half an hour beforehand. The Student Language Association of Oslo invites all of our members to a theatre trip! On 20 October we will see 'Kalvø' at Det Norske Teatret. It's completely free for SmiO-members, but there are only 15 tickets available, so it's first come, first served. Send an e-mail to oddpaulsen2@gmail.com if you want to come along!"

28/10/15: I am interviewed from NRK Marienlyst on *Her og Nå* on NRK P1

29/10/15: *Grautkveld* at Valdresstova, Oslo [**did not attend**]

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 4 October 2015):

"Då er det atter ein gong klart for grautkveld med SmiO! Ta med ein ven eller fleire, eller kom åleine på ein koseleg kveld med graut, quiz og kos. Det blir også loddtrekning med gilde premiar, så hugs kontantar om du vil kjøpe lodd! Sei i frå om du har mjølkeallergi eller liknande, så skal vi ordne graut til deg også!"

"We're once more ready for the porridge evening with SmiO. Bring a friend along (or several), or come along for a lovely evening with porridge, a quiz and cosiness. There will also be a raffle with nice prizes, so remember to bring cash if you want to buy raffle tickets! Let us know if you have a milk allergy or something similar, so we can make porridge for you too!"

November

02/11/15: Article, 'Målungdommen reagerer på forslag om nedlegging av samisk skule', *Framtida.no*

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom);

"Sørsamisk er eit truga språk som treng satsing – ikkje kutt. Regjeringa ynskjer å leggje ned Sameskolen i Midt-Noreg, ein av få skular som gjev undervising i

sørsamisk. I staden bør partia på Stortinget leggje til rette for at fleire kommunar skiltar på sørsamisk, syte for fleire sørsamiske læremiddel og gje dei sørsamiske institusjonane økonomisk armslag slik at dei kan satse for framtida.”
“Southern Sámi is a threatened language which needs investment – not cuts. The government wishes to close the Sámi school in Mid-Norway, one of few schools which offers education in Southern Sámi. Instead, the parties in the parliament need to make sure that more municipalities put up signage in Southern Sámi, get more Southern Sámi educational materials and give Southern Sámi institutions economic support so that they can invest for the future.”

03/11/15: Chair of Studentmållaget i Oslo, Odd Vegard Paulsen writes in *Universitas* about the lack of sufficient quality Nynorsk provision in teacher training at the University of Oslo; ‘For dårleg nynorskopplæring for lærarar’.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“Universitetet i Oslo ventar at lektorstudentane kan både nynorsk og bokmål før dei startar på utdanninga og universitetet gjev soleis ikkje noko ekstra undervising i nynorsk for dei som treng det. Odd Vegard Paulsen, leiar i Studentmållaget i Oslo skriv om konsekvensane dette får for framtidens lektorar og elevar: Undervising av låg kvalitet og dårlege haldningar til nynorsk.”

“The University of Oslo expects that students training to be teachers are competent in both Nynorsk and Bokmål before they start their education and the university doesn’t even give any extra teaching in Nynorsk for those who need it. Odd Vegard Paulsen, Chair of the Student Language Association of Oslo, writes about the consequences this has for tomorrow’s teachers and pupils: Low quality education and negative attitudes towards Nynorsk.”

Teacher training is taken up as a concern from 2015 onwards, and becomes an apparent problem after ‘kvisleis’-gate happens, specifically after the media attention given to Gunnhild Skjold at the University of Tromsø in 2016:

Motmæle 79, 2015, ‘Bladstyrarteigen’, page 2, Jorunn Simonsen Thingnes:

“Det er utdanningsinstitusjonane som må ta ansvar. Dei må lære studentane sine å meistre nynorsk og på den måten også bidra til å gje dei betre haldningar. Hadde ein lukkast med nynorskopplæringa på lektorstudiet, ville det hatt positive konsekvensar også for sidemålsopplæringa i ungdomsskulen og vidaregåande.”

“It is the educational institutions which need to take responsibility. They must teach their students to master Nynorsk and in this way also help to give them better attitudes. If you do well in Nynorsk during teacher training, this means positive consequences also for *sidemål*-teaching at high school and upper high school.”

Another issue at hand is the dominance of English at HEIs in Norway:

Motmæle, 80, 2016, ‘Bladstyrarteigen’, page 2, Jorunn Simonsen Thingnes:

“Universitet og høgsular skal ikkje berre utdanne forskarar. Dei skal utdanne fagpersonar som skal fylle sentrale roller i det norske samfunnet, og som skal formidle ny og viktig kunnskap til alle [...] Vi treng eit norsk fagspråk. Ikkje fordi engelsk er den store stygge ulven, men fordi vi må lære fag på vårt eige språk. Det er slik me lærer best.”

“Universities and colleges won’t just educate researchers. They will educate professionals who will fill central roles in Norwegian society, and will disseminate new and important knowledge to everyone [...] We need Norwegian terminology. Not because English is the big bad wolf, but because we need to learn subjects in our own language. That’s how we learn best.”

Her points are further explained and argued in her MA thesis as well as media stints, for example on NRK’s Språkteigen (24 May 2015):

Norsk Tidend 1, 2016, ‘Kva heiter mastergrad på norsk?’, page 14-15, interview with Jorunn (what is the solution?):

“Det er parallellspråklegheit. Omgrepet har vore kjent lenge, men det er vanskeleg å setje ut i praksis og har diverre blitt noko som institusjonane kan gøyme seg bak. Difor treng ein parallellspråkbruk som praksis, ikkje teori.”

“It is parallellingualism. The term has been known for a long time, but it’s difficult to set out in practice and has unfortunately been something institutions can hide themselves behind. Therefore we need parallellingualism in practice, not theory.”

04/11/15: I attend a free Nynorsk course organised by Vegard Storstul Opdahl (SmiO) at Pilestredet Campus, HiOA

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 28 October 2015):

“Lyst til å friske opp nynorskkunnskapane før eksamen? Kom på gratis nynorskkurs med Vegard Storstul Opdahl, som er styremedlem i Studentmållet og frilans korrekturlesar. Det blir servert mat til alle som deltek på kurset.”

“Want to freshen up your Nynorsk before your exam? Come to a free Nynorsk course with Vegard Storstul Opdahl, who is a committee member in the Student Language Association and freelance proofreader. There will be food served for all who participate in the course.”

Vegard has previously described his experiences as a Nynorsk ‘convert’ and as a volunteer Nynorsk teacher:

Motmæle 79, 2015, ‘Jakta på meistringsfølelsen’, page 16-17, (on students in teacher training):

“Ein viss følelse av korleis nynorsk ser ut, har dei, men dei føler seg langt ifrå sikre. Kva skal dei gjera når elevane spør? Å vera utrygg på sin eigen jobb er ingen god følelse [...] Lærarstudentar som er bekymra for dette, er bland dei som deltar når Studentmållet i Oslo arrangerer nynorskkurs før eksamen. Det dei spør om og kommenterer under kurset, viser tydeleg at dei tenker på meir enn at dei vil bli stø nok i

nynorsk til å skrive utan hjelpemiddel på eksamen [...] Men eg vil tala for dei som så gjerne skulle lært meir. Eg møter dei på jobb, eg møter dei på fritida. Dei liker nynorsk, og dei skulle ønske dei kunne det betre. Mange av dei skal ut i skolen og lære nynorsk vidare, men føler ikkje at det kan det godt nok til det. Institusjonane som utdannar norsklærarar, prioriterer det ikkje.”

“They have a certain feeling for how Nynorsk should look, but they feel far from sure. What should they do when pupils ask questions? To be insecure in your own job is no good feeling. [...] Students training to be teachers who are worried about this are amongst those who take part when the Student Language Association of Oslo arranges the Nynorsk course before exams. What they ask about and comment on during the course shows clearly that they think about more than being good enough to use Nynorsk in an exam without supporting materials. [...] But I want to speak for those who would love to have learned more. I meet them at work, I meet them in my free-time. They like Nynorsk, and they wish they could use it better. Many of them end up going to schools and teaching Nynorsk, but don’t feel that they can use it well enough. The institutions which train Norwegian teachers don’t prioritise this.”

05/11/15: Free Nynorsk course hosted by Vegard Storstul Opdahl (SmiO) at Helga Engshus, Blindern **[did not attend]**

19/11/15: All Studentmållaga advertise the Norsk Målungdom Complaint Portal for students and pupils who do not receive Nynorsk exams and materials upon request

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo):

“Eksamenstida er i gang, og vi veit av røynsle at mange nynorskbrukarar ikkje får eksamensoppgåve på sitt eige språk i det heile, eller at oppgåvetekstene dei får er fulle av slurv og språkfeil. Er du ein av dei? Gjer di plikt, krev din lovfeste språklege mindretalsrett! Meld frå på klageportalen til Norsk Målungdom, og dei vil sende klaga vidare til lærestaden din.”

“Exam season is underway, and we know from experience that many Nynorsk-users don’t get their exam questions in their own language at all, or that the texts they get are full of sloppiness and errors. Are you one of them? Do your duty, demand your statutory linguistic minority rights! Send in a complaint through the portal to the Norwegian Language Youth, and they will send your complaint on to your institution.”

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“Kvart år opplever mange studentar at dei ikkje får eksamen på nynorsk, trass i at dei er meldt opp som nynorskstudentar hjå studiestaden sin og trass i at dei har rett til eksamen på eige språk. Det er viktig å klage når dei språklege rettane du har ikkje vert oppfylte. Berre slik kan me få studiestadane til å ta dei språklege rettane på alvor! Bruk klageportalen vår til å klage, så hjelper me deg å ta saka vidare til studiestaden din og til Språkrådet.”

“Every year many students experience that they don’t get their exams in Nynorsk, even though they have been signed up as Nynorsk-students at their institution and despite that they have a right to an exam in their own language. It

Appendices

is important to complain when the linguistic rights you have are not being met. Only this way we can get institutions to take linguistic rights seriously. Use our complaints portal to complain, and we'll help you to take the case further to your institution and to the Language Council of Norway.”

The right to complain and lodge a complaint is highlighted in several places. Explicit that Norsk Målungdom also has a function as a pressure group:

Motmæle 82, 2016, ‘Set lærestaden din på plass’, page 2, Synnøve Marie Sætre, (issued before the start of the new school year in August):

“Som elev er det ikkje alltid ein har oversyn over kva ein har rett på og ikkje, og i møte med ein ny skule, ein ny stad og nye lærarar er det nok mange som slår seg til ro med at slik er det her [...] Om du er ein av dei som har støytt på situasjonar der skulen ikkje gjev deg det du har krav på, eller om du er usikker på om du til dømes faktisk har rett på å få lærebøkene dine på nynorsk, og om du ikkje torer heilt å seie ifrå til dei ansvarlege, så skal du vite at du ikkje er åleine. Det er berre å ta kontakt med oss i NMU, så skal me ta kampen saman. Me skal ikkje late oss bli trakka på!”

“As a pupil it’s not always easy to be aware of what you have rights to and what you don’t, and when you meet a new school environment, a new place and new teachers there are indeed many who just tolerate how things are here [...] If you are one of those who have ended up in situations where the school isn’t giving you what you are entitled to, or if you are unsure if you for example actually have the right to have your textbooks in Nynorsk, and if you can’t dare to let those responsible know, you should know you are not alone. You only need to contact us in NMU, and we will take on the fight together. We won’t let ourselves be walked on!”

23/11/15: SmiO starts to host a daily *frukostsamling* at the beginning of the exam season at the Blindern campus of the University of Oslo

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 22 November 2015):

“November er ein av dei vanskelegare månadene å vera student, ja, menneske i det heile. Dagane blir mørkare, gradestokken kryp stadig nedover og ullstilongs og vintersko må gravast fram frå kottet. Og midt oppe i alt dette slår eksamensnervane inn for fullt. Då er det ikkje så lett for stakkars målstudentar å mobilisere krefter til å "stå opp om morra'n", trass i dei vitalistiske trekka i nynorsk skriftkultur. Difor inviterer SmiO til frukostsamling i morgon klokka 8:30 på Deiglig (i Frederikkebygninga, fyrste høgdi). Me spanderer kaffi og ferske rundstykke!”

“November is one of the most difficult months to be a student, yes, if not at least to be a human. The days get darker, the thermometer is constantly dropping downwards and thermals and winter shoes need to be gotten out of the closet. And in the midst of it all exam nerves begin to take too much effect. So it’s not so easy for poor Nynorsk-students to make an effort to “get up in the morning”, despite all the vitalistic features of Nynorsk written culture. Therefore SmiO invites you to a breakfast get-together tomorrow at 8:30 at Deiglig (in the Frederikke building, first floor). We’ll get you coffee and a fresh roll!”

December

[Målungdomen's Julekalender – 1-24 December]

03/12/15: Studentmållaget i Bergen members Karen Mjør and Fredrik Vonheim Heimsæter are the topic of focus in *Studvest* regarding their experiences about receiving Nynorsk in exam papers; 'Lei av språkkampen'.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom):

“Tenk så mange som hadde reagert om oppgåva blei levert på nynorsk, og ingen kunne hjelpe dei å bytte til bokmål.”

“Just imagine how so many would have reacted if the exam text was given in Nynorsk and no-one could help them to switch to Bokmål.”

04/12/15: SmiO hosts *jolekos* at Stensparken, Oslo [**did not attend**]

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 1 December 2015):

“Det nærmar seg jol, og me ynskjer å markere det med ei lita samkome i Stensparken på fredag! Me møtest og syng jolesongar, tenner ljøs, drikk gløgg og kakao og et peparkaker og andre kaker. Etter kvart, dersom det er ynskje om det, tek me med oss den gode jolestemminga til ei skjenkestove i nærleiken.”

“Christmas is approaching, and we would like to mark it with a little get-together in Stensparken on Friday. We will meet and sing Christmas songs, light candles, drink mulled wine and hot chocolate and eat gingerbread and other cakes. Then, if people want to, we'll take our Christmas spirits to a drinking-place close by.”

2016

January

19/01/16: Norsk Målungdom presents its yearly *Dialect Prize* at Spegelsalen at Det Norske Teatret, Oslo. 2015's winner is singer from Hallingdal, Daniel Kvammen.

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom, 15 January 2016):

“Norsk Målungdom deler ut Dialektprisen kvart år. Prisen går til offentlege personar, som gjennom stødig og sjølvstikker dialektbruk framstår som gode språklege føredøme for ungdom. Dialektprisen har vorte delt ut sidan 2001, og har etter kvart etablert seg som ein av dei tyngste og mest prestisjefylte språkprisane i Noreg.”

“The Norwegian Language Youth awards its Dialect Prize every year. The prize goes to public figures, who through conscious and confident use of dialect appear as good linguistic role models for young people. The Dialect Prize has

Appendices

been given out since 2001, and has since established itself as one of the biggest and most prestigious language prizes in Norway.”

22-24/01/16: I attend Norsk Målungdom’s *Vinterleir* in Stange, Hedmark

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 4 January 2016):

“22.-24. januar skal Norsk Målungdom ha sin årlege vinterleir. I år skal leiren vera sør i Hedmarka, i den vakre jordbærbygda Vallset (uttalast Væillset) i Stange (området leirstaden ligg i heiter forresten Gør-Væillset på folkemunne). På leiren blir det spennande og lærerike føredrag om alt frå kvinner i krig til norsk språkpolitikk, det blir kurs i praktisk retorikk og korleis ein lagar dei beste powerpointane, og ikkje minst ein heil del leik og moro både ute og inne. Og det er HEILT GRATIS for SmiO-medlemmer! Meld dykk på!”

“22-24 January the Norwegian Language Youth will have its annual Winter Camp. This year the camp will be down south in Hedmark, in the beautiful strawberry-village of Vallset (pronounced Væillset) in Stange (the area the camp is in is also called Gør-Væillset by the locals) . At the camp there will be exciting and informative talks on everything from women at war with Norwegian language policy, there will be a course in practical rhetoric and how you make the best PowerPoints, and of course a load of games and fun both inside and outside. And it’s COMPLETELY FREE for SmiO-members! Sign up!”

27/01/16: I have a comment article published, ‘Ikkje ein løysing, men ein dødsdom’, *Universitas*

27/01/16: Comment article also published by Karl Peder Mork, ‘Plikt og rett’, *Universitas* [on the same topic]

Karl Peder and I reply to a professor who the previous week wrote in expressing his frustration with having to write Nynorsk versions of his exam papers that none of his students will end up using.

28/01/16: I attend SmiO’s AGM; I become Committee Member of SmiO

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 18 January 2016):

“Gode medlem i Studentmållet i Oslo! Torsdag 28. januar kl. 18.00 skipar Studentmållet i Oslo til årsmøte. Me vil gå gjennom årsmelding og arbeidsplan for året, sjå på den økonomiske situasjonen og få vitringar frå dei ulike nemndene våre. Og me skal sjølvstilt velje nytt styre. Det vil bli servert mat og drikke, og etter møtet går me vidare til ei lokal skjenkestove.”

“Dear member of the Student Language Association of Oslo! Thursday 28 January at 18:00 the Student Language Association of Oslo will hold its AGM. We will go through the annual report and program for the year, look at the economic situation and receive reports from our different committees. And we will of course elect a new committee. Food and drink will be served, and after the meeting we will continue to a local drinking-place.”

February

07/02/16: I go along to the first AGM of *Songlaget Symra* (hosted in Oslo)

25/02/16: Related to comment articles published 27 January 2016; UiO's student parliament passes a motion in cooperation with Grøn Liste with the following demands:

Studentparlamentet krev at:

- *Universitetet i Oslo følger opp retten til eksamen på eige skriftspråk.*
- *Universitetet i Oslo må opprette eit anonymt klagesystem for manglande eksamen på nynorsk, slik at det blir lettare å avdekkje brot på forskrifta.*
- *Universitetet i Oslo må sende fleire vitskapleg og administrativt tilsette på nynorsk kurs for å forhindre at dei eksamensoppgåvene som kjem på nynorsk er fulle av språkfeil.*

Translation:

The Student Parliament demands that:

- the University of Oslo ensures the right to examination in a student's own written language
 - the University of Oslo must establish an anonymous complaints system for cases of Nynorsk being missing from an exam, so that it is easier to highlight violations
 - the University of Oslo must send more scientific and administrative members of staff to Nynorsk courses to prevent that exam texts in Nynorsk are full of linguistic errors
-

March

I get an article published: *Motmæle* 1, 2016, 'Diglossi på spansk', page 13

04-06/03/16: I attend a *Studentsamling* in Stavanger, Rogaland

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 20 February 2016):

“Bli med SmiO til Stavanger! Studentmållaget i Stavanger skipar til studentsamling 4. - 6. mars. Det er gratis å vere med, og dei betaler reisa! Sjekk ut facebookhendinga - og meld deg på innan 26. februar. Vi sest i Stavanger!”

“Come along with SmiO to Stavanger! The Student Language Society of Stavanger is organising a student get-together 4-6 March. It's free to take part,

Appendices

and they will pay for the journey! Check out the Facebook event page – and sign up before 26 February. See you in Stavanger!”

Talk given by Dr. Roger Lockertsen - ‘Målstriden i dag – den skjulte og den opne’. Lockertsen was previously active in Mållaget and Målungdomen, and is interested in the state’s role in public debates about language and local society. What is of particular note in this talk is differentiating between a public movement for language versus state efforts (from written notes: *Nynorsk og ein plagsom avhengnad av institusjonar og statleg godkjenning* – pedagogical and educational arguments for Nynorsk develop over time because the discussion of language and culture in Norway is so tightly bound up with discussing local administration, rules, laws and state policy).

One interesting comment from his handouts:

“Sentrum av målstriden står i skolen [...] Noreg 2016: Nynorsk frå første klasse er umogleg – samisk og innvandrarspråk er mogleg”

“The centre of the linguistic struggle is in the school [...] Norway 2016: Nynorsk from academic year one is impossible – Sámi and immigrant languages are possible”

Also puts forward that discussing terms like ‘the Norwegian core-area’ and ‘hovudmål-pupils’ are fictions and are not accurate markers to discuss members of society.

10/03/16: I go along to the *Strikk og drikk* evening with SmiO; with pub quiz

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 29 February 2016):

“Då er det tid for strikk & drikk! Dette blir ein ein koseleg kveld med strikking (dette er ikkje obligatorisk, men ei sterk oppmodning), drikking og quiz. Vi stiller med flotte nyproduserte ølbrikker i ekte Ivar Aasen stil. Tilskipinga finn stad i styremedlem Elise [Elise Tørring is the secretary of SmiO following the winter semester AGM] si leilighet.”

“It’s time for ‘knit and drink’! This is going to be a lovely evening with knitting (it is not obligatory, but heavily encouraged), drinking and a quiz. We will also bring along great newly-produced beer mats in authentic Ivar Aasen-style. The event will take place in committee member Elise’s apartment [Elise Tørring is the secretary of SmiO following the winter semester AGM].”

April

01-03/04/16: I attend the AGM for Norsk Målungdom, Hommelvik, Trøndelag

From Facebook post description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 24 February 2016):

“Vil du representere SmiO på landsmøtet i Trondheim? Vi har rett på 8 utsendingar, og alle medlemmer kan stille som utsending. Styret skal på måndag velja kven som får reise. Viss du vil vera med og representere lokallaget ditt må du sende ein epost til SmiO@nynorsk.no innan sundag kveld. Det er heilt gratis å delta på landsmøtet og reisa di blir dekt!”

“Do you want to represent SmiO at the AGM in Trondheim? We are allowed 8 delegates, and all members can put themselves forward as a delegate. On Monday the committee will decide who gets to travel. If you want to come along and represent your local chapter you need to send an e-mail to SmiO@nynorsk.no before Sunday evening. It’s completely free to take part at the AGM and your travel costs are covered!”

Hashtag for this event is #nmulm. Upon arrival, participants are handed files containing a song-book, agenda, a list of terminology for attendees who are not used to using Nynorsk organisational words, copies of the constitution – *Tufta* – and other items such as a *landsmøtebingo*-card.

I contribute to *nemndsinstillingane*, offering an amendment (*endningsframlegg*) to a proposal (*fråsegn*) to improve teacher training in Nynorsk:

“[...] gjera tilsette merksame på at nokre grammatiske former så vel som stavingstradisjonar kan ha vorte endra sidan 2012-rettskrivinga (t.d. i-mål)”

“[...] make members of staff aware that some grammatical forms well as spelling traditions will have been changed since the 2012 reform (e.g. i-mål)”

The committee recommends that my amendment be voted against as an alternative amendment accounts for what I intended to say.

Fråsegnene focus primarily on increasing the number of *lokallag*, improving provision of Nynorsk materials for those who need help at school, getting young person’s parties to produce more materials in Nynorsk as well as make sure that the manifestos work to strengthen Nynorsk.

Other *fråsegner* consider the visibility of Nynorsk in services such as altinn.no and university/college e-learning platforms as well as encouraging municipalities in Trøndelag to use signs that contain Sámi name equivalents.

A resumé of the AGM is given in Motmæle by Elise Tørring:

Motmæle 81, 2016, ‘Store og små mål for auget’, page 6-7, Elise Tørring:

“*Dei fire prioriteringane er språk i skulen, stortingsval 2017, språklav og språk i statlege strukturar.*”

“The four priority areas are language at school, the 2017 General Election, language law and language in state structures.”

Appendices

I am not the only person to notice the intended use of Nynorsk organisational vocabulary in målrørsla, as some delegates have difficulty getting used to it:

Motmøle 77, 2015, 'Det segnomsuste landsmøtet', page 8-9, Heidi Rossow:

“Vi hadde til og med gått gjennom ordlista med alle dei litt obskure nynorsk organisasjonsorda som kan vere ganske uforståelege før du blir vand med sjargongen.”

“We had also gone through the wordlist with all the Nynorsk organisational words which were a bit obscure and can be a little incomprehensible before you get used to the jargon.”

Tackling helping schools with Nynorsk provision is also facilitated by a hallmark of Norsk Målungdom's activism through public engagement – visiting the schools themselves to give presentations – Kirsti Lunde describes one of these visits:

Motmøle 79, 2015, 'Ei nynorsk veke i Nordland', page 12-13, Kirsti Lunde

04/04/16: Re-elected chair Synnøve Marie Sætre is interviewed by *Framtida.no* about her aspirations for her new term; 'Nynorsk må brukast i andre fag enn norsk'.

05/04/16: Studentmållaget i Oslo publishes a response to the Norwegian Government's open consultation on their proposed framework for *grunnskule* teacher education requirements.

This letter was discussed and prepared in full at a recent SmiO committee meeting I attended, and other similar responses have been given by other studentmålslag including Bergen and Trondheim.

06/04/16: I attend a free Nynorsk course hosted by Vegard Storstul Opdahl (SmiO) at Helga Eng's hus, Blindern.

This time we are accompanied by Andrea Rygg Nøttveit from *Framtida.no* who is writing a piece on students who need to freshen up on their Nynorsk for the spring exam period. Free editions of Almenningen's *Nøkkel til nynorsk* are given out this time.

07/04/16: Free Nynorsk course w/ Vegard Storstul Opdahl (SmiO) at Pilestredet Campus, HiOA **[did not attend]**

15-17/04/16: I attend the AGM for Noregs Mållag, Bergen, Hordaland

From Facebook post description (Norsk Målungdom, 15 April 2016):

“Det er i Bergen det skjer: I helga er det landsmøte i Noregs Mållag. Her er det mellom anna diskutert nynorsk i fagrørsla, nynorsk for vaksne innvandrarak og dei språklege rettane til barnehageborn i nynorskområda. Få med deg litt av ordskifta på emneknaggen #nmlm.”

“It’s all happening in Bergen: this weekend it is the AGM of the Norwegian Language Society. Amongst other things there will be discussions about Nynorsk in the trade union movement, Nynorsk for adult immigrants and the linguistic rights of nursery-age children in Nynorsk-areas. Keep up to date with the discussion by following the hashtag #nmlm.”

Hashtag for this event is #nmlm. Attendees are given a bag containing a drawstring branded NM bag, copies of the agenda, a song book and a branded mini-torch. Coffee and biscuits are provided throughout the meeting free-of-charge.

Items taken from AGM:

- Lilleholt, K. and Kihl, J. (2014). *Rapport om kommunereforma – frå Askvoll til Åseral*. Published report.
- Slettevoll, I. and Olsen, A. T. (No given year). *Nynorsk på 1-2-3*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Nynorsk i skulen*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Språkdelt ungdomsskule*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Nynorsk for vaksne innvandrarak*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Nynorsk i kommunane*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Kommunal nynorsk*. Pamphlet.
- No given author, Noregs Mållag. *Nynorsk opplæring for vaksne innvandrarak*. Pamphlet.

Music and entertainment on both Friday and Saturday evenings; Friday evening is spent with Studentmållaget i Bergen and their student union, Saturday evening a formal dinner is held with speeches and drinking in *bunadar* and suits.

I contribute to *nemndsinstillingane*, offering an amendment (*endringsframlegg*) to a proposal (*fråsegn*) to support the improvement of textbook provision for immigrant learners of Nynorsk:

“*Desse læremidla må rusta innvandrarak til å ta bergenstesten og liknande prøver på B2/C1-nivået. Det er problematisk at det høgste nivået av språklæring berre finst på bokmål. Dei som ynskjer desse læremidla, må få dei på nynorsk*”.

“These teaching materials must prepare immigrants to take the Bergenstest and similar exams at the B2/C1-level. It is problematic that the highest level of language learning only exists in Bokmål. Those who desire these teaching materials must get them in Nynorsk.”

The committee recommends that my amendment be voted against so that an alternative plan can be prepared for the next *landsmøte*.

Fråsegnene focus primarily on improving provision of Nynorsk in schools and in centres of education for immigrants. This is done by holding a stance that NM

Appendices

will pressure parliament and politicians to adopt policies that reflect this. Other *fråsegner* try to encourage Western Norway, in an eventual *samanslåing*, to adopt more Nynorsk – particular in Bergen and surrounding urban conurbations.

One notable change approved at the AGM is the adoption of names for Noregs Mållag in three Sámi languages and in Kven. This is in particular encouraged by Studentmållaget i Tromsø Chair Gunnhild Skjold.

From Facebook post description linking to an NRK article (Norsk Målungdom, 19 April 2016):

“Me er veldig kry av at Noregs Mållag gjorde som me gjorde i fjor, og vedtok namn på samisk og kvensk på #nmlm. Endå meir kry er me av dei dyktige studentmållaga våre, som kom med framlegget og fekk heile landsmøtesalen med seg. Fram for språkmangfaldet!”

“We are very proud that the Norwegian Language Society did as we did last year, and took on names in Sámi and Kven at #nmlm. We’re even more proud of our capable student language societies who proposed the motion and got the whole hall’s support. Forward with linguistic diversity!”

One of the major themes at the Bergen landsmøte was the creation of ‘nynorskbyen Bergen’:

Motmæle 77, 2015, ‘Då nynorsk hovudstaden blømde’, page 5, Marta Nagel-Alne:

“Hovudtemaet for konferansen var Bergen som nynorskbyen, og då deltakarane møtte opp på høgskulen laurdag morgon, var det nett slik det kjentest. Sjølv om høgskuledirektøren poengterte at det mangla nynorsk på nokre av infotavlene til den nynorskskilta skulen, var dei fleste (så vidt me veit) einige om at nynorsk har ein viktig plass i vestlandsbyen Bergen.”

“The main theme for the conference was Bergen as ‘the Nynorsk-town’, and when participants met up at the college on Saturday morning, that was exactly how it felt. Even though the college director pointed out that there was Nynorsk lacking on some of the information boards at the Nynorsk-signed school, most people (as far as we know) agreed that Nynorsk has an important place in the western town of Bergen.”

Elaborated further – there is outreach and cooperation with authorities on this idea:

Motmæle 80, 2016, ‘Nynorskbyen Bergen’, page 4, no given author:

“Det som i starten mest var ein fin tanke, og som fekk ein del merksemd gjennom Bergenskonferansen (see above), er i dag ei mykje meir reell nemning på endringsviljen ein ser hjå politikarar og media i Bergen [...] Onsdag 24. februar var Studentmållaget i Bergen og Bergen Mållag på besøk hjå byrådet for skule og barnehagen for å snakka om nynorskbyen og korleis me ynskjer at kommunen skal arbeide vidare.”

“What was most at first a nice thought, and which got a bit of attention through the Bergen Conference, is today much more the proof of a desire to see things changed in the minds of politicians and the media in Bergen [...] On Wednesday 24 February the Student Language Association of Bergen and the Norwegian Language Society visited the council committee for schools and nursery to talk about the Nynorsk-town and how we would like the municipality to continue working.”

Further discussion and elaboration of the political process and conversations with elected politicians in Bergen to promote visibility of Nynorsk and student/employee/consumer rights:

Norsk Tidend 1, 2016, ‘Bergen skal bry seg om nynorskelevane’, page 6-7, Kjartan Helleve

Norsk Tidend 2, 2016, ‘Nynorskbyen Bergen’, page 2-3, Marit Aakre Tennø:

“Det er ikkje tilfeldig at me legg landsmøtet vårt til Bergen i år. Det var eit sterkt ynskje frå styret å kunna samla organisasjonen i byen der det har skjedd så mykje bra for nynorsken dei siste åra. Det er mange som har eit hjarte som bankar for nynorsk, og både i soga og i samtida skil Bergen seg frå andre storbyar i Noreg med sitt tilhøve til nynorsken.”

“It isn’t at random that we’re organising our AGM this year in Bergen. It was desired strongly by the committee to be able to get the organisation together in the town where so much good has happened for Nynorsk these past few years. There are many who have a heart that beats for Nynorsk, and both before and now Bergen is different to other cities in Norway due to its relationship with Nynorsk.”

There has also been expressed growing concern about the linguistic competence of new residents with a non-Norwegian background:

Norsk Tidend 1, 2016: ‘Ny + norsk = nynorsk’, page 2-3, Marit Aakre Tennø:

“Nett no aukar straumen av flyktningar og kommunane får stadig førespurnader om å ta imot fleire [...] Målet med norskopplæringa er rask integrering i lokalsamfunnet, og det er òg målet for det statlege integreringsarbeidet. Dei som kjem, skal verta verande.”

“Right now the stream of refugees is increasing and municipalities are getting further requests to take on more [...] The goal in teaching Norwegian is quick integration into the local community, and it is also a goal to get them integrated in terms of the state. Those who come will stay.”

The proposal to adopt Sámi and Kven names reflected the decision by Norsk Målungdom in 2015 at their own landsmøte:

Motmæle 77, 2015, ‘Ikkje berre Norsk Målungdom – ikkje berre nynorsk’, page 9, Fredrik Hope:

“På landsmøtet i Oslo vart det fatta mange vedtak, og eit av dei meir historiske vedtaka var namn på tre samiske språk og kvensk. [...] Norsk Målungdom [er ikkje berre] ein organisasjon for nynorsk. Det er sjølv sagt nynorsken som er hovudsaka vår, men me er òg ein organsiasjon for språkleg mangfald jamt over. Sett i ljøs av dette vart det rettast å velja omsetjingar som fekk fram at mål tyder språk.”

“At the AGM in Oslo there were many decisions taken, and one of the most historical decisions was taking on names in three Sámi languages and Kven. [...] The Norwegian Language Youth [is not just] an organisation for Nynorsk. Of course, Nynorsk is our principle concern, but we are also an organisation for linguistic diversity everywhere. In light of this we made sure we chose translations which made it clear that *mål* means language.”

Gunnhild’s speech in support of Sámi and Kven names was given a long and notable applause at the landsmøte:

Motmæle 81, 2016, ‘Noregs Mållag applauderte Målungdommen’, page 4, Eline Bjørke:

“Den største og lengste applausen fekk nok SmiT-leiar Gunnhild Skjold då ho heldt eit overtydande, poengtert og beint fram fantastisk innlegg for framlegget om at Noregs Mållag skulle lovfeste namn på samisk og på kvensk.”

“The biggest and longest applause was received by SmiT-chair Gunnhild Skjold when she held a convincing, well pointed-out and great speech in support for the proposal that Noregs Mållag should officialise names in Sámi and Kven”

22/04/16: Andrea’s Framtida.no article on the Nynorsk session is published; ‘Ein nynorskguru frå Holmlia’

25/04/16: SmiO’s Vegard Storstul Opdahl is interviewed (partially) regarding students who are looking for help with Nynorsk at university-level; ‘Studentar etterlyser meir nynorsk’

May

I get an article published: *Motmæle* 2, 2016, ‘Skotsk, skotsk-engelsk, og alt innimellom’, page 14-15

17/05/16: I celebrate with SmiO and other NMU central officers on Constitution Day; celebrations incl. breakfast, speeches at Ivar Aasen’s grave and dinner at Grünerlokka – some NMU officers join us

From Facebook event description (Studentmållaget i Oslo, 22 April 2016):

“Studentmållaget i Oslo inviterer dykk til å feire nasjonaldagen med oss! Tradisjonen tru startar vi dagen på Vår Frelzers gravlund med kransenedlegging på grava til Ivar Aasen. Det blir heldt tale ved varaordførar i

Oslo Khamshajiny Gunaratnam, og diktlesing ved Tore Storehaug [elected to the Norwegian Parliament for KrF in 2017]. Vi avsluttar med allsong. Turen tar vi vidare saman til Kafé Løve [at Det Norske Teatret] for kaffi og prat. Til kveldinga vil det bli hyggeleg samkome i Korsgata 16, kl 19.00. Hending og program for dette finn de her: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1102897863099955/> Hipphurra!”

“The Student Language Association of Oslo invites you to celebrate the national day with us! As per tradition, we begin the day at Vår Frelzers graveyard with a wreath-laying ceremony at Ivar Aasen’s grave. There will be a speech from Deputy Mayor of Oslo Khamshajiny Gunaratnam, and poetry from Tore Storehaug [elected to the Norwegian Parliament for KrF in 2017]. We finish off with a sing-a-long. We will then go to Kafé Løve [at Det Norske Teatret] for coffee and a chat. In the evening there will be a lovely get-together at 16 Korsgata, 19:00. The event and program for this is available here: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1102897863099955/> Hip-hip hooray!”

From Facebook event description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 9 May 2016):

“SmiO inviterer til å feire 17.mai-kvelden på Grendehuset i Korsgata 16! Her blir det pølser, kaker og sprudlande i glaset! Det blir Song ved Songlaget Symra, allsong og god stemning. Vi slår til med årsal, med heilt framifrå gevinstar! HUGS kontantar! Kvar åre kostar 5kr. Bidra gjerne med gevinstar og/eller ein ven. Vi gler oss!”

“SmiO invites you to celebrate the evening of the 17 May at Grendehuset at 16 Korsgata. There will sausages, cake and some bubbly! There will be songs from the Symra choir, sing-a-long and good times. We’ll also have a raffle, with completely amazing prizes! REMEMBER to bring cash! Every raffle ticket costs 5kr. Bring along your own prizes and/or a friend. We’re excited to see you!”

26/05/16: Debate is hosted at Litteraturhuset, Oslo regarding students training to be teachers and their competency in Nynorsk – SmiO represented **[did not attend]**

From Facebook post description (Studentmållet i Oslo, 19 May 2016):

“Kva må gjerast for å betre nynorskkompetansen hjå framtidige lærarar? Eit sterkt panel tar debatten på Litteraturhuset: korleis kan ein løyse den vonde sirkelen i sidemålsundervisinga?”

“What needs to be done to improve competence in Nynorsk for future teachers? A strong panel will take on this debate at Litteraturhuset: how can one end the vicious circle in *sidemål*-teaching?”

30/05/16: Article(s) published: *Kvisleis-gate*; NTNU is mentioned in state media for incorrect Nynorsk in economics exam

Example: Framtida.no; ‘Fekk eksamen på tulle-nynorsk: - Eg gir ikkje opp nynorsk’

31/05/16: Article/social media statuses posted: Målungdomen reacts;

Appendices

From Facebook description of NRK article (Norsk Målungdom):

“Me finn oss ikkje i at språket i eksamensoppgåvene ved NTNU ikkje held mål. Dei legg seg flate, men det er ikkje nok. Me krev at universiteta tek ordentlege grep for å sikre dei språklege rettane til studentane.”

“We don’t think it’s acceptable that the language in exam texts at NTNU doesn’t make sense. They’ve admitted their mistake, but it isn’t enough. We demand that universities take actual steps to ensure the students’ linguistic rights”

June

01/06/16: Norsk Målungdom begins the search for a 100% full-time *reiseseekretær* to work at *Skrivarstova* in Oslo and travel around Norway to establish more *lokallag*.

02/06/16: Article published regarding no access to exam in Nynorsk at the University of Tromsø: ‘Er du sikker på at det ikke går fint med bokmål-eksamen?’ - Gunnhild Skjold from Studentmållaget i Tromsø in NRK

09/06/16: I attend the *Sommaravslutning* with SmiO; wine, beer, sausages, and ‘Kubb’

From Facebook post description:

“Sommaravslutning! SmiO inviterer til grilling og god stemning i Frognerparken. Vi tar med grill og pølser. Det er berre å ta med andre ting om du vil ha noko anna. Vi sit i delen ved Frogner Plass”

“It’s the end of summer! SmiO invites you to a barbecue and good times at Frognerparken. We’ll be taking a barbecue and sausages with us. You only need to bring along other things if you want something else. We’re sitting in the part by Frogner Plass”

Departure from Oslo, return to London

Additional comments:

This timeline can also be accompanied by an analysis of the following items:

- the song-book given out at every NMU eventual - *Songheftet*
- a discourse analysis of articles written in *Norsk Tidend* and *Motmæle* (as the two main and frequent publications from NM and NMU)
- minutes taken from SmiO meetings (the NMU is our main focus, but SmiO as my first point of contact may also be equally deserving of some attention)

Another theme throughout 2015 and 2016 is the perceived threat of municipality reform:

Motmøle 78, 2015, 'Ikkje få panikk', page 10-11, Vegard Storsul Opdahl:

“Kommunegrensene handlar mykje om identitet i tillegg til politikk. Sjølv om mange liker naboane sine, er dei naturleg nok redde for kva dei kan miste i ei eventuell samanslåing. Blant anna er nynorsk kommunane og nynorskbrukarane redde for kva som vil skje for nynorsken [...] Dette kjem til å bli ei viktig sak for målrørsla framover. Vi må sørge for at politikarane ikkje berre tenker på nynorsken i kommunesamanslåinga, men at dei vedtek om å halde på og styrke nynorsken, og ikkje minst at dei følger opp desse.”

“Municipal borders have a lot to do with identity in addition to politics. Even though many like their neighbours, they’re naturally scared about what they could lose if they were joined up to another municipality. Amongst other things, Nynorsk municipalities and Nynorsk users are scared about what will happen to Nynorsk [...] This is going to be an important thing for the language movement in the future. We need to make sure that politicians don’t just think about Nynorsk in municipal reforms, but that they accept that they need to keep and strengthen Nynorsk, and not to mention that they ensure this.”

Limitations/critique of extant resources:

There is an inherent selectiveness of resources and detail. This is in practice unavoidable, but some transparency is required in order to better understand how this list of events and activities can best reflect the events and activities of language activists during the set time-period. I hope here I can offer a self-aware list of limitations that explain where the ethnographic description provided could otherwise have been enhanced:

- The hashtags of select events could be scoured and analysed to understand perspectives other than mine
 - The full social media presence and posts of NMU and SmiO could be compiled to better complement the timeline; my use of Facebook is illustrative rather than wholly descriptive of the events and activities listed.
 - The SmiO and NMU suborganisations like *Mål og Makt*, Skuleboknemndi and Frifondet could also be investigated as these are essential parts of their work and is also an area that membership money goes to.
 - There will be some overlap between Noregs Mållag priorities and NMU priorities – the organisational blur will need to be consulted.
-

A.2. Full fieldwork notes for 4.2.

CODE	FRI-1
SESSION NAME	Verte-kjende-leikar ('Get to know each other'-games)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	22:05
DURATION	55 minutes
DESCRIPTION	All participants take part in games and activities with the intention of getting to know each others' names. Run by one of the participants who has been delegated this responsibility.
OVERVIEW	In a circle – everyone says their names, with handshaking. Afterwards, people exchange fun facts about themselves, which leads into a game where people adopt the name and fun fact of the last person they spoke to. Then, without talking, people organise themselves into alphabetical order, and then by post-code (excluding the researcher, not living in Norway). Lastly, a game called <i>Ivar Aasen smiler til...</i> is played – one person stands in the circle of participants and says "Ivar Aasen smiler til (ATTRIBUTE)", and all those with said attribute have to stand and move to another seat in competition with the person in the centre.
SETTING	Late evening after dinner.
ATMOSPHERE	Relaxed and playful.
NOTES	Very traditional to begin a NMU event with this. Announcements about tomorrow's events are given beforehand, as well as reminding participants to buy raffle tickets. <i>Ivar Aasen smiler til...</i> led to many attributes stemming from tropes to do with the west of Norway, including coming from Sogn og Fjordane, having ridden a horse or driven a tractor, or having written a letter to complain about something to do with Nynorsk visibility.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-1
SESSION NAME	Frukost m/ nistesmøring (Breakfast with packed lunch prep.)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	'Der det skjer'-rommet (General Room/Dining Room)
TIME	09:00

DURATION	1 hour
DESCRIPTION	First session of the day – cold breakfast served with coffee, tea and juice.
OVERVIEW	Breakfast. Practical announcements come after. Song ‘ <i>Dei gamle fjelli</i> ’ is sung.
SETTING	Morning, early daylight. Some people are late coming to breakfast in order to get a few minutes extra sleep.
ATMOSPHERE	Relaxed with conversations between participants at dining tables.
NOTES	Some of the food from last night’s dinner is also served (tacos – very normal to have this as the first dinner at NMU events based on 2015-16 experience).
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-2
SESSION NAME	Brettspelorama (Board game-o-rama)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	8
PLACE	Basement
TIME	10:00
DURATION	3 hours
DESCRIPTION	A member of the Central Committee gives a description of the history of board games, followed by a presentation of a game they select called <i>Dominion</i> by Donald Vaccarino, as well as unpublished game <i>Det nynorske festspelet</i> – a self-published Nynorsk version of Monopoly.
OVERVIEW	Most participants used the allotted time to play <i>Det nynorske festspelet</i> , including the researcher. The game was not finished. 2 other participants decided to play a game called <i>Besserwizzer</i> instead.
SETTING	Morning. Coffee/tea and some breakfast still available upstairs.
ATMOSPHERE	Very relaxed, on sofas.
NOTES	Alternative activities were a knitting session upstairs, or skiing. <i>Det nynorske festspelet</i> was enjoyed by all, specifically in response to the humour given on chance cards and in the instructions; the banker is meant to be someone who comes from Sunnmøre, and some of the cards make fun of particular familiar names like Finn-Erik Vinje (academic, proponent of Bokmål, and Nynorsk antagonist). During the knitting session, music was being streamed – all either Norwegian language or pop music, including music by Daniel Kvammen (won NMU dialect prize).
PICTURES	YES (of some of the chance cards from DNF)

Appendices

PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO
CODE	SAT-3
SESSION NAME	Lunsj (Lunch)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	‘Der det skjer’-rommet (General Room/Dining Room)
TIME	13:00
DURATION	1 hour
DESCRIPTION	Lunch; tomato soup with bread.
OVERVIEW	Announcements come after, describing the next ‘parallel sessions’.
SETTING	No remarks.
ATMOSPHERE	No remarks.
NOTES	Some participants, including the researcher, tried to answer the questions of the quiz in the week’s copy of <i>Dag og Tid</i> .
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-4
SESSION NAME	Stoda for nynorsk og dialekt på Bø (the Nynorsk/dialect situation in Bø)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33), plus guests
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	14:20
DURATION	55 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Guest talk and presentation given by Margit Ims from Bø Language Society. Current chair, former vice-chair of Norsk Målungdom. With Q&A.
OVERVIEW	Ims wishes to present “a little history and a bit more [information] on the situation today” regarding Nynorsk and dialect in Bø. Some information on dialect words and the role of University College of Southeast Norway which has a centre in Bø (ideally to prevent so many moving to larger cities to pursue higher education). Bø Mållag has taken inspiration from the campaign in Hallingdal – <i>Hått Halling!</i> – to work on protecting Bø dialect/prevent disappearance. Then, some talk about the situation at the local upper high-school, where Nynorsk user numbers have dwindled in the last 10 years in favour of Bokmål.
SETTING	Lecture style – some hand-raising and questions from participants.
ATMOSPHERE	Silent (listening to talk).

NOTES	Question from participant about the actual Nynorsk situation in Bø. Some discussion from participants about the role of new students with foreign backgrounds moving in and choosing Bokmål. Further discussion about the threat of municipalities merging, making Nynorsk users a minority. Journalist from <i>Bø Blad</i> (local newspaper) also present. Interviewed chair Fredrik Hope prior to talk.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-5
SESSION NAME	Slåttespel (traditional ` music performance)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	15:30
DURATION	1 hour 20 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Traditional folk music on the fiddle from Knut Buen.
OVERVIEW	No remarks.
SETTING	No remarks.
ATMOSPHERE	Prior to evening meal.
NOTES	Knut Buen is from Telemark. One participant has brought along a music score by Knut Buen, which is autographed.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-6
SESSION NAME	Klage på mållovsbrot (reporting language law violations)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	8
PLACE	Basement
TIME	17:00
DURATION	1 hour 10 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Organised by Norsk Målungdom chair Fredrik Hope. Presentation given with clothes pegs, string and hand-drawn paper slides.
OVERVIEW	Addresses these questions in his talk: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Why does the Norwegian Language Law (<i>mållova</i>) exist? - What does this law mean? - What rights exist as a result? - What is a state organ? - What is the role of the privatisation of state organs which are affected by the law? Begins presentation by discussing the ‘jamstillingsvedtak’

Appendices

	<p>which preceded the Language Law, with education to be given in Landsmål and Riksmål.</p> <p>Gives anecdotes based on the experiences of particular Nynorsk personalities known for complaining when the law has not been upheld.</p> <p>Ends with the following tips:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Open your eyes - Document what you see - Check your facts - Write complaints - Tell the media
SETTING	Prior to evening meal. Some participants are knitting as they listen.
ATMOSPHERE	Calm – all participants sitting on sofas.
NOTES	<p>Discussion limited to the situation in Nynorsk-only municipalities. Nothing on municipalities where Nynorsk may be used in certain contexts.</p> <p>Some discussion of the (changing) behaviour of Vinmonopolet.</p> <p>Raises issue of Bokmål signage at Bø train station (‘åpent til alle’, which is not Nynorsk)</p> <p>Proposal that the Language Council of Norway (Språkrådet) should make a list of all organs which are obliged to follow the Language Law.</p>
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-7
SESSION NAME	Middag (Dinner)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	‘Der det skjer’-rommet (General Room/Dining Room)
TIME	18:00
DURATION	1 hour 45 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Evening meal. Pasta in a sour cream and pesto sauce, broccoli, steamed salmon. Cocoa served after. Gluten free pasta also available.
OVERVIEW	No remarks.
SETTING	No remarks.
ATMOSPHERE	No remarks.
NOTES	No remarks.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SAT-8
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SESSION NAME	Kviss med loddtrekking (quiz with raffle)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	'Der det skjer'-rommet (General Room/Dining Room)
TIME	20:00
DURATION	70 minutes
DESCRIPTION	<p>Quiz – organised by volunteer. Teams of 5. All need a team name, funniest name gets extra points. 20 questions in total.</p> <p>Raffle – 1300 tickets sold at 2 kr each. Organised and held by chair Fredrik Hope and the travelling secretary.</p>
OVERVIEW	Quiz questions are mostly about Bø, TV celebrities, facts about the average Norwegian, Telemark, as well as the royal family. Transition between questions is marked by either a loop of Hardingfela music, or a known song from an old Norwegian quiz program on TV.
SETTING	Same sitting positions as at dinner. Late evening.
ATMOSPHERE	Excitable – people continue to drink cocoa, and some are eating sweets bought from the kiosk.
NOTES	<p>Quiz - questions on Nynorsk writer Jon Fosse, the whistling language of La Gomera, the Norwegian consumption of coffee, Elias Blix. Researcher's team <i>Gutarne som drikk Mozell</i> win the quiz.</p> <p>Raffle – there is a prior rush to buy raffle tickets, some buying entire booklets at 200 kr a piece.</p> <p>Raffle prizes: <i>Falle</i> by Rakel Solstad, a knitted Bjøddn forehead band with the image of Ivar Aasen, an 'Eg <3 Nynorsk' USB mouse, a mug with the Aasen dictionary entry of 'dagverd' printed, <i>Kva skal vi med sidemål</i> by Janne Nygård and Vebjørn Sture, Hauge and Aasen-themed sentence fridge magnets, <i>Mørket bak gemini</i> by Sylvelin Vatile, a hat with the word 'MANGFALD' imposed, 'kjær'/'leik' ear-studs, and a Nynorsk tie-pin.</p>
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SUN-1
SESSION NAME	Frukost (breakfast)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	'Der det skjer'-rommet (General Room/Dining Room)
TIME	09:00
DURATION	60 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Cold breakfast.

Appendices

OVERVIEW	Announcements given prior; NMU will refund travel costs for anyone travelling within Norway, and Central Committee would like to have feedback sheets filled in by everyone. Transport to and from the train station on Sunday is provided.
SETTING	No remarks.
ATMOSPHERE	No remarks.
NOTES	No remarks.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SUN-2
SESSION NAME	Nynorsk og hersketeknikkar (Nynorsk and suppression techniques)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	16
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	10:00
DURATION	1 hour 45 minutes
DESCRIPTION	A presentation about challenges in debate and discourse surrounding Nynorsk usage and advocacy. Can we identify suppression techniques, and can we use them ourselves to our own advantage?
OVERVIEW	Described as a “foundation course in bad debate technique”, and gives examples. Some good reference to similar tactics in feminist discourse. Suppression techniques are seen as a tradition for many who debate, and we can see how these techniques are used and analyse them to have a better understanding of Nynorsk’s situation in modern Norway.
SETTING	Lecture style set-up.
ATMOSPHERE	Very calm. Some participants are knitting whilst they listen.
NOTES	Interesting that the feminist movement is raised as a comparative group. Very clear that Nynorsk activist discourse revolves around the image of being held down in society. Visibility is also another key issue raised in the presentation, particularly in the media. One issue that is raised is that when Nynorsk users might be called ‘country-bumpkins and cultural elitists’, we have to turn this on its head and begin to ask who Bokmål users are. Whatever we think of, both insults are massively exaggerative and not at all representative of the sorts of people who use either written language.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SUN-3
SESSION NAME	Kva er Vinjesenteret? (What is the Vinje Centre?)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	11:45
DURATION	1 hour 30 minutes
DESCRIPTION	Kristian Rantala talks to participants about the new Vinje Centre set to open in Vinje municipality. It is meant to be a centre for journalism and poetry.
OVERVIEW	<p>Presentation slides are in Nynorsk. A description of the centre, including its architecture, is given, followed by questions the planners are needing answers to, to help them better cater for all potential visitors to the new facility – especially foreign guests.</p> <p>The focus of the centre is on all forms of journalism, the writings of Vinje, the two standard written languages of Norway and the potential of putting on exhibitions.</p>
SETTING	Lecture-style.
ATMOSPHERE	Relaxed, but concentrated (many wanting to ask questions). Some people knitting whilst listening.
NOTES	Rantala first apologises for his dialect, closer to Bokmål. It is clear why the Language Youth may be interested to hear about the new centre as one of its aims is to educate visitors about the language situation in Norway. The fact that it is tightly connected to the municipality will strike a chord with members who are fond of decentralisation and maintaining facilities like these outside of main urban centres.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SUN-4
SESSION NAME	Appell (speech)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	ALL (33)
PLACE	Main hall
TIME	13:15
DURATION	10 minutes
DESCRIPTION	The chair of Norsk Målungdom, Fredrik Hope, concludes Vinterleiren 2018 with a speech. Concluded with everyone standing to sing <i>Nordmannen (Millom bakkar og berg)</i> .
OVERVIEW	Hope highlights that Norsk Målungdom is an organisation which is growing, having now reached a record number of members (around 1500). A lot has happened since taking over from Synnøve Marie Sætre, including the

Appendices

	<p>establishment of local chapters in Voss and Hallingdal. It is encouraging that more young people and students are engaging themselves.</p> <p>It is Hope's interpretation that there are political challenges ahead with the new government made up of Venstre, Høyre and Framstegspartiet – with particular focus on the new policies on education and language.</p> <p>“Målrørsla må passa på!” – the language movement in Norway needs to pay attention, specifically by trying to work with Nynorsk-friendly parties like Venstre to work for improving the current linguistic situation in Norway.</p>
SETTING	-
ATMOSPHERE	-
NOTES	No remarks.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

CODE	SUN-5
SESSION NAME	Lunsj, m/nistlesmøring, pakk, farvel og avreise (lunch with packed lunch prep., packing, goodbyes and departure)
OBSERVER	James K. Puchowski
No. PARTICIPANTS	-
PLACE	-
TIME	-
DURATION	-
DESCRIPTION	-
OVERVIEW	-
SETTING	-
ATMOSPHERE	-
NOTES	Unable to document as participants were packing, including researcher.
PICTURES	NO
PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL	NO

A.3. Project Information Sheet (with translation) for 4.2.

Etnografisk forskning - norsk språkaktivisme i 2018 - University of Edinburgh

Prosjekt: "The Language Youth", MScR-avhandling

(Ethnographic Research – Norwegian language activism in 2018 – University of Edinburgh)

(Project: "The Language Youth", MScR dissertation)

Stad: Bø, Telemark

Dato: 19. - 21. januar 2018

Organisasjon: Norsk Målungdom

Hending: Vinterleir 2018

(Location: Bø, Telemark)

(Date: 19-21 January 2018)

(Organisation: Norwegian Language Youth)

(Event: Winter Camp 2018)

Ansvarleg: James K. Puchowski

(Managed by: James K. Puchowski)

Kva er dette dokumentet? (What is this document?)

Dette dokumentet inneheld informasjon om denne delstudien, kva rettane dine er, og kva me skal gjera med forskingsnotata me tek frå Vinterleiren i år. Dersom det er nokre spesielle fordelar eller farar, skal du få veta om dei her. Ver venleg og les informasjonen nedanfor. ***Du har retten til å trekkja deg når som helst -- det er berre å seia ifrå.***

(This document contains information about this section of a study, what your rights are, and what we are going to do with research notes we are taking from the Winter Camp this year. If there are any particular advantages or dangers to you, you'll know about them here. Please read the information below. ***You have the right to withdraw at any time – just make yourself known.***)

Kva slags forskning er dette? (What sort of research is this?)

Forskinga er 'etnografisk' - det vil seia at forskaren (James) også er deltakar i ei rekkje aktivitetar hen vil skriva om.

(The research is 'ethnographic' – this means that the researcher (James) is also a participant in a range of activities they would like to write about.)

Appendices

Etnografiske forskarar reflekterer over kva dei gjer, kva dei ser, og, kva blir sagt og gjort av andre rundt dei. Nøkkelordet er 'observasjon'; forskaren skildrar ein aktivitet eller diskusjon med omsyn til spesifikke forskings spørsmål frå før. Notata skal skrivast med penn og papir.

(Ethnographic researchers reflect over what they do, what they see, and, what is being said and done around them by others. The key-word is 'observation'; the researcher describes an activity or discussion with regard to specific research questions from before. The notes are to be written with pen and paper.)

Me er interesserte i fylgjande spørsmål:

(We're interested in the following questions:)

- Kva slags 'språkaktivisme' driv Norsk Målungdom med?
- Kva skjer under ein typisk Vinterleir?
- Kva er hovudtemaa?
- Kva handlar innleiingane/aktivitetane om?
- Kva meiner Norsk Målungdom (og sine medlemer) om språksituasjonen i dagens Noreg?
- (What sort of language activism does the Norwegian Language Youth engage in?
- What happens during a typical 'Winter Camp'?
- What are the main themes?
- What are the sessions and activities about?
- What do the Norwegian Language Youth and its members think about the language situation in today's Norway?)

Det skal bli ingen intervju eller lydopptak - ingenting personleg, forstyrrende eller påtrengjande. **Viss me skriv om kva enkelte personar gjer eller seier, så skal me ikkje bruka namn. Me skal ikkje samla unødvendige data som kan assosierast med identiteten din.**

(There will be no interviews or recordings – nothing personal, disruptive or expecting of you. **If we write about what individual people are doing or saying, we will not use any names. We will not collect unnecessary data that can be associated with your identity.**)

Det kan henda me skal ta bilete av ting (t.d. av plakatar, slagord og språkaktivitistiske materiale). **Me skal ta ingen bilete av Vinterleiren sine deltakarar.**

(At times we may take pictures of things (for example, of placards and posters, slogans and language activist material). **We will not take pictures of the participants of the Winter Camp.**)

Kva slags rolle spelar eg som deltakar? (What role do I play as a participant?)

Rolla di er berre å ta del i Norsk Målungdom sin Vinterleir som vanleg.

Så vidt me veit, så er det ingen risiko ved å delta i denne studien. Fordelen er at du hjelper oss til å forstå meir om språkaktivitistiske organiasjonar og Noreg si språkstode.

(Your role is just to participate in the Norwegian Language Youth Winter Camp as usual.

As far as we are aware, there is no risk by taking part in this study. The advantage is that you're helping us to understand more about language activist organisations and the Norwegian language situation.)

Korleis trekkjer eg meg frå desse forskingsnotata? (How do I withdraw from these research notes?)

Deltakinga di er friviljug. Du får trekkja deg frå studien når som helst, uansett grunn. Dersom du trekkjer deg før datasamlinga er ferdig, då må du seia ifrå, og forskaren (James) skal ikkje ta di eiga deltaking i betraktning når det gjeld kva som blir skrive ned.

Du får også trekkja deg når Vinterleiren er over. Trekkjer du deg etterpå, ver venleg og bruk kontaktinformasjonen nedanfor, og me skal sletta notat som handlar om di eiga deltaking.

(Your participation is voluntary. You can withdraw at any time from this study, regardless of reason. If you withdraw before we have finished collecting data, you need to tell us, and the researcher (James) will not take your own participation into consideration regarding what is being written down.

You can also withdraw when the Winter Camp is over. If you withdraw afterwards, please use the contact information below, and we will delete notes that talk about your own participation.)

Kven kan eg ta kontakt med når Vinterleiren er over? (Who can I contact when the Winter Camp is over?)

Du kan senda e-post til forskaren (j.k.puchowski@sms.ed.ac.uk) eller hovudrettleiaren (g.puzey@ed.ac.uk).

(You can send an e-mail to the researcher (j.k.puchowski@sms.ed.ac.uk) or the main supervisor (g.puzey@ed.ac.uk).

Kvifor er denne forskingsstudien viktig/interessant? (Why is this research study important/interesting?)

Omgrepet 'språkaktivisme' er vanskeleg å definera, og situasjonen i Noreg er noko som språkvtarar verda rundt er særleg interesserte i. Det finst diverre ikkje mykje informasjon om målrørsla i dag på engelsk, og prosjektet 'The Language Youth' er eit forsøk på å skriva om Norsk Målungdom slik at andre lingvistar og språkinteresserte i verda har ei betre forståing av språkaktivistiske grupper i Noreg i 21. hundreår.

(The term 'language activism' is difficult to define, and the situation in Norway is something which language experts around the world are rather interested in. There is however not a lot of information about the language movement today in English, and the project 'The Language Youth' is an attempt to write about the Norwegian Language

Appendices

Youth so that other linguists and language specialists in the world have a better understanding of language activist groups in Norway in the 21st century.)

Kven står bak han? (Who's behind it?)

Scandinavian Studies, Department of European Languages and Cultures, School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures, University of Edinburgh, Skottland/Scotland

James K. Puchowski, MA (Hons.) - forskar og dataansvarleg

(" " - researcher and data manager)

Dr. Guy Puzey – hovudrettleiar

(" " - main supervisor)

Prof. John E. Joseph – rettleiar

(" " - supervisor)

Kan eg lesa notata/sjå bileta? (Can I read the notes/look at the photos?)

Klårt du kan - det er berre å spørja. Notata skal i all fall vera på engelsk.

(Of course you can – you just have to ask. The notes will in any case be in English.)

Kan du fortelja meg meir om studien/forskinga? / Eg har spørsmål. (Can you tell me more about the study/research? / I have questions.)

Gjerne. Me kan prata om funna mine i pausane.

(Indeed. We can talk about my findings in the breaks.)

A.4. E-mails to the Norwegian Language Youth (with translation) for 4.2.

Permission was obtained in writing from Elise Tørring to publish these e-mails as an appendix. Elise Tørring, Fredrik Hope, and the Norwegian Language Youth reserve the right to redact these communications at any time from the public domain.

E-mail 1 of 4

Date: 13 December 2017

To: Fredrik Hope and Elise Tørring

From: James K. Puchowski

Topic: Vinterleir 2018 – forskning (Winter Camp 2018 – research)

{MScR project description attached}

Gode Fredrik og Elise,

(Dear Fredrik and Elise,)

Eg har bestemt meg for å skriva denne lange formelle e-posten til dokker fordi det er faktisk lettare for meg enn å bruka Facebook Messenger.

(I have decided to write this long, formal email to you because it's actually easier for me than to use Facebook Messenger.)

Først av alt vil eg seia at eg håpar alt står bra til på Skrivarstova. Eg skal på Vinterleir, som dokker veit, og eg ser fram til innleiingane og aktivitetane dokker har planlagt. Det blir stas!

(First of all, I want to say that I hope all is well at the Skrivarstova office. I'm coming to the Winter Camp, as you know, and I look forward to the presentations and activities you have planned. It's going to be fab!)

Rettleiaren min er lagt ved i denne meldinga fordi eg vil gjerne forklåra kva eg skal gjera når eg kjem i januar. Det skal bli endå meir litt forskning for min del, og denne gongen har eg ingen planar om å ha intervju eller testar eller prøver eller noko slikt. No driv eg hovudsakeleg med det lingvistar kallar etnografisk forskning -- det vil seia at eg skal ta notat, ta bilete av ting og aktivitetar og bruka materiala mine for å beskriva kva eg har opplevd og sett.

(My supervisor is attached in this message because I would really like to explain what I am going to do when I come in January. It's going to be a little more research for my

Appendices

part, and this time I have no plans to have interviews or tests or examinations or anything like that. I am not working primarily with what linguists call ethnographic research, meaning that I will take notes, take pictures of things and activities and use my materials to describe what I've experienced and seen.)

Eg håpar å bruka tida mi på Vinterleir for å kunna skriva litt meir (i detalj) om tilskippingane dokkar. Eg har ingen forventingar -- eg skal ikkje gjera noko påtrengjande eller forstyrrende. Men det er viktig at organisasjonen veit på førehand, slik at det ikkje blir noka overrasking i august når avhandlinga blir trykt og nokon, nokonstads får lesa om fredagkveld med taco eller dei tradisjonelle songane me syng av og til med ein kopp kaffi i handa.

(I hope to use my time at the Winter Camp to write a little more (in detail) about your events. I have no expectations – I am not going to do anything expectant or disruptive. But it's important that the organisation knows beforehand so that there is no surprise in August when the dissertation is printed and someone, somewhere reads about Friday evenings with tacos or the traditional songs we sing from time to time with a cup of coffee in our hands.)

Eg skal ta med ein notatblokk med penn, og skal ta bilete med mobilen min.

(I am going to take a notepad and pen, and will take pictures with my mobile.)

Deltakarane får spørja kva dei vil og eg skal fortelja rett og slett kva eg har skrive ned og korleis eg skal bruka informasjonen.

(The participants will get to ask what they want and I will tell them right away what I have written and how I will use the information.)

Viss eg skal visa til eit namn/ein person i sjølvaste forskingsavhandlinga, så skal eg bruka pseudonym -- det einaste unnataket er når individet eg refererer til har verv i Norsk Målungdom og offentleg profil i målrørsla.

(If I have to refer to a name or a person in the actual research dissertation, then I will be using pseudonyms – the only exception is when the individual I am referring to has a position in the Norwegian Language Youth and a public profile in the Norwegian language movement.)

Eg skal kun ta foto av scener utan deltakarar til stades.

(I will only take photos of scenes without participants in the frame.)

Nå som det er litt tid igjen til Vinterleir, så har dokker tid til å stilla spørsmål viss det er noko som dokker har på hjartet eller synest er viktig å spørja. Rettleiaren min Guy er også tilgjengeleg viss du treng svar frå nokon som forstår godt kva eg driv med.

(Now that there's a bit of time left until the Winter Camp, you have time to ask questions if there is something you want to say or think is important to ask. My supervisor Guy is also available if you need answers from someone who understands well what I am doing.)

Eg har også lagt ved forskingsbeskrivinga mi viss dokker treng å veta kva slags analyse eg skal skriva, og korfor informasjon om vinterleiren kan vera nyttig. Ho er på engelsk.

(I have also attached my research project description if you need to know what sort of analysis I am going to write, and why information about the Winter Camp could be useful. It's in English.)

Helsing, og god jul!

(Regards, and Happy Christmas!)

E-mail 2 of 4

Date: 20 December 2017

To: James K. Puchowski

From: Elise Tørring

Topic: SV: Vinterleir 2018 – forskning (RE:)

Hei, James!

(Hello, James!)

Det er veldig spennande at du vil forske på Norsk Målungdom. Det ser ut til at du har tatt ein del førehandsreglar, men me har likevel nokre spørsmål me gjerne vil få oppklart.

(It's really exciting that you want to do research on the Norwegian Language Youth. It seems you have considered a few precautions, but we still have some questions we'd still like cleared up.)

1. Korleis definerer du verv i målungdomen?

(How do you define a position in the Language Youth?)

Det er stor forskjell på å ha sentralstyreverv og landsstyre- eller lokallagsstyreverv. Slik me ser det, er det berre sentralstyremedlemar som, viss det er absolutt nødvendig for forskinga di, kan bli nemnde med namn. I så fall må dei det gjeld få godkjenne at du brukar namna deira. Landsstyre- og lokallagsmedlemar, og sjølvsagt vanlege medlemar, kan ikkje bli nemnde med namn og må ha sterke pseudonym.

(There's a big difference between having a central committee position and a national committee or local committee position. As we see it it's only central committee members who, if it is absolutely necessary for your research, can be named. In any case you must get permission to use their name. The national and local committee members, as well as normal members too, cannot be named with their names and must have strong pseudonyms.)

2. Korleis kan me forsikre oss om at alle veit at dei blir forska på?

(How can we be sure that everyone knows that they're being researched on?)

Me er heilt einige i at alle må få vite at dei blir forska på. Har du nokre tankar om korleis du vil forsikre deg om det? Eit forslag er om du skrive ei halv A4-side om kva du held på med og forsikrar anonymitet så langt det er mogleg. I tillegg er det fint om du seier det høgt første dagen. Dessutan må folk få høve til å reservere om dei ikkje vil bli forska på. Det må kome tydeleg fram korleis dei kan reservere seg frå det, og dei må kunne stole på at det blir respektert.

(We completely agree that everyone should know that they're being researched on. Do you have any thoughts about how you're going to make them aware of this? A recommendation we have is that you write half an A4 side of paper about what you're up to, guaranteeing anonymity as much as you can. As well, it's good if you make an announcement on the first day. In addition people will need to reserve the right to not be researched on. It needs to be clear how they can do this, and they need to be able to trust you that it will be respected.)

3. Kjem du berre som forskar, eller som deltakar au? :)

(Are you coming just as a researcher, or as a participant as well? :)

Me har kome fram til at me vil gi deg lov til å gjere forskingsarbeid på vinterleiren. Det er ikkje sjølvsagt at folk får forske på oss og medlemmane våre, men viss det skjer innafør desse rammene, og dei får høve til å reservere seg, skal det gå bra.

(We've come to the decision that we will give you permission to do your research at the Winter Camp. It's not so normal that people come to research on us and our members, but if this happens within these conditions, and they get to reserve the right to withdraw, everything will be ok.)

Me gler oss til å sjå deg!

(We look forward to seeing you!)

Beste helsing frå

Elise og Fredrik

(Best regards from Elise and Fredrik)

Appendices

E-mail 3 of 4

Date: 20 December 2017

To: Elise Tørring

From: James K. Puchowski

Topic: SV: SV: Vinterleir 2018 – forskning (RE: RE:)

Kjære Elise og Fredrik

(Dear Elise and Fredrik)

Takk for svaret. Det er greitt at dokker har spørsmål og at eg har litt tid igjen til å svara på dei. Som dokker skriv, så er det jo ikkje sjølvsagt at medlemmer alltid får forska på kvarandre -- av den grunn ville eg ta denne praten vel før januar. 😊

(Thank you for the reply. It's good that you have questions and that I have a bit of time to answer them. As you write, it's of course not so normal for members to get to do research on each other – it's for that reason I wanted to have this chat well before January. 😊)

Forskinga høyrer kanskje skumlarer ut enn ho faktisk er sidan ho ikkje er typisk forskning. Eg kjem på Vinterleiren, først og fremst, som deltakar. Etnografisk forskning tyder at forskaren er ein av deltakarane, og at hen skildrar ein aktivitet eller diskusjon med omsyn til spesifikke forskingsspørsmål frå før. Å skriva notat og ta bilete er ikkje alltid nødvendig, men dei kan vera hjelpsame ressursar.

(The research probably sounds scarier than it actually is, since it's not typical research. I'm coming to the Winter Camp, first and foremost, as a participant. Ethnographic research means that the researcher is one of the participants, and that they describe an activity or discussion with regard to specific research questions from before. Writing notes and taking pictures isn't always necessary, but they can be helpful resources.)

'Korleis definerer du verv i Målungdomen?'

(‘How do you define a position in the Language Youth?’)

-- Eg meinte først og fremst dei som står i sentralstyret; eg kunne vore litt meir konkret og presis, orsak. Eg har faktisk ingen planar om å skriva om medlemene -- poenget er å skildra ei typisk tilskipping hjå Målungdomen ved å konsentrera meg hovudsakleg om aktivitetane og diskusjonane. Det kan likevel henda at eg må skriva ei setning eller to i avhandlinga om kva som blir sagt av leiaren i NMU, og at Fredrik Hope er noverande leiar er offentleg informasjon. Det hadde vore poenglaust å bruka pseudonym i eit slikt tilfelle.

(– I meant first and foremost those who are in the central committee; I could have been a little more concrete and precise, sorry. I really have no plans to write about the members – the point is to describe a typical event hosted by the Language Youth by concentrating mainly on the activities and the discussions. Nevertheless, I could end up writing a sentence or two in the dissertation on what’s being said by the chair of the NMU, and the fact that Fredrik Hope is the current chair is public information. It would be pointless to use pseudonyms in such a circumstance.)

'Korleis kan me forsikre oss om at alle veit at dei blir forska på?'

(‘How can we be sure that everyone knows that they’re being researched on?’)

-- Samd i det dokker skriv, og eg kan godt seia noko høgt som dokker føreslår. Eg synest det er fint å ha eit ark A4 papir inn i mappene som forklårer forskinga og som gjer det klinkande klårt at deltakarane har retten til å trekkja seg frå observasjonane mine ved å seia ifrå, og at alle har lov til å sjå bileta eg har teke og notata mine når som helst.

(– Totally agree with what you write, and I can of course announce something as you recommend. I think it’s alright to have a page of A4 paper in the folders which clarify the research and makes it crystal clear that the participants have the right to withdraw from my observations by just telling me, and that everyone is allowed to see the pictures I take and my notes whenever.)

Eg beklagar at eg har plaga dokker med endå meir snakk om forskinga mi -- viss det er fleire spørsmål å stilla, så er det berre å skriva tilbake,

(I’m sorry I’ve bothered you all with even more talk about my research – if there are more questions you’d like to put to me, you only have to write back,)

- James

Appendices

E-mail 4 of 4

Date: 16 January 2018

To: Elise Tørring

From: James K. Puchowski

Topic: SV: SV: SV: Vinterleir 2018 – forskning (RE: RE: RE:)

Gode Elise, og resten av sentralstyret,

(Dear Elise, and the rest of the central committee,)

Eg viser til e-post 20.12.2018 (vidaresendt, nedanfor), og lurar på om det er mogeleg å inkludera denne teksta som eit ark papir i Vinterleir-mappene. Viss ikkje, så skal eg prenta nokre kopiar her i Edinburgh.

(I refer to the email sent 20.12.2018 (forwarded, below), and wonder if it is possible to include this text as a sheet of paper in the Winter Camp folders. If not, I'll print some copies out here in Edinburgh.)

[COPY OF LETTER FROM A.3. – in Norwegian]

A.5. Photographs and material/press excerpts

A.5.1.

“Eg ♥ Nynorsk” badge, Norsk Målungdom



A.5.2.

‘Nei takk’ sticker for postboxes, Norsk Målungdom/Studentmållaget i Bergen



Translation

Unaddressed Bokmål?
No thank you!
Nynorsk? Yes please!

A.5.3.

From *Hald på nynorsken* pamphlet for Norsk Målungdom, text by Are Kalvø –
Date of publication unknown

“Eg kjenner ein som bytte frå nynorsk til bokmål. I dag er han einsam, ugift, arbeidslaus, akoholisert og ute av stand til å gjere greie for seg. Dessutan ser han ikkje ut. Luktar gjer han også. Alle eg kjenner som heldt på nynorsken då dei begynte på vidaregåande, har i dag interessante og godt betalte jobbar, mange gode vennar og ekstremt stimulerande kjærleiksliv. Dessutan ser dei veldig bra ut, alle som ein. Fine tenner har dei også. Eg berre nemner det.”

Appendices

“I know someone who switched from Nynorsk to Bokmål. Today he’s lonely, unmarried, unemployed, an alcoholic and unable to look after himself. He also doesn’t look good. He smells too. Everyone I know who’s held on to Nynorsk when they started upper high school has interesting and well-paid jobs, lots of good friends and incredibly stimulating love-lives. All of them also look very good. They have nice teeth too. I’m just saying.”

A.5.4.

From ‘Ein usannsynleg nynorskbrukar’, by Andrea Rygg Nøttveit for *Framtida.no* – 26/09/15 – <https://framtida.no/2015/09/26/ein-usannsynleg-nynorskbrukar> – accessed 30 July 2018

“[...] Men språkentusiastene medgjev at preposisjonane er utfordrande. Det er ikkje alltid lett å vite om det skal vere i eller på. // Den britiske utvekslingsstudenten har likevel eit godt grunnlag. Han er litt over gjennomsnittet interessert i språk og snakkar både tysk, fransk, norsk og katalansk – i tillegg til morsmålet engelsk. // På spørsmål om kvifor det vart norsk og Noreg svarar lingvistikkstudenten at det var litt tilfeldig at han for eitt års tid sidan starta på kurs i katalansk og norsk, utan at han hadde til hensikt å halde fram med nokon av delane. // Med sju års skuletysk i bagasjen viste det seg at norsk slett ikkje var ein kjenneovergang [...]”

“[...] But the language enthusiast admits that the prepositions are challenging. It’s not always easy to know if it’s *i* or *på*. // The British exchange student has nevertheless a good foundation. He is a little more interested in language than the average person and speaks German, French, Norwegian and Catalan – in addition to his mother tongue of English. // Regarding the question of why he chose Norwegian and Norway, the linguistics student replies that it was a little random for him one year ago when he began studying Catalan and Norwegian, with no plans to continue with either of the subjects. // With seven years of school German behind him, it was clear that Norwegian was not going to be a particularly big transition [...]”

A.5.5.

From ‘Useriøst av Unge Høgre’, by Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng for *Gjengangeren* – 01/09/15 – <https://www.gjengangeren.no/valg2015/meninger/useriost-av-unge-hogre/s/5-60-30895> – accessed 30 July 2018

“Det var nemleg ingen seriøse forskingsmiljø ville forske på forsøket, fordi det var «useriøst» og «uvitskapleg». Forsøket blanda mange ulike mål (skriftleg, munnleg, lesing, haldningar) og mange ulike tiltak, som det er umogleg å måle effekten av. Forskarane som til slutt takka ja (etter først å ha takka nei) kom inn etter at forsøket vart satt i gang. Dessutan fekk dei som hadde sidemål under forsøket større

karakterframgang enn dei andre. Forsøket var faktisk så lite vellukka at då det var over, nekta bystyret å vidareføre prosjektet. I staden vedtok dei å styrkje sidemålsopplæringa i Oslo!”

“There were really no serious research groups that wanted to do any research on the trial because it was ‘unserious’ and ‘unscientific’. The trial mixed many different learning outcomes (written competence, spoken competence, reading, attitudes) and many different actions which are impossible to measure the effect of. The researchers who in the end accepted to come in (after having first rejected the offer), did so after the trial had started. What’s more, those who continued with *sidemål* during the trial ended up with higher grades than the others. The trial was so unsuccessful that when it was over the city council rejected proposals to continue the project. Instead, they resolved to strengthen the teaching of *sidemål* in Oslo!”

A.5.6.

From ‘Folkehøgskular flyktar frå nynorsken’, by Andrea Rygg Nøttveit for *Framtida.no* – 03/09/15 – <https://framtida.no/2015/09/03/folkehogskular-flyktar-fra-nynorsken> – accessed 30 July 2018

“[...] Leiar i Norsk Målungdom Synnøve Marie Sætre reagerer på at bokmål vert sett på som ungdomsspråket. // – Eg trur det er ei misoppfatning at for å nå ut til ungdommen, så må ein skriva bokmål. Eg tykkjer ikkje det er nokon grunn til å ikkje bruka nynorsk. Er ein i nynorskområde burde ein profilere seg på nynorsk fordi det handlar om lokal forankring, seier Sætre. // Ho peikar på at folkehøgskular som Nordfjord, samt fleire store bedrifter gjer suksess med å profilere seg på nynorsk, noko som gjer at dei skil seg ut. // Når det kjem til å vere lett å søkja opp på Internett skjønar Sætre uroa, men oppmodar heller til meir enn mindre nynorsk på Internett for å få bukt med problemet [...]”

“[...] Chair of the Norwegian Language Youth Synnøve Marie Sætre reacts to Bokmål being seen as a language for young people. // ‘I think there is a misapprehension that for in order to reach young people, you need to write in Bokmål. I don’t think there is a particular reason to not use Nynorsk. If you’re in a Nynorsk-using area, you should market yourself in Nynorsk because it’s all about anchoring yourself locally’, says Sætre. // She refers to folk high schools like the one in Nordfjord, as well as several large companies which have had success by marketing themselves in Nynorsk, something which means that they stand out. // When it comes to being easily searchable on the internet, Sætre understands the concern, but would rather encourage more than less Nynorsk on the internet to solve the problem [...]”

Appendices

A.5.7.

From ‘Kvifor skal det vere forbod mot nynorsk i avisene?’, by Kine Gjertrud Svori for *Aftenposten* – 04/09/15 –

<https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/sid/i/KpQe/Kvifor-skal-det-vere-forbod-mot-nynorsk-i-avisene> – accessed 30 July 2018

“[K]vifor i alle dagar skal det finnast redaksjonelle forbod mot eit av dei to offisielle skriftspråka i eit land? Nynorsk er hovudmålet til omkring 600.000 menneske, noko som faktisk gjer nynorsk nesten dobbelt så stort som til dømes islandsk. // Over ein halv million nordmenn får ikkje høve til å lese språket sitt i riksavisene, og ingen veit kvifor. // Nynorsk er også sidemålet til omtrent 4,4 millionar menneske som sårt treng å bli eksponerte for nettopp nynorsk [...]”

“Why for goodness’ sake should there be editorial bans on one of the two official written languages of a country? Nynorsk is the main language of around 600,000 people, which makes Nynorsk nearly twice as big as Icelandic for example. // Over half a million Norwegians don’t get the opportunity to read their language in the national press, and no-one knows why. // Nynorsk is also the second written form for about 4.4 million people who desperately need to be exposed to Nynorsk [...]”

A.5.8.

From ‘Jakta på meistringsfølelsen’, by Vegard Storstul Opdahl for *Motmæle* – Issue 79

“Å vera utrygg på sin eigen jobb er ingen god følelse [...]. Lærarstudentar som er bekymra for dette, er bland dei som deltar når Studentmållaget i Oslo arrangerer nynorsk kurs før eksamen. Det dei spør om og kommenterer under kurset, viser tydeleg at dei tenker på meir enn at dei vil bli stø nok i nynorsk til å skrive utan hjelpemiddel på eksamen [...]”

“To be unsure in your own job is not a good feeling [...]. Students training to be teachers who are worried about this are amongst those who attend when the Student Language Association of Oslo puts on Nynorsk courses before the exam period. What they ask about and comment on during the course clearly indicates that they’re thinking about more than just being confident enough in Nynorsk to write without support materials in their exam [...]”

A.5.9.

From ‘Set lærestaden din på plass’, by Synnøve Marie Sætre for *Motmæle* – Issue 82

“[...] Det er berre å ta kontakt med oss i NMU, så skal me ta kampen saman. Me skal ikkje late oss bli trakka på!”

“[...] You just have to get in contact with us in NMU, and we’ll take on the fight together. We won’t let ourselves be walked on!”

Appendices

A.5.10.

Selection of screenshots from *Julekalender 2015* (2015 Christmas Calendar)

From NMU Facebook page – <https://www.facebook.com/norskmalungdom> – accessed 11 June 2018



Meir språktoleranse no! 1

For meir språkleg toleranse er vel ønskjeleg?
Eller er det greitt at titusenviis av norske ungdommar skal utsetjast for negative ytringar om språket deira?
År etter år? Skal den språklege sjølvkjensla deira setjast på prøve berre fordi andre ungdommar får lov til å tradera ureflekterte haldningar ned gjennom årskulla?

Øystein Vangnes, Språkleg toleranse i Noreg – Norge, for faen!

Meld deg inn: Send NMU100 namn+fødeår+e-post til 2090 (100,- for medlemskap ut 2016)
Betal medlemspengar: Send MEDLEMSPEGAR til 2090 (gjeld for alle under 30 år)

 Norsk Målungdom

Translation

MORE LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE NOW!

Because more linguistic tolerance is desirable, isn't it? Or is it okay that tens of thousands of Norwegian young people are exposed to negative statements about their language? Year after year? Should their linguistic self-confidence be put to the test just because other young people are allowed to wheel out the same old unreflected attitudes from year to year?

[excerpt from] Øystein Vangnes. *Språkleg toleranse i Noreg – Norge, for faen!*

[information about becoming a member]

11

I boka «Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge» lagar Ivar Aasen eit norsk ord for framandordet *ekvator*.

Kva er ordet?

Meld deg inn: Send NMU100 namn+fødeår+e-post til 2090 (100,- for medlemskap ut 2016)
Betal medlemspengar: Send MEDLEMPENGAR til 2090 (gjeld for alle under 30 år)

 Norsk Målungdom

Translation

In the book 'Prøver af Landsmaalet i Norge', Ivar Aasen coins a new word for the loanword *ekvator* (*equator*).

What is the word?

[*information about becoming a member*]

14

Verv ein ven – få Ivar Aasen-boksar!
Be den du vervar om å sende ein sms med
NMU100 Namn+fødeår+e-post+namnet ditt til 2090,
eller bruke innmeldingsskjemaet på nettsida:
målungdom.no



Meld deg inn: Send NMU100 namn+fødeår+e-post til 2090 (100,- for medlemskap ut 2016)
Betal medlemspengar: Send MEDLEMSPEGAR til 2090 (gjeld for alle under 30 år)

 **Norsk Målungdom**

Translation

GET A FRIEND TO JOIN – GET IVAR AASEN BOXER SHORTS!

Ask the person who you've got to join to send a text with NMU100 Name+year of birth+e-mail+your name to 2090

or use the membership form on our website:

målungdom.no

[*information about becoming a member*]

A.5.11.

From ‘Lei av språkkampen’, by Malene Indrebø-Langlo for *Studvest* – 03/09/15 – https://issuu.com/studvest/docs/studvest_web_32_ebfc25063bfba4/7 – accessed 30 July 2018

“Leiaren fortel at det største problemet ikkje alltid er at eksamen ikkje blir levert på nynorsk, men at kvaliteten på oversettinga er så dårleg at det blir meiningsbærande [sic.] feil. Dette skal portalen gjere det enklare å klage på.”

“The chair [Synnøve Marie Sætre] says that the biggest problem isn’t always that exams aren’t provided in Nynorsk, but that the quality of the translation is so bad that there are mistakes that change the meaning. The portal [complaints portal – *klageportalen*] will make it easier to complain about this.”

A.5.12.

From ‘Ikkje ei løysing, men ein dødsdom’, by James Konrad Puchowski for *Universitas* – Issue 2016/3 – page 13 – static.universitas.no/media/pdf/universitas_2016-3.pdf

“[...] Det Görbitz [sic] vil gjera er ikkje ei løysing. Det er ein dødsdom. Ved å gje inntrykk av at nynorsk ikkje kan brukast i fyrste omgang, gjer me noko som gjev nynorsken enno lågare status. Han er ein av dei få tinga me har i Noreg som har gjort det mogleg å snakka dialekt og vera stolt av kvar ein kjem frå. Eg veit det fordi eg kjem frå eit land der mange trur at språkleg mangfald er eit problem, ikkje ein viktig del av kven me er [...]”

“[...] What Görbitz [sic] wants to do is not a solution. It’s a death sentence. By giving off the impression that Nynorsk can’t be used in the first place, we’re doing something which is giving Nynorsk even lower status. It is one of the few things we have in Norway which has made it possible to speak in dialect and be proud of where one is from. I know this because I come from a country where many believe linguistic diversity is a problem, not an important part of who we are [...]”

A.5.13.

From ‘Plikt og rett’, by Karl Peder Mork for *Universitas* – Issue 2016/3 – page 13 – static.universitas.no/media/pdf/universitas_2016-3.pdf

“[...] Den språklege jamstillinga føreset at nynorskstudentane får eit like godt tilbod som bokmålsstudentane, men dette talet vitnar om det motsette. Derfor må professorar som Görbitz [sic], som faktisk lager nynorskoppgåver, få god rettleiing og språkhjelp. Trass i at UiO kan sende dei tilsette

Appendices

på gratis kurs hjå Språkrådet, deltok ingen frå UiO på slike kurs i 2013 [...] Universitetet i Oslo må bruke nynorsk fordi nynorsk er eit av språka i Noreg, og UiO er eit universitet i Noreg. Men det er unyansert av Görbitz å meine at den språklege jamstillinga vil vera problemfri om vi fjerner studentanes viktigaste språkrettar [...]"

“Linguistic equality requires that Nynorsk students get just as good an offer as Bokmål students, but this figure [*referring to previously mentioned statistics*] shows the opposite. That is why professors like Görbitz [*sic*], who actually write Nynorsk exam texts, need to get good guidance and linguistic help. Despite the fact that the University of Oslo can send such members of staff to free courses held by the Language Council of Norway, no-one from the University of Oslo took part in these courses in 2013 [...]. The University of Oslo has to use Nynorsk because Nynorsk is one of the languages in Norway, and the University of Oslo is a university in Norway. But it is simplistic of Görbitz to claim that linguistic equality will be problem-free if we remove students’ most important language rights [...]"

A.5.14.

From interview with Synnøve Marie Sætre in ‘Popartist Daniel Kvammen får Dialektprisen 2015’, in *Utdanningsnytt* – Author unknown, 20/01/16 – <https://www.utdanningsnytt.no/nyheter/2016/januar/popartist-daniel-kvammen-far-dialektprisen-2015/> – accessed 30 July 2018

“Ein viktig del av grunngevinga for at vi gir prisen til Kvammen, er at han er med på å styrke Hallingdal-dialektene heime i Hallingdalen, og at dette kjem den einskilde dialektbrukaren til gode. Det å få sjå og høyre sitt eige mål i andre samanhengar enn den lokale, er ofte det som gjer oss stolte.”

“An important part of the reason for why we are giving the prize to Kvammen is that he has contributed to strengthening the Hallingdal dialects at home in Hallingdal, and this is a good thing for the individual dialect user. Being able to see and hear one’s own language in other contexts than the local one is often what makes us proud.”

A.5.15.

Twitter meme created by @kinesvori (Kine Gjertrud Svori) during 2016 Norsk Målungdom AGM (*landsmøte*) – 03/04/16 – <https://twitter.com/kinesvori/status/716561205935153153> – accessed 30 July 2018



Translation

“Doesn’t have the right to vote

Gets a pink voting sign”

Appendices

A.5.16.

From ‘Store og små mål for auget’, by Elise Tørring for *Motmæle* – Issue 81

“*Dei fire prioriteringane er språk i skulen, stortingsval 2017, språklov og språk i statlege strukturar.*”

“The four priority areas are language in school, the 2017 parliamentary election, language legislation and language in structures of the state.”

A.5.17.

From letter to Norwegian Government ‘Høyrings svar om forslag til endringar i rammeplanane for GLU 1. - 7. trinn og 5. - 10. trinn’, Studentmållet i Oslo – 30/03/16

“*[...] Fleire av medlemene våre er lærarstudentar. I vårt høyrings svar ønskjer vi å fremje grunnskolelærarstudentane sitt perspektiv. Med bakgrunn i vår medlemsmasse og vårt unike innsyn i grunnskolelærarutdanningane, er vi overraska over at vi ikkje er ført opp som høyringsinstans. Vi vel likevel å komma med våre innspel [...]*”

“Many of our members are students training to be teachers. In our response to this consultation we would like to present the perspective of the students training to be primary and lower-secondary school teachers. Grounded in our membership and our unique perspective on primary and lower-secondary school teacher training, we are surprised that we were not considered a contact in this consultation. We are choosing, regardless, to respond [...]”

A.5.18

From letter to Norwegian Government ‘Høyrings svar om forslag til endringar i rammeplanane for GLU 1. - 7. trinn og 5. - 10. trinn’, Studentmållet i Oslo – 30/03/16

“*Studentmållet i Oslo meiner derfor at:*

– *språkformidling må vera eit tema i praksisopplæringa, ogso i overgangen mellom barnehage og grunnskole*

– *norsk skriftleg språkformidling må vera eit eige fag i alle grunnskolelærarutdanningane uansett fagkombinasjon*

– *det må innførast nasjonale deleksamener i norsk*

– *alle lærarar skal kunne undervise på både nynorsk og bokmål. Fritaksordninga må derfor erstattast med alternative kurstilbod.*”

“The Student Language Association of Oslo therefore thinks that:

- the teaching of language must be a topic in practical training, as well in the transition from nursery to primary school
 - Norwegian written language teaching needs to be its own subject in all primary and lower-secondary school teacher training curricula regardless of subject combination
 - there need to be introduced national module examinations in Norwegian
 - all teachers should be able to teach in both Nynorsk and Bokmål. The exemption system should therefore be replaced with alternative course provision.”
-

A.5.19.

Statement excerpts from ‘Er det greit at du får eksamen på bokmål?’ from Gunnhild Skjold (1) and Kristofer Olai Ravn Stavseng (2), by Ida Louise Rostad for NRK Troms – 02/06/2016 – https://www.nrk.no/troms/uit-til-nynorskstudent_-_er-det-greit-at-du-far-eksamen-pa-bokmal_-1.12979928 – accessed 30 July 2018

(1) “– Jeg er vant til å stå på for nynorsk. Men det er ekstra dumt for dem som ikke har nettverket i ryggen, da er det kanskje vanskelig å stå å si [sic] at dette er noe man har lovfestet rett på. Det er ikke greit å få en slik telefonsamtale. [...] Jeg synes ikke det er greit å få eksamen på bokmål. Studiekonsulenten sa det var greit, men det er ikke noe jeg skal trenge å bekrefte. Når jeg har meldt meg opp på nynorsk, skal jeg ha det [...]”

“I’m used to standing up for Nynorsk. But it’s extra annoying for those who don’t already have connections, because it’s probably difficult to stand up and say that this is something you have a statutory right to. It’s not okay to get such a telephone call. [...] I don’t think it’s okay to get an exam in Bokmål. The study support consultant said that it was fine, but this isn’t something that I should have to confirm. When I’ve registered myself as someone who uses Nynorsk, I should get it [...]”

(2) “– Det er ekstremt alvorlig, den manglende forståelsen av at vi har språklige retter og at vi er et flerspråklig samfunn med det det innebærer. [...] Både at universiteter spør om det går fint å få eksamen på bokmål, og at de ikke får spørsmål en gang, den bare kommer på bokmål [...]”

“It is extremely serious, the lack of understanding that we have linguistic rights and that we are a multilingual society with all that it implies [...] Both that universities ask if it’s okay to have an exam in Bokmål, and that they [students] don’t even get asked, it just comes in Bokmål [...]”

A.5.20.

Sticker from *Nynorsk myteknusar* campaign by Norsk Målungdom

Obtained during 2018 Winter Camp



Translation

NYNORSK: a small language

NYNORSK: for country-bumpkins and the cultural elite

NYNORSK: okay in poetry

NYNORSK: a language for the westcountry

NYNORSK MYTHBUSTER

Read and learn more at www.nynorskmyteknusar.no

Appendices

A.5.21.

Banner, reading ‘framtida er NYNORSK er framtida’ (‘the future is NYNORSK is the future’)

Photograph taken during 2018 Winter Camp



Translation

the future is
NYNORSK
is the future

A.5.22.

The kiosk adjacent to the dining area; inside, a banner, reading 'IVAR AASEN, ARNE GARBORG, ELIAS BLIX, NYNORSK' with letters in bold red positioned on top of each other to read the word 'SEXY' vertically

Photograph taken during 2018 Winter Camp

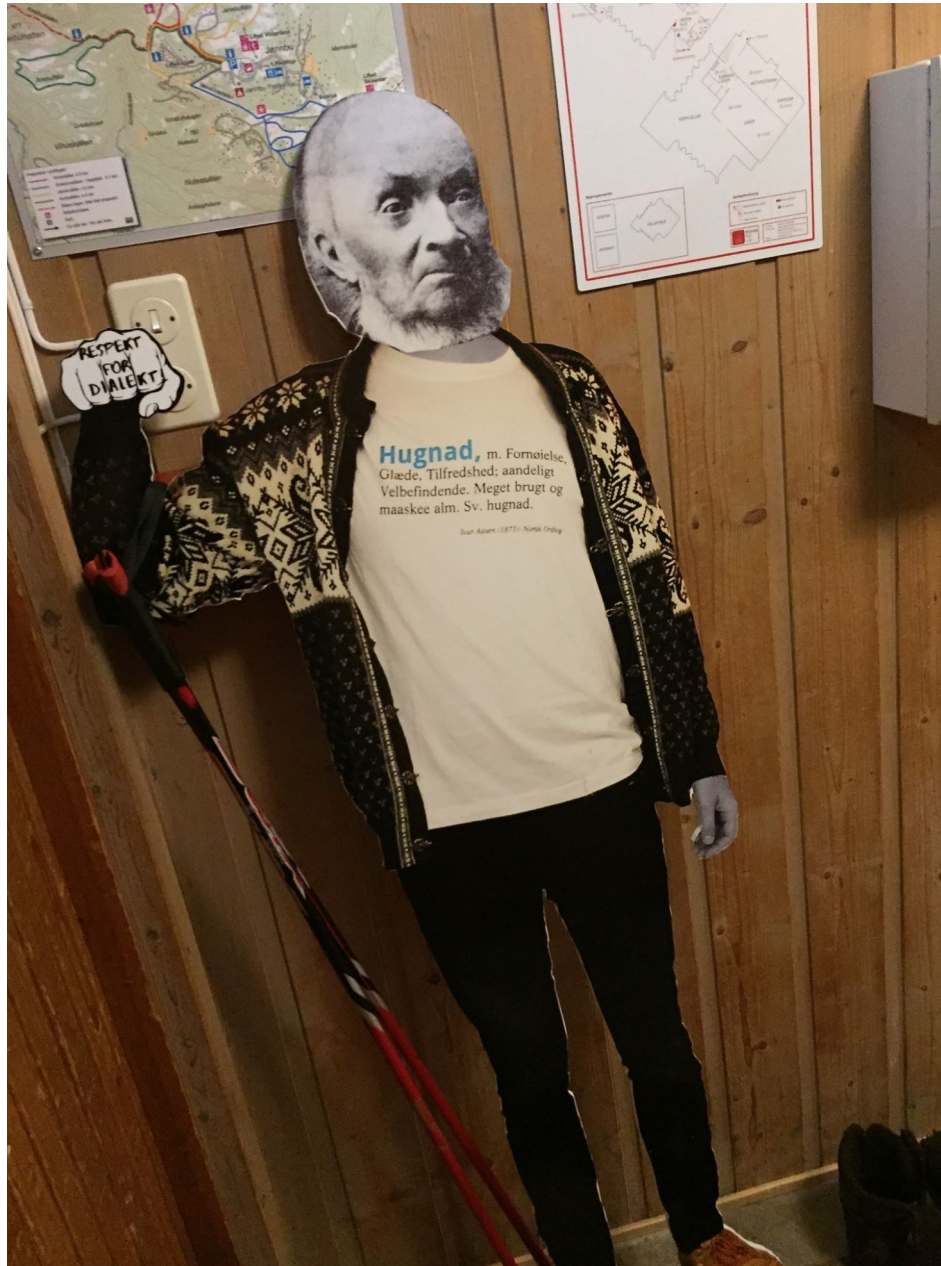


Appendices

A.5.23.

A flat mannequin-style cut out of Ivar Aasen dressed up in a knitted cardigan and NMU-branded T-shirt. Aasen's right arm is raised up with a clenched fist, with the words 'RESPEKT FOR DIALEKT' ('RESPECT FOR DIALECT') imposed on it.

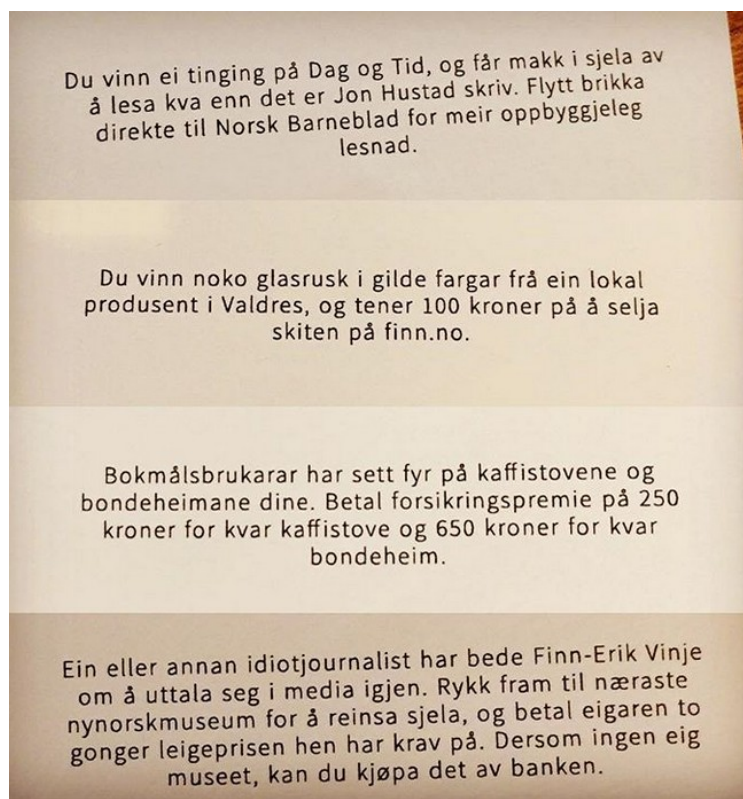
Photograph taken during 2018 Winter Camp



A.5.24.

Chance cards from *Det nynorske festspelet* (unpublished Nynorsk version of *Monopoly*)

Photographs taken during 2018 Winter Camp



Translation

“You’ve won a subscription to *Dag og Tid*, and your confidence takes a hit whenever you try to read whatever it is Jon Hustad writes. Move your token directly to *Norsk Barneblad* for more constructive reading.”

“You win some pretty-coloured glass-thing from a local producer in Valdres, and earn 100 kroner by selling the crap on *finn.no*.”

“Bokmål users have set fire to your coffee houses and *bondeheimar* (hotels). Pay insurance excess of 250 kroner for each coffee house and 650 for every *bondeheim*.”

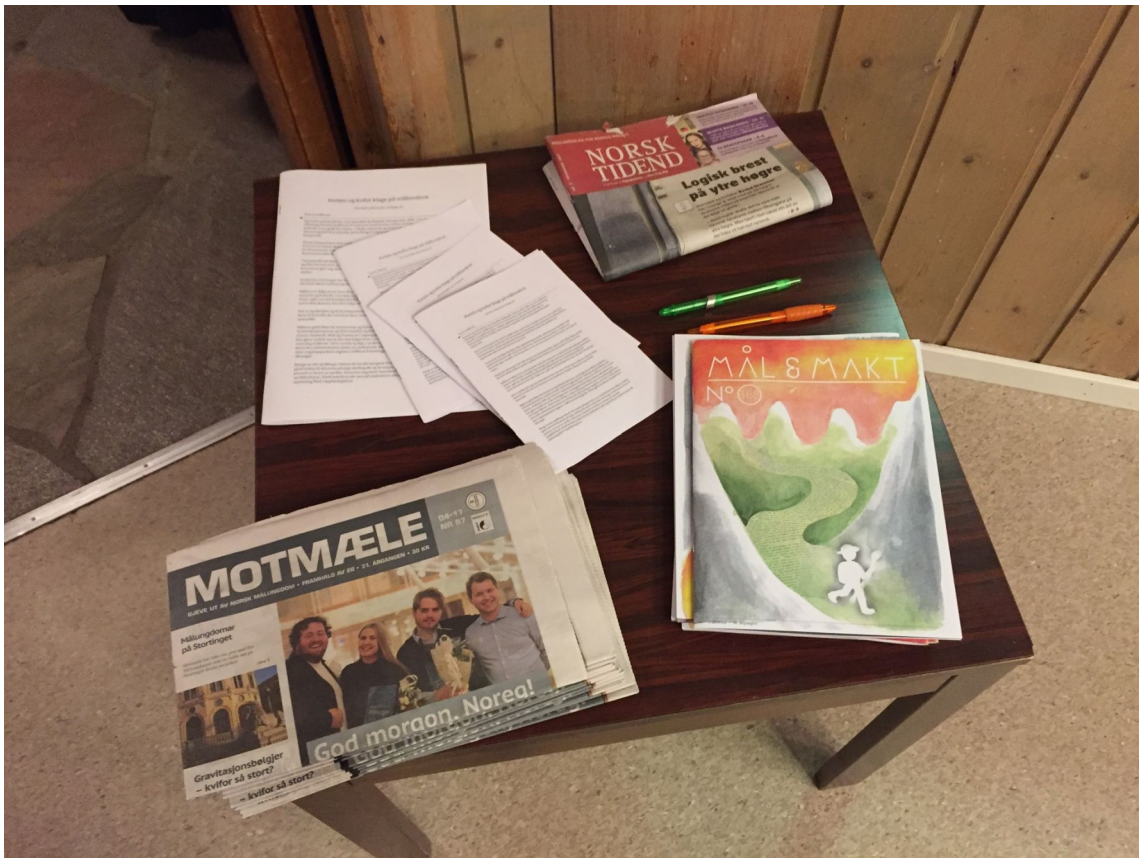
“Some idiot journalist has asked Finn-Erik Vinje to talk to the media again. Head to the nearest Nynorsk museum to cleanse your soul, and pay the owner twice the rent owed. If no-one owns the museum, you can buy it from the bank.”

Appendices

A.5.25.

A coffee table with copies of *Mål og Makt*, *Motmæle*, *Norsk Tidend*, pens and handouts from talk given during (SAT-6) - “Korleis og kvifor klage på mållovsbrot”

Photograph taken during 2018 Winter Camp



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