

"Perché elli è tanto discosto da come si vive a come si doverrebbe vivere, che colui che lascia quello che si fa per quello che si doverrebbe fare, impara più tosto la ruina che la perservazione sua." (Machiavelli, 'Il Principe', XV, 1).

"Want er is zo'n groot verschil tussen hoe men leeft en hoe men zou moeten leven dat iemand, die wat men doet verwaarloost voor wat men zou moeten doen, eerder zijn ondergang dan zijn redding tegemoet gaat." (Machiavelli, 'De heerser', XV, 1)

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Nederlandse vertaling:

De kloof tussen beleid en praktijk overbruggen. Hoe de standaardtaalpercepties van Vlaamse leerkrachten zich een weg banen tussen monovariëtaal beleid en multivariëtale praktijk

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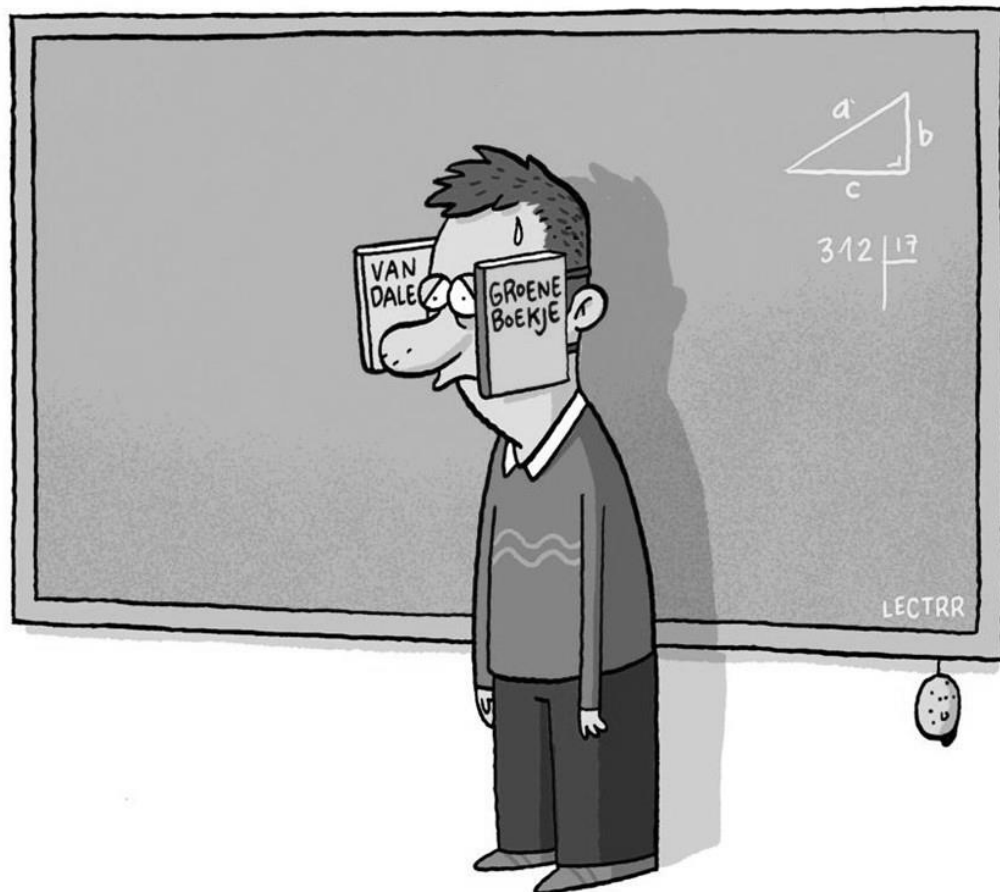
Steven Delarue

Bridging the policy-practice gap

How Flemish teachers' standard language
perceptions navigate between monovarietal
policy and multivarietal practice

Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van
Doctor in de Taalkunde

2016



Cartoon by Lectrr, accompanying my opinion piece 'T'ès moar een variant wè, Mia' in the Flemish newspaper De Standaard – 3 Feb. 2016

Dankwoord

Keep calm and carry on
(British Ministry of Information, 1939)

Ik herinner me niet meer precies wanneer het was, maar ergens aan het begin van mijn mandaat als assistent Nederlandse Taalkunde kocht ik een poster met daarop de iconische slogan 'Keep calm and carry on' – alsof ik toen al wist dat ik die dagelijkse portie aanmoediging aan de muur nog goed zou kunnen gebruiken, op het einde van de rit. Terwijl ik dit voorwoord zit te schrijven, zie ik de poster voor me hangen, recht boven m'n computerscherm. Zes jaar en twee kantoorverhuizingen later ziet hij er nogal gehavend uit: gekreukeld en hier en daar gescheurd, met de kleverige restanten van oude plakband. De rode achtergrond lijkt zelfs al een beetje afgebleekt, maar de boodschap, die is nog steeds even duidelijk.

Het valt te betwijfelen of het dankzij die poster is dat dit doctoraat er nu eindelijk ligt, maar het belang van kalmte bij het schrijven en afwerken van een doctoraat valt niet te onderschatten. Dat je ook een poster kunt kopen met de afgeleide slogan *Keep calm and finish that goddamn PhD*, is in dat opzicht vast geen toeval. Kalmte kwam me bijvoorbeeld goed van pas toen mijn werkcomputer – trouwe compagnon van bij de start in 2010 – het drie weken voor de indiendatum opeens begaf, of toen het opeens tóch niet zo'n slim idee bleek om tegelijk een doctoraat af te werken én een huis te bouwen, met de gedachte dat je alle stress maar beter in één keer achter de rug kon hebben. Ik geef grif toe dat het niet altijd gelukt is om de kalmte te bewaren, maar kijk, blijkbaar was ik nog net kalm en koelbloedig genoeg om het werkstuk dat nu voor u ligt tot een goed einde te brengen.

De afgelopen jaren heb ik me met enorm veel interesse verdiept in de rol van (gesproken) standaardtaal in het Vlaamse onderwijs, waarbij ik me afvroeg hoe leraren uit het basis- en secundair onderwijs over die standaardtaalnorm denken en hoe een taalbeleid zich daartegenover moet verhouden. Het zijn bijzonder boeiende jaren geweest, waarbij ik de liefde voor het veldwerk en de voldoening van data-analyse heb ontdekt (en hoe verschrikkelijk geestdodend transcriberen soms wel kan zijn, maar laten we het hier positief houden), en ik hoop dat dat enthousiasme ook mag blijken uit de verschillende artikelen die in dit proefschrift zijn opgenomen. Nog geen seconde heb ik spijt gehad van

de keuze voor dit onderwerp: niet alleen is het maatschappelijk erg relevant, het is ook een gevoelig thema, dat steeds voor debat en polemieken zorgt. En wie mij kent, weet dat ik zonder meer opleef als de woorden 'debat' en 'polemieken' vallen – zeker als er geregeld wat media-aandacht aan te pas komt.

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samenwerken met verschillende collega's een enorme meerwaarde kan bieden. Daarnaast bedank ik ook iedereen die me heeft geholpen bij de inhoudelijke totstandkoming van dit doctoraat: de reviewers van de artikelen in dit proefschrift, de collega's die tijdens congressen in binnen- en buitenland, of tijdens andere gelegenheden, hun visie op mijn onderzoeksthema hebben gedeeld, maar ook iedereen die gereageerd heeft op mijn blogposts, of via Twitter, Facebook of e-mail met mij in contact is getreden. Zelfs al was de toon van die berichten niet altijd even positief: ik heb er enorm veel uit geleerd. Koen Jaspaert verdient een expliciet woord van dank, voor de uren die hij heeft vrijgemaakt in z'n drukke agenda om me zijn ideeën over (standaard)taal en taalbeleid in het onderwijs uit de doeken te doen. Anne-France Pinget wil ik graag bedanken voor haar statistische hulp bij de analyse van de enquêtes, zelfs al hebben die het uiteindelijke doctoraat niet gehaald. Ook op het gebied van vormgeving moet ik een aantal mensen bedanken: Anne-Sophie Ghyselen, voor de vormgeving van de kft van dit doctoraat, en Lectrr, voor zijn toestemming om de fijne cartoon te mogen overnemen die hij eerder dit jaar getekend heeft bij een opiniestuk van mij in *De Standaard*.

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Tijd nu om al mijn fijne (ex-)collega's even in de kijker te zetten. De afgelopen zes jaar zijn voorbijgevlógen, en dat dank ik zonder twijfel aan de andere bewoners van de afdeling Nederlandse Taalkunde – reden te meer om ze een voor een expliciet te vermelden. Laat ik met Anne-Sophie Ghyselen beginnen, m'n collega-assistent en *compagnon de route* van bij het prille begin. Ik koester de vele fijne herinneringen, van roadtripjes met een *automatic* in Canada, over koffiekoeken tijdens gedeelde examentoezichten op te vroege zaterdagochtenden, tot onze gedeelde voorliefde voor cocktails (en de mentale verlichting die die met zich meebrengen). Met Chloé Lybaert heb ik dan weer het grootste deel van de afgelopen jaren een bureau gedeeld, waardoor we ook zo ongeveer alle stappen in het doctoraatsproces samen meegemaakt hebben. Ik kan alleen maar mijn bewondering uitdrukken voor de zowat Duits aandoende efficiëntie waarmee ze dingen gedaan kreeg – of het nu ging om lesgeven, of om samen artikels schrijven. Dat onze karakters totaal verschillend zijn (en tegelijk ook weer niet) heeft het ons misschien niet altijd even gemakkelijk gemaakt, maar ik kijk vooral met erg positieve gevoelens terug op de tijd dat we een kantoor hebben gedeeld. Sinds 2013 is ook Inge Van Lancker er in dat kantoor bij gekomen, en zij zal me altijd blijven als iemand die zowel op menselijk als op onderzoeksvlak erg dicht bij me aansluit. De complementariteit van

onze onderzoeksvelden heeft voor bijzonder fijne samenwerkingen gezorgd, met gedeelde lezingen, publicaties en panels – en gedeelde *Karhu III*'s in een Finse bruine kroeg in het zelfs volgens de reisgids "beter te vermijden" Jyväskylä. Al pakken ze ons die fietstocht rond het meer nooit meer af!

Ook al mijn "vrienden van de syntaxis" verdienen een nadrukkelijk dankwoord. Timothy Colleman bedank ik voor de goede samenwerking tijdens de afgelopen zes jaar, en voor de grote ruimte die er bij hem altijd is geweest voor inspraak en onderwijsinnovatie – iets wat we als lesgevers altijd enorm hebben geapprecieerd. Syntaxis heeft in de loop der jaren een mooi plekje in mijn hart veroverd, en is stilaan mijn lievelingsvak geworden. Ondanks verwoede pogingen zal het wellicht nooit lukken om ook al onze studenten datzelfde warme gevoel te bezorgen, maar goed, we proberen het toch maar elke keer opnieuw. Tim Geleyn is voor verschillende jaren, net als Anne-Sophie, een medesyntaxisvriend geweest, wat vaak heeft geleid tot *nerdy* gesprekken over bordschema's en didactische aanpakken (bij gebrek aan interesse in Club Brugge van mijn kant, terwijl hij dan weer niet meteen warm bleek te lopen van het Eurovisiesongfestival – onbegrijpelijk). Het afgelopen jaar heb ik de oefeningen bij Taalsysteem I mogen geven met twee 'nieuwe' collega's. Emmeline Gyselinck heb ik leren kennen als iemand met wie ik niet alleen dezelfde soort humor blijf te delen, maar ook een voorliefde voor tv-programma's in het lichtere genre, die niemand anders op het werk gezien bleek te hebben (de voorbeelden laat ik maar achterwege, om onze reputatie toch nog enigszins te sparen). De andere 'nieuwe' syntaxiscollega was Roxane Vandenberghe, bij wie het etiket 'nieuw' dikke aanhalingstekens verdient. Zes jaar lang zijn we collega's schrijfvaardigheid geweest, en dat schept zonder meer een band: we hebben vele lessen samen voorbereid en gegeven, puntenlijsten ingevuld en overlopen, en samen gesakkerd op menige slecht geschreven opinietekst, maar we deelden ook dezelfde bewondering bij die (zeldzame) keren dat er wél een pareltje van een tekst binnenkwam. Roxane is misschien wel de collega met het grootste hart voor studenten, en alleen al daarvoor verdient ze hulde.

Nu we toch bij het taalvaardigheidsonderwijs zijn aanbeland, wil ik graag nog twee collega's bedanken. Kaat Opdenacker bedank ik voor haar duidelijke visie op taalvaardigheidsonderwijs, en voor haar verfrissende *cut the crap*-attitude. Hopelijk zullen onze pogingen om de studenten wat stijlgevoel bij te brengen ook tot resultaten hebben geleid. Liesbet Triest heb ik dan weer leren kennen als een collega die altijd sfeer en humor weet binnen te brengen, niet alleen tijdens de koffiepauzes, maar ook in de lessen die we samen hebben gegeven. Zelfs al staat haar subtiële, licht ironische humor in schril contrast met mijn vaak torpederende sarcastische uitspraken, we hebben het altijd uitermate goed met elkaar kunnen vinden.

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Gent, zomer 2016

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Introduction

Education and linguistics intersect in many ways. Over the past forty years, the field of **educational linguistics** (a term coined by Bernard Spolsky in the 1970s, cf. Spolsky 1974, 1978) has emerged as "a problem-oriented, research-based, and transdisciplinary field that focuses on language learning and teaching, and more broadly, the role of language in learning and teaching" (Hornberger 2016: 86). The term *educational linguistics* is somewhat ambiguous, Spolsky (2010: 2) notes, as "it includes those parts of linguistics relevant to educational matters as well as those parts of education concerned with language". His rationale for distinguishing educational linguistics from the broader field of applied linguistics was aimed at drawing attention to the critical and often politically charged issues of language in educational settings (cf. Bigelow and Ennser-Kananen 2015: 1). As Hult and King (2011: 5) point out, the field of educational linguistics is inherently problem-centered, "as it was formed – and continues to be shaped by – pressing real-world questions". Spolsky (1978: 2) also stresses this problem-oriented nature of the field, defining educational linguistics as a discipline that "start[s] with a specific problem and then looks to linguistics and other relevant disciplines for their contribution to the solution". Because of its international, often comparative approach to these questions or problems, the field is in a sense global, but at the same time, it is also locally grounded and culturally informed.

In their introduction to the recently published *Routledge Handbook of Educational Linguistics*, Bigelow and Ennser-Kananen (2015) stress the breadth of topics in the field, noting that many researchers are doing the work of educational linguistics – e.g. Bernard Spolsky, Nancy Hornberger, Francis Hult or Kendall King – without claiming the label. Educational linguists (even though they do not always go by that name) draw from a wide range of theories and disciplines, but always with the same goal in mind: "producing knowledge that contributes to public debates, that translates research for many different stakeholders, and engages in dialogue with stakeholders in order to be action oriented" (Bigelow and Ennser-Kananen 2015: 2). Education plays an essential role in global societies, and educational and linguistic matters are strongly intertwined. Especially in the current times of globalization and immigration, educational institutions are

challenged to find answers to the (perceived) problems of multilingualism. Research in educational linguistics can help producing knowledge that can provide educators and students with agency, creating "streams of resistance and action that can effect change in arenas where education and language intersect" (Bigelow and Ennser-Kananen 2015: 2).

With its focus on "(the role) of language (in) learning and teaching"¹ (Hornberger 2001: 19), educational linguistics as a field has paved the way for the study of **language policy and planning (LPP)** in educational settings, as it "provides the essential instruments for designing language education policy and for implementing language education management" (Spolsky 2010: 2). As such, not only LPP *research* is strongly located within the field of educational linguistics, but LPP *practice* as well: the field also provides guidance for those who design and implement language policies and plans (cf. Spolsky 2010; Johnson and Ricento 2015: 39). Over the last few decades, the attention of LPP researchers has shifted towards that implementation of language policy (cf. McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010), aiming at a description of "what people actually do" (cf. Spolsky 2004; 2007). By engaging in this study of the 'bottom-up', in addition to the traditional 'top-down' point of view, LPP research has been able to widen its scope significantly. This paradigm shift has also led to a growing interest in ethnographic research methods: Hornberger and Johnson (2007) have introduced the "ethnography of language policy" as a method for examining the agents, contexts and processes across multiple layers of Ricento and Hornberger's (1996) metaphorical "language policy onion". Over the last few years, a substantial body of ethnographic work on language policy has been published, from the role of the local in language policy (Canagarajah 2005), to the implementation and negotiation of language policy in schools (Menken and García 2010). These studies all show that, in spite of national (macro-level) language policies propagating certain languages or language varieties at the cost of others (Shohamy 2006), educators have the power (agency) to interpret, appropriate or resist top-down language policy: "Teachers are not uncritical bystanders passively acquiescent of the state practice; in their own ways, they resist and contest the state policy (...). It is quite clear that the agency of the teachers in the classrooms makes them the final arbiter of the language education policy and its implementation" (Mohanty, Panda and Pal 2010: 228).

This doctoral study is firmly ingrained in both educational linguistics and LPP research, offering an analysis of how Flemish primary and secondary school teachers perceive the Standard Dutch norm, in relation to both actual classroom practice and macro (governmental) and meso (school) level language policy. The different chapters of this dissertation investigate how teachers try to make sense of the often highly divergent expectations of society, the government, their school and their pupils, and how that

¹ For Hornberger (2001: 19), this primary focus on language learning and teaching is one of the core differences between educational linguistics and the field of applied linguistics, together with the fact that in educational linguistics, "the starting point is always the practice of education" (ibid.).

impacts their perceptions of spoken Standard Dutch. My dissertation is divided into three main parts. **Part I** offers an overview of the research framework: *Chapter 1* presents the theoretical and empirical background of my research project, while *Chapter 2* discusses in detail the methodological choices I made in my study. The two other parts of this dissertation consist of six papers, which are published (the first paper), in press (the third, fifth and sixth paper) or submitted to a journal (the second and the fourth paper).

Part II, entitled *Exploring the policy-practice gap: Flemish language-in-education policy versus classroom practice*, contains three papers that give a first overview of all of the actors and policy levels, and how they relate to each other. *Chapter 3* (Delarue and De Caluwe 2015) offers a more theoretical/ideological discussion of Flemish governmental language-in-education policy, introducing a number of key concepts in order to allow for an improved, more beneficial and more realistic language-in-education policy. *Chapter 4* (Delarue submitted-b) explores the macro-level language-in-education policy in depth, taking into account both governmental policy and other types of policy at the macro level. Furthermore, the paper analyzes language policy at a meso (i.e. school) level, drawing on inspection reports and interviews with language policy advisors. These policy analyzes are then compared to teachers' perceptions of language policy, both on a macro and a meso level. *Chapter 5* (Delarue and Ghyselen 2016) shifts from policy to practice, discussing the actual language use of teachers and how it compares to (1) the speech of other highly trained professionals, e.g. lawyers and doctors; and (2) the teachers' language perceptions vis-à-vis the standard and other varieties of Dutch.

A second group of research papers is bundled in **Part III**, under the title *Bridging the policy-practice gap: Analyzing the discursive strategies of Flemish teachers*. After the exploration of the policy-practice gap in Part II, the three papers in Part III reveal how teachers' (standard) language perceptions navigate between language policy and linguistic practice, discursively bridging the gap between policy and practice. *Chapter 6* (Delarue submitted-a) aims at giving a full overview of how teachers' perceptions take shape: this paper presents a typology of the discursive strategies used by teachers to try and make sense of the policy-practice gap, revealing the ambivalence in their perceptions. The two subsequent chapters offer extensions to this typology. In *Chapter 7* (Delarue and Van Lancker 2016), the three most prominent discursive 'bridging strategies' are discussed, comparing interview data from both teachers and pupils. Interestingly, both groups seem to share – to some extent – a similar set of strategies in order to explain why they refrain from using spoken Standard Dutch in actual classroom settings. Drawing on the key concept of identity, *Chapter 8* (Delarue and Lybaert 2016) shows how teachers' perceptions in favor of or against the use of Standard Dutch in the classroom help to discursively shape teacher identities of authenticity, authority and professionalism. The dissertation concludes with a general conclusion and discussion, as well as some directions for further research and an overview of the implications of this study.

Part 1: Research framework

Chapter 1

Theoretical and empirical background

It is a well-documented fact that standard languages all across Europe are currently undergoing changes (for overviews, see Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003a; Kristiansen and Coupland 2011), which are considered to be a threat to the uniformity – and in that way, even the standardness (cf. Auer 2005, 2011) – of those languages. This increasing variability is attested both by professional linguists and non-professional language users, which in the latter case leads to concern and controversy:

Some refer to the decreasing level of education, others to spelling mistakes, there is controversy about what the norm should be, and about the fact that nobody abides by that norm, there is resistance against the influx of English loan words, there are complaints about sloppy pronunciation, about the fact that young people no longer read books, about the fact that fewer newspapers are being read, that text messaging style is on the increase, and that the tolerance against linguistic variation has gone too far. Everywhere in Europe, interestingly, the same issues are being mentioned (Van der Horst 2008: 14, translated in Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013: 9).

However, the PhD study reported on in this dissertation is not (primarily) concerned with the changes in standard language *use*. Instead of looking at the growing variability in standard language production, this study looks at language *perceptions*, in line with Milroy and Milroy's (1985: 22-23) suggestion that a standard language is "an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent". Therefore, following Grondelaers and Kristiansen (2013), rather than concentrating on the changes in the *use* of the 'best' language, "the more revealing approach to a better understanding of contemporary linguistic (de)standardization in Europe must focus on stability and change in people's *mental representations* of the 'best language', and the link between these representations and language use" (2013: 10). By focusing on the *perceptual* dimension of standardness and the appropriateness of standard language use in educational settings, this dissertation aims to offer a deeper understanding of how language varieties and variants are imbued with social value, and

how these varieties (and variants) are hierarchized in terms of usability in classroom settings. After a discussion of a number of key concepts, such as *standard language*, *language ideology* and *standard language ideology* (1.1), this introductory chapter will shed some more light on the theoretical and empirical background of my study. Section 1.2 focuses on the current dynamism in a number of standard languages across Europe, while section 1.3 discusses the study of standard language (use) in educational settings. Section 1.4 looks more closely into the Flemish context, both in general and with respect to (standard) language use in Flemish education. At the end of the chapter, section 1.5 presents the three research questions of this PhD study.

1.1 Discussing some key concepts

As Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 11) stress, the notion *standard language* is "a slippery concept (...) in need of further critical consideration". The term 'standard' can be used in several distinct ways. A first possibility is a *prescriptive* interpretation of 'standard', focusing on the codified norm in dictionaries and grammars to distinguish between right and wrong variants: feature X is standard, but feature Y is not. Language variation is seen as undesirable, or even as a failure of standardization (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 21). The concept of a 'standard language' can also be defined in a *descriptive* way, by registering the written and/or spoken language use of high-profile speakers in formal settings. In several Flemish institutions, for instance, there has recently been a shift from a prescriptive to a rather descriptive view on the standard language norm. In the 1998 *Taalcharter* ('Language charter'), the Flemish public broadcaster VRT still stressed its role as a norm giver, with the language advisor, Ruud Hendrickx, deciding almost autonomously on the standardness of language features (Hendrickx 1998). In recent years, however, the VRT has given up on this ambition, stating that "[t]he network does not see itself as a norm giver, but as a disseminator of the norm. It commits itself to use the standard language variety as it is spoken by Flemings who use their language consciously" (Hendrickx 2011, my translation). The *Taalunie* ('Dutch language union') has implemented a similar shift in *Taaladvies.net*, its language advisory website, by stressing that its judgments on what is (or what is not) Standard Dutch are based primarily – or even exclusively – on the opinions of the average language user (see Jaspers 2010b for a critical discussion of this approach). Apart from the prescriptive and descriptive approach, there is also a third way to define 'standard language', by looking at *social judgments* and *social practices in the community*. From this perspective, "the analysis of systematic linguistic variation is key to understanding the societies we live in" (Jaspers 2010a: 1). A certain language feature is only standard if it is considered to be a standard feature by the

linguistic community, and language users take these judgments into account in social interaction. In that respect, research on which features are assessed as standard and non-standard features can help to gain insight in how societies are organized.

Of course, these three views on 'standard language' are interrelated, and they (can) occur simultaneously: dictionaries and grammars prescribe the use of certain features, but in practice, other features could be used, and language users have certain opinions about the use of all of these features (which can lead to heated language debates, see for instance sections 1.4.2 and 8.1.2). The three approaches to what constitutes a 'standard' language also seem to correspond with some of the stages of Haugen's canonical standardization model (1966a, 1966b)²: for instance, the prescriptive perspective ties in with the *codification* stage, which "involves developing or attempting to 'fix' the formal features of a standard language" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 21). The other two approaches to 'standard' could be linked to Haugen's final stage of *implementation*, with "the gradual diffusion and acceptance of the newly created norm across speakers as well as across functions" (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003b: 7). Coupland and Kristiansen (2011: 21) distinguish between two aspects of implementation: *acceptance* denotes the ideological aspect of implementation, while *diffusion* refers to the use aspect. As such, diffusion is relatable to the descriptive view on standard language, where actual language use is also used to define the standard norm, whereas acceptance can be linked to the focus on social judgments and attitudes towards the acceptability of usage patterns (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 23). As the Flemish case will reveal (cf. *infra*), this implementation stage is "the 'Achilles heel' of the standardization process: acceptance by the speech community ultimately decides on the success of a given set of linguistic decisions" (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003b: 7).

Moreover, it seems to be difficult for researchers to discern between acceptance and diffusion, as the two are often intertwined. For example, Woolard (1998: 16) defines attitudes as "socially derived, intellectualised or behavioural ideology", inferring social judgment from language use or linguistic behavior. This interlacement of social and behavioral aspects of ideology requires researchers to take a position on how they see the relationship between attitudes and behavior, as well as take a stand on what triggers the spread of certain varieties or speaking styles: does that spread occur independently of social judgment (in a more 'mechanistic' way), or are attitudes the decisive factor behind the spread of certain variables? Most (variationist) researchers seem to study attitudes by analyzing linguistic behavior, following Milroy and Milroy's claim that "statistical counts of variants actually used are probably the best way of assessing attitudes" (1985: 19). The consequence of this view is that implementation (in the 'Haugian' sense) is simply

² In their introductory discussion, Deumert and Vandenbussche (2003b: 9-) also point out two of the main weaknesses of Haugen's framework. First, the model has little to offer when it comes to the role of ideology (cf. *infra*). Moreover, the model can be seen as teleological, and it can only grasp the linear route from diversity to unity, setting aside any possible processes of destandardization.

explored as a matter of diffusion at the level of language use. Not only is social interaction left out of the picture completely, the interpretation of 'language use' is also fundamentally reductionist:

From any critical sociolinguistic perspective, use means far more than the distribution of features or varieties as these are captured in variation surveys. Language in use might well reveal attitudinal/ideological loadings, but only if we look at how variation is made meaningful and how social meanings are made contextually in salient practices (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 24).

Research on language use and attitudes needs to be supplemented with close critical examination of indexicality in social interaction, in an attempt to access and expose ideologies operating behind and through discourse. Problematic in accessing these ideologies is the common discrepancy, as will become clear in this dissertation's research papers, between overtly expressed support for the standard and, on the other hand, the quite pervasive persistence of non-standard language use. In a sociolinguistic tradition that started with Labov, this contradiction is explained by the existence of covert attitudes, "social evaluations of language which remain hidden when people display their attitudes overtly (...) but which reveal themselves in people's use of language" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 24). Thus, in order to fully access and understand language ideologies in speech communities, research needs to deal with both language use and attitudes (both overt and covert). Only then can language ideology be fully disclosed, as "a promising bridge between linguistic and social theory" (Woolard 1998: 27).

The concept of *ideology*, however, is difficult to delineate, as it is "associated with a confusing tangle of commonsense and semitechnical meanings" (Woolard 1998: 5). As the term 'ideology' is increasingly used in a growing number of contexts, it becomes harder to provide a clear definition of the concept.³ This inflation of meaning is also present in the derived concept of *language ideology*, which is therefore in need of a clear definition as well. In this dissertation, I follow Susan Gal's interpretation, who defines 'language ideology' as follows:

(...) those cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices (Gal 2006: 163).

In other words, language ideologies explicitly connect language use on the one hand, and the speakers' positions on the other: specific forms of language use entail specific presuppositions (e.g. with respect to education or social class) about the speakers who use these language features. In that way, language variants and varieties often become

³ For a more elaborate problematization of the concept of 'ideology', see for instance Woolard (1998: 3-11).

hierarchized, and some language forms are considered to be (inherently) better than others. In most cases, dialects are at the bottom of that list: they are seen as ambiguous, unstable and revealing of the speaker's social background (see Van Hoof 2013: 48). They cannot be any further away from the ideal: a standard language that is as uniform as possible, erasing differences between speakers and being "the medium for an equal participation of all citizens (regardless of their region of origin or their social position) in public life" (Geeraerts 1990: 433, my translation). The standard language is then considered to be the driving force behind emancipation and social equality, in contrast with other language varieties. This perspective is often referred to as "the dogma of homogeneity" (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998), which pertains to the rejection of internally stratified societies as dangerous and centrifugal, and to the preference of a 'best' society without any intergroup differences. In other words: the ideal model of society is a monolingual (and mono-ethnic, mono-religious, mono-ideological) one. This view coincides with Silverstein's (1996) concept of the "monoglot ideology", viz. an ideology which regards monolingualism – as opposed to multilingualism – as axiomatic, and speaking one language as a *conditio sine qua non* for achieving in-group membership and participation in the 'linguistic community' (Silverstein 1996: 285; Blommaert 2009). The same ideological constructs are present in the concept of **standard language ideology**⁴ (SLI), a term coined in Milroy and Milroy (1985), and defined by Swann et al. (2004) as:

(...) a metalinguistically articulated and culturally dominant belief that there is only one correct way of speaking (i.e. the standard language). The SLI [Standard Language Ideology] leads to a general intolerance towards linguistic variation, and non-standard varieties in particular are regarded as 'undesirable' and 'deviant' (Swann et al. 2004: 296).

In another definition of SLI, Lippi-Green (1997: 64) points out that the standard language is "imposed and maintained by dominant institutions", with education being one of the most prominent institutions, responsible for imposing and maintaining the 'one homogenous language' ambition. Therefore, education will play a crucial role in this dissertation.

⁴ Of course, this standard language ideology is not the only possible form of language ideology (although it is arguably the most prevalent one in (Western) language communities). Lybaert (2014a) for instance also distinguishes a language ideology where authenticity is the central notion (also see Chapter 8).

1.2 Standard languages in Europe: current dynamics

Recent societal changes such as informalization (Wouters 2007), democratization (Fairclough 1992), globalization, immigration, and feelings of anti-authority – changes which are typical of what Giddens (1991) refers to as the present-day era of 'Late Modernity' – have been influencing the position of the standard language and standard language ideology in Europe (see Deumert and Vandebussche 2003a; Van der Horst 2008; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a; Grondelaers, Van Hout and Speelman 2011). The SLICE network⁵, a research group which focuses on variation in spoken language use in a European context, distinguishes between two possible scenarios for change in the standard language. The first is *demotisierung*, a term coined by Mattheier (1997) and translated by Coupland and Kristiansen (2011) as **demotization**. In this scenario, "the 'standard ideology' as such stays intact, while the valorization of ways of speaking changes" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). Still, "the standard has to be able to provide the full range of expressive resources the speakers need" (Auer 2011: 500), but the idea of what that standard actually comprises has changed. A second scenario is **destandardization**, whereby "the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). Value levelling occurs between different varieties (or languages), which eventually leads to a radical weakening and abandonment of the standard ideology.

It is important to note, however, that destandardization and demotization are not (always) conflicting developments. In cases of a very rigid, inflexible standard variety, the spoken standard is usually more open to demotization – with norm extensions and norm relaxations – than the much stricter written standard. As the attitudes held towards a *written* standard are often more explicit and pronounced than those held towards *spoken* language, the demotization in the spoken standard could easily be regarded as a form of destandardization in view of the much stricter norms for the written language. Neither does demotization always imply destandardization (Auer and Spiekermann 2011): in German, for example, processes of demotization induce the demise of regional variants in favor of more general *allegro* forms (colloquial varieties with reductions or cliticized variants of more typical standard forms, such as the deletion of final-t in *ist* 'is' or *nicht* 'not'), and thus a more homogeneous German standard. Auer and Spiekermann conclude that "if changes in both the standard's phonological structure and prestige [are allowed], there is no reason to assume that the present-day, demotized standard variety is undergoing a process of destandardization" (2011: 174).

⁵ SLICE stands for *Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe*. Until now, the SLICE network has published two volumes of research papers on the position of the standard language variety in Europe (see Kristiansen and Coupland 2011; Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013).

Although the standard language currently appears to be under pressure all across Europe, the specific nature of these language dynamics seems to differ from nation to nation, dependent on the (historical) context. Power relationships of various kinds, both externally between states and internally between social classes, have led to great differences in the development and outcome of the language standardization processes that took place all across Europe (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 27). Kristiansen (2009) has conceptualized these different processes as a continuum. At the one end, countries like Iceland, France and Denmark seem to have rather strict and strong standard languages, at least in terms of ideology. At the other end, it could be debated whether Norway can be said to have a 'standard language' at all (cf. Jahr 2003, Kristiansen 2009). In between, there are countries and regions like Germany and England, with more or less strong standard languages (also see Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003a; Auer 2005, 2011).

Arguably, **Iceland** could be seen as the only nation with a 'best language' that fully corresponds with the ideological ideal (cf. Vogl 2012: 12), because of the island's low number of inhabitants, its rather isolated character and the frantic language planning and purism efforts made to keep the Icelandic standard variation-free (Árnason 2003). **France** is also widely considered to be a country with a strong and vigorous standard language ideology, as it is "well known for its long history of language legislation and for its highly centralized administration and education system" (Hélot 2010: 52, also see Poplack et al. 2015). Using the traditional arguments of regional languages posing a threat to the unity of the nation and encouraging the development of "communautarisme" (Hélot 2010), the Académie Française attempts to govern and regulate the French language. With their focus on *bon usage* ('correct usage'), which dates back to the 17th century, the Académie propagates a centralistic and monoglossic language ideology. However, the growing linguistic diversity and multilingualism in France are increasingly challenging the dominant standard language ideology, bringing Lüdi to the conclusion that "there are now competing ideologies in the arena of the French-speaking world, [but] the outcome of this struggle remains an open question" (2012: 226). Thirdly, **Denmark** is also considered to be a nation where the standard language still holds a strong position, as it is widely used in public. However, this Standard Danish variety increasingly incorporates features which used to be associated with low-status ('popular') Copenhagen speech. Throughout all of Denmark, features from this 'low-Copenhagen' speech are quickly adopted by young people, who also evaluate this way of speaking more positively than other 'accents', including the traditional 'high-Copenhagen' accent, as well as the 'locally colored' accents of Copenhagen speech that most local youngsters speak themselves (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). In that respect, the belief that there is, and should be, a 'best language' is not abandoned (Kristiansen 2003), but the idea of what this 'best language' is, or what it sounds like, changes – tying in with the demotization scenario discussed earlier. For young Danes, the 'low-Copenhagen' accent is replacing the 'high-Copenhagen' accent as the 'best language', especially with respect to speaker dynamism. According to

Kristiansen (2001), 'low-Copenhagen' speech indexes a successful media personality, with traits such as effectiveness, straightforwardness and coolness.

In contrast, **Norway** is known for the strong position of traditional dialects in everyday and even formal situations, and for having an ideology which favors regional ways of speaking (local and regional dialects) over the use of a spoken standard variety, which does not exist in the same way as it does in Denmark, for example (cf. Sandøy 2011; Jahr 2003). Somewhere in the middle of the continuum, a number of nations and regions can be found where (spoken) standard languages are indeed changing, and the 'best language' character of the standard is not without discussion. This appears to be the case for the status of English in **England**⁶, for instance. In England, new social spaces seem to be emerging, in which specific vernaculars can be performed and are highly valued (especially in popular culture). For many decades, Britain has been the home to a strong 'complaint tradition', where, in line with the conservative standard language ideology, TV viewers for example wrote letters to newspapers complaining that a newsreader had 'mispronounced a place-name' or 'had an unintelligible accent' (Cameron 1995, Milroy and Milroy 1985). Although this tradition still persists to some extent, it has clearly been offset by a tidal wave of non-RP-speaking⁷ TV and radio presenters and personalities. There are radio channels and certain genres or formats (e.g. stand-up comedy, or satirical quizzes) "where the prospect of employing RP-speaking presenters would be laughable, other than in 'voicing', self-parodic roles" (Garrett et al. 2011: 63). As such, the (ideological) vigor of Standard English in the British media (and beyond) is influenced by non-standard varieties, such as 'Estuary English', an intermediate variety of English in between the standard and the London-based Cockney dialect (cf. Mugglestone 2003, Rosewarne 1984).

The status of German seems to provide another example of the 'middle' category. From around 1970 onwards, the Austrian and Swiss German standards ceased to converge with the German German standard and formed their own norms, which are relatively well established today and are the reason why German is considered to be a pluricentric language (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 165). Other German-speaking regions, such as Alsace and Luxembourg, even left the roof of the German standard entirely. Despite the divergence of the German, Austrian and Swiss German spoken standard varieties, however, the trend within **Germany** appeared to continue towards more standardization, with the introduction of a new media standard. For most Germans, the status of Standard German seems to be indisputable: "It is simply taken for granted that the language of Germany is Standard German" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 166). At the same time, however, Mattheier (2003: 239) points out that the actual language situation in Germany is more complex, distinguishing two dominant varieties in the German speech

⁶ In this section, the overview is limited to England, leaving the status of English in other parts of Britain (Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) out of consideration (but see Garrett et al. 2010, Johnston 2007, Macafee 1997).

⁷ RP stands for 'Received Pronunciation', the term used to denote the phonologically 'best language' in Britain (Garrett et al. 2011).

community: the regional language (*Regionalsprache*) and the regional standard (*Regionalstandard*). The regional language has developed as a result of generally observable dialect loss, whereas the regional standard is a standard variety which contains and accepts few regional markers. Next to these two varieties, there are also some dialect relics, as well as the supra-regional standard language which contains no noticeable regional influences. According to Mattheier (ibid.), about twenty percent of the population only uses the supra-regional standard, while the other eighty percent is either monolingual (i.e. speaking either the regional language or the regional standard) or diglossic (i.e. switching between the two varieties, depending on the formality of the situation at hand). As to whether there is evidence for the demotization or the destandardization scenario in Germany today, Auer and Spiekermann (2011: 174) feel that "for many Germans, the standard is the language they grew up with", but that this (spoken) standard is a demotic one, incorporating elements of *allegro* speech. In that respect, "it is likely that the new standard features will in the end take over entirely and that pronunciations such as *nicht*, *einen*, or *ist* will sound old-fashioned and bookish" (Auer and Spiekermann 2011: 174). It should be noted that the picture is slightly different in Austria and Switzerland, as both countries try to distance themselves linguistically from Germany. Especially in **Austria**, the new, Austrian German standard is increasingly used as a symbol of national identity, although Muhr (2013) points out the persistently strong tendency to replace Austrian German terms by 'German German' ones. Moreover, the Austrian German norm is barely codified: apart from the *Österreichisches Wörterbuch* (ÖWB), there are no official codices to date, so that Austrian German still lacks a grammar and a pronunciation dictionary (Soukup and Moosmüller 2011: 40, also see Ammon 2004). However, as Muhr (2013) also shows, the number of publications on Austrian German has increased enormously over the last decades, revealing a stronger link between (standard) language and national (Austrian) identity formation (also see de Cillia and Vetter 2013). In **Switzerland**, a country characterized by multilingualism and multidialectality, the status of German is different. The presence of four national languages – German, French, Italian and Romansh – makes the linguistic picture, like in Belgium, rather complex. The German-speaking parts of Switzerland serve as a textbook example of diglossia, as Standard German is perceived as a foreign or a 'second' language, which differs substantially from the Alemannic dialects of Swiss German (cf. Stepkowska 2013: 197-198). Standard German is used specifically in writing and very rarely in speaking, particularly in direct contacts among the Swiss. Therefore, Auer and Spiekermann (2011: 166) state that the German-speaking parts of Switzerland are witnessing an (attitudinal) process of destandardization. Interestingly, the linguistic situation in the French-speaking part of Switzerland is completely different: since the French Swiss do not speak dialects at all, the Swiss variety of French is not much different from Standard French. As Stepkowska (2013: 198) points out, this is "due to a more 'centralized' outlook on language that connotes prestige only with the French standard (*le bon français*)". With respect to

language policy, the Swiss federal government may be said to have pursued a rather low-profile language policy, due to its highly decentralized administrative and educational system. Grin (1999) stresses that the principle of subsidiarity is fundamental in Swiss legislation; in education, for instance, most aspects are regulated on the cantonal level. In that way, substantial differences in language norms (and language use) can be found in the different cantons of Switzerland (cf. Hega 2001).

1.3 Studying (standard) language use in education

Over the past few decades, research into linguistic variation in educational settings has addressed a number of aspects, such as the functions attributed to and domains associated with different language varieties, or the use and the treatment of different language varieties by teachers and pupils both inside and outside the classroom (Wagner 2009: 15). In the early 1970s, especially the situation of dialect-speaking pupils at school has been the subject of several studies. Monodialectal speakers appeared to have more problems at school than standard speakers or 'bilingual' speakers of dialect and standard, because the language of schooling is – or should be – the standard language, and dialectal influences on oral or written work are negatively sanctioned (cf. Clyne 1995: 115, also see Stijnen and Vallen 1980; Hagen 1987; Van Reydt 1997). To solve these problems, different responses have been provided over the years: some argue for the exclusive use of the standard, stating that dialect is an obstacle to a successful school career (the so-called 'deficiency hypothesis'), whereas others emphasize the equality of language varieties (the 'difference hypothesis'). The latter argue that pupils need to be made aware of the 'appropriateness' of different varieties in different situations, showing for instance that dialect may be acceptable at home or among friends and family, but not in public and formal contexts. Somewhere in between both of the previous responses is the suggestion to expand the number of domains in which dialect is permitted, in order to allow pupils to extend their existing linguistic repertoire. For example, Wagner (2009: 15-16) mentions the *Hessische Rahmenrichtlinien*, which were published in 1972 in Hessen (Germany), and argued for the extension of domains in which dialect should be permitted. In the Dutch-speaking area, the most prominent example is probably the so-called 'Kerkrade project' (Stijnen and Vallen 1980), a research project directed towards alleviating school problems that were caused by the use of dialect outside the school. The results revealed that "the language spoken at home influences to an important extent the educational achievement of the children in the Kerkrade area, as well as their participation in verbal interaction in the classroom, and the way in which they are assessed by their teachers" (Stijnen and Vallen 1989: 150), pointing out the influence of language attitudes and perceptions on

educational success. Following the Kerkrade project, there have been a number of small-scaled studies in Flanders as well, looking at the interplay between home language and school language. In Antwerp, for instance, Van De Craen (1982, 1985; also see Verbruggen et al. 1985) studied primary school pupils' dialect use in classroom settings, concluding that "in Antwerp it is no longer necessary to plead for more dialect in the classroom: the dialect or the home language is an undeniable part of daily verbal interaction. In this respect, the situation in Antwerp diverges from the one in for instance Kerkrade" (Van De Craen 1985: 58, my translation). In other words, non-standard language use in the classroom primarily had an interactional goal.⁸

Since the 1980s, however, both the (European) communities and their language situations have changed thoroughly. With the decline of the most restricted local varieties, non-standard dialects are no longer considered to be communication barriers, at least not in the way they were seen at the beginning of the discussion in the 1970s: dialects are now both stigmatized and used as instruments of regional pride and collective identification (cf. Clyne 1995: 119, also see Van Ouytsel 2012). Since then, research on (standard) language use in education has been focusing more specifically on the relation between the dominant (standard) language and other minority languages in classroom settings. In contrast to the dominant view in society, which sees languages as fixed and rigid entities used by bi- or multilinguals as strictly separated competences, the idea of "flexible bilingualism" (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1197) seems to match the actual classroom reality more closely. Languages are then seen as fluid and changing, and research in this vein focuses on how the "simultaneous use of different kinds of forms and signs" (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1198) plays out in the classroom, what pupils' repertoires look like, and which values/identities the different types of language use index. Based on the concept of flexible multilingualism, García (2009, 2013) advocated to use the term 'translanguaging' (rather than 'codeswitching', which maintains the view of strict language boundaries), defining it as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" (García 2009: 140). These more complex notions have proven to offer a more effective framework to study and describe language practices in increasingly multilingual classrooms, showing how multilingual children use their linguistic repertoires in a natural and integrated way (e.g. Jørgensen 2005). Even though pupils might be studying in a monolingual context, this does not necessarily mean

⁸ With respect to the Flemish context (cf. *infra*), it should be stressed, however, that later on, a number of (socio)linguists were less supportive of the use of non-standard language use in classroom settings (see for instance Goossens 2000; Debrabandere 2005). This ties in with Plevoets' (2013) observation that the discourse on Tussentaal in the (Flemish) linguistic literature has been evolving through the years: from a reflective perspective in the 1970s-1980s to an evaluative one in the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s. Nowadays, the focus is on empirical, non-denouncing research when it comes to studying Tussentaal (see section 1.4).

that they think and learn in a monolingual way (Busch 2010). However, these processes of translanguaging are often seen as a deficit (Heller 1999), and teaching practices often ignore pupils' multilingual skills, as their 'bad' multilingualism is seen as harmful for their development and learning (Gogolin 2002). Instead, teachers seem to believe that it is in the best interest of children to invest maximal time in the dominant language⁹ (Van den Branden and Verhelst 2009, Jaspaert 2015), aiming at a monolingual and monocultural classroom context. This 'monoglot ideology' (Silverstein 1996) denies the advantages of pupils' prior (linguistic) knowledge in the acquisition of new (linguistic) knowledge (Cummins 2007). Moreover, these monolingual beliefs also imply "that the identity of multilingual children is not welcomed as much as other children's and this might affect their well-being" (Van Der Wildt 2016: 26), although multiple studies have revealed that accepting languages in the classroom helps multilingual children to gain self-confidence and achieve better results (Auerbach 1993, Martín Rojo 2010, Ramaut et al. 2013).

Over the past few years, there have been various innovative projects, aimed at the inclusion of multilingualism in the classroom (e.g. Bourne 2001, Ramaut et al. 2013). These studies, often drawing on ethnographic or qualitative research methods (e.g. Jaspers 2005a, 2014; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Martín Rojo 2010), have not only offered more insight in what happens inside classrooms, but have proven to be powerful in influencing teachers' beliefs and classroom practices as well. In Flanders, there have also been several recent projects aiming at the study and promotion of pupils' learning processes, by offering space to the home language of pupils, regardless of whether that home language is a non-standard variety of Dutch, or a different language. Both cases are considered to be instances of "language deprivation" in Vandenbroucke's language-in-education policy (Vandenbroucke 2007: 7; cf. *infra*). However, De Caluwe (2009, 2012) and Jaspers (2012), among others, have stressed the intrinsic value of non-standard varieties of Dutch as pupils' home language and *Umgangssprache*. With respect to languages other than Dutch, the recently finalized *Validiv* project ('Valorizing Linguistic Diversity in Multiple Contexts of Primary Education', see Van Praag et al. 2016) built upon Sierens and Van Avermaet's (2013) notion of "functional multilingual learning" to show how pupils' home languages can be utilized as didactic capital, but there have also been several other studies and projects, mostly instigated by the *Centrum voor Taal en Onderwijs* (CTO; 'Center for Language and Education') in Leuven and the *Steunpunt Diversiteit en Leren* (SDL; 'Center of Diversity and Learning') in Ghent.

In all of these (sociolinguistic) studies, teachers are assumed to play a pivotal role in providing pupils with sufficient language support. In most language-in-education policies however, this linguistic support is still supposed to take the form of standard language

⁹ Agirdag (2010) found that 14- to 17-year-old pupils also internalize these ideas, as both native monolingual pupils and bilingual pupils with a migration background labeled home languages other than the dominant language as obstacles to success.

use. Teachers are expected to be *Sprachnormautoritäten* ('language norm authorities', Ammon 1995: 75), who are familiar with and proficient in the standard language, and who have the right to mark and correct the language of others. After all, as the "the first-line dispensers of standard usage" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012: 48), they are important agents in the up-keep and transmission of the codified norm (Hannappel and Herold 1985: 55). In times of destandardization and demotization (see 1.2), with the vigor of standard languages waning all across Europe (Van der Horst 2008, also see Fairclough 1992), this role of teachers as norm transmitters also becomes pressurizing: as "the last gatekeepers of the standard" (Van Istendael 2008: 31), they are often deemed to play a decisive role in promoting the standard language ideology (see for instance Davies 1995: 90). However, there are few empirical studies that investigate, let alone confirm this view (cf. Cameron 1995: 15; Davies 2001: 393). In her research in German schools, Davies (2000, 2001) has questioned the teachers' perceived role as authorities on the language norm. She found that the teachers' norm knowledge did not always correspond with the content of the codex, and that teachers did not always conform to the codified norms as one would expect them to. These findings were supported by the results presented in Davies (2005), where she found that there was little agreement between teachers about what the codified norm consisted of, and that their idea of a 'norm' was not always in line with the codified norm. Wagner (2009) studied teachers' and pupils' knowledge and perceptions of linguistic norms in modern German in the Moselle-Franconian dialect area. With respect to teachers, she found that they selected different language varieties for different purposes, in association with certain domains of school life. The language variety chosen by teachers had to match its purpose, tying in with Davies' (2000: 138) findings that the choice of language variety was governed by situational factors and appropriacy. In this study, I will try to find out how these findings compare to Flemish teachers' language perceptions. To do so, however, it is important to first gain more insight in the role and history of the Standard Dutch norm in Flanders, and more specifically in Flemish education.

1.4 Standard Dutch in Flanders and in Flemish education

Language is not only a medium of communication, but is also strongly tied to identity. Both functions of language are of importance, and as Lybaert (2014a: 64) stresses, they are opposite to each other, within a field of tension. In order to make a language into a suitable communication medium, a certain degree of uniformity is required, but at the same time, language variation is one of the most fundamental ways we have to express our individual or group identity. As Blommaert (2008b: 82) puts it, "[o]ne cannot understand identity without looking at language" (for similar statements, see Eckert 2008, Fortes 1983). A

common language therefore plays an important role in defining one's identity (or rather identities, see Chapter 8). The connection between language and identity strongly manifests itself in the Flemish context, and more specifically in Flemings' perceptions of the Standard Dutch norm. In Belgium, Dutch is only one of the three official languages, apart from French and German. German is spoken by about 80 000 people in a small region in the eastern part of the country. French is the commonly used language of four million people in Wallonia, the southern part of Belgium, and it is the predominant language in Brussels, the country's capital (Corijn and Vloeberghs 2009). Dutch is the language of the six million Flemings who live in the northern part of Belgium. Dutch as spoken in Flanders, which we could call "Belgian Dutch", differs to some extent from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, both for pronunciation, lexicon and morphosyntax. According to Geert Hofstede, a social psychologist well known for his model of *cultural dimensions*, "no two countries with a common border and a common language are so far culturally apart as (Dutch) Belgium and the Netherlands" (2001: 335). His statement underlines the linguistically extraordinary character of Flanders, and how it differs substantially from the situation in the Netherlands (cf. *infra*), even though there have been several attempts to bring the Netherlands and Flanders linguistically closer together. In 1980, for instance, the *Nederlandse Taalunie* ('Dutch Language Union') was installed by the Dutch and the Belgian governments as a way for both governments to set joint policy with respect to the Dutch language. Aimed at "integrating as far as possible the Netherlands and the Dutch speaking community of Belgium in the field of the Dutch language and literature in the broadest sense" (*Taalunieverdrag*, art. 2), the *Nederlandse Taalunie* is a rather remarkable institution, "since no national government has so far conceded to a supra-national institution what is generally considered to be its own prerogative, i.e. to decide autonomously on linguistic and cultural affairs" (Willemyns 2003: 112). However, as the next sections will show, the Flemish language context sets itself apart from the Dutch one, despite policymakers' intentions to bring both regions closer together. In order to grasp the complexity of the Flemish language situation and the role of different language varieties therein, a number of historical facts should be taken into account first. In this introductory chapter, I want to limit myself to a brief sketch of the linguistic history of Dutch in Flanders (1.4.1), which has been extensively reported elsewhere (see for instance Willemyns 2003, 2013; Vandenbussche 2010b; Vogl and Hüning 2010; Van Hoof 2015b), followed by an overview of the current Flemish language situation, both in general (1.4.2) and in Flemish educational settings (1.4.3).

1.4.1 Dutch in Flanders: a brief historical overview

Historically, it was the fall of Antwerp in 1585 that sealed the political division of the Dutch language territory. The Netherlands gained their independence (officially in 1648, with the Peace of Münster), whereas the southern part of the Low Countries was left

under the subsequent foreign rule of Spain, the Austrian Habsburgs and the French empire, until the foundation of the kingdom of Belgium in 1830 (except a short period between 1815 and 1830, cf. *infra*). Those foreign authorities did not see Dutch as a language suitable for government, culture or education, and propagated French as an official language instead (Willemyns 2003, 2013). As a consequence, most historians consider the 17th (and the 18th) century as a ‘dark age’ for the Dutch language in Flanders¹⁰, as opposed to the ‘Golden Age’ in the northern Dutch republic, where a Dutch standard language gradually began to take shape. As such, there was a sharp contrast around 1800 between the ongoing standardization in the North, and the collection of dialects unroofed by any standard in the South (Vandenbussche 2010b: 310). Various contemporary testimonies seem to indicate that the northern and southern varieties of Dutch had become (or were claimed to be) mutually unintelligible at that time.

Following the defeat of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna (in 1815) created a kingdom that unified the northern and southern Netherlands under the Dutch king Willem I. In 1823, he introduced a radical language policy in the Flemish-speaking areas of the South, working under the French Enlightenment principle of ‘one nation, one language’. As such, Dutch was made the sole official language for administration, education, and the legal system (Howell 2000: 145). However, instead of eliciting approval and satisfaction, as Willem I had hoped, his language policy was met with stiff resistance: as a result of nearly two centuries of linguistic separation, the northern Dutch written language had become a language almost as foreign to the Flemish as French. Apart from the opposition to this imposition of the northern Dutch language as yet another ‘foreign’ variety, there were also significant social and religious (Protestant Holland vs. Catholic Flanders) differences between the North and the South, leading to the independence of the Belgian state in 1830, and the reinstatement of French as the dominant language in all public domains. It was only in 1898, with the *Gelijkheidswet* (‘Equality Law’), that Dutch was declared equal to French in official matters.

The failed reunification of the Netherlands (1815-1830) also gave rise to the Flemish Movement, prominent exponents of it being Jan Frans Willems and Hendrik Conscience. The very existence of this movement, founded to establish Dutch as the official language of Belgium, “foreshadowed the major role that language policy would play in shaping modern Belgium” (Howell 2000: 145). During the late nineteenth century, the Flemish Movement was divided between the so-called ‘integrationists’, who wanted to introduce northern Dutch as the official language of Dutch-speaking Belgium, and the

¹⁰ However, as Vosters and Vandenbussche (2008) show convincingly, even under Spanish and Austrian rule, varieties of Dutch played an important role in (semi-)official domains in the South, as well as local governments (cf. Vogl and Hüning 2010: 234). The traditional view of the South as a Babel-like confusion of tongues should therefore mostly be seen as a rhetorical strategy of the advocates of language unity between North and South, aiming for the adoption of the Northern Dutch standard norm in Flanders (cf. Rutten and Vosters 2010, Vosters 2013, Van Hoof 2015b).

‘particularists’, who favored the development of a standard language based on southern Dutch usage. The integrationists eventually prevailed, and Dutch gained an official status in Belgium as a result of the language laws passed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, the dominance of French persisted long into the twentieth century, and after collaborating with the Germans in both the First and the Second World War, the Flemish Movement got severely stigmatized, and had to reposition itself.

Eventually, the language conflict between Dutch and French was settled by establishing the ‘territoriality principle’ as “a way of institutionalising multilingualism in which territories are allocated specific languages and all public services in a particular territory are only provided in that language irrespective of the language that individual inhabitants speak at home” (Vogl and Hüning 2010: 229). In 1963, the linguistic border was officially established, with Dutch being the official language in Flanders, and French the official language in Wallonia. Along the linguistic border, a number of municipalities are either officially Dutch- or French-speaking, but have official facilities for speakers of the other language. Brussels, the capital, is officially bilingual. As such, the linguistic border created a unilingual Flanders and a unilingual Wallonia.

In Flanders, however, the exoglossic standard language, which was imported from the Netherlands, had a hard time winning the hearts of the Belgian speakers (Willemyns 1996, 2003). Radio and television as well as schools were mobilized to start an impressive propaganda campaign, stimulating positive attitudes towards Standard Dutch and transmitting that relatively unknown (northern) variety to the Flemish population (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012; Vandenbussche 2010b; De Caluwe 2012a; Van Hoof 2013, 2015b). This period of ‘hyperstandardization’, as Jaspers and Van Hoof (2013) call it, lasted roughly from 1950 until 1980, “involving a fiercely propagandistic, large-scale, extensively broadcasted, scientifically supported and enduring ideologization of language use in all corners of Flemish society” (2013: 332). During this period, an almost complete assimilation to the Northern Dutch standard norm was pursued – except for pronunciation, where some divergence from Northern Dutch was allowed. The Flemish media contributed actively to this massive propaganda by giving linguists the opportunity to address their audience and spread their views. Nearly every newspaper in Flanders had a periodical column aimed at helping Flemings gain proficiency in the standard language, and radio and television channels broadcasted language-related programs. With Standard Dutch being part of the mission of the Dutch-speaking public broadcasting channel VRT, linguists kept close control over the language used by presenters of radio and television programs, and programs dedicated specifically to Standard Dutch were broadcasted in prime time (Van Hoof 2013). Standard Dutch was also heavily promoted in schools, by the means of so-called *ABN kernen* or ‘ABN clubs’, youth clubs where the main ‘good deed’

was to fanatically spread the use of Standard Dutch.¹¹ As Willemyns (2013) indicates, these youngsters, after becoming parents, started to socialize their children into (intended) Standard Dutch, thus paving the way for the massive wave of dialect loss that was soon noticed.

For the proponents of 'the Flemish cause', language purification was a crucial part of a large-scale civilization project, aimed at the emancipation of the Flemish people. After all, "only by showing that they spoke a true standard language, able to compete with French, it would be possible for Flemings to throw off the yoke of Francophone dominance" (Van Hoof 2015a: 68-69, my translation). However, the Standard Dutch propaganda was also inspired by egalitarian concerns, as being competent in the standard variety was considered to be a *condition sine qua non* for upward social mobility. In some respects, the project of the Flemish Movement has eventually proven to be rather successful: at present, Flanders is a prosperous, highly autonomous community within the kingdom of Belgium, and French no longer forms an essential threat to the importance of Dutch in Flanders.

1.4.2 Dutch in Flanders today

However, as Flanders gained more autonomy on the political level, the explicit striving for linguistic integrationism with the North grew ever smaller. Despite all of the Standard Dutch propaganda, the linguistic differences between North and South have always remained apparent, especially with respect to pronunciation (see for instance Willemyns 2005: 78).¹² Most linguists and policymakers therefore agree that the Dutch-speaking region can be called bicentric, in the sense that there is room for 'Belgian Dutch' and 'Dutch Dutch' variants (see for instance Hendrickx 1998; Martin 2010; also see Clyne 1992a).

Still, the prevailing view seems to be that, especially in Flanders, the acceptable norm for language variation in the public space is often exceeded. While the spoken language use of Flemish newsanchors and most radio and TV presenters still closely adheres to the standard (and therefore also to the language use of their Netherlandic colleagues), the difference between North and South is notable in more informal registers. In most Flemings' everyday language use, as well as in the media (and especially in entertainment TV shows), the use of Standard Dutch seems to be rather exceptional, or in any case strongly marked (Van Hoof 2010, 2013; Van Hoof and Vandekerckhove 2013). Instead, Flemings appear to use hybrid colloquial varieties of Dutch in a growing number of

¹¹ ABN stands for *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*, which can be rendered in English as 'General Cultivated Dutch', although others speak of 'General Civilised Dutch' or 'General Educated Dutch' (see Willemyns 2013:143).

¹² On the lexical level, however, there has undeniably been a convergence of the supraregional language use on both sides of the linguistic border (see Geeraerts, Grondelaers and Speelman 1999).

contexts. These forms of language use certainly can no longer be characterized as 'dialect' (see for instance Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen 2014 for a discussion of dialect loss in Flanders), but do combine dialectal features with Standard Dutch elements. In the Flemish (linguistic) literature, several names are used to refer to this intermediate language use, such as *Schoon Vlaams* ('Brushed-up Flemish'; Goossens 1970, 1975, 2000), *Verkavelingsvlaams* ('Allotment-Flemish'; Van Istendael 1989) and *Soapvlaams* ('Soap-Flemish'; Geeraerts 1999, Plevoets 2008). Each of these terms emphasizes a specific aspect of those intermediate varieties, always in a rather negative way: language use that is little more than cleaned up dialect, spoken in petit bourgeois allotments and prominently present in soap operas and other amusement shows (a finding that is actually confirmed by Van Hoof 2013, 2015b). After Taeldeman (1992) used it, the name *tussentaal* ('in-between language') quickly became the most frequently used term in the Flemish linguistic literature, although he was not the first to use it (see for instance Verbruggen, Stroobants and Rymenans 1985). However, Tussentaal is not clear of negative connotations either: the term is a calque of 'interlanguage', a concept that stems from the field of second language acquisition (Selinker 1972). In SLA research, 'interlanguage' refers to the language use of a speaker whose attempt to speak a foreign language contains substantial interference of his or her mother tongue, either with respect to pronunciation, lexicon or morpho-syntax. This interlanguage is considered to be a transition phenomenon on the way to a full(er) command of a foreign language. Initially, most linguists and policymakers had the same idea about Tussentaal in Flanders: for example, Ruud Hendrickx, the language advisor of the Flemish public broadcaster VRT, initially thought that "the Tussentaal in its present form will gradually disappear. Instead, an informal standard variety will emerge (...)" (1998, my translation). Because of this negative connotation, De Schryver feels that Tussentaal is a "redundant, negative and colored term with an arbitrary content" (2012: 141, my translation), which should no longer be used. Because the debate on Tussentaal is continuously held "in an atmosphere of controversy, public opinions and towering emotions" (Absillis, Jaspers and van Hoof 2012b: 21, also see De Caluwe 2002, Jaspers 2001), it seems as if Tussentaal will not be able to cast off this negative characterization any time soon. According to Plevoets (2013), however, the way in which Tussentaal is dealt with in the (Flemish) linguistic literature has been evolving: from a reflective view (1970s-1980s) over an evaluative one (1990s) to a focus on empirical, non-denouncing research during the last decade (see for instance De Caluwe 2009, Lybaert 2014a, Impe and Speelman 2007, Rys and Taeldeman 2007, De Decker 2014, Van Hoof 2013, among others).

Even though it may appear as if *Verkavelingsvlaams*, *Soapvlaams* or *Tussentaal* denote a specific, clearly distinguishable variety of Dutch, this is far from the case (cf. Willemyns 2003: 362): it is a term that can stand for "any form of language use that is not 'perfect' standard or 'perfect' dialect. Not only does that mean that every mixture of standard and dialect features is basically Tussentaal, this mixture can also take place on each level of

the language system, from phonology to morphology, from syntax to lexicon" (Absillis, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2012b: 21-22, also see De Caluwe 2009). Because of this dialectal influence, Tussentaal is characterized by regional variation, but simultaneously, a number of features are widely used in the whole of Flanders (see for instance Rys and Taeldeman 2007, Taeldeman 2008). It should be noted, however, that recent studies are indicative of an evolution towards the stabilization and homogenization of these Tussentaal features (see for instance De Decker and Vandekerckhove 2012, Ghyselen 2015).

In the meanwhile, Tussentaal has been subject to rapid expansion. Being the mother tongue of most youngsters in Flanders, Tussentaal has gradually become the default colloquial language (De Caluwe 2002, 2009), whereas Standard Dutch seems to lose its status of the most appropriate variety in a growing number of situations (Vancompernelle 2012). Highly educated professionals show that speaking the standard is not a necessary requirement for socio-economic promotion (Jaspers 2012, Plevoets 2013). Moreover, in advertising, TV fiction and talkshows, Standard Dutch is increasingly replaced with more informal and colloquial speech styles that sound more enjoyable, modest, trendy and less schoolish (Van Hoof 2013, Yde 2013). In that way, Tussentaal seems to be on the right track to become the Flemish informal standard variety, leading to a distinction between a formal (mostly written) Standard Dutch variety on the one hand, and an informal (mostly spoken¹³) one on the other. In the recent (socio)linguistic literature, the Flemish language situation is rightfully described as an example of *diaglossia*, a term of Auer (2005, 2011) that refers to the classic notion of *diglossia* (Ferguson 1959, Fishman 1967). While a diglossia describes a dual language situation with on the one side of the spectrum a strongly codified, prestigious (standard) language variety and on the other side one or several dialects, a diaglossic repertoire represents a language continuum.

For some, however, the increasing visibility and popularity of Tussentaal has been a source of great concern (as was – and is – also the case in other parts of Europe, cf. 1.1.1; also see Van Hoof 2013), considering the seemingly expanding divergence from the (Northern) Dutch norm to be a threat to the linguistic unity of the Low Countries (Cajot 2010, Debrabandere 2005). Undoubtedly, the Flemish historical context discussed earlier can – at least partly – explain the extraordinary ideological sensitivity of the standardness issue in Flanders (Delarue 2013).¹⁴ Because of a long and hard-fought

¹³ However, *written* Tussentaal features are on the rise as well, especially in advertisement campaigns and on social network and chat sites (see De Decker 2014).

¹⁴ Despite an officially common language and, to some extent, a common language policy (with the *Taalunie*), the dominant language ideologies in Flanders seem to differ significantly from the ones present in the Netherlands. In an attempt to explain this different perspective on language, Van Splunder (2015) points out that "the Dutch *pragmatic* or *instrumentalist* attitude to language resembles the Anglo-Saxon attitude, while the Flemish *essentialist* attitude is indebted to the German romantics, but ironically also ties in with the French language beliefs" (2015: 102; my translation and italics). Although this strict dichotomy seems a bit exaggerated, there also appears to be an element of truth in it: for instance, the Dutch stance on the use of English in higher education, differs from the Flemish opinion on the subject, which is rather mixed (cf. Bollen and Baten 2010: 429).

struggle for Dutch language rights (see 1.2.1), language had become a powerful nationalist motif in Flanders, although some linguists and anthropologists stress the supporting and mostly symbolic role of language in political-nationalist contexts as an "emblematic, romantic element that was shorthand for the more fundamental processes of democratization and enfranchisement" (Blommaert 2011: 6). Nevertheless, discussions in Flanders involving language policy or language use in public institutions (e.g. public broadcast media and education) often stir up heated discussions, dominating newspapers and social media outlets for days. Chapter 8 presents two recent examples of these disputes pertaining to (standard) language use, which have become ubiquitous in Flanders. Apart from the two examples discussed in 8.1.2, there was also a heated debate following a 2013 large-scale language survey (n=1004) of the Flemish newspaper *De Standaard*, the public radio station *Radio 1* and the *Taalunie* ('Language union'). The survey revealed that over 80 percent of Flemings uses Tussentaal at home, with friends or in other informal contexts, and that 60 percent also uses it at work (and one out of three even when addressing a superior).¹⁵ However, the results also indicated that the standard variety is still very important to most Flemings, who expect newsreaders, TV presenters and teachers to use the Standard Dutch norm at all times.

Yet again, the survey drew attention to the omnipresence of Tussentaal in Flemish society, stirring up controversy, and leading to disappointed or angry comments on Twitter and Facebook. Prominent journalists and authors wrote cutting opinion pieces on the matter, calling Tussentaal speakers lazy, obstinate and incompetent. The use of Tussentaal seems to frustrate the intellectuals who went through great lengths to become proficient in Standard Dutch. They perceive the growing use of non-standard features as a threat to the linguistic unity in the Low Countries, and as proof that Flanders still has not caught up with the Netherlands. For instance, journalist and former TV presenter William Van Laeken dismissed the results of the above-mentioned survey as "freedom, a feel-good atmosphere, everyone his own Tussentaal, no standard. All of that while we have a beautiful language there for the taking" (Van Laeken 2013, my translation). Baroness and newspaper columnist Mia Doornaert is one of the most rabid proponents of the Standard Dutch norm. In response to the results of another poll, which revealed that the majority of Flemish language professionals did not object to the presence of typically 'Flemish' words or constructions in genres typically reserved for Standard Dutch (see the next section, as well as 8.1.2), Doornaert (2014) called the very idea that Flemish words would gain standard status "idiotic" and even "frightening" (my translation). For writer Geert Van Istendael (2014), to whom we owe the term *Verkavelingsvlaams* ('allotment-Flemish') for Tussentaal, the polling results are "a plea for negligence and ignorance", an expression of the "barely concealed hatred for the Netherlands and the Dutch people" and

¹⁵ For a further discussion of the results (in Dutch), see <http://www.vrt.be/taal/de-grote-taalpeiling-tussentaal-is-overal> (accessed 19 January 2016).

"a betrayal of the Flemish cause" (my translation). More recently, book critic Herman Jacobs concluded that "the Fleming is just too lazy, too indolent, too shitty, too snobbish to learn proper Dutch, that's all, and as always there are bobos who come to assure us that this deep provincial backwardness is actually not provincial backwardness at all, but instead emancipation" (De Craemer 2015, my translation¹⁶).

As Van Hoof (2015a) argues, however, it is exactly the initial choice to adopt the Northern Dutch standard that established this 'backwardness', and the idea of linguistic deprivation will not disappear as long as the focus is only on the Netherlandic Dutch norm: after all, those who cannot determine their own norm, but are solely expected to adopt it, will always lag behind. In that rhetoric of deficiency, every subconscious deviation from the standard norm is interpreted as a sign of immaturity, and every conscious deviation as an expression of conceit and provincialism. Over the past few years, however, at least a part of the Flemish intelligentsia seems to have thrown off this linguistic inferiority complex. Especially the younger academics, journalists and writers feel less ashamed about their recognizable Flemish language use. However, their stance on standard language use often seems to be strikingly ambivalent (similar to the language perceptions of the teacher-informants in this doctoral study). For instance, Van Hoof (2015a: 70) discusses the "schizophrenia" (my translation) in the way writer Dimitri Verhulst deals with the Standard Dutch norm. Verhulst eagerly uses typically Flemish words in his books, such as *tas* 'cup' instead of the (Northern) Standard Dutch *kopje*, because he feels that "of the six million Flemings (...) only a conceited half percent will talk about a *kopje koffie* ['cup of coffee', sd]. Who reserves the right then to declare that a *tas* needs to be a *kopje*?" (Vandendaele 2010, my translation). Not much later, however, Verhulst wrote an opinion piece in which he explicitly denounced the linguistic laziness of Flemings and the aversion Flemings appear to have to a "correct standard language" which was apparently "too stuck-up" for them (2012, my translation). Because of this rather "archaic ideological reflex" (Grondelaers 2016: 104, my translation), people who talk in a 'too Flemish' way are still branded as backward or lazy. The frequency and vigor of these metadiscourses reflect how in Flanders, hyperstandardization (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012) has especially led to an extreme ideologization of the language debate. However, the general competence in Standard Dutch has mostly remained limited to written contexts: Standard Dutch is the uncontested written language norm in Flanders, but has never gained the same status in spoken contexts – which are the subject of this dissertation.

¹⁶ For this quote, I did not want to withhold the original Dutch phrasing: "De Vlaming is gewoon te lui, te bedonderd, te bescheten, te verwaand, te geparvenueerd om echt Nederlands te leren, verder niks, en zoals steeds zijn er hotemetoten die ons komen verzekeren dat deze diep provinciaalse achterlijkheid in genen dele diep provinciaalse achterlijkheid is, maar integendeels emantispatsie [sic, sd]."

1.4.3 Spoken (standard) language use in Flemish education

Defenders of the Standard Dutch norm often turn to education, either as the solution to the perceived problem of Tussentaal use, or as the root cause of that very same problem. For Herman Jacobs, for instance, the above-mentioned book critic, the fact that Flemings are not sufficiently proficient in Standard Dutch should be attributed to "the lousy education they enjoyed" (Jacobs 2015: 98, my translation). Others set all their hope on the Flemish teachers, who are after all "the first-line dispensers of standard usage" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012: 48) and "the guardians of the standard language" (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999), as they are supposed to adhere to official norms (De Schutter 1980). All of these statements reveal the importance that is being adhered to education, and the role education plays (or should play, according to some) as an institution of norm reproduction.

These expectations of society also become apparent in the frequent language debates discussed in the previous section (also see 8.1.2). In November 2014, for example, the newspaper *De Standaard* published the results of the large-scale study *Hoe Vlaams is uw Nederlands?* ('How Flemish is your Dutch?'), in which over 3.000 Flemish language professionals – such as actors, lawyers, journalists, teachers or linguists – were asked to assess the standardness of sentences with a few typical Flemish words or constructions (see 8.1.2 for a more elaborate description). Not only did the results show that 58% of these language professionals did not object to the presence of such Flemish words (De Schryver 2015), they also indicated that teachers appeared to be more favorable towards the use of "Flemish" lexical and grammatical elements in the standard than members of other language professions. Although the approval rate of teachers (61,4%) did not differ significantly from the mean score of all the participants (58%), teachers were almost immediately scorned on Twitter, Facebook and other social media platforms. Not only was their status as "guardians" and "gate-keepers" of the standard questioned, some even started doubting the teachers' professionalism. In several (televised) debates and opinion pieces, teachers were called "lax", "not language professionals (...) [but] language amateurs", "sloppy" and "ignorant".

Clearly, Flemish teachers are under severe pressure to be standard language authorities, and these strict expectations are also mirrored in the Flemish governmental language-in-education policy, which insists on Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside of the classroom (see Chapters 3 and 4 for a further discussion of the governmental policy). Propagating this standard would, according to former Flemish Education Minister Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) and his successor Pascal Smet (2011), solve both the problem of multilingualism and the problem of the increasing use of non-standard varieties (e.g. Tussentaal and dialect); both non-native pupils who speak another language at home and native pupils who use Tussentaal or a dialect are urged to learn Standard Dutch. Obviously, the same expectations go for

teachers. Using slogans and catchphrases as *Elke leerkracht is een taalleerkracht* ('Every teacher is a language teacher') and *Ik heb drie prioriteiten in verband met gelijke kansen: taal, taal en taal* ('I have three priorities regarding equal opportunities: language, language and language'), the governmental language-in-education policy tries to convince all teachers of the need to solely use the standard when teaching.

However, earlier research on teachers' spoken language use has revealed that this is far from the case in everyday classroom contexts. In a previous study (Delarue 2011, 2013), I analyzed a sample of 122 Flemish teachers from schools situated in the provinces of West- and East-Flanders, based on data collected by 15 students as part of their bachelor's thesis project. The informants were recruited on their willingness to co-operate, without any specific requirements as to gender, age, region of birth or current residence. As is also the case in my own study (see 2.2.1 *infra*), only one teacher variable was specifically controlled for during selection: in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms, three groups were distinguished. A first group (n=30) taught in the 6th class of primary school, whereas the second (n=45) and the third (n=47) group comprised of secondary school teachers, teaching in the third and the sixth grade of general secondary education or ASO (*Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*). Per teacher, one lesson was recorded and transcribed, and the proportion of Tussentaal usage in the speech of each teacher was quantified on the basis of a list of fourteen iconic Tussentaal features, recurrently cited in the Flemish linguistic literature on the subject (De Caluwe 2002, 2006; Rys and Taldeman 2007; Cajot 2010; Taldeman 2008; Goossens 2000; Vandekerckhove 2004). For each of the teachers, a so-called 'Tussentaal index' (Van Gijssels, Geeraerts and Speelman 2004) was computed, by calculating the (weighted) proportion of Tussentaal realizations in the total frequency of each variable in the list of features. Using that index, all teachers were assigned to one of five categories: 'pure' Standard Dutch speakers ('ST', with less than 1% Tussentaal features), Standard Dutch speakers with a limited use of (phonological) Tussentaal features¹⁷ ('ST/(TT)', less than 5% Tussentaal features), speakers with a mixed use of standard and non-standard variants, which are also of morphosyntactic and lexical nature ('ST/TT', less than 50% Tussentaal features), speakers with a prevalent use of Tussentaal features ('TT/ST', between 50% and 75% Tussentaal features), and speakers who almost exclusively use Tussentaal features ('TT', more than 75% Tussentaal features). Although this analysis is purely exploratory, the four main conclusions I could draw from it corroborate earlier studies on teachers' language use (Verbruggen, Stroobants and Rymenans 1985; Walraet 2004; Olders 2007; De Caluwe 2011):

¹⁷ For example, the deletion of final-t in short function words, such as *nie* for *niet* 'not', or *wa* for *wat* 'what'. It should be noted that these phonological variants (also including deletion of word-initial *h* or the use of *der* for *er* 'there', for instance) could also be considered to be part of informal spoken Standard Dutch – there appears to be a substantial grey area between Tussentaal and (informal) Standard Dutch.

1. *Non-standard language use is widespread in classroom contexts.* The ‘ST’-category comprises no more than 3% of the teachers in the sample, which means that 97% of all teachers uses some amount of Tussentaal features (‘ST/(TT)’ 11%, ‘ST/TT’ 44%, ‘TT/ST’ 25%, ‘TT’ 17%).
2. *Female teachers seem to use more non-standard features than male teachers,* corresponding with both the recurrently attested finding that females spearhead new developments (Chambers 2003) and the corpus research of Plevoets (2008, 2009), which also showed that (young) women use significantly more Tussentaal features.¹⁸
3. *All observed teachers younger than 30 use a substantial or predominant number of Tussentaal features when teaching.* In contrast, the small group of ‘pure’ standard language speakers consists only of teachers older than 50 (i.e. born before 1961, and raised in times of standard language propaganda, cf. Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). Both observations are, yet again, in line with the findings of Plevoets (2008), who also found a significantly higher use of non-standard language in the younger generations (born in the 1970s and 1980s) in his corpus.
4. *Most teachers show continuous code-switching and code-mixing in their speech, using Standard Dutch, Tussentaal and (occasionally) dialectal features.* This finding also confirms earlier research (Verbruggen, Stroobants and Rymenans 1985; Walraet 2004; Olders 2007; De Caluwe 2011). Delarue (2013: 212) offers a (non-exhaustive) overview of situations in which most teachers adhere to either Standard Dutch or Tussentaal (or non-standard language use in general). Standard Dutch is mostly used in more formal or ‘prepared’ situations, in which teachers devote conscious attention to their speech (viz. when giving instructions, or when citing the handbook or syllabus). However, as soon as teachers need to let go of their ‘lesson plan’, for instance because pupils do not understand the subject matter or start talking too much, almost all teachers resort to the language variety they feel more secure and proficient in: Tussentaal. As most classroom contexts consist of constant alternations between more formal and more informal situations (Ferguson 2003, also see Chapter 3), the language use of teachers switches back and forth from more standard to more non-standard.

In other words, Flemish teachers' speech in everyday classroom settings clearly deviates from the Standard Dutch norm. Grondelaers et al. (2016) distinguish this type of spoken language use as a separate variety, conveniently dubbed *Teacher Dutch* (cf. Grondelaers

¹⁸ This seems to contradict the sociolinguistic axiom that women tend to use more prestige forms (i.e. standard forms) of language, in order to symbolically compensate for their lower social position (cf. Coates 1986). However, Plevoets (2012 : 213) solves that paradox by showing that not Standard Dutch, but Tussentaal should be seen as the preferred language of the Flemish elite. As such, women still tend to adopt those forms of language that are considered prestigious by the social group they are part of, but that prestigious language is not (or no longer) Standard Dutch, but Tussentaal (ibid.).

and Van Hout 2011a, Delarue 2013). In contrast to the non-vital nature of the (strict) spoken standard language variety, Teacher Dutch is defined as "the 'highest' – in stratificational terms – vital variety of Flemish Dutch (...) as documented by the speech of the Flemish teachers in the Teacher Corpus of the Spoken Dutch Corpus" (Grondelaers et al. 2016). According to Grondelaers et al. (2011: 215-216), Teacher Dutch audibly deviates from the Standard Dutch norm on account of the fact that the absolute majority of teachers have a regional accent which is straightforwardly identifiable to non-expert listeners, and the fact that many teachers also manifest some non-standard phonology in their speech.¹⁹ The latter is what sets Flemish Teacher Dutch apart from Netherlandic Teacher Dutch: based on the Teacher Corpus of the Spoken Dutch Corpus, Adank et al. (2007) found that the absolute majority of Netherlandic teachers also have an automatically identifiable regional accent but not, as Flemish Teacher Dutch, non-standard phonology.

However, one could wonder how Teacher Dutch as a variety exactly relates to the 'VRT Dutch' norm or Tussentaal. For Grondelaers et al. (2016), all three of them can be seen as some sort of standard variety, with VRT Dutch as the *virtual* standard, Teacher Dutch as the *practical* standard and Tussentaal as an *emerging* standard. While VRT Dutch and Tussentaal have been so diligently studied and mediatized that they have become household realities to most of the (linguistically) trained Flemish, Teacher Dutch was introduced only in Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a), and although it has been taken up in some other work as well (see for instance Delarue 2013), it has almost no theoretical, and certainly no lay relevance yet (Grondelaers et al. 2016). The empirical delineation of Flemish Teacher Dutch and Tussentaal is also problematic, in view of the fact that these varieties are difficult to distinguish categorically.

In sum, while both the Flemish government and society at large have high expectations when it comes to teachers' (spoken) language use, the average Flemish teacher seems to use a substantial amount of non-standard features in everyday classroom contexts. The precise nature of this Teacher Dutch seems to depend on both the classroom situation (e.g. classroom instruction vs. telling anecdotes or illustrating the subject matter) and the linguistic repertoire of every individual teacher, but still, it seems pretty clear that the Standard Dutch goal set by the Flemish Ministers of Education in their language policy documents is not reached. Instead, the actual use of the spoken Standard Dutch norm seems to be limited to the rather virtual context of newsreaders in TV studios. For Grondelaers et al. (2016), that does not come as a surprise:

¹⁹ In their definition/description of Teacher Dutch, Grondelaers et al. (2011, 2016) only refer to the use of non-standard phonological features, such as the deletion of word-final *t* or word-initial *h* (e.g. *nie* for *niet* 'not', *ij* for *hij* 'he'). However, other studies (e.g. Walraet 2004, Olders 2007, Delarue 2011, 2013) also point out the use of non-standard morpho-syntactic and lexical features. For instance, the use of the colloquial form *ge/gij* 'you' instead of the standard form *je/jij* 'you' for the 2nd person singular pronoun is rather widespread in Flemish educational settings.

It is unsurprising in this respect that the only natural habitat for the full uniform Dutch which is the practical one-on-one representative of the standard ideal, is radio and television news shows in which the anchor is a transmitter of facts who should not have any obvious allegiances for neutrality's and objectivity's sake. That fact that such 'news Dutch' is deemed artificial (...) derives to a large extent from this neutrality and social meaninglessness.

In contrast, the combination of growing informality and constant interaction in (Flemish) classrooms makes it much more difficult – if not impossible or even undesirable – to speak Standard Dutch as a teacher. Moreover, teachers do not seem to share the newsreaders' need to be neutral and objective at all times; as the research papers in the next chapters will show, it is much more important for them to be (able to be) themselves, and to express their (teacher) identity – or rather, identities.

1.5 Research questions

On top of the outburst of variability in standard languages found all across Europe (see 1.2), the Flemish context (1.4) adds a rather unique – yet historically understandable – layer of ideological sensitivity. The previous sections also revealed how education plays a crucial role in all of this: together with the media (see Van Hoof 2013, 2015b), education is considered to be a fundamental institution of norm reproduction, not only by the Flemish government, but also by society at large. This pivotal role of schools in the spread of standard language use is of course not limited to Flanders, but as "not many communities in Europe can boast language dynamics which are as controversial and mediatized as those witnessed in Flanders" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2016: 3), the Flemish context represents a rather intriguing case. In this dissertation, I want to focus on the gap that appears to exist between Flemish *language-in-education policy*, which presents the Standard Dutch norm as the only acceptable language variety in Flemish schools, and actual *classroom practice*, where the average teacher apparently uses a substantial number of non-standard language features in his or her classroom speech.²⁰ Until now, this policy-practice gap in Flemish education has not yet been thoroughly studied. As was already discussed in section 1.3, there have been a number of recent studies on multilingualism in Flemish schools, with for instance Jaspers' (2005a, 2014) research in schools in Antwerp and Brussels, the *Validiv* project (Van Praag et al. 2016),

²⁰ It should be noted, however, that the existence of this policy-practice gap is not problematic as such: the mere fact that policy documents exist is because what actually happens differs from what policymakers prefer, and they would like to see actual practice shift towards the practice they consider to be ideal.

and several studies and research projects of the *Centrum voor Taal en Onderwijs* (CTO; 'Center for Language and Education') in Leuven and the *Steunpunt Diversiteit en Leren* (SDL; 'Center of Diversity and Learning') in Ghent. The language use and language perceptions of Dutch-speaking pupils are also covered, as pupils' language repertoires are the focal point in Van Lancker's PhD project (see for instance Van Lancker 2016), but when it comes to Flemish teachers, research has been rather scarce. The research presented in this dissertation aims to show how Flemish teachers discursively make sense of the policy-practice gap in their opinions on spoken Standard Dutch. In that respect, it should be noted once again that the *written* standard language norm, which is widely accepted and used among teachers and other language users, will not be the focus of this dissertation. It is striking, however, to see this notable difference in Flemings' attitudes towards the use of the standard in written vs. spoken situations.

The six research papers that follow these introductory chapters aim to give an answer to the following research questions, all pertaining to the policy-practice gap discussed earlier:

1. **Which perspective(s) on standard language use in the classroom is (are) presented in Flemish language-in-education policy?** In order to answer the two following research questions, it is important to first get a complex, detailed view of the different types of Flemish language-in-education policy, both on the macro (governmental) and meso (school) level, and how they represent the status of the (spoken) standard language norm and other types of language use in educational settings.
2. **How do Flemish primary and secondary school teachers perceive language-in-education policy, both on the macro and the meso level?** This second research question aims at gaining insight in both the teachers' knowledge of language-in-education policy at the governmental and the school level, and their perceptions vis-à-vis language policy at each of these levels. Do Flemish teachers feel that language policy is important? What do they know exactly about language policy, and do they agree on the policy's perspectives on the role of Standard Dutch in classroom settings?
3. **How do Flemish teachers discursively make sense of the gap between monovarietal language-in-education policy and multivarietal linguistic practice?** This final (and arguably most important) research question focuses on the ways in which teachers discursively bridge the policy-practice gap. How do teachers combine their societal role as standard language authorities with their use of non-standard language features? Which role does (non-)standard language use play in the discursive construction of teacher identities? Drawing on sociolinguistic interviews (see the next chapter), this dissertation is an attempt to analyze teachers' language perceptions of spoken Standard Dutch, and how they try to meet the (often vague and contradictory, see Chapter 4) demands of the government (macro

level), without losing track of the expectations of both the school (meso level) and the pupils they teach (micro level).

In order to answer these three research questions, 82 teacher-informants from primary and secondary education were observed and interviewed. In the interviews, which will be the primary data source for this dissertation (see the next chapter), the informants were asked to discuss several topics pertaining to language use and language policy: the (expected) language use of their pupils, the importance adhered to language use in their own (teacher) training, their knowledge of and vision on language-in-education policy at the macro and meso level, and their (expectations towards their) own language use. Following Chapter 2, which will offer an overview of the research methodology of my study, the six research papers in Chapters 3 to 8 will mostly draw on these interview data, and the teachers' *reported* perceptions (cf. Niedzielski and Preston 2000, 2007; Preston 2010) on classroom (standard) language use. The model introduced in Figure 1 will serve as a framework, connecting all of the research papers. In the model, the three policy levels treated in this dissertation are represented: the macro level (with different types of overarching language-in-education policy, influenced by the policymakers' perceptions of societal needs, dominant language ideologies and language politics), the meso level (with the schools, who are expected to have language policies of their own), and the micro level (with the perceptions of individual teachers and pupils). At the beginning of each of the six research papers, this model will be replicated, with the relevant elements of discussion highlighted.

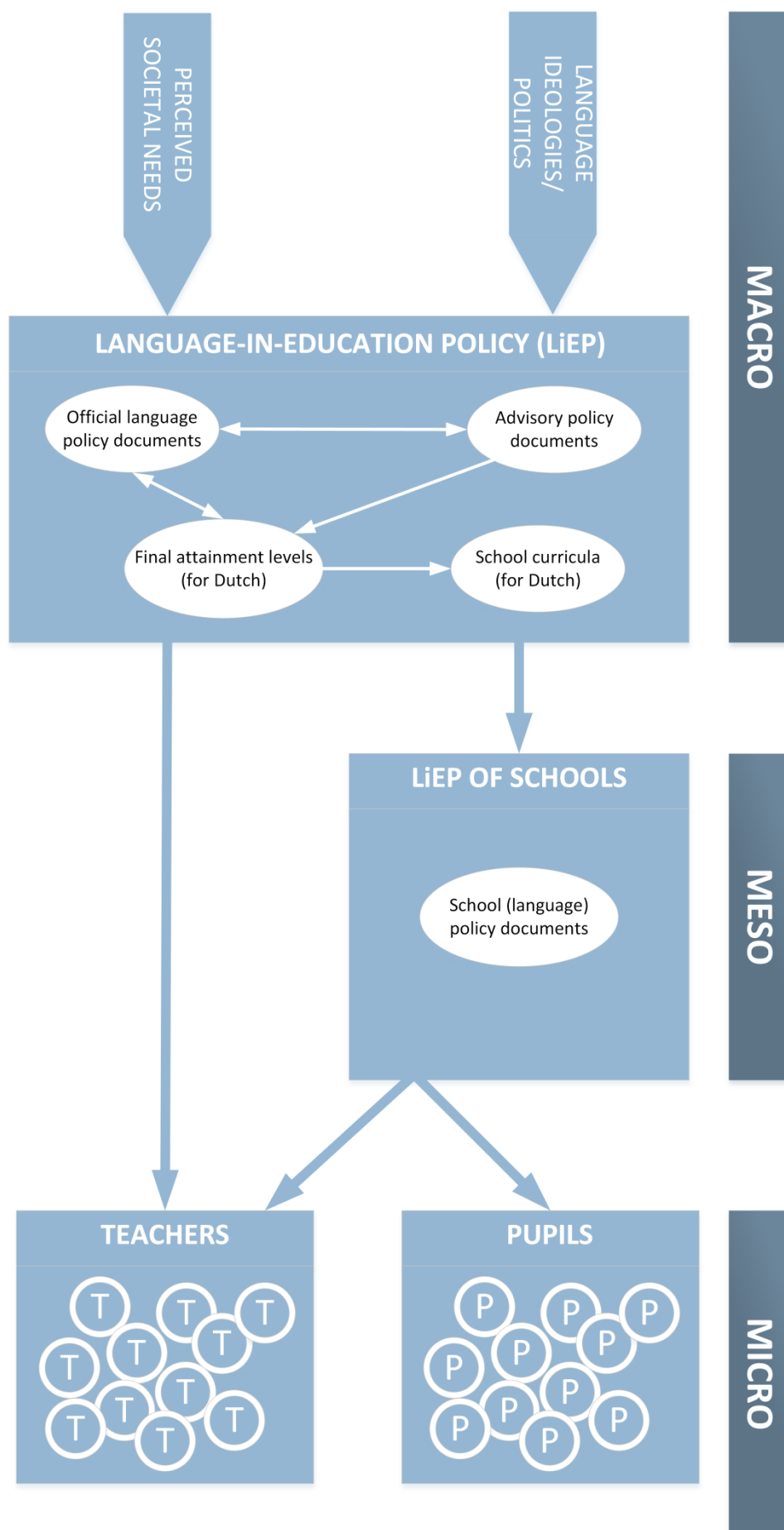


Figure 1: Schematic model of the different policy levels treated in this dissertation (macro, meso, micro)

Chapter 2

Research methodology

2.1 Introduction

In order to study language, Niedzielski and Preston (2007: 2) discern between three possible approaches: “what people say”, “conscious reactions to and comments on language”, and “unconscious reactions to language”. Roughly speaking, these three approaches could be equated to *production*, *perception* and *attitude*, respectively. Niedzielski and Preston (2007) present those three approaches in a triangular form (see Figure 2), with language production at the top, and perception and attitude as the two poles of a continuum. That continuum already indicates that it is difficult to distinctively separate conscious, overt reactions to language from unconscious, covert responses. Moreover, the triangle indicates that the three approaches cannot be looked at in isolation, but can only exist in interaction with each other. For instance, language perceptions and attitudes can influence language production, and perceptions often play a role in the formation of attitudes (Giles et al. 1991; Thomas 2002). As this study discusses the (standard) language perceptions of Flemish teachers, I first want to discuss what a (*language*) *perception* actually is, and how it could be differentiated from an *attitude*. Afterwards, I will elaborate on the methodological choices I made for this PhD study, discussing the informant selection, the data collection methods and the analysis techniques.

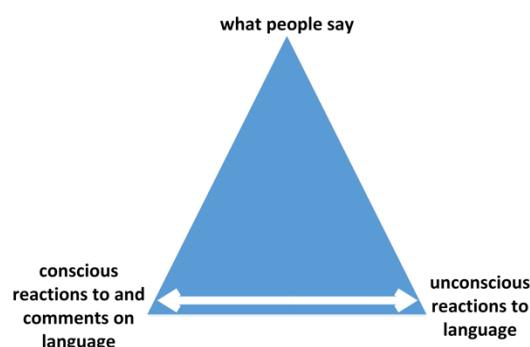


Figure 2: Three approaches to the study of language (Niedzielski and Preston 2007: 2)

2.1.1 Perceptions and attitudes

In the (socio)linguistic literature, the terms *perception* and *attitude* can bear various meanings, which means that it is rather difficult to make a sharp distinction between both concepts. In his handbook on perceptual dialectology, Preston (1989: 1-2) points out that while there has been ample research on speakers' *covert* reactions to language use, using for instance the matched guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960), dialectologists and sociolinguists have not focused on the ordinary speaker's *overt* perception of language variation. For Preston, perception can be understood in two ways. On a microlinguistic level, perceptions are related to specific features, and how different phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic variants are processed and categorized by speakers (cf. Preston 1989: 2; Lybaert 2014a: 24-25). On a macrolinguistic (or "ethnographic") level, perceptions are "the ordinary speaker's understandings of language variation" (1989: 2), which help to gain insight in the "taxonomy of language variation categories" (ibid.) of speakers:

What social characteristics are overtly regarded by a speaker as supporting linguistic differences? Where does an ordinary speaker believe language differences exist geographically? What do such speakers believe about the etiology and relative values of language varieties? (Preston 1989: 2)

Gaining insight in the speakers' process of mental categorization or "mental mapping" (Edwards 1999: 108) is crucial to understand how language attitudes take shape, and – for this study – how teachers assess the role/importance of the standard language variety in classroom and school contexts. Following Knops (1987), an attitude can be defined as "a position, an inclination or a sentiment towards a social object, that determines one's reactions to that object, or in any case "colors" or influences them" (1987: 20, my translation). The simplicity of that definition, however, surpasses the complexity and versatility of the concept²¹, as well as the discussion between so-called 'mentalists' and 'behaviorists' (Agheysi and Fishman 1970) about the relationship between attitudes and language production. From a behaviorist point of view, attitudes can simply be deduced from linguistic behavior: "there wouldn't be much point in studying attitudes if they were not, by and large, predictive of behaviour" (Gass and Seiter 1999: 41). Many linguists, however, doubt the idea that attitudes and behavior coincide, instead supporting the mentalist view that an attitude is a rather hypothetical construct, which cannot be observed directly but could be deduced from observable responses to stimuli (cf. Van der Pligt and de Vries 1995: 13). In that sense, Allport (1935: 45) defines an attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or

²¹ For example, a widespread (yet widely debated) view on attitudes is that they consist of three components, i.e. a cognitive, an affective and a behavioral (or conative) component (Garrett 2010: 23): they contain or comprise beliefs about (objects in) the world (= cognitive), involve feelings about those objects (= affective) and determine – at least partly – how people act in certain ways (= behavioral).

dynamic influence upon the individual's responses to attitude objects or situations with which it is related".

Because of the rather troubled conceptualization of attitudes, and the difficulty in directly eliciting attitudes, in this dissertation only the term 'perception(s)' is used, in Preston's (1989: 2) sense of overt reactions to language variation. As my study primarily focuses on what teacher-informants *report* when it comes to their (views on) language use, the overt nature of 'perception' seems to match this study better than 'attitude', which can entail both explicit and implicit attitudes (cf. Wittenbrink and Schwarz 2007; Pantos and Perkins 2013). Despite this seemingly clear-cut choice of terminology, however, it is important to stress once again that it is very difficult – if not impossible – to distinguish 'perceptions' from 'attitudes'.

2.1.2 On the choice for a perceptual study

Originally, my PhD project was conceived as a combination of a production and a perception study, combining participant observation and sociolinguistic interviews (cf. *infra*). The rationale behind this combination was that it could offer insight in both the actual language use of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, as well as the language perceptions of those teachers vis-à-vis their own language use, language policy and the usefulness or importance of the Standard Dutch norm in school settings. As the next two parts of this dissertation will try to show, the perceptual part of the study yielded very interesting results, whereas the production part mostly seemed to confirm the results of earlier studies into the language use of Flemish teachers (or other groups of professional language users). The studies discussed in the previous chapter (see section 1.2.3) already indicated that non-standard language use is widespread in classroom contexts, and that teachers are fervent code-switchers and code-mixers, continuously (yet mostly unconsciously) altering the number of standard, dialect and non-standard/non-dialect (i.e. Tussentaal) features in their speech. Initially, the conclusions of these studies were meant to serve as hypotheses for the language production part of this PhD study. It eventually became clear, however, that this study would only yield similar results, confirming the results of previous studies, whereas other aspects of the research project seemed to offer more promising and insightful perspectives. It should be stressed that this does not mean that research into language production would no longer be interesting²², compared to perceptual or evaluative research paradigms. For instance, a more finegrained analysis of teachers' code-switches in classroom speech (cf. Levine 2011) could offer interesting

²² In one of the research papers in this dissertation (Chapter 5), teachers' language production does receive ample treatment. However, their language use is discussed from a different angle there, viz. from a comparative perspective (vis-à-vis the language use of highly educated professionals, such as doctors or lawyers).

insights: to what extent do teachers alter their language use in the classroom, and why? What ‘triggers’ these choices?

These admittedly interesting research questions eventually did not make it into my dissertation, because of the design of my study. My research methodology quickly appeared to be ill-suited to gain more insight in the specific nature of (intralingual) variation in classroom settings, beyond the rough estimate offered by 'Tussentaal indices': with only one classroom observation and a subsequent interview (cf. *infra*), there is simply not enough time to gain full(er) access to the world of the teacher. In that respect, an ethnographic study, with a smaller group of informants and more time for the researcher to get access to the mental world of the teacher-informants, would be a more appropriate methodological choice.

In contrast, the research design *did* seem to provide interesting results with regard to teachers' perceptions of spoken (standard) language in classroom settings, which explains why the perceptual part of the study eventually became the core of this dissertation. Situated somewhere between an in-depth ethnographic study and a large-scale quantitative study drawing on questionnaires, this research project with 82 teacher-informants could (or should) be seen as exploratory yet thorough. Although spending roughly two hours with every informant is unquestionably insufficient to get a full picture of the linguistic environment of teachers, the use of interviews does allow us to get a profound insight in teachers' language perceptions, in ways that questionnaires cannot. Simultaneously, the number of informants is sufficiently high to provide an overview of teachers' perceptions that could potentially be generalized for the whole of Flanders, although it is of course difficult – if not impossible, at this point – to provide evidence for this claim. Hopefully, this PhD study can instigate further research in ways that are either more qualitative (an in-depth ethnographic study) or more quantitative (a large-scale questionnaire study), using the results presented in the research papers in the next two parts as a starting point.

Before the discussion of the research project's results, however, this chapter wants to give an overview of the methodological choices that were made, reviewing the different steps in the execution of the study. Section 2.2 discusses the data collection, including the informant selection, the four types of data that were collected and the choice to use sociolinguistic interviews for this study. Section 2.3 reviews the data analysis stage for each of the different types of data that were collected.

2.2 Data collection

2.2.1 Informant selection

In total, 82 primary and secondary school teachers took part in this study. Table 1 gives an overview of these teacher-informants²³, and how they can be categorized using the parameters *region*, *city*, *teacher group* and *school subject*. All of these parameters will be discussed in the following subsections.

Table 1: Overview of the informant selection variables

Region	City	Teacher group	School subject	# informants
West Flanders	Bruges (<i>Brugge</i>)	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
	Ypres (<i>Ieper</i>)	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
East Flanders	Ghent (<i>Gent</i>)	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	3
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	3
	Eeklo	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
Antwerp	Antwerp (<i>Antwerpen</i>)	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
	Turnhout	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
Flemish Brabant	Leuven	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
	Vilvoorde	Primary – 6th class	--	2

²³ A full overview of the teacher-informants can be found in Appendix 1.

Limburg		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
	Hasselt	Primary – 6th class	--	0
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	4
	Beringen	Primary – 6th class	--	2
		Secondary – 3rd grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2
		Secondary – 6th grade ASO	Dutch	1
			Other subjects	2

2.2.1.1 Selection of regions and cities

In order to ensure a sufficient spread of the informants over the whole of Flanders, the five Flemish provinces were used as a first selection variable. For a production study, this variable would be ill-suited, as the boundaries of the Flemish dialect areas do not (always) follow those of the Flemish provinces, but as dialect differences are not topicalized in this perceptual study, the use of provinces as a parameter did not seem to present any problems. In each province, two cities were selected: the province capitals (Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven and Hasselt), as well as five smaller regional cities of about 20,000 to 40,000 inhabitants (Ypres, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde and Beringen), which attract people from the surrounding communities for school, work, shopping or leisure activities. Cities were only eligible for participation if they had at least one catholic primary school, as well as a catholic secondary school offering ASO, i.e. general secondary education (see 2.2.1.2 *infra*). From that perspective, the selection of participating schools influenced the selection of cities to some extent. For instance, Oudenaarde – the first choice for the East Flemish regional city – was replaced by Eeklo, because the catholic secondary school from Oudenaarde did not wish to take part in the study. Figure 3 shows the ten cities included in this study.

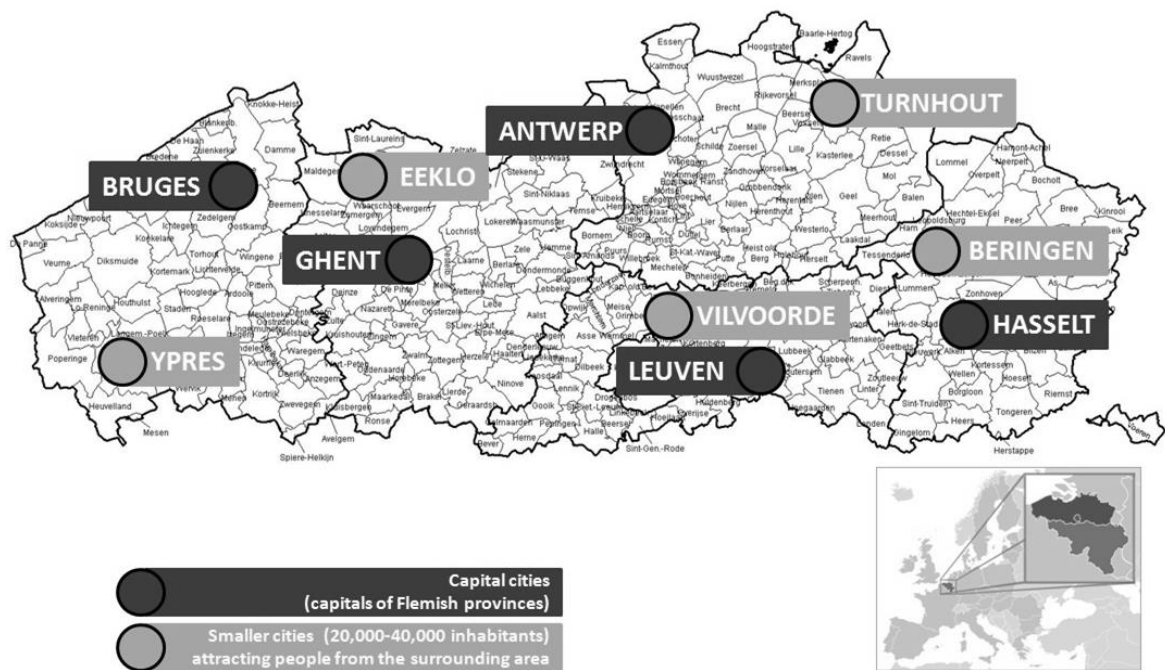


Figure 3: Map of Flanders, showing the ten cities included in the study

2.2.1.2 Selection of schools

For each of the ten cities included in the study, a list of all catholic primary and secondary schools was drawn up. Only catholic schools were selected, in order to rule out potential (policy) differences between schools from different educational networks. Even though earlier studies have not shown any significant differences between (the quality of) education offered by catholic schools and state schools (see for instance Van Houtte 2003 on academic achievement; Van Houtte 2004 on social capital; Devos and Van Vooren on grammatical knowledge), the school network factor was held constant, to avoid the possibility that there might be an influence on the teachers' language use and/or language perceptions. As most schools in Flanders are catholic schools²⁴, that choice left us with a larger pool of eligible schools for this study (compared to, for instance, state schools).

Apart from the educational network, education form was also a factor in the selection of schools: only catholic schools that offered ASO (*Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*), the Flemish type of 'general secondary education', could be selected for this study – as opposed to TSO (*Technisch Secundair Onderwijs*, 'technical secondary education'), BSO

²⁴ According to the most recent figures of the Department of Education and Training, 61% of the Flemish (regular) primary schools are VGO schools (*vrij gesubsidieerd onderwijs*; subsidized private education), the bulk of which are catholic schools. For secondary education, 70,3% of regular full-time secondary schools are VGO schools, comprising 74,2% of all secondary school pupils (<http://www.vlaanderen.be/nl/publicaties/detail/flemish-education-in-figures-2014-2015>, retrieved 9 December 2015).

(*Beroepssecundair Onderwijs*, ‘vocational secondary education’) and KSO (*Kunstsecundair Onderwijs*, ‘art secondary education’). There are three reasons for the restriction to general secondary education. First, this choice is based on the assumption that ASO teachers would be the most ‘standard speaking’ of the Flemish teachers, as they are expected to prepare pupils for higher education and subsequent ‘white-collar jobs’ (Jaspers 2012). Second, earlier research by Vancompernelle (2012) has shown that pupils in technical and vocational tracks seem to attribute considerably less value to the standard norm, assessing Tussentaal and dialect as equally appropriate classroom varieties – in contrast to pupils from general secondary education, who appear to have strong positive attitudes towards the standard (also see Chapter 7). By selecting ASO teachers, I wanted to see whether and to what extent teachers respond to these attitudes and subsequent expectations from pupils. Third, only the current final attainment levels (*eindtermen*) for ASO explicitly state that pupils have to be proficient in Standard Dutch in certain (more formal) situations; in other education types, pupils are only asked to be *willing* to speak the standard in certain situations, or no reference to Standard Dutch is made at all (Delarue 2011; also see Chapter 4).

A third and final factor in the selection of schools was the number of multilingual pupils. Drawing on figures from the Department of Education and Training from 2012, the initial goal was to only select primary schools with less than 15% of pupils with a home language other than Dutch, and only secondary schools with less than 5% of pupils with another home language. Originally, this measure was taken with a view to the production part of the study, which wanted to focus maximally on intralingual variation, rather than interlingual variation. Because of the shift towards a perceptual study, this factor became less imperative, but even in the interviews, it helped to focus more specifically on intralingual variation (i.e. the standard language variety vis-à-vis other varieties of Dutch), rather than other languages. Eventually, however, these limits could not be fully respected: even though catholic schools offering general secondary education seem to serve as a “natural” selection mechanism²⁵, a few schools in this study have higher numbers of multilingual pupils. Especially in Vilvoorde, Leuven and Antwerp, it turned out to be rather difficult – if not impossible – to find schools that stayed under the 15% (primary) or 5% (secondary) limit.²⁶

Based on these three criteria (catholic schools offering general secondary education, with a low number of pupils with a home language other than Dutch), the principals of

²⁵ In the sense that pupils who do not have Dutch as a home language tend to end up in technical and vocational tracks, often because of their lower SES (socio-economic status).

²⁶ For the primary schools, the 15% limit was exceeded in 5 of the 11 participating schools: Antwerp (23,2%), Beringen (29%), one of the two schools in Leuven (26%), and both schools in Vilvoorde (34,3% and 61,4%). With regard to secondary schools, 2 of the 10 participating schools exceeded the 5% limit: Vilvoorde (12,1%) and Antwerp (24,4%).

eligible schools were contacted with the question if they were interested in taking part in a sociolinguistic study on “the interaction between language use and language policy with respect to pupils and teachers in Flemish primary and secondary schools” (my translation).²⁷ Eventually, 21 schools complied with the request: 10 secondary schools (one in each of the ten cities in the study), and 11 primary schools (one in each of the ten cities, with the exception of Hasselt, where none of the catholic primary schools were willing to participate, and Leuven and Vilvoorde, where two schools participated²⁸).

2.2.1.3 Selection of teacher-informants

Following the principal’s approval, there were two possible scenarios. In most cases, the principal selected a number of teachers, and provided me with a list of names and email addresses. However, the precise selection criteria seemed to differ from principal to principal: some of the teacher-informants told me they were hand-picked by the principal because of their “proper language use” (my translation), whereas others just responded to an invitation to participate. In three of the (secondary) schools, the principal sent me the contact information of all staff members, and asked me to send out an open call for participants myself.

The teachers were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate²⁹; there were no specific requirements as to gender, age, region of birth or current residence. For instance, it made no sense to aim for a gender-balanced sample with 50% male and 50% female teachers, as the most recent figures of the Department of Education and Training indicate that over 75% of the Flemish teaching staff in primary and secondary schools is female (Department of Education and Training 2015c: 5). 59% of the teacher-informants in my corpus are female (n=48), and 41% are male (n=34). However, the graphs in Figure 4 show that there are substantial gender differences between the three groups of teachers (cf. *infra*) in our study: from a preponderance of women over men (3rd grade ASO) over a 50/50 gender balance (6th class primary school) to even a small numerical majority of male teachers (6th grade ASO).

²⁷ The original Dutch phrasing was the following: “*de wisselwerking tussen taalgebruik en taalbeleid bij leerlingen en leerkrachten in Vlaamse lagere en secundaire scholen*”.

²⁸ In the case of Vilvoorde, both schools only had one group of sixth class pupils, as a result of which two schools were needed to obtain the desired two primary school teachers. In Leuven, both schools had two (or even three) groups of sixth class pupils, but in each case, only one of the sixth class teachers was willing to participate in the study.

²⁹ It should be noted that the dependence of the sample on the willingness of teachers to participate could be a possibly confounding factor in both the research and the conclusions which are drawn from it. Although their willingness to contribute to this study may indicate that the participating teachers have strong opinions in favor of, or against Tussentaal or other varieties of Dutch – opinions which could be different from those of the average Flemish teacher – I found no evidence in the interviews that this was indeed the case.

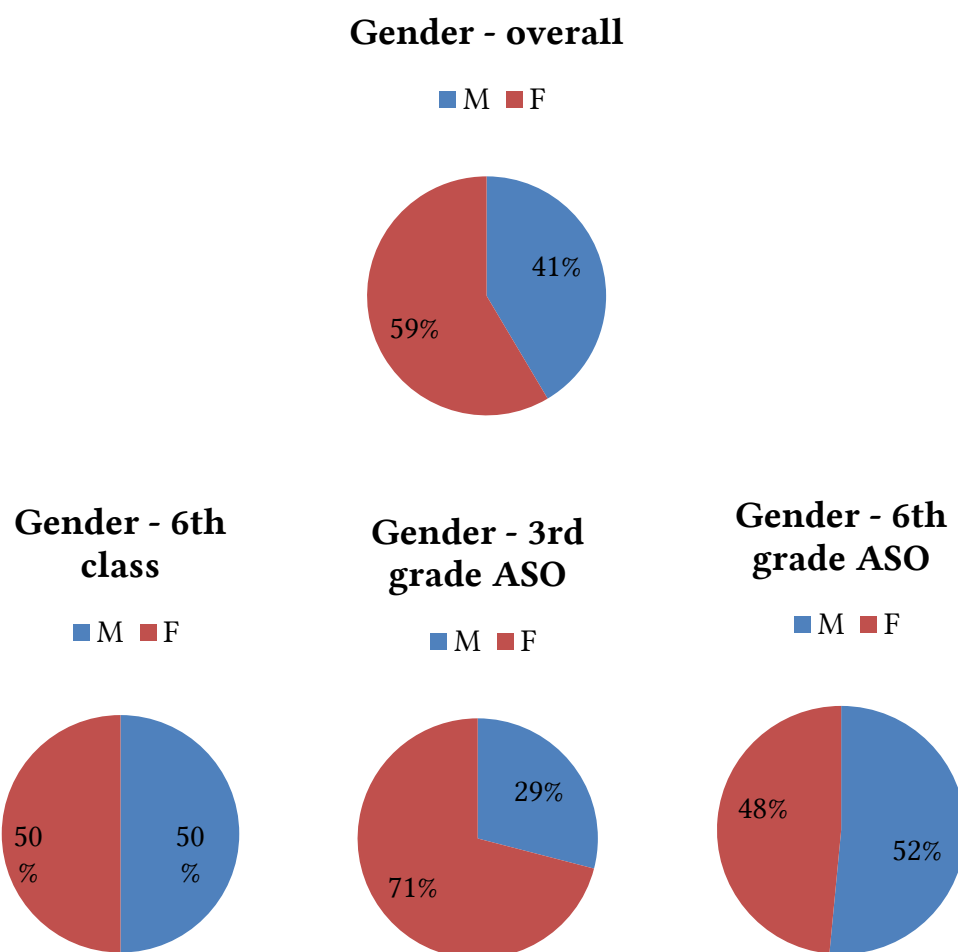


Figure 4: Gender distribution in the research sample

It is unclear why the strong feminization of the Flemish teaching staff is not (or only slightly) reflected in our sample. A possible explanation could be that male teachers can be convinced more easily to take part in (linguistic) research, whereas female teachers tend to refrain from having classroom visitors.

Another variable that was not controlled for in the informant selection was the age of the teachers. Even though age appears to have some influence on teachers' (standard) language perceptions (see for instance Delarue 2015c for an exploratory discussion of the possible connection between teachers' language perceptions and the attention given to Standard Dutch in their teacher training program³⁰; also see Chapter 5), the addition of

³⁰ This factor is connected to age because the attention given to correct (standard) language in teacher training programs seems to vary from generation to generation: the older teachers in my study (born in the 1950s, trained as teachers in the 1970s and earlier 1980s) had a rather limited training program, but they were raised in a period of hyperstandardization (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012), with substantial attention to correct (i.e. standard)

this variable would have made the design of my study too complex. In spite of the quite random selection, the informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different age groups, ranging from 23 to 60 years old. The graphs below (Figure 5) offer an overview.

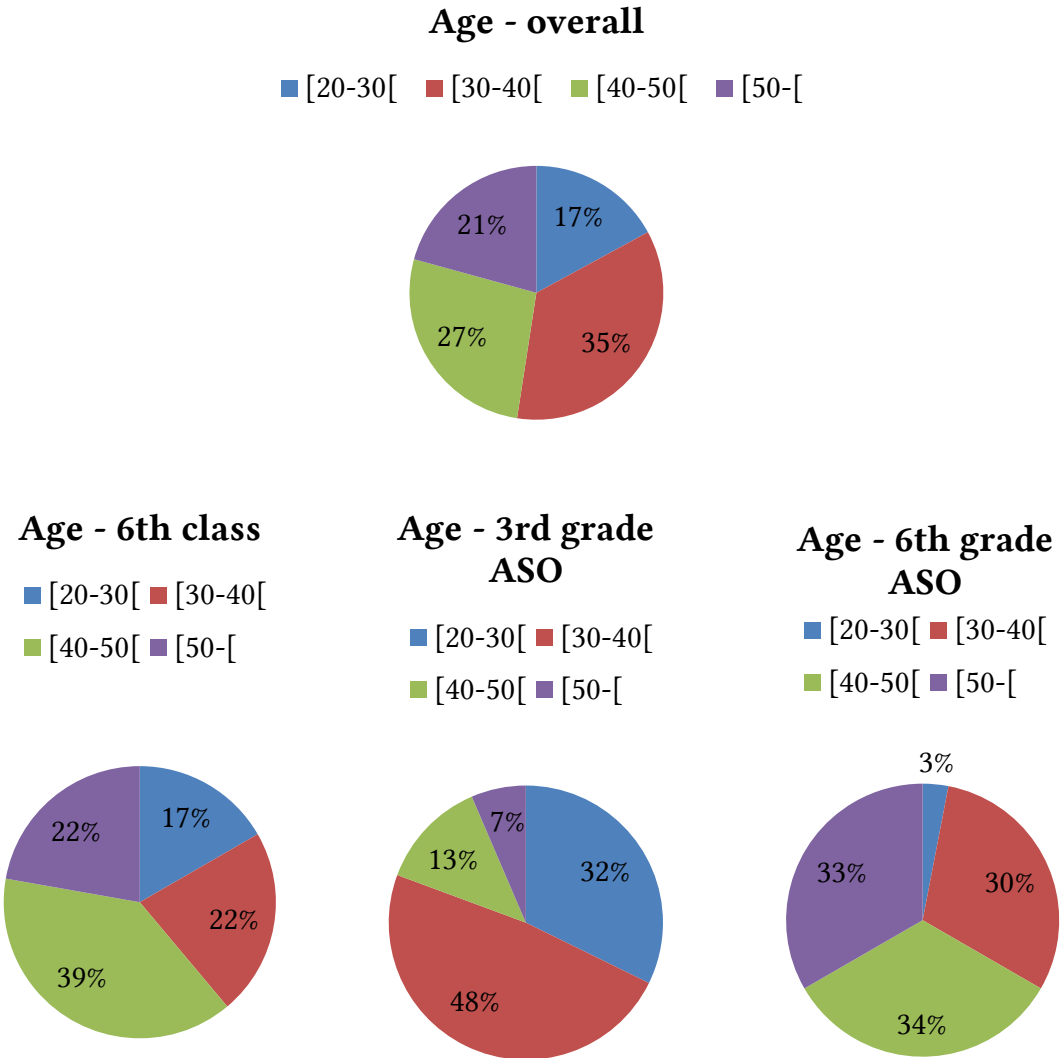


Figure 5: Age distribution in the research sample

As was mentioned earlier, the teachers’ place of birth or current residence were not used as criteria either. Only the location of the school (see 2.2.2.1) was used as a selection criterion, but as Figure 6 reveals, the teacher-informants can originate from literally

language use. Therefore, there is a possibility these teachers' language perceptions are – relatively speaking – more directed towards the Standard Dutch norm than those of younger teachers (cf. Delarue 2015c).

anywhere in Flanders. For the goals of this perceptual study, it was not necessary to build in any regional restrictions. Instead, the mobile and heterogeneous character of the informants' backgrounds was incorporated as a strong suit, as it seems to reflect the whole of the Flemish teaching staff.

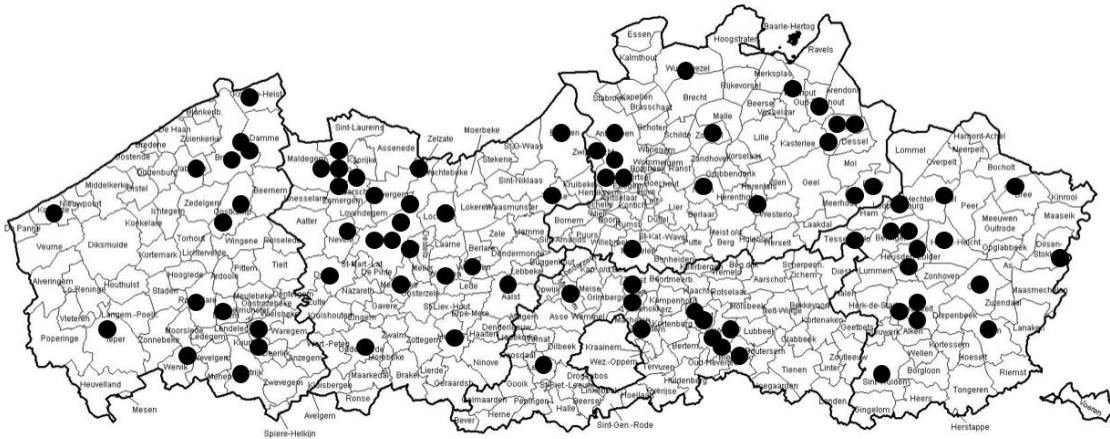


Figure 6: Map of Flanders, showing the informants' place of residence during their childhood

However, two other informant characteristics were controlled for during the informant selection. First, in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms³¹, a distinction was made between three groups, as is shown in Table 2 below. For each city, three groups of teachers were selected: teachers who taught the 6th class of primary school (2 per city), teachers who taught the 3rd grade of general secondary education (3 per city), and teachers who taught the 6th grade of general secondary education (3 per city). With ten cities in the study, that would have resulted in a 20-30-30 split, with 80 teacher-informants in total. However, as Table 2 indicates, the actual numbers are slightly different. In Hasselt, none of the primary catholic schools were willing to take part in this study. In order to compensate for this, 2 teachers of the 6th grade of ASO were additionally observed and interviewed, bringing the total number of informants for Hasselt back to 8. Moreover, in the participating secondary school from Ghent, 8 teachers were keen to take part in the study – more than the required 6. In recognition of this interest, all 8 of them (4 teachers from the 3rd grade, 4 from the 6th grade) were included in the study, bringing the number of teacher-informants from Ghent to 10 (cf. Table 1).

As Table 2 already shows, the subjects taught by the informants were also a selection criterion. For each city, one of the 3rd and one of the 6th grade ASO teachers in the sample needed to be a teacher of Dutch, because of their rather privileged status in this study on

³¹ As the focus of this study has shifted from a production-oriented study to a perceptual one, this variable has become less crucial. However, the presence of three distinct teacher groups, each with their own views and expectations vis-à-vis pupils, also offered interesting perspectives regarding (standard) language perceptions.

teachers' (standard) language perceptions. The other teachers could be teachers of any school subject, except modern languages (such as English, French, German or Spanish), or subjects that are not taught in a classroom setting (such as Physical Education). Figure 7 gives an overview of all of the subjects present in the corpus of classroom observations. Apart from Dutch as a school subject (n=20), there is also a substantial group of 'social science' subjects, including history, religion, economics, behavioral and cultural sciences (n=18). A third group encompasses the science subjects, including mathematics, geography, biology, physics, chemistry and computer science (n=19). Finally, the classical languages Latin and Greek can be seen as a fourth group of subjects (n=7).

Table 2: The three groups of teachers included in this study

School type	Age groups	Number of teachers
Primary school	6th class (pupils of 11-12 years old)	18 teachers
Secondary school	3rd grade ASO (pupils of 14-15 years old)	31 teachers (10 teachers of Dutch, and 21 of other school subjects)
Secondary school	6th grade ASO (pupils of 17-18 years old)	33 teachers (10 teachers of Dutch, and 23 of other school subjects)

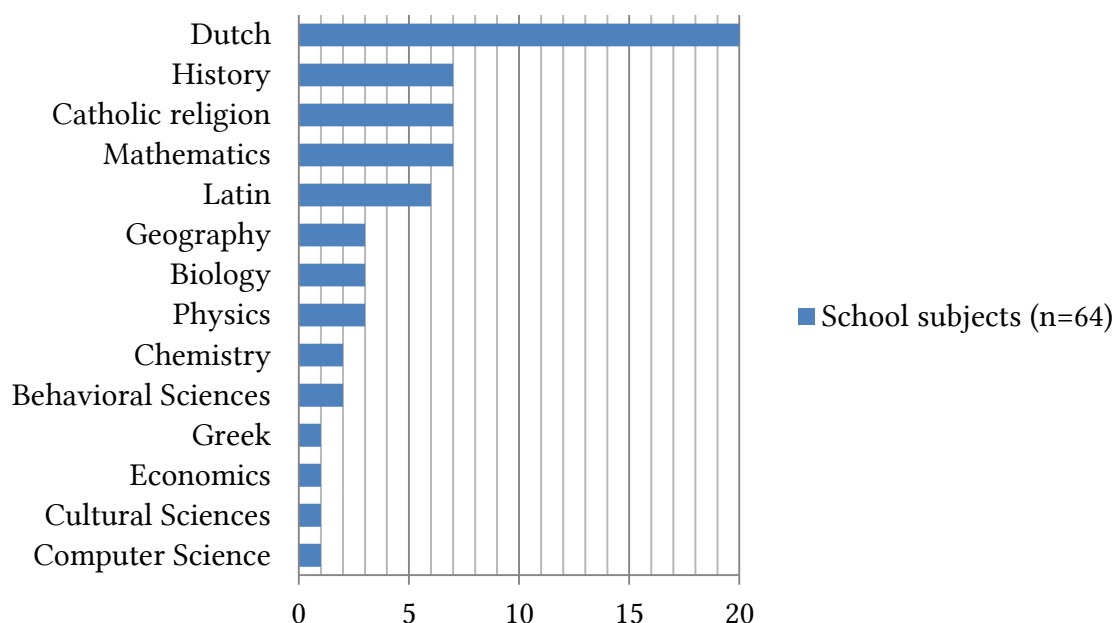


Figure 7: Overview of the school subjects taught by the informants in this study

In total, 82 teachers expressed their willingness to take part in this perceptual study. After receiving and signing an information document, allowing the use of the collected data for scientific research (see Appendix 3), appointments were made for the classroom observation and the interview (cf. *infra*). The next subsection reviews the research design, discussing the different types of data which were collected, as well as the pilot study that was conducted beforehand.

2.2.2 Research design

2.2.2.1 Four types of data

For each of the 82 teacher-informants, four types of data were collected. First, a **classroom observation** was carried out, attending one lesson per teacher. These lessons, which typically lasted around 50 minutes in secondary schools, and around 90 minutes³² in primary schools, were audio-recorded using two small digital voice recorders. One of the recorders was placed in the front of the classroom, on the teacher's desk, whereas the other one was on my desk. Usually, I sat somewhere in the back of the classroom, behind or next to the pupils, in order to attract not too much attention. In that way, I tried to (largely) overcome Labov's *observer's paradox*, the suggestion that the more aware a respondent is that his or her language behavior is being observed, the less likely it is that that behavior will be natural: "To obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed" (1972: 113). To reach this level of "normal", non-observed language use, the participants were additionally told that the focus of the study was on the pupils' language use (instead of their own, what would have been closer to the truth).³³ Using participant observation (Merriam 1998), I was able to collect invaluable types of information: apart from their classroom speech, I also gained insight in their pedagogical methods, their interaction with the pupils (and how the pupils interact among each other), their non-verbal expressions and body language, and so on. This information was very helpful during the analysis of the interviews (cf. *infra*), as it counterbalanced the teachers' perceptions and the rendition they gave of their classroom activities. As "the goal (...) of research using participant observation as a method is to develop a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible given the limitations of the method" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002: 92), participant observation can be used as a way to increase the validity of the study. Moreover, the observations helped to get a feeling of how things are organized and prioritized in the classroom, and provided me with a number of questions or topics that could be discussed with the participants during the subsequent interview.

Everything that could not be captured in the audio recording, was written down in **fieldnotes** (the second type of data): a description of the classroom, the number of pupils and where they were sitting, teaching styles, the interaction with the pupils and the

³² Because Flemish primary school pupils generally have the same teacher for all (or at least most) school subjects and nearly always stay in the classroom, the researcher was not able to leave the classroom in between the lessons. Therefore, the recordings in primary schools typically lasted 'from break to break', often encompassing multiple subjects/lessons.

³³ However, after the pilot study (cf. *infra*) showed that some of the informants altered their lesson contents to help me obtain more recordings of pupils' speech – for instance by organizing rounds of presentations – all of the teachers in the actual study were asked *not* to change their lesson topics in order to cater to my needs.

researcher, blackboard diagrams, etcetera. The fieldnotes also report on the non-recorded encounters, for instance before or after classroom observations, or in the teacher's lounge.

Third, **sociolinguistic interviews** were conducted, always *after* the classroom observations. The six research papers in the following chapters draw mostly on these interview data; therefore, subsection 2.2.3 will discuss these interviews in more detail. The interviews were semi-structured: using a prefabricated (and pretested, see the next paragraph) list of questions, various topics were discussed during the interviews. However, there was often room for some 'improvisation', both from the side of the interviewer (inspired by what happened earlier during the classroom observation) and from the side of the teacher-participant (who was encouraged to go into more detail about topics he or she found interesting). Because of this fairly open approach, the interviews varied in length, ranging from 24 to 61 minutes. All of the interviews were transcribed orthographically using the PRAAT software (Boersma and Weenink 2015); the transcription protocol can be found in the Appendices. Afterwards, all of the interview transcripts were collated in a text corpus, ready to be coded and analyzed (see 2.3 *infra*).

Lastly, all of the teachers were also asked to fill in a **questionnaire** following the interview (see Appendix 6), in which they were asked to rate a number of statements regarding their own and their pupils' language use on a continuum scale, ranging from Standard Dutch ('ST') to dialect ('DIA'). For example, teachers were asked to indicate what language they would like to use in classroom contexts while teaching, or what language use they expect from pupils in different situations (e.g. when addressing a teacher, during in-class group work, or on field trips). However, the statistical analysis of these questionnaires did not yield any significant results, probably because of the fairly low number of participants and the rather non-fixed character of most of the teacher variables (age, region, etcetera). Therefore, the results of these questionnaires will not be further discussed in this dissertation.

In combination, these four types of data provide both qualitative and quantitative data, which helped to increase the validity of the study. Even though validity is a term typically associated with quantitative research, it can also be used with respect to qualitative studies, pointing out for instance the strength of reflecting what is purported to be measured or observed, i.e. its trustworthiness. As was already described in the introduction to this methodological chapter, this study shifted from being a production/perception project to a largely perceptual study. Therefore, the quantitative data will only be used in this dissertation if they offer valuable complementary perspectives to the analysis of the qualitative data, choosing instead a more qualitative, discursive approach. To some extent, this doctoral study can be regarded as an ethnographic one, in its focus on the micro aspects of teacher identity and how teachers' perceptions and identities are shaped discursively (see for instance Chapter 8) – aspects that are much harder to get hold of in a large-scale quantitative study (Denzin 1997; Miles and Huberman 1994). In their discussion of how identity can be analyzed in linguistic

interaction, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 591) challenge the idea that identity “is simply a collection of broad social categories (...) such as age, gender, and social class”. Variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1966) has been valuable for documenting large-scale sociolinguistic trends, but is generally less effective in capturing the more nuanced and flexible kinds of identity relations that arise in local contexts. For Bucholtz and Hall (ibid.), that analytic gap points out the importance of ethnography.

2.2.2.2 Additional data: policy documents

In addition to the four types of data that were collected on a micro level (i.e. in the classrooms themselves, on the level of the individual teacher), a small-scaled corpus of policy texts was compiled, in order to get more insight in what is expected from teachers when it comes to (standard) language use, and which arguments are being used to substantiate the policy’s viewpoints. On a macro level, the policy corpus comprises the governmental (language-in-)education policy documents of the three most recent Flemish Ministers of Education (Vandenbroucke 2007; Smet 2011; Crevits 2014), a number of advisory policy documents of the *Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren* (Council for the Dutch Language and Literature, RNTL) of the *Taalunie* (Language Union), the *eindtermen* or final attainment levels for Dutch, and the school curricula for Dutch of the various educational networks. The text corpus also includes the Flemish inspectorate’s evaluation reports for all of the 21 schools in this study, as well as the schools’ policy documents (vision statements, planning documents, etcetera), provided that the schools disposed of such documents and were willing to pass them on. All of these documents have proven to be very useful for the data analysis, as well as the discussion of the results, as will – hopefully – become clear in the next chapters.

2.2.2.3 Pilot study

Before the start of the actual data collection, a pilot study was conducted, in order to test the validity of the research design, as well as the feasibility of the data collection measures. The pilot study was also used to design a transcription protocol, and to lay the groundwork for the thematic analysis of the interviews. In total, 8 teachers took part in the pilot, which was conducted in the former secondary school of the author in Izegem (West Flanders). The classroom observations took place on 9 and 10 February 2012, and the interviews were conducted a week later, on 15 and 16 February 2012. Afterwards, all of the teachers were asked to provide feedback on both the observations and the interviews.

Based on both the feedback and the personal experiences of the researcher, three alterations were made to the research design. First, the structure of the interview was modified, in order to make the interview shorter and more open to the input of the teacher-informants. In the test interviews, it often seemed as if the interviewer controlled

the interview to a large extent, holding on quite strictly to the list of questions. In the 'actual' interviews, the use of a semi-structured list gives the informants substantially more room to voice their personal thoughts and opinions vis-à-vis (standard) language in classroom settings. Second, the order of the different topics discussed in the interviews was changed. In the pilot study, the interviewer dived right into the governmental language policy documents, often burdening the teacher-informants almost immediately with a feeling of discomfort. To make the teachers feel more at ease, the interview structure was changed, now starting off with a set of questions about the pupils' behavior in general, their language use and the teachers' linguistic expectations towards pupils. A positive side effect of this change was that it helped to sustain the 'guise': as all of the teachers were told beforehand that the study was on the language use of the pupils, in order to prevent the teachers from altering their language use too much, it made sense to start the interviews off with questions about the pupils as well. Third, a more practical measure was taken as well. During the pilot study, the recordings were made using a rather large and clumsy recording device, which always needed to be plugged in to work. As the size and the visibility continuously reminded the teachers and their pupils of my presence³⁴, smaller recording devices (one in the front of the classroom, and one in the back) were used, working on batteries.

2.2.3 A closer look at the interviews

As most of the analysis in the research papers following these introductory chapters will draw on the interviews conducted with the teacher-informants, the methodological choices made with regard to these interviews deserve particular attention. The number of studies in (applied) linguistics using interviews has increased substantially in recent years, and this study ties in with that development. By using interviews, studies have been able to address a rich array of topics, and have yielded important insights regarding participants' identities, experiences, beliefs and attitudes. However, Talmy (2010: 128-129) also points out the tendency to *overuse* interviewing, which has led to a profound inconsistency in how the interview has been and continues to be theorized. Researchers in linguistics engage only partially and variably with debates concerning their "ideologies of interviewing" (Briggs 2007b), while these debates have been taking place for quite some time now in other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and psychology. For Talmy (2010), there are two different orientations towards the interview: *the interview as a research instrument*, and *research interviews as social practice*.

³⁴ At one point during the pilot study, a teacher accidentally tripped and fell over the power cable of the recording device, which resulted in minute-long laughter (as well as a dent in the device). Obviously, these situations were not really helpful in overcoming the *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972).

The interview as a research instrument

In order to explain why the interview is so little theorized in qualitative applied linguistics research, Briggs (1986) points out the "ubiquity" of interviews in contemporary social life: "because the interview is an accepted speech event in our own (...) speech communities, we take for granted that we know what it is and what it produces" (1986: 2). According to Briggs (2007a), interviews are so attractive to researchers because they produce discourse "that seems to transform inner voices into public discourse by constructing particular types of subjectivity and inducing subjects to reveal their inner voices (attitudes, beliefs, experiences, etc.)" (2007a: 553-554). Interviews are then regarded as research instruments: they are theorized (often tacitly) as resources for investigating truths, facts, experience, beliefs, attitudes, and/or feelings of respondents (Talmy 2010: 131). In this view, language is a neutral medium that merely reflects or corresponds to objective or subjective reality. Interview data are 'reports' of respondents' lives or worldviews (cf. Heine et al. 2006), and interviews reveal what 'really' happened or what participants 'actually' felt during a certain situation.

Research interviews as social practice

The view on interviews as social practice shares some elements with the previous perspective: both share an interest in generating data for the purpose of analysis and answering research questions, and both are concerned with interview techniques. However, this second perspective problematizes the assumptions that constitute the previous view, and treat interviews *themselves* as topics for investigation (Talmy 2010: 131). This view on interviewing aligns with Holstein and Gubrium's (2003) concept of the "active interview", and they differentiate this from more conventional approaches by arguing that the latter privilege the *whats* of the interview, while in active interviews the focus is on both the *whats* and *hows*, i.e. both the content and the interactional and narrative ways in which knowledge is produced. Interviews need to be conceived as fundamentally social encounters, and not solely as a conduit for accessing information (Talmy 2010: 131).

In this study, the interviews are primarily used as resources to collect information, i.e. data that reveal the beliefs (perceptions) of self-disclosing respondents. However, interviews serve as more than solely vessels of information: interview data are produced collaboratively. Interviews (or rather interview transcripts) are often used in sociolinguistic research "as mines for appropriate quotations, presented as if the

interviewees were simply speaking their mind" (Lampropoulou and Myers 2012, also see Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). This idea that interviews solely 'give voice' to interviewees is somewhat problematic, as the role of the interviewer needs to be taken into account as well. Interviews should be seen as situated interactions between two people, in which the interviewer and the interviewee discursively coconstruct meaning (Briggs 1986, Mann 2011, Silverman 2004).

This interactional, balanced look at interviewing as a research method is reflected in the semi-structured character of the interviews discussed in this dissertation. Unlike the "active interview" (Holstein and Gubrium 2003), the questions asked to the teacher-informants were not fully open: the list of questions was arranged deliberately to elicit information that was as useful as possible, in order to answer the research questions discussed in the previous chapter. Fully structured interviews are the proper mode of choice when the interviewer knows what he or she does not know and can therefore come up with the appropriate questions to find it out, while the unstructured interview is the mode of choice when the interviewer does not know what he or she does not know and must therefore rely on the respondent to tell him or her (Powell and Connaway 2004: 193). In contrast to the structured (or standardized) interview, where a predefined set of questions is presented to the respondent with the researcher fully controlling the situation, the semi-structured interview contains a suggested list of questions and themes that are to be discussed (Kvale 1996).

During the interviews with the 82 teacher-informants, I always used Standard Dutch, admittedly with a light West-Flemish accent³⁵. As the interview transcriptions show, there was no accommodation towards the informants' language use, and I refrained from (consciously) using non-standard features. The interviews typically took place in a classroom, a consultation room or the principal's office (see Appendix 1 for an overview), and during the interviews, the recording material was clearly visible to the interviewees, who received no specific language instructions in advance. In the interviews, four key topics were addressed (the full question lists can be found in Appendix 5):

1. **The pupils and their language use.** As the teachers were told beforehand that the research focuses on pupils' language use (cf. *supra*), it made sense to start the interviews off with a number of questions about the pupils' behavior in general, an assessment of their motivation and their competencies, their language use and the teachers' linguistic expectations towards pupils. By starting with a set of questions regarding the pupils, it was also possible to sustain the interview 'guise', letting the informants believe as long as possible that the research focus was

³⁵ However, only one of the 82 teacher-informants commented on this recognizable accent, using it to support her statement that having a clearly audible accent is not problematic for teachers, as long as their language use remains intelligible.

indeed the pupils' language use. Another advantage was that this first part helped teachers feel more at ease in the beginning of the interview, as they seemed to feel more relaxed answering questions that were not about themselves.

2. **The education and teacher training of the teacher.** All teachers in the study received some form of teacher training (albeit with large differences in both scope and duration). In the second part of the interviews, the teacher-informants discussed the content of this teacher training program, whether it included Dutch language courses or not, and if yes, which topics these courses covered. By gaining insight in how much attention was given to language proficiency in Standard Dutch during the teachers' training, it is possible to find out whether this (explicit) attention has had an influence on teachers' actual classroom language use, or on their perceptions of (standard) language use.
3. **The knowledge of and views on language-in-education policy.** In the third part of the interviews, the teachers were asked to sketch out their vision on language-in-education policy, both on the macro (i.e. governmental) level and on the meso (i.e. school) level. Concerning the macro level, they were asked about the governmental language-in-education policy documents of the former Flemish Ministers of Education Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) and Pascal Smet (2011), the importance of a macro-level policy and the need to speak Standard Dutch in school settings. On the meso level, the teachers were asked whether they knew the school's language policy (provided that the school had one) and, if yes, how this language policy was organized and implemented (e.g. specific campaigns or activities for the pupils, working groups for interested teachers, extra courses for teachers). In both cases, the teachers were explicitly asked to discuss policy from their own personal perspective: whether they think language policy is important in school settings, and how they can relate this to their own day-to-day teaching experience.
4. **The personal linguistic background and the language-related expectations teachers hold towards themselves and other teachers.** The final part of the interview was reserved for the more 'difficult' questions, about the teachers themselves. By saving these questions for last, the informants were given the opportunity to get more familiar and at ease with the interview setting first, before they were asked to answer self-monitoring questions regarding their speech. This also gave them the chance to construct their own discourse pertaining to (standard) language use in classroom settings (by discussing their pupils' language use and the (un)importance of language policy), before they were asked to comment on their own speech both inside and outside of the classroom (e.g. with other teachers, on field trips, with parents, with the principal, with pupils outside of the school, etcetera), their perceptions of the language use of their colleagues and whether they saw differences in language use between older

and younger teachers, or between teachers of Dutch and teachers of other subjects. Lastly, they were also asked about the usefulness of non-standard language use (i.e. Tussentaal or dialect) in classroom settings. The interview ended with a number of questions about personal details: age, place of birth, current residence, etcetera. This information was used for the data analysis, but also to compose a personal 'index card' for each of the informants, containing all of that information (see Appendix 1).

Because of their explicitly interactive nature, interviews are somewhat constrained as a technique for qualitative research. It is crucial to take this interaction into account in the research design, understanding what can and cannot be elicited by this method. In this study, these limitations have been kept in mind at all times, both during the informant selection, the compilation of the interview question list and the analysis of the interview data. However, even if the phases of data collection and analysis are meticulously prepared and executed, the use of interview data in perceptual studies is subject to potential weaknesses. For instance, Jaspers (2015b) signals that the use of teachers' responses to interview questions provides the interviewer with an idealized image of the mostly chaotic and inconsistent nature of classroom practice, which means these responses do not offer a true-to-life reflection of how these teachers actually behave linguistically in the classroom. Fortunately, the design of this study makes it possible to surpass this problem: for each of the teacher-informants, I dispose of lesson recordings and fieldnotes, enabling me to check (if needed) if and how the statements expressed in the interviews relate to the classroom reality. As such, the use of interview data – and a qualitative approach in general – is without a doubt an appropriate research method to study teacher perceptions.

2.3 Data analysis

After all of the data were collected and transcribed, the data were analyzed. As the interview data are extensively used in this dissertation, more than any of the other types of data gathered for my study, this paragraph will especially focus on the approach used to analyze these interviews, i.e. thematic analysis. First, however, two other types of analysis (i.e. content analysis of the policy documents, and statistical analysis of teachers' language use and perceptions) will be discussed, but only briefly, as they do not play a large role in the research papers following this methodological chapter.

2.3.1 Content analysis

Content analysis was performed on a corpus of language policy documents applicable to Flemish educational settings, including for instance the governmental language-in-education policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011), two advisory reports on language variation and education of the *Taalunie* ('Language Union') and the *eindtermen* ('final attainment levels' or 'FALs') of the Flemish Department of Education and Training. The content analysis of these documents consisted of two steps. To start, a screening of the collected documents was conducted to determine the topics of discussion in each of the documents, as well as their intended audience. Afterwards, all of the collected documents were read thoroughly, looking for passages on (standard) language use in classroom settings and the (un)importance of Standard Dutch in school settings or in society at large.

2.3.2 Variable rule analysis

Chapter 5 of this dissertation reports on a comparative statistical analysis of the language use of teachers (my study) and other highly trained professionals, such as lawyers or doctors (drawing on data of Anne-Sophie Ghyselen; cf. Ghyselen 2015). After the orthographic transcription of all of the collected recordings, a searchable corpus was built using the software package EXMARaLDA (Schmidt and Wörner 2009). The resulting corpus was analyzed using *variable rule analysis*, which evaluates “the effects of multiple factors on a binary linguistic ‘choice’ – the presence or absence of an element, or any phenomenon treated as an alternation between two variants” (Johnson 2009: 359). For ten phonological and morphosyntactic variables, it was checked whether speakers use standard variants, dialectal variants or variants which are not endogenous in the local dialect, nor in the standard language. As a statistical technique, *mixed models binary logistic regression* (Baayen 2008: 278-287) was used, “a confirmatory technique for statistically modelling the effect of one or several predictors on a binary response variable” (Speelman 2014: 487). More information on both the technique and the results of the statistical analyses can be found in Chapter 5 (Delarue and Ghyselen 2016).

2.3.3 Thematic analysis

Following the transcription of all of the audio-recorded interviews using the PRAAT software (Boersma and Weenink 2015), the transcripts were coded and analyzed using NVivo software. For the analysis, the principles of thematic analysis were followed. Although thematic analysis is often described as a “poorly demarcated, rarely acknowledged (...) qualitative analytic method” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 77, also see

Boyatzis 1998, Roulston 2001), it is also one of the most frequently used analytic methods in qualitative research. There is indeed a significant overlap among many approaches in qualitative research, which may encourage a generic view of qualitative research as a whole. However, qualitative approaches are incredibly diverse, complex and nuanced (Holloway and Todres 2003). Within all of these approaches, thematic analysis should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis, which sets itself apart from other qualitative methods by its flexibility and accessibility. Thematic analysis is much more flexible than other, more rigid, qualitative analysis methods, such as conversation analysis (CA) or discourse analysis (DA). Thematic analysis is not tied to any theoretical framework, which makes it usable across various research types and paradigms: "Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 78).

In order to not cut short the advantages of the flexibility of thematic analysis, it is crucial not to limit this flexibility. However, the presence of clear guidelines around thematic analysis would help to overcome the "anything goes" critique of qualitative analysis (Antaki et al. 2002). In their paper on thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) try to find a balance between demarcating thematic analysis and ensuring flexibility in relation to how it is used, coming up with a set of clear guidelines on how to conduct thematic analysis. These guidelines have been followed conscientiously in the analysis of this study's interview data.

The interview transcripts were first read and reread, in order to become familiar with all of the data. Then, using the NVivo software, codes were ascribed to meaningful text units. Codes identify a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis 1998: 63). In that respect, codes could be seen as 'labels', indicating a conversation topic of the interviewee, such as *exemplary role* (discussing the idea that a teacher serves as an example for his or her pupils), *correctness* (as a trait of (standard) language use) or *language degeneration* (talking about the recent evolution of language use in Flanders). After coding several interviews in this rather inductive, data-driven way³⁶, the code list was compared critically with the content of the interview transcripts, to ensure the validity and reliability of this coding procedure. Codes were grouped together, and I searched for themes among them. A theme captures "something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some way of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun and

³⁶ It should be noted that this study cannot be seen as a *fully* inductive (or 'bottom-up') thematic analysis: as section 2.2.3 already showed, the interview consisted of four main conversation topics (which were established beforehand). Even though the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed plenty of room for non-fixed interview questions within each of these four topics, these fixed topics also entailed a more 'theoretical', analyst-driven approach to the data analysis.

Clarke 2006: 82). These themes formed the basis for most of the research papers in the next two parts of the dissertation: they are being used to discuss teachers' perceptions of macro- and meso-level language-in-education policy (Chapter 4), to explain why teachers' language use differs from the language used by other highly trained professionals (Chapter 5), to reveal how teachers stress or downplay the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom settings (Chapters 6 and 7), and to show how teachers discursively construct several teacher identities (Chapter 8).

When it comes to thematic analysis, a recurrent question is whether codes and categories of codes can be counted. Indeed, quantifiable measures can also be used to define the prevalence of certain topics in the data set – part of the flexibility of thematic analysis is that it allows researchers to determine (the prevalence of) codes/categories in a number of ways, as long as these choices are made in a consistent way. Some of the following chapters (i.e. Chapters 6 and 7), for instance, draw on quantified measures to explain the selection of the topics that are discussed and illustrated in those chapters. By discussing the most frequent codes in the data set, the analysis becomes more transparent, as readers then know how they relate to the rest of the data set. Simply stated, conclusions that are based on codes representing 80 percent of the data set offer a better (and perhaps even more representative) insight in the research topic than when the conclusions are based on only 10 percent of the data set. Of course, that does not mean that less prevalent (categories of) codes – quantitatively speaking – are less interesting or important: they can offer an equally (or even more) interesting insight in how one or some of the respondents view the research topic at hand.

In sum, thematic analysis is a flexible and fairly straightforward method that can be used to summarize the key features of a large body of data, providing a "thick description" (i.e. including sufficient context of the situation at hand) of the data set. As such, this study's methodology stems from the conviction that thematic analysis (and qualitative approaches in general) can offer a valid and reliable reflection of Flemish teachers' perceptions vis-à-vis standard language use in classroom settings.

Part 2: Research articles I

***Exploring the policy-practice gap:
Flemish language-in-education policy versus
classroom practice***

Chapter 3

Eliminating social inequality by reinforcing Standard Language Ideology? Language policy for Dutch in Flemish schools

Reference details

Delarue, S. & J. De Caluwe (2015). *Eliminating social inequality by reinforcing Standard Language Ideology? Language policy for Dutch in Flemish schools*. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 16(1-2), pp. 8-25.

Background

This paper offers a more theoretical/ideological discussion of macro-level language-in-education policy in a Flemish context. It discusses the policy's ambivalent position towards multilingualism and multilingual education, as well as the strict focus on Standard Dutch in the governmental policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011). As is argued in the paper, Flemish language-in-education policy is shaped by ideologies of monolingualism and standardization, and differs greatly from actual classroom practice. At the end of the paper, a number of key concepts are introduced in order to allow for an improved, more beneficial and more realistic language-in-education policy.

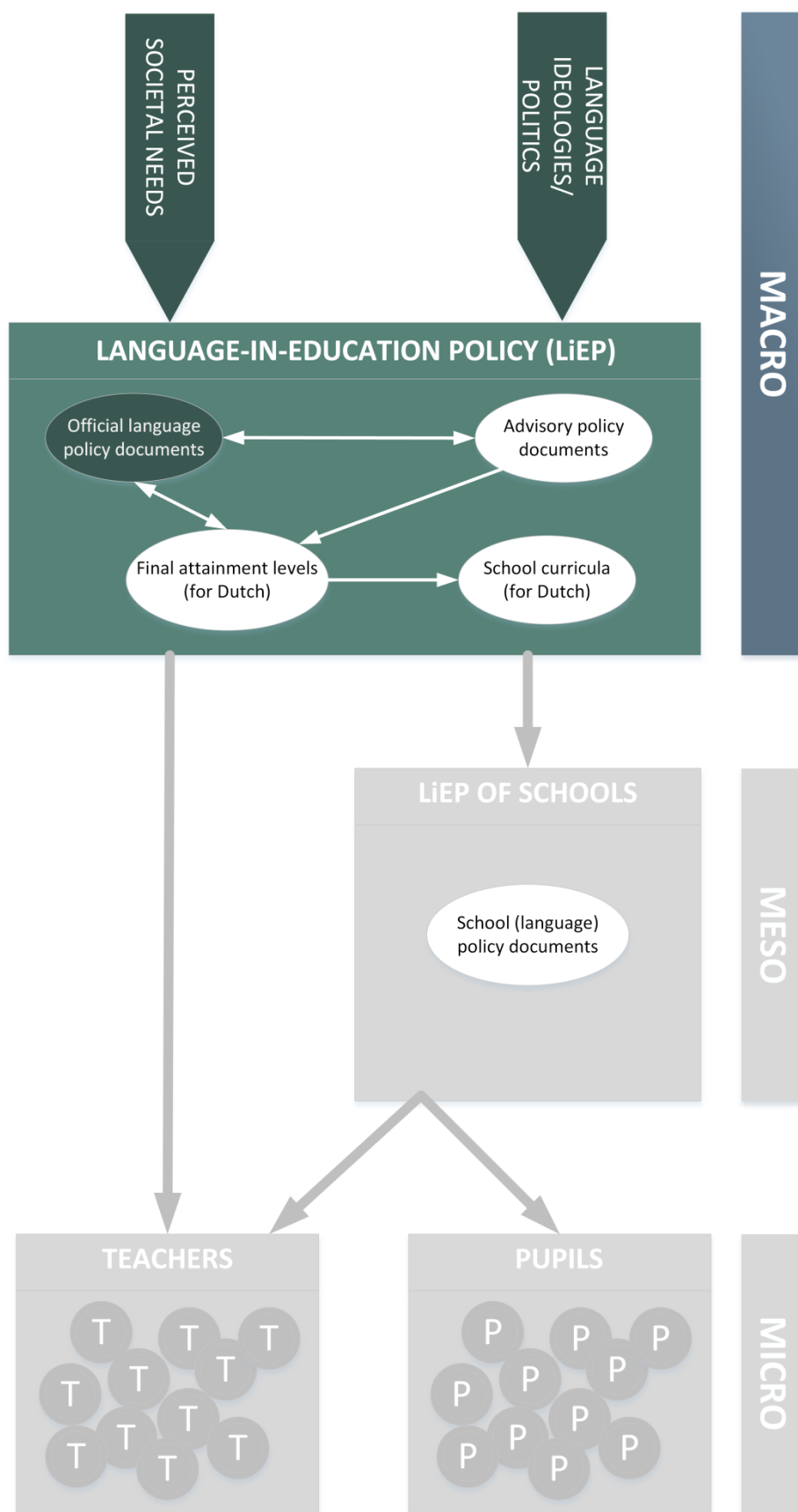


Figure 8: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 3

Abstract

Flanders, the northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, is experiencing growing intra and interlingual diversity. On the intralingual level, Tussentaal ('in-between-language') has emerged as a cluster of intermediate varieties between the Flemish dialects and Standard Dutch, gradually becoming the colloquial language. At the same time, Flanders is encountering increasing numbers of immigrants and their languages. This paper analyzes the way Flemish language-in-education policy deals with perceived problems of substandardization and multilingualism, in order to create equal opportunities for all pupils, regardless of their native language or social background. Both the policy and the measures it proposes are strongly influenced by different, yet intertwined ideologies of standardization and monolingualism. By propagating Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language and by denying all forms of language diversity, Flemish language-in-education policy not only fails to create equal opportunities, but reinforces ideologies that maintain inequality. Instead, language policy should be open towards language diversity, taking the role of teachers in forming and implementing policies into consideration.

Keywords: language-in-education policy, standard language ideology, monolingualism, social inequality, Dutch in Flanders, Tussentaal.

3.1 Language policy: ideology, planning and practice

Language policies are present in some form in all domains of society (Ricento 2006). It is in the domain of education, however, that such policies have the most impact on the members of society, as language-in-education policies play a paramount role in how a society articulates and plans for the future of its members (Liddicoat 2013). Official documents are the most overt and articulated forms of language policy, but policies also exist in more covert forms, underlying the practices of language use and language learning in education. As such, policies discuss societal beliefs and attitudes about the value of languages or language varieties: which languages or language varieties are considered to have the most value regarding future societal success for pupils, and subsequently have a place in the classroom? This inextricable link between policy and society is used by Djité (1994) to discern between two kinds of processes in language policy: (i) processes at the societal level, where certain problems (e.g. social inequality)

are formulated, together with possible solutions; and (ii) at the linguistic level, where the linguistic norms which a community will use (or is expected to use) are selected.

Governments and other authorities undoubtedly have an important role in formulating language policy but policy operates in a much broader context – that of the whole speech community. A speech community can be defined as a group of people "sharing a set of norms or regularities for interaction by means of language(s)" (Silverstein 1996: 285). For Spolsky (2004), there are three components of language policy at work in any speech community. *Language practices* are the actual languages or language varieties that are selected by the speech community to be used in society as a whole and in certain specific contexts. Underlying those practices are the *language beliefs* or *language ideologies* the speech community has about languages and their use in society. The third component is *language planning*, meaning the efforts that are made to modify or influence the language practices of the speech community. Note that, in this definition, 'language planning' and 'language policy' are not synonymous. Language planning is an activity inherent to language policy, forming the preparatory work which leads to the formulation of language policy and intentional change of language practices in the desired direction (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003). However, as Liddicoat (2013: 1-2) points out, language planning work is not limited to that preparatory stage but is also included in the implementation of language policies, in order to organize activities and approaches. As (part of) this paper concerns a discussion of the already existing language-in-education policies in Flanders, we examine 'language planning' in this post-policy form, focusing on the implementation actions it comprises.

Spolsky's model (2004) is one in which language policy is seen as something far broader than a policy document, "it is a series of behavioural and attitudinal responses to language, which may be articulated implicitly or explicitly" (Liddicoat 2013: 3). In that respect, policy documents are only part of a process, ranging from identifying problems and possible solutions over the production and revision of policy texts to the implementation and interpretation of those texts. Yet, policy documents form an extremely useful basis to gain further insight in the ideological beliefs a speech community holds towards languages and language varieties; they aim to shape the ways those languages are used and understood, they reflect the political ideologies of the state (Shohamy 2006), serving as indexes of national identity and further, they are both explicit and tangible, which makes them easy to study. Accordingly, we will limit the scope in this paper to an analysis and discussion of the current Flemish language-in-education policy documents.

In the context of Flanders, the northern Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, the language ideology factor has proven to be very important (Delarue 2013). Because of a long and hard-fought struggle for Dutch language rights, language had become a powerful nationalist motif in Flanders, although some linguists and anthropologists stress the supporting and mostly symbolic role of language in political-nationalist contexts as an "emblematic, romantic element that was shorthand for the more fundamental processes

of democratization and enfranchisement" (Blommaert 2011: 6). Nevertheless, discussions in Flanders involving language policy or language use in public institutions (e.g. public broadcast media and education) often stir up heated discussions, dominating newspapers for days and even weeks after. In the past few years, this ideological sensitivity towards the use of both other languages than Dutch and varieties other than Standard Dutch has received more attention in Flemish sociolinguistic research (see Jaspers 2005a, Van Hoof 2013).

In Flemish education, there is a large gap between language-in-education policy on the one hand, and actual language practices on the other (De Caluwe 2012b, Delarue 2011). Although policy never completely coincides with actual practice as policies are intentionally made to obtain a shift in practice, this desired shift should be both *beneficial* and *realistic* for all parties involved. This paper aims to show how the current policy is neither beneficial (as it does not succeed in its initial objective, creating equal opportunities for all pupils) nor realistic (as its intensive propaganda for the little-used standard variety is virtually impossible to turn into reality). To do so, we address the following three questions: First, how did the current Flemish language-in-education policy come into practice, and on what theoretical and especially ideological grounds? Second, why and how is the Flemish policy unfit to give an apt response to current, negatively perceived language practices? And third, on what grounds can a new, more suitable and realistic language-in-education policy be elaborated?

The first two sections of this paper provide an overview of the Flemish linguistic landscape, with a discussion of intralingual developments in Dutch on the one hand (3.2), and Flanders' ambivalent position towards multilingualism and MLE (multilingual education) on the other (3.3). Subsequently, we show how the current language policy texts in Flanders address the (perceived) problems of multilingualism and substandardization (3.4), and we analyze these texts by dissecting two strongly intertwined ideologies which are strongly present in Flemish language-in-education policies, the 'ideology of standardization', and the 'ideology of monolingualism' (3.5). In the last part (3.6), we sketch the rough outline of a more realistic policy, focusing on three main factors: (i) the acknowledgment of both intra- and interlingual diversity, (ii) the recognition of codeswitching and (iii) the role of teachers in drafting, redacting and implementing language-in-education policies.

3.2 Diaglossia in Flanders: the emergence of *Tussentaal*

The Flemish language situation is characterized by a strong dynamic. Following processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss, intermediate varieties emerged in-between the dialects

and the standard (Willemyns 2003, 2005). In his frequently cited typology of dialect/standard constellations across Europe, Auer (2005: 22) has described this kind of language repertoire as being "characterized by intermediate variants between standard and (base) dialect", a *diaglossic* repertoire. These intermediate varieties are often referred to as Tussentaal ('interlanguage' or 'in-between-language'), Verkavelingsvlaams ('allotment-Flemish') or Soapvlaams ('Soap-Flemish'). Although the widespread use of these umbrella terms suggests that Tussentaal is one clearly demarcated variety, it should be noted that there is not one Tussentaal, but a whole range of unique constellations of dialectal and standard variants determined by speech situation, education type, age, sex and regional background (Willemyns 2005). Tussentaal cannot be described in terms of necessary and sufficient features (De Caluwe 2002: 57); it can only be said to be marked by a significant number of deviations from both the standard language and the dialect (De Caluwe 2009).

For the last few decades, Tussentaal has been subject to rapid expansion and, according to some, even standardization (Plevoets 2008, Willemyns 2005), which can be attributed to two main factors (for an overview of other possible explanations, see e.g. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a):

1. The exoglossic standard language, which was imported from The Netherlands in the 19th and 20th century to resist the dominant position of French in Belgium, never really won the hearts of Flemish speakers (Willemyns 2003), despite several large-scale standardization attempts from the government, the media and education (for an overview, see Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). This resistance to exoglossic Dutch paved the way for the emergence of a Flemish supraregional variety, viz. Tussentaal.
2. Processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss in the central regions of Brabant and East-Flanders, led to the functional elaboration of Tussentaal. In an attempt to explain this causality, Willemyns (2007) argues that dialect loss necessitates an informal variety (in between the disappearing dialects and the standard) that indexes regional identity. Because of the smaller distance between this intermediate variety (Tussentaal) and the standard, "many people see no inconvenience in using the former in situations where actually the use of the latter would be more appropriate" (2007: 271). As such, Tussentaal seems to replace both the dialects and the standard, pushing the standard to the extreme formality side of the continuum (Willemyns 2007: 271). The correlation between dialect loss and Tussentaal expansion appears to be confirmed by Ghyselen and De Vogelaer (2013) whose attitudinal research in the peripheral region of West-Flanders shows that the spread of Tussentaal progresses much slower if the dialect is still quite vital.

The emergence of Tussentaal caused severe irritation on the part of the cultural and educational establishment and at the same time received a great deal of linguistic

attention. Whereas early publications on the subject mainly contain emotional comments on the emergence and status of Tussentaal (e.g. Debrabandere 2005, Van Istendael 1989), recent publications tend to focus on more objective descriptions (e.g., Plevoets 2008, Taeldeman 2008). These data-based descriptions show the standard as a "virtual colloquial variety (...), desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice" (De Caluwe 2009: 19, own translation). The zenith of uniformity and standardness continues to be (broadcast) speech by VRT news anchors. Aspiring newsreaders have to pass rigorous pronunciation tests and adhere to very strict norms (Vandenbussche 2010b). However, it is very doubtful whether this extremely strict norm is also attained (or even aspired to) outside of the news studio.

De Caluwe (2012a: 267) discerns two possible options for the adoption of what he calls an "informal spoken standard language" in Flanders, existing between VRT-Dutch and Tussentaal. The first, that it could be derived from the exogenous formal standard language in a top-down scenario; the second, that it could grow from the endogenous language, i.e., from Tussentaal. In such a bottom-up approach, the traditional standard language, oriented towards VRT-Dutch, would be considered a variety that is only spoken in certain formal situations. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the "best-suit" mentality of Flemish speakers, meaning that one only wears one's best suit for special occasions, but one feels uncomfortable wearing it (Geeraerts 2001). Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a) compare this to the "double norm" situation in Danish (Kristiansen 2001), where a conservative standard is reserved for the schools and a modern standard for the media. In much the same way, VRT-Dutch could continue to play its conservative role as an "accentless" and therefore neutral medium for news and culture coverage, while Tussentaal (or a more standardized form of Tussentaal) becomes the more dynamic (media) variety, albeit without any pretence to being the best language.

In these ongoing dynamics, defenders of the standard place all their hope on Flemish teachers. They are after all "the first-line dispensers of standard usage" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012: 48), who are supposed to be "loyal to official pronunciation norms" (De Schutter 1980). As such, school teachers are "the last gatekeepers of the standard" (Van Istendael 2008: 31) and "guardians of the standard language" (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999). These expectations entail a lot of pressure (which is increased even more by the current language-in-education policy, as we will show later in this paper) and recent research shows that teachers cannot or will not meet these expectations. All teachers use some amount of Tussentaal features when teaching, and as younger teachers tend to use Tussentaal as their default colloquial variety, there is a trend towards even more Tussentaal use in teaching (De Caluwe 2012b; Delarue 2011, 2013; Olders 2007; Walraet 2004).

3.3 An ambivalent position towards multilingualism and MLE

Apart from these standard-versus-vernacular dynamics, which evolve on an intralingual scale, we should also take into account the relationship of Dutch with other languages. Because of the presence of three official languages (Dutch, French and German), Belgium is often considered a multilingual country but at the same time there seems to be a monolingual trend; few citizens are bilingual, let alone trilingual (De Caluwe 2012a). Yet, there is ample schooling in foreign languages on offer, resulting in the oft-recurring and deserved appraisal of the Flemings for easily acquiring foreign languages. The curricula of primary and secondary education prominently include foreign languages, and each year thousands of students go to study foreign languages at universities and university colleges. This openness towards foreign languages is often linked to the language history of Flanders. For centuries, the Flemish have found that the sole knowledge of Dutch offers few perspectives in a country like Belgium where other languages (French in particular) are dominant, or in the multilingual community that is Europe. Next to their home language, which was a dialect or regiolect, generations of Flemish people had to study a (foreign, because exogenous) standard language that was used at school, from a very young age. At school, moreover, foreign languages were taught early on, and were stimulated by the government since good knowledge of foreign languages is considered a main asset of Flanders in the competitive international arena.

However, this promotion of foreign languages as school subjects is in stark opposition to the very stringent regulation of the use of foreign languages as media of instruction in Flemish education. This strict focus on Dutch as the sole language of instruction can also be explained by the language history of Flanders. Until well in the twentieth century, French was the language of a socially and economic oppressing elite that dominated Dutch-speaking Flanders (Mettewie and Housen 2011), and as Flanders had to fight a long, hard battle to consolidate the position of Dutch, politicians are now hesitant to allow for other languages than Dutch to be used in such an important societal domain as education (Bollen and Baten 2010: 413). The closed nature of the Flemish language-in-education policy towards MLE corresponds with the findings of researchers of the DYLAN project, in which the influence of political aspects on the implementation of multilingual education recommended by Europe was studied (Van de Craen et al. 2011). They found that policies tend to be more open-minded towards MLE if the majority language (i) had early standardization; (ii) does not suffer from any language threats; (iii) is dominant; and (iv) has light legislation. The reluctance of Flanders to introduce forms of MLE or immersion in its curricula corresponds with the position of Dutch on each of these four levels. Dutch in Flanders has had late standardization, is perceived to be suffering from language threats – one of the main objections to MLE in Flanders is that is un-Flemish

and a threat to the position of Dutch (Bollen and Baten 2010) – has long been dominated by French and has very strict language legislation.

Indeed, all forms of multilingual or immersion education (often called 'Content and Integrated Language Learning' or CLIL in a European context) are strictly forbidden by law in Flanders³⁷ – apart from some on-going pilot projects (Smet 2011; Van de Craen, Ceuleers, Mondt and Allain 2008) – contrasting sharply with the already well-established forms of immersion education taking place in Wallonia, the southern French-speaking part of Belgium, with lessons in another language (Dutch or English) often starting in kindergarten or the first years of primary school (Mettewie and Housen, 2011). In Flanders, the current and previous Ministers of Education have been members of the socialist party. The previous Minister, who held the post until 2009, developed a very antagonistic discourse with respect to multilingual education, with ideas inspired by arguments of the Flemish Movement, which strove for Dutch language rights in the 'frenchified' Flanders of the nineteenth and twentieth century. His policy was characterized by a monolingual view of education and even some anti-European ideas with respect to European legislation (Van de Craen et al. 2011). His successor, current Minister of Education Pascal Smet, is less radical in this respect, but forms of multilingual education (MLE) remain strictly prohibited in Flanders: social equality can only be achieved if everyone learns and speaks the same language in the classroom, i.e., Standard Dutch (cf. *infra*).

As such, Flanders keeps hold of a unilingual schooling norm, with non-native speakers being dropped into a mainstream school environment, where they are forced to learn a second language (L2), at the cost of losing their first language (L1). They are subject to submersion, being "thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons" (Baker 2006: 216). This form of *subtractive bilingualism* (Lambert 1977), aiming at a quick and smooth transition from L1 to L2, is considered a weak form of bilingual education by some (Baker 2006), but in this kind of situation, the language outcome is in fact monolingualism (Bollen and Baten 2010: 413). This monoglossic language ideology can be extremely harmful, especially for immigrant, non-native speakers of Dutch. Blommaert, Creve and Willaert (2006) convincingly show how immigrant children, who are often proficient and literate in languages other than Dutch, are deemed illiterate because they do not have the 'adequate' language skills needed to become valued and integrated members of society:

³⁷ This very stringent regulation regarding the use of languages other than Dutch in education is only one expression of the apparently "deep-rooted fear of endangering the position of Dutch" (Bollen and Baten 2010: 430). Another example is found in the government's social housing policy: Although the right to decent housing is enshrined in the federal constitution, in 2005 the Flemish government made the allocation of social housing in an extremely competitive market conditional upon the completion of a Dutch language course. And moreover, the Flemish municipality of Zemst (near Brussels) has decided that it will sell municipal land only to individuals who speak Dutch or who are willing, similarly, to learn the language (Ceuppens 2006: 167).

Entering Belgium as an immigrant meant, consequently, entering this homogeneous space of a monoglot linguistic community, in which every form of upward social trajectory was closely tied to steps in the acquisition of standard Dutch (...) Unless one speaks standard Dutch, or unless one possesses the specific literacy skills associated with Dutch orthography, one is language-less and illiterate, even if one is a proficient multilingual individual, and even if one is a sophisticated literate in a writing system different from that of Dutch (Blommaert, Creve and Willaert 2006: 53).

This restrictive monolingual submersion approach does not seem to be beneficial to all immigrant children in an attempt to reach the required level of Dutch proficiency. Ironically, most Flemish policymakers still cling to the submersion system, usually emphasising the importance of the Dutch language for narrowing the performance gap between autochthonous and immigrant children (Bollen and Baten 2010: 418). In this context, Brisk (2005: 20) rightly stresses that "proponents [of transitional programs] should never lose sight that the goal of education is to develop children and not to defend languages". In an analysis of the media coverage of bilingual education in Flanders, Bollen and Baten (2010) find a fairly positive bias towards bilingual education, but with a strong tendency to promote it for the majority (i.e. native speakers of Dutch) while rejecting it for minorities (i.e. immigrants).

As such, there seems to be a paradoxical situation, in which some cases of learning or using several languages have positive connotations while others have negative connotations. In other words, some uses of more than one language are conceptualized as being 'multilingual in an acceptable or prestigious way', others as 'multilingual in a useless way' or even 'multilingual in a detrimental way' (Vogl 2012). In this regard, Jaspers (2009) distinguishes two types of multilingualism which relate to this paradoxical situation, and which can partly help to disentangle it. On the one hand, there is prestige (or 'pure') multilingualism; the multilingualism of highly-educated speakers who have command of various Western European standard languages, as promoted in the EU and national policies. On the other hand, there is what Jaspers (2009) calls *plebeian* (or 'impure') *multilingualism*. It is a label for:

the use of various languages by the mostly urban, mostly multi-ethnic, very often poorly-educated working class across Europe. It concerns first, second and third generation migrants with linguistic repertoires comprising varieties of national (or minority) languages (among others Moroccan Arabic, Berber, Turkish and Kurdish) of their countries of origin as well as proficiency in (very often regional) varieties spoken in the host country (Vogl 2012: 6).

Blommaert (2011: 11) makes a similar distinction when he refers to 'multilingualism of the elite' versus 'multilingualism of the poor' respectively, and in a Flemish context, Blommaert and Van Avermaet (2008) are astonished at the selectivity with which the

argument of language deficiency is used. Foreign CEOs or members of the European Commission in Brussels need not worry about acquiring Dutch, whereas the poorer migrant is under almost unbearable pressure to integrate as soon as possible. That selectivity only becomes more emphatic because many schools in Flanders, particularly in urban areas, are faced with an increasing number of pupils who have a home language that is different from the language used at school such as Turkish, Arabic, Russian, and so on³⁸ (De Caluwe 2012a: 276-277).

3.4 Language-in-education policy in Flanders

To answer these "problems" of multilingualism, language deficiency and subsequent inequality, language policy was rekindled as a hot topic in Flemish education in 2007, with a report by the former Education Minister Frank Vandenbroucke. His solution to create equal opportunities for all Flemings essentially comes down to one simple action point. This was the insistence on Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside the classroom. Propagating this standard would, according to Vandenbroucke (2007), solve both the problem of multilingualism and the problem of the increasing use of non-standard varieties (e.g. Tussentaal, dialect). In his policy document, the former Minister defines the standard as a variety which is the result of "setting the bar high" (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4), and is characterized by "a rich proficiency" (2007: 4) and "appropriate language and communication" (2007: 11).³⁹ By contrast, non-standard varieties (e.g. Tussentaal, dialect) are qualified with adjectives as "bad, inarticulate and regional" (2007: 4) or "sloppy" (2007: 11).⁴⁰ As such, there is no room in schools for:

³⁸ According to data provided by the former Flemish Minister of Education, Frank Vandenbroucke, for the period 2002-2008, on average 12.6% of the pupils in primary and secondary education in Flanders do not have Dutch as their first language (see <http://www.vlaamsparlement.be/Proteus5/showSchriftelijkeVraag.action?id=542888>).

³⁹ The original quotes were: *Slechts door elke jongere tot correcte en rijke vaardigheid in de standaardtaal te begeleiden, garandeert het onderwijs dat maatschappelijke talenten niet afhankelijk zijn van herkomst, maar van de mate waarin iemands talenten tot ontwikkeling zijn gebracht. De lat hoog leggen, vergt discipline.* (Only by guiding every youngster to a correct and rich proficiency in the standard language, education guarantees that talents in society are not dependent of origin, but of the extent to which one's talents have been developed. Setting the bar high requires discipline) and *Kunnen communiceren in Standaardnederlands is een noodzakelijke voorwaarde voor goed onderwijs. Bij het streven naar verzorgde taal en communicatie gaat het onderwijs vaak in tegen maatschappelijke tendensen.* (Being able to communicate in Standard Dutch is a prerequisite for good education. In striving for appropriate language and communication, education often goes against social trends).

⁴⁰ *Scholen die aandacht schenken aan taalzorg, zijn vaak eilanden in een context waar slordige tussentaal getolereerd wordt.* (Schools that pay attention to correct language use, are often islands in a context where sloppy Tussentaal is tolerated).

(...) krom taalgebruik of verkavelingsvlaams of een streektaal die hen in een klein gebied opsluit en hun kansen op mobiliteit en emancipatie ondergraaft. (...) Het Nederlands en zeker het 'schoolse Nederlands' beperkt zich voor heel wat leerlingen tot de school en de klas. Dààr moeten we het dus waarmaken.

(...) inarticulate language use or a vernacular that locks them ((the pupils, sd & jdc)) up in a small area and buries their chances of mobility and emancipation. Standard Dutch is, for a lot of students, limited to use at school and in the classroom. That's the place where it has to happen. (Vandenbroucke 2008, own translation)

Vandenbroucke's successor, current Minister of Education Pascal Smet, wrote a follow-up document (2011) in which he profiled the distinction between Standard Dutch and non-standard varieties or languages other than Dutch in an even sharper way:

In Vlaanderen groeien nog steeds veel kinderen op voor wie de moedertaal een regionale variant van het Standaardnederlands en dus niet het Standaardnederlands is. (...) Nochtans is een rijke kennis van het Standaardnederlands dé voorwaarde voor wie in Vlaanderen wil leren, wonen, werken, leven. Wie van elders komt, en geen Standaardnederlands leert, blijft in de beslotenheid van het eigen gezin of de eigen gemeenschap leven, en leeft – in Vlaanderen – buiten Vlaanderen.

In Flanders, there are still many children growing up for whom the mother tongue is a regional variant of Standard Dutch and thus not Standard Dutch itself. (...) However, a rich knowledge of Standard Dutch is the prerequisite for who wants to learn, live, work in Flanders. People who do not learn Standard Dutch, remain in the seclusion of their own family or community and live – in Flanders – outside of Flanders. (Smet 2011: 3, own translation)

This government stance, in which Standard Dutch is regarded as a *conditio sine qua non* for successful participation in society and socio-economic promotion (but see Jaspers 2012), attempts to kill two birds with one stone; both non-native pupils who speak another language at home and pupils who use Tussentaal or a dialect are urged to learn Standard Dutch. As such, the target audience is broadened to all pupils who do not use the (pro memorie: little used and largely virtual) standard at home, considering them all to be language deficient and in need of a rich variety.

The language planning initiatives that are proposed to achieve this goal aim at different levels, corresponding with the three "environments". The most recent policy document distinguishes between family, school and work, and leisure (Smet 2011: 5). On the family level, the "language deprivation" of a lot of parents is emphasized. They should be encouraged to acquire and use Standard Dutch actively at home by watching Flemish television programmes and reading Dutch books to their children. The policy acknowledges in passing that a rich native language can be more beneficial for children than poorly spoken Dutch (Smet 2011: 6), but then continues to actively propagate Standard Dutch:

Anderstalige ouders gebruiken beter een rijke thuistaal dan een arm Nederlands. Dit neemt uiteraard niet weg dat ze zich positief engageren t.o.v. de onderwijstaal, het Standaardnederlands. Voor de kennis van het Standaardnederlands is het noodzakelijk dat professionele begeleiders jonge kinderen tijdens hun voor taalontwikkeling meest gevoelige leeftijd op een correcte wijze begeleiden en stimuleren. Naast het hanteren van een rijk Standaardnederlands moeten begeleiders een positieve aandacht voor de taal hebben die het kind thuis spreekt. *Parents who are not native ((in Dutch, sd & jdc)) are better off using a rich native language than poor Dutch. However, they still engage positively with respect to the instruction language in education, Standard Dutch. To become proficient in Standard Dutch, it is imperative that professional counselors supervise young children in a correct and stimulating manner during their most sensitive stages in language development. Besides speaking a rich Standard Dutch, counselors should have a positive attitude towards the home language of the child.* (Smet 2011: 6, own translation)

On the school level, the government plans to impose new final attainment levels for both primary and secondary education, in which language proficiency in Dutch should be a main factor and schools are required to elaborate their own language-in-education policy. Former Education Minister Vandenbroucke calls for an intensive system of testing and evaluating the proficiency of pupils, as well as the efficiency of those school language policies, to create "a policy which is based on facts, not on perception" (2007: 23, own translation). An important factor, which is stressed in all policy documents, is the reform of the teacher training programme in order to train teachers in linguistic competencies. However, as the government explicitly passes the task of defining the actual methods, curricula and skills to obtain these goals to educationalists and teacher educators, there are still no actual changes in the final attainment levels (Delarue 2011), the ways in which schools should work on language policy (De Caluwe 2012b) or the reform of the teacher-training programme (Van Hoyweghen 2010). In other words, because of limp language planning, the gap between policy and practice remains and even expands.

3.5 Ideologies of monolingualism and standardization

From the discussion in the previous paragraphs, a few different but strongly intertwined ideologies can be inferred, which have shaped language policy in Flanders over the last decade. To begin with, the Flemish language-in-education policy clearly reflects a still vital Herderian "one nation, one language" aspiration (Bauman and Briggs 2003), which is also present in other (Western) European nation states. This *ideology of monolingualism* might seem strange considering the multilingual character of Belgium, but it is important to note that Belgium, much like Switzerland, actually consists of several

monolingual regions (except for Brussels) which entails that most citizens can function monolingually (Willemyns 2009). In these monolingual territories, "[i]t is only natural, then, that (...) very little tolerance is shown to minorities that deviate from the monolingual norm. Social, cultural and linguistic diversity, consequently, are seen as problematic and deviant" (Blommaert 2011). A society with internal differences is viewed as dangerous and centrifugal, whereas the 'best' society is deemed to be one without any intergroup differences. Next to this clearly present "dogma of homogeneity" (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998), the statements of both Ministers of Education show clear features of Silverstein's monoglot ideology (1996); an ideology where monolingualism is considered a fact, and speaking one language is a means to achieve in-group membership, to become part of the "linguistic community" or, in this case, Flemish society (Delarue 2013). The governmental policy constructs a pure, monolingual society, denying the fact that practically all speakers reside in a "contact zone" (Pratt 1987) of different languages and varieties. By equalling this much-desired situation to actual language practices, Flemish language-in-education policies seem to confuse language ideology with actual language practice. Moreover, all other aspects of the socioeconomic background of society are deleted from the context frame; that is in Flemish policy, all problems are reduced to *language* issues.

This reductionist focus on monolingualism brings about a striving towards uniformity and standardization. It is not enough for pupils to acquire Dutch; they have to become proficient in the standard variety of Dutch. According to the policy documents, speaking Standard Dutch is the only guarantee of equal opportunities, a proper job and an improved ranking on the social scale, as the quotes in the previous section have shown compellingly. The following quote from the most recent policy document sums up the advantages of becoming proficient in Dutch:

Een rijke kennis van het Standaardnederlands is een essentiële voorwaarde voor een succesvolle schoolloopbaan, doorstroming naar de arbeidsmarkt, voorwaarde voor maatschappelijke zelfredzaamheid en integratie, toegang tot jeugdwerk, cultuur, sport, verhoging van de sociale cohesie, persoonlijke ontwikkeling, het aanwakkeren en ontplooiën van de burgerzin van elk individu.

A rich knowledge of Standard Dutch is a prerequisite for a successful school career, a smooth transition into the labor market; it is a prerequisite for social empowerment and integration, access to youth work, culture, sports, an increase of social cohesion, personal development, and fueling and expanding the citizenship of each individual.

(Smet 2011: 4, own translation)

This reasoning contains some (ideo)logical errors. As discussed earlier, every form of intralingual diversity is denied. Non-standard varieties of Dutch (such as Tussentaal, dialect) are deleted from the ideological scheme in the policy document, providing a classic example of what Irvine and Gal (2000) have called erasure. To illustrate, in the most recent language-in-education document (Smet 2011), which comprises about 40

pages, the term 'Standard Dutch' is used 77 times, whereas 'Tussentaal' (or a synonym) does not occur once. The line of reasoning seems to be that if only Standard Dutch is propagated extensively, Tussentaal will disappear of its own accord. The ideological background of this policy document, striving towards monolingualism, can be summarized by referring to the ***standard language ideology*** (SLI) concept, coined by Milroy and Milroy (1985). Lippi-Green (1997: 64) defines it as “a bias toward an abstract, idealized homogeneous language, which is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions and which has as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class”. Imposing and maintaining that bias is considered one of the tasks of the dominant institutions in society, particularly education. Strangely enough, the vigour of this standard language ideology seems to be opposed to the recent societal changes of the last decades, typical of what Giddens (1991) has called “Late Modernity”, such as informalization, democratization (Fairclough 1992), globalization, immigration, and feelings of anti-authority. Strong SLIs also seem to go against the processes of destandardization and demoticization (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011) that are widely researched and acknowledged in many countries and regions (e.g. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a, Grondelaers et al. 2011, van der Horst 2008). In other words, while language diversity – interlingual as well as intralingual – has become an essential part of contemporary society, Flemish policy condemns this diversity, denying the essence of how language becomes a social and cultural instrument in daily life.

Apart from selecting Standard Dutch as the only variety worthy to be used and taught in Flemish schools, this standard is also narrowed down to a specific, invariable, codified set of rules. In what Blommaert (2008a) calls an ***artefactual ideology of language***, “in which particular textual practices can reduce language to an artefact that can be manipulated like most other objects” (Blommaert 2008a: 292), a “true” language is fully form-based, codified in dictionaries and grammars, and has nothing to do with actual speech. This ‘objectification’ of (standard) language becomes clear in popular expressions about language proficiency. For example, language can be possessed like an object (‘My Dutch’); it can be changed and manipulated (‘I need to *polish* my pronunciation of Dutch a bit’) and different qualities can be distinguished in it (‘He really speaks Standard Dutch *poorly*’). Supporters of the current language-in-education policy often argue that education contexts simply need such specific, specialized forms of language – written language, certain forms of narrative, a specific lexicon, registers and jargons – which contrast sharply with the real-life language competencies of most children (Feys and Gybels 2009, Van Istendael 2008, Vandenbroucke 2008), and that the standard is the only apt variety to do this in.

Indeed, these contextualized language competencies (Cummins 2006) are the ones that are assessed in the international PISA studies⁴¹ of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which evaluate and compare education systems. When the Ministers of Education state that their language-in-education policy is based on thorough scientific research, only these PISA studies are cited explicitly as underpinning research for their policy measures (Vandenbroucke 2007: 7). However, the PISA results only indicate that Belgian schools have difficulty overcoming differences in social background, showing in the results one of the largest gaps between the best performing pupils and the weakest ones of all participating countries (OECD 2010: 9). That a very restrictive language policy is the only decisive factor in closing this gap, is not suggested by these or any other studies on the subject. Moreover, using the results of tests of very specific and specialized language competencies as arguments for an education policy that claims to call for equal opportunities for all pupils to participate in everyday society is both illogical and irrational. It is undeniable that education qualifications determine people's social trajectories but that does not imply that schools are replicas of society. Indeed, they are nothing more or less than a very specific and important niche. Considering this niche to be the entire world, leaving out all other forms of real context, is one of the main flaws of the current policy documents (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008).

This lack of context accounts for the final fallacy we wish to address here. The main claim that the policy measures create “equal opportunities” and thus “higher success rates in society” for all is strongly influenced by a class-determined ideology of literacy (cf. Bourdieu 1991, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Succeeding in society is equaled to getting a white-collar job, functioning in an ICT-controlled, globalized office environment and disregarding the fact that these jobs are, whether the polity likes it or not, fundamentally elitist. By setting the bar that high – which is actually the title of the former language-in-education policy document (Vandenbroucke 2007) – technical and vocational fields of study, leading to the so-called blue-collar jobs, are severely downgraded. As such, the aspiration of inclusion can easily turn into exclusion; people who do not measure up to such elitist expectations, are easily deemed to be losers. This partly explains why Flemish parents are so inclined towards sending their children to general secondary education instead of technical or vocational forms of education, even if those children are formally dissuaded to do so. If they fail in general education, they can always choose a “lower” education type. In Flanders, this train of thought is often called the “cascade system”

⁴¹ PISA (in full : *Programme for International Student Assessment*) is an international study that was launched by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1997. It aims to evaluate education systems worldwide every three years by assessing 15-year-olds' competencies in the key subjects: reading, mathematics and science. To date over 70 countries and economies have participated in PISA. More information is available on the PISA website: <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/>.

(Boone and Van Houtte 2013), showing the consequences of this “caricature of the egalitarian point of view” (Hirtt, Nicaise and De Zutter 2007).

Overall, the most urgent problems of the current Flemish language-in-education policy can be summarized in three main points:

1. An abstraction of what language actually is, denying the diverse, rich but complex multilingual society in which schools are located.
2. The propagation of Standard Dutch as the only variety that is deemed acceptable inside as well as outside of school, and at the same time the objectification of that variety to a contentless set of rules, estranged from actual speech.
3. The complete absence of any form of context. Language planning is the ultimate recipe for equal opportunities, regardless of what the actual needs in society are. As such, schools reside outside of the society they should be embedded in.

3.6 Towards a more realistic language-in-education policy

In their ideological discussion of language-in-education policy in Flanders, Blommaert and Van Avermaet (2008) call for a learning environment that teaches language not only linguistically, but also sociolinguistically, “explaining how and why certain language variants function, why they are useful, how they are preferably used (and how not to be used!), which possibilities and limitations certain language forms offer” (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008: 106, own translation). The current deletion of genuine interactions in non-standard varieties or languages other than Dutch in official policy (De Caluwe 2012b) needs to be replaced by a more realistic language policy, in which “realistic” bears a double meaning: (i) a policy that starts from how pupils and teachers actually speak in schools today; and (ii) a policy that takes into account the basis sociolinguistic insight that intralingual (as well as interlingual) diversity is an essential part of how language functions in society (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008).

Tussentaal is a variety that is used spontaneously by most Flemings in informal situations. It is the mother tongue of most youngsters in Flanders and Tussentaal has gradually become the colloquial language (De Caluwe 2002, 2009). Instead of ignoring or explicitly denouncing Tussentaal, language-in-education policy should *take into account this intralingual diversity* and consider the place Tussentaal can have in classroom and school contexts.

Language policy also mostly focuses on programmatic issues and the linguistic, academic and societal achievements of students but the role of the teacher is often

relatively absent – the same can actually be said about research on language policies (de Jong, Arias and Sánchez 2010). To *enhance the role of teachers in forming and implementing language policies*, thus increasing the chances of the measures that are proposed by these policies, the relation between teachers and policies must be studied more in detail. Heineke and Cameron (2013) discuss the very different ways in which teachers appropriate language policy. As they observe, language policy only provides a framework for teachers to figure the world, teachers can proactively use their own perspectives and identities to deal with the expectations and routines of this figured world. Following sociocultural theory (Vygotsky 1978), knowledge is constructed by participating in social and cultural activities that are simultaneously affected by individual, interpersonal, and institutional planes (Rogoff 2003). By interviewing teachers of different age groups, Heineke and Cameron (2013) were able to show that these three planes occur sequentially, and teachers "move" from one plane to another as they become more experienced. New and inexperienced teachers are on the institutional plane, enacting policy as prescribed (*maintenance*). On the interpersonal plane, teachers with some experience acknowledge the policy statements (*recognition*) but they are moulded into a form that fits the teachers' classroom practice. The most experienced teachers navigate the policy, adopt some measures and alter others, according to their everyday practice (*negotiation*). This development of teachers as agents of language policy shows that teachers are indeed at the center of policy formation and implementation, and "rather than relying on increasingly restrictive language policies (...), policy should be prioritized to develop effective and multifaceted ways to prepare and support teachers who are well-equipped to negotiate the policy demands and complexities of today's classrooms" (Heineke and Cameron 2013: 17).

A third and last important key concept in elaborating an improved, more beneficial and more realistic language-in-education policy is *the non-denouncing recognition of processes of code-switching*. A policy can easily demand the use of the standard in every classroom situation, but then it ignores the continuous changes in classroom situations, as well as the numerous roles teachers take on every day and the sometimes very different social and linguistic backgrounds of pupils. Pupils can have non-standard varieties of Dutch (such as Tussentaal or dialect) or languages other than Dutch (such as Moroccan, Berber or Arabic) as their home language, and it is normal to see the home language shine through in classroom speech in all kinds of more informal situations. The same is the case for teachers, as they do not only give instructions. Sometimes they give spontaneous examples from their own lives, tell stories or anecdotes, try to initiate a class discussion, they become angry or tell a joke, and so on. In less formal situations, it is obvious that teachers easily revert to their 'default' language, which often is Tussentaal (De Caluwe 2012b). Acknowledging and thus legitimating code-switching, furnishes teachers with a solid language foundation to build upon. The standard variety is expected in typical instruction situations but there is room for vernacular varieties in other situations.

Ferguson (2003) provides policy makers and language planners with three categories of code-switching (CS) that often recur in actual classroom practice and could thus be legitimized in language policy: (i) CS for curriculum access, to help pupils understand the subject matter of their lessons; (ii) CS for classroom management discourse, to motivate, discipline and praise pupils, and to signal changes; (iii) CS for interpersonal relations, to humanize the affective climate of the classroom. Teacher education programmes should take measures to raise the awareness of classroom code-switching in their curricula. Future teachers should become aware of the existence of language alternations in communities and classrooms, reassuring them that this is very common and in fact normal behaviour. They should also be informed of the beneficial functions of code-switching⁴²: it can help pupils understand lesson content, manage their behaviour and help to maintain a good classroom climate.

3.7 Discussion and conclusion

This paper should not be read as a plea for "language relativity" (Vandenbroucke 2007), in which the norm of Standard Dutch is abandoned completely and teachers as well as pupils can speak any variety or language they like. However, if policy-makers and other stakeholders want to elaborate an effective, beneficial and realistic language-in-education policy, they should be aware of the existing ideologies they (unknowingly) base their policy upon and refrain from a restrictive monolingual policy. Non-standard varieties of Dutch are denounced in policy documents, solely focusing on the importance of Standard Dutch. At the same time, the native languages of non-Dutch speaking school children are considered to be millstones around their necks, blocking their chances of a successful career in later life, as well as any form of upward social mobility. Although the current Flemish Minister of Education, Pascal Smet, tends to be slightly more appreciative of the richness of home languages other than Dutch, he ultimately stresses (and sometimes even more sharply than his predecessor) the need to use Standard Dutch in every classroom context, whether we are talking about a classroom in a small rural village without any immigrant children, or a multicultural classroom in the center of Antwerp, in which more than twenty nationalities are represented and all pupils have different backgrounds and learning needs. The reasons for this hostility towards language variation and diversity

⁴² Code-switching is mainly discussed from the teacher perspective here; of course policy measures should also focus on a non-denouncing view on code-switching for *pupils*: in some cases, they should be allowed to use their home language (albeit a non-standard variety of Dutch or a language other than Dutch) if it helps them to communicate in a more efficient way, in order to become more proficient in Dutch (the concept of *scaffolding*, cf. Wood, Burner and Ross 1976).

have become apparent from the previous sections. Due to the long and hard-fought struggle for Dutch language rights in the 19th and early 20th century, most politicians are still strongly opposed to forms of MLE or immersion education, which are considered to be un-Flemish and a threat to the position of Dutch. This anti-MLE discourse is "indicative of Flanders's suspicion when it comes to language matters" (Bollen and Baten 2010: 429). Simultaneously, Standard Dutch is promoted as a means of creating an environment of social equality, answering a rising popular demand for homogeneity but denying "pedagogical pragmatism and a European rhetoric of pluralism" (Bollen and Baten 2010: 430). Ministers and policy makers urgently need to lose their blinkers and embrace the multilingual reality, with all its complexity and different norms and values. Non-native (immigrant) children in particular, who are now deprived of individual counselling and are not encouraged to use the language skills and creativity they already possess as a scaffold to eventually become more proficient in Dutch, need to feel as if they are being listened to. Their individual 'track records' should be taken into account and teachers should be trained and strongly encouraged to take the literacy skills of their pupils into account when helping them to achieve better proficiency in Dutch. The same goes for native children who speak a non-standard variety of Dutch at home: even if they are used to speaking Tussentaal or dialect and (initially) do the same in a school context, they should not be denounced for doing so.

In spite of the favourable results of studies on MLE and a fairly positive (yet ambiguous) slant in the Flemish media coverage of MLE (Bollen and Baten 2010), the situation is not likely to change drastically in the near future. In their plea for multilingual education in Flanders, Mettewie and Housen (2011) stress the importance of flexibility (social, educational, financial but especially political) when trying to implement MLE, and urge policy makers to maximally build their language-in-education policy onto local (linguistic) resources, in order to meet both global and specific needs. Only then pupils can be guided as individually as possible, taking into account their background, and only then a climate of openness can be created, reducing stereotypes and tensions, developing positive attitudes, and promoting pluricultural awareness and identity. To actually create equal opportunities, we expect this kind of openness and critical awareness to yield much better results than the imposition of outdated language systems.

Chapter 4

Explaining the paradox: the effect of macro and meso level language policy on Flemish teachers' (standard) language perceptions

Reference details

Delarue, S. (submitted). *Explaining the paradox: the effect of macro and meso level language policy on Flemish teachers' (standard) language perceptions*. Submitted to Language Policy.

Background

This paper presents a more comprehensive analysis of macro-level language-in-education policy, incorporating not only the governmental language policy documents (cf. Chapter 3), but also other forms of macro-level policy. Furthermore, the paper analyzes language policy at a meso (i.e. school) level, using the schools' inspection reports, as well as interviews with language policy coordinators and the results of a recent governmental study on schools' language policies. Applying the *structure/agency* paradigm to language policy, the paper argues that the rather vague and inconsistent nature of macro-level policy can be used to (at least partly) explain the often ambivalent and even paradoxical nature of teachers' perceptions to Standard Dutch – stressing the importance of the standard while simultaneously downplaying its importance to explain the non-standard language features typically heard in everyday classroom speech.

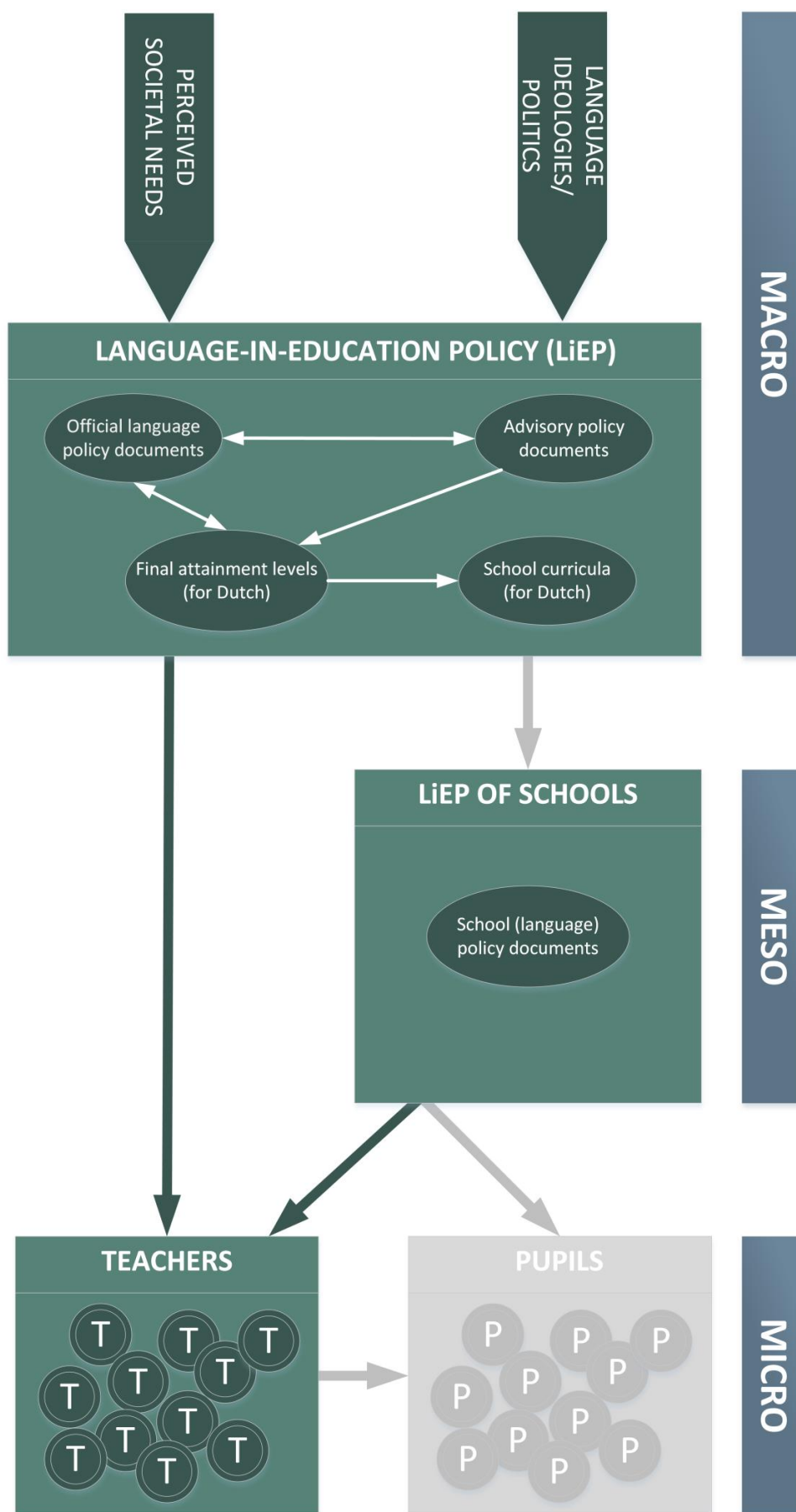


Figure 9: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 4

Abstract

Earlier research on the language perceptions of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers has revealed the often ambivalent nature of teachers' perceptions of Standard Dutch. On the one hand, teachers stress the importance of maintaining the Standard Dutch norm in school contexts, but simultaneously, they come up with discursive strategies to explain their own non-standard classroom language use. This paper argues that these seemingly paradoxical perceptions could be explained by the rather vague and inconsistent nature of macro-level language-in-education policy, with policy documents that reveal two divergent perspectives on language policy, namely a structure-oriented and an agency-oriented one. First, the paper gives an overview of Flemish language-in-education policy, both on the macro (governmental) and meso (school) level. Then, drawing on a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 82 Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, the paper discusses teachers' perceptions of macro and meso level language-in-education policy. In that way, this paper ties in with the recent shift in language policy research from a top-down approach towards a more ethnographic one, focusing on the implementation of policy, as well as on the agency teachers have to interpret, adapt or even resist policy guidelines.

Keywords

Language-in-education policy – structure and agency – Standard Dutch – education – teachers – Flemish – Flanders – colloquial speech

4.1 Introduction

Over the years, there have been several paradigm shifts in the field of language planning and policy (LPP). For a first shift, we need to go back to the beginning of the LPP field, which started out "as something linguists *did*, rather than something that was *studied*" (Johnson and Ricento 2015: 38): they developed grammars, writing systems and dictionaries to help solve the language problems of new, developing, and postcolonial nations. Early (or "classic", cf. Ricento 2000) language planning focused solely on the development of frameworks for status and corpus planning (Haugen 1959), and attempted to "divorce the supposedly objective science of language planning from the ideological and sociopolitical reality of language use" (Johnson and Ricento 2015: 39). This reluctance to consider the role of ideology in language planning disappeared at the end of the 1980s, when a growing number of scholars started to look more closely at the ideological

processes in LPP. The idea that language policies could either normalize or delimit particular ways of thinking, being or educating, became a core feature of critical language policy (CLP, see Tollefson 2006), and from then on, many scholars were concerned with the relationship between discourses, ideologies, power and language policies, looking at how language policies create social inequality among dominant and minority language users (see Phillipson 2003; Shohamy 2006). As Johnson and Ricento (2015) point out, CLP has offered a new perspective on the study of language policy, revealing connections between language policy and power, but it has also been criticized for being overly deterministic (cf. Ricento and Hornberger 1996) and for not paying attention to the entire LPP process (cf. Davis 1999). Over the last two decades, there has been a growing interest in ethnographic research methods: Hornberger and Johnson (2007) have introduced the "ethnography of language policy" as a method for examining the agents, contexts, and processes across multiple layers of what Ricento and Hornberger (1996) have called the "language policy onion". In the last few years, a substantial body of ethnographic work on language policy has been published, from the role of the local in language policy (Canagarajah 2005), to the negotiation of language policy in schools (Menken and García 2010).

All these recent studies seem to have one thing in common, which could be seen as a second paradigm shift in the LPP field: rather than only offering a (discourse) analytic take on policy texts, the focus is primarily on the actual implementation of language policies (cf. McCarty 2011; Menken and García 2010), aiming at a description of "what people actually do" (cf. Spolsky 2004; 2007). By engaging in this study of the 'bottom-up', in addition to the traditional 'top-down' point of view, language policy research has been able to widen its scope significantly. A growing body of research shows that, in spite of national (macro) language policies propagating certain languages or language varieties at the cost of others (Shohamy 2006), educators have the power to interpret, appropriate or resist top-down language policy (cf. Heineke and Cameron 2013; Johnson 2013; Delarue and De Caluwe 2015). As this implementation process is undeniably characterized by processes of unpredictability and creativity (Jaspers 2015a), language education policy put in practice often deviates from the policymakers' desires: "Teachers are not uncritical bystanders passively acquiescent of the state practice; in their own ways, they resist and contest the state policy (...). It is quite clear that the agency of the teachers in the classrooms makes them the final arbiter of the language education policy and its implementation" (Mohanty, Panda and Pal 2010:228). This tension between structure and agency, between the macro and the micro level, is one of the key debates in the current LPP research (cf. Johnson and Ricento 2015: 43-44), and that tension is also reflected in the diversity of language policy research methodologies, ranging from critical theoretical work on the power of language policies to disenfranchise linguistic minorities (e.g. Tollefson 2012), to ethnographic studies of the pivotal role of teachers in language policy processes (e.g. Menken and García 2010). It is important to note, however, that these

different approaches are compatible with each other, and that they can be combined to "offer an important balance between structure and agency – between a critical focus on the power of language policies and an ethnographic understanding of the agency of language policy actors" (Johnson and Ricento 2015: 44).

4.1.1 Language policies from a structure/agency perspective

In his discussion of the 'emancipatory' function of language policy, Jaspaert (2015) discerns between two concepts of language: language from a *structure* perspective vs. language from an *agency* perspective. During the norm formation process, the language use of the dominant class forms the basis for the language norm as it becomes codified in grammars and dictionaries. This uniform concept of (a) language, residing on bookshelves, then becomes part of *structure*: it is generally recognized as the norm, and belongs to the "worldview" (Heine, Proulx and Vohs 2006) of those who live in that culture. Deviations from that language system will be regarded as errors, made by those who are not able to conform to the uniform norm at all times. Simultaneously, however, the *agency* concept of language applies as well: if a certain situation requires a specific form of language use, people will produce that form, without worrying about the fact that their language diverts from the structural norm. For instance, most Flemings would not (try to) speak Standard Dutch in an informal conversation with a friend: for them, non-standard language use just seems more 'appropriate' in that situation, even though Standard Dutch is the norm. Jaspaert's two concepts of language therefore concomitantly determine how language use is perceived: "The structure concept dominates our conscious thought on language, whereas the agency related concept is used whenever we are using language while being focused on something else" (2015: 26–27). In most situations, both concepts of language coexist, and people solve coordination problems by using the language forms which are considered to be the most appropriate in that specific context. That linguistic behavior, however, often clashes with the codified language norm. Whether that clash becomes problematic or not, depends on how someone judges his or her own language use, and how that language use is evaluated by others. That, in turn, is largely dependent on which concept of language (structural vis-à-vis agentive) is borne in mind.

This double conceptualization of language has important implications for language policy, which can also be looked at from a structural or from an agentive perspective. Policy documents are drafted because there is a difference between policy and practice: what actually happens, differs from what policymakers prefer, and they would like the actual practice to shift towards the practice they consider to be ideal. In that respect, Jaspaert (2015: 28) defines a policy as "a formalized way to solve a coordination problem. People have worked out a solution for the problem, and have turned the solution into a prescription on how people should act": they are prompted to use that one uniform

language instead of other languages, which are deemed to be inappropriate in certain (or even all) contexts. This language hierarchization characterizes a language policy built on a (primarily⁴³) *structural* take on language, as it is both prescriptive and strongly top-down oriented – a recipe which appears to be used by the majority of European governments and institutions, aimed at the design of societies in line with their own (linguistic) worldview. At the same time, however, the language proficiency most policymakers aim at, is not so much the explicit knowledge of the uniform language as the ability to accomplish tasks and use the language appropriate to do so (see Jaspaert 2015: 31 and references there). In that respect, one could argue that most language policy documents could also be interpreted from an *agency*-oriented perspective. This double conceptualization of language policy resembles the framework of Ball (1993), who discerns between "policy as discourse" and "policy as text". From a "policy as text" point of view, policies are:

representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context). A policy is both contested and changing, always in a state of 'becoming', of 'was' and 'never was' and 'not quite' (Ball 1993:11)

Policy then leaves room for interpretation and contextualization, instead of working in a straight line from formulation to implementation: they are "not necessarily clear or closed or complete (...) [and] spread confusion and allow for play in the playing-off of meanings" (Ball 1993: 11). Instead of looking for any authorial intentions in policy, it is more important to focus on the language policy agents, and how they interpret, reinterpret and implement policy texts – often in very distinct ways, as "authors cannot control the meanings of their texts" (Ball 1993: 11).⁴⁴ The "policy as discourse" perspective, on the other hand, takes into account that the previous orientation potentially "concentrates too much on what those who inhabit policy think about and misses and fails to attend to what they do not think about" (Ball 1993: 14). Instead, language policy could be viewed as a discursive, ideological instrument of power, through the production of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses. In that respect, Johnson and Ricento (2015: 44) point out "the potential power of educational policies to set boundaries on what is educationally feasible".

⁴³ It should be stressed (once again) that structure and agency cannot be separated completely: a certain degree of agency is required to create structures, and agency does not occur 'in vacuo', without any form of structure. In this case, for instance, a prescriptive take on language is seen as primarily structural, but of course, this prescriptivism is inherently agentive as well – for without agency, (a) language could not be prescribed in the first place.

⁴⁴ However, as Ball (1993: 11) also stresses, "policy authors do make concerted efforts to assert such control by the means at their disposal", in order to limit the number of possible readings to some extent.

As Verckens, Simons and Kelchtermans (2009: 25) note, these two views on what a (policy) text precisely is or does also have an impact on LPP research. If policy is solely seen as an instrument used by policymakers to communicate certain ideas, and thus as a reflection of their intentions, “the text is taken as being evidence of what the author intended to express” (Olssen, O’Neill and Codd 2004: 60-61). LPP research then essentially boils down to (re)tracing the policymakers’ intentions. However, policies can also be seen as emerging ‘worldviews’, in which policymakers problematize specific phenomena (e.g. language deficiency in multilingual children who do not speak the dominant (standard) language at home). In doing so, they also create a space for certain solutions to those problems, while excluding others (e.g. compulsory language immersion for multilingual children): “Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set” (Ball 1999: 8). LPP researchers then try to track down the worldview that policymakers have shaped discursively.

4.1.2 Conflicting views on language policy: a Flemish case study

This paper aims to discuss how the above-mentioned conceptualizations of language policy take shape in Flemish language-in-education policy on a governmental (macro) and a school (meso) level, and how the (standard) language perceptions of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers relate to both levels of policy. Flanders, the Dutch-speaking north of Belgium, can offer interesting insights when it comes to the relationship between language-in-education policy and classroom language practice. When it comes to spoken language use⁴⁵, the Flemish language repertoire can best be described as diaglossic (Auer 2005; 2011), with Standard Dutch and local dialects at the poles of the continuum, and in between them an extensive array of intermediate varieties (De Caluwe 2009). Those intermediate varieties, often captured under the umbrella term Tussentaal (literally ‘interlanguage’ or ‘in-between-language’), have been subject to rapid expansion over the last few decades, which can be attributed to two main factors (see e.g. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011 for a discussion of other possible explanations). On the one hand, Standard Dutch is an exoglossic standard language, which was imported from the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th century to resist French influence, but has never really been able to win the hearts of the Belgian speakers (Willemyns 2003), despite several large-scale standardization attempts from the government, the media and education from the 1950s onwards (for an overview, see Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). On the other hand, processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss in the central regions of Brabant and East-Flanders

⁴⁵ It should be noted that in Flanders, with respect to *written* language use, Standard Dutch is the undisputed language norm – in sharp contrast to the status of *spoken* Standard Dutch in Flanders.

have led to a functional elaboration of Tussentaal (Willemyns 2007). The use of spoken Standard Dutch in Flanders remains mostly limited to newsreaders on the public and private TV and radio broadcasters – which explains why some linguists use the term *Journaalnederlands* (‘Newscast Dutch’) for (Belgian) Standard Dutch (e.g. Plevoets 2008, 2013; Cajot 2012). Outside of the news studio, in everyday life, Standard Dutch can be characterized as a “virtual colloquial variety (...), desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice” (De Caluwe 2009: 19, my translation).

The rather troubled relations Flemings therefore have with spoken Standard Dutch become even more prominent in educational contexts. As I want to show in this paper, the standard language norm is propagated extensively in governmental and school language-in-education policy documents (cf. *infra*, also see Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Delarue and De Caluwe 2015), and interviews with Flemish primary and secondary school teachers reveal how they appear to be faithful “soldiers of the system” (Shohamy 2006:78), who adhere to the same Standard Dutch norm. Simultaneously, however, they come up with discursive strategies to explain their non-standard classroom language use, which often contains Tussentaal and dialect features (Delarue 2013). This ambivalence in teachers’ (standard) language perceptions could seem paradoxical at first sight (cf. Delarue 2011), but as I will argue, it is the inevitable outcome of the rather difficult position Flemish teachers are in: as they are expected to meet the – often contradictory – demands of the government (macro level), the school (meso level) and the pupils they teach (micro level⁴⁶), it is no more than logical that the teachers’ interview discourse reflects that dissonance to a certain extent (for a similar point, see Delarue 2014: 242; Jaspers 2015b: 352). This paper wants to explore this ambivalence further by looking at how Flemish teachers serve as active “agents of language policy” (Heineke and Cameron 2013), who stress the importance of Standard Dutch on an abstract level, but simultaneously interpret, adapt and even resist that language-in-education policy when it comes to concrete education settings.

⁴⁶ For reasons of length, the micro level is not discussed in this paper: we refer to Delarue and Van Lancker (2016) and Delarue (2014; 2015; submitted-a) for an overview of the discursive strategies used by teachers (and pupils) not to comply with the standard language norm in classroom contexts.

4.2 Methodology

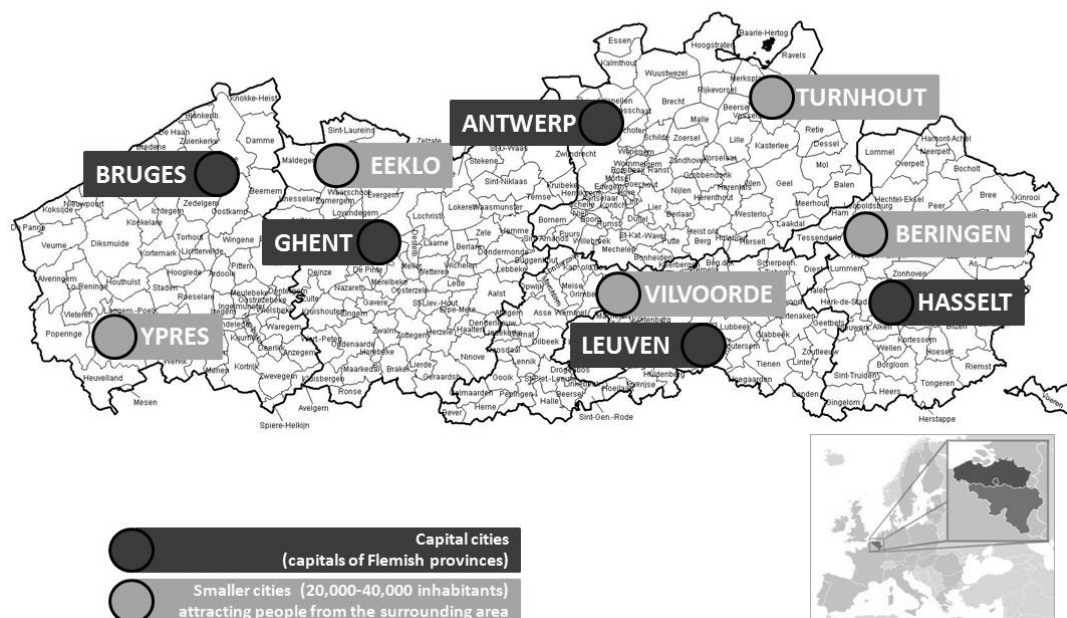


Figure 10: Map of Flanders, showing the ten cities included in the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language

The analyses in this paper draw on interview data from the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language (CFTL, see Delarue 2014). The CFTL corpus, which was compiled between October 2012 and February 2014, contains speech data of 82 Flemish teachers, teaching in 21 primary and secondary schools in 10 different cities (see Figure 10): the five province capitals (Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven and Hasselt), and five smaller regional cities (Ypres, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde and Beringen), which attract people from the surrounding communities for school, work, shopping or leisure activities. The schools participating in the study are all catholic schools, to rule out potential (policy) differences between schools from different educational networks. The teachers themselves were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate; there were no specific requirements as to gender, age, region of birth or current residence. In spite of this quite random selection, informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different demographic categories. 59% of the teachers in the corpus are female ($n=48$), and 41% are male ($n=34$). The spread of the informants over different age groups is quite even as well, ranging from 23 to 60 years old.

One informant characteristic was specifically controlled for during selection: in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms, a distinction was made between three groups. A first group, totaling roughly a quarter of all the teachers involved in the corpus ($n=18$), taught in the 6th class

of primary school. The other teachers were secondary school teachers, teaching 3rd grade (n=31) and 6th grade (n=33) of general secondary education (*ASO* or *Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*). In the secondary schools included in the research, teachers of Dutch were selected, as well as teachers of other school subjects (for example, Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics), as long as the subjects were taught in Dutch.

The corpus contains two types of speech data for each of the 82 teacher-informants: lesson recordings and sociolinguistic interviews. During these (semi-structured) interviews, four key topics were addressed: (i) an assessment of (the language use of) the pupils; (ii) the education and teacher training of the teacher, and the attention that was given to Standard Dutch; (iii) the knowledge of and views on language-in-education policy; (iv) the personal linguistic background and the language-related expectations for him/herself and other teachers. In this paper, especially the third part of the interviews presented me with particularly interesting perspectives, as the teachers were asked to sketch out their vision on language-in-education policy, both on the governmental and the school level.

In keeping with most empirical studies on teachers' beliefs on language education and language use, this paper draws on a qualitative approach. Although adopting an exclusively qualitative approach has some intrinsic limitations, such as a rather small sample size and the fact that it is relatively more difficult to provide a comparative perspective (see Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag accepted, for similar comments), a qualitative research methodology (conducting interviews, in this case) can deepen our understanding of how teachers perceive, implement, adopt or resist language-in-education policies, identifying the full scope of teachers' beliefs present in Flemish classrooms. Jaspers (2015b) also signals a possible weakness of using interview data in perceptual studies: in some cases, teachers' responses provide the interviewer with an idealized image of the mostly chaotic and inconsistent classroom practice, which means they do not offer a true-to-life reflection of how these teachers actually behave linguistically in the classroom. In this study, however, this potential problem can be surpassed, as I dispose of lesson recordings and fieldnotes for each of the teacher-informants, enabling me to check (if needed) if and how the statements expressed in the interviews relate to the classroom reality.

After transcribing all of the (audio-recorded) interviews, the transcripts were coded and analyzed with the aid of NVivo software, following the principles of thematic analysis (Boyatzis 1998; Braun and Clarke 2006). The transcripts were first read and reread, in order to become familiar with the data. Then, codes (e.g. *language testing*, *focus on spelling*, *use of vocabulary lists*) were ascribed to meaningful text units in the interviews. After coding several interviews in this inductive way, the code list was compared critically with the content of the interview transcripts, to ensure the validity and reliability of the coding procedure. Codes were grouped together, and I searched for themes among them. In this paper, I discuss the themes which emerged from the third part of each interview, in which

the teacher-informants talk about their perceptions of the governmental language education policy, as well as the school language policy (if the school had one). In eight of the schools participating in this study, I had the chance to additionally interview the language policy coordinator⁴⁷, enabling me to gain more insight into the history, the development and the content of the schools' language policies. The other schools in the study did not have an appointed language policy coordinator, and the principals of those schools refrained from being interviewed on the topic of language policy, telling me that "they did not have much to say on the topic" or that "I could read all about it in the inspection reports of the government". I took that last suggestion to heart: after retrieving the inspection reports for all the schools involved in our study, I scanned through them, looking for mentions of the school's language policy which could complement the interview data (cf. *infra*).

4.3 Macro-level policy: vague and inconsistent

During the 1980s and 1990s, the Flemish education system was more open towards multilingualism and non-Dutch home languages than today, offering programs with bilingual curricula or curricula in home language and culture. Since then, however, many of those programs have been suspended and replaced by Dutch submersion programs, remedial language courses and language testing (cf. Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Agirdag 2010). Pulinx et al. (accepted) offer two explanations for this shift in education policy. First, a process of sub-state nation building has been taking place in Flanders: because of the rapid transition into a multicultural society, Flanders has been on the lookout for a recognizable Flemish identity, with a common language and shared norms and values. In the light of that goal, the home languages of immigrants (e.g. Turkish, Arabic) were seen as impediments to Dutch language proficiency. Second, the increased impact of international comparative research programs also explains the shift towards a stricter language-in-education policy in Flanders. Especially the results of the international PISA⁴⁸ studies have been explicitly used by Flemish policymakers as scientific proof that a stricter language policy needed to be implemented (cf.

⁴⁷ In two cases, the school's language policy coordinator already took part in my study as one of the teacher-informants. Therefore, no additional interview was needed in those cases, and the discussion of the school's language policy was incorporated in the 'regular' interview.

⁴⁸ PISA (in full: *Programme for International Student Assessment*) is an international study that was launched by the OECD (*Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development*) in 1997. It aims to evaluate education systems worldwide every three years by assessing 15-year-olds' competencies in three key subjects: Reading, Mathematics and Science. To date, over 70 countries and economies have participated in PISA. More information is available on the PISA website: <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/>.

Vandenbroucke 2007: 7). However, the PISA results only indicated that Belgian schools have a hard time overcoming differences in social background, with a large gap between the best performing pupils and the weakest ones (OECD 2010: 9). Although they did not suggest that a restrictive language policy was the solution to that problem, the PISA results were used as a reason to install an explicitly monolingual policy framework, based on the assumption that being proficient in Dutch is a condition to successfully participate in education (and in society at large). Using a language other than Dutch at home, however, is considered to be detrimental to school success, leading to insufficient proficiency in Dutch (cf. Van den Branden and Verhelst 2009; Pulinx and Van Avermaet 2014). In 2007, these assumptions were made explicit by Frank Vandenbroucke, the Education Minister at that time, in his language-in-education policy document *De lat hoog voor talen in iedere school. Goed voor de sterken, sterk voor de zwakken* ('Setting the bar high for language in every school. Good for the strong, strong for the weak'), in which he insists on Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside of the classroom. According to Vandenbroucke (2007), propagating this standard would solve both the problem of multilingualism and the problem of the increasing use of non-standard varieties. Standard Dutch is defined as the result of "setting the bar high" (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4), and is characterized by "a rich proficiency" (2007: 4) and "appropriate language and communication" (2007: 11).⁴⁹ By contrast, non-standard varieties are qualified with adjectives as "bad, inarticulate and regional" (2007: 4) or "sloppy" (2007: 11).⁵⁰ In a follow-up policy document (Smet 2011), this distinction between Standard Dutch and non-standard varieties or languages other than Dutch was profiled in an even sharper way, stating that "a rich knowledge of Standard Dutch is the prerequisite for who wants to learn, live, work in Flanders" (Smet 2011: 3, my translation). This government stance, in which Standard Dutch is regarded as a *conditio sine qua non* for succesful participation in society, attempts to kill two birds with one stone, as both pupils who speak another language at home and pupils who use *Tussentaal* or a dialect are urged to learn Standard Dutch. A more fine-grained analysis of the governmental

⁴⁹ The original quotes were: *Slechts door elke jongere tot correcte en rijke vaardigheid in de standaardtaal te begeleiden, garandeert het onderwijs dat maatschappelijke talenten niet afhankelijk zijn van herkomst, maar van de mate waarin iemands talenten tot ontwikkeling zijn gebracht. De lat hoog leggen, vergt discipline.* [Only by guiding every youngster to a correct and rich proficiency in the standard language, can education guarantee that talents in society are not dependent on origin, but on the extent to which one's talents have been developed. Setting the bar high requires discipline, my translation] and *Kunnen communiceren in Standaardnederlands is een noodzakelijke voorwaarde voor goed onderwijs. Bij het streven naar verzorgde taal en communicatie gaat het onderwijs vaak in tegen maatschappelijke tendensen.* [Being able to communicate in Standard Dutch is a prerequisite for good education. In striving for appropriate language and communication, education often goes against social trends, my translation].

⁵⁰ *Scholen die aandacht schenken aan taalzorg, zijn vaak eilanden in een context waar slordige tussentaal getolereerd wordt.* [Schools that pay attention to correct language use, are often islands in a context where sloppy Tussentaal is tolerated, my translation].

language-in-education policy in Flanders can be found in Blommaert and Van Avermaet (2008), Delarue and De Caluwe (2015), and Jaspers (2008; 2015b).

It is important to note, however, that the Flemish government is not the only institution engaging in language-in-education policies at a macro level. Over the last decade, the *Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren* (Council for the Dutch Language and Literature, henceforth abbreviated as RNTL) of the *Taalunie* (Dutch Language Union), which sets official joint policy in all Dutch-speaking countries with respect to the Dutch language, has put two panels of experts to work: a *Werkgroep Taalvariatie* (Working Group Language Variation) and a *Werkgroep Onderwijs* (Working Group Education). Both panels have produced an advisory report, with recommendations for the ministers of Culture and Education in both the Netherlands and Flanders (Schramme 2003; Jaspaert 2006⁵¹), and both reports were adopted by the RNTL. As shown in the following examples, these recommendations strongly diverge from the governmental policy guidelines discussed earlier:

Ten aanzien van variatie binnen de standaardtaal verdient het de voorkeur het accent te leggen op normvorming en niet op normgeving opdat het beleid aansluit bij de talige werkelijkheid, waar sprake is van diversiteit (Schramme 2003).

With regard to variation within the standard, it is preferable to focus on norm forming instead of norm giving, so that the policy would fit in with the linguistic reality, which is characterized by diversity.

The RNTL advises against a top-down enforcement of the standard language norm, and instead advocates a bottom-up approach, in which the actual language use is mirrored in the process of language codification – a process of *norm forming*, rather than *norm giving*. Language variation is considered to be a normal and natural phenomenon, and non-standard varieties need to be approached in a positive way. For the RNTL, especially the media and education should play a leading role in introducing a more tolerant stance towards language variation, both within and outside of the standard language variety (Schramme 2003). In 2006, an educational working group was put to work, in order to provide the RNTL with a report and an advice on language variation in educational settings. The working group's final report focuses greatly on the emancipatory function of education (Jaspaert 2006:18), and in its eventual advice, the RNTL connects this to the ongoing debate on language variation and norms:

[E]en van de hoofddoelstellingen van het onderwijs Nederlands is ervoor te zorgen dat een ieder de talige bagage kan verwerven die nodig is om op een aanvaardbare manier en zelfredzaam aan het maatschappelijke leven deel te nemen. Dit betekent

⁵¹ Currently, the *Taalunie* is working on a new advisory report, dedicated to language norms and language variation in education.

ook dat burgers kennis dienen te hebben van normen en waarden over taal en taalgebruik (Van der Aalsvoort 2006).

[O]ne of the main targets of the education of Dutch is to make sure that everyone can acquire the linguistic competence needed to take part in society in an acceptable and independent way. This also means that citizens need to know the norms and values associated with language and language use.

The report strongly connects the emancipatory function of language education to its reproductive function (e.g. passing on knowledge, reproducing cultural values and norms), as anyone who wants to take part in society (emancipation) needs to know about societal norms (reproduction). Both are important, according to the RNTL, but the working group clearly prioritizes the emancipatory function:

Ze [de burgers, sd] moeten over de vaardigheid in het Nederlands beschikken om in diverse situaties te functioneren. Ze moeten de kennis over taal en talige producten hebben die nodig is om in het maatschappelijke verkeer gewaardeerd te worden. En ze moeten de attitudes ontwikkelen die bij dat talig acceptabel functioneren horen. (...) Kiezen voor emancipatie betekent dat men ervoor zorgt dat culturele reproductie niet de boventoon gaat voeren (Jaspaert 2006: 18).

They [the citizens, sd] need to have the Dutch language skills required to function in diverse situations. They need to have the knowledge of language and linguistic products necessary to be appreciated in everyday life. And they have to develop the right attitudes, matching that linguistically acceptable performance. (...) Choosing for emancipation means making sure that cultural reproduction does not predominate.

Apart from that 'cultural reproduction', i.e. teaching pupils about the language norms, the working group also emphasizes the importance of 'culture construction' in language norm education, which is described as "adjusting these norms to developments in society, together with the pupils" (Jaspaert 2006: 17, my translation) – tying in with the *norm forming* perspective from the previous advisory document. Both RNTL reports express a strong emancipatory perspective, pleading for a more "humane" language policy (Craps 2002) that focuses on the language user. When it comes to language use, education should follow developments in society, making sure that pupils can express themselves appropriately in an extensive array of situations.

These advisory policy documents offer a radically different perspective on classroom language use compared to the governmental language-in-education policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011), which creates substantial confusion, vagueness and "norm chaos" (De Schryver 2014: 6, my translation). Moreover, the *eindtermen* or final attainment levels (henceforth FALs) for Dutch as a school subject, imposed on schools by the Flemish government, offer yet another perspective on classroom language norms. In 2010, renewed FALs for Dutch were gradually introduced by the Entity Curriculum of the Flemish Department of Education, following a lament of a former Minister of Education in his language-in-education policy document:

De huidige eindtermen taalbeschouwing (...) zijn te vrijblijvend. Vier van de vijf zijn geformuleerd als attitudes, waarvoor scholen nauwelijks een resultaatsverplichting hebben. (...) Wanneer we 'zijn bereid tot' zouden vervangen door 'kunnen' of een ander actief werkwoord, zetten we de attitude om in een resultaatsverplichting (Vandenbroucke 2007: 19).

The current final attainment levels for the study of language (...) are too noncommittal. Four out of five are phrased as attitudes, for which schools barely need to achieve any results. (...) If we would replace 'are willing to' with 'can' or another active verb, we convert this attitude into a commitment.

However, these new FALs seem to be equally generic and open regarding the classroom use of Standard Dutch and other (non-standard) varieties. Language is presented as a collection of varieties, and the standard variety is one of them, without any inherent predominance over the others. Pupils are expected to be prepared to⁵² use Standard Dutch in "appropriate contexts of communication" (FAL 1.8, 2.14, 3.11⁵³, my translation), but should also pay attention to other varieties: they need to be able to evaluate a speaker's language use (FAL 2.5) and to adjust their own language use "according to their speech and conversation goal(s), as well as their audience" (FAL 2.13, my translation). In order to reach those goals, primary school pupils are already expected to reflect on their own and others' language use (FAL 0.6.4), revealing once again the rather open and variation-friendly perspective of the FALs on classroom language use. At the same time, however, the FALs could be characterized as vague and unclear, as they often lack specific information. For instance, the importance of reflecting on language norms is repeated time and again (FAL 1.22, 2.38, 3.31), but without defining what a *norm* precisely is – is it an 'instruction', or rather a 'social expectation' (De Schryver 2014: 12)? The notion *standard language* is not defined either, despite the fact that it is "a slippery concept (...) in need of further critical consideration" (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 11; also see Delarue 2013: 198-199). Especially in the Flemish context, with a exogenous Standard Dutch norm which has been imported from the Netherlands, this lack of further description creates uncertainty and even a sense of exemption: two teachers with diametrically opposed perceptions vis-à-vis Standard Dutch could still very well both be in line with the FALs.

⁵² Remarkably, the renewed FALs equally emphasize the importance of a "readiness to" speak Standard Dutch (FAL 1.8, 3.11), contrasting sharply with the governmental policy's ambition to impose higher expectations on schools. Only in the principles of the FALs for the second stage of secondary education, pupils are expected to "be prepared and capable of (...) speaking Standard Dutch when the situation demands it" (my translation), but in the third stage's FALs, that focus on capability disappears in thin air (Delarue 2011: 9).

⁵³ The numbering of the FALs should be interpreted as follows: the first number points out the level of education (0 = primary education, 1 through 3 = first, second or third stage of secondary education), while the second (and in some cases the third) number refer(s) to the number of the specific FAL. All FALs can be found (in Dutch) on <http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/curriculum/>.

With its final attainment levels, the Flemish government tries to help pupils gain a scientifically warranted insight in language use, with an open attitude towards language variation. Gaining competence in Standard Dutch remains the focal point, but the standard variety is seen as only one of the varieties of Dutch. However, the FALs are formulated in a too generic and implicit way, and the same goes for the curricula of the various educational networks, in which the FALs are translated into a workable model for Dutch language teachers. Inevitably, the remarkable divergence in how these curricula deal with the Standard Dutch norm (see De Schryver 2014 for an overview) will also be reflected in teachers' (standard) language perceptions.

It is striking to see the glaring contradictions in all of these different types of macro language-in-education policy – governmental policy documents, advisory policies, final attainment levels and school curricula. Figure 11 presents a schematic model of these oppositions, which lead to a rather unclear and vague policy framework on the macro level, showing how they are tied to other levels of policy. National policies and policy frameworks evidently have an influence on teachers' beliefs on a micro level (Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag accepted), but so do the organizational, pedagogical and didactical characteristics of the school (Oakes 1985; Lee 2000; Van Maele and Van Houtte 2011), which is expected to have a language policy document of its own (cf. *infra*).

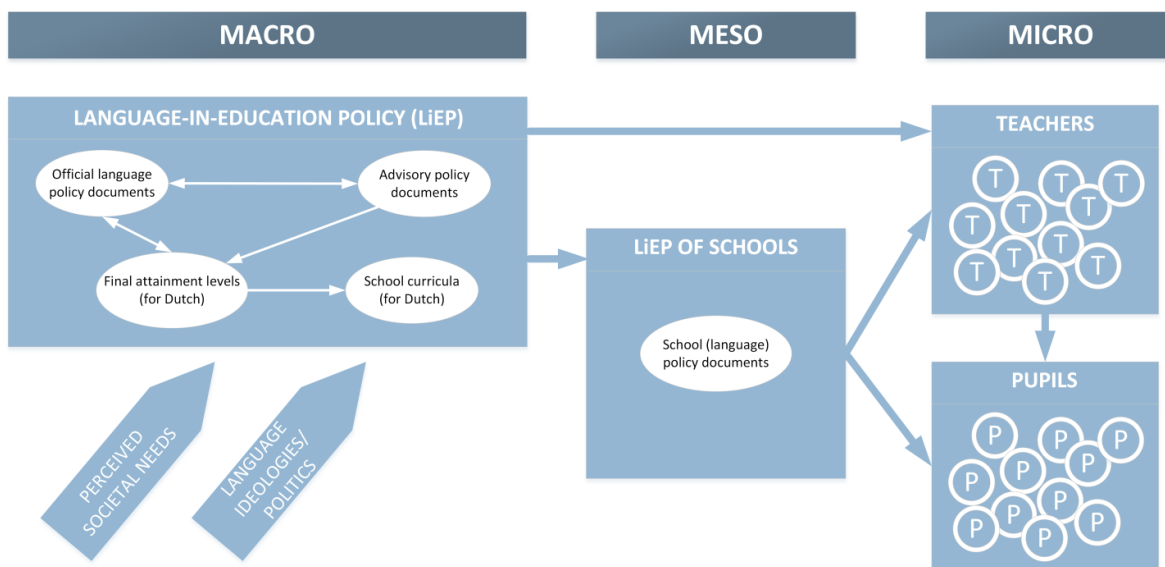


Figure 11: Model of the different levels on which language policy operates: the macro (governmental), meso (school) and micro (individual) level

4.4 Macro-level policy: teachers' perceptions

Compared to the other manifestations of macro-level policy, the expectations of the governmental language-in-education policy documents (Vandenbroucke 2007; Smet 2011) appear to have filtered through rather successfully to Flemish teachers: various studies have shown how teachers stress the importance of Standard Dutch in educational settings, thus endorsing the governmental policy (Blommaert, Creve and Willaert 2006; Jaspers 2005a; Agirdag 2010; among others). During the interviews, the teacher-informants in my study claim to adhere the same importance to the standard language norm, stressing their exemplary role (see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016; Delarue submitted-a). However, when they are asked whether they know the governmental language-in-education policy, their answers reveal a rather limited knowledge of macro-level policy. Although the fairly small-scaled nature of our study (n=82) urges us to be careful in quantifying statements from the interviews, it is striking that only 9 teachers (11%) indicate that they know the policy documents of the Flemish Ministers of Education. In most cases, these teachers are the language policy coordinators of the school, or they are members of a language policy task force at their school, which explains their knowledge of the macro-level policy. On the other hand, 34 teachers (41%) blatantly admit that they are unaware of the governmental language-in-education policy, stating that they have never heard of it. Almost half of the teachers in our study (n=39, 48%), however, does not give a clear answer. Extracts 1 through 4 provide some examples of what these vague answers look like. In some cases, teachers (consciously?) evade the question about the governmental policy, and instead start talking about things they *do* know about language-in-education policy, albeit on other levels. In Extract 1, for example, Benjamin, a Dutch language teacher, changes the topic to the school's language policy, pointing out that the school serves as an experimental zone for new governmental policy initiatives – a status which, according to Benjamin, compensates his lack of knowledge of the governments' language-in-education policy. For him, the meso-level activities of the school are more important; for instance, he refers to a poster project in which posters containing academic vocabulary are hung up in the classrooms, for all the pupils to see.

Extract 1

Benjamin, M, 32, Dutch language teacher, Vilvoorde⁵⁴

⁵⁴ These interview extracts were slightly adjusted: because the content prevails here, phonological deletions (for example, *niet* 'not' instead of *niet*, *ik eb* 'I have' instead of *ik heb*) were conformed to Standard Dutch. However, non-standard forms of morphosyntactic or lexical nature are unaltered. In the text, pauses are expressed by dots, going from one dot (.) for short breaks, to three dots (...) for long breaks.

Benjamin: euh ik weet wel dat . wat wij hier op school doen euh met de taalposterwoorden en dergelijke dat wij ook een proeftuinproject van de overheid zijn hé dus dat wij ook euhm dingen uittesten voor de overheid euhm om nu te zeggen dat ik exact kan vertellen wat er in die euh nota's staat daar . moet ik negatief op antwoorden maar . 'k weet wel waarmee we bezig zijn en ik weet ook dat wij .. ik vind ook zal ik het zo zeggen dat wij goed bezig zijn door daaraan mee te doen

Benjamin: uhm I do know that . what we do here in school uhm with the posters with school words and such that we also serve as a try-out school for governmental initiatives right so that we also uhm test things for the government uhm but to say that I can tell you exactly what's in those uhm policy documents I . have to respond negatively to that but . I do know what we're doing and I also know that we .. I think let me put it like that that we're doing a good job by participating in those things

Other teachers dismiss the question by referring to language teachers, who should be the ones dealing with language policy. Extract 2 shows how Henri, a teacher of Catholic religion, does not feel the need to read or hear about language-in-education policy himself, but expects his colleagues to fill him in on things he needs to know.

Extract 2

Henri, M, 55, Catholic religion teacher, Beringen

Henri: ja we hebben gelukkig taalleerkrachten die dat naar ons toe vertalen laat ik het zo zeggen

INT: uhu

Henri: dus dat we 't zelf niet volledig moeten lezen

Henri: yes fortunately we have language teachers who translate that for us let me put it like that

INT: uhu

Henri: so that we don't have to read it entirely ourselves

However, a similar evasion strategy is being used by some of the language teachers themselves: in Extract 3, Dutch language teacher Astrid declares that she has heard about the governmental language-in-education policy – which could very well just be a socially acceptable answer, of course – but is not really occupied with the contents of those policy documents. Instead, she quickly defers that task to the school's working group on language policy.

Extract 3

Astrid, F, 56, Dutch language teacher, Ghent

Astrid: ik heb ervan gehoord maar ik ben daar eigenlijk niet echt mee bezig . er is dus een werkgroep bij ons op school die zich daar actief mee bezighoudt en wat de

nota precies is weet ik niet . ik zie wel dat zij een aantal acties doen en die zijn ook goed euh maar wat het precies is ik weet het niet

Astrid: I've heard about it but I'm not really concerned about that . so there's a working group in our school that deals with that actively and what that policy document is exactly I do not know . I do see that they undertake a number of actions which is good uhm but what it is exactly I don't know

Despite these deferring strategies, which seem to be indicative of a lack of (specific) knowledge of the governmental language-in-education policy, the teacher-informants in my study do stress the importance of macro-level policy. Its focus on Standard Dutch is found to be imperative for pupils' future perspectives: most of the teachers in my interview corpus are convinced that competence in the standard language variety is essential for a successful career (but see Jaspers 2012), especially for multilingual pupils who do not speak Dutch at home (cf. Pulinx, Van Avermaet and Agirdag accepted).

Later in the interviews, however, this promotion of Standard Dutch as the exclusive classroom language variety turns out to be rather symbolic for most teachers. Esther, a 24-year-old Mathematics teacher, feels it is important to have official policy documents in which the importance of standard language use is established, but classroom reality could very well differ from those policy guidelines. At the beginning of Extract 4, Esther discusses what would happen if she would actually enforce the requirement to speak Standard Dutch in all school contexts, stating that pupils would actively resist that obligation.

Extract 4

Esther, F, 24, Mathematics teacher, Turnhout

Esther: dat geeft extra druk en dat . dat vinden ze toch niet leuk en dan gaan ze zich daartegen verzetten en . ik denk niet dat dat een goed idee is (*lacht*)

INT: als ze erop letten is het genoeg . vat ik het dan goed samen?

Esther: ja . ja . ja

INT: ja . en wat zou er dan op papier moeten komen?

Esther: mja (*lacht*) dat is moeilijk om te zeggen . ik vind 't niet slecht dat het zo op papier staat want . 't is natuurlijk een streefdoel waar dat we allemaal naar kunnen werken maar dan met een eigen interpretatie net zoals dat je een leerplan moet volgen maar wel op uw eigen manier (...) want als . als je gaat schrijven . dat het niet AN hoeft te zijn dan gaan ze 't nog lossier interpreteren dan . 't is altijd een stapje lager

INT: uhu

Esther: dan dat er op papier staat denk ik

Esther: that puts the pressure on and that . they actually don't like that and then they'll resist that and . I don't think that's a good idea (laughs)

INT: if they pay attention to it that's enough . does that sum it up for you?

Esther: yes . yes . yes

INT: yes . and what should be put on paper then?

Esther: hm (laughs) that's hard to say . for me it's not bad to put it down on paper because . of course it's a goal we can all strive for but then with a personal interpretation just like you have to follow a curriculum but still in your own way (...) because if . if you write . that it does not have to be Standard Dutch then they'll interpret it in an even more casual way then . it always turns out to be a step back

INT: uhu

Esther: compared to what's on paper I think

Despite that problem of practicability, Esther still would like the Standard Dutch norm to be explicitly present in the macro-level language-in-education policy – not as a benchmark that absolutely needs to be met, but at as a more or less noncommittal goal. Pupils (as well as teachers) should pay attention to their language use, but as long as they make an effort, that suffices. This ties in with the "effort dimension" Lybaert (2014a) found in her in-depth interviews with laymen on Flanders' language situation: making an effort serves as an acceptable proxy for actual standard language use.

Similar opinions are found throughout the interview corpus: teachers stress the importance of the Standard Dutch norm and the stipulation of that norm in policy documents, but only on an abstract level. When it comes to concrete education settings, teachers want to safeguard their classroom independence, enabling them to interpret, adapt or even resist language-in-education policy to their liking. During the interviews, teachers continuously emphasized that although the mandatory use of Standard Dutch in all school contexts would be absolutely desirable, it is just not feasible. To substantiate that view, they point out some of the negative traits Standard Dutch is often linked to (e.g. unnatural, artificial, aloof; see Impe and Speelman 2007; Lybaert 2014a; Delarue submitted-a), rendering the standard variety unsuited for classroom interaction, or they argue that their pupils' language use cannot be monitored at all times. Instead, some alternatives emerge from the teacher interviews, in which the desirable yet unattainable standard-at-all-times norm is exchanged for more liberal rules: pupils should do their best when they are talking to teachers (but not amongst themselves, in the playground for instance), and teachers should make an effort if pupils can hear them (because of the exemplary role teachers have). That way, teachers are able to compromise both between desirability and feasibility, and between abstract macro-level policy and concrete micro-level classroom practice.

4.5 Meso-level policy: facing reality

In between the rather vague, abstract macro-level policy and the concrete, situationally contingent micro-level practice, schools have language policies of their own, on a meso level. In Flanders, schools have a substantial level of autonomy, in line with the freedom of education inscribed in the Belgian constitution. However, this autonomy is guarded by the Flemish school inspectorate, whose importance has been growing significantly over the last few years (Penninckx et al. 2015). In 2008, the implementation of a school language policy was added to the list of requirements Flemish schools need to meet (Vermeire 2008). The 2015 edition of the *Onderwijsspiegel* ('Mirror of Education'), the yearly report of the Flemish school inspection, had language policy in school settings as a central theme, and reported on a study conducted between 2010 and 2014 in 1409 primary and secondary schools. In the study, a number of elements pertaining to school language policies were assessed, both concerning content (Dutch as a medium of instruction and communication) and organization (purposiveness, efficacy, development). Compared to a pilot study conducted in 2009-2010, the inspectorate found a "clearly positive evolution when it comes to developing a vision on language policy" (Department of Education and Training 2015a: 73, my translation).

Some schools, however, appear to pay less attention to the actual contents of a school-wide language policy, sticking to a vision statement (or even having no language policy at all). This is especially the case for schools with a low number of pupils with a home language other than Dutch; for schools operating in an increasingly multilingual context, this multilingualism appears to be a strong motivation for developing a system of language tests and screenings as part of a language policy.⁵⁵ The inspectorate lashes out at all schools who still lack such a system, as "these schools are a bit too trusting in assuming that teachers will remedy problems within their own classrooms and do not check if this presupposition relates to reality" (Department of Education and Training 2015a: 74, my translation). The same seems to go for the use of (Standard) Dutch in Flemish classrooms: "Principals are generally hesitant to didactically guide their teachers when it comes to using Dutch as a medium of instruction" (id.: 76, my translation), and although a large majority of schools explicitly expects their pupils to use Standard Dutch in school contexts, practically none of the schools consequently check if this requirement is put into practice. In their conclusion, the inspectorate focuses on the progress that was made in recent years, but adds that language policy is not limited to teachers of Dutch

⁵⁵ As of 2014, these language screenings are compulsory in Flemish primary and secondary education (see <http://data-onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/edulex/document.aspx?docid=14689> and <http://data-onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/edulex/document.aspx?docid=9418>, accessed 1 May 2016).

and other languages: all teachers are explicitly asked to play their part, both by offering language support in the classroom and by using Standard Dutch while teaching.

With this clear focus on language policy, one expects that all school inspection reports would contain an extensive paragraph assessing the school's language policy.⁵⁶ For the 21 schools included in our study, we checked all inspection reports for references to *taalbeleid* "language policy", *taalgebruik* "language use" or *(Standaard)Nederlands* "(Standard) Dutch".⁵⁷ First and foremost, I looked at the period under focus in the "Mirror of Education", i.e. since 2010. 14 of the 21 schools in our study were visited by a school inspection team during those five years. In 5 of the reports, however, language policy was not mentioned at all, and in the other reports, the topic only received brief treatment. Extracts 5 through 10 give some examples of how the school language policies are discussed in the different reports.

Extract 5 – Primary school – Bruges (2010): "*In the margin of the school investigation*, the inspection looked into the school's language policy. The vision statement in the school's plan of action and several initiatives show that the school pursues its language policy goals."

Extract 6 – Secondary school – Antwerp (2011): "The language policy is seen as a part of the student care and GOK⁵⁸ policy. The middle school already has significant experience with this matter (...); in the higher stages the language policy was started recently with *a number of meaningful initiatives, e.g. screening all of the pupils* on their broad language competencies at the beginning of the second stage" (p. 16)

Extract 7 – Primary school - Ypres (2013): "In its language policy, the school tries to put the principles of language competence education into practice. However, *classroom observations show that some still do not implement the key points of the curriculum*. Linguistic difficulties, for example, are still being used frequently as a

⁵⁶ During a debate in the Committee for Education of the Flemish Parliament devoted to the 'Mirror of Education', however, the inspector-general of the Flemish Inspectorate of Education stated that "language policy was not a focus point in all schools, because there is a differentiated way of inspecting. (...) The focus is decided upon in a pre-investigation. If that investigation shows that the school can make more progress on other areas than language policy or Dutch as a subject, then the inspection will look into those other areas" (<https://www.vlaamsparlement.be/parlementaire-documenten/parlementaire-initiatieven/994589>, p. 19, my translation; accessed 6 December 2015).

⁵⁷ Since 2007, the Flemish Department of Education publishes all inspection reports online on their website (<http://onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/doorlichtingsverslagen>). For two of the schools included in the study, there were no reports available on the website. Fortunately, the Department of Education was kind enough to provide scans of the two reports.

⁵⁸ GOK stands for *Gelijke OnderwijsKansen* ("Equal Educational Opportunities"), and was implemented by the Flemish Department of Education in order to offer all pupils the best learning opportunities possible. By equipping schools (with a considerable number of pupils with a home language other than Dutch) with supplementary funds and staff members, GOK made it possible for schools to set up a remedial system for pupils with specific language needs. The GOK-decree was implemented in 2002, and was terminated six years later, in 2008 (http://www.steunpuntgok.be/over_steunpunt_gelijke_onderwijskansen/geschiedenis/default.aspx, accessed 7 December 2015).

starting point, instead of starting from the child's language. Language as a bearer of meaning is often ignored" (p. 13)

Extract 8 – Secondary school – Turnhout (2013): "A couple of years ago, language policy has become one of the focal points in the school's policy. This has led to a number of initiatives, such as a language screening of all the pupils in the first grade, drawing up bookmarks with instruction words, lists of specific terminology and an email etiquette guide, which aims at using a correct register in different kinds of emails. A substantial number of departments uses these documents and instruments. In the different subjects under inspection, there was plenty of attention to language support. However, the school is well aware that its language policy still can be actualized and adjusted" (p. 31)

Extract 9 – Primary school – Leuven (2010): "The school does not yet have a vision of its role, organization and approach when it comes to language policy. (...) Because of the recent influx of pupils with home languages other than Dutch, following the distribution plan of the school association, the pedagogical team felt the need to take specific measures" (p. 12)

Extract 10 – Primary school – Turnhout (2013): "Now that the population becomes more linguistically heterogeneous, especially in nursery school, there is increased attention to language policy. The school is primarily setting up actions to solve the most critical issues. For the pupils with home languages other than Dutch, the school has drawn up a vision statement." (p. 9)

Using these extracts, I would like to briefly discuss three observations that struck me while reading through all of the inspection reports. First of all, the overall brevity of each of the extracts is notable: in many cases, the school's language policy is merely a footnote in the inspection reports. Extract 5, for instance, shows how language policy only plays a minor role in the whole investigation process: the inspector explicitly states language policy was merely looked at "in the margin of the school investigation". Secondly, the (limited) attention given to school language policies takes various forms. Some of the inspectors mostly focus on whether the school has a vision statement or not, whereas others look at the specific initiatives "on the ground" to assess the school's language policy. In Extract 6, for example, the inspector focuses on the screening of pupils' language competencies, calling it a "meaningful initiative", while in Extract 7, a primary school from Ypres is scorned for not putting the policy document into practice. Although the school disposes of a vision statement, it has not been sufficiently implemented by the teachers in their daily classroom practice. Interestingly, the inspector refers to the official curriculum (*leerplan*) here, and not to the school's language policy. In doing so, he brings up a pedagogical discussion which has erupted in the 1970s, devoted to the question how metalinguistic knowledge (grammar, spelling) should be addressed in the classroom (van der Horst 2008). According to the inspector, and backed by the current curricula and FALs, the focus needs to be on communicative skills, rather than on mere metalinguistic knowledge. In the words of the inspector at hand, teachers need to "start from the child's

language”, and focus on “language as a bearer of meaning”, instead of “ignoring” these aspects and using “linguistic difficulties as a starting point” (see Jaspers 2015b for some interview extracts of teachers refuting this communicative approach). The school in Extract 8 seems to have done a better job, in several ways: this secondary school is not only lauded for its multiple initiatives, the inspector also explicitly mentions the teachers’ support in implementing these actions and points out that – unlike the school in Extract 7 – in this school, the teachers do spend a lot of time and effort offering language support to the pupils. A third and final observation is that the inspectorate often explicitly refers to multilingualism as the main (and sometimes only) reason for schools to work on a language policy, as is the case in Extracts 9 and 10. These extracts seem to serve as perfect examples of the conclusions drawn in the yearly report of the Flemish school inspectorate cited earlier: especially schools who operate in a multilingual context feel the need to draw up an explicit language policy, by writing a vision statement or working out a remedial plan (Department of Education and Training 2015a: 73).

This strong correlation between a multilingual school context and the presence of an (explicit) language policy seems to indicate that most schools still see language policies as *remedial*: pupils who do not have Dutch as a home language are deemed to be language deficient, and are therefore in need of special care, whereas pupils who speak (a variety of) Dutch at home generally are not targeted by (school) language policy initiatives (Clycq et al. 2014). The interviews with language policy coordinators seem to corroborate that view: most schools only began developing language policy documents after the government compelled them to, and refer to the growing number of non-Dutch speaking pupils to explain the importance of policy on a school level. When asked about the governmental macro-level focus on Standard Dutch, nearly all of the coordinators stress that this is an unfeasible expectation, and not a priority on the school level. They simultaneously emphasize that in an ideal world, it would be desirable for all pupils to speak Standard Dutch, but with the current influx of multilingual pupils, the school's language policy needs to reflect (and tackle) the problems teachers face on an everyday basis (cf. Jaspaert 2015) – unlike the governmental language-in-education policy, schools' policies cannot afford to “dream aloud”, as one of the coordinators put it.

4.6 Meso-level policy: teachers' perceptions

Compared to their limited knowledge of macro-level language policy, the teachers in my corpus seem to be better informed about their school's language policy. About one out of five teachers (n=17, 21%) admits not knowing anything about language policy in their school, but the majority of the informants can list a few of the initiatives their school

undertakes to improve the pupils' language competence, mentioning extracurricular tutoring for pupils (n=29), putting up language tips in classrooms and corridors (n=20) and the evaluation of pupils' language use in non-linguistic school subjects (n=12) as the most occurring policy actions. In contrast with the governmental language-in-education policy, teachers also appear to be rather satisfied or neutral when it comes to their schools' language policies: the measures taken by schools are evaluated positively, and nearly all teachers feel these actions are important for both the well-being and the further (professional) perspectives of the pupils. At the same time, the examples of actions mentioned above indicate that the Department of Education and Training is right in concluding that "many schools still keep narrowing down language policy to remedying apparent language deficiencies" (2015b: 16, my translation), instead of (also) taking preemptive actions.

However, the teachers' knowledge of and satisfaction with the schools' policy measures should not be interpreted as an unconditional endorsement of meso-level language policy as such. Initiatives pertaining to language are seen as important, but the teachers feel they should be implemented in everyday school activities, instead of being formalized in vision statements and language policy documents. In Extract 11, for instance, Dutch language teacher Heidi rejects the school's language policy as "an enormous pile of paper", which does not yield any results for the pupils. Language policy is just something that needs to be checked off, in order to pass the school inspection.

Extract 11

Heidi, F, 30, Dutch language teacher, Ypres

INT: euhm de school heeft ook een taalbeleid of had een taalbeleid

Heidi: ja

INT: euhm . weet u daar iets over?

Heidi: euh ik heb daar een heel klein beetje aan meegewerkt maar 't jammere vind ik daar vooral van dat dat een heel grote papierwinkel is en dat er daar heel weinig van . euh . echt in het beleid van de school tot uiting komt
(...) taalbeleid is euh . is iets waarmee je in orde moet zijn .

INT: uhm the school also has a language policy . or had a language policy

Heidi: yes

INT: uhm . do you know something about that?

Heidi: uhm I have participated in that a little bit but the unfortunate thing is that it's mostly an enormous pile of paper and that there's little that . uhm . really is expressed in the school's policy

(...) language policy is uhm . mostly something that needs to be complied with

In the same vein, the interview corpus offers various examples of teachers who dismiss codified language policy documents, stating that teachers already have enough responsibilities, and an abundant set of rules and regulations to abide to. Moreover, the Flemish government expects all teachers to pay attention to numerous topics, from financial education over LGBT rights to the recent fugitive crisis in Europe, inducing one of the language policy coordinators I interviewed to the comment that “in the long run we have so many priorities that you can hardly call them ‘priorities’ anymore” (my translation). Regardless of the importance they probably adhere to each of these topics, the teacher-informants in my corpus feel that too much is expected from them, and that they cannot live up to those expectations. Therefore, they often refrain from a strict school language policy, and instead plead for more “common sense” and more trust in their teacher professionalism (Reynolds 1995; Delarue and Lybaert 2016).

4.7 Discussion and conclusion

Returning to Jaspaert's (2015) difference between looking at language policy from a *structure*-oriented perspective or an *agency*-oriented perspective, these two perspectives could help to understand the vague and inconsistent nature of macro-level language-in-education policy, as well as the ambivalence in teachers' perceptions vis-à-vis Standard Dutch in classroom settings. The governmental language-in-education policy, in which Standard Dutch is propagated as the only appropriate school language variety, is a typical example of a structural take on language policy: a prescriptive, top-down oriented policy text, focusing on emancipation, group affiliation and eliminating social inequality (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008; Delarue and De Caluwe 2015). Other forms of macro-level language policy, such as the reports of the *Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren* (Council for the Dutch Language and Literature), appear to have been written from an agentive point of view, emphasizing the role of the language user. The main goal of this agentive language policy is for people to be able to “accomplish tasks using the full scope of their linguistic abilities” (Jaspaert 2015: 39), instead of devaluating other (i.e. non-Standard Dutch) forms of language. In between the governmental policy documents (structural view) and the RNTL reports (agentive view), the final attainment levels and curricula can be seen as a *compromis à la belge*, situated somewhere in the middle. On the one hand, the openness towards non-standard language varieties, the focus on linguistic reflection and tailoring your speech to specific conversation goals can all be seen as exponents of an agency perspective on language policy. However, on the other hand, competence in Standard Dutch still remains the focal point of the FALs for Dutch as a school subject, leading to substantial vagueness and several inconsistencies. This in-

between position seems to reflect how there is a constant drive towards a more structural perspective, not only in language(-in-education) policy documents, but also in schoolbooks, for example: publishers claim that teachers continuously ask for comprehensive teaching methods, which cover the entire subject matter and do not require much work from the teachers themselves. The recent introduction (in 2014) of compulsory language tests and screenings in Flemish primary and secondary education should also be seen as a large step towards more structure.

The combination of both agentive and structural elements in the macro-level language-in-education policy helps to understand not only the rather vague and contradictory nature of macro-level policy as a whole, but also the strong ambivalence in teachers' (standard) language perceptions (see Delarue and Lybaert 2016, Delarue and Van Lancker 2016). On the one hand, the teachers in my corpus stress the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom settings, emphasizing for instance their exemplary role, the need to maintain a distance with their pupils or the fact that Standard Dutch is the most precise, rich or intelligible language variety. On the other hand, most of the teachers in my corpus refrain from speaking Standard Dutch in various classroom settings, coming up with a myriad of discursive strategies to explain why: because it might damage the relationship with their pupils, because they want to stay authentic or do not feel at ease when speaking Standard Dutch, because they feel other aspects of being a teacher are equally or even more important, etcetera (see Delarue submitted-a for a more elaborate discussion of these strategies). In an earlier paper, I have called this ambivalence "paradoxical" (Delarue 2011), but as Jaspers (2015b: 352) already argued earlier, this contradictory discourse is actually the inevitable outcome of the rather difficult position Flemish teachers find themselves in. Not only are they expected to meet the vague and contradictory demands of the government (macro level), they should also keep in mind the expectations of both the school (meso level) and the pupils they teach (micro level). From that perspective, the teachers' paradoxical perceptions should be seen as logical rather than paradoxical: as Ball (1997: 270) points out, "policies pose problems to their subjects, problems that must be solved in context. Solutions (...) will be localized and should be expected to display 'ad hocery' and messiness". As active language policy agents, teachers ultimately make their own choices in the classroom, marking a difference between the intentions of policy makers (on an abstract level) and the way that policy is actually put in practice (in concrete situations).

One could wonder what the results of this study – and various other sociolinguistic studies – entail for macro-level language policies and policymakers. In that respect, Jaspers (2015a: 111) notes that:

Language policy studies (...) have often tended to be favourably disposed towards teachers and pupils who usurp, undermine or resist nation-states' monolingual policies (...), [which may ignore] a number of other possible responses to language policy, for instance from teachers who are neither extremely convinced of policies

nor very apt at usurping them, or from those who are very convinced but also excell in undermining them.

Similarly, instead of actively trying to overthrow the macro-level governmental policy, the teacher-informants in my study appear to just try and make sense of the continuous friction between policy and practice. This "linguistic friction" (Jaspers 2015a) can justifiably be interpreted as pedagogically problematic, as it apparently creates feelings of stress and uncertainty in teachers, but to some extent, this friction is inevitable and even necessary. After all, policy documents are only drafted because policy makers feel that current practice differs from the ideal they pursue. In that sense, policy needs to be inherently distinct from practice, aiming for a change in that practice towards what is stipulated in the policy. In Delarue and De Caluwe (2015), we pleaded for a more realistic language-in-education policy, that ties in with the way pupils and teachers actually speak in schools, and takes into account the basic sociolinguistic insight that both intra- and interlingual diversity is an essential part of how language functions in society (also see Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008). However, it is unclear whether the teacher-informants in my study are actually advocates of such a policy: as Esther stated in Extract 4, the Standard Dutch norm should be explicitly present in the macro-level governmental policy, not as a benchmark, but as a more or less noncommittal goal that leaves teachers with the freedom to adapt their language use to specific classroom contexts. Being free of any strict commitments seems to be important on a meso level as well: while teachers applaud all measures and actions that strengthen the linguistic competence of pupils, they tend to refrain from explicit rules and codified vision texts, as they fear to be burdened with even more responsibilities and paper work. Apparently, teachers foremost want to secure their power to resist or even ignore policy, instead of calling for a complete overhaul of the current language-in-education policy.

Chapter 5

Setting the standard: Are teachers better speakers of Standard Dutch?

Reference details

Delarue, S. & A.-S. Ghyselen (2016). *Setting the standard: Are teachers better speakers of Standard Dutch?* Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics, 5(1), pp. 34-64.

Background

In some respects, this paper could be seen as the odd one out in this dissertation. It is the only paper that focuses directly on actual language use, whereas the other papers deal with language perceptions and/or language policy. The paper was included in this PhD study because I feel it can be interesting to compare the teachers' language perceptions (discussed in the other papers) to their actual language use (discussed in this paper).

In this paper, production data of two corpora of contemporary spoken Dutch (teachers vs. non-teachers) are compared to each other using mixed models logistic regression, revealing that non-teachers use more non-standard features in their speech than teachers. In order to explain this difference, a number of possible factors are discussed: teacher training, hypocorrection, and a difference in linguistic expectations. Especially the latter seems to be in play, showing how teachers feel more pressurized to adhere to the standard norm (than the informants from the other corpus).

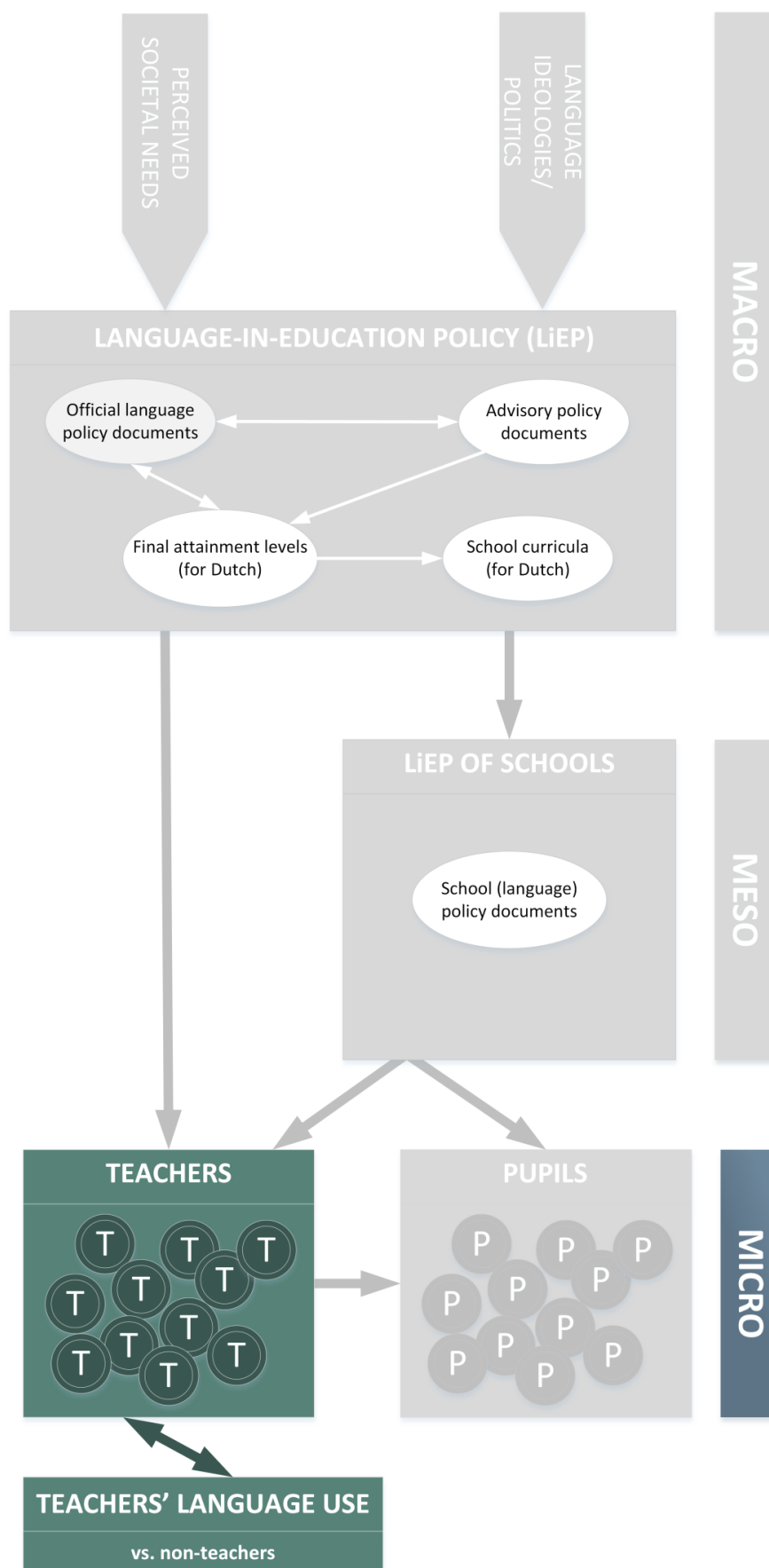


Figure 12: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 5

Abstract

In this paper, Grondelaers and Van Hout's statement that "the highest nonvirtual stratum of Belgian Dutch is documented by the speech of Belgian teachers" (2011a: 219) is put to the test. Using production data from two corpora of contemporary spoken Dutch, mixed models binary logistic regression was carried out, focusing on 11 phonological and morpho-syntactic variables. The results show that teachers indeed use significantly less non-standard variants than other highly educated professionals. Moreover, there is also a difference between teachers of Dutch and teachers of other school subjects. By means of an exploratory content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews, a few possible explanatory factors are discussed: teacher training, hypocorrection, and a difference in linguistic expectations. Especially the latter factor seems to be in play: teachers feel more pressured to adhere to the standard norm than the informants from the 'laymen' corpus.

Keywords: Standard Dutch, teachers, education, tussentaal, mixed models logistic regression, norm expectations

5.1 Introduction

In late-modern Europe, few areas "manifest language dynamics which are so exciting (to linguists) and controversial (to non-linguists) as those witnessed in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking northern half of Belgium" (Grondelaers and Speelman 2013: 171). Following processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss, intermediate varieties emerged in between the dialects and the standard (Willemyns 2003, 2005). In his frequently cited typology of dialect/standard constellations across Europe, Auer has described this kind of language repertoire as a *diaglossic* repertoire, "characterized by intermediate variants between standard and (base) dialect" (2005: 22). In Flanders, these intermediate varieties are often referred to as Tussentaal (literally 'interlanguage' or 'in-between-language'), Verkavelingsvlaams ('allotment-Flemish') or Soapvlaams ('Soap-Flemish'). For the last few decades, tussentaal has been subject to rapid expansion and, according to some, even standardization (Plevoets 2008; De Decker and Vandekerckhove 2012; Ghyselen 2015). One of the main factors to which this spread of tussentaal can be attributed, among others, is the nature of the official standard in Flanders, Standard Dutch.

From the 1950s onwards, the uncontested norm for spoken standard usage in Flanders has been 'VRT-Dutch', the variety used by official broadcasters on the Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroep (VRT), the Flemish public broadcaster. However, the status of VRT-

Dutch as a lingua franca in Flanders is problematic. First of all, VRT-Dutch is not an endogenous Flemish variety, but was – except for its pronunciation – modelled after spoken Netherlandic Dutch. This adoption of the exoglossic Netherlandic standard was promoted in the 19th century, in order to provide for a Flemish prestige variety which did not exist at the time. As a result of the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648), Flanders had been cut off from emergent standardization processes in The Netherlands, and the subsequent Spanish, Austrian and French rulers in Flanders preferred the use of French (for a more detailed account of the Flemish adoption of the exoglossic Netherlandic standard, see Vandenbussche 2010b; Delarue 2013). When the desire for a Flemish standard emerged in the 19th century, Flemish language planners opted for the fully-fledged Netherlandic Dutch standard instead of creating an endoglossic Flemish variety. It was not until 1898, however, that Dutch was recognized as an official language alongside French in Flanders, and the Flemish adoption of the Dutch standard did not gain momentum until the introduction of radio and TV in Flanders, after World War II.

It is important to note that the exoglossic Dutch standard was not spontaneously adopted by the Flemish, but imposed on the community, accompanied by "language planning efforts that often coincided with a crusade against endogenous Flemish varieties" (Grondelaers and Speelman 2013: 172; cfr. Tældeman 1993: 15). Van Hoof and Jaspers (2012: 97) refer to this exoglossic standardization of Belgian Dutch as a form of *hyperstandardization*, "a propagandistic, large-scale and highly mediated linguistic standardization campaign that has thoroughly ideologized and hierarchized language use in all corners of Flemish society". As a consequence, most Flemish speakers are said to be uncomfortable with Belgian Standard Dutch (cfr. Deprez 1981; Geerts 1985). This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the 'best-suit' mentality of Flemish speakers, meaning that one only wears one's best suit for special occasions, but one feels uncomfortable wearing it (Geeraerts 2001).

As Belgian Standard Dutch is a foreign and 'uncomfortable' variety, it is increasingly regarded as a "virtual colloquial variety (...), desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice" (De Caluwe 2009: 19). The zenith of uniformity and standardness continues to be the (broadcast) speech of VRT news anchors, but it is very doubtful whether this extremely strict norm is also attained outside of the news studio. Defenders of the standard set all their hope on the Flemish teachers. After all, they are "the first-line dispensers of standard usage" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012: 48), who are supposed to adhere to official norms (De Schutter 1980). As such, school teachers are often seen as the "guardians of the standard language" (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999). The current language-in-education policy in Flanders mirrors these strict expectations, by insisting on Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside of the classroom (see Delarue and De Caluwe 2015 for a more fine-grained analysis). Propagating this standard would, according to former Flemish Education Minister Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) and his successor Pascal Smet (2011), solve both the

problem of multilingualism and the problem of the increasing use of non-standard varieties (e.g. tussentaal and dialect); both non-native pupils who speak another language at home and native pupils who use tussentaal or a dialect are urged to learn Standard Dutch. Obviously, the same expectations go for teachers. Using slogans and catchphrases as *Elke leerkracht is een taalleerkracht* ('Every teacher is a language teacher') and *Ik heb drie prioriteiten in verband met gelijke kansen: taal, taal en taal* ('I have three priorities regarding equal opportunities: language, language and language'), the language-in-education policy tries to convince all teachers of the need to solely use the standard when teaching.

One may wonder how this policy relates to reality: to what extent do teachers actually speak Standard Dutch? Are they indeed "the last gatekeepers of the standard" (Van Istendael 2008: 31), meaning that teachers are 'better' speakers of Standard Dutch than non-teachers? For Grondelaers and van Hout (2011a: 219), the answer is undoubtedly yes: "The highest nonvirtual stratum of Belgian Dutch (*as opposed to the virtual VRT-Dutch, sd & asg*) is documented by the speech of the Belgian teachers in the Teacher Corpus (...)". Note, however, that their assessment only applies to teachers of Dutch as a school subject. The Teacher Corpus referenced by Grondelaers and van Hout (2011a) is part of the Corpus of Spoken Dutch (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*) and consists of 160 sociolinguistic interviews with secondary language teachers of Dutch in both the Netherlands and Flanders. However, whether these production data suffice in order to call Flemish teachers the best speakers of Belgian Standard Dutch is up for discussion, for a number of reasons. First, the Teacher Corpus aims at giving a "broad registration and detailed inventory of contemporary patterns of variation in standard pronunciation" (Van Hout et al. 1999: 184), which indicates that only (or primarily) phonological features were studied, leaving morphosyntactic variants out of the picture. Second, the compilation of the corpus already started in 1999, and given the changing linguistic landscape in Flanders (e.g. the expansion of tussentaal), it is unsure whether 15-year-old data still provide an accurate picture of the language repertoires and the standard language use of Flemish teachers. Lastly, there is – to our knowledge – no actual comparative research on the language use of both teachers and non-teachers, making it hard to conclude from the data from the Teacher Corpus that Flemish secondary school teachers speak the 'best Dutch'.

In this paper, we want to tackle the above described subject again, building on a fine-grained analysis of sociolinguistic interviews with both teachers and other highly educated professionals. Our research question is two-fold: (1) are teachers better speakers of Standard Dutch than other highly educated professionals and (2) is there a difference between teachers of Dutch as a subject and other secondary school teachers, as Grondelaers and van Hout (2011a: 219) seem to indicate in the quote cited earlier? After an overview of the research methodology in section 5.2, discussing the two corpora and the data analysis techniques, the results of the quantitative analysis of the data are

presented in section 5.3. Subsequently, section 5.4 tries to explain some of the results, drawing upon an exploratory content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews.

5.2 Methodology

To answer the presupposed research questions, two corpora have been compared using variable rule analyses: the Corpus of Flemish Intersituational Language Use (Ghyselen 2015) and the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language (Delarue 2014). The results of these quantitative analyses are complemented with qualitative analyses of the corpora's 46 sociolinguistic interviews.

5.2.1 Corpora

The first corpus under study is the Corpus of Flemish Intersituational Language Use (cfr. Ghyselen 2015), compiled between March 2012 and February 2014. This corpus contains speech data of 30 linguistic laymen, who are all female, highly educated (university degree) and born between 1981 and 1986 (n=15) or between 1955 and 1961 (n=15)⁵⁹. The women under study were all born and raised in either Ypres (n=10), Antwerp (n=10) or Ghent (n=10). Antwerp was chosen to represent the dominant language area of Flanders (cfr. Taeldeman 2009); the two other cities were selected at different distances from Antwerp (cfr. Figure 13): Ghent, traditionally seen as heavily influenced by the Brabantic dialect area, and Ypres, representing the western language periphery of Flanders. The speakers of this laymen corpus were all studied in five speech settings, differing in formality and regionality. First, each speaker recorded two informal conversations of about one hour, one with a friend from the same city, and one with a friend from a different dialect area. Secondly, a face-to-face conversation between the speakers and the researcher was recorded. During these sociolinguistic interviews, data were gathered about the linguistic background of the informants and their perceptions of their own language use. Subsequently, the informants were asked to perform a dialect and standard language test. In these tests the informants heard stimuli sentences spoken in either standard Dutch or in the local dialect, which they had to translate into respectively the dialect of the oldest people of their town and Standard Dutch. These tests were used to

⁵⁹ At the moment of the recordings, the speakers were aged either 25-35 years old or 50-65 years old.

determine the informant's proficiency in the most acrolectal vs. basilectal styles available in a relevant location.

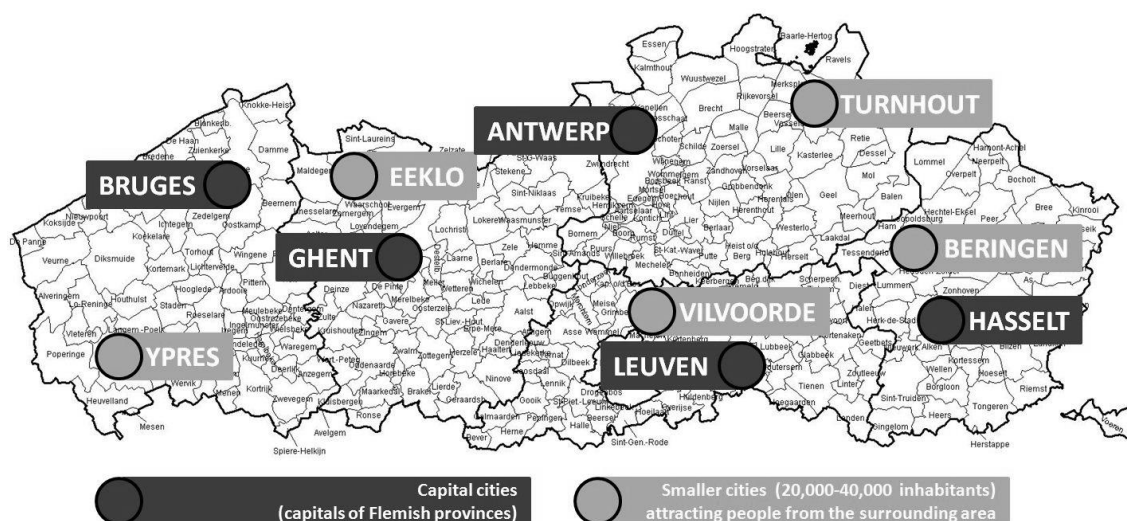


Figure 13: The ten cities included in the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language

The second corpus under study is the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language (cfr. Delarue 2014), compiled between October 2012 and February 2014. This corpus contains speech data of 82 Flemish teachers, teaching in 21 primary and secondary schools in 10 different cities: the five Flemish province capitals (Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven and Hasselt), and five smaller regional cities (Ypres, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde and Beringen), attracting people from the surrounding communities for school, work, shopping or leisure activities (cfr. Figure 13). The schools participating in this study are all catholic schools, to rule out potential differences between schools from different educational networks. The teachers themselves were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate; there were no specific requirements as to gender, age or region of birth or current residence. In spite of this quite random selection, informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different demographic categories. 59% of the teachers in the corpus are female ($n=48$), while 41% is male ($n=34$).⁶⁰ The spread of the informants over the different age groups is quite even as well, with 14 teachers in their 20s, 29 in their 30s, 22 in their 40s and 17 teachers older than 50. However, one informant characteristic was specifically controlled for during selection: in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms, a distinction was made

⁶⁰ In comparison, the most recent figures show that over 73% of all primary and secondary school teachers in Flanders is female (Department of Education and Training 2015: 5), a number that has increased significantly over the last few years. Why this feminization of education is not (or only slightly) mirrored in our corpus, is unclear. A possible explanation could be that male teachers can be convinced more easily to take part in (linguistic) research, while female teachers tend to refrain from having classroom visitors.

between three groups. A first group, totalling roughly a quarter of all the teachers involved in the corpus (n=18⁶¹), taught in the 6th class of primary school. The other teachers were secondary school teachers, teaching in the 3rd grade (n=31) or the 6th grade (n=33) of general secondary education (*ASO* or *Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*). In the secondary schools included in the research, not only teachers of Dutch were observed, but also teachers of other school subjects (e.g. Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics), as long as they were taught in Dutch. The corpus contains two types of speech data for each of the 82 teacher-informants: lesson recordings and sociolinguistic interviews. During the interviews, four key topics were addressed: (i) an assessment of (the language use of) the pupils; (ii) the education and teacher training of the teacher, and the attention that was given to Standard Dutch; (iii) the knowledge of and vision on language-in-education policy, both on a governmental and on a school level; (iv) the personal linguistic background and the language-related expectations towards him/herself and other teachers.

In this paper we focus on those data which the two corpora have in common: the sociolinguistic interviews with female speakers from Ghent, Ypres and Antwerp. These data allow us to compare the language use of highly educated linguistic laymen with that of teachers in a similar setting: a formal conversation with a speech partner unknown to the speaker. As can be seen in Table 3, the speech of 46 participants was analyzed, of whom 18 teachers and 28 laymen. The subset contains both teachers of Dutch (n=3) and teachers of other subjects (n=15), such as history, mathematics, religion, Greek and biology.

Table 3: Overview of the analyzed speakers

	Ypres		Ghent		Antwerp		
	25-50	50-65	25-50	50-65	25-50	50-65	Total
[+Dutch]-teacher	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
[-Dutch]-teacher	2	3	3	3	3	1	15
[+Teacher] Total	4	3	3	4	3	1	18
[-Teacher]	5	4	5	5	5	4	28
Total	9	7	8	9	8	5	46

How comparable are the two corpora? Concerning the speech setting studied in this paper, i.e. the sociolinguistic interviews, it has to be borne in mind that a comparison of interview data is to some degree always problematic. As Lenz (2003: 57) emphasizes, a speech situation is never a stable context. Both objective parameters, such as speech partner and speech subject, and subjective parameters, such as norm expectations and a speaker's intentions, make every conversation somewhat 'unique'. The latter parameters

⁶¹ This group consists of two 6th class teachers for each of the ten cities, with the exception of Hasselt, where none of the primary catholic schools was willing to take part in the study.

are difficult to control; comparability in speech setting can only be pursued on the basis of objective parameters (Lenz 2003: 57). When it comes to these objective parameters, the two corpora of this study are to a very large extent comparable. All interviews were 1-to-1-conversations conducted with interviewers aged 25-30 years old, unknown to the informants. These interviewers were all instructed to speak Standard Dutch during the interview, which is a skill they had been trained for extensively. During all interviews, the recording material was clearly visible to the interviewees, who moreover received no specific language instructions in advance. The only difference in the nature of the interviews is that whereas the laymen participated in the project during their leisure time, most of the teachers were contacted via their school boards, which might also cause differences in language use. Important to mention, however, is that several of the laymen were eventually interviewed in their work environment (e.g. in their lawyer's office or doctor's surgery), while a number of teachers were interviewed in their homes for practical reasons. The distinction in interview context is hence not categorical.

When it comes to the comparability of the speakers of the two corpora, it has to be borne in mind that whereas all speakers in the laymen corpus were born and raised in the cities of Ghent, Ypres or Antwerp, the informants of the teacher corpus worked in a school in Ghent, Ypres or Antwerp, which means they did not necessarily originate from these cities. To overcome this dialectologically problematic caveat, only those teachers from Ghent, Ypres or Antwerp were selected who were raised in respectively the East-Flemish, West-Flemish or Antwerp dialect area.

5.2.2 Variable analyses

The two subcorpora were analyzed using variable analyses, meaning that for 10 phonological and morpho-syntactic variables the percentages of dialectal (henceforth [+dia]), standard Dutch ([+st]), and non-dialectal, non-standard ([-dia,-st]) features were calculated and analyzed statistically. These variables were selected on the basis of a pilot study of the 'laymen corpus' (cfr. Ghyselen 2015), where for each city 20 linguistic variables were analyzed in the five speech settings described in the previous section. These 20 features were selected from a collection of interesting variables on the basis of their frequency, their analysability without acoustic techniques, the variability in language domain (syntax, phonology and morphology), and the variability in regional spread of the dialectal variants. Optional dialect features or exclusively lexicalized features were not analyzed. In the here-reported comparative study, which focuses only on the interview setting, we selected those variables from the pilot study for which the 'laymen' used [-st]-variants in the interviews. The realization of Standard Dutch [sχ] as [fχ] in words such as *schip* ('ship') and *school* ('school') was for instance not selected, as no laymen ever used the [-st]-variant in the interview setting. This approach enables a more

efficient comparison of the standard language proficiency of teachers and other highly educated professionals. An overview of the selected variables is given in Table 4.

The first variable focused on is the pronunciation of the West Germanic long closed vowel *î*, which in present-day Standard Dutch is orthographically represented als <ij> and pronounced diphthongally as [ɛ.i] (e.g. in *wijn* 'wine' and *mijn* 'mine'). In the dialects of Ypres, Ghent and Antwerp, this vowel is traditionally pronounced as respectively [i], [ɑ.] and [ɑɛ] (FAND II: 123-141). However, in the studied corpora a long monophthongal realization as [ɛ:] was also frequently attested, which probably has to be accounted for by the fact that this variant is endogenous in several East-Flemish, Brabantish and Limburgian dialects (FAND II: 123-141).

The second and the third phonological variables of this study are the realization of the final consonant in the function words *niet* ('not') and *dat* ('that') and the realization of word-initial [h]. In most Flemish dialects word-initial [h] is generally deleted (e.g. *oed* i.s.o. *hoed* 'hat'), just as the final consonant in the function words *niet* and *dat* (*nie flink* 'not good', *da kind* 'that child'). For *dat*, however, we have to make a distinction between *dat* followed by a vowel and *dat* followed by a consonant⁶² (Stroop 2004). Whereas we expect *t*-deletion in all dialects when *dat* is followed by another consonant (*da kind*, 'that child'), we only expect deletion in Ghent in a prevocalic context (*da ook* 'that also'), not in Antwerp and Ypres. Important to remark is that for this variable no distinction was made between the variants *da[t]* and *da[d]*, since this distinction is often difficult to make without acoustic analyses.

The last two phonological variables of this study, the realization of the Standard Dutch velar fricative [ɣ] in words such as *goed* ('good') and the realization of the verbal suffix <en> in words such as *spelen* ('to play'), were analyzed only for the West-Flemish speakers. After all, the dialectal variants for these variables, the laryngalized fricative [ɦ] and the syllabized suffix [ŋ], do not occur in the dialects of Ghent or Antwerp (FAND IV: 234-235; 251-253; 304-325). In Ghent and Antwerp these variables are realized in the same way as in Standard Dutch, with respectively a velar pronunciation and the realization of schwa in the suffix.

Table 4: Selected variables

Phonolog	Pronunciation wgm. <i>î</i>	+dia	-dia, -st	+st
		[i] (Ypres) [ɑ.] (Ghent) [ɑɛ] (Antwerp)	[ɛ:]	[ɛ.i]

⁶² *Dat* followed by pausa was not analyzed due to its low frequency.

	T-deletion in <i>niet</i> ('not') and <i>dat</i> ('that') + C	<i>da</i>		<i>dat</i>
	T-deletion in <i>dat</i> + V	<i>dat/dad</i> (Ypres + Antwerp) <i>da</i> (Ghent)	<i>da</i> (Ypres + Antwerp)	<i>dat</i>
	Realization of word-initial [h]	<i>h</i> -deletion		Realization of [h]
	Realization Standard Dutch [ɣ]	[ɦ] (Ypres)		[ɣ]
	Suffix –en in verbs	[ŋ] (Ypres)		[ən] or [ə]
Morpho-syntax	Diminutive suffix	<i>je</i> -suffix (Ypres) <i>ke</i> -suffix (Antwerp + Ghent)	<i>ke</i> -suffix (Ypres)	<i>je</i> -suffix
	Indefinite article <i>een</i> male singular	<i>e</i> (Ypres) <i>ne</i> (Antwerp + Ghent)	<i>ne</i> (Ypres)	<i>een</i>
	Personal pronoun 2nd person singular	<i>ge</i> (Antwerp + Ghent) <i>je</i> (Ypres)	<i>ge</i> (Ypres)	<i>je</i>
	Expletive <i>dat</i>	<i>Ik weet niet wie <u>dat</u> er komt.</i> (‘I don't know who that is coming’)		<i>Ik weet niet wie er komt.</i> (‘I don't know who is coming’)
	Subject doubling	<i>Kom je gie ook?</i> (Ieper) <i>Kom de gij ook?</i> (Antwerp + Ghent) (‘Come you you too?’)		<i>Kom jij ook?</i> (‘Come you too?’)

The morpho-syntactic features analyzed in this study are the diminutive suffix, the male singular indefinite article *een*, the personal pronoun 2nd singular, expletive *dat*, and subject doubling. Concerning the diminutive, we analyzed all nouns of which the stem does not end in [t]. In this context we expect a *ke*-suffix in almost all Flemish dialects, except in (most of the) West-Flemish dialect area, where *je*-variants are used (MAND I: 44-59). The allomorphy within the *je*-suffix was not taken into account as this complicates the calculation of distance measures: some of the *je*-suffixes in the Ypres dialect coincide for instance with Standard Dutch *je*-suffixes (*bloemetje*, 'little flower'), whereas others have another allomorph (*boeksje* versus *boekje*, 'little book').

A second morpho-syntactic feature under study is the indefinite article before male singular nouns. In Standard Dutch the indefinite article is the same for male, female and neuter words: *een*. In most Flemish dialects, however, a threegendersystem has remained, with the indefinite article *ne(n)* distinguishing male nouns from female ones (Cornips and De Vogelaer 2009). The western West-Flemish dialects, such as the Ypres dialect, are exceptional in this respect. There, the distinction between male and female gender is less clear: these dialects do not have a separate male indefinite article; the article *e* is used for both female and male nouns (Cornips and De Vogelaer 2009: 3).

For the non-emphatic personal pronoun 2nd singular, the third morpho-syntactic feature of this study, western West-Flanders occupies a similar exceptional position in the Flemish dialectal landscape as for the personal pronoun 2nd singular. Whereas almost all Flemish dialects use *ge* as non-emphatic personal pronoun second singular, western West-Flanders is characterized by the pronoun *je*, which coincides with the Standard Dutch pronoun (SAND I: 39-40).

Another typical feature of almost all Flemish dialects is the extra complementizer *dat*, which is added to subordinate conjunctions⁶³ in the beginning of the subclause. In this study we focus on the presence of this 'expletive *dat*' after ten highly frequent subordinate conjunctions (cfr. De Decker and Vandekerckhove, 2012), namely *wie* ('who'), *wat* ('what'), *waar* ('where'), *hoe* ('how'), *wanneer* ('when'), *of* ('whether'), *toen* ('when'), *tenzij* ('unless'), *terwijl* ('while') and *welk(e)* ('which').

The final variable focused on in this study is subject doubling, i.e. the phenomenon typical for almost all Flemish dialects whereby one clause contains several subject markers (cfr. De Vogelaer 2005). In this study we focus on the type of subject doubling which occurs in all Flemish dialects and of which an absence of doubling is clearly non-dialectal, i.e. in subclauses and sentences with inversion with full pronouns in the second person singular or plural (*Wacht e gij?* 'wait you you?') or in the first person singular (*Mag k ik mee?* 'May I I join?').

The described variables were analyzed using mixed models binary logistic regression (Baayen 2008: 278-287), a statistical technique which aims at finding "the best fitting and most parsimonious, yet biologically reasonable model to describe the relationship between an outcome (dependent or response) variable and a set of independent (predictor or explanatory) variables" (Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000: 1). In these analyses, region, age and occupation were studied as main effects and speaker as a random effect. The random effect was added to capture potential idiolectal variation. Occupation was coded as a binary variable (0=[-teacher], 1=[+teacher]), as there were not enough teachers of Dutch to make a tripartite distinction between laymen, teachers of Dutch and teachers of other subjects: the low frequency of teachers of Dutch caused several empty cells (cfr. Table 3) and these cells are problematic for logistic regression (Hosmer and Lemeshow 2000). The

⁶³ Except the subordinate conjunctions *dat* en *als* (Taeldeman 2008).

logistic models were fitted via backwards logistic regression: first a full model was built with all main and interaction effects; when those effects proved non-significant ($\alpha=0.05$), they were taken out of the model. Anova was used to compare the new models to their fuller counterparts.

5.2.3 Qualitative analyses

As was already mentioned earlier, the sociolinguistic interviews with the teachers and the laymen both addressed the linguistic background of the informants, as well as their perceptions of their own language use and the use of different varieties (and variants) of Dutch. Drawing upon exploratory content analyses, these perceptions offer an insight in the (potentially different) ways teachers and laymen look at Standard Dutch. As such, they can complement the quantitative analyses of the production data: whereas quantitative analyses can answer the *what* and the *how much* questions, qualitative analyses answer the equally important *why* question. In other words: if we (do not) find a difference in standard language use between teachers and non-teachers, then how can this be explained? In the paragraph 'Explanatory factors', we make an attempt to answer this question by comparing the views of teachers and non-teachers on Standard Dutch, language variation and the language use in schools (themes addressed in the interviews in both corpora).

5.3 Results

Figure 14 shows for each variable the percentage of the most frequently attested [-st]-variant, compared to the overall frequency of the variable. The graph shows the percentages for both teachers and non-teachers, which allows a first rough comparison of the two speaker groups.

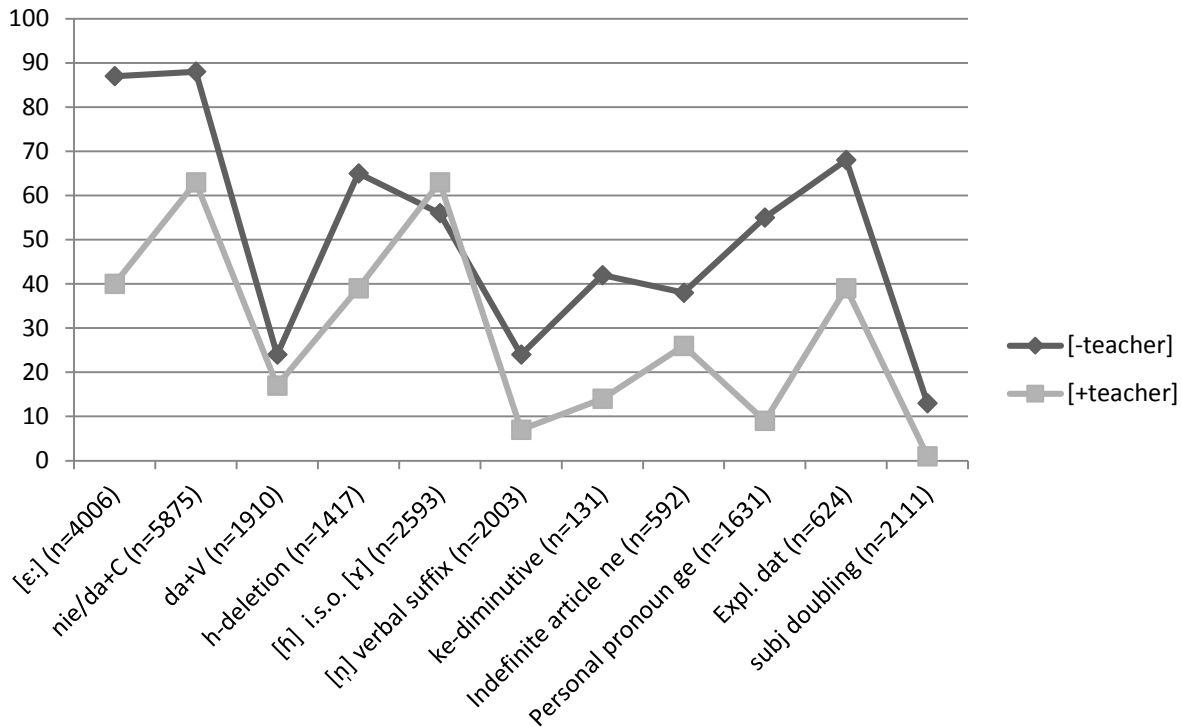


Figure 14: Percentages -st-variants teachers versus other highly educated professionals

Figure 14 clearly shows how both teachers and non-teachers use non-standard variants. For some variants, such as subject doubling and the realization of the verbal suffix *-en* as [ŋ], the percentage of non-standard variants is fairly low. For other variants, such as the *t*-deletions in *niet* and *dat*+C, the percentages of non-standard variants are considerably high. A first conclusion we can hence draw, is that neither laymen nor teachers adhere to a strict Standard Dutch norm in the recorded interviews.

When we compare the language use of the teachers with that of the speakers in the laymen corpus, clear differences between the speaker groups can be found: for all variables, except the laryngalization of the velar fricative [ɣ], teachers use less non-standard variants than the studied laymen. This observation is confirmed by the results of the mixed models logistic regressions: for 9 of the 11 analyzed variables a statistically significant occupation effect could be found, each time implying that teachers are less prone to using the studied non-standard variants. Table 5 shows the 11 logistic models, with for every model the Antwerp non-teachers aged 25-50 as baseline. Statistically significant effects are marked with asterisks⁶⁴ and to give an idea of the reliability of the built models, C-values and Somers' D_{xy}-values⁶⁵ are reported.

⁶⁴ . =statistical tendency, * = significant, ** =highly significant, *** =extremely significant

⁶⁵ The C-measure is “an index of concordance between the predicted probability and the observed response” (Baayen 2008: 204). When C is equal to 0.5, the predictions are random; a C-value of 1 indicates perfect prediction. As a rule of thumb, it can be said that a model with a C-value above 0.8 has real predictive capacity

Table 5: Results of the mixed models logistic regression for the full dataset

Pronunciation wgm. \hat{i} (0 = [ɛ.ɪ], 1 = [ɛ:]⁶⁶, Somers D=0.98, C=0.99)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	5.03	1.18	<0.001***	1.52e+02
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	3.51	2.27	0.12	3.34e+01
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	2.58	1.61	0.11	1.31e+01
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-1.29	1.00	0.19	2.75e-01
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-3.47	1.47	0.02*	3.10e-02
<i>Interaction Teacher: Ghent</i>	-8.72	2.85	0.0022**	1.62e-04
<i>Interaction Teacher: Ypres</i>	-12.34	2.95	<0.001***	4.35e-06
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	8.24	2.87	
T-deletion in <i>niet</i> and <i>dat</i> (0 = <i>niet/dat</i>, 1 = <i>nie/da</i>, Somers D=0.75, C=0.87)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	3.64	0.46	<0.001***	38.31
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.11	0.42	<0.001***	0.12
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	-1.21	0.41	0.0039	0.30
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	0.25	0.53	0.63	1.28
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-0.99	0.53	0.060	0.37
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	1.78	1.34	
T-deletion in <i>dat</i> + V (0 = <i>dat</i>, 1 = <i>da</i>, Somers D=0.65, C=0.83)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-0.36	0.37	0.33	0.69
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-0.73	0.37	0.05 .	0.48
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	-1.69	0.38	<0.001***	0.18
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	0.50	0.44	0.25	1.65
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-1.54	0.47	0.0011**	0.21
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	1.15	1.07	
Realization of word-initial [h] (0= [h] realized, 1= [h]-deletion, Somers D=0.57, C=0.78)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.71	0.32	0.028*	2.03
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-1.33	0.31	<0.001***	0.26

(cfr. Baayen 2008: 204). Related to the C-measure is Somers' D_{xy} , "a rank correlation between predicted probabilities and observed responses" (Baayen 2008: 204). This measure ranges between 0 (random predictions) and 1 (perfect predictions).

⁶⁶ The very infrequent variants [i] (Ypres), [ɑ.] (Ghent) and [ɑɛ] (Antwerp) were not included in the analyses.

<i>Age – 50-65</i>	0.16	0.31	0.61	1.17
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	0.50	0.38	0.19	1.66
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-0.44	0.38	0.24	0.64
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	0.83	0.91	
Realization of Standard Dutch [ɣ] (0= [ɣ], 1 = [ɦ], Somers D=0.65, C=0.82)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.86	0.38	0.023*	2.37
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	16	2.16	1.47	
Suffix –en in verbs (0 = [ən] or [ə], 1 = [n], Somers D=0.79, C=0.90)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-1.43	0.74	0.051 .	0.24
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.52	1.13	0.025*	0.08
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	16	4.34	2.08	
Diminutive suffix (0 = je-diminutives, 1 = ke-diminutives, Somers D=0.68, C=0.84)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.65	0.45	0.14	1.93
<i>Occupation</i>	-1.05	0.51	0.04*	0.35
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-0.94	0.56	0.09 .	0.39
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-2.44	0.61	<0.001***	0.09
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	35	0.0020	0.045	
Indefinite article een male singular (0 = een or e, 1 = ne, Somers D=0.78, C=0.89)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-0.71	0.52	0.17	0.49
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-1.50	0.71	0.03*	0.22
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-1.23	0.57	0.03*	0.29
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	1.35	0.67	0.04*	3.84
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	44	2.22	1.49	
Personal pronoun 2nd person singular (0= je, 1= ge, Somers D=0.89, C=0.95)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.87	0.68	0.20	2.38
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-4.11	0.78	<0.001***	0.016
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	0.12	0.86	0.89	1.12
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-2.47	0.92	0.0077**	0.085
Random effects				

	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	4.72	2.17	
Expletive <i>dat</i> (0 = no expletive <i>dat</i> , 1 = expletive <i>dat</i> , Somers D=0.82, C=0.91)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	1.72	0.56	0.0019**	5.63
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.51	0.84	0.0027**	0.08
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	5.88	2.42	
Subject doubling (0 = no subject doubling, 1 = subject doubling, Somers D=0.84, C=0.92)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-2.55	0.39	<0.001***	0.078
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.57	0.67	<0.001***	0.076
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	46	3.10	1.76	

For the *t*-deletion in *niet* and *dat*+C, h-deletions, deletion of *sjwa* in the verbal suffix *-en*, *ke*-diminutives, indefinite articles, personal pronouns 2nd person singular, expletive *dat* and subject doubling, a significant main effect for occupation could be found. The negative coefficients for these effects indicate that the probability of a non-standard variant is lower for teachers than for non-teachers. For the pronunciation of *wgm. î*, an occupation effect interacts with a region effect, implying that the observed teacher effect occurs only in Ghent and Ypres, not in Antwerp. No significant main effects could be found for the laryngalization of [ɣ].

The question rises to what degree the obtained occupation effects could be attributed to the impact of the teachers of Dutch, a question closely related to the second research question of this paper: could there be a difference between teachers of Dutch and other teachers? Because of the small number of teachers of Dutch (n=3) in our corpus, we need to address this research question with caution, but when we compare the use of non-standard variants of teachers of Dutch and other teachers, there indeed seems to be a difference between these two teacher groups.⁶⁷ Figure 15 shows how teachers of Dutch consistently use less non-standard variants than the teachers of other subjects. However, the latter still seem to use less [-st]-variants than other highly educated professionals, indicating that the occupation effects obtained in Table 5 should not solely be ascribed to the teachers of Dutch.

⁶⁷ In an earlier study of Flemish teachers' language, Delarue (2013: 213) also found that teachers of Dutch use a much lower amount of tussentaal features when teaching, confirming the findings presented here.

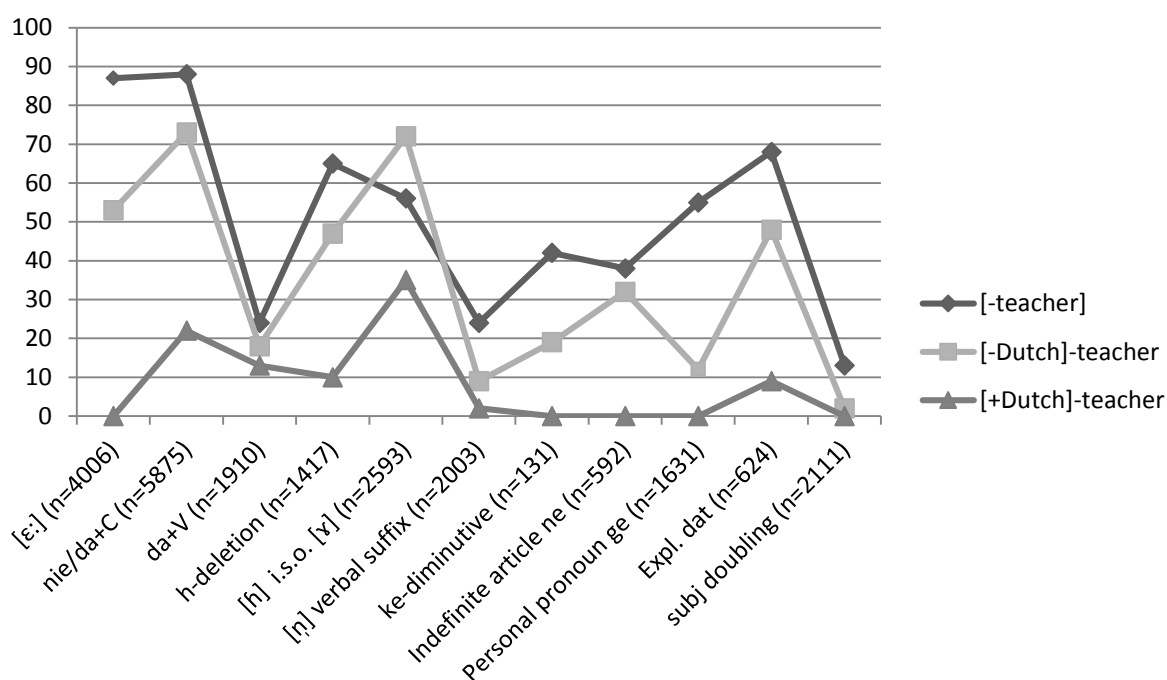


Figure 15: Percentages -st-variants teachers of Dutch versus teachers of other subjects versus other highly educated professionals

The question is of course whether the differences visualized in Figure 15 are also significant. As was already mentioned earlier, no distinction could be made in the logistic regressions between teachers of Dutch and teachers of other subjects because of the low frequency of the Dutch teachers. To circumvent this problem, we reran all logistic regressions without the teachers of Dutch. By comparing these new models with the full data models, insight can be gained in the effect of teaching subject. The new models without the teachers of Dutch (cfr. Table 6) yield significant occupation effects for 7 of the 11 variables, with negative coefficients indicating that teachers use less [-st]-variants than other highly educated professionals. However, when we compare these models to the models described in Table 5, the odds ratio's increase consistently (e.g. for the personal pronoun, expletive *dat* and subject doubling), indicating that the occupation effect is less strong among [-Dutch]-teachers. We can hence conclude that the teachers of Dutch in our corpus use less non-standard variants than teachers of other teaching subjects, but that both of them still use less [-st]-variants than other highly educated professionals. For the pronunciation of wgm. *î*, there again seems to be an interaction between occupation and region: whereas teachers of Ypres and Ghent use less [-st]-variants than laymen, that does not seem to be the case in Antwerp.

Table 6: Results of the mixed models logistic regression, teachers of Dutch excluded

Pronunciation wgm. $\hat{\mathbf{i}}$ (0 = [ɛ.ɪ], 1 = [ɛ:]⁶⁸, Somers D=0.97, C=0.98)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	4.86	1.06	<0.001***	1.29e+02
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	3.36	2.08	0.11	2.86e+01
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	-1.12	0.92	0.22	3.25e-01
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	2.39	1.47	0.10	1.09e+01
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-3.44	1.31	0.009**	3.20e-02
<i>Interaction Teacher: Ghent</i>	-7.40	2.63	0.005**	6.08e-04
<i>Interaction Teacher: Ypres</i>	-10.93	2.77	<0.001***	1.78e-05
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	6.51	2.55	
T-deletion in <i>niet</i> and <i>dat</i> (0 = <i>niet/dat</i>, 1 = <i>nie/da</i>, Somers D=0.69, C=0.85)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	4.12	0.50	<0.001***	61.56
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-1.82	0.40	<0.001***	0.16
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	-2.62	0.72	<0.001***	0.07
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-0.75	0.65	0.25	0.47
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-1.24	0.67	0.06 .	0.29
<i>Interaction Age 50-65: Ghent</i>	2.41	0.96	0.01**	11.13
<i>Interaction Age 50-65: Ypres</i>	1.27	0.99	0.20	3.56
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	1.39	1.18	
T-deletion in <i>dat</i> + V (0 = <i>dat</i>, 1 = <i>da</i>, Somers D=0.65, C=0.83)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.26	0.34	0.45	1.29
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-1.57	0.39	<0.001***	0.21
<i>Age – 50-65</i>	-3.08	0.57	<0.001***	0.04
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-0.20	0.43	0.64	0.82
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-1.86	0.48	<0.001***	0.15
<i>Interaction Teacher: Age 50-65</i>	2.15	0.63	<0.001***	8.63
<i>Interaction Age 50-65: Ghent</i>	1.62	0.70	0.018*	5.25
<i>Interaction Age 50-65: Ypres</i>	0.58	0.83	0.48	1.78
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	0.85	0.76	
Realization of word-initial [h] (0= [h] realized, 1= [h]-deletion, Somers D=0.49, C=0.75)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.79	0.18	<0.001***	2.20

⁶⁸ The very infrequent variants [i] (Ypres), [a.] (Ghent) and [aɛ] (Antwerp) were not included in the analyses.

<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-0.93	0.30	0.0017**	0.39
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	0.68	0.82	
Realization of Standard Dutch [ɣ] (0 = [ɣ], 1 = [ɦ], Somers D=0.67, C=0.83)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	1.00	0.40	0.013*	2.72
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	14	2.22	1.49	
Suffix –en in verbs (0 = [ən] or [ə], 1 = [n], Somers D=0.76, C=0.88)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-2.27	0.87	<0.001***	0.10
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	14	5.85	2.42	
Diminutive suffix (0 = <i>je</i>-diminutives, 1 = <i>ke</i>-diminutives, Somers D=0.46, C=0.73)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.12	0.35	0.72	1.13
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	-0.82	0.52	0.12	0.44
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-2.23	0.59	<0.001***	0.11
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	32	0	0	
Indefinite article <i>een</i> male singular (0 = <i>een</i> or <i>e</i>, 1 = <i>ne</i>, Somers D=0.74, C=0.86)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-1.08	0.47	0.02*	0.34
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	1.38	0.63	0.03*	3.96
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-1.33	0.67	0.05*	0.26
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	41	1.92	1.38	
Personal pronoun 2nd person singular (0 = <i>je</i>, 1 = <i>ge</i>, Somers D=0.86, C=0.93)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	0.73	0.65	0.27	2.07
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-3.62	0.77	<0.001***	0.03
<i>Region – Ghent</i>	0.26	0.83	0.75	1.30
<i>Region – Ypres</i>	-2.18	0.91	0.02*	0.11
Random effects				
	<i>Ngroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	4.36	2.08	
Expletive <i>dat</i> (0 = no expletive <i>dat</i>, 1 = expletive <i>dat</i>, Somers D=0.80, C=0.90)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>

<i>Intercept</i>	1.71	0.55	0.001**	5.53
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.04	0.86	0.02*	0.13
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	5.62	2.37	
Subject doubling (0 = no subject doubling, 1 = subject doubling, Somers D=0.83, C=0.91)				
Fixed effects				
	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>	<i>OR</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	-2.55	0.39	<0.001***	0.078
<i>Occupation – teacher</i>	-2.35	0.70	<0.001***	0.095
Random effects				
	<i>Nggroups</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>StdDev</i>	
<i>Speaker</i>	43	3.09	1.76	

5.4 Explanatory factors: an explorative analysis

The previous paragraph has shown that there are substantial differences in the standard language use of teachers and (highly educated) laymen, and, moreover, that teachers of Dutch seem to speak 'better' Standard Dutch than teachers of other school subjects. The question remains how these differences can be explained. An explorative content analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews with teachers and laymen, focusing on the key themes both sets of interviews have in common (i.e. informants' views on Standard Dutch and language variation, language use in schools and their own language use), can provide us with some indications as to why a difference in standard language use exists. Of course there is a wide range of conceivable explanatory factors (possibly in interplay with each other); in this paragraph, we want to focus on two of these factors: the (perceived) effect of teacher training on the standard language proficiency of teachers, and the difference in the linguistic behaviour expected from teachers and laymen, which can be related to the notion of *hypocorrection*. Drawing on an analysis of the sociolinguistic interviews, we review these factors to see whether they match the views expressed by teachers and laymen. Selected quotes from the interviews are used to illustrate our exploratory analysis.

A **difference in education** is a first factor which could possibly explain the difference in standard language use between teachers and other highly educated professionals. All teachers received some form of teacher training (with large differences in both scope and

duration⁶⁹), which included in some cases Dutch language courses, whereas the highly educated professionals often never had a Dutch proficiency course in their curriculum. This contrast could explain why teachers use more Standard Dutch features in their speech than the laymen in the other corpus. During the sociolinguistic interviews, 16 of the 18 teachers in our study were asked how much attention was given to language proficiency in Standard Dutch during their teacher training. Most teachers indicated that hardly any attention was paid to 'correct' Standard Dutch during their teacher training (n=7), that they do not remember a lot from these courses (n=2), or that it was only the case for one of the lecturers in the teacher training programme (n=1). The Biology teacher in Extract 1⁷⁰, for example, indicates that (Standard) Dutch probably was part of the teacher training curriculum, but that she cannot remember:

Extract 1

Ie(3S)8 – Biology teacher, Ypres, 33

INT: heeft men u in uw . lerarenopleiding of uw opleiding ooit iets gezegd over 't belang van . Algemeen Nederlands . of taalgebruik? iets dat u zich nog herinnert?

Ie(3S)8: goh . dat ik me dat nu eigenlijk niet meer herinner ((lacht)) euh . euh waarschijnlijk wel . maar ik herinner het me eigenlijk euh niet meer

INT: er is niets van blijven hangen

Ie(3S)8: nee zeker niet

INT: *did someone in your . teacher training ever tell you anything about the importance of . Standard Dutch . or language use? something you still remember?*

Ie(3S)8: *hm . I don't remember a thing about that ((laughs)) uhm . uhm probably yes . but actually I can't remember*

INT: *it didn't sink in*

Ie(3S)8: *no definitely not*

The teachers who stated that specific attention was given to language proficiency during their teacher programme (n=6), were then asked to elaborate on the scope and specific nature of this curricular attention to language proficiency in (Standard) Dutch. All of them indicate that most time was spent on aspects of written language, e.g. spelling and

⁶⁹ Currently (since 2007), there are two types of teacher training courses in Flanders. On the one hand, 180 ECTS bachelor's programmes with a professional orientation are offered by university colleges. This three-year *integrated teacher training* is meant for nursery teachers, primary teachers or lower secondary teachers. On the other hand, there is a *specific teacher training course* (60 ECTS), offered by universities, university colleges and adult education centres. This type of training is meant for students who have already gained a diploma in higher or adult education and who only need educational or pedagogical training in their discipline. Before the 2007 reform, there was significantly more variation in the length and content of this type of teacher training: most programmes were a lot shorter, and only consisted of a few short modules.

⁷⁰ For every extract, first the informant code, the profession, the city of origin/workplace and the age are given. In the interview extracts, 'INT' indicates speech of the interviewer, whereas the speech of the informant is preceded by the corresponding informant code. The extracts were slightly adjusted: as the focus (in this paragraph) is solely on the contents of the interviews, deletions (e.g. *t*-deletions such as *nie* for *niet* 'not' or *h*-deletions as *ik eb* for *ik heb* 'I have') and other phonological alternations were adjusted. However, morpho-syntactical [-st]-variants are rendered in the original form.

grammar. The focus on spoken language was limited to a 'screening' at the beginning of the programme, where students were assessed on their ability to speak Standard Dutch without a (strong) regional accent, but all teachers immediately added that practically no one failed this test. Even the Dutch language teachers (n=3), who received a lot more training in Dutch proficiency, state that spoken language use – apart from some speaking exercises – was not really an issue: in Extract 2, a teacher of History and Dutch describes how most attention was given to spelling and literature.

Extract 2

Ge(3S)2 – History / Dutch language teacher, Ghent, 26

INT: was daar veel aandacht voor . voor taalgebruik? u heeft Nederlands gestudeerd dus ..

Ge(3S)2: ja . euhm .. goh .. goh wij hadden wel een algemeen vak euhm over spelling en . en en zo en dan in . in Nederlands zelf ging het meer over literatuur en . en genres .. maar heel veel bijzonder aandacht .. allez 'k kan ..

INT: dus voor gesproken taalgebruik niet specifiek?

Ge(3S)2: nee eigenlijk .. niet . 'k denk dat we wel spreekoefeningen natuurlijk maar dat we . dat wij daar dan echt op gewezen werden ..

INT: was daar veel feedback op? nee

Ge(3S)2: neen eigenlijk .. allez 'k kan mij toch alleszins niet herinneren dus da's teken dat 't niet zo veel aan . aan bod is gekomen

INT: was there a lot of attention to . to language use? You did study Dutch so ..

Ge(3S)2: yes . uhm . well .. well we did have a general course uhm on spelling . and . and and like that and then in . in the Dutch courses it was more about literature and . and genres .. but a lot of specific attention .. well I can .

INT: so no specific attention to spoken language use?

Ge(3S)2: no actually .. no . I do think there was some speech training of course but that we . that it really was . pointed out to us ..

INT: was there a lot of feedback? no

Ge(3S)2: no actually .. well anyway I can't remember so that means that it didn't receive much treatment

The Dutch language teacher in Extract 3 shares this experience, stating that in teacher training courses, efficient communication is the priority, instead of the correct use of the standard. However, she also expresses some disapproval of this ranking of priorities: more attention should be devoted to (teaching) Standard Dutch.

Extract 3

Ie(3S)7 – Dutch language teacher, Ypres, 30

INT: uhu . heeft men in die lerarenopleiding veel gezegd over . de rol van correct taalgebruik of Algemeen Nederlands?

Ie(3S)7: euh ja . euhm . in die zin . dat die euh rol vooral achteruit euh aan het gaan is . dat . dat er vooral op euh . de communicatie moet ingezet worden en niet per se op het correcte taalgebruik . en ik kan hen enerzijds volgen in die zin dat euhm . dat

dat effectief wel . vroeger enkel op taalgebruik gecontroleerd werd en niet op inhoud . euh en dat vind ik dus goed . dat er ook naar verschillende soorten situaties gekeken wordt . dat de inhoud ook belangrijker wordt . de manier waarop die inhoud gebracht wordt . presenteren zelf ook . euh maar anderzijds . vind ik het jammer dat leerlingen er blijkbaar niet meer mogen bewust van worden wat correct taalgebruik nu eigenlijk is . dat ze . ze zijn zo bewust van die registers dat er te weinig aandacht wordt gelegd op wat is AN en wat kunnen wij doen om dat AN aan te leren ..

INT: did someone in your . teacher training tell you about . the importance of . correct language use or Standard Dutch?

Ie(3S)7: uhm yes . uhm . in the sense . that the uhm role of Standard Dutch is uhm declining . that . that more attention should be devoted to communication instead of focusing on correct language use . and I can follow that train of thought in the sense that uhm . that in former days only language use was evaluated without focus on the content . uhm and so it's better . that different kinds of situations are also taken into account . that the role of content is more important . the way this content is being brought up . presented . uhm but on the other hand . for me it's a shame that pupils apparently should no longer be made conscious of what correct language use actually is . that they . they are so conscious of these registers that there is too little attention to what Standard Dutch is and to what we can do to teach this Standard Dutch ..

In sum, both our analysis and the extracts cited above seem to indicate that teacher training as such does not guarantee a (lasting) impact on Standard Dutch proficiency, and that this difference in education between teachers and other highly educated laymen probably is not the (sole) explanatory factor for the found difference in standard language use.⁷¹

A second possible factor starts from the perspective of the laymen, and is offered by Plevoets (2013) and his notion of ***hypocorrection***. In his research, he uses this concept to indicate the "extra informalization of language use" (2013: 215, own translation) he notices in the (standard) language use of corporate managers. According to Bourdieu (2001: 96), hypocorrection is typical for the societal elite: their high status allows them to 'relax' linguistically, and to adopt more non-standard forms in their language use. The notion of hypocorrection, however, is difficult to test here, for two reasons. First of all, it is difficult to determine whether the laymen are underperforming or not in the interviews. Do they sometimes speak 'better' Standard Dutch than in the interview setting? To answer this question, more intersituational (formal) production data are needed. Secondly, the concept of elite is hard to operationalize: whereas one could argue that independent

⁷¹ Of course, it is important to note that this conclusion only holds up for how the teachers in our study *perceive* their former teacher training, which does not mean that the *actual* teacher training programme did not affect their proficiency in Standard Dutch at an unconscious level.

professionals, such as dentists and doctors, have an elitist status in society, others confine the concept to corporate settings (e.g. business managers).

While it is difficult to study whether the speakers in the laymen corpus are underperforming, it can be explored to what degree they aim at speaking Standard Dutch. Could it be that the **linguistic expectations** towards teachers differ from those towards (other) highly educated professionals? All teachers involved in this study (n=18) express that they are strongly aware that Standard Dutch is expected from them (see also the introduction of this paper, and Delarue and De Caluwe, 2015), whereas the informants from the laymen corpus do not feel equally pressured to adhere to this Standard Dutch norm. In Extract 4, a dentist explicitly distinguishes teachers (and people in the cultural sector) from other speakers, because they have a pedagogical function, whereas the main task of health care workers like herself is to reassure people, partly by adopting the language use of their patients.

Extract 4

Wvlb2 – Dentist, Ypres, 53

Wvlb2: ik heb hier ook geen onderwijzende functie in de zin van . dat ik . allez ja dat je met taalgebruik moet euh .. iemand die in een school staat of zo .

INT: uhu

Wvlb2: hé of . of iemand die . een cultuurfunctie heeft vind ik . heeft toch nog een andere functie . mijn . mijn taak is gezondheidszorg dus euh . ik vind dan moet je wel een beetje op 't niveau van de mensen kunnen . kunnen stellen . dus als je dan dialect praat ga ik niet . niet zomaar in 't AN praten

Wvlb2: I also don't have a pedagogical function here in the sense that . that I . I mean that you have to watch your language .. someone who works in a school .

INT: uhu

Wvlb: well or . or someone who . has a cultural function I think . still has a different function . my . my job is health care so uhm . I think . I have to put people at ease so when they speak dialect I am not just . not just going to speak Standard Dutch

Teachers, on the other hand, are urged to adhere to the Standard Dutch norm as much as possible: all teachers in our study stress the importance of Standard Dutch, pointing out that they need to set an example for their pupils and they need to maintain the hierarchy which still exists between them and their pupils. It is important to note, however, that this explicitly uttered conviction (i.e. that speaking Standard Dutch is very important for teachers) only holds up at an *abstract* level, indicating that the strict governmental language-in-education policy has successfully seeped through in the minds of the Flemish teachers. However, when teachers move from that abstract level towards *specific* school and classroom contexts (e.g. giving instructions, coaching during group work, conversations with pupils), the interview discourse often changes: most teachers then indicate that they themselves do not actually speak 'proper' Standard Dutch in the

classroom, and instead use a more informal variant or tussentaal.⁷² The adherence to the norm is still quite strong with older teachers and/or teachers of Dutch, while younger teachers seem to gradually depart from this aspiration (cf. the Biology teacher in Extract 5).

Extract 5

Ie(3S)8 – Biology teacher, Ypres, 33

INT: vindt u van uzelf als u lesgeeft dat u standaardtaal spreekt?

Ie(3S)8: euhm . meer in omgangstaal zoals ik euh eerder zei . ja omdat dat reeds een . een soort van . allez dat is een vakjargon . 't is al . voorgeprogrammeerd . maar . er zitten sowieso ook wel euh . hier en daar West-Vlaamse klanken en dergelijke tussen . dat is . onvermijdelijk

INT: *do you think you speak the standard while teaching?*

Ie(3S)8: *uhm . it's rather colloquial speech as I said uhm earlier . yes because that's already a . a kind of . well that's technical jargon . it's already . preprogrammed . but . anyway there are also uhm . some West-Flemish features in it here and there . that is . inevitable*

5.5 Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, we put Grondelaers and Van Hout's statement that "the highest nonvirtual stratum of Belgian Dutch is documented by the speech of Belgian teachers" (2011: 219) to the test: are teachers indeed 'better' speakers of Standard Dutch than (other) highly educated professionals? Drawing upon production data from two corpora of contemporary spoken Dutch, built by the two authors of this paper, fine-grained quantitative analyses were carried out. Mixed models binary logistic regression was used to test statistically whether there was a significant difference in the use of 11 carefully selected phonological and morpho-syntactic variables between teachers and highly educated professionals. The results showed that there was indeed a difference: for 9 of the 11 variables, teachers used significantly less [-st]-variants than the studied laymen. Moreover, a rerun of the logistic regressions without the teachers of Dutch (n=3) showed a difference between the standard language use of Dutch language teachers, compared to

⁷² As such, a strong feeling of dissonance emerges between the (theoretical) focus on Standard Dutch as the propagated language variety in schools, a role which is also confirmed by the teachers themselves, and the use of other (vernacular) varieties in practice. To bridge this policy/practice gap, teachers employ various "strategies": for example, they argue that Standard Dutch does not allow them to bond with pupils, or that proper teaching outweighs proper language use. For a more extensive overview of these bridging 'strategies', see Delarue (2014) and Delarue and Van Lancker (2016).

teachers of other school subjects, indicating that teachers of Dutch use less non-standard variants than teachers of other subjects, but that both of them still use less [-st]-variants than other highly educated professionals.

Using exploratory content analysis, we tried to distinguish (a) possible explanatory factor(s) for this difference in standard language use. A difference in education, pertaining to teacher training, did not seem enough to explain the found linguistic differences: even if teachers (and especially teachers of Dutch) received more training in Dutch proficiency, that training did not seem to have a lasting effect (at a conscious level), as teachers did not seem to remember much of it. Another possible explanation was a difference in linguistic expectations, and this indeed seemed to be a potentially decisive factor in distinguishing teachers from other professionals linguistically: teachers are aware of the fact that Standard Dutch is expected from them, and thus feel more pressured to adhere to the standard norm than the informants from the laymen corpus. There will probably be more (and intertwined) factors which can explain the observed differences (see e.g. Delarue 2014 for teacher strategies in dealing with the Standard Dutch norm), but this can count as a starting point for further research.

In our analyses, we tried to take into account a few aspects that were (partly) left out of the picture in the Teacher Corpus (Van Hout et al. 1999). To begin with, we studied not only phonological features, but also morpho-syntactic features. Second, up until now there was no actual comparative research on the language use of both teachers and highly educated professionals. Third, only the language use of teachers of Dutch was studied in the Teacher Corpus, while teachers of other subjects were left out of the picture. Lastly, the compilation of the Teacher Corpus already started in 1999, and in the light of the rapidly changing linguistic landscape in Flanders, new production data were needed.

However, there are still some elements which urge us to interpret the results from this study cautiously: some cells contain a low number of informants, which could possibly blur the results of the logistic regressions to some extent. In addition, the group of teachers involved in this study is very diverse: teachers of Dutch and teachers of other school subjects, teachers of primary and secondary education, teachers with different kinds of (teacher) training, etcetera. It is possible that, because of that internal variation, some correlations, effects or explanatory factors remain unnoticed. Finally, there was also a difference in the nature of the interviews. As was mentioned earlier, most laymen participated in the study during their leisure time, whereas most of the teachers took part during work hours. In further research, these elements should also be taken into account.

In conclusion, this comparison of two types of professions has laid bare interesting differences in language use and underlying motivational factors. We hope that this paper may provide a starting point for further research on the role of occupation and socio-economic status in language use in Flanders, which is often neglected in studies on tussentaal (see e.g. Plevoets 2008; 2013).

Part 3: Research articles II

Bridging the policy-practice gap: analyzing the discursive strategies of Flemish teachers

Chapter 6

Bridging the policy-practice gap. A typology of Flemish teachers' language perceptions in between monovarietal language policy and multivarietal language practice

Reference details

Delarue, S. (submitted-a). *Bridging the policy-practice gap. A typology of Flemish teachers' language perceptions in between monovarietal language policy and multivarietal language practice*. Submitted to *Folia Linguistica*.

Background

This fourth paper presents a typology of the discursive strategies used by teachers to try and make sense of the gap between macro-level language-in-education policy, which is strongly aimed at the use of Standard Dutch, and actual classroom practice, which is characterized by the substantial use of non-standard (Tussentaal, dialect) features. On the one hand, teachers stress the importance of the standard variety, emphasizing for instance their exemplary role, but on the other hand, they downplay that importance, using various reasons to explain why. Drawing on an extensive number of interview extracts, this paper tries to shed more light on this perceptual ambivalence in teachers' micro-level perceptions.

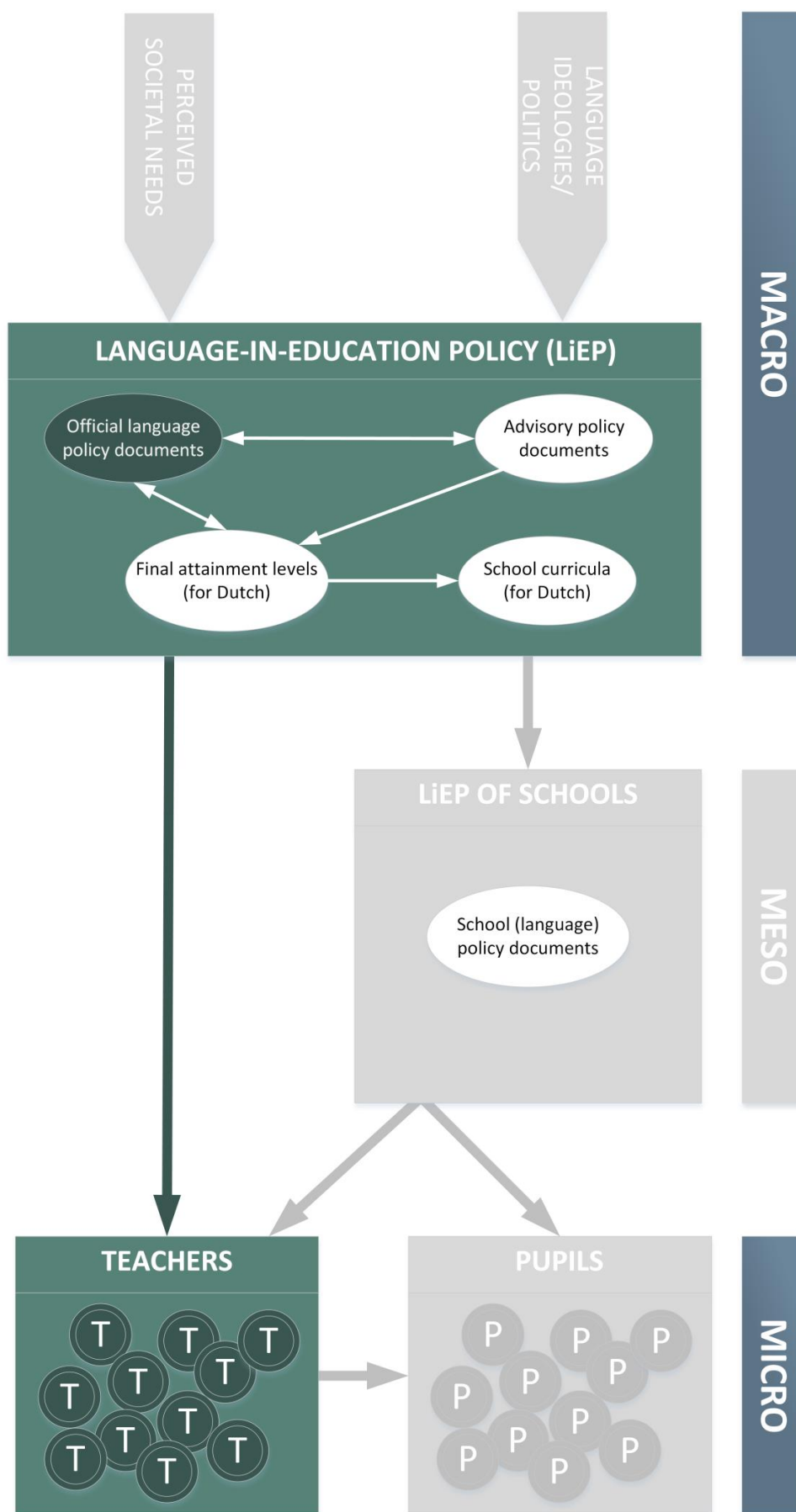


Figure 16: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 6

Abstract

As in several other Western European regions, processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss have led in Flanders to a growing use of intermediate varieties between the dialects and the standard language. These intermediate varieties – commonly referred to as *tussentaal* ('in-between-language') – are increasingly used in situations where Standard Dutch used to be the norm, e.g. in the media and in educational settings. However, Flemish governmental language-in-education policy propagates Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in school, contrasting sharply with the substantial use of non-standard language features in Flemish classrooms. This paper analyzes the way(s) in which teachers discursively try to make sense of this policy/practice gap, drawing on a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 82 Flemish primary and secondary school teachers. During these interviews, the teachers appear to be highly ambivalent when it comes to Standard Dutch. Almost all teachers stress the importance of Standard Dutch, but simultaneously admit they do not always use it in classroom settings, using various (discursive) strategies to explain why. A tentative typology of these strategies forms the backbone of this paper, which analyzes a number of these strategies using illustrative interview extracts.

Keywords: Standard Dutch – language-in-education policy – Dutch in Flanders – Flemish – Tussentaal – education – teachers – colloquial speech

6.1 Introduction

In Belgium, Dutch is one of the three official languages, apart from French and German. German is spoken by about 80.000 people in a small region in the eastern part of the country. French is the commonly used language of four million people in the southern part of Belgium, Wallonia, and it is the predominant language in Brussels, the country's capital (Corijn and Vloeberghs 2009). Dutch is the language of the six million Flemings who live in the northern part of Belgium. Dutch as spoken in Flanders, or 'Belgian Dutch', differs slightly from the Dutch spoken in the Netherlands. In former days, Netherlandic Dutch was the norm for Flemish speakers of Dutch, but throughout the last few decades, the language used in the Flemish media has taken over this position (Van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009; Willemyns 2003). With Belgian Dutch determining its own course, apart from the developments in Netherlandic Dutch, Dutch can be seen as a pluricentric language (cf. Clyne 1992a; De Caluwe 2012a).

The bicentric character of Dutch coincides with different internal developments in both linguistic centres. For example, Netherlandic Dutch is currently confronted with 'norm relaxation' phenomena, manifested by more accent variation in the spoken standard (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a), a growing phonological influence of non-standard varieties such as *Polderlands* 'Polder Dutch' (Stroop 1998; Van Bezooijen 2001) and morphosyntactic changes such as the rapid spread of the object form *hun* of the 3rd person personal pronoun in subject position (Van Hout 2003, 2006; Van Bergen et al. 2011; Grondelaers and Speelman 2015). It has been suggested that this increasing variability in Netherlandic Dutch can be explained by the massive dialect loss that has occurred during the last decades (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a: 217; also see Willemyns 2007). This development generated the need for a "multi-stylistic standard variety" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a: 217), which can also be used in situations where the dialect used to be the common variety. Mattheier (1997) coined the term *demotizierung* (translated by Coupland and Kristiansen 2011 as "demotization") for that development, in which "the standard has to be able to provide the full range of expressive resources the speakers need" (Auer 2011: 500). A similar diaglossic language repertoire (Auer 2005; 2011) is present in Flanders, but without any apparent on-going processes of 'norm relaxation' in the standard. In between Belgian Standard Dutch and the dialects exists an extensive array of intermediate varieties, deviating from both the standard language and the dialects (De Caluwe 2009). Those intermediate varieties are often captured under the umbrella term *Tussentaal* (literally 'interlanguage' or 'in-between-language'). For the last few decades, *Tussentaal* has been subject to rapid expansion and, according to some, even standardization (Plevoets 2008; Willemyns 2005), which can be attributed to two main factors (for an overview of other possible explanations, see e.g. Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a):

(1) The exoglossic standard language, which was imported from The Netherlands in the 19th and 20th century to resist French influence, never really won the heart of the Belgian speakers (Willemyns 2003), despite several large-scale standardization attempts from the government, the media and education (for an overview, see Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). This resistance against exoglossic Dutch paved the way for the emergence of a Flemish supraregional variety, viz. *Tussentaal*.

(2) Processes of dialect levelling and dialect loss in the central regions of Brabant and East-Flanders led to a functional elaboration of *Tussentaal*. In an attempt to explain this causality, Willemyns (2007) argues that dialect loss necessitates an informal variety (in between the disappearing dialects and the standard) that indexes (regional) identity. Because of the smaller distance between this intermediate variety (*Tussentaal*) and the standard, "many people see no inconvenience in using the former in situations where actually the use of the latter would be appropriate" (2007: 271). As such, *Tussentaal* seems to replace both the dialects and the standard,

pushing the standard to the extreme formality side of continuum (2007: 271). Other studies seem to confirm this correlation between dialect loss and Tussentaal expansion: for instance, Ghyselen and De Vogelaer's (2013) attitudinal research in the peripheral region of West-Flanders shows that the spread of Tussentaal progresses much slower if the dialect is still quite vital.

In the (Flemish) linguistic literature, the formal norm of spoken Belgian Dutch is often referred to as *VRT-Dutch*, the language variety used on the Flemish public-service broadcaster VRT (*Vlaamse Radio en Televisieomroeporganisatie*, 'Flemish Radio and Television Broadcasting Organization'). Since its foundation in 1930, the VRT has imposed very strict norms on the language use of its radio and television hosts, with rigorous pronunciation tests and strict internal controls (Vandenbussche 2010b; Van Hoof 2015). The zenith of uniformity and standardness continues to be (broadcast) speech by VRT news anchors, which is why Plevoets (Plevoets 2008; 2013) uses the term *Journaalnederlands* ('Newscast Dutch') for (Belgian) Standard Dutch. However, it is very doubtful whether this extremely strict norm is also attained (or even aspired to) outside of the news studio. In that respect, De Caluwe (2009: 19) refers to VRT-Dutch as a "virtual colloquial variety [...], desired by the authorities, but rarely spoken in practice" (my translation), and Grondelaers and Van Hout refer to the VRT pronunciation norm as "an almost unattainable ideal achieved only by a small minority of Dutch-speaking Belgians in a limited number of contexts" (2011a: 218).

If VRT-Dutch is seen as a largely virtual standard, one may wonder what the 'highest' non-virtual level of Standard Belgian Dutch is. For Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a: 219), that stratum can be equated with 'Teacher Dutch', as documented by the speech of the Flemish teachers in the Teacher Corpus of the Spoken Dutch Corpus (*Corpus Gesproken Nederlands*). After all, they are seen as "guardians of the standard language" (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999, my translation), who are supposed to be "loyal to official pronunciation norms" (De Schutter 1980). According to Grondelaers et al. (2016), this vital Teacher Dutch differs from the virtual VRT-Dutch in multiple ways, even though it is reasonable to assume that the teachers in the Spoken Dutch Corpus tried to speak as standard as possible, as they knew in advance that their speech was recorded for inclusion in a database of spoken Standard Dutch:

Still, Teacher Dutch audibly deviates from the VRT-norm on account of the fact that the absolute majority of teachers have a regional accent which is straightforwardly identifiable to non-expert listeners (...) and the fact that many teachers also manifest some non-standard phonology in their speech.

Even though this Teacher Dutch does not command the same prestige as VRT-Dutch, the fact that teachers are proclaimed to be the best speakers of the standard puts a lot of weight on their shoulders: at a time when some linguists announce the end of the standard

language era (Van der Horst 2008), teachers are referred to as “the last gatekeepers of the standard” (Van Istendael 2008: 31, my translation).

This pressure is equally prominent in Flemish language-in-education policies (Vandenbroucke 2007; Smet 2011), where the use of the standard variety inside as well as outside of the classroom is strongly advocated; it is considered to be a *conditio sine qua non* for a successful school career, participation in Flemish society, and socio-economic promotion. In other words, Standard Dutch is deemed to be essential for eliminating social inequality (Delarue and De Caluwe 2015). Schools and teachers are held responsible for the creation of these equal opportunities, which can only be reached by focusing on “three clear priorities: language, language and language” (Vandenbroucke 2008, my translation). With ‘language’, the policy makers solely refer to Standard Dutch, which is defined as the result of “setting the bar high” (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4), and is deemed to be “rich” (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4) and “appropriate” (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11). Non-standard varieties, however, are qualified with adjectives as “bad, inarticulate and regional” (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4) or “sloppy” (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11). As a result, there is no room in schools for:

(...) krom taalgebruik of verkavelingsvlaams of een streektaal die hen in een klein gebied opsluit en hun kansen op mobiliteit en emancipatie ondergraaft. (...) Het Nederlands en zeker het 'schoolse Nederlands' beperkt zich voor heel wat leerlingen tot de school en de klas. Dààr moeten we het dus waarmaken.

[inarticulate language use or a vernacular that locks them [the pupils, sd] up in a small area and undermines their chances of mobility and emancipation. [...] For a lot of pupils, the use of Standard Dutch is limited to the school and to the classroom. *That's the place where it has to happen*] (Vandenbroucke 2008, my translation)

However, recent studies pointed out that teachers cannot (or will not) meet these expectations: nearly all Flemish teachers use some amount of non-standard features when teaching, and as they are used more frequently among younger teachers, there appears to be a trend towards even more non-standard language use in teaching (De Caluwe 2012b; Delarue 2013; Olders 2007; Walraet 2004). This gap between language policy and linguistic practice (Delarue 2011) puts teachers in a difficult position: on the one hand, both the governmental policy and society at large⁷³ expect them to speak and promote Standard Dutch, but on the other hand, every language production study points out that their actual language use diverges to some extent from that standard norm. In this paper, I want to map the – often ambivalent – standard language perceptions of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, in order to answer a number of questions. How do teachers envisage the role of Standard Dutch in the classroom? What indexes do Flemish teachers

⁷³ For some examples of this (ideological) sensitivity in Flanders when it comes to (standard) language issues in educational settings, I refer to Delarue (2013), as well as Delarue and Lybaert (2016).

attach to the standard variety? Which discursive strategies do they formulate in dealing with the governmental language-in-education policy – either in favor of or diverging from the Standard Dutch norm? The use of the term *strategy* is a deliberate one: by choosing that term, rather than *explanation* or *justification*, I want to stress the personal power (*agency*) teachers have to actively appropriate the stipulated policy in a particular classroom setting. Instead of merely victims of the policy, teachers are active "agents of language policy" (Heineke and Cameron 2013), who are able to adapt that policy in concrete educational settings.

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, I use semistructured interview data from 82 Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, analyzing their discourses on the value and usefulness of Standard Dutch and other language varieties in classroom settings. This paper presents a (tentative) typology of the various strategies used by teachers, with a discussion and analysis of several illustrative interview extracts. After a short outline of the methodology and analysis (Section 6.2), I will use this typology, which consists of seven different categories of standard language perceptions, to structure the results section (Section 6.3.1-6.3.7). Section 6.4 offers a discussion of the analysis and some conclusions.

6.2 Methodology

For the analyses in this paper, interview data from the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language (CFTL) are used (see Delarue 2014). I compiled the CFTL corpus between October 2012 and February 2014, and it contains speech data of 82 Flemish teachers, who teach in 21 primary and secondary schools in 10 cities: the five Flemish province capitals (Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven, and Hasselt), as well as five smaller regional cities (Ypres, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde, and Beringen), which attract people from the surrounding communities for school, work, shopping, or leisure activities (see Figure 17).

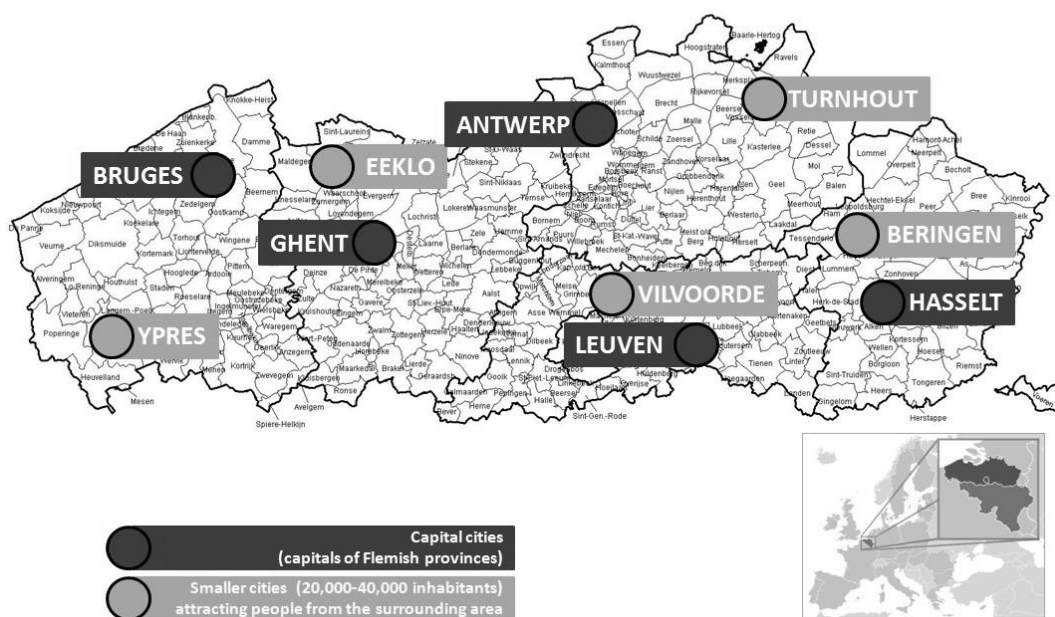


Figure 17: Map of Flanders, showing the ten cities included in the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language

The schools participating in this study were all Catholic schools, in order to rule out potential differences between schools from different educational networks.⁷⁴ The teachers themselves were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate; there were no specific requirements as to gender, age, region of birth, or current residence. In spite of this open selection, informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different demographic categories. 59 percent of the teachers in the corpus are female ($n=48$), and 41% are male ($n=34$).⁷⁵ The spread of the informants over different age groups is quite even as well, with 14 teachers in their 20s, 29 in their 30s, 22 in their 40s and 17 teachers older than 50.

One variable was specifically controlled for during selection: in order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of their pupils, three groups of teachers were selected. The first group, totaling roughly a quarter of all teachers in the corpus ($n=18$), taught 6th grade of primary school. The other two groups were secondary

⁷⁴ Earlier studies have not shown any significant differences between (the quality of) education offered by Flemish Catholic schools on the one hand and state schools on the other (compare Van Houtte 2003 on academic achievement; Van Houtte 2004 on social capital; and Devos and Van Vooren 2010 on grammatical knowledge). Yet this school network factor was held constant, to avoid the possibility that the school network might influence the language use and/or language perceptions of teachers.

⁷⁵ In comparison, the most recent figures show that over 73% of all primary and secondary school teachers in Flanders are female (Department of Education and Training 2015: 5), a number that has increased significantly over the last few years. Why this feminization of education is not (or only slightly) mirrored in my corpus, is unclear. A possible explanation could be that male teachers can be convinced more easily to take part in (linguistic) research, while female teachers tend to refrain from having classroom visitors.

school teachers, teaching 3rd (n=31) and 6th grade (n=33)⁷⁶ of general secondary education (ASO or *Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*). In the secondary schools included in the research, both teachers of Dutch and teachers of other school subjects (e.g. Mathematics, History, Geography) were selected, as long as the subjects were taught in Dutch.

The corpus contains two types of speech data for each of the 82 teacher-informants: lesson recordings and sociolinguistic interviews. During these (semistructured) interviews, four key topics were addressed: (i) an assessment of (the language use of) the pupils; (ii) the education and teacher training of the teacher, and the attention that was given to Standard Dutch; (iii) the knowledge of and views on language-in-education policy, both on a governmental and on a school level; (iv) the personal linguistic background and the language-related expectations for him/herself and other teachers. For the questions I aim to answer in this paper, especially the first and the last two parts of the interviews presented particularly interesting perspectives.

After transcribing all of the (audio-recorded) interviews, the transcripts were coded and analyzed using NVivo software, following the principles of thematic analysis (Boyatzis 1998; Braun and Clarke 2006).⁷⁷ The transcripts were read and reread, in order to become familiar with the data. Then, codes (for example, labels such as *exemplary role*, *correctness*, *intelligibility*) were ascribed to meaningful text units. After coding several interviews in this inductive way, the code list was compared critically with the content of the interview transcripts, to ensure the validity and reliability of the coding procedure. Codes were grouped together, and I searched for themes among them. In this paper, I try to develop a typology of such themes (see Delarue 2015a for a preliminary version of this typology), which correspond with the strategies teachers use to stress c.q. downplay the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom contexts. In order to analyze and illustrate some of the most interesting ones, representative and relevant quotes were selected from the interview corpus.

⁷⁶ In the 3rd grade of secondary education, pupils are usually 14 or 15 years old, whereas pupils in the 6th grade are 17 or 18 years old. The primary school teachers in my study all taught 11- or 12-year-old pupils.

⁷⁷ It is important to note that this particular approach has been chosen deliberately. The significant overlap among many approaches in qualitative research may encourage a generic view of qualitative research as a whole. However, there are clear differences between these approaches (Smith 2000; Given 2008; Vaismoradi et al. 2013). For this study, thematic analysis was chosen, not only because of its flexibility and accessibility, but also because it offers a rich and detailed account of a complex data set (Vaismoradi et al. 2013: 403). Thematic analysis is often stereotypically considered to be one of the easiest research approaches within qualitative methodologies. However, the fundamental character of these approaches does not mean that they necessarily produce simple and low quality findings. Provided that the researcher stays reflective, frequently reviews the data from different perspectives, and follows the stages of data analysis, thematic analysis can offer a deeper understanding of particular phenomena or social action (DeSantis and Noel Ugarizza 2000).

6.3 Results

During the sociolinguistic interviews (n=82), the teacher-informants employ an extensive array of strategies to (at least discursively) bridge the gap between monovarietal language-in-education policy and multivarietal classroom practice (see Section 6.1). In total, 434 statements concerning the use(fulness) of Standard Dutch in Flemish classroom contexts were found in the interviews, of which 161 were in defence of the Standard Dutch norm, and 273 opposed to the standard (instead promoting forms of non-standard language use as equally or even more useful in the classroom). It is interesting to see that most of the teachers involved in this study stress the importance of Standard Dutch in Flemish education, but simultaneously downplay its role in specific classroom settings. These statements (n=273) were coded to 44 different strategies contra Standard Dutch, which can be classified in 7 different categories (see Table 7⁷⁸). For example, strategies can be aimed at the different classroom actors: the pupils (1), the teachers themselves (2) or the relationship between teachers and pupils (3). Other strategies are aimed at hierarchizing the different tasks of teachers, ranking standard language use lower than other, highly prioritized tasks (4), or stress specific traits teachers appear to associate with standard language, such as *intelligibility* or *arrogance* (5). Finally, some of the strategies are aimed at providing a broader conception (i.e. broader than Standard Dutch) of what language use is deemed to be acceptable in a classroom context (6), or at the language use in society at large, stating that Standard Dutch is barely used in Flanders, and the school should not serve as an isolated island of standard language use (7). The same categorization can be used to map the 23 types of statements in favor of Standard Dutch. As shown in Table 1, two of the previously mentioned categories are left empty: stressing the importance of the standard makes it unnecessary to hierarchize teachers' tasks, nor does it request a broader conception of acceptable classroom language.

⁷⁸ Note that Table 1 only shows the strategies appearing three times or more in the data (22 of the 44 strategies contra Standard Dutch, 11 out of the 23 in favor of the standard).

Strategies aimed at...	In favor of Standard Dutch (SD) norm	Against the Standard Dutch (SD) norm
1. Pupils	1.a) pupils pay attention to language use / pupils expect the teacher to speak SD (#8 ⁷⁹) 1.b) not using SD disturbs or amuses pupils (#4) 1.c) the classroom is the only place pupils can still hear SD (#3)	1.d) pupils make fun of teachers who use SD / pupils comment on SD language use of teachers (#5)
2. Teachers	2.a) it is your task/role/job as a teacher to speak SD (#10) 2.b) teachers need to make an effort / need to use their common sense (#7)	2.c) doing your best is sufficient (#15) 2.d) I usually just don't think about it / I have so many things to think about (#14) 2.e) you need to be yourself / stay authentic / don't play a role (#13) 2.f) I'm not trained to speak SD / it requires a lot of practice to be able to speak SD (#7) 2.g) I'm not at ease when speaking SD (#6) 2.h) as a professional, I can determine my own norm (#5) 2.i) in situations of fatigue or stress, I forget to mind my language use (#4)
3. Relationship between teacher and pupils	3.a) exemplary role of teachers / you serve as an example for pupils (#83) 3.b) maintaining a distance with pupils (#15) 3.c) pupils mirror your language use (#4)	3.d) using SD restrains spontaneity / dynamism / fluency in the classroom (#26) 3.e) distance with pupils becomes too large / need to connect to pupils' environment (#15)
4. Hierarchization of teachers' tasks	--	4.a) proper teaching outweighs proper language use / content over form (#30) 4.b) not enough teaching time to pay specific attention to language use (#3) 4.c) language varieties other than SD aren't detrimental to learning (#3)
5. Perception of language varieties	5.a) SD is intelligible for all pupils (#4) 5.b) SD allows you to be more precise / SD equals rich(er) language use (#3)	5.c) SD is posh / arrogant / too formal / impersonal / unnatural / forced (#8) 5.d) proud of local dialect / heritage, and it would be a shame if dialect was lost (#8)

⁷⁹ #X indicates the number of occurrences of this strategy in my data set, after thematic coding. In this table, only strategies that appear 3 times or more in the full data set are rendered (which is about half of all of the strategies found in my corpus).

6. Broader conception of acceptable classroom language	--	<i>acceptable language use =</i> 6.a) as long as it's not dialect (#37) 6.b) as long as it's intelligible for the pupils (#16) 6.c) as long as it's grammatically correct / as long as you don't make language mistakes (#9) 6.d) as long as it's appropriate / polite (#6) 6.e) as long as it's limited to small norm deviations (#4)
7. Language use in society at large	7.a) teachers (of Dutch) are the last defenders of the SD norm / teachers need to promote the standard (#3)	7.b) a school is not an island / school shouldn't be a standard language vacuum / SD isn't used in everyday life either (#6) 7.c) language variation is a reality / is logical / reflects the whole society (#3)

Table 7: Overview of prominent (n≥3) strategies in the interviews, concerning the use of Standard Dutch by teachers in classroom settings

The categorization into 7 types will be used as a connecting thread for this results section, offering an analysis of several interview extracts, in order to illustrate some of the most occurring strategies.

6.3.1 Pupils

A first strategy type employed by the teacher-informants in my study to (discursively) bridge the policy/practice gap c.q. stress the importance of Standard Dutch, is aimed at their pupils. Table 7 shows how these strategies can diametrically oppose each other: while some of the teachers stress that pupils expect them to speak Standard Dutch, as pupils pay attention to language use (1.a in Table 7) and even could feel amused or disturbed when teachers don't live up to their linguistic expectations (1.b), other informants claim the exact opposite. According to them, teachers who strictly adhere to the Standard Dutch norm are the ones who are being laughed at by pupils (1.d). This discrepancy does not come as a surprise, as it closely resembles the equally ambivalent (standard) language perceptions of Flemish pupils: Standard Dutch is the point of reference, and is found to be the most “beautiful” language (Delarue and Van Lancker 2016), but simultaneously, pupils denounce the standard as being “dull, stiff, impersonal, less fluent and difficult” (Van Lancker 2016). This ambivalence, shared by both teachers and pupils, could possibly explain the rather low number of attestations of strategies aimed at pupils (see Table 7): it is possible that because teachers have a hard time judging pupils' linguistic expectations, they turn to other types of strategies instead.

6.3.2 Teachers

During the interviews, the teacher-informants more frequently turn to themselves when they discuss their standard language perceptions vis-à-vis the Standard Dutch norm propagated by the Flemish government. As was already mentioned in the introduction, teachers are considered to have an important task when it comes to (standard) language use and norm reproduction, and the informants in my study feel a considerable pressure to master, use, and support the standard variety. Teachers seem to have internalized this pressure, considering the use of Standard Dutch when teaching as their “task”, “role” or “job” (2.a), and seeing appropriate language use as part of being an education professional (Reynolds 1995). In Extract 1, Lesley reflects upon her “role” as a history teacher, stating that it is her job to teach her subject in “the standard language that will be used in the companies” where her pupils will be employed after their education.

Extract 1

Lesley, F, 49, History teacher, Bruges⁸⁰

Lesley: maar daar zit ik dan in mijn rol als lesgever . dat is mijn job . daarvoor heb ik gestudeerd . en mijn opdracht is om . mijn vak te geven in 't taal . in de standaardtaal die gebruikt wordt later in de bedrijven dus wij . wij bereiden ze voor zeker in een vijfde en zesde jaar . straks komen ze op de arbeidsmarkt en daar moeten ze leren dat ze ten opzichte van degene van wie dat ze . voor wie ze werken . dat . dat dat in een correcte taal moet . dat die . dat er een euh . ja . dat er . niveaus en standaarden zijn . ook in hiërarchie . dat ze dat op die manier kunnen aantonen . ja

Lesley: but there I'm in my role as a teacher . that's my job . that's what I studied for . and it's my task to . to teach my subject in the language . in the standard language that will be used in the companies so we . we prepare them especially in the fifth and the sixth grade . they will enter the job market soon and there they have to learn that they towards their . to their superiors . that . that that needs to happen in a correct language . that they . that there uhm . well . that there are levels and standards . in hierarchy as well . that they can show that in that way . yeah

Extract 1 reveals that Lesley takes her job as a teacher very seriously: the goal of education is to optimally prepare pupils for their future (professional) lives, and for her, being able to use Standard Dutch is an important aspect of those preparations (but see Plevvoets 2013 and Jaspers 2012 for some critical comments on that presupposed link between standard language use and professional success). This use of Standard Dutch as a marker of

⁸⁰ These interview extracts were slightly adjusted: because the content prevails here, phonological deletions (for example, *nie* ‘not’ instead of *niet*, *ik eb* ‘I have’ instead of *ik heb*) were conformed to Standard Dutch. However, non-standard forms of morphosyntactic or lexical nature are unaltered. In the text, pauses are expressed by dots, going from one dot (.) for short breaks, to three dots (...) for long breaks.

professionalism (see Delarue and Lybaert 2016) is explicitly tied in with notions of *respect* and *hierarchy*, which indicates that Lesley not only uses Standard Dutch because it is expected from her, but also to underline her superior position (i.e. her authority) in the classroom (see Extract 7).

In the interviews, the linguistic expectations imposed on teachers manifest themselves in two directions, which differ from each other regarding their desired linguistic outcomes. On the one hand, some of the informants stress that teachers need to make an effort (3.b), and that it is no more than logical that they cannot “speak like they do at home”. For them, Standard Dutch should be the aspired variety when it comes to classroom language use. This idea ties in with the “effort dimension” found by Lybaert (2014a) in her in-depth interviews with laymen on Flanders’ language situation: Standard Dutch is a non-spontaneous variety requiring considerable effort (in contrast to Tussentaal or dialect, which are considered as forms of “talking normally”). Especially the older informants in Lybaert’s study therefore expect Standard Dutch to be taught in schools, and refer to Standard Dutch as *geschoold Nederlands* ‘educated Dutch’ or *schooltaal* ‘school language’ (2014a: 119), which is probably reminiscent of the climate of hyperstandardization dominating Flanders between the 1950s and the 1980s (Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012), but does not reflect actual classroom practice (De Caluwe 2012b; Delarue 2011, 2013).

On the other hand, “doing your best” (3.c) is also used by some of the informants to legitimate the use of non-standard language: as long as teachers make an effort, meaning that their classroom language use differs from what they speak at home or in other informal contexts, that language use is considered to be acceptable – whether it approximates the Standard Dutch norm or not. It is precisely this difference in finality (Standard Dutch vs. any form of language that diverges from “everyday” language use) that enables us to distinguish between the two perspectives. Interestingly, the emergence of both of these perspectives in my interview data seems to clash with a widespread assertion in the vast majority of the interviews. When asked whether they experience any difficulties in using their ‘default’ classroom language, nearly all teachers answer by pointing out that any change in language use happens unconsciously, stating that “it’s an automatism”, “it comes naturally” or “I just switch over”. In Extract 2, for example, Linda “switches over quickly enough” when she enters a classroom. Apart from the first days or weeks after the (summer) holidays, her classroom language use does not require any considerable effort and comes rather “naturally”. However, when Linda is asked whether teachers serve as linguistic role models (also see Section 6.3.3), she promptly replies that teachers – even if they teach mathematics – need to “make an effort to do it properly”. Apparently, however, this once deliberate or conscious effort to pay attention to language use can become routine over time.

Extract 2

Linda, F, 40, Mathematics teacher, Ghent

INT: kost 't u veel moeite om daar euh naar te streven? naar dat taalgebruik in de les . om dat te hanteren?

Linda: .. denk dat dat . dat is een gewoonte . die klik maak je redelijk snel . ik . ik merk wel als 't vakantie geweest is dat je moet euh voorzichtiger zijn dat er zo niet in ene keer zo'n woord tussenzit (*lacht*) die daar niet tussen hoort

INT: moeilijker is om er weer in te komen . ja

Linda: ja (*lacht*) maar ne keer dat je op dreef bent

INT: zodra je die klik hebt gemaakt is er eigenlijk geen probleem . dat komt er vrij natuurlijk uit ok

Linda: nee . ja

INT: euhm .. vindt u dat een leerkracht ook op 't gebied van taalgebruik een modelfunctie vervult voor leerlingen?

Linda: voor een stuk wel ja

INT: ook de wiskundeleerkracht?

Linda: ja . ik vind dat 't niet opgaat dat je toch . allez dat je geen moeite doet om 't goed te doen

INT: does it require considerable effort for you to aim at uhm that? to that language use in the class . to use that?

Linda: .. I think that that . that's a habit . you switch over quickly enough . I . I do notice that after the holidays you need to be uhm more careful to avoid that suddenly a word pops up (laughs) that doesn't belong there

INT: it's harder to get back into it . yeah

Linda: yes (laughs) but once you're on a roll

INT: as soon as you've switched over there actually isn't a problem . it happens quite naturally ok

Linda: no . yeah

INT: uhm .. do you feel that a teacher also serves as a role model for pupils when it comes to language use?

Linda: partially yes

INT: the mathematics teacher as well?

Linda: yeah . I think it makes no sense to still . well to not make an effort to do it properly

Apart from this “doing my best” strategy, which could also be seen as a way of widening the scope of acceptable classroom language (see Section 6.3.6), teachers have also employed a range of other self-involved strategies to explain why they do not use Standard Dutch. Some teachers admit that they usually just don't think about it (2.d/2.i), which connects to the unconscious nature of classroom language use described earlier, or state that they are not properly trained to speak Standard Dutch (2.f), meaning that it requires too much (conscious) effort to adhere to the standard. In a more agentive attempt to resist the governmental language-in-education policy, others stress that Standard

Dutch is inadequate in creating authentic classroom contexts (also see Delarue and Lybaert 2016): they do not feel at ease in Standard Dutch (2.g), or cannot be themselves using that language variety (2.e), and therefore select other varieties that are more appropriate in specific classroom contexts. Notably, some of the teachers legitimate this by referring to their teacher professionalism (2.h). For them, professionalism comes down to flexibility and having a hands-on mentality, which contrasts sharply with Lesley's rather rigid focus on respect and hierarchy as markers of professionalism⁸¹, indexed solely by Standard Dutch (Extract 1).

6.3.3 Relationship between teachers and pupils

When it comes to the relationship between teachers and pupils, Table 7 shows a striking ambivalence in the informants' standard language perceptions (and often even during one and the same interview). In nearly three-quarters of the interviews, the exemplary role of teachers (3.a) is explicitly stressed. Teachers emphasize that they set an example for their pupils in numerous ways, and (standard) language use is one of them. In Extract 3, Thomas, a religion teacher, states that, in order to make pupils speak Standard Dutch (or at least make them try), teachers must first use Standard Dutch themselves:

Extract 3

Thomas, M, 34, Catholic religion teacher, Antwerp

Thomas: omdat zij voelen van ja kijk als gij 't niet doet . waarom zouden wij 't dan moeten doen . en ik denk dat dat een beetje zo de . de mentaliteit is vermoed ik . werkt dat met taal net hetzelfde . als wij er echt een werkpunt van maken . en we spreken hen erop aan . dan gaan zij dat veel . authentieker ervaren . spreken wij er hen er op aan en we maken er zelf geen werk van ja dan . dan is uw geloofwaardigheid gewoon weg

Thomas: because they feel that yeah look if you don't do it . why should we do it then . and I think that that's a bit the . the state of mind I think . with language it's just the same . if we really make that into a point for improvement . and we talk to them about that . then they'll perceive that in a much . more authentic way . if we talk to them about it and we don't do it ourselves well then . then your credibility is just gone

⁸¹ In Extract 1, Lesley mentions these markers of professionalism with respect to the future careers of her pupils, pointing out that they need to be competent in Standard Dutch in order to show respect to their superiors. In that sense, being professional as a teacher (also) means knowing what could help pupils get ahead in life, and for her, that also includes being able to speak Standard Dutch. It should be noted that elsewhere in the interview, Lesley also stresses that pupils should be respectful towards teachers, which shows that respect and hierarchy are not only important in pupils' future professional careers, but also in the classroom.

According to Thomas, pupils feel that only teachers who speak Standard Dutch themselves – or at least make an effort to do so – can legitimately expect their pupils to do the same. When that is not the case, teachers lose their credibility. Interestingly enough, Thomas also touches upon the notion of 'authenticity' in this extract: in the Flemish context, 'being authentic' usually is at odds with the use of the standard (Delarue and Lybaert 2016), due to Flanders' (historically) problematic relationship with the exoglossic standard (see Section 6.1). When it comes to Standard Dutch, the adoption of an exogenous norm has led to what is commonly referred to as the 'best-suit' mentality of Flemish speakers (Geeraerts 1999, 2001; Taeldean 2007): they are convinced you actually need one, but they only wear it for special occasions and feel uncomfortable wearing it. Here, Thomas shows that authenticity can also be reached in (classroom) settings where Standard Dutch is the medium of communication, and 'being authentic' essentially boils down to 'being consistent': if teachers use the standard themselves, and pupils are asked to do the same, this linguistic concordance apparently suffices to create an 'authentic' classroom atmosphere. Most of the other teachers in my interview corpus, however, disagree to this: they state that they only feel 'authentic' when they do not have to think constantly about *how* they are saying something, instead of focusing on the message they want to convey (see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016). In other words: being authentic as a teacher is only possible if the language used by the teacher does not require too much effort (also see Section 6.3.2). Emily, a primary school teacher, stresses in Extract 4 that she tries to talk "in a decent way", but she refuses to fully commit herself to the strict Standard Dutch norm, as that would make her not feel at ease anymore.

Extract 4

Emily, F, 25, primary school teacher, Turnhout

Emily: (...) euhm . ik probeer op . op . ik probeer op een nette manier te praten en . en . euh .. ja . maar ik . 't moet voor mij ook nog wel goed voelen en spontaan blijven . maar ik . ik probeer daar wel op . allez op te letten .

Emily: (...) uhm . I try to . to . I try to speak in a decent way and . and . uhm .. yeah . but I . it still has to feel right and it has to stay spontaneous . but I . I do try to . well pay attention to that

Extract 4 clearly shows how Emily tries to keep the balance between her exemplary role as a teacher and the need to teach in a spontaneous, natural and dynamic way. The same goes for most of the other teachers in the corpus: after stressing that teachers serve as role models, which implies that they should use Standard Dutch, they nuance the importance of that exemplary role. One way of doing so is to state that the use of Standard Dutch restrains feelings of spontaneity, dynamism or fluency (3.d; see Extract 4, and also see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016 for a more elaborate discussion of this strategy), but this (discursive) nuancing can take various forms, as is illustrated by the following extracts. In Extract 5, for example, Astrid – a Dutch language teacher – refers to the

language use of one of her colleagues in order to mitigate the pressure put on teachers to use the standard.

Extract 5

Astrid, F, 56, Dutch language teacher, Ghent

Astrid: (...) **ik neem het hen niet kwalijk als zij . niet zo op die taal letten** xxx
we hebben hier bijvoorbeeld een leerkracht wetenschappen en die is . euh . ja dat is
echt een West-Vlaamse . en die geeft dus les met een heel West-Vlaams accent **nu**
daar is niks mis mee he

INT: dus dat vindt u geen probleem

Astrid: ja **het kan geen probleem zijn** .. zij geeft haar lessen waarschijnlijk goed
en inhoudelijk zal dat kloppen euh .. ja ze hebben ook een voorbeeldfunctie maar de
eisen mogen lager zijn dan van ons vind ik

INT: dan van leerkrachten Nederlands

Astrid: ahja uiteraard

*Astrid: (...) **I don't blame them for not . not paying attention to their language use that much** xxx for example we have a science teacher here and she is . uhm . yeah she's really West-Flemish . and so she teaches with a very West-Flemish accent **well there's nothing wrong with that right***

INT: so for you that's not a problem

*Astrid: well **it can't be a problem** .. she probably teaches well and content-wise everything will be correct uhm .. yeah they serve as an example but the demands can be lower on them than on us I think*

INT: than on teachers of Dutch

Astrid: well yeah of course

Although Astrid briefly refers to the exemplary role of teachers, she mostly mitigates the importance of the Standard Dutch norm for non-Dutch language teachers: science teachers, for example, cannot be "blame[d] (...) for not paying attention to their language use that much". In order to illustrate her open attitude, Astrid discusses the language use of a colleague who teaches science courses at the school: because of her West-Flemish roots (i.e. not originating from the surroundings of Ghent, in contrast with most of the other teachers in Astrid's school), the science teacher has a "very West-Flemish accent" – it should be noted that the teacher in question realizes this herself, as she mentioned her accent as an explicit reason not to take part in my study. In Extract 5 (and throughout the interview), Astrid emphasizes repeatedly that a recognizable regional accent is unproblematic (see the sentences marked in boldface in Extract 5): she does not "blame them for not paying attention to their language use", stating further on that "there's nothing wrong with that" and that "it can't be a problem". The explicit affirmation at the end of Extract 5 ("well yeah of course"), following my question whether the language standards for e.g. science teachers are lower than for teachers of Dutch, stresses the

difference Astrid makes between Dutch language teachers (as herself) and teachers of other subjects.

It is exactly that dichotomy that could help explain the remarkable difference between Astrid's open attitude and her own language use while teaching, which can be characterized as (virtually) Standard Dutch. The absence of any notable non-standard features is all the more striking because there were multiple instances during my classroom observation which could have prompted Astrid to use non-standard language features (for a more extensive overview of such 'triggers', see Delarue 2013: 212; also see De Caluwe 2012b). For instance, due to a double booking, all pupils had to move to another classroom, which was about half the size of their regular classroom and did not contain enough tables or chairs for all of the pupils. The fact that the pupils were crowded together in a too small room resulted in a quite noisy classroom atmosphere, with pupils shouting to each other and discussing multiple topics unrelated to the lesson content. At several occasions during the class, Astrid got annoyed with the pupils, urging them to be silent. Even in those more emotional instances, however, Astrid adhered to the Standard Dutch norm, except for one classroom situation. Extract 4 shows how she reprimands one of her pupils, Geoffrey, because he is not able to give the presentation on the French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre he was scheduled to give that day. Here, Astrid's annoyance does entail the use of some colloquial, non-standard features (underlined in Extract 6), with some deletions of word-initial [h] (e.g. *ik eb* for *ik heb* 'I have' and *j'ebt* for *je hebt* 'you have', with an additional deletion of final-[e] in *je*) and word-final [t] (*da* for *dat* 'that').

Extract 6

Astrid, F, 56, Dutch language teacher, Ghent

Astrid: wel je weet da je in fout bent hé *jong*

Geoffrey: ja

Astrid: hé ik eb et specifiek gevraagd j'ebt zelf je naam opgeschreven ik heb heel veel gezegd voor vandaag . euhm . ik reken erop dat je dat volgende les supergoed doet hé . ok?

Geoffrey: zeker

Astrid: ja . dus je hebt nu eigenlijk al twee zaken waar je niet ok mee bent vandaag hé . ja . ok

Astrid: well you know that you made a mistake right boy

Geoffrey: yes

Astrid: right I've asked it specifically you've written down your name yourself I've said multiple times by today . uhm . I assume that you'll do it super well next time right . ok?

Geoffrey: certainly

Astrid: yes . so actually now you already have two things that are not all right today huh . yes . ok

Interestingly, the use of these colloquial features is complemented by some informal markers: Astrid addresses Geoffrey as *jong* (informal variant of *jongen* 'boy') and expects him to do it *supergoed* ('super well') next time. Even though all of this takes place 'publicly' in the classroom, she appears to create an informal space that differs considerably from her default teaching style, exuding formality and authority. Rather than reprimanding him in a formal way, the creation of this informal space – using a number of informal variants and intensifiers she would normally not use – seems to indicate that even though she wants to convey her disapproval, she also sympathizes with him to some extent. After Geoffrey's short confirmation that he has understood the message (*zeker* 'certainly'), Astrid closes the informal space by emphasizing that Geoffrey "actually now (...) already ha[s] two things that are not all right today". The shift from a more informal to a more formal situation is indexed by the now consistent use of standard phonological variants, such as *je hebt* (as opposed to *j'ebt* 'you have' in her previous utterance).

After class, when I was no longer recording anything, I had a short conversation with Astrid, who asked me about the scope and the objectives of my research project. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes of that day shows how her stance vis-à-vis the standard norm in the classroom can probably best be described as pragmatic:

She expressed her strong disapproval of "those researchers from Antwerp"⁸², who promote Tussentaal as such – even though she realizes that using or expecting Standard Dutch without any exceptions is also impossible: pupils don't speak that language anymore, and it doesn't appeal to them as much as it used to. She compares this to a well-known recording of a History teacher who speaks Standard Dutch to some extent while giving instructions, but uses more Tussentaal when she gives examples, assessing this as "confronting, but probably everyone does that and that makes sense". (Fieldnotes, my translation)

On the one hand, she strongly disapproves of the (perceived) promotion of non-standard language use in classroom settings, stating that the use of Tussentaal is 'confronting', but simultaneously she adds that the use of non-standard features is probably widespread in Flanders, confirming the rather liberal view on teachers' language use she expressed in Extract 5. In doing so, Astrid serves as a quite representative example of how the informants in my study simultaneously stress and downplay the exemplary role of teachers when it comes to language use: teachers serve as role models for their pupils, but that role needs to be nuanced. There are several possibilities to do so: Astrid makes a

⁸² In August 2012, roughly two months before this interview was conducted, the book *De manke usurpator* ('The limp/cripple usurper' – an ironic wink at a well-known denouncing description for Tussentaal) was published by three Antwerpian sociolinguists (Absillis et al. 2012). The book publication stirred up quite some controversy in Flanders, as the authors in the edited volume took a neutral, non-denouncing stand on Tussentaal, instead of the rejection which is still expected in the public domain. During the days following the book's publication, this neutrality was reinterpreted as a positive take on non-standard language use, causing significant upheaval and angry letters from agitated readers.

distinction between teachers of Dutch and other school subjects, whereas other teachers state that there are other priorities for teachers (cf. *infra*) or that pupils' parents or the media have a larger influence on the language use of pupils than teachers.

Ambivalence in teachers' language perceptions also occurs when the teacher-pupil distance (3.b/3.e) is discussed: while some of the informants stress that a teacher needs to maintain that distance and scorn teachers who deal with their pupils in a too familiar way (see for instance Extract 7), others explicitly choose to connect to the pupils' environment, hobbies and interests (see Extract 8).

Extract 7

Lesley, F, 49, History teacher, Bruges

Lesley: (...) omdat 't een euhm . een euh . je positie in de klas ook bepaalt ten opzichte van de leerlingen . hé 't geeft zo een . een beetje ne grens en . en 't maakt ook hoe sterk je staat in een klas . als je te familiair wordt en **dat gebeurt dan in 't dialect** . dan is die grens tussen leerkracht leerling vager en dat kan ook . allez dat kan toch wel tot problemen leiden dan ook

(...)

ik merk dat bij de jonge leerkrachten die toekomen op school dus dat er euh . een andere relatie is leerkracht-leerling . en dat af en toe er dan ook wel voor problemen . ik vind ieder op z'n plaats . wat niet betekent dat je niet . niet vriendelijk mag zijn hé naar leerlingen of . behulpzaam of zorgzaam . dat is iets totaal anders . maar we staan aan de andere kant van de klas hé

INT: dus die afstand *moét* er zijn voor u

Lesley: dat vind ik wel ja (...) maar ik heb ook niet . euh ik . woon geen lessen bij van die leerkrachten dus ik weet het niet maar ik . als ik ze in de gang hoor praten met . euh leerlingen die iets komen vragen . euh . misschien is dat dan ook omdat dat dingen zijn die niet in het lesgebeuren zitten maar activiteiten op school . dan vind ik dat ze soms toch zeer familiair euh omgaan . ik hoor dat ook van mijn eigen dochters die jonge leerkrachten hebben en dan vertellen die waar . waar ze op café geweest zijn enzovoort . in de hoop om . aanvaard te worden in klas maar ze beseffen niet dat de leerkracht . dat de leerlingen dat eigenlijk . allez ze vinden dat flauw dat die leerkracht probeert te doen alsof ze nog horen bij de groep leerlingen

INT: uhu

Lesley: **en dat gaat dus via taal ook denk ik**

*Lesley: (...) because it's an uhm . an uhm . it also defines your position towards the pupils . well it draws a . a bit of a line and . and it also decides how strong your position is in a classroom . if you get too intimate and **you do so in dialect** . then the boundary between teacher and pupil becomes more vague and that can also . well that can lead to problems then too*

(...)

I notice that with the younger teachers that arrive at school so that there is uhm . a different teacher-pupil relationship . and that causes problems sometimes . everyone should know his place . which doesn't mean that you cannot . not be friendly towards

pupils or . helpful or considerate . that is something completely different . but we are at the other side of the classroom, right

INT: so there needs to be a distance for you

Lesley: I do think so yes (...) but I don't . uhm . I don't attend those teachers' lessons so I don't know but I . when I hear them talking to . uhm pupils in the hallway who come to ask something . uhm . maybe that's also because those aren't events taking place in the classroom but school activities . then I feel that sometimes they treat pupils in a very uhm informal way . I also hear that from my own daughters who have young teachers who tell them in which . in which pub they went out for drinks etcetera . hoping to . to be accepted by the pupils but they don't realize that the teacher . that the pupils actually . well they think that's lame that that teacher tries to act like they still belong to that group of pupils

INT: uhu

*Lesley: **and the same happens with language I think***

In Extract 7, Lesley explains why it is important for teachers to keep their pupils at a distance (3.b): as it “decides how strong your position is in a classroom”, creating and maintaining this distance determines the amount of authority a teacher can exert. For teachers who refrain from a too distinct hierarchical stance, this “vagueness” can “lead to problems” – note that Lesley does not specify the exact nature of these problems. Further on, she explicitly frames these teachers as the group of younger teachers in the school (also see Extract 8), who breach this authoritative teacher stance by treating pupils in a too informal way, telling them for instance about their weekend plans or which pubs they went to for drinks. Lesley downplays her impressions by stating that she can only overhear those younger teachers during breaks, and not while they are teaching, but simultaneously attempts to enforce her claims by viewing it from the pupils’ perspective (more specifically her daughters, who go to the same school Lesley teaches at). For them, teachers who relentlessly try “to be accepted by the pupils” are considered to be “lame”, a qualification which diverges greatly from the adjectives used by Lesley to define her own group of (older) teachers: “friendly”, “helpful” and “considerate”.

This generation gap is explicitly thematized in Extract 8, when Patrick – one of the “younger teachers” targeted by Lesley in Extract 7 – denounces the (older) teachers who choose to “put themselves above the pupils”, by using “a very polished Standard Dutch”, mentioning that these linguistic aspirations have been subject to frequent and heated discussion in recent times.

Extract 8

Patrick, M, 28, Catholic religion teacher, Bruges

Patrick: (...) de bewuste keuze zit hem enerzijds omwille van 't feit dat euh . euhm . het is een taal die . het echte gekuiste AN⁸³ . dat ik bijvoorbeeld wel moet hanteren als ik . als ik missen vier dan in mijn andere euh . deel van mijn . van mijn functie . euhm .. kraakt . euhm . kraakt echt in mijn mond als ik het continu zou moeten gebruiken . dat is het . dus de . de meest spontane euh . taal is diegene waarin dat ik mij . 't best kan geven en dat is de tussentaal . het andere en dat is de meest bewuste keuze ook is euhm .. een taal . een heel zuivere taal schept een afstand . er zijn collega's hier die zeker in de derdes die . we hebben daar al vaak discussie over gehad . die opteren voor een heel gekuist AN . euhm . omwille van 't feit dat ge u daarmee boven uw leerlingen stelt . meer omwille van die pubermentaliteit van 't is hun taal niet . en creëert de afstand . euhm .. ik . da's een optie die ik niet wil nemen omwille van twee redenen . omwille dus van . het vak godsdienst dat volgens mij een vak van interactie is en van . van veel van uzelf geven en dan veel vanuit de leerling krijgen en anderzijds ook het feit dat ik euh . euhm als priester op school . euh niet de houding wil aannemen van er moet een grote afstand zijn tussen leerkracht en leerling . omdat ik denk dat dat dan wel een meerwaarde heeft

Patrick: (...) it's a conscious choice because on the one hand uhm . uhm . it is a language that . the real polished SD . that for example I do need to speak when I . when I celebrate mass . than in my other uhm . part of my job . euhm .. it crunches . uhm . it really crunches in my mouth when I would have to use it all the time . that's the . so the . the most spontaneous uhm . language is the one in which I can . really throw myself and that's the Tussentaal . the other and that's the most conscious choice too is uhm .. a language . a really pure language creates a distance . there are colleagues here who especially in the third grade who . we have been discussing this often . who choose a very polished SD . uhm . because of the fact that by doing so you put yourself above your pupils . more because of that adolescent mentality of it's not their language . and it creates a distance . uhm .. I . that's an option I don't want to take because of two reasons . because of religion as a school subject that according to me is a subject of interaction and of . of giving a lot of yourself and then receiving a lot from the pupil and then on the other hand also the fact that I uhm . uhm as a priest in this school . uhm don't want to have the attitude that there has to be a large distance between teachers and pupils . because I think that it does have an added value

Interestingly, Patrick refers in Extract 8 to his other occupation: in addition to his job as a teacher of Catholic religion, he is also a priest, which involves highly formal and ceremonial activities, e.g. celebrating mass or performing marriages and baptisms. During those situations, Patrick feels obliged to speak Standard Dutch, but admittedly does not feel at ease using the standard, stating that it “crunches” in his mouth. For his teaching tasks, he therefore deliberately chose *not* to use Standard Dutch (which is the “conscious

⁸³ The abbreviation AN, which is used frequently during the teacher interviews, stands for Algemeen Nederlands 'Standard Dutch'.

choice” Patrick refers to at the beginning of Extract 8): in the classroom, he “wants to throw himself”, which he feels he can do best using Tussentaal. He motivates this by pointing out the specific nature of his job: both as a (school) priest and as a religion teacher, a large distance between him and the pupils is rather counterproductive, and dissuades pupils to open up and be themselves in the classroom. Patrick wants to come across as an approachable teacher, and as he states that “a really pure language creates a distance”, Patrick seems to find language use crucial in achieving the open (classroom) atmosphere he desires. In contrast, Lesley (Extract 7) seems to assign a slightly more restricted role to language use as an index for teacher-pupil distance. For Lesley, language use is an influential factor, but other factors – such as the lesson content or the conversation topics selected by the teacher (e.g. which pubs he or she visits) – are considered to be equally (or even more) important.

6.3.4 Hierarchization of teachers’ tasks

Another category of strategies discursively used by teachers to clarify their reluctance to adhere to the Standard Dutch norm in classroom settings, is aimed at a hierarchization of the numerous tasks teachers need to fulfill. Teachers are expected to focus on the lesson content, but simultaneously, they are constantly distracted by pupils’ questions or the need to monitor pupils’ behavior. This constant distraction, considered to be “the teacher’s devil” by educational sociologist Dan Lortie (1975: 170), makes it difficult for teachers to also pay (explicit) attention to the pupils’ or their own language use. Extract 9 reveals how Ann, a history teacher, struggles to keep all of these teacher tasks balanced, and admittedly – but hesitantly – prefers content over form (4.a):

Extract 9

Ann, F, 45, History teacher, Antwerp

Ann: (...) ik vind ’t op zich wel belangrijk want als ze dat ook vragen . ik zeg ook altijd het is heel belangrijk dat je Algemeen Nederlands kan praten . euhm .. en eigenlijk he . dan zeg ik er ook bij dat dat eigenlijk in de klas ook wel zo hoort . maar ik vind ’t belangrijk . ik geef geschiedenis . en dat ze vooral met die geschiedenis mee zijn en . en dat ze begrijpen wat ik aan ’t vertellen ben en dat ze enthousiast meewerken .. want als ge elke keer . zegt van ja . herhaal het nog eens maar nu in . Algemeen Nederlands . ja op den duur gaan ze misschien niks niet meer willen zeggen en . de interactie in de klas . is soms toch ook belangrijk . euh zeker bij bepaalde onderwerpen

Ann: (...) in theory that’s important for me because if they ask so as well . I always say that it’s very important to be able to speak Standard Dutch . uhm .. and well actually . then I add that actually it should be like that in the classroom too . but it’s important for me . I teach history . that they can keep up with that history . and they understand

what I'm telling them and they co-operate enthusiastically .. because if every time you . say yes . repeat it again but now in . Standard Dutch . well eventually maybe they won't want to say anything anymore and . the classroom interaction . sometimes is important too . uhm especially for some topics

Ann's frequent use of mitigating expressions such as "in theory" or "actually" in Extract 9 (underlined), shows how she hesitates to disregard standard language use in favor of focusing on her subject matter. When I ask her whether she expects pupils to speak Standard Dutch in her classes, she states that "in theory" it is important to her, especially because "they ask so as well" – with 'they', she refers to the policy makers of the Flemish government, whom she discussed earlier in the interview. Immediately after this rather careful statement, she explicitly confirms that she "always says it's very important to be able to speak Standard Dutch", but the double use of "actually" in the following sentences is illustrative of her continuous hesitation. However, any sign of doubt seems to be cast aside once Ann starts talking about the history classes she teaches: from then on, her classroom priorities become apparent. Her pupils especially "need to understand" everything she says, and should "co-operate enthusiastically". Ann does not expect her pupils to speak Standard Dutch at all times: to accomplish that – or even just strive for it – she would need to constantly prompt pupils to rephrase their answers. As soon as Ann starts talking about Standard Dutch, she starts to downplay her statements again, carefully stating that expecting Standard Dutch from pupils could "maybe" harm classroom interaction (see 3.d), which is "sometimes" important "for some topics". To explain this incertitude, different factors can be considered. One possibility is that she feels obliged to give these "socially acceptable" answers because of my personal background: the informants in my study are well-aware that I teach Dutch linguistics and language proficiency courses at a Flemish university, which probably makes me come across as a flag-bearer of the Standard Dutch norm. Moreover, teachers tend to become somewhat anxious when their linguistic expectations towards pupils are discussed (also see Extract 1): as teachers feel responsible (and are held accountable) for their pupils' future success in society, they are inclined to be more careful in discussing the importance of Standard Dutch for pupils than they would be when talking about their own language use.

That difference becomes apparent when Ann's doubts are compared with Extract 10, in which physics teacher Stan openly discusses his own classroom speech. Earlier in the interview, he already assessed his language use as Tussentaal rather than Standard Dutch, and in Extract 10 he discusses some of the non-standard features he uses.

Extract 10

Stan, M, 35, Physics teacher, Hasselt

Stan: ja ma j'ebt natuurlijk ook gradaties in tussentaal hé ik probeer wel

INT: uhu

Stan: allez . niet té fel .. allez ge . ge spreekt **nie** gelijk leerlingen onder . tegen mekaar spreken *wad is dad ier jong* allez zo . zo **dat** . **dat** . **da** gebruikt ge **nie** .. maar gelijk ja . gelijk ik net zei 'k merkte 't nu bij mezelf '**dat** gebruikt ge niet' of '**da** gebruikt ge niet' **da** je de 't' soms weglaat of . of zo . zo kleine ***dingskes*** . of '***dingetjes***' . '***dingskes***' allez ja **dat** . **da** zit er voor mij zo constant in en ik kan daar inderdaad wel op letten ma dan . zit ik meer aan . ja . op . op de vorm . te letten dan . dan ik met de inhoud bezig ben .

INT: terwijl de inhoud eigenlijk belangrijker is

Stan: ja . **dat** vind ik wel dus .

INT: uhu

Stan: yes but of course you have different levels of Tussentaal right I do try

INT: uhu

*Stan: well . not too much .. well you . you **don't** speak like pupils speak among . against each other what's that here dude well like . like **that** . **that** . you **don't** use **that** .. but like well . like I just said I noticed it just now 'you don't use **that**' or 'you don't use **that**' **that** **that** you drop the 't' sometimes or . or like . like small ***thingies*** . or '***thingies***' . '***thingies***' well yeah **that** . **that**'s constantly in there for me and I can pay attention to that but then . I'm more thinking about . well . about . about the form . than dealing with the content .*

INT: while the content actually is more important

Stan: yes . I do think **that** so .

INT: uhu

Although Stan emphasizes that his Tussentaal use does not diverge too far from the standard by stressing that he does not speak like his pupils, he seems quite relaxed in admitting that he frequently uses non-standard features. In Extract 10, he names those features while using them spontaneously, pointing out typical Tussentaal features such as the deletion of the final-t in short function words (colloquial *n*ie 'not' instead of standard *niet* 'not', *da* 'that' instead of standard *dat* 'that'; all instances are underlined and in bold in Extract 10) and the use of *-ke* as a diminutive suffix (*boekske* instead of *boekje* 'little book'; all instances are cursive and in bold in Extract 10). This impromptu self-monitoring indicates that he does pay some attention to his language use, to some extent, and eventually brings him to the conclusion that the considerable effort it requires to speak Standard Dutch would distract him too much from actively engaging the subject matter and teaching properly. As content, proper teaching and interacting with the pupils prevail over form, teachers such as Stan (Extract 10) and Ann (Extract 9) prefer to let go of the strict Standard Dutch norm (at least partially), and instead choose a variety which shows more resemblance with their default language use.

6.3.5 Perception of language varieties

As could already be deduced from the previous extracts, the informants in this study often have mixed feelings when it comes to Standard Dutch. On the one hand, using the standard makes it “hard to stay spontaneous” (Emily in Extract 4), it is considered to be an impediment to classroom interaction (Ann in Extract 9) and for some teachers Standard Dutch “crunches in their mouths” (Patrick in Extract 8). At the same time, however, some informants stress the positive elements they associate with the use of Standard Dutch, such as intelligibility (5.a), precision and richness (5.b), politeness, respect (see Extract 1) and taking pride in one's language. This ambivalence corresponds with the findings of earlier perceptual and attitudinal research, in which Standard Dutch scores highly on traits pertaining to status and prestige (Ghyselen 2010; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2010; Impe and Speelman 2007). Speakers of Standard Dutch are seen as powerful, civilized, superior and highly influential people, who leave a better impression than speakers of other varieties of Dutch (Vandekerckhove 2000; Van Bezooijen 2004). In addition to those positive qualities, however, Standard Dutch is also seen “as a foreign variety appropriate for formal interaction but to be dropped as soon as the situation no longer demands it” (De Caluwe 2002: 61, my translation), or as “forced” and “non-spontaneous” language use (Lybaert 2014a: 118) – in line with the ‘best-suit’ metaphor discussed earlier (see Section 6.3.3).

Both perspectives are simultaneously present in my interview data, albeit on different levels (or so it seems): whereas the aesthetic and prestige-related qualities of Standard Dutch are admired on an abstract level, with teachers emphasizing the importance of Standard Dutch in school contexts, their discourse changes as soon as they talk about actual concrete classroom situations. In Extract 11, for instance, Susan explicitly states that (standard) language use is important to her, but immediately adds that using Standard Dutch would make her come across as arrogant or posh (5.c): she would be considered as someone who “went to college”, which would create a “barrier” between the ‘educated’ teacher and the ‘non-educated’ pupils.

Extract 11

Susan, F, 27, Geography teacher, Beringen

Susan: . pff ik vind taalgebruik nog altijd belangrijk maar ik vind niet dat . ik voel van mezelf aan als ik Algemeen Nederlands spreek maar da's misschien m'n eigen gevoel . dat er . een grens komt zo van . die spreekt tot de letter oei oei . die heeft gestudeerd allez de . de mensen hebben dat idee dan of de kinderen hebben dat idee wel

Susan: . pff I think language use is still important but I don't feel that . I feel that when I speak Standard Dutch but maybe that's my own feeling . that there . is a barrier like . that one speaks overly meticulous hm hm . that one went to college well the . the people feel like that then or the pupils feel like that then

Other informants describe the standard as “too formal”, “impersonal”, “unnatural” or “forced”, stressing the unsuitability of Standard Dutch in classroom contexts. At the same time, several attitudinal studies have revealed that Standard Dutch is seen as the *most* appropriate school language variety, indexing educatedness and intelligence (see for instance Geerts et al. 1977; Impe and Speelman 2007).

6.3.6 Broader conception of acceptable classroom language

A possible solution to the perceptual ambivalence the teacher-informants expressed in the previous paragraph is offered by this second-to-last category of strategies. By broadening the scope of acceptable classroom language use past the strict conception of Standard Dutch, teachers can claim that their own language use is indeed appropriate for educational contexts, while simultaneously surpassing the disadvantages and negative perceptions attached to the standard. For instance, a prominent strategy in the interview corpus is to explicitly denounce dialect as an unacceptable classroom variety, implying that all other forms of language use are indeed appropriate (6.a, see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016). By only distinguishing Standard Dutch and dialect as two divergent poles and leaving the intermediate forms between standard and dialect unmentioned, the teacher-informants – deliberately or not – dovetail with the governmental language-in-education policy documents, in which Tussentaal is deleted as well (Delarue 2014: 225; also see De Caluwe 2012b). Simultaneously, teachers are able to fully comply – at least discursively – to the policy regulations by equalling “not speaking dialect” to “speaking Standard Dutch”.

The teacher interviews also reveal other ways of broadening the scope of acceptable classroom language use. In Extract 12, for instance, Latin teacher Jacob combines two other norm extensions, by defining two standardness criteria: *intelligibility* (6.b) and *grammatical correctness* (6.c).

Extract 12

Jacob, M, 35, Latin teacher, Hasselt

Jacob: (...) euhm ik denk dat de leerlingen hun euh . dat de criteria van de leerlingen . om les te krijgen euh les te volgen euhm . veel minder uitgesproken zijn dan de criteria die wij als leraar .. weten dat we zouden moeten hanteren eventueel of . of die wij van hen . vragen .. ik denk dat ze veel minder kritisch zijn ik denk dat voor hen euh verstaanbaarheid euhm op één . allez dat is mijn ervaring dat zij vooral vinden dat ze de leerkrachten moeten verstaan dat ze een

INT: uhu

Jacob: dat ze . moeten begrijpen wat dat er gezegd wordt .. en dat euh het al dan niet euh . of dat al dan niet de invloed van dialectale achtergronden of zo . dat dat eigenlijk voor hen van minder belang is . ze zijn zich daar wel van bewust in die zin dat als ze iemand horen die een . niet-Limburgs accent heeft een collega die

bijvoorbeeld een . een . een Brabants accent heeft of een West-Vlaams . een West-Vlaamse achtergrond . zij horen dat wel . dat die van een andere . achtergrond maar dat stoort hen niet dus ze . ze . ze vinden dat wel leuk om dat eens te imiteren bijvoorbeeld .. maar euhm je hoort nooit euh dat ze daar euh . dat ze 't daar moeilijk mee hebben . ze hebben daar nooit euh .. ja kritiek op

INT: uhu

Jacob: euhm . dus ik denk dat dat . ja . in die zin voor ne leerkracht .. dat het aandeel .. of dat het niet zo erg is dat er . dat er euh niet zo veel aandacht aan besteed wordt in de lerarenopleiding . zolang dat euh . dat ne leerkracht .. vooral verstaanbaar is denk ik ja en . en geen taalfouten maakt want dat is iets wat dat de leerlingen van die klas wél euh belang aan hechten als je . echt taalfouten maakt grammaticale fouten of zelfs spelfouten in . in de cursus . dat halen ze er wel uit

Jacob: (...) uhm I think that the pupils' uhm . that the pupils' criteria . to be taught uhm follow class uhm . are much less pronounced than the criteria we as teachers .. know we should satisfy eventually or . or the ones we . expect from them .. I think they are much less critical I think that for them uhm intelligibility uhm is number one . well that's my experience that they mostly think that they need to be able to understand the teachers that they

INT: uhu

Jacob: that they . need to understand what is being said .. and that uhm that the not uhm . whether any dialectal background is present or not or something like that . that that's actually much less important for them . they are well aware in the sense that if they hear someone with a . non-Limburg accent for instance a colleague with a . a . a . Brabantic accent or a West-Flemish one . a West-Flemish background . they do hear that . that (s)he has a different . background . but that doesn't disturb them so they . they . they do like to imitate that sometimes for instance .. but uhm you never hear that they have uhm . that they have problems with that . they never uhm .. well criticize that

INT: uhu

Jacob: uhm . so I think that that . well . in that sense for a teacher .. that the importance .. or that it's not that bad that uhm that not that much attention is spent to that in the teacher training . as long as uhm . that a teacher .. is especially intelligible I think yeah and . and does not make any language mistakes because that is something the pupils of that class do find important if you . really make language mistakes grammar errors or even spelling errors in . in the syllabus . they'll notice that

When it comes to classroom language use, Jacob seems to pass some of the responsibility onto the pupils: as long as the teacher's language use does not bother them, it should be considered acceptable for use in the classroom.⁸⁴ As Jacob indicates in the extract, his

⁸⁴ This ties in closely with the strategies pertaining to the hierarchization of teachers' tasks : Jacob feels that according to the pupils, the primary task of teachers is to convey knowledge. The language used to do so is less important, as long as that primary goal is reached effectively.

pupils are not that critical when it comes to their teachers' language use: as long as it is fully intelligible, the pupils will not make a problem out of it. Even teachers who have a clear exogenous regional accent – to illustrate this, Jacob refers to "a Brabantic accent or a West-Flemish one" – will not linguistically "disturb" pupils: they may joke about it or try to imitate the accent, but Jacob asserts they will not criticize it as long as it can be fully understood. This intelligibility is an interesting notion, as it is often considered to be a trait reserved specifically for the standard variety (see 5.a): because of its lack of any internal regional or social variation, the standard is the only variety able to guarantee mutual intelligibility (Davies 2012: 61), in contrast to other (substandard) varieties. The same line of reasoning has been used extensively in Flanders, for instance when it comes to TV language use: fiction series containing non-standard language use are often scorned for being unintelligible (see Van Hoof 2013), whereas the Flemish public broadcaster VRT motivated its choice to strictly adhere to Standard Dutch by referring to its intelligibility for all viewers (Hendrickx 1998). However, as Kloots and Gillis (2012) argue, the fact that intermediate varieties – such as Tussentaal – are sometimes conceived as unintelligible in Flanders could have more to do with the unwillingness of (certain) listeners than with the linguistic incompetence of (certain) speakers. As Lippi-Green stresses, "the burden of communication is shared, on every level, by both participants" (1994: 185), and "a lack of goodwill can be as much as an obstacle to understanding, if not more" (1994: 186). Moreover, perceptual research by Impe (2010: 68) has shown that language use with a clear Brabantic accent scored higher on 'intelligibility' than Standard Dutch, indicating that the inextricable link between Standard Dutch and intelligibility is not without its problems. Therefore, by considering all forms of language use which can be fully understood by pupils as acceptable in classroom settings, teachers have a discursively powerful strategy to bridge the gap between policy and practice.⁸⁵

For Jacob (Extract 12), however, *grammatical correctness* is a more important criterion: his pupils would notice it immediately if teachers would make "grammar errors or even spelling errors in the syllabus". Interestingly, Jacob only seems to refer to correctness in *written* texts here, which seems to imply that grammatical (or other) errors in spoken language use are not met with the same disapproval by pupils (also see Extract 14, in which primary school teacher Frederic makes a similar distinction).

⁸⁵ It should be noted that this strategy often seems to tie in with the previous one: most teachers seem to equal "unintelligible" language use to dialect use (Delarue 2014). Especially the use of specific dialect words is considered to be inadmissible, except in a few particular situations: when teaching about dialects in a Dutch language class, for instance, or in an attempt to draw the pupils' attention, by making a joke or a remark in the local dialect.

6.3.7 Language use in society at large

For this last category of strategies, the teacher-informants leave the school premises, and try to match their (standard) language perceptions with the language use in society at large. In the interview corpus, nearly all teacher-informants acknowledge the rather "virtual" nature of spoken Standard Dutch (De Caluwe 2009: 19; Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a: 218), but the deductions they draw from that premise are highly divergent. For Iris, a Dutch language teacher, the observation that spoken Standard Dutch is rarely used in Flemish society only makes her more combative, as shown in Extract 13. Although she realizes that she is "a voice crying in the wilderness", Iris considers teachers (of Dutch) as "the last ones who can . somewhat preserve it" – in line with the considerable societal pressure teachers face (see Section 6.1). By assuming the role of 'language guardian', Iris feels that she goes right against the generations of younger teachers, who feel that the content prevails over the form. Interestingly, Iris primarily refers to written language use (as Jacob did in Extract 12), pointing out one of the most notorious spelling mistakes in Dutch: the *dt*-error.⁸⁶ By pinpointing that specific, highly salient mistake, Iris portrays these generations of younger teachers as people who do not care about spelling at all, stating that she respects that opinion but "*really* regrets that". At the end of Extract 13, she explicitly reacts against this defeatism, claiming that she – as opposed to those other teachers – will "keep going on about it for the rest of [her] career (...) [and] try to let those children speak and write correct Dutch", in line with the governmental call for action of Vandenbroucke (2008), who stated that "for a lot of pupils, the use of Standard Dutch is limited to the school and to the classroom. *That's* the place where it has to happen" (my translation, see Section 6.1).

Extract 13

Iris, F, 39, Dutch language teacher, Antwerp

Iris: ja . ja ik wil zeker niet arrogant klinken of zo maar . wij zijn de laatsten die het . nog een beetje in stand kunnen houden . maar dan heb je ook euh leerkrachten van de jongere generaties zeggen van ja ik vind de correctheid van wat ze schrijven . de inhoud dan bedoel ik . euh belangrijker dan wanneer dat er een dt-fout staat . ja . ok als dat dan . uw mening dan heb ik daar respect voor maar ik vind dat wel héél erg spijtig

⁸⁶ In verbal inflection in Dutch, the normal singular present tense -t inflection becomes problematic with verbs of which the stem ends in -d, because then the inflected form is pronounced the same as the form without the -t, as word-final-d and -dt are both devoiced and pronounced as /t/ in Dutch. For example, the frequent verbs word and wordt (become and becomes) are both pronounced /wort/. As homophonic wordforms tend to get confused in writing (cf. to/too/two or there/their/they're in English), this equal pronunciation often leads to spelling mistakes (Stehouwer and Van den Bosch 2008: 24). Because of its strong rule-based character, dt-errors – which can also occur in past participle forms – are highly salient in Flemish society and a fortiori in educational settings.

(...) ik . ik ben misschien een euhm . een roepende in de woestijn . dat kan maar toch euhm . vind ik het belangrijk .. en ga ik daar waarschijnlijk zoals ik mezelf ken . euh de rest van mijn carrière op blijven hameren en toch euh . proberen om die kinderen . correct Nederlands te laten . praten en schrijven en euh . ja

Iris: yes . yes I certainly don't want to sound arrogant or something like that but . we're the last ones who can . somewhat preserve it . but then you also have the uhm teachers of the younger generations who are saying like yes I think the correctness of what they write . I mean the content . uhm more important than when there's a dt-error . yes . well ok if that's . your opinion then I respect that but I really regret that
(...) I . I may be an uhm . a voice crying in the wilderness . that can be but still uhm . I think it's important .. and probably if I know myself well enough . uhm I'll keep going on about it for the rest of my career and still uhm . try to let those children . speak and write . correct Dutch and uhm . yeah

Opposed to Iris' (and the government's) conviction that teachers need to defend and even promote the Standard Dutch norm (7.a), other teachers wonder why schools should differentiate themselves linguistically from society. If Standard Dutch is very rarely used in everyday life, then why should schools be an exception in that respect? In his governmental language-in-education policy document from 2007, former Flemish Minister of Education Frank Vandenbroucke (2007: 11) explicitly refers to this dichotomy, stating that:

Kunnen communiceren in Standaardnederlands is een noodzakelijke voorwaarde voor goed onderwijs. Bij het streven naar verzorgde taal en communicatie gaat het onderwijs vaak in tegen maatschappelijke tendensen. Scholen die aandacht schenken aan taalzorg, zijn vaak eilanden in een context waar slordige tussentaal getolereerd wordt.

To be able to communicate in Standard Dutch is a necessary condition for proper education. In striving for polished language use and communication, education often runs counter to societal tendencies. Schools that pay attention to proper language use, are often islands in a context in which sloppy Tussentaal is being tolerated.

Whereas the policy expect schools to lead the way to a better competence in Standard Dutch, away from the use of "sloppy Tussentaal", primary school teacher Frederic argues for exactly the opposite. In Extract 14, he claims that a school cannot function in isolation; instead, schools should be seen as "a part of your life", as an extension of the home context.

Extract 14

Frederic, M, 32, primary school teacher, Ghent

Frederic: ja maar dan ga je te veel school en . en thuis . op twee aparte eilanden zetten en . ik vind . nee ik vind een klas geen formele situatie 'k vind dat dat een onderdeel is van . u . leven en niet zoals van dit is school . en dan gebruik ik die taal en dit is thuis . of . of ik doe de deur van de leraarskamer open en . en . dan mag ik Gents praten met mijn collega's ..

Frederic: yeah but then you're putting school and . and home . on two different islands and . I think . no I think a classroom is not a formal situation I feel that that's a part of . your . life and not like this is school . and then I use that language and this is home . or . or I open the door to the teachers' lounge and . and . then I can talk to my colleagues in Ghent dialect ..

For Frederic, there is no actual difference between the classroom and the home, neither in formality, nor in language use. His view (and that of many other teachers in the corpus) that a classroom context is not (or no longer) a formal situation ties in with the trend of informalization which has emerged over the past few decades (for a more profound analysis of this, see Fairclough 1992; Wouters 2007), making the interactions between pupils and teachers more informal and spontaneous. Whereas some of the teachers in the interview corpus refrain from having a too close bond with the pupils, fearing a potential lack of classroom authority, Frederic goes all-in – earlier in the interview, he stresses the need for teachers to be authentic (see Delarue and Lybaert 2016). Frederic feels teachers should not play a part, and refrains from compartmentalizing his life, with a distinct language variety for every context. Instead of seeing 'school' and 'home' as two diametrically opposed contexts ("islands"), they should connect closely to each other. The same goes for language: Frederic feels he should be able to use the same language both in school and at home, instead of pursuing Standard Dutch relentlessly in classroom contexts. In the same vein, another strategy present in the corpus is the statement that language variation is a reality, which can't be swept under the carpet by teachers, even if policymakers expect them to (7.c). The multivarietal nature of classroom language practice reflects the whole of society, which bears more added value than focusing solely on a standard variety barely used in everyday life, so is argued by some of the teachers.

6.4 Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I wanted to shed more light on the often ambivalent standard language perceptions of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers. Because of the seemingly large gap between a monovarietal governmental language-in-education policy and a multivarietal and multilingual language practice, the teachers in my corpus have a rough time determining their position vis-à-vis Standard Dutch. On the one hand, teachers stress the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom settings, emphasizing for instance their exemplary role, the need to maintain a distance with their pupils or the fact that Standard Dutch is the most precise, rich or intelligible language variety. On the other hand, most of the teachers in my corpus realize that they do not speak Standard Dutch themselves,

coming up with a myriad of reasons to explain why: because it might damage their relationship with their pupils, because they want to stay authentic or do not feel at ease when speaking Standard Dutch, because they feel other aspects of being a teacher are equally or even more important, etcetera.

One of the most interesting – and prominent – categories was the attempt of teachers to discursively bridge the policy-practice gap by broadening the scope of "acceptable" or "appropriate" language use (see Section 6.3.6). This category encompasses a number of distinct strategies, but all with the same goal: starting with "as long as...", these strategies aim at presenting (some instances of) non-standard language use as equally acceptable for classroom use as Standard Dutch. By claiming, for example, that especially dialect is not appropriate in school settings, Tussentaal is equated to Standard Dutch when it comes to pedagogical usability. In stressing for example the importance of intelligibility or grammatical correctness, teachers point to other standardness criteria, often using the pupils as a point of reference (as Jacob did in Extract 12), helped by the fact that the concept of "standard language" is notoriously difficult to delineate.

Other research on the role of the standard variety in Flanders also seems to point at a shift in standardness criteria. Even though Lybaert's (2014a) study points out that laymen define the standard variety as the 'best', the 'official', the 'neutral' or the 'most beautiful' language, "it is not easy to propose technical criteria which distinguish adequately between the [standard] variety and the others", as Grondelaers et al. (2016) aptly remark. A rather classic definition of 'standard' comes from Auer (2011: 486; also see Ammon 2004; Smakman 2012), building on three features: a standard language is (i) a common language, ideally without any internal variation; (ii) an H variety with overt prestige, used in formal situations; and (iii) a codified variety, "i.e. 'right' and 'wrong' plays an important role in the way in which speakers orient towards it" (Auer 2011: 486). Based on corpus data, Grondelaers et al. (2016) come up with an extended set of standardness criteria, revising each of Auer's (2011) criteria. The teachers in my interview corpus seem to be doing the exact same thing: by formulating other criteria for standardness, they try to match their linguistic classroom with governmental and societal expectations. Interestingly, most of the 'norm extensions' they bring up (see Section 6.3.6) are in agreement with Grondelaers et al.'s (2016) findings. For instance, the discursive strategy that only dialect is unsuitable for classroom interactions (implying that Tussentaal features are indeed appropriate) fits in with what they call 'perceptual harmony' (which is of course not new, see for instance Hymes 1980, 1996): "an intuitive agreement on how much socially meaningful variation is admissible in specific contexts" (Grondelaers et al. 2016). Language variation is acceptable (in contrast to the uniformity criterion), and variants can be used to index certain social meanings, but not anything goes: to some extent, the teacher and the pupils need to share an (implicit) intuitive view on which language features match the (increasingly informal) context and which features do not. Apparently, dialect features are not acceptable for most teachers, as they would lead to disharmony between them and

their pupils. However, most teachers are far less lenient when it comes to other standardness criteria: their focus on grammatical correctness, for instance, indicates that codification remains a fairly important criterion to them.

As I already discussed in Delarue and Lybaert (2016), professionalism emerges as a powerful teacher identity in my interview corpus, albeit an ambivalent one. On the one hand, teacher professionalism is referred to as an explanation for their adherence to the Standard Dutch norm (mostly on an abstract level), stressing that paying attention to language use is a part of their job, and they serve as linguistic rolemodels for their pupils. On the other hand, professionalism is also invoked when teachers want to clarify why they diverge from Standard Dutch in their classroom practice: as education professionals, teachers feel they should have the freedom to select the language use they find appropriate. For some, Standard Dutch is not (always) the most appropriate variety. Teachers should then have the freedom to choose their own norm, actively dismissing the government's insistence on the standard variety. By actively formulating various strategies not to comply to the governmental dictum to use Standard Dutch, teachers show they have the power and the agency to implement or resist language-in-education policy in specific classroom contexts (Heineke and Cameron 2013).

Chapter 7

De kloof overbruggen tussen een strikt onderwijstaalbeleid en een taaldiverse klaspraktijk: strategieën van Vlaamse leraren en leerlingen

Reference details

Delarue, S. & I. Van Lancker (2016). *De kloof overbruggen tussen een strikt onderwijstaalbeleid en een taaldiverse klaspraktijk. Strategieën van Vlaamse leraren en leerlingen*. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 132(2), pp. 85-105.

Background

This fifth paper (written and published in Dutch) analyzes and compares the micro-level (standard) language perceptions of Flemish teachers and pupils, discussing how they make sense of the gap between policy and practice. The three most prominent discursive strategies used to bridge that policy-practice gap are discussed: pupils and teachers refrain from using Standard Dutch (i) because it hinders the spontaneity of classroom interaction, (ii) because proper teaching is more important than 'proper' language use, and (iii) because the more important issue is that no dialect is used in school contexts. Moreover, the paper emphasizes that – in spite of these strategies – Standard Dutch remains the focal point of reference for both teachers and pupils.

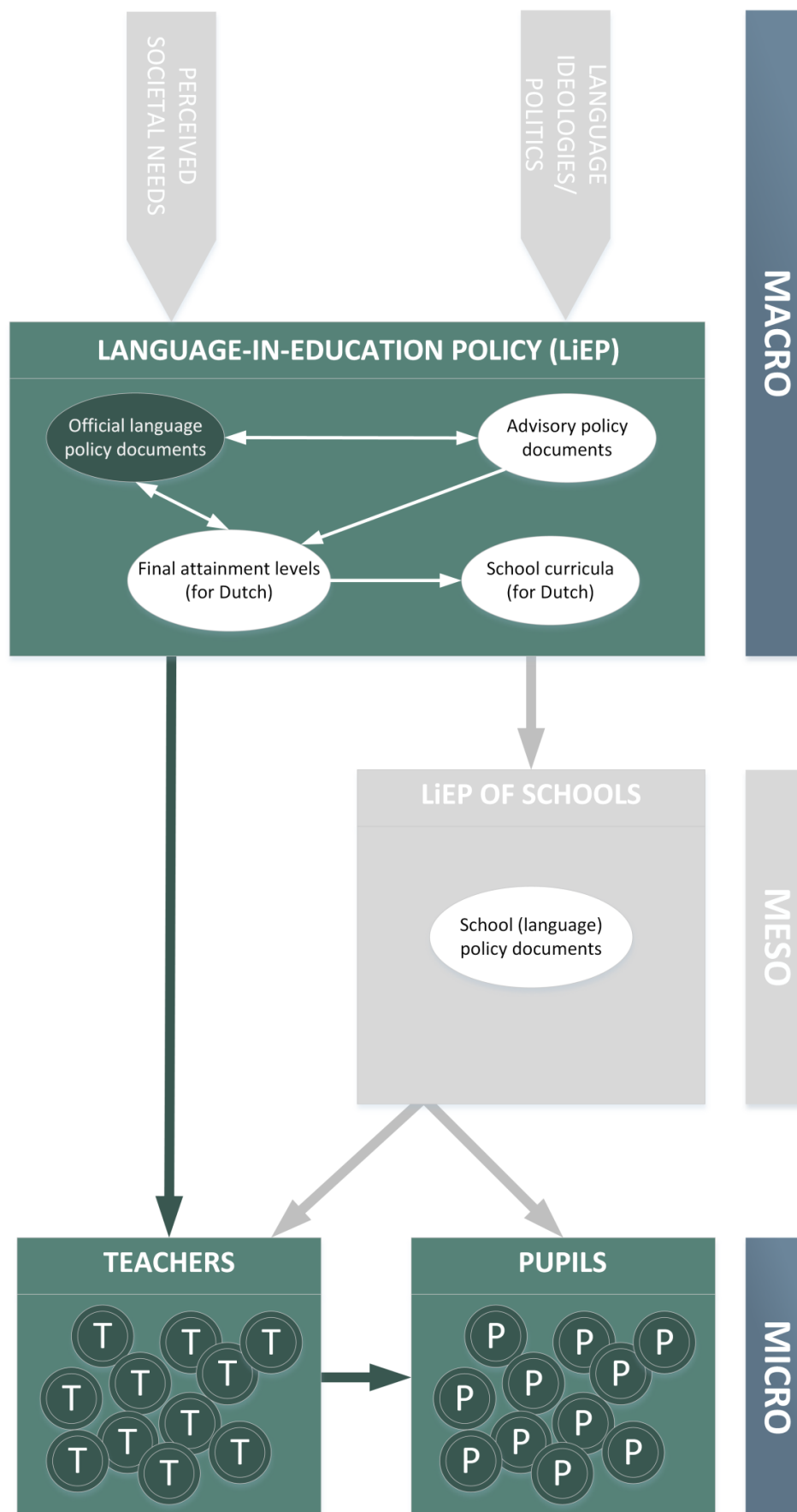


Figure 18: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 7

Abstract

By comparing the interview data of two research projects, this paper analyzes how Flemish teachers and pupils handle the field of tension between the Flemish language-in-education policy, propagating Standard Dutch, and the linguistically diverse classroom practice. The language discourses of both teachers and pupils seem to be strongly congruent, with similar attempts or 'strategies' to legitimize their (non-standard) language use. In this paper, the three most prominent 'strategies' are presented: pupils and teachers do not use Standard Dutch (i) because it hinders the spontaneity of classroom interaction, (ii) because proper teaching outweighs proper language use, and (iii) because the more important issue is that no dialect is used in school contexts.

7.1 Inleiding

Onze huidige samenleving, een periode die sinds Giddens (1991) vaak als de 'Late Moderniteit' wordt aangeduid (zie bijvoorbeeld ook Bauman 1992, Davies 2012, Rampton 2006), wordt gekenmerkt door processen van informalisering, democratisering, globalisering, migratie en antiautoritaire uitingen. Dergelijke processen hebben het uitzicht van de westerse samenleving volledig veranderd, ook op talig vlak: door de toenemende intra- en intertalige variatie die met de eerder beschreven processen gepaard gaat, komt de positie van de standaardtaal in verschillende West-Europese landen onder toenemende druk te staan (zie Coupland en Kristiansen 2011, Deumert en Vandenbussche 2003b, Grondelaers en Speelman 2013) – in die mate zelfs dat sommigen 'het einde van de standaardtaal' aankondigen (Van der Horst 2008). Die onheilsberichten leiden tot groeiende ongerustheid bij politici, journalisten, opiniemakers, onderwijskundigen en het grote publiek. In Vlaanderen is dat niet anders: zodra uit onderzoeken, studies of enquêtes blijkt dat er in het Standaardnederlands meer plaats moet komen voor typisch 'Vlaamse' elementen (De Schryver 2015) of dat andere taalvariëteiten van het Nederlands in toenemende mate gebruikt worden in (formele) situaties die vroeger voor de standaardtaal waren gereserveerd (Absillis, Jaspers en Van Hoof 2012a), volgt een gestage stroom aan verontwaardigde opiniestukken en lezersbrieven. Die ideologische gevoeligheid in Vlaanderen voor alles wat met standaardtaal te maken heeft, is voor een groot deel taalhistorisch te verklaren: het Standaardnederlands werd in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw geïmporteerd uit Nederland om weerstand te kunnen bieden tegen het dan nog dominante Frans, maar heeft de Vlaamse harten nooit helemaal kunnen veroveren (Willemyns 2003). Nochtans werden er tussen 1950 en 1980 verschillende grootschalige

pogingen ondernomen door de overheid, de media en het onderwijs om het 'Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands' (ABN) ingang te laten vinden, door middel van televisieprogramma's, schoolverenigingen, tijdschriften, (woorden)boeken en taalrubrieken in kranten (zie Van Hoof en Jaspers 2012), maar die pogingen hebben enkel op een abstract (beleids)niveau tot het door de pleitbezorgers gewenste resultaat geleid. Dat verklaart waarom veel Vlamingen expliciet aangeven dat ze standaardtaalgebruik belangrijk vinden, maar in de praktijk zelf geen standaardtaal spreken: De Caluwe (2009: 21) spreekt van een 'grotendeels *virtuele* (...) standaardtaal in Vlaanderen – een weliswaar door het beleid gewenste, maar in de praktijk weinig gesproken taal'. Dat virtuele karakter van het Standaardnederlands in Vlaanderen, waarbij slechts een kleine groep taalgebruikers de variëteit – vaak na jaren oefening – ook echt beheerst, heeft het pad geëffend voor de huidige Vlaamse taalsituatie, die omschreven kan worden als een *diaglossie*: een doorlopend taalcontinuüm, waarbij zich tussen de standaardtaal en de dialecten in een uitgebreid gamma aan intermediaire taalvormen bevindt, met elementen uit zowel de standaardtaal als de dialecten (Auer 2005, Ghyselen 2015). In Vlaanderen zijn er voor die intermediaire variëteiten verschillende benamingen in omloop, zoals *Verkavelingsvlaams* (Van Istendael 1989) en *Soap-Vlaams* (Geeraerts 1999), begrippen die telkens een bepaald aspect van die intermediaire variëteiten op een negatieve manier in de verf zetten: taalgebruik gesproken in kleinburgerlijke verkavelingen en prominent aanwezig in soapseries en andere amusementsprogramma's. Ook de term *tussentaal* wordt vaak gebruikt, in eerste instantie door taalkundigen die niet erg opgezet waren met de opkomst van het fenomeen. *Tussentaal* is dan niet zozeer 'emotioneel, maar eerder descriptief negatief' (Goossens 2000: 6-7). De term impliceert immers dat het gaat om een transitieverschijnsel in de doorgroei naar een volwaardige(re) beheersing van de standaardtaal. Later werd *tussentaal* de geijkte term die in de taalkundige literatuur ook op een neutrale manier gebruikt werd. Ondanks die negatieve perceptie verspreidt tussentaal zich steeds verder, zowel functioneel als situationeel: voor jongeren is tussentaal steeds vaker moedertaal en omgangstaal (De Caluwe 2009), terwijl standaardtaal in steeds minder situaties als de aangewezen variëteit wordt gezien (Vancompernelle 2012). Door het zich steeds verder doorzettende dialectverlies in Vlaanderen wordt die verspreiding van tussentaal trouwens nog versterkt (Ghyselen en De Vogelaer 2013, Willemyns 2007).

De combinatie van de verspreiding van tussentaal en een sterke (maar abstracte, cf. supra) ideologische waardering voor standaardtaal betekent voor het Vlaamse onderwijs een stevige uitdaging, zeker als scholen daarnaast ook te maken krijgen met toenemende leerlingendiversiteit, meertaligheid en ongelijkheid (Jaspers en Van Hoof 2013: 334). Voor beleidsmakers is standaardtaal hét middel om meer gelijkheid te creëren binnen het onderwijs: de twee vorige ministers van Onderwijs in Vlaanderen, Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) en Pascal Smet (2011), schreven elk een taalbeleidsnota voor het onderwijs waarin eenzijdig werd ingezet op het Standaardnederlands als de enige bruikbare taalvariëteit op

school (cf. infra). Vlaamse leerkrachten voelen zo een politieke druk om zich aan de standaardtaalnorm te houden, maar de maatschappelijke druk is minstens even sterk: ze worden beschouwd als 'the first-line dispensers of standard usage' (Grondelaers en Van Hout 2012: 48), de handhavers van de norm (Van Istendael 2008: 31) die zich moeten houden aan de officiële uitspraakregels (De Schutter 1980). Recent onderzoek toont echter aan dat noch leerkrachten, noch leerlingen die standaardtaalverwachtingen halen: zo blijkt uit een studie van het taalgebruik van 122 Vlaamse leerkrachten uit het basis- en secundair onderwijs dat 97 procent van hen tussentaalkenmerken gebruikt bij het lesgeven (Delarue 2011, 2013). Niet-standaardtalig taalgebruik is dus prominent aanwezig op school, zoals ook al in eerder onderzoek werd vastgesteld (zie onder meer Jaspers 2012, Van de Craen en Willemyns 1985, Van Lancker aanvaard).

Er bestaat dus een onevenwicht tussen wat het overheidstaalbeleid van leerkrachten en leerlingen verwacht, en wat er in de praktijk gebeurt. In de interviews die we van leerkrachten (eerste auteur) en leerlingen (tweede auteur) hebben afgenomen, lijkt dat onevenwicht voor ongemak te zorgen bij de informanten. Wanneer ze immers geconfronteerd worden met het contrast tussen hun talige voorkeuren op het abstracte niveau (beleid) en de perceptie die ze hebben van het taalgebruik (van zichzelf of van anderen) op school (praktijk), dan grijpen ze een aantal strategieën aan om die twee elementen met elkaar in overeenstemming te brengen. In dat verband wordt er in de psychologie gesproken van *cognitieve dissonantie* (Festinger 1957, Harmon-Jones en Mills 1999): een onaangenaam gevoel van spanning en frustratie dat ontstaat wanneer men wordt geconfronteerd met informatie die de eigen overtuigingen, waarden of normen tegenspreekt. Daarbij treedt automatisch een psychisch mechanisme in werking dat die spanning zo snel mogelijk wil wegwerken door de ideeën met elkaar in overeenstemming te brengen, en de eigen gemoedsrust op die manier te herstellen. In Delarue (2014: 240-242) is een voorbeeld uitgewerkt van hoe leerkrachten omgaan met dit cognitief dissonant gevoel. In deze bijdrage focussen we op de *strategieën* die leerkrachten en leerlingen inzetten om dat onevenwicht weg te werken. Het is daarbij belangrijk om het actieve karakter van hun discours te benadrukken, en geen afbreuk te doen aan de persoonlijke macht (*agency*) die leerkrachten – en in principe ook leerlingen – bezitten om het gestipuleerde beleid actief bij te sturen binnen de specifieke klascontext: '[L]anguage policy only provides a framework for teachers to figure the world, teachers can proactively use their own perspectives and identities to deal with the expectations and routines of this figured world' (Delarue en De Caluwe 2015: 19). Leraren en leerlingen zijn dus 'agents of language policy' (Heineke en Cameron 2013), die geen slachtoffers zijn van het beleid, maar medespelers die in de dagelijkse klaspraktijk dat beleid naar hun hand kunnen zetten als ze dat nodig achten.

Voor we het verder over die strategieën hebben, schetsen we kort het onderwijstaalbeleid van de Vlaamse overheid (7.2) en overlopen we de onderzoeksoptiek van de twee auteurs (7.3). In paragraaf 7.4 bespreken we drie strategieën die zowel door

leerkrachten als door leerlingen gebruikt worden om de kloof tussen taalbeleid en taalpraktijk te overbruggen (7.4.1– 7.4.3), waaruit blijkt dat standaardtaal een essentieel referentiepunt blijft in de Vlaamse onderwijspraktijk (7.4.4). We eindigen met een conclusie en een aantal suggesties voor verder onderzoek (7.5).

7.2 Onderwijstaalbeleid in Vlaanderen: eenzijdige focus op Standaardnederlands

In 2007 zette toenmalig Vlaams minister van Onderwijs Frank Vandenbroucke taalbeleid weer prominent op de kaart met zijn taalbeleidsnota *De lat hoog voor talen in iedere school. Goed voor de sterken, sterk voor de zwakken*. Daarin benadrukt hij het belang van een rijke taalvaardigheid voor leerlingen, waarbij hij drie argumenten formuleert: (i) taal is noodzakelijk als communicatiemedium en fungeert zo als maatschappelijk bindmiddel, (ii) een stevige basiskennis van de moedertaal maakt het verwerven van vreemde talen eenvoudiger, en (iii) een rijke taalvaardigheid is een basisvoorwaarde voor een succesvolle school- en werkcarrière. Dat laatste argument vormde ook de insteek voor Vandenbrouckes taalbeleidsnota: in de inleiding verwijst hij expliciet naar het internationale PISA-onderzoek van 2006⁸⁷, waaruit bleek dat Belgische scholen het erg moeilijk hebben om verschillen qua sociale achtergrond van leerlingen te overbruggen, met een grote kloof tussen de best en zwakst presterende leerlingen tot gevolg (OECD 2010: 9).

In de beleidsnota wordt het bestaan van die sociale kloof expliciet toegeschreven aan de verschillende taalachtergrond van leerlingen – hoewel daar in het onderzoeksrapport zelf niets over gezegd wordt – en grijpt Vandenbroucke de kans om zijn basisstelling te formuleren: om alle leerlingen gelijke kansen te bieden, moet er onverkort worden ingezet op het Standaardnederlands, aangezien dat de enige taalvariëteit zou zijn die de problemen van zowel meertaligheid als intratalige variatie (i.e. de opkomst van tussentaal en het gebruik van dialect) kan oplossen. De standaardtaal wordt in de beleidsnota dan ook met de nodige eegards behandeld: het is de variëteit die het resultaat is van 'de lat hoog leggen' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4), en gekenmerkt wordt door 'een correcte en rijke vaardigheid' (ibid.) en 'verzorgde taal en communicatie' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11).

⁸⁷ PISA (*Programme for International Student Assessment*) is een internationale studie die in 1997 werd gelanceerd door de OECD (*Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development*), en die probeert om onderwijssystemen wereldwijd met elkaar te vergelijken door om de drie jaar de competenties van 15-jarigen te testen op het gebied van lezen, wiskunde en wetenschappen. Meer informatie is terug te vinden op de PISA-website: <http://www.oecd.org/pisa>.

Tegelijk krijgen niet-standaardtalige variëteiten (met name tussentaal en dialect) minder flatteuze kwalificaties mee: ze zijn 'krom en regionaal' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4) of ronduit 'slordig' (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11).

In 2011 verscheen met de conceptnota *Samen taalgrenzen verleggen* een nieuwe talenbeleidsnota, van de hand van Vandenbrouckes opvolger, Pascal Smet. Daarin wordt dezelfde lijn doorgetrokken, en stelt Smet de focus op Standaardnederlands als enige onderwijstaal(variëteit) nog scherper:

In Vlaanderen groeien nog steeds veel kinderen op voor wie de moedertaal een regionale variant van het Standaardnederlands en dus niet het Standaardnederlands is. (...) Nochtans is een rijke kennis van het Standaardnederlands dé voorwaarde voor wie in Vlaanderen wil leren, wonen, werken, leven. Wie van elders komt, en geen Standaardnederlands leert, blijft in de beslotenheid van het eigen gezin of de eigen gemeenschap leven, en leeft – in Vlaanderen – buiten Vlaanderen (Smet 2011: 3).

De visie dat het Standaardnederlands een *conditio sine qua non* is voor maatschappelijke participatie (maar zie Jaspers 2012) is duidelijk schatplichtig aan wat sinds Milroy en Milroy (1985) de *standard language ideology* of *standaardtaalideologie* wordt genoemd: 'a metalinguistically articulated and cultural dominant belief that there is only one correct way of speaking (i.e. the standard language)' (Swann et al. 2004: 296). Enkel de standaardtaal is acceptabel, terwijl niet-standaardtalige variëteiten (en andere talen) als ongewenst of afwijkend worden voorgesteld. Voor een diepgaandere analyse van hoe deze ideologieën van eentaligheid en standaardisering aanwezig zijn in beide talenbeleidsnota's, verwijzen we naar Delarue (2012), Delarue en De Caluwe (2015) en Blommaert en Van Avermaet (2008). Van de hand van huidig Vlaams minister van Onderwijs Hilde Crevits verscheen nog geen taalbeleidsnota, en het is onzeker of die er zal komen: hoewel ze in haar algemene beleidsnota benadrukt dat een gedegen taalvaardigheid een belangrijke voorwaarde is voor een succesvolle onderwijsloopbaan en kansen op de arbeidsmarkt, valt het op dat 'taal' als thema minder prominent naar voren komt dan bij haar twee voorgangers. Het is daarbij misschien ook tekenend dat *standaardtaal* en *Standaardnederlands* geen vermelding krijgen in haar beleidsnota: er wordt enkel van 'Nederlands' gesproken. Tegelijk lijkt het gebrek aan expliciete aandacht voor het thema ook te impliceren dat het bestaande beleid van haar twee voorgangers gewoon wordt voortgezet.

7.3 Methodologie

Om te achterhalen welke strategieën leerkrachten en leerlingen aanwenden om de kloof tussen taalbeleid en taalpraktijk te overbruggen, vergelijken we interviewmateriaal uit twee kwalitatief geïnspireerde onderzoeksprojecten over het taalgebruik en de taalpercepties van Vlaamse leraren (eerste auteur) en leerlingen (tweede auteur). In deze paragraaf lichten we kort de onderzoekscontext, de aard van de interviews en de kwalitatief-etnografische inbedding van beide onderzoeken toe.

Het onderzoek van de eerste auteur werd tussen oktober 2012 en februari 2014 uitgevoerd, bij in totaal 82 leerkrachten op 21 verschillende basis- en secundaire scholen in 10 steden. De deelnemende leerkrachten geven les in het zesde leerjaar van het basisonderwijs (n=18), het derde jaar secundair onderwijs (n=31) of het zesde jaar secundair onderwijs (n=33). In de secundaire scholen werden daarbij niet alleen leerkrachten Nederlands geselecteerd, maar ook leraren van andere vakken (zoals wiskunde, geschiedenis of fysica), zolang de lessen maar in het Nederlands werden gegeven. Onder de 10 steden bevinden zich de vijf Vlaamse provinciehoofdsteden (Brugge, Gent, Antwerpen, Leuven en Hasselt), en vijf kleinere 'centrumsteden' (Ieper, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde en Beringen), die inwoners uit de omliggende dorpen en gemeenten aantrekken (zie . Met het oog op de vergelijkbaarheid tussen de steden werd ervoor gekozen om het type school constant te houden: enkel katholieke scholen van het aso (*algemeen secundair onderwijs*, te vergelijken met het vwo in Nederland) werden geselecteerd. Aangezien het onderzoek vooral wil nagaan hoe leerkrachten omgaan met intratalige variatie, werd daarnaast ook geselecteerd op het aantal meertalige leerlingen in de school. Daarom werden in principe enkel scholen geselecteerd waarbij het aantal meertaligen kleiner was dan 5 procent (bij de secundaire scholen) of 15 procent (bij de basisscholen) van het totale aantal leerlingen⁸⁸, al was daarbij in zekere mate sprake van zelfselectie: in de katholieke colleges ligt het aantal leerlingen met een meertalige achtergrond sowieso al lager, en ze stromen ook minder vaak door naar het aso. Tegelijk loopt de meerderheid van de Vlaamse leerlingen school in het katholieke onderwijs, en is het aso de onderwijsvorm met de meeste leerlingen (Departement Onderwijs en Vorming 2015c: 17): de representativiteit komt dus niet in het gedrang.

Wat betreft het geslacht of de leeftijd van de informanten werden er geen specifieke vereisten vooropgesteld. De deelnemende leerkrachten werden meestal door de directeur of de taalbeleidscoördinator geselecteerd, hetzij via een open vraag aan het volledige korps, hetzij via een gerichte vraag aan een aantal leerkrachten. Dat de steekproef dus afhangt van de bereidwilligheid van leerkrachten om aan het onderzoek mee te werken,

⁸⁸ In bepaalde steden met een grote anderstalige populatie (Antwerpen, Vilvoorde en Beringen) werden die streefcijfers echter toch overschreden.

kan gezien worden als een potentieel vertekende factor in zowel het onderzoek als de conclusies die eruit getrokken worden. Die bereidwilligheid zou er immers op kunnen wijzen dat de leerkrachten een meer uitgesproken mening hebben – in de ene of de andere richting – over (de rol van) taalvariëteiten in de klas dan de gemiddelde Vlaamse leerkracht (zie ook Delarue 2013). In het corpus tellen we 59% vrouwen (n=48) en 41% mannen (n=34)⁸⁹, en qua leeftijd zien we een evenwichtige spreiding van de leerkrachten, die tussen 23 en 60 jaar oud zijn. Bij de kwalitatieve analyse van het interviewmateriaal (zie verderop) bleek dat variabelen als geslacht van de leerkracht en leeftijd van de leerlingen niet meteen een invloed hadden op de taalpercepties van de leerkrachten, die centraal staan in het onderzoek van de eerste auteur. Het vak, de leeftijd en de geografische herkomst⁹⁰ van de leerkracht lijken wel invloed te hebben op die taalpercepties, maar de invloed van die variabelen komt verder niet aan bod in deze bijdrage, die vooral een verkennend beeld wil bieden van de taalpercepties van Vlaamse leraren in het algemeen, en die wil vergelijken met die van een specifieke groep leerlingen.

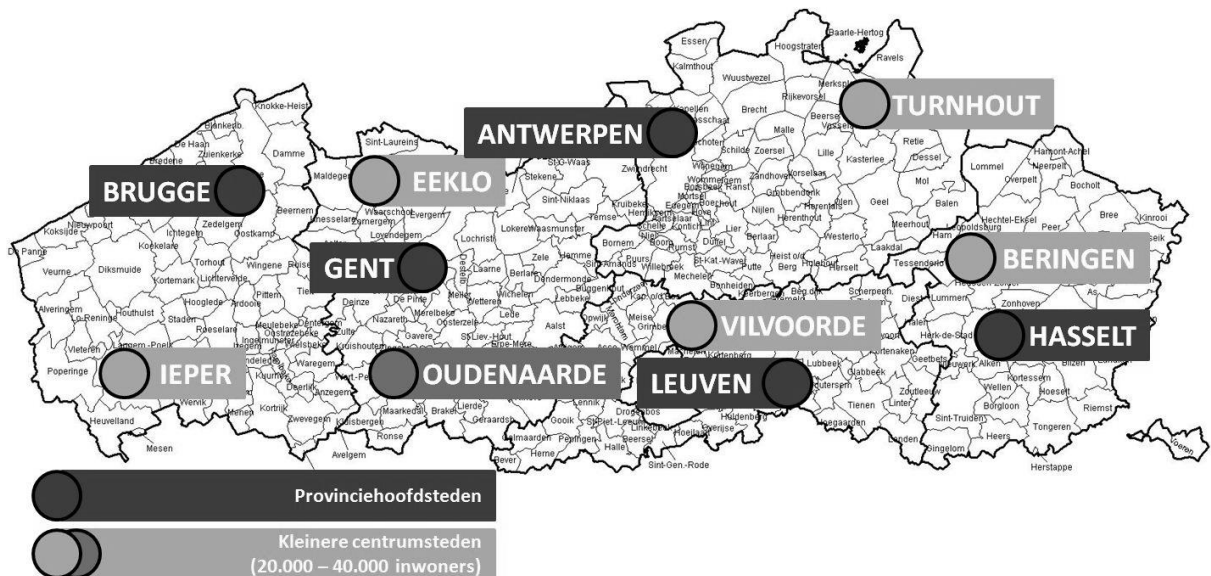


Figure 19: Overzicht van de Vlaamse steden die aan bod komen in dit onderzoek [Overview of the Flemish cities included in this study]

De tweede auteur voert een sociolinguïstische etnografie uit in een secundaire school in Oudenaarde. De stad Oudenaarde bevindt zich in het zuidwesten van de provincie Oost-

⁸⁹ Ter vergelijking: de recentste cijfers laten zien dat vrouwen ruim 75% uitmaken van het Vlaamse lerarenkorps in het basis- en secundair onderwijs (Departement Onderwijs en Vorming 2015c: 5), een aantal dat de laatste jaren gestaag is gegroeid. Waarom die sterke feminisering van het onderwijs niet (of slechts gedeeltelijk) wordt weerspiegeld in ons corpus, is onduidelijk. Een mogelijke verklaring kan zijn dat mannelijke leerkrachten makkelijker overtuigd kunnen worden om onderzoekers (en andere externe bezoekers) toe te laten in het klaslokaal.

⁹⁰ Daarbij moet worden opgemerkt dat de leerkrachten niet per se afkomstig hoefden te zijn uit de stad waarin de school zich bevindt (cf. Figuur 1). In de praktijk bleek de overgrote meerderheid van de deelnemende leerkrachten wel in de onmiddellijke omgeving van de school te wonen (i.e. de stad zelf of een van de omliggende steden of gemeenten). Dat geldt in elk geval voor alle leerkrachten die in deze bijdrage geciteerd worden.

Vlaanderen (zie Figure 19), een regio waar volgens Ghyselen en Van Keymeulen (2014: 129) het dialect “op sterven na dood is”. Tussen november 2013 tot juni 2015 werden alle leerlingen van het vijfde jaar secundair – een groep van 37 ASO-leerlingen van 16 en 17 jaar oud – bestudeerd in verschillende schoolcontexten. Van november 2013 tot mei 2014 was de onderzoekster gemiddeld 5 uur per week op school om de leerlingen in concrete schoolsituaties te observeren, om hun taalgebruik in die situaties op te nemen of om interviews af te nemen. Tussen september 2014 en mei 2015 spendeerde de onderzoekster dan nog gemiddeld 2,5 uur per week op de school om de analyse van het eerder verzamelde materiaal te controleren aan de hand van observaties, informele gesprekken en feedbackinterviews (cf. Jaspers 2005a) met de leerlingen. In die periode van intensieve participerende observatie verzamelde de onderzoekster een rijke schat aan ‘ethnografische kennis’ (Blommaert 2007), i.e. diepgaande emische inzichten (Hymes 1964: 26) in de context en in het (talige) gedrag van de participanten die de analyse van de data kunnen kaderen, nuanceren en/of aanvullen. Gezien de verschillende onderzoeksopzet van de twee studies die in deze bijdrage besproken worden, is het erg betekenisvol dat de strategieën die leerlingen hanteren om de kloof tussen beleid en praktijk te overbruggen, overeen blijken te komen met een aantal discursieve strategieën van de leerkrachten in de interviews met de eerste auteur.

Zowel de eerste als de tweede auteur namen in de respectieve contexten interviews af. In de interviews met leerkrachten (+/- 50 uur) werden vier specifieke thema's aangesneden: het taalgebruik van de leerlingen, de rol van (standaard)taalgebruik in de opleiding van de leerkracht, de kennis van en visie op het onderwijstaalbeleid (zowel op overheidsniveau als op schoolniveau) en de eigen taalachtergrond als leerkracht, aangevuld met de talige verwachtingen ten aanzien van zichzelf en anderen. De leerlingen werden in een eerste reeks interviews in groepjes van drie of vier geïnterviewd (+/- 11 uur) over hun schoolloopbaan en hun toekomstplannen, hun mening over overheids- en schooltaalbeleid, hun visie op het taalgebruik van leerlingen en leerkrachten binnen de school (inclusief dat van zichzelf) en hun perceptie van taalvariatie buiten de school (in het dagelijkse leven en in de media). In een tweede reeks interviews – de feedbackinterviews (+/- 5 uur), – liet de onderzoekster de leerlingen commentaar geven op fragmenten uit de verzamelde data (veldnotities of fragmenten uit de opnames). Alle interviews werden getranscribeerd met behulp van Praat, en vervolgens gecodeerd en thematisch geanalyseerd (Braun en Clarke 2006; Vaismoradi, Turunen en Bondas 2013).

In deze paper wordt voornamelijk het interviewmateriaal van beide auteurs gebruikt om te achterhalen op welke manier leerkrachten en leerlingen omgaan met de kloof tussen taalgebruik en taalbeleid op school. In beide onderzoeksprojecten werden er tijdens de interviews immers vragen gesteld over de bruikbaarheid van standaardtaal en andere taalvariëteiten en -varianten tijdens de les en in andere schoolsituaties, en over het (maatschappelijke) belang van Standaardnederlands in het algemeen, waardoor de antwoorden met elkaar vergeleken kunnen worden. Daarbij moet in het achterhoofd

gehouden worden dat labels als 'standaardtaal', 'Algemeen Nederlands', 'tussentaal' en 'dialect' sociale constructies zijn, die door verschillende informanten verschillend (kunnen) worden ingevuld, en dus in principe beter vermeden kunnen worden tijdens de interviews. In beide studies bleek echter dat de meeste leerkrachten en leerlingen die concepten min of meer op dezelfde manier invullen. Zo is 'Algemeen Nederlands' voor hen de meest 'correcte' en 'formele' taal, en is het voor velen ook het taalgebruik dat van leerkrachten in lessituaties wordt verwacht (cf. infra). Dialect wordt dan weer beschouwd als een verzameling van regionale taalkenmerken (waarbij voornamelijk de afwijkende uitspraak wordt benadrukt), die de verstaanbaarheid in de weg zou staan en daarom in een schoolse situatie zoveel mogelijk vermeden moet worden (cf. infra). Het taalgebruik dat zich tussen deze twee polen van het continuüm in bevindt – en door taalkundigen als *tussentaal* gelabeld zou worden – is voor leerkrachten en leerlingen vaak moeilijker te definiëren. Daarom probeerden beide onderzoekers het label 'tussentaal' zo lang mogelijk te vermijden in de interviews. Enkel wanneer het begrip eerst door de geïnterviewde werd aangehaald, werd het ook door de interviewer gebruikt.

Om de interviewdata te complementeren (cf. supra - etnografische kennis) en de analyse ervan te ondersteunen, werden er ook andere data verzameld. Zo woonde de eerste auteur van iedere geïnterviewde leerkracht ook een les bij, gedocumenteerd met audio-opnames (+/- 80 uur) en uitgebreide veldnotities (+/- 320 pagina's), waardoor de gerapporteerde percepties van de informanten geconfronteerd konden worden met hun taalgebruik tijdens de geobserveerde lessen. De tweede auteur verzamelde naast interviewmateriaal ook extensieve veldnotities (+/- 250 pagina's), op basis van participerende observaties (+/- 100 uur), Facebookposts en -conversaties van de leerlingen (+/- 60 pagina's) en audio-opnames van de leerlingen in de klas, op de speelplaats en tijdens uitstapjes (+/- 35 uur). De manier waarop de verschillende soorten data aangewend werden om ook andere onderzoeksvragen te beantwoorden, komt in andere publicaties aan bod (zie bijv. Delarue 2014, Van Lancker 2016).

7.4 Resultaten: strategieën in de omgang met Standaardnederlands op school

In het vierde en laatste deel van de interviews met leerkrachten, waarin gepeild werd naar hoe de leerkrachten hun eigen taalgebruik inschatten, zowel op school als daarbuiten, werd telkens ook gevraagd hoe de leraren hun taalgebruik tijdens het lesgeven zouden karakteriseren. Dat bleek stevast een gevoelige vraag te zijn, aangezien leerkrachten er zich terdege van bewust zijn dat van hen Standaardnederlands wordt verwacht.

Bovendien hebben ze, eerder in het interview, vaak al het standaardtaaldiscours van het overheidstaalbeleid (zie 7.2, en zie ook 7.4.4) onderschreven, zodat toegeven dat je als leerkracht géén standaardtaal spreekt een duidelijke afwijking van de verwachtingen van je werkgever impliceert. Leerkrachten moeten op dit punt in het interview dan ook de brug slaan tussen beleid en praktijk, en hun discours op een (volgens hen) overtuigende manier vormgeven. Een belangrijke factor daarbij is dat de leerkrachten geïnterviewd worden door een onderzoeker van de universiteit, die duidelijk op de hoogte is van de talige verwachtingen ten aanzien van leerkrachten. Leraren die aangeven dat ze geen standaardtaal willen of kunnen spreken op school, lopen – in hun perceptie – dan ook het risico dat de onderzoeker hun lesgeefcapaciteiten negatief beoordeelt. De strategieën die leerkrachten dan hanteren om de kloof tussen die verwachtingen en de praktijk te overbruggen, zijn erg divers, zoals de volgende voorbeelden laten zien (zie ook Delarue 2015a): ze kunnen bijvoorbeeld gericht zijn op *leerlingen* ('Als ik standaardtaal spreek, lachen leerlingen mij uit', 'De leerlingen vinden dat ook niet belangrijk', 'De leerlingen kunnen het zelf ook niet',...), op de *leerkracht* zelf ('Je best doen volstaat', 'Ik denk er gewoon vaak niet aan', 'Ik wil mezelf zijn, en geen rolletje spelen',...), op de *relatie tussen leerkracht en leerlingen* ('Standaardtaal zorgt voor een te grote afstand met de leerlingen', 'We zijn constant in interactie, en standaardtaal helpt daar niet bij',...), of op de *perceptie van taalvariëteiten* ('Standaardtaal is zo arrogant/onpersoonlijk/onnatuurlijk', 'Ik ben trots op mijn (regionale) afkomst/dialect',...). Dit lijstje is uiteraard niet exhaustief, maar laat de verscheidenheid van de gebruikte strategieën duidelijk zien.

In de analyses van de lerareninterviews (n=82) vonden we in totaal 275 uitspraken van leerkrachten over waarom standaardtaal niet wordt gebruikt in de klas. Via codering werden die uitspraken herleid tot 44 verschillende strategieën, die ingedeeld kunnen worden in 7 verschillende categorieën (waarvan hierboven al een aantal voorbeelden werden gegeven). In deze bijdrage bespreken we de drie meest voorkomende strategieën: die omvatten samen ruim een derde van alle verzamelde uitspraken, en blijken ook de drie prominentste te zijn in de interviews met leerlingen. Elk van de drie strategieën komt immers in een derde van de leerlingeninterviews (n=21) aan bod, wat een vrij hoog aantal is, aangezien de interviews met leerlingen minder specifiek gericht waren op het verzamelen van dergelijke uitspraken over Standaardnederlands in klascontexten. De keuze voor de drie hieronder besproken strategieën komt dus voort uit de vaststelling dat het standaardtaaldiscours van de onderzochte leerkrachten en leerlingen in niet geringe mate gelijk blijkt te lopen.

7.4.1 Standaardtaal beperkt de vlotheid en spontaniteit

De eerste reden die leerlingen en leerkrachten aangeven om af te wijken van het gepropageerde standaardtaalgebruik in de klas, is dat standaardtaal een vlotte en spontane klasinteractie belemmert. In de loop van de laatste decennia is de band – en daarmee ook

de interactie – tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten informeler geworden (voor een diepgaandere analyse van informalisering, zie Fairclough 1992, Wouters 2007). De leerlingen en de leerkrachten in beide studies benadrukken het belang van een goede relatie en een vlotte interactie tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten (cf. Delarue 2014). In informele gesprekken met de tweede auteur geven leerlingen bijvoorbeeld aan dat ze het belangrijk vinden dat leerkrachten de namen en persoonlijkheden van de leerlingen kennen, en dat ze de kans krijgen om leerkrachten ook op persoonlijk vlak te leren kennen. Zowel bij de observaties van leerkrachten als die van leerlingen waren er bovendien vaak speelse en plagerige interacties te horen, wat wijst op een goede band tussen leerkracht en leerlingen. Leerkrachten én leerlingen hechten dus veel belang aan een goede leerling-leerkrachtrelatie. Dat het juiste taalgebruik daar in belangrijke mate toe bijdraagt, blijkt uit fragmenten 1 tot 4:

Fragment 1⁹¹

Mr. Badts⁹², M, 38, 6de jaar secundair, Nederlands, Hasselt

Mr. Badts: (*stil*) maar ik zou méér moeten streven naar Standaardnederlands (*neergeslagen blik*)

INT: uhu waarom doet u 't niet?

Mr. Badts: .. euh omdat ik v vind dat het vaak het vlotte verloop van de les in de weg staat

In fragment 1 laat Mr. Badts zien hoe de tegenstelling tussen de taalverwachtingen van het overheidsbeleid en de taalvariatie in de klaspraktijk voor een ongemakkelijk gevoel zorgt. Die overheidsvereiste wordt nog versterkt door de heersende verwachtingen ten opzichte van een leerkracht Nederlands. Uit het etnografische veldwerk van beide auteurs blijkt immers dat zowel leerlingen als leerkrachten het belangrijk vinden dat een leerkracht Nederlands 'het goede voorbeeld' geeft en Standaardnederlands spreekt (zie ook Delarue en Ghyselen 2016). In zijn rol als leerkracht Nederlands én taalcoördinator van de school voelt Mr. Badts dus blijkbaar de druk om het officiële taalbeleid ter harte te nemen, terwijl hij zelf aangeeft onvoldoende te streven naar het gebruik van Standaardnederlands in de klas. Dat doet hij met de nodige schroom (*neergeslagen blik*, stiller stemvolume), waardoor hij een soort schuldgevoel lijkt te verwoorden. Wanneer de onderzoeker vraagt waarom Mr. Badts geen standaardtaal hanteert, antwoordt hij echter

⁹¹ De interviewfragmenten werden licht aangepast: omdat het hier uitsluitend om de inhoud gaat, werden deleties (bijv. *t*-deleties zoals in *nie* 'niet' of *h*-procopes zoals in *ik eb* 'ik heb') en andere fonologische aanpassingen (bijv. *der* voor 'er') stilzwijgend aangepast. Niet-standaardtalige vormen van morfosyntactische of lexicale aard zijn daarentegen ongewijzigd weergegeven in deze transcripties. Dit kan ten onrechte de indruk wekken dat het taalgebruik van de geïnterviewde leerkrachten en leerlingen behoorlijk dicht aansluit bij de standaardtaal. In andere publicaties (Delarue 2013, Delarue en Ghyselen 2016, Van Lancker aanvaard) wordt die indruk echter ontkracht.

⁹² Alle namen van leerkrachten en leerlingen in deze paper zijn pseudoniemen.

dat het gebruik van Standaardnederlands het 'vlotte verloop van de les in de weg staat', een redenering die ook bij de meeste andere geïnterviewde leerkrachten te horen is.

Een aantal leerkrachten meent ook dat een goede band tussen leerlingen en leerkrachten die vlotte klasinteractie in de hand werkt. Algemeen Nederlands zou dan niet geschikt zijn als voertaal omdat het een barrière opwerpt tussen de leerlingen en de leerkrachten. Dat blijkt onder andere uit fragment 2:

Fragment 2

Mevr. Laureys, V, 27, 3de jaar secundair, Aardrijkskunde, Beringen

Mevr. Laureys: . pff ik vind taalgebruik nog altijd belangrijk maar ik vind niet dat . ik voel van mezelf aan als ik Algemeen Nederlands spreek maar dat is misschien m'n eigen gevoel . dat er . een grens komt zo van . die spreekt op de letter oei oei . die heeft gestudeerd allé de . de mensen hebben dat idee dan of de kinderen hebben dat idee wel

INT: uhu

In fragment 2 geeft Mevr. Laureys, een lerares aardrijkskunde, aan dat de afstand tussen haar en de leerlingen vergroot als ze 'op de letter' spreekt, omdat de leerlingen haar dan zouden beschouwen als iemand die 'gestudeerd [heeft]' en er een kloof zou ontstaan tussen de 'geleerde' leerkracht (die een hogere opleiding heeft voltooid) en de leerlingen, die die opleiding (nog) niet voltooid hebben. Mevr. Laureys' visie sluit nauw aan bij de resultaten van eerdere studies naar de houding van Vlamingen ten opzichte van standaardtaal, dat door veel informanten als 'afstandelijk' en 'pedant' wordt ervaren (zie o.m. Impe en Speelman 2007, Lybaert 2014) – gevoelens die in een klascontext voor een gevoel van afstand zouden zorgen tussen leerkracht en leerlingen.

In het onderzoek van Lybaert (2014: 120) gaven de informanten verder nog aan dat Standaardnederlands 'onnatuurlijk' en 'onpersoonlijk' is. Diezelfde evaluaties geven de leerlingen in het onderzoek van de tweede auteur. Zo blijkt uit fragment 3 bijvoorbeeld hun afkeuring van het standaardtaalgebruik van een leerkracht, net door het onpersoonlijke en onnatuurlijke karakter ervan:

Fragment 3

INT 12; Arlena, Anne-Sophie (A-S), Kasper and Lars

A-S: (*lacht*) is een beetje overdreven vind ik

Lars: ik vind het ook overdreven ja pfff

Arlena: maar nee ik vind xxx

A-S: xxx maar 't komt zo . 't komt zo nep oo' allé zo gemaakt over vind ik

In fragment 3 praten Anne-Sophie, Arlena en Lars over het taalgebruik van Mevr. Smets, de lerares Nederlands die standaardtaal gebruikt tijdens haar lessen. Voor de leerlingen is dat taalgebruik 'overdreven', en Lars vindt zelfs dat het 'nep' en 'gemaakt' overkomt. Die evaluaties blijven onveranderd als de leerlingen het over hun eigen standaardtaalgebruik hebben. Zo geeft Tess in fragment 4 aan dat haar gebruik van het Standaardnederlands

allerminst spontaan is: ze moet echt 'opletten' wat ze zegt, waardoor het 'geforceerd' – en dus niet vlot en authentiek – overkomt.

Fragment 4

INT 6; Eva, Petra en Tess

Tess: maar ik vind dat gewoon geforceerd omdat ge dan gelijk in Nederlands probeert ge AN te praten maar ge zijt dan zodanig aan 't opletten van "‘k moet opletten wat ik zeg" dat 'k dat dan zo geforceerd vind

Tijdens de interviews percipiëren zowel de leerkrachten als de leerlingen hun eigen standaardtaalgebruik (en dat van anderen op school) dus blijkbaar als gekunsteld en onnatuurlijk. Dat lijkt samen te hangen met het feit dat standaardtaalgebruik voor velen een aanzienlijke inspanning vereist (cf. wat Lybaert 2014: 104 de 'inspanningsdimensie' van standaardtaal noemt). Het Standaardnederlands is in Vlaanderen immers een veeleer 'virtuele' taalvariëteit (cf. 7.1), die enkel gehanteerd wordt door taalgebruikers die veel tijd en moeite geïnvesteerd hebben in hun standaardtaalcompetentie. De meeste leerkrachten en leerlingen in ons onderzoek behoren doorgaans niet tot die categorie. Zij ervaren het taalgebruik dat ze als 'standaardtaal' benoemen als een manier van spreken waar ze veel moeite voor moeten doen, en die bijgevolg onnatuurlijk en geforceerd overkomt.

Samengevat: het gebruik van standaardtaal door leerkrachten en leerlingen wordt als 'gemaakt' en 'geforceerd' gepercipieerd, en zou de afstand tussen leerkrachten en leerlingen vergroten. Standaardtaalgebruik hindert zo het spontane en vlotte verloop van de les, terwijl zowel de leerkrachten als de leerlingen in ons onderzoek veel belang hechten aan die vlotte klasinteractie. Standaardtaal wordt dan beschouwd als een taalvariëteit die ongepast is binnen de klascontext in het algemeen. Sommige leerkrachten onderscheiden binnen die klascontext overigens specifieke klassituaties (bijv. onderwijsleergesprek, groepswork, illustratie...), en zien standaardtaal als een geschikte onderwijstaal in sommige, maar niet in alle situaties (zie ook Delarue 2013). Door de informalisering van het publieke leven worden heel wat contexten die vroeger als formeel werden beschouwd, nu als informeel gepercipieerd, en dat geldt bij uitstek voor de klascontext. Dat standaardtaal in dergelijke informele contexten niet gepast is, sluit aan bij de vaak gedocumenteerde 'gereserveerde' (De Caluwe 2002: 61) houding van Vlamingen ten aanzien van hun standaardtaal.

7.4.2 Correcte lesinhoud primeert op goed taalgebruik

In zekere zin sluit deze tweede strategie goed aan bij de eerste, omdat ook dit argument op een soort hiërarchie van onderwijsprioriteiten is gestoeld: correct taalgebruik mag dan wel van belang zijn, volgens het beleid (zie 7.2) én leerlingen en leerkrachten (zie 7.4.4), maar sommige aspecten zijn belangrijker. In de vorige strategie was dat een vlotte klasinteractie, terwijl hier het inhoudelijke aspect van lesgeven en les krijgen als prioriteit

naar voren wordt geschoven, eerder dan het taalgebruik. In fragment 5, bijvoorbeeld, verzucht Mevr. Baert, een lerares chemie, dat het erg moeilijk is om in de dagelijkse klaspraktijk niet alleen op lesinhoud – en klasmanagement – te letten, maar ook nog eens op (standaard)taalgebruik:

Fragment 5

Mevr. Baert, V, 45, 6de jaar secundair, Chemie, Hasselt

INT: uhu . heeft men in dat aggregaat⁹³ in die . in die opleiding iets gezegd over correct taalgebruik of Nederlands? is dat aan bod gekomen?

Mevr. Baert: ja . dat is aan bod gekomen . euhm .. één van de opmerkingen toen die ik toen kreeg was dat ik met 'je' en 'jij' moest babbelen en 'jullie' . ja als ik dat moet doen dan ben ik mijzelf niet . dus ik kan dat niet .

INT: uhu

Mevr. Baert: ik vind dat ook heel ik vind dat ook heel moeilijk om te doen .. euhm ... en als ik daar moet op letten .. dan vergeet ik wat allé 'k bedoel dan vind ik 't moeilijk om ook nog alle focus op mijn .. wat ik op 't bord schrijf wat ik vertel aan de leerlingen qua inhoud én hun gedrag in de klas allemaal dan .. dat wordt te veel dat wordt te veel dat kan ik niet . dus

In fragment 5 legt Mevr. Baert uit dat ze tijdens haar opleiding werd aangespoord om standaardtaal te gebruiken in de klas, waarbij blijkbaar nadruk werd gelegd op de correcte vorm van de tweede persoon van het persoonlijk voornaamwoord: *je*, *jij* en *jullie*, in plaats van de saillante tussentaalvorm *ge/gij*. In het recente tussentaalonderzoek in Vlaanderen is overigens al vaker vastgesteld dat *ge/gij* als een sjibbolet voor tussentaal wordt beschouwd (vgl. Lybaert 2014; Van De Mierop, Zenner en Marzo 2016). Mevr. Baert geeft echter meteen aan dat ze zichzelf niet kan zijn als ze de standaardvormen hanteert (cf. 7.4.1) en dat tegelijkertijd letten op lesinhoud, klasmanagement én haar eigen taalgebruik haar onmogelijk lijkt. Onderwijssocioloog Dan Lortie wijst er in dat opzicht op dat voor een leerkracht 'afleiding de duivel is' (1975: 170). Van leerkrachten wordt immers verwacht dat ze zich concentreren op de inhoud van wat ze onderwijzen, maar daarbij worden ze voortdurend afgeleid: door vragen van leerlingen, bijvoorbeeld, of omdat ze het gedrag van leerlingen in de gaten moeten houden. Die vaak onderschatte combinatie van taken maakt het moeilijk voor leerkrachten om ook nog eens (expliciet) aandacht te besteden aan hun taalgebruik: standaardtaalgebruik vereist een bijkomende inspanning (cf. de "inspanningsdimensie" in 7.4.1), en veel leerkrachten geven aan dat er niet meer bij te kunnen nemen. In fragment 6 sluit Mevr. Herpoel, een lerares godsdienst, zich daarbij aan:

⁹³ Een aggregaat was in Vlaanderen een nevenopleiding, naast een hoofdopleiding aan de universiteit, die een bijkomend pedagogisch diploma opleverde en zo onderwijsbevoegdheid gaf om de vakken van de hoofdstudie te mogen onderwijzen aan een secundaire school. Sinds de hervorming van het hoger onderwijs naar de bachelor-masterstructuur wordt de term *aggregaat* niet meer gebruikt; nu wordt gesproken van een *specifieke lerarenopleiding* (SLO).

Fragment 6

Mevr. Herpoel, V, 29, 3de jaar secundair, Godsdienst, Hasselt

Mevr. Herpoel: euhm .. als ik moet gaan letten op mijn taalgebruik .. dan .. dan wordt het moeilijk . om een inhoud weer te geven

INT: uhu

Mevr. Herpoel: dan ben ik te zeer gefocust . op mijn taalgebruik dan eigenlijk op 't geen wat ik hen wil bijbrengen .. dus euhm . voor mij verloopt dat gewoon soepeler als .. er een doorgaanse taal wordt gesproken in de les

Als Mevr. Herpoel standaardtaal wil gebruiken, moet ze daar naar eigen zeggen expliciet aandacht aan besteden – aandacht die dan niet naar het overbrengen van de lesinhoud kan gaan. Omdat zo goed als alle leerkrachten aangeven dat het behoorlijk wat inspanning vergt om standaardtaal te spreken, en omdat dat hen te veel zou afleiden van wat zij als hun kerntaak zien (nl. kennisoverdracht), kiezen de meesten ervoor om de standaardtaalnorm (deels) los te laten en voor een vorm van taalgebruik te kiezen die dichter bij hun dagelijkse taalgebruik – Mevr. Herpoel noemt het “doorgaanse taal” – aansluit.

Ook het standaardtaalgebruik van de leerlingen in de klas blijkt ondergeschikt te zijn aan de inhoud van de les. Fragment 7 maakt deel uit van een feedbackinterview (cf. 7.3.) waarin Jerom en Kobe commentaar geven bij een audio-opname van een wiskundeles. In die les antwoordt Jerom door gebruik te maken van het dialectwoord ‘duust’, wat heel wat reacties uitlokt bij zijn medeleerlingen (waaruit blijkt dat de selectie van het dialectwoord opvalt), terwijl de leerkracht niet ingaat op die ‘duust’ en de les probeert verder te zetten (zie ook Van Lancker 2016). In fragment 7 verklaren Koen en Jerom dat gedrag van de leerkracht:

Fragment 7

FBINT 2; Jerom en Koen

INT: uhu maar 't valt mij op dat mevrouw Devos er zelf niets over zegt dus gij zegt inderdaad gij antwoordt "negentienduust" en ze zegt niet "Jerom (.) 't is wel duizend"

Jerom: maar 't was omdat ik een juist antwoord gaf

INT: (*lacht*) a dat is belangrijk

Koen: ze zal verder gerekend hebben e

INT: 't is belangrijker om een goed antwoord te geven dan dat het euh mooi geformuleerd is

Koen: ja zeker in de wiskundeles

Bovenstaand fragment illustreert het idee dat lesinhoud voorgaat op correct taalgebruik, ook bij leerlingen. De leerkracht heeft de leerlingen gevraagd om een berekening te maken en Jerom geeft een antwoord. Wat telt in deze context is dat het antwoord inhoudelijk correct is; dat het geformuleerd werd in taalgebruik dat van de officiële norm afwijkt, is van ondergeschikt belang, zeker in een wiskundeles, waarin taal niet centraal staat.

7.4.3 “Als het maar geen dialect is”

De twee bovenstaande strategieën lijken aan te tonen dat het door het beleid gepropageerde standaardtaalideaal niet wenselijk is, omdat het een vlotte klasinteractie in de weg staat (zie 7.4.1) of omdat aandacht voor standaardtaalgebruik ten koste zou kunnen gaan van aandacht voor de lesinhoud (zie 7.4.2). In de laatste strategie die we in deze bijdrage behandelen, wordt voor een andere weg gekozen: hier lijken leerkrachten en leerlingen de kloof tussen beleid en praktijk ook daadwerkelijk te willen verkleinen. Dat doen ze door in hun discours over taalvariatie op school enkel aandacht te besteden aan de twee uitersten op het taalcontinuüm: standaardtaal en dialect. Aan mogelijke tussenvormen lijken leerlingen en leerkrachten voorbij te gaan. In de taalkundige literatuur wordt de Vlaamse taalsituatie echter als een *diaglossie* beschouwd (cf. supra), met intermediaire taalvormen tussen standaardtaal en dialect in. Opvallend is dat ook in de eerder besproken taalbeleidsnota's van Vandenbroucke en Smet die intermediaire vormen amper of niet aan bod komen. Zo wordt in de recentste taalbeleidsnota van Smet (2011), die 42 pagina's beslaat, 77 keer *Standaardnederlands* of *standaardtaal* vermeld, terwijl de term *dialect* slechts drie keer valt, en *tussentaal* zelfs geen enkele keer aan bod komt (Delarue 2014: 225). De rationale daarachter lijkt te zijn dat tussentaal wel vanzelf zal verdwijnen als de nadruk voldoende op Standaardnederlands wordt gelegd. Door zelf ook de nadruk te leggen op standaardtaal in schoolcontexten, in scherp contrast met dialect, en tussenvormen over het hoofd te zien, slagen de onderzochte leerlingen en leerkrachten erin om dichter aan te sluiten bij het officiële taalbeleid. Uit fragmenten 8 en 9 blijkt dat zowel leerlingen als leerkrachten in ons onderzoek het gebruik van dialect – als antipode van standaardtaal – in klascontexten scherp veroordelen.

Fragment 8

Mevr. Nys, V, 52, 3de jaar secundair, Godsdienst, Gent

INT: is 't dan de b . is 't dan een . een wenselijk punt om voor leerkrachten Algemeen Nederlands te vragen dat zij het zelf wel spreken in alle situaties?

Mevr. Nys: .. dat . dat zou ik wel . uw Algemeen Nederlands of toch zeker ja die standaardtaal te gebruiken hé . zeker ik vind niet dat ge als leerkracht u dat kunt permitteren om . te beginnen euhm .. met dialect te spreken . of dialectwoorden te gebruiken

In fragment 8 bevindt godsdienstleerkracht Mevr. Nys zich in een wat lastige situatie wanneer de interviewer haar vraagt of leerkrachten volgens haar in alle situaties Algemeen Nederlands moeten spreken. Daar antwoordt ze bevestigend op, maar tegelijk beseft ze zelf wellicht ook dat haar taalgebruik daar in de praktijk niet volledig bij aansluit. Die dissonantie lost ze op door te benadrukken dat standaardtaal gebruiken noodzakelijk is, maar met de nuance dat een leerkracht het zich vooral niet kan permitteren om “dialect te spreken”. Op die manier definieert ze het beleid niet op een positieve manier (“leerkrachten moeten standaardtaal spreken in schoolse situaties”), maar op een

negatieve ("leerkrachten mogen vooral geen dialect spreken in schoolse situaties") – vermoedelijk omdat haar eigen taalgebruik op die manier wel beantwoordt aan de door het beleid vooropgestelde norm.

In een interview met de leerlingen Arlena, Anne-Sophie, Kasper en Lars komt een gelijkaardige visie naar voren:

Fragment 9

INT 12; Arlena, Anne-Sophie, Kasper en Lars

INT: en hoe vinden jullie dat jullie zelf spreken op school?

Lars: tussentaal

INT: goed niet goed?

Arlena: ik vind dat . goed genoeg (*lacht*)

Lars: (*lachje*) niet echt dialect maar ja

INT: niet echt dialect Lars?

Kasper: uhu

Lars: nnnnee maar ja dialect is al redelijk extreem ook hé

Als aan Kasper, Arlena, Anne-Sophie en Lars gevraagd wordt om hun eigen taalgebruik te evalueren, benoemt Lars dat taalgebruik als 'tussentaal'. Het is een van de weinige plaatsen in het interviewcorpus waar de term 'tussentaal' expliciet valt.⁹⁴ Toch blijkt ook uit fragment 9 dat de leerlingen zich ervan bewust zijn dat van hen eigenlijk standaardtaal verwacht wordt in een schoolcontext, en dat er geen plaats is voor dialect. Arlena evalueert hun taalgebruik immers niet gewoonweg als 'goed', maar wel als 'goed genoeg'. In combinatie met het verontschuldigende lachje dat daarop volgt, impliceert die woordkeuze dat Arlena beseft dat het eigenlijk nog beter – lees: standaardtaliger – zou kunnen. Daarnaast legitimeert Lars het gebruik van tussentaal op een manier die goed aansluit bij hoe de godsdienstlerares in fragment 8 de standaardtaalnorm bij leerkrachten afzwakt. Nadat Lars nogal zelfzeker gesteld heeft dat hij tussentaal gebruikt, volgt er – net als bij Arlena – een verontschuldigend lachje, en zwakt hij zijn stelling af: hun taalgebruik is 'niet echt dialect'. Wanneer de interviewer doorvraagt, verklaart Lars dat hij het 'redelijk extreem' vindt als leerlingen dialect gebruiken.

Niet alleen door tussentaal in de interviews onvermeld te laten (zie eerder), maar dus ook door dialectgebruik op school expliciet af te keuren, lijken leerlingen en leerkrachten hun visie op taalgebruik in schoolcontexten dichter te laten aansluiten bij het overheidstaalbeleid. In de taalbeleidsnota's van Vandenbroucke en Smet wordt dialect immers consequent behandeld als een thuistaal, i.e. een taal die je achterwege laat zodra je door de schoolpoort stapt. Standaardtaal is de enige variëteit die als schooltaal kan

⁹⁴ Het label 'tussentaal' komt maar zelden aan bod in de twee interviewcorpora. Toch valt op dat leerlingen meer vertrouwd zijn met de term dan leerkrachten. Een mogelijke verklaring is dat leerkrachten sterker beïnvloed worden door het overheidstaalbeleid dan leerlingen. Anderzijds kan ook een opleidingseffect spelen: leerlingen krijgen immers les over taalvariatie en tussentaal in de lessen Nederlands. In de opleidingen van de meeste leerkrachten – zeker de oudere generatie – was dat minder of zelfs niet het geval.

fungeren, maar zowel de leerkrachten als de leerlingen in onze studie lijken te beseffen dat ze niet aan dat standaardtaalideaal beantwoorden. Bijgevolg minimaliseren ze die als problematisch gepercipieerde situatie door een hypothetische context te schetsen waarin de kloof tussen beleid en praktijk nog groter is dan in de realiteit, namelijk een context waarin leerkrachten en leerlingen dialect zouden gebruiken. Door die hypothetische context expliciet te laten contrasteren met de bestaande klaspraktijk, waarin het taalgebruik zich ergens tussen standaardtaal en dialect in bevindt, lijkt de eigenlijke praktijk beter bij het beleid aan te sluiten. Op die manier slagen leerlingen en leerkrachten erin om het eigen taalgebruik te categoriseren als taalgebruik dat gepast is binnen een schoolcontext. De norm voor ‘gepast schools taalgebruik’ wordt dus uitgerekt, en bevat nu elke vorm van niet-dialectisch taalgebruik (zie ook Delarue 2014). Noch de leerkrachten, noch de leerlingen contesteren openlijk het officiële taalbeleid, maar ze volgen het evenmin slaafs na: ze handelen als ‘agents of language policy’ (Heineke en Cameron 2013) om het beleid naar hun hand te zetten.

7.4.4 Standaardtaal blijft het referentiepunt

In de drie voorbije paragrafen hebben we proberen aan te tonen dat zowel leerlingen als leerkrachten pogingen ondernemen om de kloof tussen hun eigen substandaardtalige praktijk en het taalbeleid te overbruggen, enerzijds door erop te wijzen dat standaardtaalgebruik geen prioriteit is vergeleken met andere onderwijsaspecten (cf. 7.4.1 en 7.4.2), anderzijds door de sterke nadruk op Standaardnederlands in het officiële taalbeleid af te zwakken in hun eigen visie op geschikt taalgebruik binnen de schoolcontext (cf. 7.4.3). Het is echter belangrijk te benadrukken dat de standaardtaal nog steeds het referentiepunt blijft van zowel leerkrachten als leerlingen, zelfs al wordt er door hen in de interviewgesprekken van de gepropageerde norm afgeweken.

Uit fragmenten 1, 2, 4, 5 en 8 bleek eerder al dat leerkrachten en leerlingen standaardtaal percipiëren als de norm waartegen ze hun eigen taalgebruik aftoetsen. In fragment 10 uit een leerling haar appreciatie voor het Algemeen Nederlands:

Fragment 10

INT 12; Arlena, Anne-Sophie, Kasper en Lars

INT: wat vind je dan ‘t mooiste?

Arlena: euh .. ik denk mocht het . niet geforceerd overkomen . nog altijd het AN

Voor Arlena is het Standaardnederlands dus nog altijd de esthetische norm, een taalvariëteit die ze het mooiste vindt als ze op een niet-geforceerde manier wordt gehanteerd. Bovendien is bij leerkrachten de wens om die esthetische norm te (kunnen) spreken frequent te horen in de interviews, waarbij ze alsnog als spreekbuis van het beleid fungeren. Leerkrachten zijn zich immers over het algemeen terdege bewust van de (talige)

voorbeeldfunctie die ze hebben, en dat geldt a fortiori als we het over leerkrachten Nederlands hebben, zoals Mr. Coenen in fragment 11:

Fragment 11

Mr. Coenen, M, 23, 3de jaar secundair, Nederlands, Beringen

Mr. Coenen:.. ja we . wij hebben als leerkracht een . een voorbeeld . euhm .. qua taalgebruik niet alleen ook ja . qua euh ja gedrag de kennis die je moet overbrengen naar de leerlingen zijn allemaal zaken . waar leerlingen toch . euh denk ik euhm . naar . naar opkijken is nu misschien het foute woord maar waarbij ze toch 't nodige respect voor . naar de leerkracht toe dus ik denk ook wel dat die aandacht besteden aan ons . taalgebruik .

Volgens Mr. Coenen hebben leerlingen wel degelijk aandacht voor het taalgebruik van de leerkrachten. Kasper en Arlena bevestigen dat in fragment 12:

Fragment 12

INT 12; Arlena, Anne-Sophie, Kasper en Lars

Kasper: ik vind dat ze alle twee echt Algemeen Nederlands moeten praten

INT: ja

Arlena: ja ik vind dat ook

[...]

Arlena: ja omdat ze toch een voorbeeld zijn

Kasper en Arlena praten in fragment 12 over het taalgebruik van Mr. Meeuwis en Mr. Vilijn, twee leerkrachten die dialect gebruiken in hun lessen. Hoewel de leerlingen eerder in het interview hadden aangegeven dat ze zich niet storen aan het dialectgebruik van de twee leerkrachten, verklaart Kasper hier toch dat hij vindt dat beide leerkrachten Algemeen Nederlands zouden moeten spreken. Arlena zet die stelling kracht bij door te wijzen op de voorbeeldfunctie van de leerkrachten. Die nadruk op standaardtaalgebruik wordt met andere woorden verbonden aan de functie van leerkrachten in het algemeen: leerkrachten moeten op allerlei vlakken een voorbeeld zijn voor de leerlingen en dat betekent dus blijkbaar ook dat ze Algemeen Nederlands moeten hanteren.

Hoewel leerkrachten en leerlingen dus gegronde redenen kunnen formuleren om af te wijken van het taalbeleid (zie 7.4.1-7.4.3), blijft de standaardtaalnorm als maatstaf gelden. In zekere zin is dat logisch: niet-standaardtalig taalgebruik hoeft zeker niet in te druisen tegen een standaardtaalideaal, maar is er zelfs van afhankelijk (Jaspers en Van Hoof 2015: 35). Anders gesteld: om zich te kunnen afzetten tegen een norm of zich er net mee te conformeren, moet die norm in de eerste plaats bestaán.

7.5 Conclusie

In deze bijdrage wilden we laten zien hoe leerkrachten en leerlingen omgaan met het strikt op het Standaardnederlands georiënteerde onderwijstaalbeleid in Vlaanderen, dat in grote mate afwijkt van de taaldiverse klaspraktijk. Bij zowel leerkrachten als leerlingen blijkt daarbij een sterke kloof te bestaan tussen het belang dat aan standaardtaal op zich wordt gehecht, en hoe het eigen taalgebruik wordt ingeschat. Op *abstract* niveau wordt benadrukt dat standaardtaal erg belangrijk is, en lijkt het erop dat de boodschap in het taalbeleid van de overheid succesvol is doorgesijpeld. Wanneer er echter van dat abstracte wordt overgestapt naar *concrete* situaties, verandert het discours vaak: de meeste leerkrachten en leerlingen geven dan aan dat ze zelf geen 'echte' standaardtaal spreken, maar een informelere variëteit van het Nederlands hanteren. Tijdens de interviews, zowel met leerkrachten als met leerlingen, wordt dat contrast op bepaalde momenten zichtbaar. Op die momenten zetten de geïnterviewde leerkrachten en leerlingen verschillende strategieën in om dat spanningsveld te neutraliseren. Daarbij vallen vooral de overeenkomsten tussen beide groepen op. In deze bijdrage hebben we, aan de hand van fragmenten uit onze twee interviewcorpora, drie van die parallelle strategieën geanalyseerd: dat standaardtaal de vlotheid en de spontaniteit van de les beperkt, dat inhoudelijk gedegen onderwijs belangrijker is dan goed (standaard)taalgebruik, en dat het vooral van belang is dat er in klasgerelateerde contexten geen dialect wordt gebruikt. Daarbij is het belangrijk om nogmaals te benadrukken dat die drie strategieën lang niet de enige zijn: in de interviews met leerkrachten werden er in totaal 44 strategieën teruggevonden, in de leerlingeninterviews 25. De drie strategieën die in deze bijdrage werden besproken, werden geselecteerd op hun frequentie en het feit dat ze gedeeld worden door leraren én leerlingen: in beide corpora gaat het om de meest voorkomende strategieën. Dat betekent overigens niet dat *alle* strategieën of uitspraken door leraren en leerlingen gedeeld worden.

Uit onze analyses blijkt dat leerkrachten en leerlingen op een *actieve* manier met het taalbeleid van de overheid interageren, en dat taalbeleid naar hun hand zetten als ze dat nodig achten. Een *structure/agency*-framework blijkt dan ook erg interessant als analysekader voor de interviews met leerkrachten en leerlingen: dat standaardtaal nog steeds als het referentiepunt wordt beschouwd, toont aan dat het onderwijstaalbeleid de bestaande *structure* vormt, en dat leerkrachten en leerlingen daar op verschillende manieren mee kunnen omgaan. In sommige gevallen wordt het beleid gewoon onverkort doorgevoerd ('maintenance', cf. Heineke en Cameron 2013), maar leerkrachten en leerlingen kunnen ook een ander standpunt innemen: het beleid weliswaar accepteren, maar het kneden in een vorm die past bij de dagelijkse klaspraktijk ('recognition'), of slechts bepaalde stukken uit het beleid overnemen, en andere volledig aanpassen aan hun visie op klasinteracties ('negotiation'). Leerkrachten lijken beleidsteksten dan ook niet

zozeer te beschouwen als opgelegde regels, maar als uitingen van een bepaalde visie op onderwijs, waar de onderwijspraktijk dan mee aan de slag kan. Ook de leerlingen volgen het taalbeleid dat tot in de onderwijspraktijk doorsijpelt niet slaafs: ze slagen erin om te gaan met de regels en die aan te passen waar ze dat nodig achten. In het huidige onderzoek naar taalbeleid is die actieve, mediërende rol van zowel leerkrachten als leerlingen echter onderbelicht. Diepgaander perceptueel, attitudineel en etnografisch onderzoek kan helpen om beter inzicht te krijgen in hoe leerkrachten en leerlingen die rol opnemen, en in hoeverre het onderwijstaalbeleid (niet alleen de eerder besproken beleidsnota's, maar ook bijvoorbeeld eindtermen en leerplannen) doorsijpelt in het taalbeleid op schoolniveau en in de percepties van leerkrachten en leerlingen. Een analyse vanuit een 'transcontextueel' perspectief (cf. Mehan 1996), waarbij onderzocht wordt op welke manier beleidsdiscoursen van de ene naar de andere context reizen, kan daarbij erg vruchtbaar zijn.

Chapter 8

The discursive construction of teacher identities: Flemish teachers' perceptions of Standard Dutch

Reference details

Delarue, S. & C. Lybaert (2016). *The discursive construction of teacher identities: Flemish teachers' perceptions of Standard Dutch*. Journal of Germanic Linguistics, 28(3), pp. 219-265.

Background

After a theoretical discussion of a number of important (socio)linguistic concepts (a.o. *identity*, *agency* and *indexicality*), this sixth and final paper analyzes illustrative extracts from the interview corpus, revealing how Flemish teachers perceive (the importance of) Standard Dutch and other, non-standard varieties of Dutch. Moreover, drawing on the key concept of identity, the paper shows how these perceptions discursively shape teacher identities of authenticity, authority and professionalism.

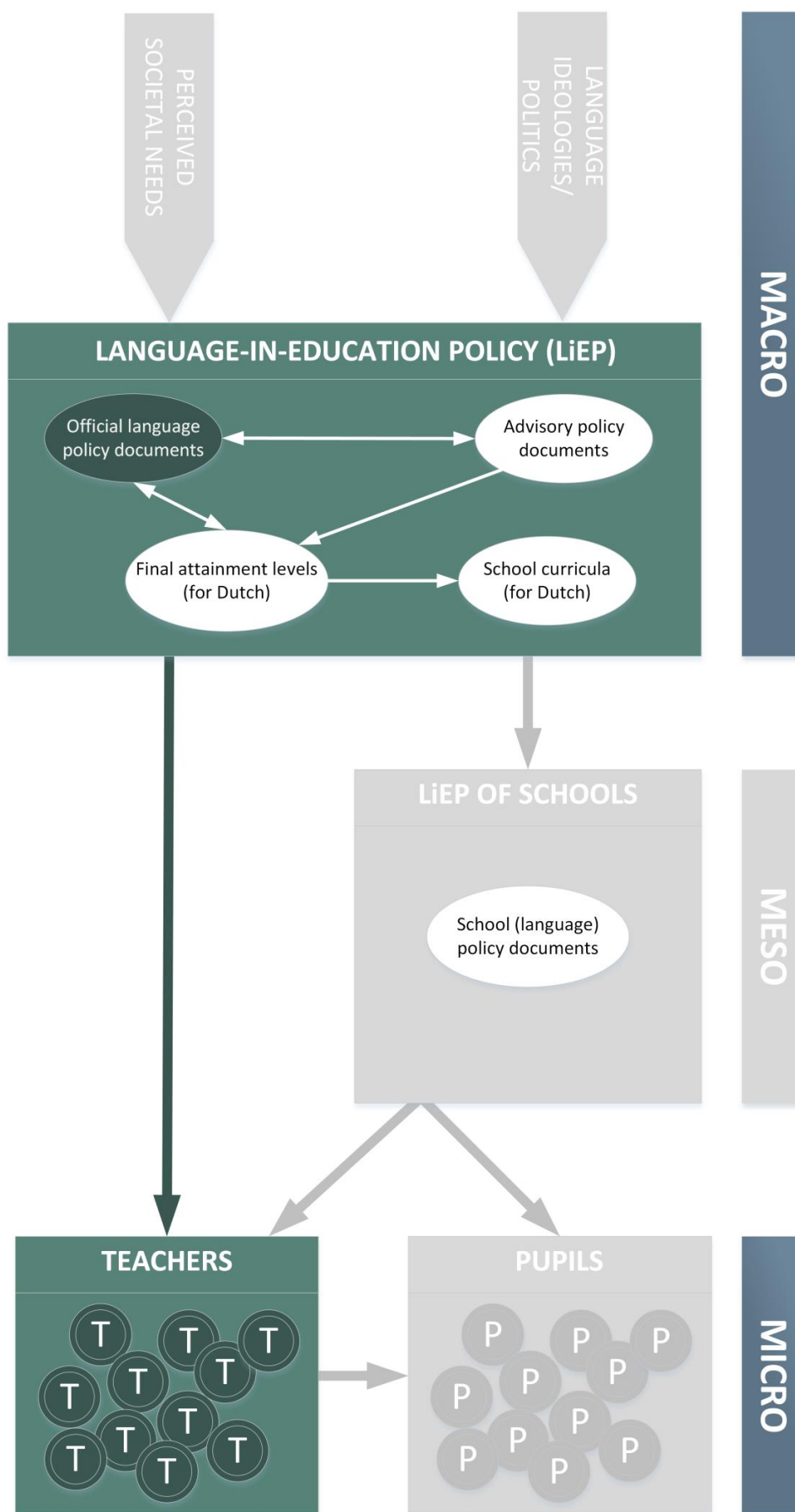


Figure 20: Aspects of the policy model under focus in Chapter 8

Abstract

As a starting point, this paper offers a theoretical discussion of a number of widely used yet diversely conceived concepts: (standard) language ideology, identity, agency, and indexicality. Using these concepts, we analyze a number of illustrative interview extracts from a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with Flemish primary and secondary school teachers. Our goal is twofold. First, we discuss how Flemish teachers perceive (the importance of) Standard Dutch and other, nonstandard varieties of Dutch. Second, we show how these perceptions discursively shape teacher identities of authenticity, authority, and professionalism.

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Dutch in Flanders: Historical background and status quaestionis

The standardization of Dutch in Flanders has been thoroughly discussed (for example, Willemyns and Daniëls 2003, Vandenbussche 2010b, Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013).⁹⁵ The northern, Dutch-speaking part of Belgium is traditionally considered to be a region with a delayed standardization process, compared to the Netherlands (see Van Hoof and Jaspers 2012). Dutch became a standard language in the Netherlands much earlier than in Flanders: Standard Dutch was established in the Netherlands from the 16th century onwards, with the bulk of the standardization taking place in the 17th and 18th century. While Standard Dutch developed in the Netherlands, Flanders was ruled by the Spanish, the Austrians, and the French, which held back the development of Standard Dutch in Flanders. In 1830, when Belgium was founded, French became the dominant and most prestigious language. After decades of language struggles, Dutch was eventually recognized as an official language alongside French in 1898, with the *Gelijkheidswet* or ‘Law of equality’ (Vandenbussche et al. 2005, Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013). Flanders adopted the standard variety of the Netherlands: Northern Dutch became the linguistic ideal. However, most Flemings were unfamiliar with northern Dutch, and it

⁹⁵ In this contribution, *Flemish* and *Flanders* are used to refer to the political area of Flanders (the provinces East-Flanders, West-Flanders, Brabant, Limburg, and Antwerp) and not to the dialectological area of Flanders (approximately the provinces of East-Flanders, West-Flanders, a part of Zeeland Flanders and of French Flanders).

took until the middle of the 20th century before large-scale initiatives were put into place to actually familiarize Flemings with it.

Today linguists and language advisors no longer consider the language situation in Flanders to be exclusively derived from the language situation in the Netherlands (Geeraerts 2002). The language variety used on the Flemish public-service broadcasting station VRT (*Vlaamse Radio- en Televisieomroeporganisatie*, ‘Flemish Radio and Television Broadcasting Organization’)—often referred to as VRT-Dutch—has taken over the position of Netherlandic Dutch as the standard (van der Sijs and Willemyns 2009). Now that Belgian Dutch is following its own course, Dutch can be considered a pluricentric language (Geerts 1992, Deprez 1997, Hendrickx 1998, Martin 2010, De Caluwe 2012a,b), in Clyne’s (1992b: 1) sense that it is a language “with several interacting centers, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms.” One national variety is spoken in the Netherlands, while the other is spoken in Flanders.

Do Flemings in 2016 actually master Standard Dutch, and is the variety spoken and written? That is not an easy question to answer. A distinction needs to be made between passive knowledge of Standard Dutch and active use of the variety. Flemings have passive knowledge of Standard Dutch and are capable of understanding the variety when they read or hear it (Impe 2010). Concerning the active use of Standard Dutch, a difference can be observed between spoken and written language. Most Flemings can write Standard Dutch, but the standard variety is rarely spoken. Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a: 218) even refer to it as “an almost unattainable ideal achieved only by a small minority of Dutch-speaking Belgians in a limited number of contexts” (see also Geeraerts 2001, Plevoets 2008, De Caluwe 2009).

In reality, Flemings predominantly use nonstandard language. They mostly speak *tussentaal* (literally ‘interlanguage’ or ‘in-between-language’), an umbrella term for the extensive array of intermediate language varieties in between (Belgian) Standard Dutch and the dialects (Absillis et al. 2012a). *Tussentaal* is increasingly used: it is not only dominantly present in daily (private) life (see among others Vandekerckhove 2004, Plevoets 2008), but also in public domains: *Tussentaal* features are used by politicians (Van Laere 2003, Auman 2009) and teachers (Delarue 2013, 2014), in TV and radio commercials (Van Gijssels et al. 2008) and in TV fiction (Van Hoof 2013). Alongside *tussentaal*, dialects are also spoken. However, while Flanders used to be characterized by a striking dialect diversity, nowadays dialects seem to be doomed to disappear eventually. Research has shown that Flemish dialects are suffering from *functional loss*, that is, dialects are decreasingly used as a means of communication, and from *structural loss* or *dialect levelling*, that is, the dialects lose (a part of) their typical characteristics (see Taeldeman 1991, 2005; Vandekerckhove 2009; De Caluwe and Van Renterghem 2011).

8.1.2 Language debates in present-day Flanders

Flemish teachers have an important task when it comes to (standard) language use and norm reproduction: As “the first-line dispensers of standard usage” (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2012:48), they are expected to adhere to the standard language variety as closely as possible, setting a linguistic example for their pupils (Delarue 2013). With epithets such as “guardians of the standard language” (Van de Velde and Houtermans 1999) and “the last gate-keepers of the standard” (Van Istendael 2008: 31), teachers are under a considerable pressure to master, use, and support the standard variety. This pressure is prominent in Flemish language-in-education policies (Vandenbroucke 2007, Smet 2011), where the use of the standard variety inside as well as outside the classroom is strongly advocated; it is considered to be a *conditio sine qua non* for a successful school career, participation in Flemish society, and socio-economic promotion. In other words, Standard Dutch is essential for eliminating social inequality (Delarue and De Caluwe 2015). However, this egalitarian aspiration of Flemish education (see Hirtt et al. 2007) actually is rather meritocratic in nature, in that it reproduces social statuses and provides access to elite linguistic (that is, Standard Dutch) forms.⁹⁶

The strong (but often symbolic, see Blommaert 2011) role of language in Flanders also causes heated discussions in the broader societal context, regularly stirring up controversy. This is especially true when the language used in public institutions—such as the media or education—comes under scrutiny, the general public lashes out at media figures or teachers who do not properly adhere to the standard variety. A case in point is a dispute that erupted in August 2012, following the publication of a book, in which *tussentaal* was not rejected, but was instead discussed in a neutral, nondenouncing way (Absillis et al. 2012a). During the days following the book’s publication, this neutrality was reinterpreted as a positive take on nonstandard language use. The debate focused on its ubiquity (“We spreken allemaal wel eens tussentaal” [“We all speak *tussentaal* sometimes”], *De Standaard*, August 30, 2012, p. 7) or added value (“Dialect verkleint de kloof met de gewone mens [“Dialect bridges the chasm with the common man”], *De Morgen*, August 31, 2012, p. 10).

The chapters on education were scrutinized in particular, as they stated that teachers did not need to adhere to Standard Dutch at all times, leaving room for the use of

⁹⁶ Of course, this meritocratic objective is not typically Flemish: All post-World War II western societies define themselves as meritocratic (see Jaspers 2014: 373). Meritocrats and egalitarians share the idea that pupils should be given equal opportunities at the start of their school career, taking away financial barriers, for example. However, meritocrats accept selection based on ability, thinking that communities are justified in investing more in talented people. Human beings are not simply victims of the systematic reproduction of social order: They are able to counter that logic. Egalitarians, however, also want to break the existing correlation between social background and school results of pupils, in order to reduce the structural reproduction of social inequality by the education system. For them, real equal opportunities means equal outcomes.

nonstandard features. This apparently controversial statement was discussed in the Flemish newspaper *De Morgen* under the headline “Tussentaal in klas is heel efficient” [“*Tussentaal* is very efficient in the classroom”] (August 29, 2012, p. 4). It caused a significant upheaval and many angry letters from agitated readers, who criticized teachers for speaking *tussentaal*, rather than “proper” Standard Dutch. The discussion dominated the Flemish newspapers for days and even weeks afterwards, proving the ideological sensitivity of the standardness issue in Flemish (institutional) contexts, especially in the media (Van Hoof 2013) and in education (Blommaert and Van Avermaet 2008, Delarue 2011).

A second example dates from November 2014, when the newspaper *De Standaard* published the results of the large-scale language study *Hoe Vlaams is uw Nederlands?* ‘How Flemish is your Dutch?’ of over 3,000 Flemish language professionals, such as actors, lawyers, journalists, teachers, and linguists (De Schryver 2015). In the study, participants were asked to assess the standardness of sentences containing a few typical Flemish words or constructions (as opposed to words that are used and accepted as Standard Dutch in both the Netherlands and Flanders), by answering the question, “Do you think the following sentence is acceptable in the standard, for example, in the newspaper or the news?” The results showed that 58% of these language professionals did not object to the presence of such Flemish words or constructions in genres typically reserved for Standard Dutch.

These results lead—yet again—to a steady stream of newspaper headlines and opinion pieces: “More ‘Flemish’ Dutch no longer a taboo” (standaard.be, November 3, 2014), “*Mutualiteit*, *vuilbak* and *autostrade*? Should be possible!”⁹⁷ (deredactie.be, November 3, 2014), “Language test: Standard Dutch is considerably Flemish” (deredactie.be, November 7, 2014), and “Stop cooing about Flemish!” (*De Standaard*, November 8, 2014).⁹⁸ When the results were broken down by profession, teachers appeared to favor more “Flemish” lexical and grammatical elements in the standard than members of other language professions. Although the approval rate of teachers (61,4%) did not differ that much from the mean score of all the informants (58%), teachers were almost immediately scorned on Twitter and other social media platforms. Not only was their status as “guardians” and “gate-keepers” of the standard questioned, some even started doubting the professionalism of the teachers. In several (televised) debates and opinion pieces, teachers

⁹⁷ *Mutualiteit* ‘health service, health insurance’, *vuilbak* ‘garbage can’, and *autostrade* ‘motorway, highway’ are three examples of Flemish lexical items that were often judged as Standard Dutch in this study. The “correct” Standard Dutch equivalents are *ziekenfonds*, *vuilnisbak*, and *autosnelweg*, respectively.

⁹⁸ The original Dutch headlines were “‘Vlaamser’ Nederlands geen taboe meer”, “*Mutualiteit*, *vuilbak* en *autostrade*? Moet kunnen!”, “*Taaltest: Standaardnederlands is behoorlijk Vlaams gekleurd*” and “*Hou op met dat gekir over Vlaams*”.

were called “lax,” “not language professionals,” “language amateurs,” “sloppy,” and “ignorant.”⁹⁹

These examples clearly show that Flemish teachers are under severe pressure to be standard language authorities: Both language-in-education policy and Flemish society expect teachers to strictly adhere to Standard Dutch, and even the slightest (perceived) deviation from that norm is enough to trigger feelings of disapproval and condemnation. In this paper, we want to shed light on how Flemish teachers deal with this pressure to adhere to Standard Dutch, and how it impacts their identities as teachers. How do teachers envision the role of Standard Dutch in the classroom? Do they feel the use of the standard variety is important while teaching, and/or is there any room for nonstandard varieties or features? What indexes do Flemish teachers attach to the standard variety?

Finding an answer to these questions is interesting and relevant for at least two reasons. First, theories of language and identity are very relevant for research in educational settings, as stressed by Norton (2010: 364):

Teachers’ conceptions of “language” (...) are broad in scope. The teachers conceive of language not only as a linguistic system, but as a social practice in which experiences are organised and identities negotiated.

How teachers perceive language and the usefulness of different language varieties in classroom settings can therefore have major consequences: “There is recognition that if learners are not invested in the language practices of the classroom, learning outcomes are limited, and educational inequities perpetuated” (ibid.).

Second, earlier studies (Delarue 2011, 2012; De Caluwe 2012b; Delarue and De Caluwe 2015; Jaspers 2015a,b) have shown a large gap between language policy and linguistic practice in Flemish educational settings. In spite of the strictly monolingual language-in-education policy in Flanders, teachers seem to be taking liberties with those strict norms: Nonstandard features are used quite frequently in Flemish classrooms (Delarue 2011, 2013). The diverse ways in which Flemish teachers discursively bridge this gap between policy (being “standard language guardians”) and practice (using nonstandard variants when teaching) are very revealing of how teachers shape their identities. In this paper, we use semistructured interview data from 82 Flemish primary and secondary school teachers (conducted by the first author of this paper). We analyze their discourses on the value and usefulness of Standard Dutch and other language varieties in classroom settings.

⁹⁹ The original Dutch quotes were *laks*, *geen taalprofessionals*, *taalamateurs*, *slordig*, and *onkundig*, and could be heard in the debate program *Reyers Laat* (VRT, November 3, 2014), read in *De Standaard* (November 8 and 10, 2014) or heard during a debate devoted to the topic on the yearly Book Fair in Antwerp, which also took place at the beginning of November 2014. In the same debates, sociolinguists who dared to oppose the sacrosanctity of Standard Dutch were called *warrig* ‘confused’, *zielig en emotioneel* ‘pathetic and emotional’, and *kneuterig provinciaal* ‘small-minded provincial’.

In order to do so, we first need to clarify a few key concepts, which have been extensively used within sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, discourse analysis, and social psychology, but have proven to be quite “slippery”. Section 8.2 therefore discusses widely used, yet diversely conceived, concepts such as *(standard) language ideology*, *identity* (or rather *identities*, in plural, see Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 381-382), *agency*, and *indexicality*. All these concepts are of importance here because they work together in the creation of teacher identities. In section 8.3, we outline our methodology and data analysis. In section 8.4, we use this framework to analyze and discuss a number of illustrative interview extracts. Our goal is to gain more insight into (i) how Flemish teachers perceive (the importance of) Standard Dutch and other, nonstandard varieties of Dutch, and (ii) how these perceptions shape teacher identities of authenticity, authority, and professionalism. Section 8.5 offers some conclusions and a discussion of the analysis.

8.2 On standard language ideology and identity

8.2.1 Standard language, standardization, and language ideology

The way we speak and write about language is a product of the culture we are part of, and that culture is imbued with language ideology (Bourdieu 1991, Agha 2003), a complex concept associated with different meanings. Following Gal (2006: 163), we define language ideologies (in plural) as follows:

[t]hose cultural presuppositions and metalinguistic notions that name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices, linking them to the political, moral and aesthetic positions of the speakers, and to the institutions that support those positions and practices.

In other words, specific language features entail specific presuppositions about the users of those language features (concerning the level of education, social class, etc.), hierarchizing those language features and varieties.

In a Flemish context, language ideologies are very important. As stressed in Blommaert and Verschueren 1998, language was an important nationalist motive in the battle for Dutch language rights in Flanders, and, as outlined above, discussions on language policy and language use in public domains (like the media and education) continue to stir up debate. The specific language ideology considered influential in Flanders, is the *standard language ideology* (SLI), an ideology which we, following Swann et al. 2004: 296, define as follows:

[a] metalinguistically articulated and culturally dominant belief that there is only one correct way of speaking (i.e. the standard language). The SLI leads to a general intolerance towards linguistic variation, and non-standard varieties in particular are regarded as ‘undesirable’ and ‘deviant’.

Many western languages and cultures know such a linguistic climate (Milroy 2001), generally instigated by Humanism and Renaissance in the 16th century, and the Enlightenment and Romanticism from the 17th century onwards (Bauman and Briggs 2003).

In Flanders, the standard language ideology has been very influential in the standardization of Dutch (see section 8.1.1). According to Jaspers and Van Hoof 2013, Flanders even knew a period of hyperstandardization from 1950 until 1980, “involving a fiercely propagandistic, large-scale, extensively broadcasted, scientifically supported and enduring ideologization of language use in all corners of Flemish society” (2013: 332). During that period of extreme linguistic purification, an almost complete assimilation to the northern standard norm was pursued (except for pronunciation, where divergence from Northern Dutch was allowed). The Flemish media contributed actively to this massive propaganda by giving linguists the opportunity to address their audience and spread their views. Almost every newspaper in Flanders had a daily column to help Flemings gain proficiency in the northern standard language, and radio and television channels broadcasted language-related programs. With Standard Dutch being part of the mission of the Dutch-speaking public broadcasting channel VRT, linguists kept close control over the language used by presenters of radio and television programs, and programs dedicated specifically to Standard Dutch were broadcasted in prime time (Van Hoof 2013). In schools, Standard Dutch was heavily promoted as well, by the means of so-called *ABN kernen* ‘ABN clubs’, youth clubs, where the main “good deed” was to fanatically spread the use of Standard Dutch.¹⁰⁰ As Willemyns (2013) indicates, these youngsters, after becoming parents, started to socialize their children into Standard Dutch and paved the way for the massive wave of dialect loss that was soon noticed. The Flemish media and schools were thus the two main public institutions where Standard Dutch was enforced and reproduced.

The standard language ideology has led to specific perceptions of and attitudes toward Standard Dutch and toward speakers of Standard Dutch in Flanders. Standard Dutch is evaluated as correct, superior, and civilized (see Lybaert 2014a), and speakers typically score highly for status- and prestige-related characteristics, with “power”, “superiority”, and “influence” as key concepts (for example, Deprez 1981, Vandekerckhove 2000, Van Bezooijen 2004, Impe and Speelman 2007, Ghyselen 2010, Grondelaers and Van Hout

¹⁰⁰ *ABN* stands for *Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands*, which can be rendered in English as ‘General Cultivated Dutch’, although others speak of ‘General Civilised Dutch’ or ‘General Educated Dutch’ (see Willemyns 2013:143).

2010). Standard Dutch is perceived as the most appropriate variety for (very) formal and prestigious situations (Lybaert 2014a), as a symbol of intelligence and schooling, and as a variety that must be taught and requires an amount of effort (Geerts et al. 1980; Impe and Speelman 2007; Ghyselen 2010; Lybaert 2014a, 2015).

Recent societal changes such as informalization, democratization (Fairclough 1992), globalization, immigration, and feelings of antiauthority—changes, which are typical of what Giddens (1991) refers to as the present-day era of “Late Modernity”—influence the position of the standard language and standard language ideology in Europe (compare Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003a), including in Flanders. The research group *Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe* (SLICE; Kristiansen and Coupland 2011, Kristiansen and Grondelaers 2013), which focuses on variation in spoken language use in a European context, distinguishes between two possible scenarios for changes in the standard language. The first is demotization, whereby “the ‘standard ideology’ as such stays intact, while the valorization of ways of speaking changes” (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28). The second is destandardization, whereby “the established standard language loses its position as the one and only ‘best language’” (Coupland and Kristiansen 2011: 28).

In regard to Flanders, the dominance of *tussentaal* and the limited use of standard Dutch seem to be indicative of changing language standards (De Caluwe 2006, Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011b). However, the (future) status of the standard language ideal and the position of *tussentaal* are subject to much debate. Grondelaers et al. (2011) consider the destandardization scenario to be the most probable (see also Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a). They say that the present Flemish language situation is best described as a “standard language vacuum” because the uniform, Northern Dutch-inspired standard language is hardly ever spoken in reality, and therefore cannot be considered the norm. For Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a: 219), the “highest” nonvirtual level of Standard Belgian Dutch can be equated with the speech of Belgian teachers, a form of standard Dutch with a regional accent. However, speaker evaluation experiments have shown that none of the regional accents were evaluated as the most prestigious by all the informants, and *tussentaal* was not evaluated in positive terms either. This has led Grondelaers and Van Hout (2011a: 236) to conclude that “[t]here is [...] no vital standard variety of Belgian Dutch either from the production or from the perception point of view” (compare Willemyns 2007, Van der Horst 2008, Grondelaers et al. 2011).

According to Van Hoof 2013, however, the destandardization scenario is unlikely. Her research on language use in TV fiction shows a movement toward less dialect and Standard Dutch, and more *tussentaal*. This evolution should be considered as a sign of a “mixed ideological field” (compare the terminology of Coupland and Kristiansen 2011): an area of tension between the established standard language ideology and an alternative behavioral ideology, in which nonstandard language forms are gaining prestige in some contexts (Van Hoof 2013: 104-106). According to Van Hoof (2013), this area of tension

exhibits signs of late or high standardization, by analogy with more large-scale sociological analyses of modernity (Giddens 1991, Bauman 2000). The standard language will encounter more and more pressure, and Van Hoof (2013) observes a reconfiguration of indexical values: Some indexical associations are gaining strength, while others are weakening. Standardization and vernacularization tendencies have always been operative, but since the nineties they seem to be more complex than before.

Research by Lybaert (2014a, 2015) on the reported perceptions and attitudes of Flemings toward supraregional language variation in Flanders shows comparable results. While Standard Dutch is still considered the superior variety, a large number of the informants do not think this variety should be spoken in many situations. Instead, nonstandard language variation is considered appropriate for more informal situations; in formal and public situations, speakers' attempts to use less dialect and more standard features are valued highly. Lybaert (2014a: 157) has called this an "ideology of situational diglossia": In more formal and/or public situations, speakers need to "make an effort" by using (intended) Standard Dutch, whereas they can "talk like they are used to" in informal and/or private situations.

Finally, Grondelaers and Speelman (2013) also formulated a hypothesis on evolutions in language ideologies in Flanders. By analogy with the language situation in Denmark (see Kristiansen 2001, Grondelaers and Kristiansen 2013), Grondelaers and Speelman (2013: 184) think the dominance of *tussentaal* in Flanders is supported by progressive ideologies with dynamism as a key concept: "Tussentaal speakers (know they) are perceived as trendy and assertive by their fellow speakers." In a matched-guise experiment, two audio fragments with some lexical *tussentaal* features were considered to be dynamic by the informants. On the basis of the research results, Grondelaers and Speelman (2013: 184-185) conclude that two ideological systems can be distinguished in Flanders:

We propose that the core of both is the conservative standard language ideology, and that this ideology exists in a public and a private format. Whereas the public ideology is for the most part common knowledge—albeit at different levels of specificity—the private version is more variable because it is entrenched in, and informed by personal value systems which pertain to, among others, matters of *identity* ('to what extent do I regard myself as Belgian or Flemish, as Dutch-speaking or Flemish-speaking?'), *conformity* ('what is the distance between what I know I should do and what I want to do?'), and *comfort* ('what is the distance between what I know I should do and what I am comfortable with?'). The answer to these questions determines how close private ideologies are to the public version.

Grondelaers and Speelman (2013) thus make a distinction between a public and a private version of the traditional standard language ideology, taking into account personal value systems.

8.2.2 Identity, agency, and indexicality

When referring to these personal value systems, Grondelaers and Speelman (2013) indicate that (private) standard language ideologies are strongly linked to identity. Their conception of identity focuses on group membership, that is, whether Dutch-speaking Belgians regard themselves as primarily Belgian or Flemish, in line with the literal meaning of identity: “sameness”. However, sameness alone is not sufficient to talk about identity construction, as identity also needs difference: “[I]dentities can only function as points of identification and attachment *because* of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render ‘outside’, abjected” (Hall 2000: 17-18). In that view, identities are constructed by the interplay of sameness (what we adopt from others, leading to group membership and conformity) and difference (which drives us toward autonomy and making our own choices). Sameness and difference are not mutually exclusive but are present simultaneously in every individual. However, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 598) want to “call into question the widespread but oversimplified view of identity relations as revolving around a single axis: sameness and difference.” Identity is a far more complex and dynamic notion, they argue.

In the traditional scholarly view, identity is considered to be “housed primarily within an individual mind” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587), tying in with the structuralist approach to identity and subjectivity, where the subject is understood as “a real thing, with a fixed structure operating in knowable and predictable patterns” (Mansfield 2000: 9). Hall strongly criticizes this notion of the subject as “a self-sustaining entity” (2000:15); he adopts a poststructuralist view, in which identity is “a construction, a process never completed—always ‘in process’” (2000: 16).

The complexity of identity is mirrored in the diversity of definitions of the concept. In this paper, we take on Bucholtz and Hall’s (2005: 586) “deliberately broad and open-ended” definition: “Identity is the social positioning of self and other.” This definition may seem deceptively simple, but it is powerful in that it strongly implies a discursive take on identity. Instead of being a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories, identity is considered to be a relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction (*ibid.*). In order to fully grasp the complexity of identity as a concept, we need to discuss a few aspects of it in more detail.

First, identities emerge from social interaction. Identities are not individually produced or assigned in an a priori fashion, but are interactionally emergent (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587). In the poststructuralist sense, identity is a discursive construct: Sameness and difference are phenomenological notions that arise from social interaction. Foucault already points out in his early “archeological” work that “not a theory of the knowing subject, but rather a theory of discursive practice” (1973: 172) is required. This knowing subject no longer plays a central, unmediated role, but is produced “as an effect” through

and within discourse (Hall 2000: 23). In other words, Foucault insists on a reversal of the subject-statement relationship: The subject has to conform to the conditions dictated by the statement before (s)he can become a speaker of it. From a Foucauldian perspective, discourse prevails over human agency. An implication of this subject-statement reversal might be that the acquisition of social identities is a process of immersion into discursive practice, and of being subjected to discursive practice. For example, becoming a teacher is a process, in which novices gradually adopt and subject themselves to the multiple modes of speaking and writing available in professional contexts.

That means that identities are not attributes of individuals or groups, but are inherent in situations: “As the product of situated social action, identities may shift and recombine to meet new circumstances” (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 376). At the same time, this constitution of identities through social action does not exclude the possibility that resources for identity at work in a given interaction derive from resources developed in earlier interactions (compare Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 588): They may also draw on “structure” (for example, ideology, the linguistic system, or the relation between the two).¹⁰¹

Second, identities are fractured, discontinuous, and partial. As a consequence of their discursive and situational nature, identities are dispersed. Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 374) therefore challenge the classic view of “social identities ... as clearly delineated from one another, internally homogeneous, and linked to discursive linguistic practices.” Instead, identities are fragmented and discontinuous, leading to an equally fragmented social subject that is no longer “whole”, “true,” or “unique.” This view on identities as fractured (Zembylas 2005: 938) automatically follows from the interactional and contextual take on identity as a concept (compare Visweswaran 1994): Because identities are inherently relational, they will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of the self and the other. This ties in with what Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 606) refer to as the “partialness principle”:

Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of

¹⁰¹ Whether or not there is a strong link between identity and agency is a topic of heavy debate. In his short paper on the concept of identity, Kroskrity (2000: 113) stresses that identities are “not ... essentially given, but ... actively produced—whether through deliberate, strategic manipulation or through out-of-awareness practices.” However, some social scientists have made objection to this “constructivist approach to identity” (ibid.), arguing that the freedom to manipulate a flexible system of identities is far from absolute, as some identities (race or caste, for example) are imposed and coercively applied. Kroskrity (2000: 113) immediately responds to these objections by emphasizing that political-economic factors cannot be seen as utterly determinative and top-down. At the same time, however, he stresses that any approach to identity should take into account “both the communicative freedom potentially available at the microlevel and the political-economic constraints imposed on processes of identity-making” (ibid.). In identity research, this complex relationship between human agency and social structure is one of the focal points: Although identities can be regulated by social norms or ideologies, human agents’ actions and investments play a pivotal role (Zembylas 2005, Norton 2010).

interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts.

Third, identities are multiple. As identities are discursive, situational, and thus partial, they are also multiple. An individual can enact more than one single identity in a given (discursive) context, depending on the relationships, interactions, and identifications one chooses to foreground: language, ethnicity, gender, social class, etc. (Porto 2013: 104). Furthermore, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) stress that identities do not emerge at a single analytic level (for example, vowel quality, turn shape, code choice, or ideological structure) but operate at multiple levels simultaneously. These "varied dimensions of identity" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:607) present a challenge for identity researchers, who can only shed light on some of these dimensions, but every partial account can be a contribution to a broader understanding of identity.

Fourth, identities are dynamic and unstable. Identification is a never completed construction that is always "in process" (Hall 2000: 16). As "the self is continuously constituted, never completed, never fully coherent, never completely centered securely in experience" (Zembylas 2005: 938), identities can also never be fixed, stable, or permanent (Alexander et al. 2014: 406). Identities do not signal a stable core of the self that always remains the same, and is identical to itself across time: They are "constantly in the process of change and transformation" (Hall 2000: 17). This dynamic, unstable nature of identities follows logically from viewing identity as a "quintessentially social phenomenon" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 377): People carry with them the identities they created for themselves, and these are modified and restructured by later experiences. Identities change with every social interaction, with every discursive event. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall argue that identity needs to be approached as a relational and dynamic sociocultural phenomenon, "rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (2005: 586).

From this poststructuralist belief that identities are multiple, social, dynamic, and discursive, it is clear that language plays an essential role as "a carrier and shaper of individual and group identities" (Guiora 2005: 185). Kroskrity (2000) even defines identity solely from a linguistic perspective, as "the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups or categories" (2000: 111). However, this definition does not imply that nonlinguistic criteria are not significant; indeed, linguistic resources are often key in defining group membership: "[A]mong the many symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, language is the most flexible and pervasive" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 369).

These linguistic resources can come from particular languages or linguistic forms (for example, the standard or the local dialect). However, identities can also be constructed by means of communicative practices that are indexed, through members' normative use, to

their group. INDEXICALITY, “the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594), plays a key role in identity formation: Linguistic forms are semiotically linked to social meanings (Silverstein 1985, Ochs 1992). For example, standard language represents the need for a shared language and the common identity it is supposed to embody; it is called for by nationalists and advocates for nation-states in order to create a common, national identity (Kroskrity 2000).

Ideological structures, therefore, play an important role in indexicality and in identity formation, for associations between language and identity are deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and values about which (groups of) speakers can or should produce particular sorts of language (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). As was already discussed in 8.1, the ideological sensitivity of standard language has proven to be quite vigorous in Flanders, and the social meanings attached to (perceived) nonstandard features are heavily marked. This is especially true when such features are used in (institutional) contexts where the use of the (unmarked) standard language norm is expected, such as the media and—the context we focus on in this paper—education.

8.2.3 Teacher identities

In recent years, questions related to teacher identity have received significant attention within educational research (Weber and Mitchell 1995, Danielewicz 2001, Miller Marsh 2002). The poststructuralist theorizations of identity described above have contributed to the deconstruction of many assumptions about teacher identity. As a result, teacher identities have come to be regarded “as being more contingent and fragile than previously thought and thus open for re-construction” (Zembylas 2005:936).

In order to gain more insight into these teacher identities, researchers need to focus on the key role of discourse (Alexander et al. 2014: 406): Through their participation in discourses on a macro and meso level (that is, government versus school), teachers construct, modify, and deconstruct their identities. To do so, they choose among various discourses available to them, or act to resist those discourses. In this light, Zembylas (2005) introduces the Foucauldian notion of resistance, “a form of risk taking that is an important part of how teachers come to understand their professional identity” (Reio 2005: 987). According to Foucault (1990: 95), wherever there is domination or power, there is also resistance, and agency is derived from this interplay between power and resistance (Zembylas 2005: 938). From a Foucauldian perspective, teachers come to understand their identities through acts of resistance and consent (Zembylas 2005: 946). Resistance has several goals: It functions as a defense against vulnerability, and at the same time as an assertion of power in the face of impositions (compare Boler 1999). In order to study teacher identities, it is therefore key to examine teachers’ dominant and/or resistant discourses.

In this paper, we take this idea one step further: Instead of studying teachers' language use in the classroom (discourse), we analyze sociolinguistic interviews about their (standard) language perceptions (metadiscourse) in order to shed more light on the multiple (linguistic) identities they construct. The interview setting allows us to discursively contrast teachers' reported perceptions with other (dominant) beliefs or discourses, such as those expressed in the Flemish governmental language-in-education policy documents (Vandenbroucke 2007, Smet 2011). These documents present Standard Dutch as the only language variety appropriate for school contexts, both inside and outside of the classroom.

In the interviews, teachers have the chance to reflect on these policy demands: They can resist (in the Foucauldian sense) or consent to these demands, taking into account both their own language use in the classroom (and perceptions thereof) and the high expectations (and strong sensitivities) in Flemish society concerning standard language use (see section 8.1.2). Both agency and structure thus play a crucial role in shaping (teacher) identities, showing that it is necessary to “undo the false dichotomy between structure and agency that has long plagued social theory” (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 607). Structure and agency are intertwined: Large-scale social structures only come into being through discursive interaction, and every single everyday interaction is impinged upon by ideological and material constructs (see Ahearn 2001).

8.3 A Flemish case study: data collection, methodology, analysis

In order to gain more insight into how teacher identities can be constructed, this section presents a case study of Flemish teachers' metalinguistic behavior. Using the framework outlined in the previous section, a number of illustrative interview extracts are analyzed and discussed. Our goal is to gain more insight into how Flemish teachers perceive (the importance of) Standard Dutch and other, nonstandard varieties of Dutch, and to shed more light on how these language perceptions shape various teacher identities. After a quick look at the research methodology and data analysis in this section, we discuss three typical teacher identities that emerge from the interview data: identities of authenticity, authority, and professionalism (section 8.4).

For the analyses in this paper, interview data from the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language (CFTL) are used (see Delarue 2014). The CFTL corpus was compiled between October 2012 and February 2014 by the first author of this paper, and it contains speech data of 82 Flemish teachers, teaching in 21 primary and secondary schools in 10 different

cities: the five Flemish province capitals (Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, Leuven, and Hasselt), as well as five smaller regional cities (Ypres, Eeklo, Turnhout, Vilvoorde, and Beringen), which attract people from the surrounding communities for school, work, shopping, or leisure activities (see Figure 21).

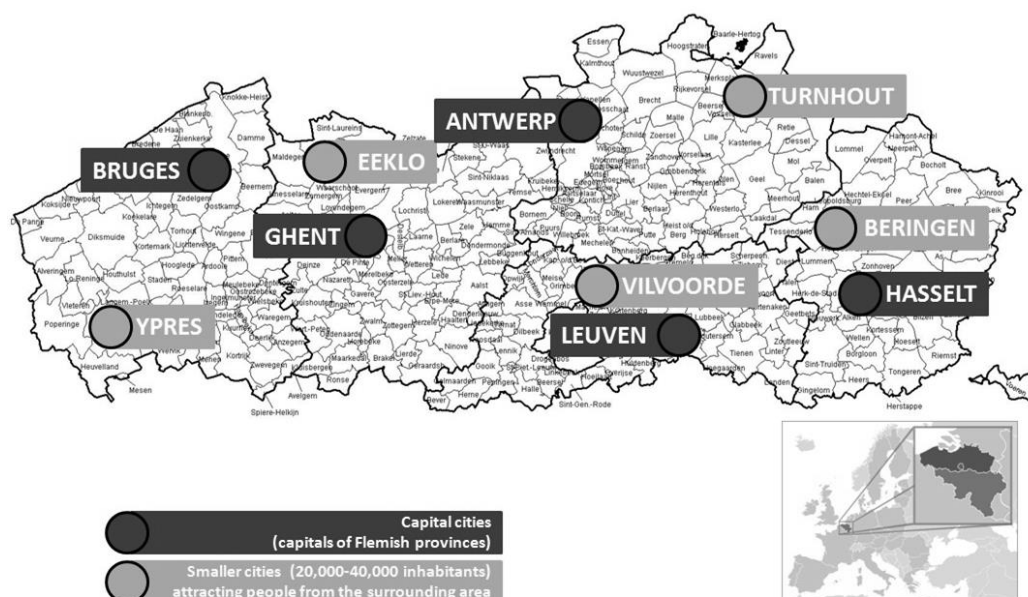


Figure 21: Map of Flanders: The ten cities included in the Corpus of Flemish Teachers' Language

The schools participating in this study were all Catholic schools, to rule out potential differences between schools from different educational networks.¹⁰² The teachers themselves were recruited on the basis of their willingness to co-operate; there were no specific requirements as to gender, age, region of birth, or current residence. In spite of this quite random selection, informants were distributed fairly evenly over the different demographic categories. Fifty nine percent of the teachers in the corpus are female (n=48), and 41% are male (n=34).¹⁰³ The spread of the informants over different age groups is quite even as well, with 14 teachers in their 20s, 29 in their 30s, 22 in their 40s and 17 teachers older than 50.

¹⁰² Earlier studies have not shown any significant differences between (the quality of) education offered by Flemish Catholic schools on the one hand and state schools on the other (compare Van Houtte 2003 on academic achievement; Van Houtte 2004 on social capital; and Devos and Van Vooren 2010 on grammatical knowledge). Yet this school network factor was held constant, to avoid the possibility that the school network might influence the language use and/or language perceptions of teachers.

¹⁰³ In comparison, the most recent figures show that over 73% of all primary and secondary school teachers in Flanders are female (Department of Education and Training 2015: 5), a number that has increased significantly over the last few years. Why this feminization of education is not (or only slightly) mirrored in our corpus, is unclear. A possible explanation could be that male teachers can be convinced more easily to take part in (linguistic) research, while female teachers tend to refrain from having classroom visitors.

One informant characteristic was specifically controlled for during selection: In order to investigate whether the teachers' language use was influenced by the age of the pupils in their classrooms, the teachers were divided into three groups. The first group, totaling roughly a quarter of all the teachers involved in the corpus (n=18), taught 6th grade of primary school. The other two groups were secondary school teachers, teaching 3rd grade (n=31) and 6th grade (n=33) of general secondary education (*ASO* or *Algemeen Secundair Onderwijs*). In the secondary schools included in the research, teachers of Dutch were selected, as well as teachers of other school subjects (for example, Mathematics, History, Geography, Physics), as long as the subjects were taught in Dutch.

The corpus contains two types of speech data for each of the 82 teacher-informants: lesson recordings and sociolinguistic interviews. During these (semistructured) interviews, four key topics were addressed: (i) an assessment of (the language use of) the pupils; (ii) the education and teacher training of the teacher, and the attention that was given to Standard Dutch; (iii) the knowledge of and views on language-in-education policy, both on a governmental and on a school level; (iv) the personal linguistic background and the language-related expectations for him/herself and other teachers. For the purposes of this paper, the first and the last two parts of the interviews presented us with particularly interesting perspectives.

After transcribing all of the (audio-recorded) interviews, the transcripts were coded and analyzed with the aid of NVivo software, following the principles of thematic analysis (Boyatzis 1998, Braun and Clarke 2006).¹⁰⁴ We first read and reread the transcripts, in order to become familiar with the data. Then, codes (for example, labels such as *language degeneration*, *correctness*, *intelligibility*) were ascribed to meaningful text units. After coding several interviews in this inductive way, the code list was compared critically with the content of the interview transcripts, to ensure the validity and reliability of the coding procedure. Codes were grouped together, and we searched for themes among them. In this paper, we discuss three of these themes, which were prevalent in the interviews, and which can be identified as discursively constructed teacher identities. To illustrate these identities of authenticity, authority, and professionalism, representative and relevant quotes were selected.

¹⁰⁴ It is important to note that this particular approach has been chosen deliberately. The significant overlap among many approaches in qualitative research may encourage a generic view of qualitative research as a whole. However, there are clear differences between these approaches (compare Smith 2000, Given 2008, Vaismoradi et al. 2013). For this study, thematic analysis was chosen, not only because of its flexibility and accessibility, but also because it offers a rich and detailed account of a complex data set (Vaismoradi et al. 2013: 403). Both thematic analysis and content analysis (which differs from thematic analysis in allowing for quantitative measures, for example, counting the codes as an indicator of their prevalence) are often stereotypically rendered "the easiest research approaches within qualitative methodologies." However, the fundamental character of these approaches does not mean that they necessarily produce simple and low quality findings. Provided that the researcher stays reflective, frequently reviews the data from different perspectives, and follows the stages of data analysis, thematic analysis can offer a deeper understanding of particular phenomena or social action (DeSantis and Noel Ugarizza 2000).

8.4 Three teacher identities: authenticity, authority, professionalism

Before we turn to the discussion of three key identities found in interviews with Flemish teachers, it is important to stress that the different types of teacher identity presented here are neither exclusive nor singular. Individual teachers, as social actors, can experience the multiplicity and interactivity of these different identities (compare Kroskrity 2000: 112). Although the three themes presented here are prevalent in the interview corpus, we explicitly do not want to generalize from this case study to all (Flemish) teachers. Instead, we want to identify those aspects that are in need of further exploration.

8.4.1 Authenticity

In the introduction to this paper, we already discussed the gap that appears to exist in Flanders between language-in-education policy (“Standard Dutch only”) and linguistic practice (the frequent use of nonstandard features in most Flemish classrooms). During the interviews, most of the teachers stress the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom contexts, but at the same time, they usually assess their own language use as an attempt to speak Standard Dutch, containing a certain number of nonstandard (that is, *tussentaal*/dialect) features. The teacher-informants try to justify that discrepancy by using a number of strategies (see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016 for a more detailed analysis of these strategies). One of them is the claim that Standard Dutch limits fluency and spontaneity in the classroom. Teachers who use this strategy claim that speaking Standard Dutch does not allow them to “be themselves,” and forces them to “play a part” when teaching. Instead of emphasizing their authoritative and hierarchically superior position vis-à-vis pupils, they focus on their own personality, which needs to be reflected in their teacher identity. In extract 1, primary school teacher Frederic denounces the way some of his colleagues patronize their pupils by speaking strict Standard Dutch—for example, they use the standard form of the 2nd person singular pronoun *je/jij* ‘you’ instead of the more colloquial *ge/gij* ‘you’.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The forms *je* and *ge* are unstressed pronouns, while *jij* and *gij* are both stressed.

Extract 1

Frederic, M, 32, primary school teacher, Ghent¹⁰⁶

INT: is 't een probleem als je aan iemand hoort vanwaar die afkomstig is?

Frederic: neen

INT: dus dat regionale mag daar zeker in zitten

Frederic: ja

INT: ok . en trekt u voor uzelf dan dezelfde grens als voor leerlingen?

Frederic: . ik denk het wel . omdat ik vind dat een taal ook . te maken heeft met . met authenticiteit . en . ik vind het heel moeilijk . als ik soms de andere leerkrachten .. bijvoorbeeld hoor praten tegen kinderen . vanuit een betuttelende vorm dan ga je . taal als je ook . met de je en . dan . dan neem je precies een rol in . en ben je niet meer jezelf .

INT: uhu

Frederic: euhm ok dan het taalgebruik . is goed . maar . als je dan je taal zodanig gaat aanpassen op het kind dan . dan is 't authentieke weg en dan komt uw boodschap minder over . dan . dan is dat precies alsof je ja . is dat euh

INT: dus dat het authentieke en . en die persoonlijkheid dat kan niet . in Algemeen Nederlands of veel minder

Frederic: .. dat kan ook maar dat moet dan in . in

INT: is . is ja

Frederic: in u zitten

INT: dan in de strikte zin van Algemeen Nederlands niet zoals u ze definieert

Frederic: echt Al . als ik Algemeen Nederlands zie in . in de zin van de taal die in het journaal gesproken wordt . euhm .. ja dat zou voor mij heel kunstig . overkomen . en

INT: uhu

Frederic: allez moest ik dat doen .. euhm ja

INT: omdat dat niet in uw persoonlijkheid zit?

Frederic: .. als ik mezelf ben dan praat ik zoals dat ik nu tegen u praat

INT: uhu

Frederic: en . dan . anders zou ik te veel nadenken van . mag ik dat op die manier hoe moet 'k dat zeggen en . dan zijde niet meer bezig met . met de boodschap die je brengt maar de manier waarop de boodschap gebracht wordt

INT: is it a problem that you can recognise where someone is from by hearing his speech?

Frederic: no

¹⁰⁶ These interview extracts were slightly adjusted: because the content prevails here, phonological deletions (e.g., *nie* 'not' instead of *niet*, *ik eb* 'I have' instead of *ik heb*) were conformed to Standard Dutch. However, nonstandard forms of morphosyntactic or lexical nature are unaltered. In the text, pauses are expressed by dots, going from one dot (.) for short breaks, to three dots (...) for long breaks.

INT: so there can be a regional element in there for sure

Frederic: yeah

INT: ok . and do you draw the line for yourself in the same place as you do for your pupils?

Frederic: . I think so . because I feel that language has also . to do with . with authenticity . and . it's really hard for me . if I hear the other teachers sometimes .. for example talking to children . in a patronising way then you are . language if you too . with the *je* 'you' and . then . then you seem to be playing a part . and you're no longer yourself

INT: uhu

Frederic: uhm ok then the language use . is ok . but . when you're adjusting your language in such a way to the child then . then the authenticity is gone and then you can convey your message less . then . then it's precisely as you yeah . is that uhm

INT: so that the authenticity and . and that personality that's not possible . in Standard Dutch or much less so

Frederic: .. it's possible too but then it has to in .

INT: is . is yeah

Frederic: be in you

INT: then not in the strict sense of Standard Dutch like you define it

Frederic: really Stan . if I see Standard Dutch in the . in the sense of the language that is spoken in the news broadcast . uhm .. yeah that would come across as very . artificial . and

INT: uhu

Frederic: well if I would do that . uhm yeah

INT: because it's not in your personality?

Frederic: .. when I'm myself I talk like I am talking to you now

INT: uhu

Frederic: and . then . otherwise I would be thinking too much of . can I say that in that way how should I say that and . then you're no longer thinking about . about the message you are trying to convey about the way that message is brought

Frederic feels that by focusing on adhering to the standard as closely as possible, teachers cannot create authentic classroom contexts and instead start “playing a part,” which makes it hard(er) for them to convey their message. It is far from coincidental that he uses the opposition between standard *je/jij* ‘you’ and nonstandard *ge/gij* ‘you’ to illustrate this: It is “one of the clearest exponents of the (nonstandard) Flemish Dutch” (Vandekerckhove 2004: 981, our translation).

In her study on how laymen perceive *tussentaal* features, Lybaert (2014b: 199) comes to the same conclusion, pointing out that the *ge/gij*-system is a relatively salient linguistic feature. It is intriguing to see that in this extract, Frederic rejects the use of the standard forms *je/jij*, but at the same time uses *je/jij* in his discourse: “dan ga *je* taal als *je* ook . met de ‘je’ en . dan . dan neem *je* precies een rol in . en ben *je* niet meer *jezelf*.” A possible

explanation for this apparent contradiction could be that Frederic tries to speak more standard/formal in this interview setting than he would do in the classroom, talking to pupils. In the interview, he speaks hesitantly, with frequent pauses, which seems to support this explanation. At the end of extract 1, however, he explicitly denies any form of linguistic discomfort (“when I’m myself, I talk like I am talking to you now”), which could imply that he is either downplaying his discomfort, or that his discomfort only concerns the content of the interview, and not the language use.

In the second part of extract 1, Frederic hastens to retract his statement that speaking Standard Dutch means patronizing pupils and leads to nonauthentic classroom contexts: Authenticity can also be reached by standard-speaking teachers, but only if speaking Standard Dutch does not require any effort (compare Lybaert 2014a). Otherwise, teachers have to think constantly about *how* they are saying something, instead of focusing on the message they want to convey, while the latter seems to be taking priority for most teachers in our corpus (see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016).

In extract 2, chemistry teacher Amber refers to the same feature as Frederic did in the previous extract: the 2nd person singular pronoun *je* ‘you’. To Amber, using the *je/jij*-form sounds “very unnatural,” and it does not allow her to teach “in an authentic way” and to stay true to herself.

Extract 2

Amber, F, 45, chemistry teacher, Hasselt

Amber: voor mij klinkt dat heel onnatuurlijk en ik kan daar niet .. en . ja ik vind het nog altijd belangrijker om authentiek voor een klas te staan en te zijn wie ik ben .. dan iemand te zijn allez ja die wel misschien heel juist praat maar .. ja . dan . dan is ‘t veel moeilijker om de band te krijgen met de leerlingen

Amber: for me it sounds really unnatural and I cannot .. and . yeah I still think it's more important to teach a class in an authentic way and to be who I am .. than to be someone well yeah who maybe talks in a very correct manner but .. yeah . then . then it's much harder to get a connection with the pupils

Note how linguistic and pedagogical elements are closely linked in teachers’ interview discourses. For example, teachers such as Frederic and Amber choose to use *ge* ‘you’ instead of *je* ‘you’ because they want to come across as teachers who stand close to their pupils and have a strong connection with them, not (or not solely) because it is a feature that indexes authenticity. In light of Coupland’s (2003, 2007) model of authenticity, presupposing an automatic link between nonstandard (that is, regionally or socially colored) variants or varieties and authenticity can be seen as problematic. In his model, Coupland (2003: 420) distinguishes between ESTABLISHMENT AUTHENTICITIES (which seem

to tie in with the SLI discussed earlier) and VERNACULAR AUTHENTICITIES.¹⁰⁷ He points out that the dominant sociolinguistic agenda is to defend the latter, while opposing the former. Important here is that Coupland's concept of establishment authenticities shows that not only vernacular, but also standard features can be seen as authentic.

The establishment and vernacular sets of authenticities entail a different view on authenticity as a concept, with a more authoritarian perspective in the former (that is, what is proper), and a more egalitarian perspective in the latter (that is, what is rightfully ours). The teachers in our corpus, however, only refer to authenticity from this egalitarian perspective, as is also clear from the two extracts above: For Amber (extract 2), being authentic means "to be who I am," and Frederic (extract 1) stresses that once you change your language for the child (that is, switch to the standard), the authenticity goes out the window.

The question why teachers fail to see Standard Dutch as an authentic language variety can probably be answered by looking at Flanders' (historically) problematic relationship with the exoglossic standard (see section 8.1.1): Instead of starting an autonomous Flemish standardization process, an exogenous norm was adopted, and Flemings were expected to learn a foreign language. To this day, Standard Dutch is generally considered as a variety only spoken in certain formal situations. This phenomenon is commonly referred to as the "best-suit" mentality of Flemish speakers: They are convinced you actually need one, but only wear it for special occasions and feel uncomfortable wearing it (Geeraerts 2001).

The teachers in our study struggle to identify with Standard Dutch as well. In extracts 3 and 4, two Dutch language teachers emphasize that Standard Dutch is not their mother tongue, and that, as a consequence, they do not expect their pupils to adhere to it either. For Marie (extract 3), it is downright "utopian" to expect pupils to speak Standard Dutch in all classroom contexts—even in Dutch language classes. To illustrate this, she explicitly refers to the 2nd personal singular pronoun *je* (similarly to the teachers in extracts 1 and 2), and to the deletion of final-*t* in short function words (colloquial *nie* 'not' instead of standard *niet*, *da* 'that' instead of standard *dat*).

Simon, another Dutch language teacher, agrees on the "foreign" nature of Standard Dutch. In the second part of extract 4, he explicitly compares speaking Standard Dutch in Flanders to speaking French with someone from Wallonia, the French-speaking part of Belgium. He states that it is impossible for him to express himself as well as he would be able to in his everyday vernacular. Note that while Marie boldly states that Standard Dutch is not her mother tongue, Simon does leave a little "wiggle room" in his statements on Standard Dutch as a foreign language: Regarding the pupils, he states that the standard "is **sort of a** foreign language" (but at the same time he stresses the *is*), and further on, the standard is "a foreign language **for so many people**."

¹⁰⁷ Coupland states that when talking about authenticity in a sociolinguistic context, it gradually becomes more important to talk of competing authenticities (in plural).

Extract 3

Marie, F, 25, Dutch language teacher, Vilvoorde

INT: . wat voor taalgebruik verwacht u van leerlingen? hoe zou het moeten zijn?

Marie: goh ja 't is natuurlijk een utopie om van hen te vragen om ook in de les Nederlands met *je* en *jij* en *dat* en *niet* te praten want ja ik doe het zelf ook niet heel de tijd . euhm . omdat het ja ook mijn moedertaal niet is ja

INT: . what kind of language use do you expect from pupils? how should it be?

Marie: uhm yeah it's of course utopian to expect them to use in Dutch language classes je 'you' and jij 'you' and dat 'that' and niet 'not' because yeah I don't do it all the time either . uhm . because it yeah it's not my mother tongue either yeah

Extract 4

Simon, M, 37, Dutch language teacher, Turnhout

Simon: dus ik heb ik euh ik heb graag euh veel dynamiek in de les ik heb graag dat de leerlingen veel spreken maar dat is net zoals bij een vreemde taal . want eigenlijk is standaardtaal voor hen dan een soort van vreemde taal

...

INT: want voorstanders van dit beleid of . of die beleidsvraag zeggen van ja in standaardtaal kun je evengoed spontaan zijn en alles doen wat je nu doet in iets wat . wat wat geen standaardtaal is

Simon: ja dat ge . daar geloof ik dus eigenlijk niet in . omdat de standaardtaal voor zoveel mensen een vreemde taal is . als ik nu . in gesprek ben met . met iemand uit Wallonië . dan zal ik mij onmogelijk zo spontaan kunnen uitdrukken als in mijn eigen taal . in . in mijn eigen spreektaal

Simon: so I uhm I like uhm a strong classroom dynamic I prefer that the pupils speak a lot but that's exactly like with a foreign language . because actually standard language is sort of a foreign language to them

...

INT: because advocates of this policy or . or this policy demand say that yeah in the standard you can be equally spontaneous and do everything you're doing now in something that . that that is not the standard language

Simon: yeah that you . well so I don't believe in that actually . because the standard is a foreign language for so many people . if I am . talking to . to someone from Wallonia . then I'll be unable to express myself as spontaneously as in my own language . in . in my own vernacular

For teachers like Simon, who desire a “strong classroom dynamic,” Standard Dutch just feels too distant and detached. In extract 4, Simon identifies two criteria in creating such a “strong” classroom context: *interaction* (pupils need to “speak a lot,” he wants to “express himself (...) spontaneously”) and *dynamism* (“classroom dynamic”). Standard Dutch scores low on both criteria: Due to its (perceived) foreign character, it is ill-equipped to foster interaction. Grondelaers and Speelman’s (2013) study mentioned in section 8.2.1 showed that *tussentaal* features score much higher on dynamism than standard features.

8.4.2 Authority

Teachers can also take on a more authoritative identity, through the use of linguistic markers of expertise, such as formal language or specialized jargon (Bucholtz and Hall 2004:386), or by adhering to the (formal) standard language as strictly as possible. In that case, Standard Dutch no longer remains the unmarked variety it is deemed to be in Flemish language-in-education policy documents (see section 8.1.2; Delarue and De Caluwe 2015), but instead becomes marked as an index of authority.

However, it is important to note that, just as authenticity cannot be linked exclusively to nonstandard features, authority is not reserved for standard features only: The authority of teachers is an omnipresent feature of classroom contexts that structures classroom life and order. Moreover, teachers can choose to linguistically articulate (“voice”) that authority by turning to the standard variety (see Milroy and Milroy 1985). In the Flemish context, with an exoglossic standard variety, authority becomes closely linked to distance: The standard can be used by teachers to discern themselves linguistically from their pupils (Delarue 2013: 212).

In extract 5a, History teacher Sylvie states that a certain distance is needed when teaching, more specifically in situations of instruction (as opposed to “lighter” classroom situations, for example, group work): then the teacher needs to be able to “teach his class,” and pupils need to “pay attention.” In those more formal situations, Sylvie appreciates a larger distance between teacher and pupils. The use of Standard Dutch helps to index that distance, and for Sylvie it “comes in handy” to underline her authoritative identity as a teacher.

Extract 5a

Sylvie, F, 26, History teacher, Ghent

Sylvie: euh wel maar in een lessituatie dan heb je ook een bepaalde afstand nodig want zij moeten opletten en jij moet uw les kunnen geven dus dan kan dat net bevorderlijk zijn maar 'k heb het over die tussenmomenten . en ook tijdens een lessituatie heb je soms ook momenten dat het allez bijvoorbeeld een groepswork of

. of of ja .. je hebt zo veel situaties maar in een lessituatie moet het dan toch in de eerste plaats waarschijnlijk wel standaardtaal ..

INT: dus die afstandelijkheid is daar net goed en geen bezwaar bijvoorbeeld

Sylvie: ja omdat je dan net uw . uw ja uw autoriteit moet bewaren in . tijdens de les en dan kan dat net van pas komen

Sylvie: uhm well but in a classroom setting you need a certain distance as well because they need to pay attention and you need to be able to teach your class so then it can be beneficial but I'm talking about those in-between moments . and also during a classroom situation sometimes you have moments that it well for example group work or . or or yeah .. you have so many situations but in a classroom situation it should probably in the first place still be standard language ..

INT: so that distance is ok there and not a difficulty for example

Sylvie: yeah because then you have to . your yeah keep your authority in . during class and then it can come in handy

In other school contexts, however, Sylvie worries that this distance can lead to a weakening teacher/pupil relationship. In extract 5b, she links Standard Dutch to detachment: Using the standard makes you sound “posh” and “solemn,” while in other contexts—Sylvie explicitly refers to field trips—it is important for pupils and teachers to bond with each other. Using the standard in those situations is far from beneficial: The distance indexed by Standard Dutch now is perceived as a burden, instead of an advantage (as was the case in extract 5a).

Extract 5b

Sylvie, F, 26, History teacher, Ghent

Sylvie: omdat euhm .. ja . ten eerste vind ik dat standaardtaal toch voor een bepaalde . ja afstand zorgt misschien omdat je dan . je gaat veel deftiger en plechtiger klinken en dan in een bepaalde situatie bijvoorbeeld op schoolreis is 't net de bedoeling dat leerlingen euhm met elkaar maar ook met leerkrachten een betere band krijgen en als je dan nog altijd die standaardtaal aanhoudt denk ik dat dat dan niet de . ja dat dat niet de . de sfeer niet ten bevordering komt (...)

Sylvie: because uhm .. yeah . to start I think that standard language still provides a certain . yeah distance maybe because then you . you sound a lot more posh and solemn and then in a certain situation for example during a fieldtrip it's exactly the intention for pupils to uhm bond with each other but also with the teachers and if you then still adhere to that standard then I think that that doesn't . yeah that that doesn't . boost the atmosphere (...)

Both extracts show that Sylvie's view on Standard Dutch is not without conflict: She wants to use the standard to express authority, thus creating a distance with her pupils, but simultaneously fears this distance, as it would not be beneficial to the classroom atmosphere.

8.4.3 Professionalism

A third teacher identity we want to discuss in this paper is an identity of professionalism. Teachers are perceived as education professionals (Reynolds 1995), and part of that professionalism lies in selecting the appropriate language varieties and variants.¹⁰⁸ In that respect, professionalism proves to be an interesting concept: The teachers in our corpus not only refer to the identity of professionalism to explain why they feel the need to adhere to the standard (see extract 6 below), but also use it as a legitimation to move away from this need to speak Standard Dutch at all times (see extract 8).

In extract 6, Thomas, a religion teacher, talks about how he often runs into his own pupils after class, on the tram or in the city. When asked about his language use in those after-school contexts, he stresses that he speaks the same to his pupils as while he is teaching, stating that it is important for a teacher “to stay as professional as always” and “to be a role model” for pupils. At the end of extract 6, Thomas states that teachers need to be aware of their exemplary role (that is, speak Standard Dutch), because making an exception to that rule could be punished severely. The story about a teacher, who talked to pupils using nonstandard language would “spread like wildfire,” and he would risk losing his authority—more specifically, the authority to address pupils when their language use is inappropriate. This indicates that for Thomas, professionalism and authority are not two mutually exclusive identities, but that they are coconstitutive: Being professional means not losing your (linguistic) authority.

Extract 6

Thomas, M, 34, (Catholic) religion teacher, Antwerp

INT: hoe praat u dan met hen? is dan anders . dan wanneer u in de les . tegen hen praat?

Thomas: nee nee nee

INT: da's 't zelfde

¹⁰⁸ By “appropriate” we refer to what teachers perceive as appropriate in a certain (classroom) context. Of course, this assessment can vary individually: Some teachers denounce all nonstandard language use as inappropriate in classroom settings, whereas others are far more lenient when it comes to vernacular language use (see Delarue 2013).

Thomas: dus als wij op de . op de tram zitten bijvoorbeeld he . want hier op . in Antwerpen kom je dan ((*lachend*)) heel vaak leerlingen tegen . nee dan vind ik . dan moet je professioneel blijven . da's een beetje 't zelfde als . euhm . stilstaan voor een rood licht . vanaf dat ik leerkracht ben .

(...)

dat ge zoiets hebt vanaf nu ben ik een voorbeeldfunctie . en . mocht ik daar enigszins een euh .. hoe zou ik zeggen . een uitzondering maken en die zou gezien zijn door ne leerling . dan gaat dat rond als een vuurtje en opnieuw ik denk dat daar u . uw autoriteit van . om achteraf nog leerlingen te kunnen aanspreken verdwijnt daar

INT: how do you talk to them then? is that different . than when you are talking to them during class?

Thomas: no no no

INT: that's the same

Thomas: so when we are on the . on the tram for example . because here on . in Antwerp you run into ((laughing)) pupils all the time . no then I think . you have to stay as professional as always . it's a bit the same as . uhm . standing before a red traffic light . as soon as I am the teacher .

(...)

that you have this idea of starting from now on I am a role model . and . if I would slightly make a . uhm .. how would I say it . an exception and it would have been seen by a pupil . then it would spread like wildfire and again I think that there you . your authority of . to be able to address pupils afterwards disappears there

The connection between being professional and speaking Standard Dutch also emerges in the interviews when teachers refer to the (future) professional life of their pupils. A bit earlier in the interview, Thomas states the following:

[W]hen they start in their professional life, they need to be able to express themselves ... and it's important to be able to switch over [use another language variety, that is, Standard Dutch, sd & cl] and some sort of professionalism needs to surface.¹⁰⁹

Related to this argument of professionalism is the need for teachers to meet linguistic expectations. During the interviews, nearly all teachers talk about how well they are aware that Standard Dutch is expected from them (see Delarue 2014, Delarue and Van Lancker 2016), and these expectations serve as a strong incentive to adhere to the standard norm as closely as possible. In extract 7, Dutch language teacher Nathan feels that pupils expect their teachers to use Standard Dutch, pointing out that teachers serve as an

¹⁰⁹ The original quotes from the interview were: “als zij hier buitenkomen . dan moeten zij in hun professionele leven stappen . dan moeten zij weten hoe dat ze zich moeten . uiten”, and when asked about the desired “professional” language use: “in elk geval moet ge . ne knop kunnen omzetten en moet daar een soort van professionaliteit naar boven komen.”

example on different levels: Expertise, behavior, and language use. In their comparison of Flemish teachers' and pupils' perceptions vis-à-vis Standard Dutch, Delarue and Van Lancker (2016) show that most pupils indeed expect their teachers to aspire to Standard Dutch.

Extract 7

Nathan, M, 23, Dutch language teacher, Beringen

Nathan: .. ja we . wij hebben als leerkracht een . een voorbeeld . euhm .. qua taalgebruik niet alleen ook ja . qua euh ja gedrag de kennis die je moet overbrengen naar de leerlingen zijn allemaal zaken . waar leerlingen toch . euh denk ik euhm . naar . naar opkijken is nu misschien het foute woord maar waarbij ze toch 't nodige respect voor . naar de leerkracht toe dus ik denk ook wel dat die aandacht besteden aan . ons taalgebruik .

Nathan: .. yes we . as a teacher we set an . an example . uhm .. not only regarding language use also yeah . regarding euhm yeah behaviour the knowledge you need to transfer to the pupils those are all things . that pupils do . uhm I think uhm . look . look up to is probably the wrong word but for which they do have the customary respect . for the teacher so I also think that they spend attention to . our language use.

In a previous study (on the same interview data used here), Delarue and Ghyselen (2016) compared the standard language use of Flemish teachers with that of other highly educated professionals in Flanders, such as lawyers, doctors, and dentists, and concluded that teachers used significantly fewer nonstandard features in their speech. A plausible explanation for that discrepancy is that the nonteachers in the study do not feel equally pressured to adhere to this Standard Dutch norm.

However, there are also teachers in our corpus who boldly state they are not concerned by these linguistic expectations. Interestingly enough, they also use the notion of professionalism to explain why they do not feel the need to (always) use Standard Dutch in the classroom. In extract 8, for example, Gregory (a primary school teacher) indicates that being professional means that as a teacher, you can choose the language variety you address your pupils in, as well as the norm you impose on your pupils. For Gregory, “everyone has his own norm,” and these individual norms are legitimized by referring to the professionalism of teachers—actively dismissing the government’s dictum that teachers always have to speak Standard Dutch. Notably, Gregory uses a substantial number of nonstandard features in this dismissal of Standard Dutch.

Extract 8

Gregory, M, 30, primary school teacher, Antwerp

Gregory: ik weet niet of dat hier ne norm is . iedereen heeft zijn eigen norm . en iemand die dat hier van . hier aan deze kanten woont .. zoals collega's dat hier zijn . die spreken nu eenmaal anders en die zullen in hun lessen ook . anders . andere taal gebruiken .. dan ik . die dat van . van Hoboken komt dus ja .

INT: mag een leerkracht dan gewoon zelf inschatten . welke norm hij zichzelf oplegt?

Gregory: 'k vind dat wel . ja

INT: ja . en welke norm hij aan de leerlingen oplegt

Gregory: . ja . ja . 'k vind dat goeie . allez ge zijt uiteindelijk . professioneel met kinderen bezig .. ge weet op den duur ook wel zelf .. dat ge . u taalgebruik moet aanpassen aan de kinderen . en het . het juist overbrengt

Gregory: I do not know if that's a norm around here . everyone has his own norm . and someone who is from around . from around here .. like the colleagues here . they just speak differently and they will use in their classes . different . different language .. than I do . who is from . from Hoboken ((a neighbourhood in Antwerp, sd & cl)) so yeah

INT: can a teacher then choose for himself . which norm he imposes on himself?

Gregory: I think so . yeah

INT: yes . and which norm he imposes on pupils

Gregory: . yeah . yeah . I think that's good . well you're eventually . working with children professionally . after a while you know for yourself .. that you . have to adjust your language use to the children . and that you're conveying it . it properly

At the end of extract 8, Gregory defines more specifically what he means by “being a professional.” For him this means to know how to “adjust your language use to the children,” in order to convey your message adequately. In other words, professionalism entails being flexible and having a hands-on mentality, and choosing the appropriate language variety—even if that choice conflicts with linguistic requirements.

8.5 Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, we have tried to shed more light on three teacher identities that emerge from our corpus of interviews with Flemish primary and secondary school teachers. Frames of authenticity, authority, and professionalism are prominent themes in the interviews, and we hope to have shown how Flemish teachers discursively handle these

concepts when talking about their (standard) language perceptions. In the interviews, the apparent gap between language policy and linguistic practice in Flemish educational settings (compare Delarue and De Caluwe 2015) serves as a backdrop. On the one hand, teachers stress the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom settings. On the other hand, they are concerned that overusing Standard Dutch might damage their relationship with their pupils.

Teachers explain the default choice of Standard Dutch by referring to their teacher professionalism: They need to meet the linguistic expectations stipulated by the Flemish governmental language-in-education policy, as they serve as a linguistic example for pupils. Standard Dutch is also intentionally used (or strived for) when teachers take on an authoritative teacher identity, taking into account that the exoglossic standard variety also indexes distance between teachers and pupils. In some contexts, that distance is welcomed (for instance, in situations of instruction), but at the same time, most teachers fear that it could also hinder spontaneity and interaction. For that reason, most teachers in our interview corpus are reluctant to adhere to the standard continuously, fearing that the use of Standard Dutch would damage their relationship with their pupils. Instead, their language use in the classroom typically contains a certain number of nonstandard (that is, dialect or *tussentaal*) features.

To eliminate the uneasy feeling of dissonance (confirming the importance of Standard Dutch, while using vernacular in the classroom), teachers make use of an extensive array of strategies (see Delarue and Van Lancker 2016). Many of these strategies pertain to authenticity: Standard Dutch does not allow teachers to “be themselves,” and makes them—by their own account—sound “patronizing,” “posh,” and “solemn.” Moreover, many of the teachers in our corpus seem to perceive Standard Dutch as a foreign language, which makes it difficult or even impossible for them to identify with Standard Dutch.

The need to diverge from Standard Dutch can also be underpinned by feelings of—yet again—professionalism: Part of being an education professional lies in the selection of appropriate language use. For some, Standard Dutch is not (always) the most appropriate variety. Teachers should then have the freedom to choose their own norm, actively dismissing the government’s insistence on Standard Dutch.

The fragments analyzed in this paper, which are illustrative of the whole of the interview corpus, appear to confirm what Lybaert (2014a: 157; section 8.2.1) has referred to as the “ideology of situational diglossia.” There appears to be a situational dichotomy in classroom settings, where teachers (try to) use Standard Dutch in the more formal settings of giving instructions or transferring knowledge (see Delarue 2013), but fall back on language use containing more *tussentaal* or dialect features in more informal situations. However, reverting to our discussion of the concept of identity in section 8.2.2, it is important to note yet again that teacher identities are multiple, ambiguous, and individual. Teachers can take on several identities at once, shift between identities, or discursively (de)construct (partial accounts of) identities. Issues of teacher authority are

closely linked to authenticity, legitimacy, and professionalism (compare Creese et al. 2014).

In recent sociolinguistic research, the concept of authenticity has received a particularly extensive coverage. It has been pointed out repeatedly (see, among others, Heller 1996, Blommaert 2012, Blommaert and Varis 2013) that “authenticity is a dynamic process that can no longer be viewed as fixed, or as a romantic notion of heritage that can be straightforwardly transmitted” (Creese et al. 2014: 948). Instead, authenticity is negotiated locally in the classroom. For Blommaert and Varis (2013), authenticity boils down to “enoughness:” Being authentic means you are enough of X, and not too much of Y. The same seems to be true for teachers. They feel the need to balance their language use according to the specific classroom situation. It needs to be standard enough to adhere to the demands of governmental language-in-education policy; at the same time, it has to be vernacular enough to control the distance between teacher and pupils. As these processes involve conflict and contestation, they are highly dynamic. Configurations of features and criteria of enoughness can be adjusted, reinvented, or amended (Blommaert and Varis 2013: 147). As Heller (1996) points out, teachers need to find out when and how to deploy certain linguistic resources if they want to become legitimate teachers.

From a monolingual point of view, however, shifting between different language varieties is often interpreted as a symptom or a consequence of low language proficiency (compare Creese et al. 2014). Perhaps that negative connotation can help explain why the teachers in our corpus keep stressing the importance of Standard Dutch in the classroom, while being fully conscious of the fact they do not always use it themselves. In Delarue and Van Lancker (2016), we refer to these approaches as “strategies,” implying that teachers make carefully considered linguistic choices. Mohanty et al. (2010: 228) describe teachers as follows:

[Teachers are] not uncritical bystanders passively acquiescent of the state practice; in their own ways, they resist and contest the state policy. ... It is quite clear that the agency of the teachers in the classroom makes them the final arbiter of the language education policy and its implementation.

The teachers not only explain and justify in the interviews their divergence from the governmental dictum to use Standard Dutch at all times; they also have the power and the agency to change language-in-education policy in the classroom. Reverting to the identities of authenticity and/or professionalism, as some of the teachers in the extracts cited above did, is one of the many possible strategies. The relation between identity and agency will remain a difficult question, however: How free are teachers to actually manipulate a flexible system of identities, and how strong are the influences of political-economic ideologies and other forms of social structure? By paying close attention to the ideologies at work in the classroom, one can gain understanding of the nuanced

negotiations through which teachers may assume (or may be ascribed) alignments that include (versions of) certain identity positions (Creese et al. 2014: 947).

In all of this, the role of language policy—both overt and covert (Shohamy 2006)—cannot be underestimated. Adding to the already well-studied connection between ideology and language policy in education (for example, Tollefson 1986, Ricento 1998, Shohamy 2006), and the social inequalities created and sustained by language policy (for example, Tollefson 1986, Martín Rojo 2010), Hornberger and Johnson (2007) have introduced the “ethnography of language policy.” It can be described as a method for examining the agents, contexts, and processes across multiple layers of what Ricento and Hornberger (1996) refer to as the “language policy onion.” In the last few years, a substantial body of ethnographic work on language policy has been published, from the role of the local in language policy (Canagarajah 2005) to the negotiation of language policy in schools (Menken and García 2010). For those interested in gaining more insight in how the language perceptions of Flemish teachers relate to issues of policy and practice on the one hand, and agency and structure on the other, this ethnographical approach to language policy offers promising perspectives.



Figure 22: A typical kaleidoscope image

Conclusions

As was already mentioned in the introductory chapter to this dissertation, "not many communities in Europe can boast language dynamics which are as controversial and mediatized as those witnessed in Flanders" (Grondelaers and Van Hout 2016: 3). On top of the outburst of variability found in standard languages all across Europe, the Flemish context offers an extra layer of ideological sensitivity, which puts even more pressure on the (spoken) standard language variety in Flanders. Education plays a crucial role in all of this: together with the media, education is considered to be a fundamental institution of norm reproduction, not only by the Flemish government, but also by society at large. Moreover, (Flemish) teachers are expected to be *Sprachnormautoritäten* – standard language authorities who speak Standard Dutch at all times, and help their pupils to gain competence in the standard language variety. Earlier research has revealed, however, that Flemish teachers' language use in everyday classroom contexts clearly deviates from the Standard Dutch norm (Delarue 2011, 2013; De Caluwe 2011; Olders 2007; Walraet 2004): non-standard features are frequently used by nearly all Flemish teachers, and most teachers show continuous code-switching and especially code-mixing in their classroom speech, incorporating both standard features, dialectal features and features which are not endogenous in the local dialect, nor in the standard language (cf. the comparison of language use with a mixing console, see for instance De Caluwe 2009 and De Schryver 2012). For Grondelaers et al. (2016), Flemish teachers' language use deviates far enough from the Standard Dutch norm to distinguish it as a separate variety, conveniently dubbed *Teacher Dutch* (also see Grondelaers and Van Hout 2011a, Delarue 2013). Contrasting sharply with the *non-vital* nature of the (strict) standard language variety, Teacher Dutch is defined as "the 'highest' – in stratificational terms – *vital* variety of Flemish Dutch (...) as documented by the speech of the Flemish teachers in the Teacher Corpus of the Spoken Dutch Corpus" (Grondelaers et al. 2016, my emphasis). This Teacher Dutch audibly deviates from the Standard Dutch norm because of the identifiable regional accent of most teachers, as well as the prominent use of some non-standard phonology in their classroom speech (Grondelaers et al. 2011: 215-216).

However, this non-standard nature of Flemish teachers' language use is explicitly denounced by language-in-education policymakers and society at large, as a number of recent debates have shown (see sections 1.4.2 and 8.1.2 for some examples). As soon as it becomes clear that teachers do not always adhere to the Standard Dutch norm, their status as 'guardians' and 'gate-keepers' of the standard is questioned, their professionalism is doubted, and they are called "lax", "sloppy" and "ignorant" in public media. One could argue that this societal disapproval is due to a lack of appreciation of teachers in general, but a study by Verhoeven et al. (2006) has revealed that teachers enjoy a positive image among most Flemings, and that they can count on a fairly high degree of esteem. The general public "realizes that teaching is a demanding occupation that has changed drastically in recent decades" (Verhoeven et al. 2006: 479). Even though the prestige of teachers never reaches the level of professions such as medicine or law (Depaepe and Simon 1997), the social underevaluation of teachers is – as Sikkes (2000) puts it – "a myth". In sum, Verhoeven et al. (2006: 497) conclude that "society in general is substantially satisfied with the functioning of teachers". In other words, the fact that teachers are scorned for their non-standard language use is not because of a general lack of esteem, but rather because of the strong (ideological) role of standard language in Flemish society. This (mostly symbolic, cf. Blommaert 2011) importance adhered to Standard Dutch is also clearly present in Flemish language-in-education policy, where the standard variety is presented as the only appropriate classroom variety (Vandenbroucke 2007, Smet 2011). This monovarietal policy sharply contrasts with the multivarietal classroom practice, where the use of non-standard language features is prevalent. The gap that appears to exist between Flemish language-in-education policy and actual classroom practice served as the starting point of this dissertation, which wanted to show how teachers make sense of this gap, and how their (standard) language perceptions navigate between policy and practice. The six research papers presented in this dissertation aimed to shed more light on this issue, each from a slightly different perspective. In that way, the dissertation as a whole wants to provide a rich and complex picture of how Flemish primary and secondary school teachers deal with the spoken Standard Dutch norm in classroom settings, discussing in each paper the same protagonists, but with a different focus – much in the same way a kaleidoscope (cf. Figure 22) always offers a slightly different image while using the same elements and mirrors, solely dependent on how the light comes in. A comprehensive model of the different levels of language policy (macro, meso, micro, cf. Figure 1) was used as a framework to connect all of the research papers to each other, and to show the focal points of interest in each of the papers.

In this concluding chapter, I will first revisit the three research questions I set out at the beginning of this dissertation, offering a succinct overview of the study's main findings. Afterwards, the limitations of the study will be discussed, as well as a number of suggestions for further research. Finally, I will consider the study's implications for (i) macro and meso level language-in-education policy, (ii) the larger debate on the position

of the (spoken) Standard Dutch variety in Flanders, and (iii) Flemish teachers and pupils on the micro level.

Main findings: revisiting the research questions

Drawing on a qualitative corpus of sociolinguistic interviews with 82 Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, supplemented with classroom observations and ethnographic fieldnotes, I set out to answer three research questions.

1. Which perspective(s) on standard language use in the classroom is (are) presented in Flemish language-in-education policy?
2. How do Flemish primary and secondary school teachers perceive language-in-education policy, both on the macro and meso level?
3. How do Flemish teachers discursively make sense of the gap between monovarietal language-in-education policy and multivarietal linguistic practice?

In order to answer the two latter research questions, it was important to first get a complex, detailed view of the Flemish language-in-education policy. Therefore, the **first research question** aimed at providing a more extensive view of the different forms of Flemish macro and meso level policy. At the macro level, the governmental language-in-education policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011) offer the most insightful view, as they are designed specifically to offer the government's perspective on language use and language education in Flemish classrooms. Therefore, these documents were analyzed and discussed in nearly all of the research papers in this volume, with a more extensive theoretical analysis in Chapter 3 (Delarue and De Caluwe 2015). By focusing exclusively on Standard Dutch as the only acceptable language variety in schools, inside as well as outside the classroom, the governmental policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011) aim to solve two problems at once: the problem of multilingualism, and the problem of the increasing use of non-standard forms of speech (e.g. Tussentaal or dialectal features). Multilingualism is mostly perceived as a threat to the "one nation, one language" aspiration present in most of the (Western) European nation states: "[V]ery little tolerance is shown to minorities that deviate from the monolingual norm. Social, cultural and linguistic diversity, consequently, are seen as problematic and deviant" (Blommaert 2011: 250). Instead, a monolingual norm is propagated, with a clear pursuit of uniformity and standardization: it is not sufficient for pupils to acquire Dutch, they have to become proficient in the standard variety of Dutch. According to the policy documents, speaking Standard Dutch is the only guarantee of equal opportunities, a proper job and successful participation in society (cf. Smet 2011: 4).

The conclusion of the analysis in Chapter 3 is that the governmental policy documents are clearly shaped by two strongly intertwined ideologies: an ideology of standardization on the one hand, and an ideology of monolingualism on the other.

However, the governmental policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011) as such do not offer a full view of Flemish language-in-education policy, as there are also other forms of macro-level policy. Chapter 4 (Delarue submitted-b) revealed how the combination of all of these policy forms resulted in a rather vague and inconsistent macro-level policy: in sharp contrast to the policy documents mentioned earlier, the final attainment levels or FALs (also issued by the Flemish government) for Dutch as a school subject are quite open regarding classroom language use. Language is presented as a collection of varieties, and Standard Dutch is just one of them, without any inherent predominance over the others. Simultaneously, however, the FALs could also be characterized as vague and unclear, as they often lack specific information. Moreover, the *Raad voor de Nederlandse Taal en Letteren* (RNTL, Council for the Dutch Language and Literature) of the *Taalunie* (Dutch Language Union), which sets official joint policy in all Dutch-speaking countries with respect to the Dutch language, also issued a number of advisory reports over the past few years (Schramme 2003; Jaspaert 2006). These reports express a strong emancipatory perspective, pleading for a more "humane" language policy (Craps 2002) that focuses on the language user – a radically different perspective on classroom language use compared to the governmental language-in-education policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011).

The **second research question** focused on how teachers discursively deal with this rather opaque and contradictory macro-level policy framework. First of all, Chapter 4 revealed that the teacher-informants in my study have a rather limited knowledge of the governmental policy: during the interviews only nine of them (11%) indicate that they have knowledge of these policy documents, while the other teachers blatantly admit that they do not know them, or use a number of deferring strategies to change the conversation topic. However, nearly all of the teachers seem to agree on the bottom line: the informants stress the importance of the Standard Dutch norm in spoken classroom settings and the stipulation of that norm in policy documents – but only on an *abstract* level. When it comes to *concrete* educational settings, teachers want to safeguard their classroom agency, enabling them to interpret, adapt or even resist language-in-education policy to their liking. During the interviews, the teacher-informants continuously emphasized that although the mandatory use of Standard Dutch in all school contexts would be absolutely desirable, it is just not feasible. They substantiate that view by pointing out some of the negative traits Standard Dutch is often linked to, calling the standard "unnatural", "artificial" or "aloof" (cf. Impe and Speelman 2007; Lybaert 2014; Delarue submitted-a). For them, these negative connotations imply that the standard variety is unsuited for use in (certain) classroom settings. Instead, a number of alternatives emerge from the teacher interviews, in which the desirable yet unattainable standard-at-all-times norm is

exchanged for more liberal guidelines: pupils should do their best when they are talking to teachers (but not amongst themselves, in the playground for instance), and teachers should make an effort if pupils can hear them (because of the exemplary role teachers have). By doing so, teachers are able to compromise both between desirability and feasibility, and between abstract macro-level policy and concrete micro-level classroom practice.

Moreover, the second research question also focused on teachers' perceptions of the meso (school) level. This meso level was also analyzed in Chapter 4. In Flanders, schools are required to have a language policy of their own (Vermeire 2008). However, even though the Flemish inspectorate found a "clearly positive evolution when it comes to developing a vision on language policy" (Department of Education and Training 2015a: 73, my translation), most schools in my study only have a vague vision statement (or even no language policy at all), and do not bother to set up any specific policy actions for the pupils (or the teachers). Especially in schools with a low number of pupils with a home language other than Dutch – and as Chapter 2 showed, the schools in my study were mostly selected on this criterion – language policy apparently is not really an issue. The fact that there appears to be a correlation between having a multilingual school context and the presence of an (explicit) language policy seems to indicate that most schools still see language policies as mostly *remedial*: pupils who do not have Dutch as a home language are deemed to be language deficient and are therefore in need of special care, whereas pupils who speak (a variety of) Dutch at home generally are not targeted by (school) language policy initiatives (cf. Clycq et al. 2014). The interviews with language policy coordinators seem to corroborate that view: most schools only began developing language policy documents after the government compelled them to, and refer to the growing number of non-Dutch speaking pupils to explain the importance of policy on a school level.

Compared to their fairly limited knowledge of macro-level language policy, the teacher-informants in my study seem to be better informed about their school's language policy. Even though roughly one out of five teachers admits not knowing anything about language policy in their school, the majority of the informants can list a few of the initiatives their school undertakes to improve the pupils' language competence, mentioning extracurricular tutoring for pupils, putting up language tips in classrooms and corridors, and the evaluation of pupils' language use in non-linguistic school subjects as the most occurring policy actions. In contrast with their opinion of macro-level policy, teachers also appear to be rather satisfied or neutral when it comes to their schools' language policies: the measures taken by schools are evaluated positively, and nearly all teachers feel these actions are important for both the well-being and the further (professional) perspectives of the pupils. However, their endorsement of meso-level policy is not unconditional: initiatives pertaining to language are seen as important, but a

substantial number of teachers feels they should be implemented in everyday school activities, instead of being solely formalized in mission statements and policy documents.

Finally, the **third research question** wanted to shed more light on how teachers discursively make sense of the gap between monovarietal policy and multivarietal practice. Chapter 5 reveals how teachers' actual spoken language use clearly diverges from the Standard Dutch norm, even during the interviews, although they use substantially less non-standard features than other highly trained professionals (drawing on the spoken data corpus of Anne-Sophie Ghyselen). The policy-practice gap is explicitly thematized in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, which all focus on this topic (each with a slightly different perspective). The three chapters reveal a strong ambivalence in teachers' (standard) language perceptions. On the one hand, all of the teachers in the corpus stress the importance of Standard Dutch in classroom settings, emphasizing for instance their exemplary role, the need to maintain a distance with their pupils or the fact that Standard Dutch is the most precise, rich or intelligible language variety. On the other hand, most of the teachers in my corpus realize that they do not speak Standard Dutch themselves, coming up with a myriad of discursive strategies to explain why: because it might damage the relationship with their pupils, because they want to stay authentic or do not feel at ease when speaking Standard Dutch, because they feel other aspects of being a teacher are equally or even more important, etcetera. In Delarue (2011), I have called this ambivalence "paradoxical", but as I argued at the end of Chapter 4, the teachers' contradictory discourse should rather be seen as the inevitable outcome of the difficult position Flemish teachers find themselves in. Not only are they expected to meet the vague and contradictory demands of the government (macro level), they should also keep in mind the expectations of both the school (meso level) and the pupils they teach (micro level). From that perspective, the teachers' opinions should be seen as logical rather than paradoxical. As active agents of language policy, teachers ultimately make their own choices in the classroom, marking a difference between the intentions of policy makers (on an abstract level) and the way that policy is actually put in practice (in concrete situations).

Chapter 6 offers a typology of the discursive strategies used by teachers to try and make sense of the policy-practice gap thematized in this dissertation. The perceptual ambivalence mentioned earlier becomes apparent when looking at the number of discursive strategies used by the teacher-informants: 434 statements concerning the use(fulness) of Standard Dutch in Flemish classroom contexts were found in the interviews, of which 161 were in defence of the Standard Dutch norm, and 273 opposed to the standard (instead promoting forms of non-standard speech as equally or even more useful in the classroom). Interestingly, most of the teachers involved in this study both stress and downplay the importance of the (spoken) Standard Dutch norm during one and the same interview. All of the statements were thematically coded to 44 different strategies contra Standard Dutch, and 23 strategies in favor of the standard. In both cases,

these strategies could be classified in 7 different categories. For instance, strategies can be aimed at the different classroom actors: the pupils (1), the teachers themselves (2) or the relationship between teachers and pupils (3). Other strategies are aimed at hierarchizing the different tasks of teachers, ranking spoken standard speech lower than other, highly prioritized tasks (4), or stress specific traits teachers appear to associate with standard language (5), such as *intelligibility* (in a positive way) or *arrogance* (in a negative way). There are also strategies that broaden the scope of acceptable classroom speech, incorporating for instance all non-dialectal forms of language use, or all speech forms that are intelligible or grammatically correct (6). Finally, a last category of strategies refers to the language use in society at large, stating that Standard Dutch is barely used in Flanders, and that the school should not be an isolated island of standard language use (7). For the strategies in favor of the standard, two of these categories were left empty: stressing the importance of the standard makes it unnecessary to hierarchize teachers' tasks, nor does it request a broader conception of acceptable classroom speech.

As was already mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter 6, one of the most interesting – and prominent – categories was the attempt of teachers to discursively bridge the policy-practice gap by broadening the scope of "acceptable" or "appropriate" language use. This category encompasses a number of distinct strategies, but all with the same goal: starting with "as long as...", these strategies aim at presenting (some instances of) non-standard speech as equally acceptable for classroom use as Standard Dutch. For example, the explicit claim that dialect is not appropriate in school settings, implies that non-standard, non-dialectal speech forms (i.e. Tussentaal) can be used in pedagogical settings as well. Similarly, stressing that classroom language use needs to be intelligible or grammatically correct also extends the amount of acceptable language features in the classroom. All of these norm extensions seem to point at the emergence of other standardness criteria (cf. *infra*).

Chapters 7 and 8 offer valuable extensions to the typology of strategies presented in the sixth chapter. In Chapter 7, a number of prevalent discursive strategies of teachers are compared to pupils' (standard) language perceptions, drawing on the interview data of Inge Van Lancker's ethnographic research project. Interestingly, both groups seem to share – to some extent – a similar set of strategies in order to explain why they refrain from the spoken standard norm in actual classroom settings: for instance, both pupils and teachers state that Standard Dutch hinders the spontaneity of classroom interaction, claim that proper teaching is more important than 'proper' language use, or stress that the more important issue is that no dialect is used in school contexts. Drawing on the key concept of *identity*, Chapter 8 shows how teachers' strategies in favor of or against the use of Standard Dutch in the classroom help to discursively shape teacher identities of authenticity, authority and professionalism. Especially professionalism has emerged as a powerful and interesting teacher identity in my interview corpus, because of the ambivalent indexical role Standard Dutch plays in this specific teacher identity. On the

one hand, professionalism is used as an argument to stress the importance of Standard Dutch: paying attention to (spoken and written) language use is perceived as part-of-the-job, and teachers see themselves as linguistic rolemodels for their pupils. On the other hand, professionalism is also invoked when teachers want to clarify why they diverge from Standard Dutch in their classroom practice: as education professionals, some of the teacher-informants feel that they should have the freedom to select the type of speech they find appropriate – which is not always Standard Dutch.

Research limitations and directions for further research

As was already explained in section 2.1.2 of this dissertation, my PhD project was originally conceived as a combination of a production and a perception study, combining both participant observation and sociolinguistic interviews. The rationale behind that combination was that it could offer insight in both the actual language use of Flemish primary and secondary school teachers, as well as their (standard) language perceptions. During the study, however, the focus gradually shifted towards the perceptual part, even though the research methodology was not really designed to cater for the needs of a full-fledged perceptual study. Therefore, one could argue that it would have been better to either set up a large-scale quantitative study, using questionnaires to reach a large(r) group of teachers, or to use a small-scaled ethnographic perspective, to gain more insight in how teachers' (standard) language perceptions, which are now discussed mostly from a discursive perspective, actually take shape in various school contexts.

However, the 'in-between' position of this study could (and should) be seen as an advantage: until now, Flemish teachers' opinions on Standard Dutch have been mostly overlooked in (socio)linguistic research, and to a large extent, this study hopes to have offered an exploration of the gap between monovarietal policy and multivarietal practice in Flemish education settings, as well as the ambivalence of teachers' perceptions in dealing with that policy-practice gap. With 82 teachers taking part in this study, the number of informants seems high enough to yield valid statements about the opinions of Flemish teachers on (standard) language use, although it obviously remains important to be cautious regarding the participating teacher-informants' representativity for the whole of the Flemish teaching staff. The fairly high number of informants – for a qualitative study – could also be seen as the study's main limitation, however, as it meant that there was only a rather limited amount of time spent in each of the schools. Apart from the classroom observation and the interview – and a quick talk before or after each of these two settings – there was no time to discuss the analyses with the informants. Feedback interviews, for instance, would have improved the validity of both the data analyses and

the conclusion of this study. Even though spending roughly two hours with every informant was unquestionably insufficient to get a full picture of the teachers' linguistic environment, the rather high number of informants and the use of interviews do allow for an exploratory yet thorough study of Flemish teachers' (standard) language perceptions.

Building on this dissertation's conclusions, future research on Flemish teachers' language perceptions could take various forms. With respect to the role of (standard) language in educational settings, I see two main possibilities for extensions of this study. One option is to use teachers' strategies vis-à-vis the use of spoken Standard Dutch in classroom settings as the basis for a large-scale quantitative study, using questionnaires to gain more insight in how a larger group of Flemish teachers perceives the usability or appropriateness of several varieties of Dutch in classroom (or other school) settings. Apart from questionnaires, more experimental quantitative approaches are possible as well. Recently, Tummers et al. (2015) have conducted an experimental study, in which 322 Flemish secondary school teachers were presented with 4 audio stimuli taken from the Spoken Dutch Corpus (2 in Standard Dutch, 2 in Tussentaal). Drawing on the indirect technique of speaker evaluation (Lambert et al. 1960), the respondents were asked to rate the speakers in the stimuli on a number of socio-psychological scales (prestige/competence, dynamism, social status, personal integrity). Exploratory factor analysis revealed that older teachers and teachers from peripheral regions have more conservative attitudes towards the Standard Dutch norm in general. With respect to the appropriateness of Standard Dutch in school contexts, however, the image is less clear: teachers do appear to consider the use of the standard as a part of their job, but there is a "less neat distinction" (Tummers et al. 2015) in the respondents' opinions on the standard and substandard variety, compared to how these varieties are perceived in general. Apart from this first experimental (and non-published) study, however, Flemish teachers' standard language attitudes are yet to be studied quantitatively.

A second extension could go in the opposite direction: a small-scaled ethnographic study, in which a smaller number of teachers are observed and interviewed over a longer period of time and in a larger number of school-related contexts, could yield better insights into the way(s) teachers (standard) language perceptions actually take shape in various school settings. As was mentioned earlier, the concept of *identity* plays a crucial role in how teachers deal with language norms and language use, because "[t]oday more than before, identity is dynamic and constantly in evolution as people are more exposed to new stimuli and challenges and perhaps more in need of an identity/a set of collective identities that may provide important "anchors" in a world that is constantly in flux" (Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2003: 208). Classrooms are hyperdynamic environments, in which teachers need to play several roles (e.g. giving instructions, coaching pupils, creating a positive classroom atmosphere, lending an ear to pupils with personal problems, and so on; see Delarue 2013), often simultaneously. Moreover, the current

processes of globalization, immigration and multilingualism have made it even more challenging for teachers, as they need to deal with the increasing differences in pupils' linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Nearly automatically, the multitude of teacher roles results in varying language use, and an ethnographic study could offer more insight in how these teacher roles take shape, and how they can be connected to language use and teacher identities (cf. Chapter 8).

In other words, both quantitative and qualitative follow-up studies would be extremely valuable, not only to make up for some of the limitations of this study, but also to offer a richer, more complex and therefore more valid image of the policy-practice gap that was the focal point in this dissertation. In that way, one can get a better look at how education continues to play a crucial role in the dissemination or the obstruction of (standard) language norms. Of course, education is not the only institution that plays such an important role. In that respect, it would also be valuable to extend this study to the media, where a similar policy-practice gap appears to exist. Even though the most recent *Taalcharter* ('Language charter') explicitly makes room for non-standard language use in a limited number of contexts, the Flemish public broadcaster VRT continues to stress the importance of the Standard Dutch norm in its TV and radio programs. Moreover, the Flemish audience appears to share this concern: according to a 2015 survey, more than 65% of Flemings feels the VRT needs to use Standard Dutch in all of its programs (Delarue 2015d). At the same time, however, non-standard features are prominently present in most TV fiction (see Van Hoof 2013, 2015b for an extensive study on that subject), and recent series such as *Eigen Kweek* or *Bevergem* – which were programs with very high ratings – only (or primarily) featured West-Flemish dialect. The above-mentioned survey confirms this popularity of dialect, as nearly 60% of the informants agrees that dialect can be used in entertainment programs and TV fiction. In sum, a policy-practice gap emerges, similar to the one present in (Flemish) education. Although Van Hoof (2013, 2015b) has already answered a number of questions on the subject, analyzing this second policy-practice gap more extensively would also offer an interesting extension of this study.

Three implications of the study

First, the results of my study can be used to formulate a number of **policy recommendations**. The discussion of macro-level language-in-education policy in Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation has already revealed its rather vague and inconsistent nature. However, when focusing specifically on the governmental policy documents of Vandenbroucke (2007) and Smet (2011), the image is very clear: only the use of Standard Dutch is acceptable in Flemish school settings, while non-standard varieties (e.g.

Tussentaal, dialect) are denounced as "bad, inarticulate and regional" (Vandenbroucke 2007: 4, my translation) or "sloppy" (Vandenbroucke 2007: 11, my translation). This propagation of Standard Dutch as the only acceptable variety for all school contexts completely disregards the multitude of (classroom) contexts teachers (and pupils) are confronted with on a daily basis. Standard Dutch is promoted on an abstract level, for the whole domain of education. Teachers, however, do take into account this multitude of roles, and the classroom language variation which logically ensues from it. Recognizing this distinction between one educational *domain* and a myriad of specific teaching *roles* can help to understand the divergence between policy and practice.

The mere fact that there is a difference between policy and practice is not problematic: policy documents only exist because what actually happens differs from what policymakers prefer, and they would like to see actual practice shift towards the practice they consider to be ideal. For instance, speed limits on freeways and other roads only exist because there are people who drive (much) faster than what would be deemed safe, causing major traffic accidents. In order to shift this practice to a more preferable one, the government imposes fines on whoever exceeds these speed limits. In this case, the existing policy makes sense because this shift towards slower traffic (and less traffic accidents) is both beneficial (less traffic accidents) and realistic (people will drive slower because otherwise they face fines). In the case of Flemish language-in-education policy, however, one could wonder whether the propagated Standard Dutch norm actually presents teachers with a more beneficial alternative, or whether reaching this norm is actually realistic (Delarue 2012: 21). Of course, this does not mean that language-in-education policy should propagate the use of Tussentaal instead, or that it should let go of the standard norm completely. In a talk I gave last year during a meeting of the *Taalunie* (Delarue 2015b), I suggested that a more beneficial language-in-education policy should meet three important criteria: policy needs to be clear, meaningful and feasible. In contrast to the vagueness and inconsistency of the current macro-level policy, a *clear* language-in-education policy would contain explicit and coherent definitions of core concepts, such as 'standard language' or 'norm', taking into account geographical and stylistic variation. Moreover, a *meaningful* policy would need to focus on a model in which not only Standard Dutch, but all varieties of Dutch have their place. Non-standard varieties, such as Tussentaal and dialect, should not be called "inarticulate" or "sloppy"; instead, their usefulness in addition to the standard variety should be stressed. Standard Dutch could still be presented as the preferable variety, if it is still regarded as the ideal school language variety by policymakers, but its role needs to be contextualized. Instead of propagating the standard for the abstract domain of education as a whole, language-in-education policy needs to take into account the multitude of different school and classroom settings, and the ensuing variation in teachers' (and pupils') classroom speech. Finally, language-in-education policy also needs to be *feasible*. The previous chapters have shown that teachers do not feel the need to speak Standard Dutch at all times, nor do they expect

their pupils to do so. Based on their own ideas about language use in classroom settings (their "behavioral ideologies", as Volosinov 1929/1973 calls them), teachers can choose for themselves whether and when they address pupils on their language use. Language-in-education policy should take that teacher agency into account, for instance by focusing not only on language production, but also on language reflection and language attitudes – as is already the case in the Flemish final attainment levels for Dutch. After all, a more open, less restrictive view on language use and language norms in classroom settings could result in teachers who do no longer feel pressurized and discomforted when their speech comes in focus, but who instead feel free to use their language in accordance with the pedagogical goals they want to achieve.

Secondly, I would like to briefly discuss the implications of my study for the larger debate on **the position of the (spoken) Standard Dutch variety** in Flanders. How will the Flemish linguistic repertoire evolve in the future? Even though that question cannot be easily answered, the results of this perceptual study do seem to offer some interesting insights. In the introductory chapter, two possible scenarios for change in the (spoken) standard language were presented, viz. *destandardization* (where the established standard loses its position as the one and only 'best' language) and *demotization* (where the standard ideology as such remains intact, but the valorization of ways of speaking changes). The research papers in the previous chapters have revealed that teachers (and pupils, cf. Chapter 7) still adhere considerable importance to the Standard Dutch norm, which remains the point of reference. However, the teacher-informants in my study come up with new standardness criteria, which serve as extensions of the (spoken) norm. As such, not only Standard Dutch features are acceptable and/or appropriate in classroom settings, but for instance all forms that are not dialectal, or all speech forms that are fully intelligible for the pupils. These results seem to point at an ongoing process of demotization, rather than destandardization (cf. Delarue 2013, also see Ghyselen and Van Keymeulen 2014): the idea that there is – or should be – a 'best language' is not changing, but the number of possible ways to satisfy the 'best language' criterion is growing. In that respect, the Flemish context seems to tie in with the German one, for which Auer and Spiekermann conclude that "if changes in both the standard's phonological structure and prestige [are allowed], there is no reason to assume that the present-day, demotitized standard variety is undergoing a process of destandardization" (2011: 174). However, it should be stressed once again that these findings are solely based on perceptual data, and that additional production research is needed to shed some more light on this issue.

Finally, this study can also present **Flemish teachers (and teacher training programs)** with some interesting insights on the role (spoken) Standard Dutch plays in the classroom. The Flemish governmental language-in-education policy clearly still thinks in terms of strictly delineated varieties, with Standard Dutch as the one and only school variety, and Tussentaal and dialect as inappropriate language varieties. However, as I already mentioned earlier, this representation completely ignores teachers' (and pupils')

continuous code-switching and especially code-mixing, incorporating in their classroom speech both standard features, dialectal features and features which are not endogenous in the local dialect, nor in the standard language. Teachers and pupils need to be aware of this linguistic reality, which is far more complex than the image painted in the governmental policy documents. Therefore, it would be extremely valuable for both pupils and teachers to analyze and discuss audio recordings of their lessons, in order to learn to recognize the various variants and varieties, as well as the multiple code-mixes and code-switches present in every lesson. In that way, teachers and pupils would gain insight in the factors that ‘trigger’ code-switches, as well as the numerous possible constellations of language features (cf. the comparison of language use with a mixing console, see for instance De Caluwe 2009 and De Schryver 2012), and how teachers’ speech forms are connected with the multiple roles teachers take on every day. This dissertation has reported on Flemish teachers’ perceptions vis-à-vis language policy and the way they perceive their own language use, but the confrontation of those perceptions with their *actual* language use can present both teachers and pupils with some interesting insights.

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Appendices

- Appendix 1** Overview of the teacher-informants
- Appendix 2** Overview of the interview extracts used in this dissertation
- Appendix 3** Information documents and forms for schools and teachers
- Appendix 4** Classroom observation form
- Appendix 5** Interview question lists
- Appendix 6** Questionnaires
- Appendix 7** Transcription protocol

Appendix 1. Overview of the teacher-informants

An(6S)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1978	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	35	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2000
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Wilrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	18/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zwijndrecht	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Zwijndrecht	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

An(6S)2			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	34	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2009
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Date – observation:</i>	18/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Antwerp	<i>Date – interview:</i>	21/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Mortsel	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Principal's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 3 Chapter 8, Ext. 8
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp/Mortsel	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Thomas'

An(3S)3			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1968	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	45	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1991
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Mortsel	<i>Date – observation:</i>	18/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Hoboken	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Hoboken	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 9
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Ann'

An(3S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1974	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	39	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1996
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Genk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	21/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Genk	<i>Date – interview:</i>	24/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Antwerp	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 13
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Iris'

An(3S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1983	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	30	<i>Subject:</i>	Chemistry
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2008
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – observation:</i>	21/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Temse	<i>Date – interview:</i>	21/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Temse	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

An(6S)6

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1976	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	37	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1999
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Beveren	<i>Date – observation:</i>	21/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Beveren	<i>Date – interview:</i>	24/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Beveren	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp/Ghent/Brussels	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

An(6L)7

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1964	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	49	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1989
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Wilrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	28/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Antwerp	<i>Date – interview:</i>	28/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Wechelderzande	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Principal's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Sint-Niklaas	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

An(6L)8

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1983	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	30	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2005
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Wilrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	28/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Wilrijk	<i>Date – interview:</i>	28/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Hoboken	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Principal's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 8, Ext. 8
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Gregory'

Be(3S)1

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	34	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2001
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	4/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Hasselt/Tessenderlo	<i>Date – interview:</i>	8/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Tessenderlo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Be(6S)2

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1977	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	36	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2001
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Geel	<i>Date – observation:</i>	4/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Balen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	7/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Lummen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Be(6S)3

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1967	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	46	<i>Subject:</i>	Biology
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1994
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	4/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Houthalen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	7/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Houthalen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Be(6S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1958	<i>Year:</i>	1986
<i>Age:</i>	55	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1986
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Neerpelt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	4/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Eksel	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eksel	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 4, Ext. 2
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Henri’

Be(3S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1990	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	23	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2011
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Heusden	<i>Date – observation:</i>	7/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Koersel	<i>Date – interview:</i>	8/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Sint-Truiden	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 7, Ext. 11 Chapter 8, Ext. 7
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Mr. Coenen’ ‘Nathan’

Be(3S)6

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1986	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	27	<i>Subject:</i>	Geography
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2008
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Mol	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Olmen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	8/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Tessenderlo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 11 Chapter 7, Ext. 2
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Susan’ ‘Mevr. Laureys’

Be(6L)7

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1962	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	51	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1984
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Heusden	<i>Date – observation:</i>	25/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zolder	<i>Date – interview:</i>	25/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Tuult-Kuringen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers’ lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Bokrijk	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Be(6L)8

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1971	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	42	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1993
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Beringen	<i>Date – observation:</i>	25/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Beringen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	25/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Hasselt	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers' lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Bokrijk	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Beringen	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(6L)1

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1962	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	50	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1982
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Varsenare	<i>Date – observation:</i>	22/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Jabbeke	<i>Date – interview:</i>	22/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Jabbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Pc-room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Torhout	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(6L)2

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1968	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	44	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1989
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Veurne	<i>Date – observation:</i>	22/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Koksijde	<i>Date – interview:</i>	22/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Jabbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Pc-room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Bruges	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(6S)3

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1963	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	49	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1998
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – observation:</i>	23/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – interview:</i>	30/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Bruges (Sint-Kruis)	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 1/7
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Lesley'

Br(3S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1984	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	28	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2010
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Roeselare	<i>Date – observation:</i>	23/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Roeselare	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/12/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Bruges/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 8
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Patrick'

Br(6S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1956	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	56	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1980
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Knokke	<i>Date – observation:</i>	23/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Knokke/Maldegem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	30/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Jabbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Bruges/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(3S)6

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1983	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	29	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2007
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – observation:</i>	30/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Ruddervoorde	<i>Date – interview:</i>	30/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Bruges	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Torhout/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(3S)7

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1988	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	24	<i>Subject:</i>	Behavioral Sciences
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2012
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	30/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Lochristi	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/12/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Ghent	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Br(6S)8

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1964	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	48	<i>Subject:</i>	Geography
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1986
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – observation:</i>	4/12/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Bruges (Sint-Kruis)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/12/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Waardamme	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Bruges/Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(3S)1

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1963	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	49	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1998
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Waarschoot	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers' lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Eeklo/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(3S)2

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1982	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	30	<i>Subject:</i>	Computer Sciences
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2003
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Adegem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	13/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(6S)3

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1965	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	47	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1991
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	9/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Wetteren	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Destelbergen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Principal's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(6S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1971	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	41	<i>Subject:</i>	Geography
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1993
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Deinze	<i>Date – observation:</i>	9/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Oudenaarde	<i>Date – interview:</i>	13/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(3S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1978	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	34	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2000
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	13/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Sleidinge	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/11/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Sint-Denijs-Westrem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Principal's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(6S)6

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1959	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	54	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1981
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ostend	<i>Date – observation:</i>	29/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Bruges (Sint-Kruis)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	29/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Bruges	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(6L)7

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1972	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	41	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1993
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – observation:</i>	16/5/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – interview:</i>	5/6/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ee(6L)8

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1965	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	48	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1986
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – observation:</i>	16/5/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – interview:</i>	5/6/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Oostakker	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(6S)1

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1967	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	45	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1994
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Ukkel	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Sint-Niklaas/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(3S)2

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1986	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	26	<i>Subject:</i>	History
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2008
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zelzate	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Ghent	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 5, Ext. 2 Chapter 8, Ext. 5a/5b
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Sylvie’

Ge(3S)3

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1978	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	34	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2001
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Deinze	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Wondelgem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Aalter	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers’ lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(3S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1960	<i>Year:</i>	1981
<i>Age:</i>	52	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1981
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – observation:</i>	9/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Date – interview:</i>	19/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eeklo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Eeklo	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 7, Ext. 8
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Mevr. Nys’

Ge(3S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1972	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	40	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1994
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	12/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Deinze	<i>Date – interview:</i>	19/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Deinze	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Tielt	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 2
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Linda’

Ge(6S)6

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1956	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	56	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1979
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	12/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – interview:</i>	19/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Sint-Martens-Latem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 4, Ext. 3 Chapter 6, Ext. 5/6
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Astrid’

Ge(6S)7

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1961	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	51	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1981
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	12/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Mariakerke	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Eke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(6S)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1952	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	60	<i>Subject:</i>	Greek
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1976
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	12/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Merelbeke	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/10/2012
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Merelbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(6L)9			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1957	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	56	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1978
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	15/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Gentbrugge	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Nazareth	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ge(6L)10			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1981	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	32	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2003
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ghent	<i>Date – observation:</i>	15/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Landegem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Gentbrugge	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 14 Chapter 8, Ext. 1
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ghent	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Frederic’

Ha(3S)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	35	<i>Subject:</i>	Physics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2007
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	13/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Bilzen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	13/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Genk	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 10
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Stan’

Ha(3S)2

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1985	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	29	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2006
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Maaseik	<i>Date – observation:</i>	13/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Stokkem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Rapertingen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Library
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 7, Ext. 6
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Mevr. Herpoel’

Ha(3S)3

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1977	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	37	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1998
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	13/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Runkst (Hasselt)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	13/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kuringen (Hasselt)	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Library
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ha(6S)4

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1959	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	55	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1981
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	16/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – interview:</i>	16/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Hasselt	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Hasselt/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ha(6S)5

<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	35	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2002
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Lommel	<i>Date – observation:</i>	16/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Leopoldsburg	<i>Date – interview:</i>	20/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Zoutleeuw	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 12
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Jacob’

Ha(6S)6			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1969	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	45	<i>Subject:</i>	Chemistry
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1995
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	17/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Stevoort (Hasselt)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Hasselt	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Brussels/Diepenbeek	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 7, Ext. 5 Chapter 8, Ext. 2
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Mevr. Baert’ ‘Amber’

Ha(6S)7			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1963	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	51	<i>Subject:</i>	Physics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1994
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Gerdingen (Bree)	<i>Date – observation:</i>	17/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Gerdingen (Bree)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Zepperen (Sint-Truiden)	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Ha(6S)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1976	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	38	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1998
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Sint-Truiden	<i>Date – observation:</i>	20/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Sint-Truiden	<i>Date – interview:</i>	20/1/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Sint-Truiden	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 7, Ext. 1
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Mr. Badts’

Ie(6S)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1980	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	33	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2004
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	11/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Izegem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Harelbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(3S)2			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1981	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	32	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2005
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	11/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Marke (Kortrijk)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/02/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Home of informant
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(6S)3			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1956	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	57	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1978
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Lendeledede	<i>Date – observation:</i>	11/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Harelbeke	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Harelbeke	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(6S)4			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1980	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	33	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2004
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Bruges	<i>Date – observation:</i>	11/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Oostkamp	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/01/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Elverdinge	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(6L)5			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1986	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	27	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2008
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Zottegem	<i>Date – observation:</i>	14/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Herzele	<i>Date – interview:</i>	14/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Elverdinge	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(6L)6			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1963	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	50	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1983
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Ypres	<i>Date – observation:</i>	14/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Boezinge	<i>Date – interview:</i>	14/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Elverdinge	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Tielt	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

le(3S)7			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1983	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	30	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2006
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Date – observation:</i>	15/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Hulste	<i>Date – interview:</i>	15/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kortrijk	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 4, Ext. 11 Chapter 5, Ext. 3
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Heidi’

le(3S)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1980	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	33	<i>Subject:</i>	Biology
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2004
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Menen	<i>Date – observation:</i>	18/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Geluwe	<i>Date – interview:</i>	18/1/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Wevelgem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Kortrijk/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 5, Ext. 1/5
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Ypres	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(6S)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1977	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	37	<i>Subject:</i>	Cultural Sciences
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1999
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	14/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Bierbeek	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Boutersem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Library
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(3S)2			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1963	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	51	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1985
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	14/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – interview:</i>	14/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Wilsele	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Secretary's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Heverlee	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(6S)3			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1986	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	28	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2011
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	14/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Herent	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Leuven	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven/Antwerp	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(3S)4			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1987	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	27	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2011
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	21/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Herent	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers' lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(3S)5			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	35	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2001
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Dendermonde	<i>Date – observation:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Mechelen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	24/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Heverlee	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Pc room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Heverlee	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(6S)6			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1954	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	60	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1976
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Lennik	<i>Date – observation:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Lennik	<i>Date – interview:</i>	17/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Houwaart	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Brussels	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(6L)7			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1979	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	35	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2012
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	20/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – interview:</i>	20/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kessel-Lo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Le(6L)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1977	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	37	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2000
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	24/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Herent	<i>Date – interview:</i>	24/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Herent	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Tu(6S)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1962	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	51	<i>Subject:</i>	Catholic religion
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1986
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Herentals	<i>Date – observation:</i>	30/9/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Nijlen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	1/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Nijlen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Tu(3S)2			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1989	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	24	<i>Subject:</i>	Mathematics
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2010
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Date – observation:</i>	30/9/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Oud-Turnhout	<i>Date – interview:</i>	30/9/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Turnhout	<i>Location – interview:</i>	OLC room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 4, Ext. 4
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Esther’

Tu(6S)3			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1970	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	43	<i>Subject:</i>	Physics
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2004
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Deurne	<i>Date – observation:</i>	30/9/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zoersel	<i>Date – interview:</i>	30/9/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Turnhout	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Tu(3S)4			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1976	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	37	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1998
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Turnhout/Kasterlee	<i>Date – interview:</i>	1/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Tielen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 8, Ext. 4
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Simon’

Tu(6S)5			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1965	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	48	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1988
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Merksem	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Wuustwezel	<i>Date – interview:</i>	3/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Turnhout	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout/Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Tu(3S)6			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1977	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	36	<i>Subject:</i>	Biology
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1999
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Retie	<i>Date – interview:</i>	3/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Retie	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Consultation room
<i>Place of education:</i>	Heverlee	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Tu(6L)7			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1988	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	25	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2010
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Retie	<i>Date – interview:</i>	8/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Turnhout	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 6, Ext. 4
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	‘Emily’

Tu(6L)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1966	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	47	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1987
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Mol	<i>Date – observation:</i>	8/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Retie	<i>Date – interview:</i>	8/10/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Retie	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Turnhout	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(6L)1			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1990	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	23	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2011
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Date – observation:</i>	22/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zemst	<i>Date – interview:</i>	22/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Mechelen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Mechelen	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(6L)2			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1971	<i>Year:</i>	6 th year primary ed.
<i>Age:</i>	42	<i>Subject:</i>	N/A
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1993
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Leuven	<i>Date – observation:</i>	26/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Zaventem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	26/11/2013
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Wolvertem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Brussels	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(6S)3			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1972	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	42	<i>Subject:</i>	Economics
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2003
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Merchtem	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Merchtem	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Merchtem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Brussels/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(3S)4			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1989	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	25	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2012
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Aalst	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Wichelen	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Berlare	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Teachers' lounge
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent/Brussels	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 8, Ext. 3
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Marie'

Vi(6S)5			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1967	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	47	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1989
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Dendermonde	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Herdersem (Aalst)	<i>Date – interview:</i>	4/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Grimbergen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(6S)6			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1982	<i>Year:</i>	6 th grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	32	<i>Subject:</i>	Dutch
<i>Sex:</i>	M	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2005
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Hasselt	<i>Date – observation:</i>	3/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Heusden-Zolder	<i>Date – interview:</i>	7/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Kessel-Lo	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Secretary's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Cited in:</i>	Chapter 4, Ext. 1
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Leuven	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	'Benjamin'

Vi(3S)7			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1965	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	49	<i>Subject:</i>	Latin
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	1995
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Date – observation:</i>	7/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Date – interview:</i>	7/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Grimbergen	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Classroom
<i>Place of education:</i>	Antwerp/Leuven	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Vi(3S)8			
<i>Year of birth:</i>	1981	<i>Year:</i>	3 rd grade ASO
<i>Age:</i>	33	<i>Subject:</i>	Behavior Sciences
<i>Sex:</i>	F	<i>Start of teaching career:</i>	2007
<i>Place of birth:</i>	Lier	<i>Date – observation:</i>	7/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (childhood):</i>	Morkhoven	<i>Date – interview:</i>	7/2/2014
<i>Place of residence (now):</i>	Berchem	<i>Location – interview:</i>	Secretary's office
<i>Place of education:</i>	Leuven/Ghent	<i>Cited in:</i>	N/A
<i>Place of employment:</i>	Vilvoorde	<i>Pseudonym:</i>	N/A

Appendix 2. Overview of the interview extracts used in this dissertation

The table below provides an overview of all of the interview extracts, and the corresponding informant code. In that way, more information about each of the teacher-informants cited in the research papers can be looked up in Appendix 1. The extracts from other interviews (viz. with highly educated professionals in Chapter 5, and with pupils in Chapter 7) are not mentioned in the list – as they are not part of this study's interview corpus.

Chapter	Extract	Pseudonym	Informant code ¹¹⁰
Chapter 4	Extract 1	Benjamin	Vi(6S)6
	Extract 2	Henri	Be(6S)4
	Extract 3	Astrid	Ge(6S)6
	Extract 4	Esther	Tu(3S)2
	Extract 11	Heidi	Ie(3S)7
Chapter 5	Extract 1	<i>None</i>	Ie(3S)8
	Extract 2	<i>None</i>	Ge(3S)2
	Extract 3	<i>None</i>	Ie(3S)7
	Extract 5	<i>None</i>	Ie(3S)8
Chapter 6	Extract 1/7	Lesley	Br(6S)3
	Extract 2	Linda	Br(3S)4
	Extract 3	Thomas	An(6S)2
	Extract 4	Emily	Tu(6L)7
	Extract 5/6	Astrid	Ge(6S)6
	Extract 8	Patrick	Br(3S)4
	Extract 9	Ann	An(3S)3
	Extract 10	Stan	Ha(3S)1
	Extract 11	Susan	Be(3S)6
	Extract 12	Jacob	Ha(6S)5
	Extract 13	Iris	An(3S)4
	Extract 14	Frederic	Ge(6L)10
Chapter 7	Extract 1	Mr. Badts	Ha(6S)8
	Extract 2	Mevr. Laureys	Be(3S)6
	Extract 5	Mevr. Baert	Ha(6S)6
	Extract 6	Mevr. Herpoel	Ha(3S)2
	Extract 8	Mevr. Nys	Ge(3S)4
	Extract 11	Mr. Coenen	Be(3S)5
Chapter 8	Extract 1	Frederic	Ge(6L)10
	Extract 2	Amber	Ha(6S)6
	Extract 3	Marie	Vi(3S)4
	Extract 4	Simon	Tu(3S)4
	Extract 5a/b	Sylvie	Ge(3S)2
	Extract 6	Thomas	An(6S)2
	Extract 7	Nathan	Be(3S)5
	Extract 8	Gregory	An(6L)8

¹¹⁰ The first two letters of the informant code indicate the city (An = Antwerp, Be = Beringen, Ee = Eeklo, Ge = Ghent, Ha = Hasselt, Ie = Ypres, Le = Leuven, Tu = Turnhout, Vi = Vilvoorde). The information between brackets points at the group of pupils taught by the teacher (6L = 6th year of primary school, 3S = 3rd grade of general secondary education, 6S = 6th grade of general secondary education). Finally, the number in the end indicates the order in which the informants have been observed (e.g., a teacher with a code that ends in 3 was the third to be observed and interviewed in his or her city). For instance, the code *Vi(6S)6* refers to a teacher from a school in Vilvoorde, who teaches the sixth grade of general secondary education and who was the sixth to be visited by the researcher.

Appendix 3. Information documents and forms for schools and teachers (*in Dutch*)

A. Information document for the principal

Waaruit bestaat het onderzoek?

Onderzoek op 20 scholen (basis- en secundaire scholen) in 10 steden over heel Vlaanderen. De scholen moeten van het katholieke net zijn en (minstens) ASO aanbieden tot en met de derde graad. Per stad (school/scholen) worden (minimaal) 8 leerkrachten geobserveerd en geïnterviewd, uit drie verschillende jaren, cf. het overzicht hieronder:

6 ^{de} leerjaar lager onderwijs	2 leerkrachten
3 ^{de} jaar secundair onderwijs ASO	min. 3 leerkrachten* waarvan 1 leerkracht Nederlands
6 ^{de} jaar secundair onderwijs ASO	min. 3 leerkrachten* waarvan 1 leerkracht Nederlands

** Alle vakken komen daarbij in aanmerking, op voorwaarde dat ze in het Nederlands onderwezen worden, en plaatsvinden in een klaslokaal. Vakken als lichamelijke opvoeding en moderne vreemde talen (Frans, Duits, Engels, Spaans,...) kunnen dus niet, alle andere vakken wel.*

Wat houdt het onderzoek in?

1. Bij de leerkrachten.

a) Observatie van één les (50 minuten à 1 uur)

- Aanwezigheid van de onderzoeker, achteraan in het leslokaal
- Les wordt opgenomen (enkel audio) en achteraf geanalyseerd
- Geen aanpassingen aan het lesverloop of de lesinhoud

b) Interview met de leerkracht (ca. 30 minuten)

- Enkele aanvullende vragen over visie op taalgebruik en taalbeleid
- Wordt eveneens opgenomen (audio) en achteraf verwerkt

2. (Eventueel) aanvullend interview met de taalbeleidsverantwoordelijke van de school.

Praktische aspecten

- Inzage in de onderzoeksresultaten is mogelijk, nadat de volledige materiaalverzameling is afgerond.
- Bij de verwerking van het materiaal wordt de privacy gegarandeerd; wel wordt door middel van een te ondertekenen formulier de toestemming gevraagd om het opgenomen materiaal te gebruiken voor onderhavig en toekomstig onderzoek.

B. Information document for teacher-informants (secondary education)

Geachte heer, mevrouw
Beste leerkracht

Ik ben Steven Delarue, verbonden aan de Universiteit Gent. In het kader van mijn doctoraat voer ik onderzoek naar het taalgebruik op Vlaamse lagere en middelbare scholen, en daartoe zou ik graag willen vragen om uw

medewerking. Dit document wil graag wat meer toelichting bieden bij de inhoud van het onderzoek en de doeleinden ervan.

Wat wordt er onderzocht?

Het onderzoek is sociolinguïstisch van opzet en is dus zowel sociologisch als taalkundig van aard. We willen onderzoek doen naar het taalgebruik in een schoolse setting, meer bepaald in het klaslokaal, om op die manier te weten te komen (1) welke taalvariëteiten en -varianten gehanteerd worden in de klas en (2) door welke factoren dat taalgebruik beïnvloed wordt.

Om te onderzoeken of en in hoeverre de leeftijd van de leerlingen een belangrijke factor is, wordt het onderzoek zowel in het zesde leerjaar lager onderwijs als in het derde en zesde jaar secundair onderwijs (ASO) uitgevoerd. Daarbij komen in principe alle taal- en zaakvakken in aanmerking, mits ze in het Nederlands gegeven worden (dus geen vreemde talen zoals Engels, Frans of Duits) en in een klas- of praktijklokaal plaatsvinden (dus bv. geen lichamelijke opvoeding).

Wat wordt concreet verwacht van leerkrachten die mee willen werken aan het onderzoek?

Het onderzoek bestaat telkens uit de observatie gedurende één lesuur, aangevuld met een interview met de leerkracht (ca. 25-30 minuten). Beide elementen worden hierna kort omschreven.

1. Observatie

Eén les (50 minuten) wordt bijgewoond en op dictafoon opgenomen door de onderzoeker, om later uitgeschreven en geanalyseerd te worden. De onderzoeker bevindt zich daarbij (bij voorkeur) achteraan in de klas, en komt verder niet tussen in het lesgebeuren. De lesinvulling hoeft zeker niet te worden aangepast aan de komst van de onderzoeker: het is bijvoorbeeld niet de bedoeling om de leerlingen meer aan het woord te laten dan in een andere, doordeweekse les of hen spreekbeurten te laten geven. Tegelijk zou het spijtig zijn dat er net een les wordt bijgewoond waarin de leerlingen de helft van de tijd in stilte aan oefeningen moeten werken, omdat op die manier weinig of geen materiaal wordt verzameld.

2. Interview

Daarnaast wordt ook een interview met u afgenomen, waarin een aantal aanvullende vragen worden gesteld en er gepeild wordt naar uw visie op taalgebruik en taalbeleid. Ook dit interview wordt opgenomen, met behulp van een dictafoon. Er wordt ook een korte aanvullende enquête voorgelegd. Het interview duurt in principe niet langer dan 25 à 30 minuten.

De gegevensverzameling en -verwerking gebeurt anoniem, weliswaar met vermelding van een aantal persoonsgegevens (te weten: geslacht, geboortejaar, opleiding, geboorte- en opgroeiplaats, woonplaats, opleidingsplaats, werkplaats). Bij de analyse van het opgenomen materiaal wordt uw privacy te allen tijde gegarandeerd, in overeenstemming met de Belgische wet van 8 december 1992 en de Belgische wet van 22 augustus 2002.

De deelname aan dit onderzoek vindt plaats op vrijwillige basis, en brengt geen onmiddellijk voordeel met zich mee. Door deel te nemen aan dit wetenschappelijke onderzoek zorgt u er wel mee voor dat nieuwe inzichten worden verkregen rond taalgebruik op school, die interessant en relevant kunnen zijn voor de onderwijspraktijk. Als u deelneemt aan dit onderzoek, wordt u gevraagd om het toestemmingsformulier (zie volgende pagina) te ondertekenen. Indien u dat wenst, wordt u op de hoogte gebracht als de resultaten van het onderzoek bekend zijn.

Indien u aanvullende informatie wenst over het onderzoek of over uw rechten als informant, kunt u contact opnemen met:

Steven Delarue

Universiteit Gent
Vakgroep Taalkunde
Afdeling Nederlands
Blandijnberg 2
9000 Gent

09/264 40 82
0485/80 55 25
Steven.Delarue@UGent.be

Met vriendelijke groeten
Steven Delarue

C. Consent form for teacher-informants (secondary education)

Ik, _____ (*voor- en familienaam*) heb het document "Informatiedocument (SO)" (2 pagina's) gelezen en er een papieren exemplaar van ontvangen. Ik stem in met de inhoud ervan, en wil deelnemen aan het onderzoek.

Ik heb een papieren exemplaar gekregen van dit ondertekende en gedateerde toestemmingsformulier, en uitleg gekregen over de aard, het doel en de duur van het onderzoek, en wat van mij verwacht wordt.

Door dit formulier te ondertekenen geef ik toestemming aan de onderzoeker (Steven Delarue) alsook aan eventuele toekomstige onderzoekers om het opgenomen materiaal te gebruiken in het kader van wetenschappelijk onderzoek. Ik stem toe in het verwerken en gebruiken van mijn persoonlijke gegevens, en ben ervan op de hoogte dat ik recht heb op toegang tot en verbetering van deze gegevens. Aangezien deze gegevens en het opgenomen materiaal verwerkt worden in het kader van wetenschappelijke doeleinden, begrijp ik dat toegang uitgesteld kan worden tot na beëindiging van het volledige onderzoek. Mijn privacy zal te allen tijde gerespecteerd worden.

Namens de informant (leerkracht),

Datum:

Handtekening:

**Namens de onderzoeker,
Steven Delarue**

Datum:

Handtekening:

Geachte heer, mevrouw
Beste leerkracht

Ik ben Steven Delarue, verbonden aan de Universiteit Gent. In het kader van mijn doctoraat voer ik onderzoek naar het taalgebruik op Vlaamse lagere en middelbare scholen, en daartoe zou ik graag willen vragen om uw medewerking. Dit document wil graag wat meer toelichting bieden bij de inhoud van het onderzoek en de doeleinden ervan.

Wat wordt er onderzocht?

Het onderzoek is sociolinguïstisch van opzet en is dus zowel sociologisch als taalkundig van aard. We willen onderzoek doen naar het taalgebruik in een schoolse setting, meer bepaald in het klaslokaal, om op die manier te weten te komen (1) welke taalvariëteiten en -varianten gehanteerd worden in de klas en (2) door welke factoren dat taalgebruik beïnvloed wordt.

Om te onderzoeken of en in hoeverre de leeftijd van de leerlingen een belangrijke factor is, wordt het onderzoek zowel in het zesde leerjaar lager onderwijs als in het derde en zesde jaar secundair onderwijs (ASO) uitgevoerd. Daarbij komen in principe alle vakken in aanmerking, mits ze in het Nederlands gegeven worden (dus bijvoorbeeld geen Frans, wel wiskunde, godsdienst, etc.) en in een klaslokaal plaatsvinden (dus bijvoorbeeld geen lichamelijke opvoeding).

Wat wordt concreet verwacht van leerkrachten die mee willen werken aan het onderzoek?

Het onderzoek bestaat telkens uit de observatie gedurende ca. één tot anderhalf uur, aangevuld met een interview met de leerkracht (ca. 25-30 minuten). Beide elementen worden hierna kort omschreven.

1. Observatie

Eén lesblok ('van belsignaal tot belsignaal') wordt bijgewoond en op dictafoon opgenomen door de onderzoeker, om later uitgeschreven en geanalyseerd te worden. De onderzoeker bevindt zich daarbij (bij voorkeur) achteraan in de klas, en komt verder niet tussen in het lesgebeuren. De lesinvulling hoeft zeker niet te worden aangepast aan de komst van de onderzoeker: het is bijvoorbeeld niet de bedoeling om de leerlingen meer aan het woord te laten dan in een andere, doordeweekse les of hen spreekbeurten te laten geven. Tegelijk zou het spijtig zijn dat er net een les wordt bijgewoond waarin de leerlingen de helft van de tijd in stilte aan oefeningen moeten werken, omdat op die manier weinig of geen materiaal wordt verzameld.

2. Interview

Daarnaast wordt ook een interview met u afgenomen, waarin een aantal aanvullende vragen worden gesteld en er gepeild wordt naar uw visie op taalgebruik en taalbeleid. Ook dit interview wordt opgenomen, met behulp van een dictafoon. Er wordt ook een korte aanvullende enquête voorgelegd. Het interview duurt in principe niet langer dan 25 à 30 minuten.

De gegevensverzameling en -verwerking gebeurt anoniem, weliswaar met vermelding van een aantal persoonsgegevens (te weten: geslacht, geboortejaar, opleiding, geboorte- of opgroeiplaats, woonplaats, opleidingsplaats, werkplaats). Bij de analyse van het opgenomen materiaal wordt uw privacy te allen tijde gegarandeerd, in overeenstemming met de Belgische wet van 8 december 1992 en de Belgische wet van 22 augustus 2002.

De deelname aan dit onderzoek vindt plaats op vrijwillige basis, en brengt geen onmiddellijk voordeel met zich mee. Door deel te nemen aan dit wetenschappelijke onderzoek zorgt u er wel mee voor dat nieuwe inzichten worden verkregen rond taalgebruik op school, die interessant en relevant kunnen zijn voor de onderwijspraktijk. Als u deelneemt aan dit onderzoek, wordt u gevraagd om het toestemmingsformulier (zie volgende pagina) te ondertekenen. Indien u dat wenst, wordt u op de hoogte gebracht als de resultaten van het onderzoek bekend zijn.

Indien u aanvullende informatie wenst over het onderzoek of over uw rechten als informant, kunt u contact opnemen met:

Steven Delarue

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09/264 40 82
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Met vriendelijke groeten
Steven Delarue

E. Consent form for teacher-informants (primary education)

Ik, _____ (*voor- en familienaam*) heb het document "Informatiedocument (BaO)" (2 pagina's) gelezen en er een papieren exemplaar van ontvangen. Ik stem in met de inhoud ervan, en wil deelnemen aan het onderzoek.

Ik heb een papieren exemplaar gekregen van dit ondertekende en gedateerde toestemmingsformulier, en uitleg gekregen over de aard, het doel en de duur van het onderzoek, en wat van mij verwacht wordt.

Door dit formulier te ondertekenen geef ik toestemming aan de onderzoeker (Steven Delarue) alsook aan eventuele toekomstige onderzoekers om het opgenomen materiaal te gebruiken in het kader van wetenschappelijk onderzoek. Ik stem toe in het verwerken en gebruiken van mijn persoonlijke gegevens, en ben ervan op de hoogte dat ik recht heb op toegang tot en verbetering van deze gegevens. Aangezien deze gegevens en het opgenomen materiaal verwerkt worden in het kader van wetenschappelijke doeleinden, begrijp ik dat toegang uitgesteld kan worden tot na beëindiging van het volledige onderzoek. Mijn privacy zal te allen tijde gerespecteerd worden.

Namens de informant (leerkracht),

Datum:

Handtekening:

**Namens de onderzoeker,
Steven Delarue**

Datum:

Handtekening:

Appendix 4. Classroom observation form (*in Dutch*)

1. Gegevens over de geobserveerde les

Datum:		Beginuur:	
		Einduur:	
Jaar:		Vak:	
Naam leerkracht:			
Code:			
Stad:			
School:			

2. Contextfactoren (op te nemen in *verslag*)

- Niet-talig: lokaal (vak- of regulier lokaal, opvallende aspecten); klasgroep (omvang, samenhang, wissels, laatkomers, opvallende aspecten); lesinhoud (kort); leerkracht (voorkomen, aanpak, inleiding les, gezag, profilering tegenover leerlingen,...); omgang met onderzoeker (ontvangst, introductie aan leerlingen); andere aspecten.
- Talig: opvallende tussentaalkenmerken (fonologisch, morfologisch, syntactisch, lexicaal); afwijkende uitspraak; dialectkenmerken; opvallende codewisseling;...

3. Lesverloop / taalgebruik

In tabel: overzicht verschillende lesfasen (en eventueel opvallende wissels qua taalgebruik); triggers van codewisseling.

Lesverloop/-inhoud	Taalgebruik
(...)	(...)

Appendix 5. Interview question lists (*in Dutch*)

A. Interview questions – secondary education

1. Guisevragen over het taalgebruik van de leerlingen

- * Hoe schat u uw leerlingen (*van de geobserveerde groep*) in, in het algemeen? Wat voor leerlingen zijn het?
 - Zijn het gemotiveerde leerlingen?
 - Hoe schat u ze cognitief in?
 - Zijn er grote niveauverschillen?
- * Wat vindt u van het taalgebruik van uw leerlingen?
 - Welke taalvariëteit(en) spreken ze volgens u?
 - Welke taalvariëteit(en) zouden ze voor u moeten spreken? Wat verwacht u qua taalgebruik?
 - Is er een verschil qua taalgebruik *in* de les en daarbuiten?
 - Is er een verschil tussen hoe ze met u moeten spreken en onder elkaar?
 - Als het taalgebruik afgekeurd wordt als onvoldoende standaardtalig: denkt u dat dat een gevolg is van *niet kunnen*, of van *niet willen*?
 - Verbeterd u leerlingen soms? In welke situaties?
- * Hoe schatten de leerlingen hun eigen taalgebruik zelf in, denkt u?
 - Zijn ze daar actief mee bezig?
 - Passen ze hun taalgebruik aan naargelang van de (schoolse) situatie?
- * *Bij leerkrachten die lesgeven in meerdere jaren*: merkt u een verschil op tussen jongere en oudere leerlingen, qua taalgebruik?
- * *Bij leerkrachten die lesgeven op verschillende niveaus*: merkt u een verschil op tussen verschillende niveaus (ASO, TSO, BSO)?
- * Heeft het feit dat ik in de les aanwezig was een impact gehad op het taalgebruik van de leerlingen?

2. Opleiding en beroeps carrière van de leerkracht

- * Wat heeft u precies gestudeerd? Waar?
- * Welke lerarenopleiding heeft u gevolgd? Waar?
 - Geïntegreerde lerarenopleiding (vroegere regentaat)
 - Specifieke lerarenopleiding (vroegere AILO / ILOAN / GPB) (dag- of avondonderwijs?)
- * Wat heeft u in de lerarenopleiding meegekregen over de rol van standaardtaal (Algemeen Nederlands)?
 - Welke accenten werden gelegd?
 - Welke rol was er weggelegd voor taalvaardigheid of Nederlands (vnl. *gesproken*)?
 - Welke visie hadden de lesgevers er op (het belang van) Standaardnederlands (en Belgisch-Nederlands)?
 - Was u het daar toen mee eens? / Bent u het daar nu nog mee eens?
 - Hoe denkt u dat de huidige invulling van de lerarenopleiding zich daartoe verhoudt? (afgaande op eventuele jongere/nieuwere collega's)
 - Hoeveel aandacht zou de lerarenopleiding moeten hebben voor taal, en hoe moet dat dan concreet?
 - Ook voor niet-talenleerkrachten?

3. Taalbeleid van de overheid en de school

- * Kent u het taalbeleid van het ministerie van Onderwijs, zoals naar voren gebracht in de talenbeleidsnota van voormalig minister Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) en huidig minister Pascal Smet (2011)?

JA: Wat zijn de hoofdlijnen van dat taalbeleid? Wat heeft u eruit onthouden? Wat zijn de belangrijkste punten? In hoeverre gaat u akkoord met de stelregel dat altijd en overal standaardtaal moet worden gesproken? Is dat haalbaar? Is dat wenselijk? (Indien neen: hoe moet het dan wel?)

NEEN: Het taalbeleid van de overheid stipuleert dat altijd en overal standaardtaal moet worden gesproken, door leerkrachten, leerlingen en niet-lesgevend personeel, en in alle contexten (in de klas, maar ook op de speelplaats of op schoolreis). Wat vindt u daarvan? Is dat haalbaar? Is dat wenselijk? (Indien neen: hoe moet het dan wel?)

* Weet u iets over het taalbeleid van uw school?

NEEN: *over naar punt 4.*

JA:

- Hoe zou u het taalbeleid van de school kort samenvatten aan een buitenstaander?
- Was u betrokken bij het opstellen en/of uitwerken van dat taalbeleid?
- Bent u het eens met dat taalbeleid? Op welke aspecten wel/niet?
- Hoe past u dat taalbeleid zelf concreet toe in de klas en daarbuiten?
- Vindt u dat uw school er sterk op toeziet dat het taalbeleid nageleefd wordt?

4. Taalgebruik, perceptie en persoonlijke taalideologie van de leerkracht

[Noot: over het concept tussentaal wordt tijdens de interviews niet gesproken, tenzij de leerkracht er zelf over begint]

4.1. Eigen taalgebruik – buiten de schoolmuren

* Welke taalvariëteit spreekt u zelf thuis? Met vrienden? Met (groot)ouders? Met de kinderen?

* Gebruikt u nog dialect? Hoe vaak? In welke situaties?

4.2. Op school: eigen taalgebruik

* Vindt u van uzelf dat u standaardtaal spreekt tijdens het lesgeven?

JA: Vindt u dat moeilijk? In welke situaties heeft u daar moeite mee?

NEEN: Wat dan wel? Waarom niet? Is het een bewuste keuze ('niet willen'), of is de intentie er wel, maar slaagt u er niet in om standaardtaal te spreken ('niet kunnen')?

* Wat heeft men in uw lerarenopleiding gezegd over de wenselijkheid of verplichting om standaardtaal te spreken in de klas? Bent u het daarmee eens?

* Vindt u dat een leerkracht qua taalgebruik een modelfunctie vervult voor de leerlingen?

4.3. Op school: communicatie met actanten

* Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *leerkrachten onder elkaar*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt? Is de aanwezigheid van leerlingen binnen gehoorafstand daarin een factor?

* Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de directie*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt? Is er een verschil bij formele of informele zaken?

* Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de leerlingen*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt...

... tijdens de les?

... na de les?

* Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de ouders*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden bijvoorbeeld gebruikt tijdens het oudercontact?

* Past u uw taalgebruik aan bij bezoek van de *inspectie* of de *doorlichting*?

* Heeft het feit dat ik aanwezig was in de les een invloed gehad op uw taalgebruik?

4.4. Op school: perceptie van taalgebruik van collega's

* Hoe vindt u dat uw collega's onder elkaar spreken? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt?

* Hoe denkt u dat uw collega's spreken met leerlingen?

* Denkt u dat er een verschil is tussen leerkrachten Nederlands en andere leerkrachten?

* Denkt u dat er een verschil is tussen jongere leerkrachten en oudere?

4.5. Op school: de zin en onzin van tussentaal en dialect op school

- * Vindt u dat er plaats kan zijn voor niet-standaardtalige variëteiten (tussentaal, dialect) in de klas?
- * Gebruikt u soms zelf tussentaal of dialect tijdens de les in bepaalde situaties? Wanneer?
- * Vindt u dat dialect of tussentaal de inhoud toegankelijker kan maken voor leerlingen?
Anekdote?
- * Vindt u dat dialect zal/mag/moet verdwijnen?
- * *Voor leerkrachten Nederlands:* geeft u specifieke lessen rond standaardtaalgebruik? Vindt u dat er genoeg ruimte is daarvoor? Wordt er aandacht besteed aan sociolinguïstiek?

5. Enkele persoonsgegevens (zie ook enquête)

- * Wat is uw leeftijd? Geboortjaar?
- * Wat is uw geboorteplaats? Waar ben u opgegroeid? Huidige woonplaats?

B. Interview questions – primary education

1. Guisevragen over het taalgebruik van de leerlingen

- * Wat is uw algemene indruk van deze leerlingen?
In vergelijking met andere/eerdere klassen?
- * Wat vindt u van het taalgebruik van uw leerlingen?
Hoe zou u hun taalgebruik omschrijven? Welke taalvariëteit(en) spreken ze volgens u?
Welke taalvariëteit(en) zouden ze voor u moeten spreken? Wat verwacht u qua taalgebruik?
Is er een verschil qua taalgebruik *in* de les en daarbuiten?
Is er een verschil tussen hoe ze met u moeten spreken en onder elkaar?
Verbeterd u leerlingen soms? In welke situaties?
- * Hoe schatten de leerlingen hun eigen taalgebruik zelf in, denkt u?
Zijn ze daar actief mee bezig?
Passen ze hun taalgebruik aan naargelang van de (schoolse) situatie?
- * *Bij leerkrachten die al les hebben gegeven in andere jaren:* merkt u een verschil op tussen jongere en oudere leerlingen, qua taalgebruik?
- * Heeft het feit dat ik in de les aanwezig was een impact gehad op het taalgebruik van de leerlingen?

2. Opleiding en beroeps carrière van de leerkracht

- * Welke lerarenopleiding heeft u gevolgd? Waar?
- * Wat heeft u in de lerarenopleiding meegekregen over de rol van standaardtaal (Algemeen Nederlands)?
Welke accenten werden gelegd?
Welke rol was er weggelegd voor taalvaardigheid of Nederlands (vnl. *gesproken*)?
Welke visie hadden de lesgevers er op (het belang van) Standaardnederlands (en Belgisch-Nederlands)?
Was u het daar toen mee eens? / Bent u het daar nu nog mee eens?
Hoe denkt u dat de huidige invulling van de lerarenopleiding zich daartoe verhoudt? (afgaande op eventuele jongere/nieuwere collega's)
Hoeveel aandacht zou de lerarenopleiding moeten hebben voor taal, en hoe moet dat dan concreet?
Ook voor niet-talenleerkrachten?

3. Taalbeleid van de overheid en de school

* Kent u het taalbeleid van het ministerie van Onderwijs, zoals naar voren gebracht in de talenbeleidsnota van voormalig minister Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) en huidig minister Pascal Smet (2011)?

JA: Wat zijn de hoofdlijnen van dat taalbeleid? Wat heeft u eruit onthouden? Wat zijn de belangrijkste punten? In hoeverre gaat u akkoord met de stelregel dat altijd en overal standaardtaal moet worden gesproken? Is dat haalbaar? Is dat wenselijk? (Indien neen: hoe moet het dan wel?)

NEEN: Het taalbeleid van de overheid stipuleert dat altijd en overal standaardtaal moet worden gesproken, door leerkrachten, leerlingen en niet-lesgevend personeel, en in alle contexten (in de klas, maar ook op de speelplaats of op schoolreis). Wat vindt u daarvan? Is dat haalbaar? Is dat wenselijk? (Indien neen: hoe moet het dan wel?)

* Weet u iets over het taalbeleid van uw school?

NEEN: over naar punt 4.

JA:

- Hoe zou u het taalbeleid van de school kort samenvatten aan een buitenstaander?
- Was u betrokken bij het opstellen en/of uitwerken van dat taalbeleid?
- Bent u het eens met dat taalbeleid? Op welke aspecten wel/niet?
- Hoe past u dat taalbeleid zelf concreet toe in de klas en daarbuiten?
- Vindt u dat uw school er sterk op toeziet dat het taalbeleid nageleefd wordt?

4. Taalgebruik, perceptie en persoonlijke taalideologie van de leerkracht

[Noot: over het concept tussentaal wordt tijdens de interviews niet gesproken, tenzij de leerkracht er zelf over begint]

4.1. Eigen taalgebruik – buiten de schoolmuren

- * Welke taalvariëteit spreekt u zelf thuis? Met vrienden? Met (groot)ouders? Met de kinderen?
- * Gebruikt u nog dialect? Hoe vaak? In welke situaties?

4.2. Op school: eigen taalgebruik

- * Vindt u van uzelf dat u standaardtaal spreekt tijdens het lesgeven?
- JA:** Vindt u dat moeilijk? In welke situaties heeft u daar moeite mee?
- NEEN:** Wat dan wel? Waarom niet? Is het een bewuste keuze ('niet willen'), of is de intentie er wel, maar slaagt u er niet in om standaardtaal te spreken ('niet kunnen')?
- * Spreekt u anders wanneer u taal geeft dan wanneer u wiskunde of godsdienst geeft?
 - * Wat heeft men in uw lerarenopleiding gezegd over de wenselijkheid of verplichting om standaardtaal te spreken in de klas? Bent u het daarmee eens?
 - * Vindt u dat een leerkracht qua taalgebruik een modelfunctie vervult voor de leerlingen?

4.3. Op school: communicatie met actanten

- * Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *leerkrachten onder elkaar*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt? Is de aanwezigheid van leerlingen binnen gehoorafstand daarin een factor?
- * Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de directie*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt? Is er een verschil bij formele of informele zaken?
- * Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de leerlingen*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt...
 - ... tijdens de les?
 - ... na de les?
- * Hoe verloopt de communicatie met *de ouders*? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden bijvoorbeeld gebruikt tijdens het oudercontact?
- * Past u uw taalgebruik aan bij bezoek van de *inspectie* of de *doorlichting*?
- * Heeft het feit dat ik aanwezig was in de les een invloed gehad op uw taalgebruik?

4.4. Op school: perceptie van taalgebruik van collega's

- * Hoe vindt u dat uw collega's onder elkaar spreken? Welke taalvariëteit(en) wordt/worden gebruikt?
- * Hoe denkt u dat uw collega's spreken met leerlingen?
- * Denkt u dat er een verschil is tussen jongere leerkrachten en oudere?

4.5. Op school: de zin en onzin van tussentaal en dialect op school

- * Vindt u dat er plaats kan zijn voor niet-standaardtalige variëteiten (tussentaal, dialect) in de klas?
- * Gebruikt u soms zelf tussentaal of dialect tijdens de les in bepaalde situaties? Wanneer?
- * Vindt u dat dialect of tussentaal de inhoud toegankelijker kan maken voor leerlingen?
 - Anekdote?
- * Vindt u dat dialect zal/mag/moet verdwijnen?

5. Enkele persoonsgegevens (zie ook enquête)

- * Wat is uw leeftijd? Geboortjaar?
- * Wat is uw geboorteplaats? Waar ben u opgegroeid? Huidige woonplaats?

C. Interview questions – language policy coordinators

1. Taalbeleid op macroniveau (overheid)

* Kent u het taalbeleid van het ministerie van Onderwijs, zoals naar voren gebracht in de talenbeleidsnota van voormalig minister Frank Vandenbroucke (2007) en huidig minister Pascal Smet (2011)?

Wat zijn de hoofdlijnen van dat taalbeleid? Wat zijn voor u de belangrijkste aspecten in de nota?

Hoe zou u het taalbeleid van de overheid uitleggen aan een buitenstaander?

Eén van de stelregels in de nota is dat altijd en overal standaardtaal moet worden gesproken binnen een schoolse context, door alle betrokken partijen. Wat vindt u daarvan? Is dat haalbaar? Is dat wenselijk? (Indien neen: hoe moet het dan wel?)

* Kent u nog andere taalbeleidsdocumenten van overheidswege?

2. Taalbeleid op microniveau (school)

* Waarom heeft de school beslist om een taalbeleid op te stellen? Verplichting? Eigen keuze?

* Hoe is het taalbeleid op deze school georganiseerd? Wie werkt er allemaal aan mee? Is er een werkgroep? Hoe vaak komt die samen? Hoe is ze samengesteld? Wie staat er aan het hoofd?

* Hoe is het taalbeleid op school precies tot stand gekomen?

* Wat zijn de belangrijkste hoofdlijnen van het taalbeleid? Hoe zou u het taalbeleid van de school kort uitleggen (samenvatten) tgv. een buitenstaander?

* Welke concrete acties zijn er al ondernomen?

- Hoe werden die onthaald door (niet-betrokken) leerkrachten?

- Hoe werden die onthaald door leerlingen?

- In hoeverre zijn de doelstellingen bereikt?

* Worden (werden) de leerlingen betrokken bij het opstellen van het taalbeleid?

* Was (is) er voldoende medewerking van de leerkrachten? Hoe trek je leerkrachten over de streep?

* Hoe zorg je ervoor dat een taalbeleid breder gaat dan enkel de leerkrachten Nederlands? Hoe krijg je vakleerkrachten mee? (cf. TVO – taalgericht vakonderwijs)

* Worden er nascholingen georganiseerd voor de leerkrachten? Voor alle leerkrachten, of enkel voor de leerkrachten Nederlands? Op welke manier worden die begeleid?

* Vindt u dat uw school er sterk op toeziet dat het taalbeleid nageleefd wordt?

* Meestal wordt schriftelijk taalgebruik veel sterker belicht dan mondeling taalgebruik. Hoe komt dat volgens u, en hoe zit het in het taalbeleid van uw school?

* Wat is de visie van het taalbeleid van uw school op het gebruik van standaardtaal, tussentaal en dialect? (Indien TT en DIA ook toelaatbaar zijn: wanneer dan, in welke situaties?)

* Wat vindt u persoonlijk van het taalbeleid? Zijn er nog punten waar het volgens u beter/anders kan?

* Als het uitwerken van een taalbeleid niet verplicht zou zijn, zou uw school er dan ook nog één hebben? Vindt u dat een school een taalbeleid *moet* hebben? Levert dat concrete voordelen op?

Appendix 6. Questionnaires (*in Dutch*)

A. Questionnaire – secondary education

1. Welk taalgebruik zou u als **leerkracht** willen hanteren in de volgende situaties of tegenover de volgende personen? Bij elke situatie vindt u een taalcontinuüm, dat van standaardtaal of Algemeen Nederlands (ST) tot dialect (DIA) gaat. Zet een kruisje in de rechthoek op de plaats die staat voor het taalgebruik dat u in die situatie zou willen hanteren. Een kruisje kan eender waar in de rechthoek geplaatst worden.

... met een collega, in de koffiekamer of de leraarskamer	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... tijdens het lesgeven, tegenover leerlingen	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met de directie	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met een collega, als er leerlingen binnen gehoorsafstand staan	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met ouders op het oudercontact	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met leerlingen die u ergens tegenkomt, buiten de school om (op straat, in de supermarkt,...)	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>

... op een meerdaagse schoolreis, tegenover leerlingen	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
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2. Hierna vindt u opnieuw een aantal situaties opgelijst. De vraag is net dezelfde, maar nu met betrekking tot de (uw) leerlingen: hoe zouden leerlingen volgens u moeten of mogen spreken in de volgende situaties? Zet opnieuw een kruisje op het continuüm in de rechthoek.

... in de klas, als ze hun vinger opsteken om een leerkracht een vraag te stellen	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
... in de klas, bij partnerwerk of groepswerk (onderling met andere leerlingen)	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
... op de speelplaats	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
... tegenover de directie	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
... tegenover een leerkracht op een eendaagse schooluitstap, bijvoorbeeld een excursie	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>
... als ze met een persoonlijk probleem (pesten, moeilijke thuisituatie) naar	<div>ST</div> <div>DIA</div> <div></div>

Geslacht?	
Geboorteplaats?	
Plaats waar u bent opgegroeid (0-18 jaar)?	
Plaats van opleiding?	
Huidige woonplaats?	
Plaats(en) waar u werkt?	

B. Questionnaire – primary education

1. Welk taalgebruik zou u als **leerkracht** willen hanteren in de volgende situaties of tegenover de volgende personen? Bij elke situatie vindt u een taalcontinuüm, dat van standaardtaal of Algemeen Nederlands (ST) tot dialect (DIA) gaat. Zet een kruisje in de rechthoek op de plaats die staat voor het taalgebruik dat u in die situatie zou willen hanteren. Een kruisje kan eender waar in de rechthoek geplaatst worden.

... met een collega, in de koffiekamer of de leraarskamer	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... tijdens het lesgeven, tegenover leerlingen	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met de directie	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>
... met een collega, als er leerlingen binnen gehoorsafstand staan	<div>ST</div> <div></div> <div>DIA</div>

... met ouders op het oudercontact	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
... met leerlingen die u ergens tegenkomt, buiten de school om (op straat, in de supermarkt,...)	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
... op een meerdaagse schoolreis, tegenover leerlingen	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>

2. Hierna vindt u opnieuw een aantal situaties opgelijst. De vraag is net dezelfde, maar nu met betrekking tot de (uw) leerlingen: hoe zouden leerlingen volgens u moeten of mogen spreken in de volgende situaties? Zet opnieuw een kruisje op het continuüm in de rechthoek.

... in de klas, als ze hun vinger opsteken om een leerkracht een vraag te stellen	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
... in de klas, bij partnerwerk of groepswork (onderling met andere leerlingen)	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
... op de speelplaats	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>
... tegenover de directie	ST <div style="float: right;">DIA</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 30px; width: 100%;"></div>

3.c. Vervult u op dit moment nog andere taken binnen de school, behalve het lesgeven?

4. Persoonsgegevens

Geboortejahr?	
Geslacht?	
Geboorteplaats?	
Plaats waar u bent opgegroeid (0-18 jaar)?	
Plaats van opleiding?	
Huidige woonplaats?	
Plaats(en) waar u werkt?	

Appendix 7. Transcription protocol (*in Dutch*)

1. Basisprincipes

De transcripties gebeuren orthografisch, en dit protocol is voor een deel gebaseerd op het CGN-protocol voor orthografische transcriptie (Goedertier & Goddijn 2000), in een sterk vereenvoudigde versie.

Het doel van de transcriptiedata is vooral kwalitatief van aard, niet kwantitatief. Om toch wat onderzoek te kunnen doen naar de variatiebreedte van leerkrachten, worden in de transcripties een tiental saillante, representatieve, algemene tussentaalkenmerken specifiek gemarkeerd. De tabel hieronder laat zien om welke kenmerken het gaat, en welk label ze meekrijgen (met volgcijfer).

Fonologisch	Deletie van de eind-[t] in korte functiewoorden (fonologische alternanties)	(*1) <i>bv. dat(*1)</i>
	Deletie van de [h]	(*2) <i>bv. ik heb(*2)</i>
Morfofonologisch	Diminutief op <i>-ke</i>	(*3) <i>bv. koekske(*3)</i>
	Syllabering van <i>-/ən/</i>	(*4) <i>bv. werken(*4)</i>
Morfosyntactisch	Flexie van lidwoorden	(*5) <i>bv. hij heeft den(*5) bakker gezien</i>
	Flexie in adnominale woorden	(*6) <i>bv. hij heeft zijnen(*6) boek mee</i>
	Pronominale alternanties: <i>ge/gij/u(w)</i>	(*7) <i>bv. ge(*7) weet toch waarvoor dat dient?</i>
	Imperatief op <i>-t</i>	(*8) <i>bv. werkt(*8) eens mee!</i>
	Expletieve complementeerder <i>dat</i>	(*9) <i>bv. je weet toch waarvoor dat(*9) dat dient?</i>
	<i>Voor</i> en <i>van</i> in beknopte bijzinnen	(*10) <i>bv. hij is niet gewend van(*10) te luisteren</i>

Bij woorden waar de eind- of beginklank is weggevallen (bijvoorbeeld deleties van begin-[h] of eind-[t]) wordt ervoor gekozen om die weggevallen klanken (letters) toch weer te geven, om zo kwantitatieve berekeningen te vergemakkelijken (bijvoorbeeld zoeken op *dat(*1)* vs. *dat*).

In alle andere gevallen wordt de precieze, eigenlijke uitspraak zo duidelijk mogelijk weergegeven in de transcriptie.

Andere tussentalige kenmerken krijgen een generiek label naargelang van hun categorie:

Fonologisch	(*f)
Morfologisch	(*m)
Syntactisch	(*s)
Lexicaal	(*l)

- Niet-standaardtalige assimilaties worden weergegeven met een (*f). Bijvoorbeeld: progressieve assimilatie in plaats van regressieve (regressief: 2^e klank beïnvloedt eerste; progressief: 1^e klank beïnvloedt tweede)
- Congruentiefouten krijgen een (*m).
- Voorbeelden syntactisch (*s): *moest...* ; doorbreking werkwoordelijke eindgroep ; dubbele negatie.

Enkele voorbeelden van concrete gevallen:

<i>datta</i> 'dat dat'	dat dat(*1)(*f)
<i>dak</i> 'dat ik'	dat(*1) ik(*f)
<i>w'ier</i> 'we hier'	we(*f) hier(*2)
<i>j'ebt</i> 'je hebt'	je(*f) hebt(*2)
<i>dadis</i> 'dat is'	dat(*f) is
versus <i>da's</i> 'dat is'	dat(*1) is(*f) evt. dat(*1) is(*f, da's)
<i>dadebik</i> 'dat heb ik'	dat(*f) heb(*2) ik
<i>et</i> 'het'	het(*2)
versus <i>t</i> 'het'	't
<i>der</i> 'er'	er(*f, der)
<i>ma</i> 'maar'	maar(*f, ma)

Vuistregel: fonologische alternanties worden vernederlandst, (morfo)syntactische niet: die verschijnen zoals ze zijn, met de standaardtalige variant eventueel tussen haakjes. Bij fonologische alternanties kan de concrete uiting eventueel tussen haakjes erbij.

2. Dialectkenmerken

- Een sterk dialectische uitspraak van standaardtalige woorden (dus puur fonologisch afwijkend), wordt met (*z) aangegeven.
- Dialectwoorden worden met (*d) aangegeven [bv. *kortwagen*(*d)]

Zwaar dialectische uitspraak	(*z)
Dialectwoordenschat	(*d)

3. Andere tekens of labels

Woorden uit een vreemde taal (Engels, Frans,...)	(*en) (*fr) (*du)
Pauzes	
- zeer korte pauze	.
- korte pauze	..
- lange pauze	...
Onverstaanbaar	((xxx))
Afbreking van een woord	(*a) bv. <i>Hij verkl(*a) zet je nu eens recht!</i>
Verspreking	(*v) bv. <i>Hij verdr(*v) verklaarde zich nader.</i>
Duidelijke codewisseling	//
Andere labels	((zucht)) ((lacht))

4. Overige aspecten

Wat niet behandeld wordt in deze outline van het transcriptieprotocol, wordt in de transcripties in principe behandeld in overeenstemming met het CGN-protocol.

