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**CONFERENCE PROGRAMME AND
BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

Conference

Mapping multilingual (counter-)expertises: Scientific and political
knowledge production across borders in the long twentieth century

University of St Andrews
23-24 August 2023

THE CONFERENCE

To call themselves ‘international’, present-day academic conferences must be held in English. Even though English as transnational academia’s working language is usually taken for granted – particularly in British universities – conference language policies have not always been so. Modern History scholarship has shown that language diversity and language skills are major criteria for shaping the transnational networks one can join (von Oertzen 2015) and for demarcating how far one can go from home (Gallagher 2019) and how the commodification of certain languages makes their native speakers particularly mobile (Phillipson 1992). Why would this be otherwise when it comes to the production and dissemination of knowledge?

Scholars have explored how translation ensures the prominence of particular forms of knowledge in particular spaces (Gordin 2015) and how multilingualism plays out in academia since at least the nineteenth century (Surman 2018). Yet, there is a lack of systematic approaches analysing the role of code-switching, language varieties, ‘accents’, and multilingualism in knowledge production across periods and spaces in which ‘standard’ English does not squarely play the role of lingua franca. How, for instance, did the use of German for philosophical debates help configure the reach of Western philosophy in the early 1900s? How did Esperanto become a working language for medical congresses in the 1920s? How were French and Portuguese used to produce and spread misinformation regarding pandemic management policies in the 2020s? How do multilingualism and the use of certain languages and media facilitate and/or hinder cross-border communication and knowledge production during the twentieth century? These are some of the questions this two-day conference will address.

To gather multiple answers to these questions, our conference will frame ‘knowledge’ beyond the narrow, commonplace scope that equates ‘knowledge’ with modern science and expertise. After all, why would traditional, indigenous, political, and lay forms of knowledge be excluded from this conversation? Taking these on board also means being open to counter-expertise, contested forms of knowledge, and sources of ever-polemic misinformation, as well as contexts in which expertise is not recognised as knowledge.

We aim to gather historians, social anthropologists, STS scholars, linguists, and translation studies scholars, among others, to debate issues revolving around, but not limited to:

- How particular languages, language varieties, linguistic ideologies, and media shape the way knowledge has been defined, produced, questioned, and disseminated;
- Multilingualism in cross-border political and scientific collaboration;
- Language policies and bureaucracy in multilingual settings (e.g. institutions and administration in multilingual countries and/or colonial and imperial contexts);
- Language and information management in large-scale events (e.g. wars, Universal Exhibitions, Olympic Games, international congresses and organisations);
- Knowledge production and exchange in pidgins, creoles, and international auxiliary languages;
- Translanguaging, code-switching, and translation in written and spoken expert communication.

A conference organised by Dr Guilherme Fians and Dr Bernhard Struck.

Sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust and the University of St Andrews School of History.

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

23 August 2023:

9:30am	Welcome and opening: Guilherme Fians and Bernhard Struck
10-12am	Panel 1: Meeting points: international networks, multilingual congresses, and the making of scientific expertise Marcel Koschek, Ruslan Mitrofanov
12-1pm	Lunch break
1-3pm	Panel 2: Multilingualism, between nationalisms and internationalisms Bernhard Struck, Jan Surman
3-30pm	Coffee break
3.30-5.30pm	Panel 3: International spaces, multilingual policies Valerij Gretchko, David Karlander and Linus Salö

24 August 2023:

10-12am	Panel 4: Which language, what expertise: intersections of knowledge production, expertise, and language fluency Manuela Burghilea, Guilherme Fians, Racquel Lee
12-1pm	Lunch break
1-3pm	Panel 5: The geopolitical margins as laboratories for knowledge exchange Bipasha Bhattacharyya, Philipp Hofeneder, Ian Merkel
3-30pm	Coffee break
3.30-5.30pm	Panel 6: The colonial and post-colonial as sites for multilingual education Jessica Chandras, Diana Lemberg, David Tavárez
5.30-6pm	Wrap-up session: Guilherme Fians and Bernhard Struck
7pm	Dinner at Forgan's

Programme also available at the website of the [University of St Andrews Institute for Transnational and Spatial History](#).

Until stated otherwise, talks and panels will take place at the New Seminar Room (second floor), and the coffee and lunch breaks will take place at the Undercroft (semi-basement). Both are located at the School of History, 71 South Street, St Andrews.

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS (FOLLOWING THE ORDER OF THE TALKS)

Global cooperation: Using Esperanto in the medical community around 1910

Marcel Koschek (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn)

As part of the Esperanto movement, the Tutmonda Esperanta Kuracista Asocio (TEKA), medical association was founded in 1908, by the First World War had developed into a globally networked organisation with a wealth of expertise. After some physicians had already joined the movement in general, it was Polish-speaking doctors from the then Habsburg and Russian empires who took the initiative at the Dresden World Congress and founded a global and transnationally operating organisation. Within a short time, the association developed into a well-functioning group of experts who were in contact with each other in their own medical journals and gathered not only at Esperanto events but also at international medical congresses, such as in Budapest in 1909 or London in 1913. Furthermore, the aim of the members overlapped with the aims and tasks of the International Red Cross, so that there was also cooperation in this area. This example shows how multilingualism and scientific cooperation in a cross-border context could be overcome for the better by an international auxiliary language.

The paper focuses on the history of TEKA until the outbreak of the First World War as an expert group within the Esperanto movement and uses various technical means to look at the influence of the journals, the distribution of members, and the worldwide connections and the resulting circulation of knowledge between them.

Marcel Koschek studied History and specialised in the field of international modern history. His doctoral studies (at Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn) focus on the Polish Esperanto movement around 1900 and determine how the activists were networked in a transnational perspective with each other and various organisations on different levels.

From Weak Cosmopolitanism to Strong Nationalism: The Role of International Medical Congresses in (Un)making of Transnational Psychiatry

Ruslan Mitrofanov (University of Munich)

In March-April 1894, the XI International Medical Congress was held in Rome. Vladimir Chizh (1855–1922), a head of the Department of Psychiatry at Dorpat University, came to the congress on the Russian side. Surprisingly, the most troubling aspect was not the congress's poor arrangement but the lack of communication among the delegates. Chizh resented that all the Italians spoke their native language so that half of the reports remained misunderstood: 'I am sure that at the XII Congress in Moscow, we are Russian doctors, both from a sense of delicacy and for love of the cause, will not compel our guests to attend a reading in a language they do not understand. Indeed, it is simply incomprehensible how doctors can so lose respect for knowledge, love for their science, as to speak in Italian in the presence of their comrades who understand French' (Chizh 1894: 169). The topic of language and cultural barriers, as well as the national stereotypes of Russian psychiatrists on properly organized scientific knowledge, have not yet been sufficiently addressed in historiography. In this regard, I place this study within the broader framework of representing psychiatry as a discipline that had rapidly shifted from a cosmopolitan to a 'nationalizing' science. Accordingly, I focus on the politicization of scientific knowledge in the early 20th century and the role of Russian psychiatrists caught between the two military blocs in Western Europe.

Ruslan Mitrofanov is a Ph.D. Student in Russian and Asian Studies at the University of Munich. My project, *The Institutionalization of Psychiatry in the Russian Empire: The Case of the Kazan District Hospital as a Transnational Study*, explores questions related to the genesis and development of psychiatry in Russia at the early 20th century.

(Re)Producing and Circulating Knowledge: The Place of Esperanto Science Journals in the Early Twentieth Century

Bernhard Struck (University of St Andrews)

The 1900s were the heyday of empire, a period of rapid transformation and globalisation during which nationalism and internationalism competed and complemented one another. This was also felt in the realm of knowledge, where sciences and scientists competed but also cooperated in meetings, associations, congresses, and world fairs. A key problem behind cooperation and competition was language, which was particularly felt at the 1900 World Fair in Paris, where scientists from a number of branches from maths and physics to medicine gathered exchanging expertise. Yet all too often a presentation in Italian fell on deaf ears elsewhere. Language was seen as a stumbling block that had to be overcome. Also present were some early Esperantists in Paris.

The Esperanto movement – with its first international congress being held in 1905 – was then gained traction, also among scientists and academics. This contribution, first, deals with the correspondence among scientists behind the Delegation for the Adoption of an Auxiliary Language, including Louis Couturat and Wilhelm Ostwald, between 1901 and 1906. This delegation would, ultimately, opt for Esperanto given its recent rise and proven practicability. Second, it will analyse the science-focused Esperanto journals, e.g. *Internacia Scienco Revuo* (1904-1923) and *Scienco Gazeto* (1912-1914). This paper is particularly interested in questions of space concerning the transnational history of science, asking where contributors came from, what their main/first languages were, what content they produced, and whether these journals functioned primarily as a translation vehicle of knowledge or indeed a place of production of knowledge and its dissemination.

Bernhard Struck is Reader in Modern History at the University of St Andrews. He works on the history of Europe in the long nineteenth century (Poland, France, Germany, Czech Lands), transnational and comparative history, history of travel, border lands, spatial history. PI of the project *Esperanto & Internationalism 1880s-1920s*.

(Re)writing Ukrainian scientific language in the long 1920s

Jan Surman (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Science)

Between 1918 and 1933, Ukrainian scientific language was though anew twice. First, directly after the Great War, scholars followed the ideas of Ukrainization/Korenizatsiya, elevating folk-based Ukrainian language to literary one. In the 1930, once Korenizatsiya was revoked and removal of those elements considered nationalistic and bourgeois followed, in most cases through accentuation of Russianisms.

Scientific terminology played a prominent role in this process. It was connected with language activism and from 1921 with the Institute of Ukrainian Scientific Language at Ukrainian Academy of Sciences that produced a series of terminological dictionaries. Most dictionaries based on existing literature including the ones from abroad. Not only Galician literature was taken into consideration, where Ruthenians published on quite few disciplines from the 1880s, but also the one from Czechoslovakia there two Ukrainian universities, established after 1918, published a number of works e.g. in chemistry or agronomy. From 1928 vernacular terminology was collected through a questionnaire, contributing also to mobilisation to elites behind a language project.

Yet, the times have changed quickly. Andryj Hvylya, journalist, from 1933 vice commissary of UCE and head of commission for 'revolution of the work on the linguistic front,' wrote 1933 an influential article *To Destroy the Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism*, which defined the discussion for decades. New terminology should be more pro-Russian and proletarian, Galician terminology was termed as regionalism and removed. Hvylya opted for keeping international terms as a kind of heritage of all Europe – in practice, international meant Russian.

In my talk I will discuss both epistemic ideals behind these linguistic ideas, but also reactions to them from non-UkrSSR Ukrainians, showing how epistemic and sociopolitical ideas of language intertwine.

Jan Surman is a historian of Central and Eastern Europe currently based at the Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Science. His interests are history of internationalism, language of science, and history of Ukrainian science.

Esperanto and Soviet language policy in Ukraine in the 1930s

Valerij Gretchko (Tokyo University)

When Ludwik Zamenhof launched his Esperanto project, he envisaged this language would contribute to the noble goal of universal understanding and to strengthen brotherhood between peoples. One of the fathers of structural linguistics, Baudouin de Courtenay, saw in Esperanto an opportunity to protect small nations from the dictates of the so-called 'great languages'. Is it then possible that, once released into the harsh world of reality, Esperanto will perform exactly the opposite function, becoming an instrument of colonialism and national oppression?

My talk addresses the situation of Soviet language policy at the turn of the 1930s, when a tense struggle for the emancipation of the Ukrainian language was taking place in Ukraine. Having taken the Bolshevik declarations of equality of nations and internationalism at face value, many Ukrainians hoped for a renaissance of their language, which had long been practically banned in Tsarist Russia. However, Soviet leaders saw the strengthening Ukrainian language as a competitor to the dominant position of Russian and as a potential threat to the country's unity. At the time, the position of the central government in Moscow could not afford to pursue the policy of forced Russification that had only begun in the late 1930s. The attempt to introduce Esperanto instead of Ukrainian into the school curricula in eastern Ukraine, i.e. in regions with a mixed Ukrainian-Russian population, emerge in this context. This move led to public controversy and protests against the alleged 'internationalization', led by the then Minister of Education of Ukraine M. Skrypnyk. My paper reviews the historical aspects of this debate, touching on theoretical issues concerning the possibilities of using Esperanto and other artificial languages in language and national policy.

Valerij Gretchko is Associate Professor at the College of Arts and Sciences, Tokyo University. He received his Ph.D. at the Ruhr-University Bochum (Germany) and worked at the Lotman Institute for Russian and Soviet Culture (Bochum) and at the Slavic Research Center (Sapporo, Japan). His research interests include multilingualism, artificial languages, and language policy in the early Soviet period.

Scholarly unknowledge, technocratic expertise: Semilingualism as a policy driver in Sweden's multilingual turn

David Karlander (Uppsala University) and Linus Salö (Stockholm University)

Sweden's minority language policies underwent a complete restructuring in the early 1970s. In less than ten years, Sweden abandoned its longstanding commitment to monoculturalism, monolingualism and assimilation, embracing multilingualism and multiculturalism as political and civic ideals. Its autochthonous and immigrant minorities would no longer suffer assimilation and discrimination but would be allowed to thrive as multilingual members of a progressive welfare state. This policy shift was facilitated by new forms of expert knowledge about multilingualism. Notably, academic linguistic expertise became interwoven with technocratic expertise, as linguistics began to interact with language management. In this paper, we take a closer look at this historical juncture, focusing on formation and uptake of the notion of 'semilingualism' in Swedish scholarly and public debates in the 1960s and 1970s.

'Semilingualism' has long been regarded as a theoretically flawed, empirically baseless and ideologically suspicious idea, as it wrongly frames minoritized bilinguals as linguistically and cognitively deficient, marked out by their 'lack' of a 'complete' language. 'Semilingualism' was unknowledge rather than knowledge. Yet, the notion served as a powerful catalyst of Sweden's language political shift, offering a dystopic vision of the looming failures of statist nationalism. This paradoxical relationship between a reactionary idea and progressive politics intensifies if we trace the intellectual roots of 'semilingualism', which hark back to Nazi linguistics. By examining the political and intellectual history of 'semilingualism', our paper thus speaks against the possibility of an uncontaminated and rigorous science of language, while simultaneously pointing out the political potentials of this science. Regardless of what the epistemological standards of linguistics may be, linguistic expertise will always remain a contradictory form of knowledge.

David Karlander is a linguist interested in systems of linguistic thought. His research covers topics in Swedish minority language policy, Esperanto in the Swedish workers' movement, constructed languages, and the history of linguistics. From July 2023, he is a Pro Futura Scientia Fellow at the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies and Uppsala University.

Linus Salö is a sociolinguist and an Associate Professor of Bilingualism at Stockholm University. His work deals mainly with language policy and multilingualism in society, combining historical enquiries into linguistic minorities' education with sociolinguistic analyses of minority language politics in Sweden and Sápmi. Salö has also critically explored university language policy, publishing language, language of instruction and workplace discourse.

Francisco Valdomiro Lorenz: The hyperpolyglot Czech philosopher, writer and educator in Brazil

Manuela Burghilea (University of St Andrews)

Posited by Esperantists as the greatest polyglot that ever lived, Francisco Valdomiro Lorenz is a pioneer of the Esperanto movement in both his Czech home country and his adoptive homeland Brazil. With an alleged mastery of one hundred and four languages, Lorenz taught himself languages spanning all continents, be they dead or living, natural or constructed, of prestige or of lesser use. He left behind a prolific work showing his vast range of interests, including linguistics (*Iniciação linguística* 1929), indigenous people (*A mentalidade ameríndia* 1938, *La brazilaj aruakoj* 1983, *Kompleta gramatiko de la tupia lingvo* 2015), booklets on Ido and Esperanto, original and translated poetry, and popularisation works of Czech literature and history in Portuguese. As a medium, he is said to have produced psychographed texts, dictated by deceased personalities by means of spiritual communication.

By taking an actor-centred approach (Dietze & Naumann 2018), I bring into analysis Lorenz' agency in the production of transnational networks of knowledge. 'Playing with scales' (Revel 1996) enables giving attention to Lorenz' participation in multiple spaces, highlighting a trajectory that transcended local frameworks. I show how a man living in a remote Polish colony in Brazil could act as a connector and accommodate local intelligibilities and universal paradigms. 'A man beyond his time' (Novinski 2020), Lorenz remained undeterred by being physically away from wider society, kept engaged in wide-reaching multilingual correspondence, and also put the basis of education in his adoptive colony, being currently one of the best-known persons of Czech origin in Brazil.

Manuela Burghilea is a PhD student in Social Anthropology and Transnational History at the University of St Andrews, where she is member of the *Esperanto and Internationalism* research project. Her interests focus on cosmopolitanism, Esperanto Millennials, and the history of the youth Esperanto movement in Brazil.

After all, who invented the airplane? Multilingualism and the production of historical knowledge on Wikipedia

Guilherme Fians (University of St Andrews)

The English-language Wikipedia article on airplane states that Clement Ader ‘attempted to fly’ and that Alberto Santos Dumont ‘made what was claimed to be the first airplane flight unassisted by catapult’, whereas ‘the Wright brothers invented and flew the first airplane in 1903’. The French-language Wikipedia, in turn, devotes entire paragraphs to explaining the French origins of the word ‘aviation’, pointing to France’s pioneering spirit in this field – which contrasts with the emphasis of the Portuguese-language Wikipedia on Santos Dumont’s achievements. Paradoxically, in each language, the airplane had a different inventor.

My paper delves into historical knowledge produced on Wikipedia to challenge our perception of how languages help shape knowledge production. While historians tend to think of knowledge in terms of institutionalised scientific expertise, I propose an attention to grassroots knowledge production in ‘the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit’, which decouples knowledge from scholarly expertise. As a multilingual arena where potentially ‘anyone’ can produce public history with one’s own hands, Wikipedia fosters commons-based peer production that draws on and reinforces the continuum language-nation-culture.

Analysing Wikipedia articles in English, French, and Portuguese, this paper unpacks how nuances in language use portray, for instance, ‘claims’ and ‘attempts to fly’ as opposed to facts. Such an outlook towards languages in grassroots knowledge production also entails considering language and language variation as gatekeeping mechanisms that limit who can produce certain forms of knowledge, as shown by the article on the Wright brothers – which, following Wikipedia’s guidelines, can only be edited in American English.

Guilherme Fians is Leverhulme Research Fellow at the University of St Andrews (UK) and Co-Director of the Centre for Research and Documentation on World Language Problems (Netherlands/USA). His latest monograph is *Esperanto Revolutionaries and Geeks: Language Politics, Digital Media and the Making of an International Community* (2021).

Languages of Instruction: Multilingual Knowledge Production at Joint Venture Universities

Racquel Lee (University of Washington)

Joint venture universities (JVUs) are a form of transnational higher education where the laws, customs, and languages of at least two national contexts are combined into a single institution, offering learners foreign degrees without ever necessarily leaving the host country. These forms of organizing tertiary learning present opportunities for broadening cross-border collaboration and understanding, while at the same time they raise practical issues regarding the negotiation of knowledge production, reproduction, and academic social life as they combine not only diverse cultural practices but also multiple institutional protocols. While offering a form of global university education where English is the language of instruction is an appealing alternative to sending students abroad, there are a number of logistical concerns for how the campus functions. If only the students with the highest language proficiencies are accepted, their experience in classroom discussions may be more fluid, but the socioeconomic and regional diversity of the campus is often drastically reduced; if language proficiency is less strictly considered, students sometimes cannot understand one another well enough to practically collaborate on in-class projects.

Based on ethnographic research at three JVUs in mainland China with English as the language of instruction, this paper explores the multiple approaches to designing language policy in admissions, curricula, and graduation requirements and the complications described therein by students, faculty members, and staff in these campus communities.

Racquel Lee is a Ph.D. candidate in sociocultural anthropology at the University of Washington, Seattle. Her research explores shifting cultural models of innovation in global higher education through the context of joint venture universities in China.

Esperanto and M.K. Gandhi: Hagiographic legitimation and moving universalisms

Bipasha Bhattacharyya (University of Cambridge)

Esperanto has often been the subject of a great deal of twentieth century linguistic research/activism, as the most successful metonym for an international auxiliary language. Rarely has the Movement been conceptualised historically, as movements of ideas both eluding and representing regional and thematic nodes. This intervention attempts to investigate ideas of Esperanto in interaction with another metonym, that of M.K Gandhi. Gandhi's own negative opinions on Esperanto in conflict with the 'mother tongue', are seen as a subset of the indigenous-foreign binary that he uses to fortify questions of language usage within the 20th century Indian colonial state. A re-contextualization of these opinions against the simultaneously occurring history of Esperanto's persecution at the hands of 'mother-tongue fascists' in Hitler's Germany, is attempted.

My paper attempts to place Gandhian opinions on Esperanto both within contexts of Indian anti-colonialism as well as within Esperanto networks beyond India. Within this larger, international context, I show how Gandhi's own voice on Esperanto is in dissonance with representations of Gandhi in Esperanto periodicals, as well as Esperanto connections amongst his circles. The appearances of these Esperantists within transnational Intelligence files are investigated in order to ask what may be a crucial question for historians of language, and of India — Does the Gandhi metonym legitimise international Esperanto networks, or does Esperanto become a way to legitimise Gandhi, and in turn, strands of anti-colonialism that he has disproportionately come to represent?

Soviet Knowledge Transfer between Political Dominance and Linguistic Hierarchisation

Philipp Hofeneder (University of Graz)

Knowledge transfer in the Soviet Union is commonly seen under the absolute dominance of Russian. Russian was omnipresent as the only union-wide scientific language. It furthermore dominated as the most important language of publication and exercised an extremely dominant position as a relay language for knowledge transfer from the Socialist Camp as well as from so-called capitalist languages.

Nevertheless, apart from this mostly familiar picture, there are activities that document the use of alternative languages such as varieties. A closer look shows that a highly complex system of different languages, varieties and corresponding relationships between them emerged. This did not change the extremely dominant position of Russian but led to different languages being used for different purposes depending on the situation. This paper will explain these processes in detail using the example of Soviet Ukraine and the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia (1st edition 1959-65, 2nd edition 1974-85). As a regional project, it represents an alternative to the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia in Russian, which had already appeared since 1926 onwards and experienced a total of three editions. It shows that translations, adaptations and the transfer into different types of texts (such as summaries or shortened versions), led to a complex system of knowledge transfer.

Philipp Hofeneder is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Graz, where he finished his habilitation in 2021 about a cartography of translation. In his work he specializes in translation history in multilingual and pluriethnic empires such as the Habsburg monarchy, the Russian tsardom, and the Soviet Union.

Brazilian Social Scientists in the Academic World System, 1934-1966

Ian Merkel (Freie Universität Berlin)

In the middle of the twentieth century, Brazil was seen by many as a laboratory for the social sciences: a place to observe social phenomena in the making, whether in the study of race relations and the African diaspora, urbanization, settler colonialism, or indigeneity. Brazil's uniqueness, when compared to other 'laboratories' in formally colonial contexts, derived from its long-standing intellectual culture, elite circulation, and developed research infrastructure. Its universities, latecomers in the academic world system, were nonetheless in intimate dialogue with more central academic cultures. This paper examines the relationships between mid-century Brazilian social scientists and their counterparts in France, the United States, and, to a lesser extent, Germany. It builds on some of the arguments from my book, *Terms of Exchange*, paying closer attention to the politics of language.

Portuguese was and still is a marginal language in the international space, contributing to inequalities that characterize intellectual exchange between Brazil and the larger world. While foreign specialists of Brazil are familiar with texts written in Portuguese about the country, the contributions of Brazilian scholars in other fields, especially more theoretical ones, circulate little beyond the national space. On the other hand, Brazil has a large enough internal market to make it so that translation is not always necessary or even desirable. This paper considers these dynamics in the period 1934, with the founding of Brazil's first University, and 1966, when agreements between Brazil's military government and USAID reformed the higher education system, ushering a different kind of internationalization.

Ian Merkel is an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at the Freie Universität Berlin. His first book, *Terms of Exchange: Brazilian Intellectuals and the French Social Sciences*, was published by the University of Chicago Press in May 2022 and will be published in Portuguese by Edusp in 2023.

Legacies of marginalization: Denotified Tribal students' (counter-)expertise through linguistic assimilation and education in rural India

Jessica Chandras (University of North Florida)

Mother tongues in India are powerful ideological constructs for organizing social life (Bonfiglio 2010; LaDousa 2010, 2014). Drawing on archival data and qualitative ethnographic research on two mother tongue speech communities in a rural region in the state of Maharashtra, this paper examines language ideologies about Marathi, a language of power and official regional language of the state, and Banjara, spoken by a settled nomadic denotified Tribal community, formally branded a 'criminal tribe' (Ramaswamy and Bhukya 2002). Banjara-speaking parents, educators, and students question whether their mother tongue has any place in formal education. Their educational aspirations and practices contradict India's 2020 National Education Policy which aims to integrate more mother tongue use into pedagogy at all levels of education. Marathi emerges in circulating linguistic practices and language ideologies within Banjara communities as a language necessary to mitigate social stigma in classrooms and the broader community over their own mother tongue.

Thus, this paper reconsiders definitions and socially structuring applications of mother tongues stemming from stigmatizing colonial-era identity labels for formally criminalized castes and tribes. Overall, educational privilege and caste discrimination make visible Banjara student identities by bringing to light colonial vestiges in prevailing contemporary social structures, educational bureaucracy, and languages in education (Mohanty 2006; 2019).

I am a linguistic anthropologist trained in qualitative and ethnographic methods. My on-going research in India examines values attached languages at the intersection of language and socioeconomic class, caste, and language politics. My current research project is based in rural Maharashtra on education equity and linguistic justice for denotified Tribes.

The Transnational Renewal of American Bilingual Education, c. 1940-1970

Diana Lemberg (University of St Andrews)

Bilingual education has a long pedigree in U.S. history, but in the early to mid-20th century it was suppressed on political and (pseudo)scientific grounds, decried as un-American and even as dangerous to child development. Its rehabilitation in the 1960s and 1970s has largely been framed in terms of domestic activism and policymaking.

This paper aims to enlarge our understanding of the shifting fate of bilingual education in the United States by examining how the transnational circulation of ideas and a changing international political climate helped legitimize it anew in the post-1945 period. I focus especially on how research and experimentation from the Philippines, Latin America, and Canada affected American discussions of bilingual education, and on UNESCO as a node of debate between and among decolonizing, developing, and western countries. American modernization theorists at the time conceptualized expertise as flowing unidirectionally from the developed to the developing worlds, and some subsequent U.S. historians have conceived of a domestic American “Cold War culture” in similarly impregnable terms. However, the case of bilingual education suggests that ideas traveled along more complex transnational pathways, including from global South to global North, even during the early Cold War. It also demonstrates how multilingualism can be the baseline condition for producing certain forms of knowledge.

Diana Lemberg, Lecturer in History at the University of St Andrews, is currently working on a manuscript about language training in U.S. international history. Publications include *Barriers Down: How American Power and Free-flow Policies Shaped Global Media* (Columbia, 2019) and articles on language in *Diplomatic History* and *Modern Intellectual History*.

Multilingual language policies and neocolonial methods in post-revolutionary Mexico

David Tavárez (Vassar College)

In the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), an emerging constellation of post-revolutionary intellectuals, scientists, and bureaucrats contended with the framing of new linguistic and educational policies that addressed the 'needs' of Indigenous communities, as perceived by the state. Before the Revolution, the Mexican state enthusiastically participated in the exhibition of Pre-Columbian artifacts at various world fairs while ignoring living Indigenous populations. After the Revolution, the state turned to the difficult task of formulating Indigenous language and educational policies, a centralized set of policies known as indigenismo.

This presentation analyzes the tensions between early visions of multilingual indigenista language policies in the 1920s, which focused on incorporating Indigenous communities into nationalist educational policies favoring the acquisition of Spanish, and the emergence of indigenismo científico by the late 1930s as a policy that explored the implementation of bilingual education in Indigenous communities. Even if the divide between assimilationists and champions of bilingual education was significant, early indigenistas of all stripes shared some troubling neocolonial methodologies, which included the highly centralized use of questionnaires, and the establishment of boarding schools. To illustrate the tensions among indigenista factions regarding post-revolutionary language policies, this presentation analyzes the implementation of such policies in the traditional homeland of the Yaqui of northwestern Mexico, who sought to maintain a hard-earned autonomy after centuries of political isolation.

David Tavárez, Professor of Anthropology (Vassar College), is a linguistic anthropologist, historian, and recent Guggenheim Fellow who authored *Rethinking Zapotec Time*, *The Invisible War*, and 60+ peer-reviewed articles and chapters, edited *The Oxford Handbook of Ritual Language* and *Words and Worlds Turned Around*, and co-authored *Painted Words* and *Chimalpahin's Conquest*.