Responsibility and Language Practices in Place

Edited by
Laura Siragusa and Jenanne K. Ferguson

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Introduction. Language and Responsibility: a relational and dynamic approach

I n autumn 2010, the Finno-Ugric media centre, *Finugor.ru*, launched a competition among Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic peoples to vote for the Seven Wonders of the Finno-Ugric World. The 'Wonders' fell into different categories, such as 'Nature', 'Culture', 'Monuments and Constructions', and 'Holidays'. The representative groups were allowed to suggest a candidate per category on all categories, and many Veps (a Finno-Ugric Indigenous minority of the Russian Federation) participated. My (Laura's) friends—both Vepsian and Russian—did not wait long before pointing out that, despite having candidates under each category, Veps had voted quite unanimously for the 'Nature' division, where they had uploaded 'Izchezayushchee Shimozero' (literally, 'the disappearing Shimozero') (Fig. 1). This is a karst lake found in the Vologda Oblast, near the settlements where Veps traditionally live. From time to time, its waters along with the fish go underground to only come back at often unpredictable times (Fig. 2). For this reason, this lake is also referred to as 'Chernaya Yama' (R. 'Black Hole'). According to a local legend, the 'underground disappearance' of the lake is due to a card game between Lake Onega and Lake Shimozero.[1] If Lake Shimozero loses the game, it gives over its waters and fish to settle its debt. Once it wins, the waters and fish come back to the surface. By indicating that Veps had mostly voted for Lake Shimozero as their strongest identify marker, my friends wanted to emphasize the strong connections between this Indigenous group and the land where they have lived for thousands of years, and how these connections are narrated by the locals. The dynamicity of the waters and of the environment are framed as dialogic and relational; for us, they are also somewhat symbolic of the various ways in which language practices, place, and responsibility for both language and the place are continuously negotiated and reshaped in relation to changes in the ecology. Here, ecology refers to the lake's natural environs—but we wish to extend this as a metaphor for a linguistic ecology (Haugen 1972; Hult 2009; Mühlhäusler 1995) as well, in capturing how languages interact with each other in the specific places where they are spoken (or written).

Indeed, this small fieldwork vignette introduces the main theme of our volume on the connections between language practices and place, both physical and virtual, and to what extent people take responsibility for them. In this case, acts of responsibility are conveyed by sharing stories, voting online, and providing an interpretation for the choices people have made in

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1   http://vologdaregion.ru/news/2018/7/14/5-interesnyh-faktov-o-vologodskih-vepsah.

their virtual votes. What should also be mentioned is that the nearby village of the same name, Shimozero, underwent a massive depopulation during the Soviet assimilation policies in the 1950s–60s. A contemporary Vepsian writer, Petukhov (1992) remembered how he moved to Siberia and in 1956 received a letter from his mother stating that everyone had abandoned the village. Thus, this brief anecdote about Lake Shimozero is all the more paramount to us as it also introduces some of the complex relations between migrants and their land of origin, and how they may creatively and relationally find ways to reconnect with that place (both literally and figuratively) through their language practices. In this volume, we aim to problematize these connections and relations between place and language further, bringing into this dialogue heterogenous scholarship from different parts of the world.
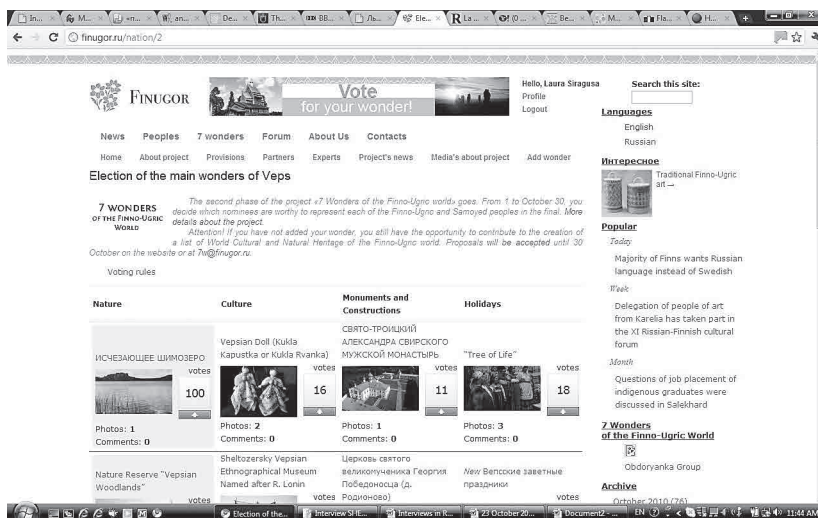
Figure 1. October 2010. Snapshot from Laura's computer depicting the '7 Wonders of the Finno-Ugric World' competition.

Figure 2. Chernaya Yama. Picture taken from https://yanka-geo.livejournal.com/12709.html.

The present volume brings together scholars from the Humanities and Social Sciences in order to investigate how speakers demonstrate responsibility for language practices in relation to both physical and virtual places. The authors have gathered through several conference panels held at the International Congress of Arctic Social Scientists (ICASS IX) in Umeå (2017) and the European Association of Social Anthropologists' conference in Stockholm (2018), each focusing on themes related to language, responsibility, mobility and place. Out of the discussions arising from these presentations, we have sought to answer a variety of questions. Beginning with the concept of responsibility, we wanted to understand the extent to which people take responsibility for the ways they speak or write in relation to a place, be it one they have long resided in, recently moved to, or left at some point in their lives; we sought to understand what social and cultural implications this entails. These papers all explore acts of movement, revealing the ways in which mobility affects the ways that individuals relate to a place, as well as to a language or languages. What we have found is that conceptions of responsibility are also heavily bound up in the ways speakers relate to both language and place; a variety of social or performative acts—linguistic or otherwise—can come to convey or index 'responsibility' for a language. These senses of responsibility are shaped by the myriad social and political dynamics that play into these engagements and relationships, which are often unequal; the agencies that are invoked in these ways of speaking and construction of place are often human, but may be more-than-human as well. From these broader conclusions, several threads and thematic groupings emerged, as we identified different spaces or places in which these processes were occurring.

The focus on responsibility, language, and their links to a place is highly topical at the moment, given the present debate on linguistic 'superdiversity' in urban settings (Arnaut et al. 2016; Blommaert and Backus 2011; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Vertovec 2007), which reminds us to account for the multitude of ways speakers of multiple different languages choose to speak and transmit these ways of speaking in different spaces. We also look to the growing use of virtual space and its potential for linguistic creativity (Akkaya 2014; Dovchin et al. 2017; Hillewaert 2015; Vasquez 2019; Zappavigna 2013), the increase in people's movement from place to place both within and between nation-states (Canagarajah 2017; Duchêne et al. 2013; Gal 2006, 2018; Heller et al. 2015), coupled with committed and renewed attention to indigenous ways of speaking in relation to aspects of the environment (Martin 2010; Meadows 2009; Reo et al. 2019; Webster 2014). However, for inspiration, we have also looked to another collection that emerged almost 30 years ago from the time of our writing; in 1992, Jane Hill and Judith Irvine's volume *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse* appeared. A successful and influential collection that covered a variety of speech communities and languages, it relied primarily on the use of discourse analysis to reveal the co-construction or articulation of responsibility and agency through conversation. However, in the intervening years, some of this interest has faded, or perhaps surfaced in slightly different iterations and forms. We think that it is time to revisit and revise conceptualizations

of responsibility in relation to language, given its relevance to other key topics in (linguistic) anthropology such as those we have just mentioned: 'superdiversity', migration, indigeneity, and both physical and virtual places.

Hill and Irvine (1992) and the contributors to the volume primarily looked at responsibility and agency as co-constructed through specific types of speech and thus employed close discursive and linguistic analysis to the texts and dialogues presented in the chapters. Many of the contributions dealt with reported speech in particular and its relationship with culturally situated ideas of agency and intentionality. Our approach is slightly broader; we too engage with how responsibility and agency are defined discursively in a variety of settings, but with varying degrees of attention to linguistic form and structure. The authors in this volume also consider numerous domains beyond spoken discourse, bringing online textual practices, linguistic landscapes and literary works to the forefront. In order to highlight each thematic strand, we have sought to frame our approach according to three different spaces that reveal the relevance and immediacy of these themes for those aforementioned current debates in linguistic anthropology. Thus, we investigate language practices and responsibility in urban and rural spaces, in virtual spaces, and in institutional or national spaces.

One approach we hope to take to investigating 'responsibility' in and through language practices is inspired by the roots of the (English) word itself: the *ability to respond*, or mount a response to a situation at hand. It is thus a 'responsive' kind of responsibility, one that focuses not only on demonstrating responsibility *for* language, but highlighting the various ways we respond *to* situations metalinguistically. Our contributors analyse these practices at various levels, from that of phonological alternations and syntactic structures to broader discursive and generic features. This sort of responsibility may be individually instigated, but it is also always co-created relationally; it is shaped by the interlocutors in dialogue, grounded in the language ideologies they each hold. While we can see individual agency and responsibility present in the linguistic practices we discuss, we also consider how responsibility may be shared and assessed collectively by speech communities as well.

Why has discussion involving responsibility and language stalled? We believe that Hill and Irvine (1992)'s analytic approach perhaps appealed to cognitive linguistics with a focus on intentionality above all, even though many of the papers in the volume were ethnographically rich. As mentioned, however, we see multiple ways to tie in the vital concerns and concepts they explored into broader anthropological questions which have emerged in the last decades, such as that of nonhuman agency. With growing work in anthropology turning attention to the 'more-than-human' world as well (to name a few, Descola [2006] 2013; Viveiros de Castro 1998, Willerslev 2007), in our approach we explore and acknowledge how ontologies, ideologies, and discourses regarding language shape and are shaped by the place where humans and nonhumans meet. The 'nonhuman' does not only include 'other-than-human persons' (Hallowell 1960), that is nonhuman animals and spiritual entities, which are attributed a soul and with whom humans interact and co-construct space, but it may also comprise new technologies

as well. In some recent work, Pennycook (2017; 2018) has attempted to highlight some of the approaches we might take to understand what he terms of a 'posthumanist' linguistics, in order to attend to better understanding life in the Anthropocene.[2] As he writes, '[we] need to rethink the relations between languages, humans, and objects: there is no longer a world 'out there' separate from humans and represented in language but rather a dynamic interrelationship between different materialities' (Pennycook 2018:449). As we discuss agency beyond the human, intentionality becomes more difficult (if not impossible) to talk about since we only experience it filtered through our human perspectives (cf. Kohn 2013; Solomon 2010:149). Nevertheless, the ways in which language, both spoken and written, virtual and physically embodied, circulates with mobile speakers reflect how different kinds of agency affect language practices and consequent interactions with a place.

Place, then, is another major lens that we wish to look through when considering language and responsibility. Discourses on place within anthropology have long called for researchers not to solely focus on one single, static place, but the connections between places as they are *lived* by those people (and other beings) that inhabit them, in order to shed light on how these relationships between places are both created and maintained (Anderson 2000; Ingold 2000; see also Basso 1996 for a focus on relating to place through narrative). Recent philosophical approaches to place, such as Ingold's (2009:33–34) envisioning of places as entwined trails, or 'knots' in 'meshworks' of individuals always in motion, or Adey's (2009:75) idea of places not as 'simple immobilities but as relative permanencies' remind us that places are both always connected to other places through the movement of people, and that places themselves are also in flux (cf. Gal 2018). As Alastair Pennycook (2010:128) has written in regard to the tensions between globalization and localization, which necessarily impact language, 'Everything happens locally. However global a practice may be, it still happens locally'. Much depends on what speakers of a language will face in a new place they enter in terms of the sociopolitical forces in the linguistic ecologies present there, and how they may exert agency to enact responsibility for the language(s) they speak. As stated by Blommaert (2010), the phenomenon of globalization should not be regarded as a separate phenomenon from language, since language practices change along with changes in the broader ecology. That means acknowledging how language practices are continuously aligned with cultural, social, political, and historical transitions. This comprises the introduction of new technologies as well as how people engage dynamically through emergent language practices. We hope to add to the recent discussion on online and offline language usage and on how speakers and writers circulate semiotic resources

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2   According to Davis and Todd (2017), this geological epoch in the history of Earth begins with the much earlier than many Euro-Western scholars claim, noting that major shifts—both physical and philosophical—began with the intensification of colonial and imperial activity five hundred years ago. Thus, contemporary cultural and linguistic practices for adapting to these conditions took root much earlier than the latter half of the 20th century (Zalasiewicz et al. 2019).

in their communicative practices (Dovchin et al. 2018) by asking to what extent they do so as to embrace responsibility for, by, and through language.

Despite the acknowledgment that people (and their languages) are moveable and mobile, language still remains strongly linked to place (or land, more generally) in many Indigenous ontologies (see Basso 1996 on Western Apache; Merlan 1981 and Povinelli 1995 on various Aboriginal Australian communities; Rosborough and Rorick 2017 on Kwak'wala and Nuu-chah-nulth, Schreyer 2016 on Tlingit, among many others). Or, as Lewis Cardinal (Cree) puts it, 'The land is paramount for all Indigenous societies. Their relationship to that land, their experience on that land shapes everything that is around them' (Wilson 2008:87). Whitney-Squire (2016:1160) discusses how among Haida speakers and many other indigenous peoples, 'language is bound to place, meaning that language is born of a people's experience; the land shapes the language and in turn, the language shapes them'. From these words, we see how language and responsibility link together then in that people 'hold relationships' (Wilson 2008:80) with land and language; they engage in responsible and responsive ways with land through speaking in certain ways or in certain languages.

Relationships with both language and land are thus mutually maintained or (re)negotiated, even as speakers move. Language is also invoked to (re)-create a sense of 'place' in virtual spaces—either as a re-emplacement of physical places and networks or the creation of a new kind of spaces reflecting new relationalities. Bonds move fluidly between the physical and virtual realms of connection, and linguistic features or forms become indexical or iconic of places. Virtual spaces, brought into being through both mobile telephony and computer usage, are also a key space for the maintenance of indigenous languages especially in situations of increased or rapid mobility and migration. Virtual spaces are also milieux for the reification and performances of identity stances (many of which link to ideas of belonging to or with physical places) but also to enact stances of responsibility for a language's continued maintenance.

Thus, in looking at 'place' we consider both the physical and the virtual spaces we inhabit; this increased use of online spaces (e.g., Androutsopoulos 2015; Dovchin 2015; Hillewaert 2015; Smith and Barad 2018; Sultana 2019) cannot be overlooked. Growing attention to the role of language in shaping and constituting these spaces calls for work on attending to these phenomena in different languages, especially those with smaller speaker populations than 'world languages'. How are key senses of belonging to physical places—especially those connected to land and territory—transformed or re-created through language practices and discourses in virtual spaces online or in metaphorical spaces evoked by modernity? Identifying links between indigenous languages and virtual spaces also allows us to move beyond characterizations linking indigenous practices primarily with the 'past' and give credit to the novel ways they are contributing to expanding social domains for Indigenous language use (cf. Davis 2018 for the case study of Chickasaw language revitalization in multiple domains; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 on traditions being dynamic and continuously reinvented; Perley 2011, 2013 on the importance of recognizing the emergent vitalities of

Indigenous languages; Wagner 2017 for an overview of how new technologies are supporting language revitalization).

As the collection 'Native on the Net: Indigenous and Diasporic Peoples in the Digital Age' (Landzelius 2004) showed, many indigenous groups adopted the Internet early on as a productive space for language usage and the renewal and recreation of offline bonds across vast physical distances. The studies collected in that early volume, along with other studies of that era (e.g., Christensen 2003 on Inuit Internet usage) occurred prior to the full emergence of Web 2.0 and the proliferation of participatory networking platforms happening just as those books were being published. Here, our interest in indigeneity (and indigenous languages) overlaps with conceptions of place and the influences of increased mobility and migration among many communities in an era of unprecedented opportunities for online interconnection; as mentioned above, the use of certain language varieties, in fact, may also be part of the 'place-making' process, or the ways in which diasporic groups recreate or reconstitute a sense of place and belonging elsewhere, in this case online instead of a new physical location (see, among others, Bernal 2005; 2014 regarding Eritrean online diasporic spaces).

Many of the chapters also seek to explore how different senses of (linguistic) belonging are also transformed and/or reconstituted through physical migration. Ideas about place, emplacement and belonging are conversely always shaped by mobility, due to the role that power and inequality play in determining or influencing patterns of migration and human movement. All speakers move along 'linguistic trajectories' (Wyman 2012), moving 'toward' or 'away from' different languages in their repertoires over the course of their lives; trajectories may be investigated both over the course of one individual's life, or over multiple interconnected generations. The sum of speaker trajectories, shaped by social, economic and political forces, may also point towards language shift—the movement away from speaking (and transmitting) a language by its speakers. At any point along these trajectories, we find chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981)—the specific crystallizations of time and space—in which a speaker's language(s) are being spoken (or not spoken) in relation to a variety of internal and external factors within their linguistic ecologies. Shifts in linguistic trajectories thus often occur in response to physical movements—the migration from rural to urban spaces, from region to region, or across national borders—meaning that speakers are faced with new configurations of language-in-place to navigate. Even without major migrations, however, trajectories can shift, too, as sociopolitical movements set in force new patterns of revalorization or devaluation of particular languages, shaping those chronotopic snapshots in and between which speakers and their languages are always ensconced.

Our question then turns to the lived experiences of these linguistic trajectories. How do speakers negotiate responsibility and agency in these new spaces through language practices? How do they perform responsibility by and through language, while navigating tensions arising from unequal relations between actors? In other words, we are interested in how responsibility to both language and to places are entwined both for indigenous people, migrants, and/or tourists. For indigenous groups

migrating from rural to urban, the native or heritage language may serve as a medium through which recreate both a sense of place and place-based relationships; for migrants across borders language is also a way to reconnect and manifest relationships to others and to one's homeland, as well as create new senses of belonging. We investigate a responsibility to speak and the continued use of language in a new linguistic ecology, where a language may be minoritized and subject to new ideologies and policies from a majority-language standpoint. Finally, a more subtle relationship with place has been identified by the contributors of this collection, that is, how locals and tourists interact in a specific place (cf. Pujolar and Jones 2012). Tourism becomes a medium of connection to place not always necessarily rooted in economic schemes/market value (though in many cases, the profit connection is certainly there; cf. Duchêne and Heller 2012), but rather rooted in confrontation, separation and unity; this may manifest through identifying outsiders and insiders linguistically when claiming ownership of a place.

We have organized our work in three sections, where we take the multiple relations between responsibility, language practices, and place into account. The first section entitled, *Speaking and Writing 'Responsibility' in Urban and Rural Spaces*, investigates oral and written practices in three different cities and villages in order to appreciate what social and cultural implications (moving to) a place entails and the kinds of power relationships that are implicated in these processes. In her chapter, *Language Diversity Indexing Cosmopolitan Agencies: the Case of Francophone African Migrants in Lyon,* Accoroni reflects on the relationship between language and migration, in that it understands the former as a communication tool, but also and most importantly, as cultural difference, a vision of the world and a negotiation of values. As international circulations have transformed today's migrant into a hybrid category defying earlier understandings of the phenomenon, sociological research is now faced with the quandary of paradigm shifts that have moved the debate from issues of integration to those of interaction, while relationships have become increasingly more cosmopolitan and complex. In this light, Accoroni brings to the fore the linguistic dimension of the francophone migrant interlocutors in France, whose literacy, different cultural affiliations, and metaphors are ontologically inherent to their migratory journey, as well as being negotiated across and beyond language.

In her chapter, entitled *The Tool, the Heart, and the Mirror: About Emotional Aspects of Language in Transcultural Contexts,* Breier approaches mobility and migration through language and emotions. In her study on Germans and their descendants in contemporary Helsinki, Breier aims to answer the following questions: How did and does language influence their self-identification and feeling of belonging? At what points of their lives did language become particularly important, possibly even conflictual, and something to reflect upon consciously? How did they explain those processes and negotiations as part of their life-narratives? Thus, she demonstrates that in the context of mobility and migration, language may serve as a way to maintain ties to the homeland, both in forms of social networks, of open options, and last, not least of emotional connectedness. In these processes

and negotiations, speakers make responsible decisions, as these may affect not only them, but also their children. Responsibility is thus attached to a conscious language choice, which connects to different places.

Although not explicitly, Esposito also hints at emotion and affect when in her chapter, *Unheard Voices of a Rebel City: re-Appropriation of Rights through the City Walls,* she shows how people respond to a sense of expropriation in the written form through the use of graffiti. She shows how mainstream narratives around tourist cities rarely offer a critical view of mass tourism, while alternative perspectives around this phenomenon do not always find their place or niche in the public discourse. Short-term mobility in the form of mass tourism affects the social environment of local communities, which do not possess the powerful tools to make their needs heard in this changing context. Therefore, Esposito sheds light on linguistic processes taking place in a Neapolitan district dealing with a recent wave of mass tourism through the analysis of its Linguistic Landscape and shows how city dwellers express their needs within a contested space and how they take responsibility for the kind of society they are proposing. Thus, she focuses on the agency of graffiti, in the attempt to re-shape the society starting by the city walls.

In her chapter, *Tomorrow is not (only) in Humans' Hands: Responsibility for the Future as 'Shared Business' in Vepsian Ways of Speaking*, Siragusa turns to a rural space, and suggests re-thinking about future sustainabilities and security in conjunction with nonhuman agencies and thus pose a challenge to an often solely human-centred approach to change and adjustment. This claim emerges from observing how Vepsian villagers in Northwest Russia engage with nonhuman beings, be they territorial masters or 'wild' and 'domestic' animals, and the environment itself. Her chapter shows how Vepsian ways of speaking, such as *verbal charms* and *omens*, expressed in certain morpho-syntactic structures of the language, reveal a relationship with the environment and future occurrences, which humans accept to only partly control. Thus, they share 'responsibility' for the future, or better, attend to and share a forthcoming 'business' together with both other humans, and nonhuman beings.

We again return to the theme of tourism in the next section, *Performing Responsibility and Indigenous Languages in New Spaces*, wherein Yamasaki investigates the relations between globalization, increased mobility of speakers, and intensive use of electronic media in Yucatan. She presents the social complexities of a gradual shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish, along with an increase indigenous labour migration, and how those factors affect both language practices and relations to a place, be it physical or virtual. In her chapter, *Yucatec Maya Language on the Move: Considerations on Vitality of Indigenous Languages in an Age of Globalization*, Yamasaki offers a general framework for considering vitality of indigenous languages in the present age characterized by mass migration and electronic mediation and shows how globalization processes can, in fact, contribute to the expansion of the language beyond the community boundaries. This is seen, for example, in the speakers' increased reference to 'Maya' as a self-identity, which is capable of transcending geopolitical and social divisions between spaces.

The agency of virtual space is also a theme that Kaartinen touches in his chapter, *Ownership, Responsibility, and Agency in Language Revitalization*. He describes the continuing effect of this linguistic ideology on cultural strategies and revitalization practices among present-day Bandanese. In urban and national settings, code switching and 'glossing backward' from Indonesian risk erasing Bandanese as a distinct domain of producing meaning, but speakers persist in maintaining grammatical and phonetic differences between Bandanese and the national language of Indonesian. By insisting on Bandanese as a distinct linguistic form, the Bandanese continue to project a linguistic otherness to their immediate neighbours, including those relatives who fail to acquire fluency in the language. While this impairs the transmission of the language from parents to children within the same locality, interest and competence in Bandanese continues to be fuelled by long-distance interactions that involve family visits, large-scale congregations, child-borrowing, and smartphone communication.

In *'Don't write it with "h"': Standardization, Responsibility and Territorialization when Writing Sakha Online*, Ferguson explores how the responsibility both for and through language may be expressed and performed in online spaces, with a focus on illuminating the direct and indirect invocations of responsibility for one's linguistic choices, and how they are linked to senses of place-based belonging for speakers. The question of continued maintenance is one facing many speakers of minority languages, who are often confronted increasingly by the question of how exactly they should be engaging with practices that engage with responsibility for language (Bauman and Henne-Ochoa 2015). Increased accessibility to the internet in Russia's Far East has afforded more and more Sakha speakers the opportunity to use the language online. However, when paying attention to the employment and reception of particular regionally-associated non-standard dialect features that are not represented or sanctioned by top-down linguistic policy, tensions emerge concerning who should take responsibility for the language and how they should be doing so.

The final section, entitled *Language and Responsibility in Cultural and Institutional Space,* investigates the intersections of top-down and bottom-up language policies and practices within institutional as well as broader national communities to which these institutions belong. In her chapter, *Language Ideologies in Gao Xingjian's Literature: a Linguistic Anthropological Study of Chinese Diaspora Literature in Europe*, Peng demonstrates that language ideology not only denotes the speakers' feelings towards language(s), but also more importantly those realizations and judgments of language(s) that are connected with a different aspect of speaker/author's personal agency. Inspired by Samuel Beckett's attenuation of language, the French Nobel Prize laureate Gao Xingjian has conducted various language experiments in his literary creations in the past two decades. Gao's literary works, as Diaspora literature, have received extensive attention from European readers due to their Western modernist literary style, the author's anti-institution attitude, and the classical Chinese genres pursued in his literary creations. Therefore, in her chapter, Peng examines how the classical Chinese genres and the influences of European modernism and French postmodernism

collide towards an expression of an inner stress of immigrant identity—
and a responsibility to uphold it through linguistic practices. With detailed
analysis of the literary devices including the juxtaposition of time-space
configurations, the interactions of diversified language elements, the micro-
histories and political geographies embedded in his travel literature, Peng
looks into how Gao's literary language responds to the complex Chinese
language institutions and influences of European language ideologies.

Peng reveals how concepts of language and citizenship merge with
ideas of responsibility; these ideas about the intersection of responsibility
with place, belonging and being a citizen also resonate in the works of
O'Toole and Innes. In Innes' chapter, *Icelanders' Opinions on the Role
of the State in Teaching Icelandic to Foreigner*, she focuses on language
learning among new immigrants to Iceland. Innes investigates the push
for immigrants to Iceland to learn the Icelandic language, as visas and
citizenship depend on its acquisition. Being a responsible citizen thus
means showing personal responsibility for learning and speaking Icelandic.
However, in her focus groups some Icelanders also called for the state to
show greater accommodation for learners' languages. State responsibility
and personal responsibility for language are thus judged within a moral
framework linked to Iceland's positioning as a Scandinavian welfare state.
Innes reveals the tensions between discourses of who takes responsibility and
what language responsibility should look like for both learners of Icelandic
and the Icelandic government, again pointing to the interconnections of
concepts of place and belonging with performing notions of responsibility
to, and through, language.

Through language-learning endeavours in Aotearoa New Zealand and
Iceland, we see how non-Indigenous and Indigenous people as well as
immigrants and locals relate to the (imagined) community of the nation-
state, but also to speakers of Indigenous or local languages. In the chapter,
*Responsibility, language movement, and social transformation: the shifting
value of te reo for non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Michelle O'Toole
looks at adult non-Māori experiences of learning te reo and tikanga (Māori
language and cultural protocol) at an indigenous tertiary institution in
Whakatāne, a small town in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.
The project investigates the notion that the value of te reo and tikanga
may be changing for some non-Māori people. There were various reasons
non-indigenous students enrolled in these indigenous language classes. A
number reported their motivations were work-related: some had Māori
colleagues, others came into regular contact with Māori clientele, and others'
employers promoted 'biculturalism' in the workplace. Other students, both
immigrants and Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent), revealed
that they were motivated to take the class by a desire to show respect for the
first peoples of the country by learning their language and culture. However,
students' expectations were often exceeded. Part-way through the course,
O'Toole observed changes in the expressions of identity of the participants,
generated by learning how to recite a pepeha, a personal statement in which
one introduces themselves in te reo, following tikanga. During interviews,
participants shared their surprise at the affective and social impacts that

performing the pepeha had had on them. In this chapter, O'Toole shows that on the one hand, non-indigenous novice students of te reo—often thought to be unlikely interactants with a vulnerable language—are contributing to its vitality, and that, on the other, it appears that such engagement may be affording them cultural capital and mobility in the social and work domains. The ways in which these new speakers engage with language and place are thus transformed.

Adding the notion of responsibility to the more frequently studied equation or trope of 'language-place' has allowed us to investigate in more depth how speakers/writers negotiate and creatively generate new or reinforce long-standing relations with a place, be it the one they are 'from', they have 'moved' to, or they are visiting virtually and/or physically. Whilst in the recent literature this notion has remained in the background—sometimes hinted at but not fully developed—we aimed to revisit and revive it for a number of reasons. First of all, we want to stress that this notion has enabled us and the contributors to this volume to add a new angle to phenomena that are currently debated in (linguistic) anthropology and sociolinguistics, such as globalization (concerning also virtual spaces), the co-constructions of environments through human-nonhuman interactions, and migration. Secondly (and hopefully), it also encourages further research from a responsibility and language framing, which we consider paramount, given some of the compelling contemporary socio-political, economic, and environmental challenges.

As just one example, we consider rather alarming the pace with which fake news spreads within virtual and non-virtual platforms without much critical filter on behalf of the speaker/writer. The circulation of fake news hinders trust among individuals and communities and deters a sense of community, which should be based on solidarity, empathy, and care; it also permits increased fear and anxiety to foment unchecked. Recurrent discourses that cast migrants as a danger to so-called 'Western' values, democracy, and the well-being of a given society has allowed for walls (both physical and metaphorical) to be built, with communities and families separated (see, among others, Ana et al. 2019; Eberl et al. 2018). It is not a new discovery that there are correlations between the way people in positions of authority behave among one another and the way laypersons interact. Thus, we are concerned by the recurrent despotic, dismissive, and abusive language used in circles of power as well as by the reports on bullyism at schools, workplace, and virtual spaces (e.g., blogs, comments on articles, etc.), harassment and ethnic stereotyping often in the form of 'innocent' jokes. However, despite our deepest concerns, we would also like to avoid being catalyst of a pessimistic and counterproductive rhetoric, since we are also aware that a language of urgency, often founded on apocalyptic narratives might spur as well as hinder action, due to a rise in anxiety and the consequent paralysis. An example of this can be seen in the increased 'eco-anxiety' found often among vulnerable groups, such as teenagers, elderly, and Indigenous peoples (cf. Ojala 20182019; Pihkala 2018). We hope, instead, to shift the focus on the capacity of language to bring communities together by fostering diversity as a value, by recognizing and valuing multiple ontologies, and undertaking

critical thinking as a positive, constructive, and responsible way to be part of a world together.

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Speaking and Writing 'Responsibly' in Urban and Rural Spaces I

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Language Diversity Indexing Cosmopolitan Agencies: the Case of Francophone African Migrants in Lyon

Introduction

Following Sassen (1991), we know that cosmopolitan cities are those that are fully integrated in the global economy and many of them—like London, New York and Tokyo—attract migratory flows encompassing the world over. Cosmopolitanism implicitly assumes the linguistic diversity of its speakers while the concept of *metrolingualism* (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) attempts to capture the constant and dynamic exchange between the city, its people and languages, and how this interrelationship is amplified in response to the globalised movement of people. This chapter provides a reflection on the relationship between language and migration, in that it understands the former as a communication tool, but also and most importantly, as a cultural medium, and a negotiation of values and life choices (cf. Breier, this volume); I reveal how the discourses of immigrants reveal the importance of cultural medium in their discussions of language, which question the elitist idea of Francophone legacy in the ex-colonies, which figures loosely in the migrants' life choices. I show the various ways in which migrants, as well as associations that support migrants (e.g. CIMADE) enact a variety of forms of agency and demonstrate a sense of responsibility vis-à-vis language. Ultimately, I intend to bring to the fore how this metrolingual language diversity reflects the complexity of our time—which stands as much at the crossroads of global transformations as of blockages—both of which are ontologically embedded in the migration process and thus impact in the migrants' agency.

Just as urbanization is projected to be a main migration characteristic of the coming years (Çağlar 2014), so is migration, which at its very core entails rural/urban and/or urban/urban movements and language diversity. Here I address the social and linguistic diversity among Francophone African minority groups in Lyon—the site of my fieldwork—as a paradigmatic case of ever-increasing cosmopolitan agencies. My fieldwork in Lyon has moved along a rather rich network of associations working at different levels on migration and language issues, some of them in collaboration with my host team at Université Jean Moulin Lyon3, and others obtained through personal contacts. I carried out sociological analysis (Feb 2016–June 2016 and Sept 2016–Jan 2017) at the well-known CIMADE association in Lyon by

participating at meetings and drop-in sessions for migrants concerning the orientation and demand of the Lyon-based migrant public. Here, I conducted semi-structured interviews, and participant observation with predominantly male and Francophone individuals from Africa. The narratives thus collected have provided an image of the changing and complex relations that the migrants are building within their current society as well as the rest of the world.

Theoretical perspective

My analysis comes in the wake of current international circulations that have questioned methodological nationalism (i.e. inclusion/marginalization in its diverse and varied forms of a national society) through transnational and diasporic issues (Bava 2010; Fabòs 2008; Rhazzali 2015), while transit migrations have redefined the logics of departure, destination and return (Geschiere et al. 1998; Quiminal et al. 2002; Whitol de Wenden 2016). According to this view, the paradox of our current global era is that of having created, if nothing else, transcultural spaces, understood as social and political markers, both material and immaterial, that are constantly being redefined by different communities inhabiting the same space. Barriers are now always pushed further within our known world, so that ideas of belonging and identity call for a reformulation that is bound to be intercultural and open-ended. The concept of space hardly fits in with earlier structuralist world systems views, as it has indeed 'become fractured' (Marcus 1995:98), while at the same time that of place has become intra-local, and multiplicitous. Arguably, the same can be said for the overreaching concepts of culture and language, as captured in Otsuji and Pennycook's (2015) aforementioned discussions of metrolingualism. These perspectives tend to hide the processes and juxtapositions implied by the mobility or immobility of people involved in a migratory project, something that multi-sited and/or interdisciplinary analyses are instead able to grasp (Marcus 1995). In this sense, anthropological understandings of social phenomena and transnational relations have to grapple with the quandary of both paradigm shifts and boundary making.

Similarly, Riccio (2003) argues for a disaggregation of both the concepts of culture and transnationalism, because both actors and their strategies are heterogeneous and multi-layered. Migrants' lives across borders are neither defined once and for all, nor always reproducing identical trajectories, which often are the result of practical circumstances. He thus suggests the idea of 'linkage', since networks are much more fluid abroad than in the home country. In this sense, the Western and Northern African respondents that I address in my work provide a patchwork-like image of the Francophone world, one that disaggregates it as a supposed undivided cultural and linguistic block; the Francophone world as a case study also reveals the complexity of our contemporary societies, of which international migrations are one of the major aspects, if not always the most visible. Interestingly, as seen in the work of Esposito (this volume), one might argue that this might tangibly be reflected in the current use of graffiti. The debate has thus moved

from issues of integration to those of interaction (Schönwälder et al. 2016), as relationships have become increasingly more cosmopolitan and 'mixed', conceived of as cultural, social and ethnic mixing, reflecting the concept of hybrid agency (Laplantine et al. 2011). The concept of Super-Diversity as construed by Vertovec (2007; 2019) is useful here to envision current migrations as a new kind of complexity or as embodying new patterns of diversity. In this light, my analysis intends to address the relationship between migration-driven diversification and broader social transformations.

Universals, difference and the Francophone worlds

The question of universals—that is, whether or not a property that can be predicated of different things exists in reality—has been central in philosophical thought since ancient to contemporary formulations. Exemplars go as far back as to Plato and Aristotle, whose concepts of universals are forms existing *per se* (Plato) or *in re* (Aristotle), as well as to the scholastic tradition split between rationalists and empiricists arguing differently regarding the ontology of such forms: *flatus vocis*, sounds, or things?

In modern days, Chomsky (1986), beyond being a prolific and attentive social analyst on matters such as power, democracy, imperialism, terrorism and so on, paved the way for the theory of universal language by questioning what it is that we know in the process of learning a language. His theory of generative grammar is premised on the idea that we possess a linguistic faculty enabling us to produce and recognize new and correct linguistic formulations. Similarly, the philosopher Kant before him had conceptualised, between idealism and empiricism, the faculty of judgement as the one responsible for inductively bringing the particular to the universal, the objects of experience under the mind-concept or, in his lexicon, the category, thus being apprehended. With Kant, a new humanism was inaugurated, where the universality of rational (2012), moral (2003), and aesthetic (1999) judgements came to be ascribed to the human mind, the only capable of rendering scientific or objective judgements. Pure reason and pure reality, the noumenon and phenomenon, found their synthesis in the process of knowing, in recognizing that the ultimate end of any moral action is the preservation of mankind and its dignity, and by appreciating artistic beauty as an act of freedom that supersedes personal inclinations.

According to Werbner (2008:54), it is precisely the Kantian faculty of judgement that the anthropologist is asked to activate, in order to draw on the particulars 'located in social fields' and transform experiences into case studies. The cosmopolitan role of the anthropologist is thus to make 'small-scale worlds' universal (ibid.), furthering the knowledge of 'part societies and cultures' (Werbner 2008:63) always relying on the generosity of his/her respondents. In this sense, anthropological work moves towards 'cognitive and semantic' approaches (Littlewood 1989:5) that make sense of the culturally-framed meaning and expression of local understandings—of society, customs, religion, art, and so on—that challenge the supposed universality of culture.

In France, the political and sociological debate about the universal principles holding the Republic together—*solidarité, fraternité, égalité*—had gained momentum with regards to the so-called *second-generation migrants*, the youth born in France to migrant parents, and to the *one and a half* generation, children born to migrant parents abroad and grown in France. The debate hinged on the settling of the migrant population and their children in France, once the closure of the French borders in the '70s had transformed them into a domestic issue, so that concerns of integration and national identity came to the forefront. Then, since September 11 terrorist attacks in New York in 2001, a critical point in a long historical trajectory of moral panics about European Muslims and Muslims in Europe, the loyalty of Muslim diasporic groups (settled minority groups and migrants) has been questioned, 'based on the perception that terrorism feeds on a transnational network of Muslim activists' (Werbner 2004:461). The horrifying and repeated subsequent attacks in France, Belgium, Spain, and the UK up to now have nothing but reinforced the view that migration may be a potential input of unwanted Muslim extremists and that it should be thus dealt with as a security matter.

A state of emergency and exceptional measures, such as the *vigipirate* (France's national security system devised to fight terrorism), to which we have all grown accustomed, are called upon in time of crisis of this sort, when the extension of state power goes as far as—or further than—deemed necessary. This evokes Agamben's 'State of Exception' (2005), wherein lie the core of the state's sovereignty and its power to determine what and whom should be incorporated into the political body. Following Agamben, 'States of Exception', with their suspension of laws, create both *bare life*, with people stripped of their citizenship and/or human rights, and 'zones' of exception. Examples span the history of humankind from concentration camps, to the detainment and immigration camps currently found all over the world.

Grassroots associations working on the ground for migrants, such as the CIMADE in Lyon, put forward ideas of solidarity and of community-making that clash against the hyper-regulatory immigration procedures that reduce the individual to administrative boxes, and in which personal biographies and exceptional life circumstances are obliterated, undermined or depleted. An unheard-of way of treating migration is upheld, guided by a rule of law inspired by international laws and by the Geneva Convention and Human Rights—as opposed to a system fraught with laws increasingly denying migrants those rights. Volunteers and social workers I have spoken with have stated unanimously that since 2000, work in the field has showed that they are no longer called upon to ensure the migrants' rights, but rather to explain the migrants how the new laws have stopped guaranteeing those rights. According to Fassin (2009), social, political, and anthropological debates have gone closer to the universalism of the *droit commun,* as opposed to the initial fights that advocated the recognition of the migrants' rights because of their difference, whether be that cultural, religious, and so on.

While the geopolitics of the world has put migration at the heart of the political agenda, several countries in Europe have responded by rediscovering the inner diversity of their historical, social, and linguistic heritage, of which

migration is part and parcel, that has ensued a number of government policies aiming at promoting and/or preserving it. International institutions such as the UN, UNESCO, the European Union, the OIF (International Organization of Francophonie), and the OECD (Organization for Cooperation and of Economic Development) have adopted a number of declarations and resolutions that in turn address migration and difference, positioning one as the synonym of the 'other'. In turn, we see that a crucial anthropological concept has shifted from that of 'migrant' to that of 'Muslim' (Allievi 2005; Ramm 2010), in conjunction with both an increasing pluralisation of the dominant Western religion and a more stable Muslim presence in Europe (Pace et al. 2018). As Littlewood (2003:256) has pointed out, the search for the 'other' in anthropology has come to a point of exhaustion, due to the homogenising phenomenon of Globalization which has rendered the world uniform in 'aspirations and mode of thought'. The 'other' cannot be found anymore in the idealised romantic image of distant tribes, whose practices are unknown and alien to ours, if not in meaning and intentions. Hence, the Muslim 'phenomenon' appears to have taken on those characteristics and to be perceived as something totally non-Western, anti-progressive, and radically different (Accoroni 2011), while the migrants and their languages, such as Arabic and the African languages, seem to undergo the same Orientalist bias for being part of that cultural world. Thus my fieldwork in Lyon has been an investigation into the linguistic alterity of the minority groups of the Francophone world that, far from being homogenous, calls for an understanding of its internal diversity and/or fragmentations, both in France and in the migrants' homeland (Western and Northern Africa), where linguistic pluralism, and metrolingualism, is the dominant norm in most communities.

In France, minority spaces such as the *foyers* (housing centres for exclusively male residents, generally organized by village of origin and familial networks) have trespassed the boundaries of their marginalization and breached their cultural and/or religious dependence on the homeland with new perspectives, thus becoming interactive places in which residents are able to critique, imitate or resist our world. Parisian *foyers* are niches of linguistic diversity, especially those built during the reconstruction of France following WWII, which have not undergone any substantial renovation and remain in a state of obsolete decrepitude. The first residents were Algerians, hosted in foyers/dormitories that were generally made out of ex-factories. At the time, these buildings resembled military areas under the control of a guardian who watched over them permanently. In the *foyers* I write about, 80.3% of the residents have a good command of the spoken French language, but only 55% can write it. The languages normally used for conversation are Wolof and Bambara, although other languages and their associated dialects, such as Soninké, are also present.

Language diversity in Europe does not simply correspond to the languages brought along in the diaspora by migrants of different origins, but reflects in part the linguistic pluralism characteristic throughout Africa at national, domestic, and individual level. In Senegal alone, there are 13 national languages. While French remains the official language of the

country, Wolof enjoys a great deal of supremacy in the public sphere, both in commerce specifically and as an urban language more generally (particularly in Dakar). Wolof took on great force and significance during Abdoulaye Wade's government (2001–2012), which significantly strengthened the bond between the political power and that of the Mouride maraboutic élite (who are mainly Wolof speaking).[1] Similarly, since the Islamic Renaissance in the 1950s, the demand of Arabic language, both as the sacred language of Islam and as a critique of secularism, *laïcité*, has increased among 'part of the middle urban class and of the Francophone élite, wishing to promote the traditional Qur'anic schools', together with the need of another 'international language such as French or English, which may guarantee greater professional chances' (Humery 2013:80). Unlike other neighbouring countries, Senegal enjoys great political stability, with a long history of democratically elected governments. One could argue that in terms of both domestic and foreign policy, literacy in French, as a means of inter-cultural dialogue and peace-making, may have failed to alleviate potential inter-group tensions and radicalisms.

Furthermore, after the closure of borders in and mounting pressure from Europe, and because of the increasing South-South migrations (Withol De Wenden 2013), amounting to 90.2 million migrations,[2] Morocco is strengthening its relationship with its Western and Sub-Saharan African counterparts. Migrants from these regions are becoming an expression of an intensifying political discourse in favour of an Afro-Moroccan identity, rediscovered through their common links with African cultural and historical heritage. In this context, wherein social patterns and networks are changing, the French language, as a means of cultural negotiation, is losing ground, despite the recent enforcement of French as the language used for teaching disciplines such as Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and Physics (cf. Innes, this volume, on recent changes in language policy in Iceland).[3] This trend is especially reinforced by the strong Moroccan policy of Arabization (i.e. linguistic, ethnic, and religious), of which the royal family is an emblem, which dates back to the Moroccan Independence from France. The former is implemented both vis-à-vis French and Berber, the largest indigenous ethnic and linguistic group.

CIMADE

Associations created though the initiative of individuals, working on social/cultural programmes for migrants, are plentiful in Lyon as much as in other major cities in France, beyond Paris. These are often run by people of migrant

1   Mouridyya (from *mouridoullah*; lit. 'aspirant to God') is a Sufi branch of Islam, founded in Senegal by Cheick Amadou Bamba (1855–1927). *Mouride* is the term used to describe those faithful to the order.
2   This is equivalent to 37% of the total international migrant population (2015 Global Migration Trends): http://iomgmdac.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Global-Migration-Trends-2015-Factsheet.pdf
3   See http://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2016/02/19/maroc-le-roi-mohamed-vi-enterre-trente-ans-d-arabisation-pour-retourner-au-francais_4868524_3212.html

descent or by migrants themselves, and they are referred to as *associations communautaires*, or community-based associations. The boom of associations of this kind dates back to the 1983 law, lifting the ban on the migrants' right to form associations. Such law gave way to the emergence of a plethora of migrant associations, including religious ones (not previously sanctioned by the 1901 law on the separation of the State and the Church, which stipulates the non-involvement of State funding for religious associations, which were regulated instead by the 1905 law). Most frequently these associations run language courses and set up work induction programmes (i.e. accountancy, writing, and so on), cultural events, and social gatherings.

CIMADE has a different status. It was born in 1939 out of an ecumenical Protestant movement that opposed both the rise of Nazism and the church as its representative. During WWII, it became an outright resistance movement that fought against the regime and its crimes against the Jewish people, and brought help to the displaced people of Alsace-Lorraine. Henceforth, the CIMADE continued to adapt its actions to the prevailing concerns of the times. Between 1950s and 1980s, it worked to create better conditions for receiving migrants from the ex-colonies, to commit to the cause of Independence of the peoples of the South and to launch pioneering development projects internationally, such as in Haiti, Palestine, South America, and West Africa. Since 2000, with the closure of borders in Europe and with the migrant and refugees crises, CIMADE has been on the front line to defend the migrants/refugees' rights in Europe as much as in the latter's departure and transit countries through the partnership with local associations in eight African countries (Algeria, Ivory Coast, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Tunisia). Drop-in sessions are held at CIMADE offices to solve the migrants' legal hurdles, medical and accommodation problems, and to help them with the necessary paperwork. CIMADE also organizes cultural events such as Migrant'Scène, a festival that runs for about a month between November and December, showcasing roundtables, book launches, exhibitions, theatrical events and concerts on the theme of migration for the general public, in which the participants and/or artists are often migrants themselves.

CIMADE has also strengthened its resources to enable foreigners, regardless of their administrative situation, to benefit from French language classes. In the Auvergne Rhône-Alpes region, CIMADE offers French language courses in three cities: Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble, and Lyon. Thanks to personal networking, I was put in contact with the then-president of CIMADE of Lyon,[4] who organised an interview to ascertain what kind of contribution I might bring to the association and in turn what my expectations were in regards to becoming a volunteer. I learned on this occasion that a project had been intiated to promote migrants' understanding of the legal categories and concepts that their status might imply. As an anthropologist, I was thus recruited to collect the migrants' and personnel's narratives. This knowledge would then be shared with the team members and used to enhance aid and advocacy.

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4   The national headquarters of CIMADE is in Paris, with 85 local groups existing throughout France.

Language classes at CIMADE

Seminal anthropological work has highlighted the possible ontological relationships between thought, language, and behaviour (Whorf 1956), in that the way things are encoded produce and open up entirely different cosmologies (Evans-Pritchard 1976; Viveiros de Castro 1998) and relational modes (Strathern 1988). Language, according to Taylor's expressivist model (1985), is the medium by which a form of life (Wittgenstein 1922) can be understood, how things and feelings are expressed and articulated, and eventually meaning created: 'the emotional lives of human beings from different cultures, who have been brought up with very different import vocabularies, differ very greatly' (Taylor 1985:221). 'Hence human agency is bound by the values implicit in the languages a subject uses' that inform one's 'selfhood, understood as an interpretative process' (Redhead 2002:163). In a similar manner, at CIMADE the teaching focus is at the same time contextual, relational, and intercultural, as it has to allow for migrants of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, often carrying heavy personal circumstances shaped by suffering and trauma. CIMADE offers French language classes for its migrant public, whose origin, legal status, and age may be very disparate. Classes are run by volunteers who work independently from the Ministry of Education and the OFII (Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration) that provide French classes for migrants who wish to obtain their residence permit (FLE—French Langue Etrangère) and/or the French nationality (FLI—French Langue d'Intégration).[5] Classes at CIMADE are in fact carried out along the lines of the ASL (Ateliers Socio-Linguistique)—classes run by regional operators that aim at the socio-linguistic autonomy of their public. One of the CIMADE teachers tells me:[6]

> Eleonor:[7] I'm a co-coordinator of the classes, so that we can always guarantee continuity, should one of us not be able to attend. We are all volunteers here, which means that we are neither employed by the OFII nor by the CIMADE.[8] I hold a FLE diploma, although our teaching goes beyond the ministerial curriculum and spirit. What matters is that the CIMADE public, coming from all horizons, may learn to use French in the different situations of their life in France. From October until July, we run eleven classes of two hours each weekly, from Monday to Friday, and they are free of charge. We teach at three levels: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. This year, we are trying out two classes per week for the beginners.

> Dafne: What is the profile of the students in your classes?

5　Both the FLE and FLI courses fall under the 7th March 2016 French law on migrants' rights.

6　Henceforth, the verbatim quotes from respondents I present are my translation from French, the language in which most of the interviews occurred.

7　All names provided here are pseudonyms used in order to protect my respondents' anonymity. Data were collected after their informed consent.

8　CIMADE Regional and national officers are salaried employees.

Eleonor: They are generally very young, between sixteen and thirty years of age, and male, which doesn't imply that women and older learners are not part of the class. Just by looking at the record, we have students from all points of the compass such as Belarus, Venezuela, Syria, Romania, Ukraine, Algeria, and West Africa. Attendees reflect the vicissitudes of migration, its variety, and a great deal of individual circumstances, wishes, political, economic, and even climate circumstances etc.

In agreement with current research in Migration Studies about the evolution and increasing complexity of migrants' status, trajectory and projects, CIMADE—not unlike other associations working on the ground—knows that 'migrant' is a hybrid sociological category, especially in the contemporary scene of international migrations, whereby global reconfigurations are always re-forming, due to rapidly changing natures of conflict, as well as social, cultural, and ecological patterns:

Eleonor: We have people from all walks of life. Some may have received prior education in their home country, yet their language structure may be so distant from the French one that they need courses of alphabetization. Therefore, in these classes there are not necessarily just illiterate people, but students who need to absorb the French language from scratch, even though they might even have a diploma and quite developed intellectual skills.

Dafne: What does the teaching entail?

Eleonor: The aim of our courses is that the migrant public be independent in the various situations that they might face in France, and be embedded in the social and urban life they inhabit. To this effect, beyond the classes held at CIMADE, we organise social outings; we take them to the library, where they can learn how to find a book in the online archive, how to register and so on. This is not just providing a standard FLE course: relations are very important and our students are first of all welcome as human beings, knowing that their life stories are often so sad.

Dafne: What is your experience as a teacher?

Eleonor: It can be challenging, believe me, but despite the pain they all go through, they are grateful and they give you so much! When I teach, I always ask if they understand, if it makes sense to them. It's always good practice to start from what they know.

Dafne: You apply an intercultural approach.

Eleonor: Well, in this context it's a bit of a conflation. We actually find that we have to be very cautious about making parallels with what they have left behind and keep in mind that some have just escaped violence or poverty. We also have to be very vigilant about our own expressions that are engrained in our uprooting. For example, the other day my colleague, a junior recruit, at the end of the class exhorted the students to revise 'at home'… It slipped. It's clearly a distraction, mistakes can always be made, yet I told her to pay more attention, since a few students of ours are homeless.

Before facing the migrant public, the volunteers undergo a selection process based on their expertise, as I did, as well as specialized training, by partnering with elder members in all the activities undertaken at CIMADE. There are four categories of volunteers: 1) the students; 2) retirees; 3) those still actively working and 3) the unemployed. Students and unemployed volunteers are the least stable in terms of time and presence, due to the uncertainty of their life and work progression, which not unlike that of the migrants for whom access to education is but one of the several issues that bring them to CIMADE; however, their legal status is often the most pressing and dramatic concern:

> Eleonor: The migrants that we receive here have already endured really tough journeys and/or suffering back home. Sometimes they drop out of our classes and we don't know whether it is because they have been repatriated, or gone to prison or fallen ill. Some are already homeless, some become homeless after legal procedures deny them their papers, etc. Their presence in class is never guaranteed, nor their attention. They may be tired and/or worried. The other day one student told me that he couldn't really follow the lesson because he had been informed that his cousin had drowned at sea…[9]

Eleonor's case study illustrates the predicament of both the teacher and the learner, as the latter's linguistic dimension, whose literacy is ontologically embedded with different cultural affiliations and metaphors, as well as with traumatic migratory experiences, can nevertheless be negotiated across and beyond language. Intercultural approaches that are valued in contexts of international mobility can only be used on a case-by-case basis when migrant students are involved; building a ground of trust and friendliness, whereby they may feel a sense of place and attachment, is likely to provide greater results. Emotions and individual development are part of a process in which human agency becomes clarified by articulating notions and emotions through language, by putting words to new realities and meanings, while possibly transforming, reviving and/or hiding others. It appears that CIMADE works in this direction, as it emphasizes and integrates to the cognitive component of the learning curve, as well as the affective one.

Surviving across countries and languages: Fatoumata and Yassine

As exemplified by the teacher running the language courses at CIMADE, the profile of the people attending the classes is extremely diverse in terms of age, origin, life stories, the reasons bringing them to France and to CIMADE, as well as their previous life achievements. I will present here two case studies,

9   This is in reference to migrants attempting to cross illegally the Mediterranean Sea from North Africa towards Italy or Spain in makeshift vessels. 2015 and 2016 have been the deadliest years, with 4.663 dead or missing at sea in 2016 (2016 UNCHR figures).

the first concerning a Comorian woman[10] and the second of a man from Guinea.

Fatoumata, age 30 and a single mother, is one of the people who attend the French classes at CIMADE. She had first come to CIMADE to sort out her legal status. After frequenting the centre, she learned that language courses were also offered, and thus decided to take one as a beginner. Her life story is not different from that of many others, in that is interwoven with fear, hope and an abundance of hard work. She arrived in France in 2015 with her son, who was born in Mayotte, an overseas French territory, where she had previously moved and where she used to work as a beach cleaner. The father, French and still living in Mayotte, had recognised the child, although never provided for him or Fatoumata. She is now in the middle of the procedure to claim a visa for a French *ascendant*, which the Prefecture of Lyon denied her, deciding instead in favour of a return visa.[11] She lives with her son and a friend, and works in a retirement home.

> Fatoumata: I attend the language courses, *my French bad,* but I like it, nice people. I born in Grande Comoro.

> Dafne: How do you find the course?

> Fatoumata: The teacher is good. I come here when I can: sometimes I work, sometimes I go and pick my son up from school; sometimes I have to see my lawyer, or other stuff.

> Dafne: How well would you say you have progressed since you started the course?

> Fatoumata: I learn new words, to speak, write and read. I didn't know that before, so it's ok, but sometimes I'm worried, I'm not able to concentrate. I practice at home, but I work in a retirement home. I serve the food to patients and do the cleaning. Double shifts. I came to France all alone. I look after my son. His father doesn't help.

> Dafne: Which language do you speak?

> Fatoumata: Comorian and I could read Arabic a bit, but I have forgotten a lot. I speak Comorian to my son, but he goes to school in Lyon, so he speaks French too.

> Dafne: How do you fare in your life in Lyon?

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10 The 70 km separating the Comoros Islands from Mayotte are becoming the greatest 'marine cemetery' in the world (IOM, 2014). Also, the migratory route leading from Africa to Lampedusa and Sicily is the most dangerous, followed by the so called 'Est route' between Greece and Turkey, and finally the 'West route', between the Canary Islands and Spain.

11 A long-stay visa for foreign parents ('*ascendants*') whose children are French.

Fatoumata: I work and look after my son. I have some friends, so it's fine. The problem is my legal situation; to face all the bureaucracy, I often go with a friend who translates for me.

Dafne: Do you take part in the CIMADE initiatives?

Fatoumata: Not really.

Yassine, 25, emigrated from his country to Italy, where he spent several years. His command of Italian is at times stilted, but overall fluid.[12] The economic and political instability of Italy drove him from job to job, and from town to town. He had started an administrative procedure to obtain the Italian residence permit, hindered by his job and life instability. He then moved to France, where some of his family members were already living. He started the procedure as asylum seeker—his country being one of the poorest in West Africa and the scene of both the 2014 Ebola outbreak that caused thousands of victims in two years, and inter-ethnic tensions—which has been refused. He attends the language courses at the beginner level, as he had never received prior education back home.

Yassine: I'm a beginner at the language course, I like it very much. I come every week. You know, I was in Italy before. I loved it there.

Dafne: Does speaking Italian, and so well, help you learn French?

Yassine: Sometimes it's confusing, but you are right, they very close. I spent many years in Italy and I did many jobs. I learned by talking to people, by living there. Italian is such a musical language!

Dafne: I hear that you do very well in the course: your writing is syntactically correct and your spoken French is smooth. Did you speak French back home?

Yassine: French is the official language in Guinea, but there are many ethnic groups that speak each their own language. I'm a Sussonké, I speak Susu.

Dafne: You speak three languages then, you should be proud of yourself.

Yassine: Yes, I am, I really want to succeed. No matter what happens, I have to succeed. In my community, respect of the elders and of your family begins from you. If I can make my people proud of who I am, then I know I've given them something back. This is very important to me.

Dafne: How's life treating you here in Lyon?

Yassine: I've come to CIMADE because I need to obtain legal status. In Italy, it didn't work out. I regret it a lot, because I liked living there. I have left friends and good memories, but in the end, it had become too hard.

12 Because Yassine speaks Italian and I am an Italian native speaker, our conversation took place mainly in Italian.

Dafne: Do you take part in the CIMADE outings, at the library for example?

Yassine: Yes, of course!

Both Fatoumata and Yassine testify to migration trajectories that, at their very core, mean surviving across territories and languages, but most of all, against political and symbolic barriers. Although each case is different, arguably a relation between difficult migration journeys and poor learning cannot be drawn. Both Fatoumata's and Yassine's case studies are illuminating in this respect. First of all, low prior education or no education at all is certainly a disadvantage at an adult stage when a foreign language is to be integrated. Nonetheless, two different scenarios open up: 1) in the case of Fatoumata, legal hurdles, hard physical work and existential uncertainty hinder the possibility of having dedicated time for studying; this may eventually change if conditions improve. As the teacher put it, 'a veil lifts' as soon as legal battles end favourably, and people perform better in class; 2) as it is in the case of Yassine, a migrant may have settled elsewhere and learned other foreign languages, which may hinder the integration of French as second or third language. Nonetheless, determination, ambition, sense of obligation towards one's family and community may in fact be stimulating factors that give way to unexpected achievements.

Yassine enacts a cosmopolitan agency by responsibly making choices against the odds and thus countering personal hardship, loss, and even poor education toward the acquisition of the French language that, beyond being a legal condition to integration, provides him with a way of creating place and empowering himself.[13] By exploring possibilities and by participating to the CIMADE outings to the library for example, Yassine 'owns' a piece of Lyon, and becomes part of its interactions and cultural life. Yassine's background and personality certainly help him redress his misfortunes, something that Fatoumata, as a single hardworking mother, cannot afford. Although from a Francophone country as much as Yassine, Fatoumata's French is as developed as that of Yassine's and her skills are advancing more slowly, much like her life in Lyon, which is burdened by fatigue, worries and bureaucratic barriers.

Conclusion

French universalism, based on the secular principle of equal standing of people vis-à-vis the law, has come under attack since the 1970s, when the closure of borders transformed migration into a domestic problem—that is, when French society first emerged as plural and the Republic appeared to be ill-equipped to represent all of its citizens. Anthropologists, not unlike social workers, by working with and within communities, know that French universalism is now, more than ever, a patchwork image of multi-layered

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13 Since 2000, the question of the migrants' linguistic integration has become a real public policy issue in Western Europe, including France, as seen above.

societies, composite histories and linguistic diversity, often reflecting power imbalances and a common heritage shared unequally. The French language is mastered by Francophone migrants unevenly, in turn geographically, between the elites and the lower social strata, and even from case to case.

Mobility appears to be the buzz word of our century, valued in the fields of academic research, stock market, art, and so forth, international migrations remain a flash critical point of the global political and social scene, handled as a security matter. Contemporary migrants seem to call into question the capacity of European societies to interact, respond to change, and think interculturally, as they do in their everyday experiences. French literacy appears, in fact, to be greater among younger migrants, whose resourcefulness and/or resilience may help them overcome the obstacles they face in Europe, often despite a strained migratory project and/or poor/absent prior education. As seen in the stories of Fatoumata and Yassine, each speaker enacts agency differently, negotiating relationships to new places, homelands, and people via different strategies. Nevertheless, a concept of responsibility figures strongly in each of their narratives—responsibility toward family and community, to place, and to language-learning, even if the ability to enact those responsibilities is hindered by other social, political and economic factors. Reasons to migrate to France may be dictated variously and at different moments in time by chance, failure of another migration project, legal struggles, poverty, and so forth, so that migration laws are at best insufficient to account for people whose life stories can hardly fall into legal/bureaucratic boxes, when they are not actively responsible for stymying migration and de-humanizing migrants altogether. In recent years, this has prompted a counter political discourse that upholds the Universal Human Rights Convention in defence of the migrants' rights, notwithstanding work on the ground continues to be carried out pragmatically on a case-by-case basis.

CIMADE also demonstrates a sense of responsibility and integrates such principles in its daily practice vis-à-vis the migrant/refugee public throughout all of its actions (e.g. legal procedures, accommodation, health support, etc.). As for the French language courses, teaching is provided weekly at different levels, whereby attention is paid to the affective component of the students' agentive self-development process. Language, beyond being a communication tool, is understood as a way of expressing ontologies of meanings and values, thus emerging as a medium by which all that affects the individual can be negotiated. Although the Francophone project, as a community sharing a common heritage, lags behind its promise by going against its *de facto* cosmopolitan agency, work on the ground points to a novel, and committed reflection vis-à-vis minority groups, one that creates a sense of place and empowerment through language learning.

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The Tool, the Heart, and the Mirror: About Emotional Aspects of Language in Transcultural Urban Contexts

Introduction: Tweeting about Belonging

Since July 2018, thousands have used the hashtag #MeTwo to tweet about their experiences as people of migrant background living in Germany (DW 2018). Twenty-five-year-old Ali Can, whose family migrated from Turkey to Germany when he was a toddler, created this hashtag as a reference to 2017's #MeToo campaign that revolved around sexism in Hollywood. Can explained that he chose this hashtag consciously:

> The number two as a symbol: One can be German and still feel connected to another country—because one was born there, because one speaks the language, because one's parents come from there. (…) Two hearts are beating within my breast. I live in Germany, but I feel close to the East of Turkey (Lauck 2018).

The public discussion initiated by the numerous #MeTwo-tweets not only turned on experiences of racism, but also the multiple feelings of belonging of people of migrant background. Some tweets made reference to language in close connection to a person's background and a perceived absurdity of situations, in which others questioned their eligibility of being German, even though they might have been born and raised in Germany and spoke German fluently—just because of their family background as it became visible in their names or outer appearance (BBC News 2018).

Examples like these connect directly to major themes within the field of migration studies. Often times, studies of this field reflect on experiences of people who feel to belong to different places simultaneously (e.g., Conradson and McKay 2007), but also issues related to language tend to play a dominant role in such discussions. This does not come as a surprise, considering the impact language has on our lives. Language is crucial for survival: through language, we transfer knowledge, we establish bonds to other people, and we express our thoughts and wishes. Not exclusively—but definitely explicitly in the context of mobility and migration—language appears to be much more than a mere tool to deliver a message. Instead, it may serve as a way to maintain ties to the homeland, both in forms of social networks, of open options, and last, not least of emotional connectedness. Exploring

such coherencies becomes particularly challenging regarding people of 'invisible' migrant background (Ruokonen-Engler 2012), that is, people who are not easily differentiated from what the majority population thinks its members are supposed to look like. Especially when their background is not otherwise stigmatised in the country in question—for instance, due to a lack of historical conflicts—it can be assumed that their experiences differ significantly from those with more visible and/or stigmatised migrant backgrounds.

This article is situated in precisely such a context as it deals with the role language played in the lives of Germans and their descendants in contemporary Helsinki. Connected by the Baltic Sea, the German-Finnish relations date back to medieval times and have been predominantly positive, characterised largely by a vibrant exchange of goods, knowledge and skills (see e.g., Ahti and Holtkamp 1998). Even today, there is a strong German influence on everyday life in Finland, as it shows for instance in the number of Finns learning German in school (OSF 2017), watching German television series or listening to German music (Werner 2012). This forms the background of a relationship shaped by (mostly) mutual respect and familiarity. Knowing this is of importance when analysing accounts of German migrants and their descendants as it explains some of the phenomena expressed in those narratives. Participants of my study described having a freedom of choice concerning their self-representation towards others, by being able to direct how they wanted to be perceived depending on the respective situation. I argue that accounts like these can only be understood when keeping the very specific context in mind, in this case a general familiarity with and acceptance of German(s) in Finland, which enables such a freedom of self-positioning in the first place.

However, besides this socio-historical context, also the role of language cannot be emphasised enough. Depending on a person's level of fluency, language may serve as an enabler of certain freedoms and opportunities, or may also have the power to limit, exclude, and marginalise. Understanding and experiencing this power of language brings up the question of responsibility that comes with it, particularly when raising children in transcultural contexts.

In the article at hand, I will thus present how language fluency affected the self-identification and feeling of belonging of people with such background, at what points in their lives language became particularly important, possibly even conflictual, and something to reflect upon consciously. In my material, references to language mostly involved speaking and understanding language, and only seldom to literacy as such. By putting my findings in relation to those of studies on people with other backgrounds, I aim at contributing to a more encompassing understanding of the interconnectedness of language and feelings of belonging among people of migrant backgrounds, and how those dynamics shift in relation to place as well as notions of responsibility.

Methods, Theory, and Concepts

This article builds on 32 qualitative, semi-structured interviews I conducted for my doctoral dissertation (Breier 2017) between the autumn of 2013 and the winter of 2014. Nine of those interviews were held with first generation German migrants, while the remaining 23 interviewees were descendants of German migrants. I refer to the latter broadly as 'the descendant generation' as their backgrounds were diverse in nature, with different parental constellations and countries of birth. However, all of them shared an intense German-Finnish horizon of experience and all lived permanently in Helsinki at the time of the interview. With my interviewees, I talked about their family and migration background, their upbringing and the impact mobility had (and continues to have) on them. A crucial aspect was the way they referred to themselves, the way they positioned and identified themselves at different stages of their lives. As it became apparent, in both the interviews with the first as well as the descendant generation, language played a big part in these processes.

Being a German migrant living in Finland myself, I could relate to many things my interviewees discussed. While this might seem natural concerning interviews with the first generation of German migrants, it was also the case with many things participants of the descendant generation told me about. I was born and raised in Germany as a child of German parents in a German-speaking environment, but at the point of the interviews, I had already had a longer and intense relationship to Finland. Some years before I started with my doctoral research, I had been an exchange student in Turku, I had written my Master's thesis on the Finnish May Day, and I had studied both of the official languages of Finland—Swedish and Finnish—thus gaining a deeper understanding of Finnish culture through personal contacts in Finland. Consequently, I had developed something of a German-Finnish 'horizon' myself, which is why I will at times include some personal reflections into the analysis of my research material.

I drew on a grounded theory approach as described by Glaser and Strauss, namely by practising a 'constant comparative method of joint coding and analysis' (Glaser and Strauss 1967:102). After coding my own interview material and detecting broader tendencies and significant issues within it, I put my findings in relation to concepts and studies of the field. Some of the studies that were particularly useful regarding the aspect of language and emotions in a transnational context were the works by Aneta Pavlenko (2005) and Viktorija Čeginskas (2015). In *Emotions and Multilingualism* (2005), Pavlenko wanted to find out whether bi- or multilinguals have 'distinct affective styles in their respective languages (…), and to examine factors including language proficiency that influence bi- and multilinguals' language choice for emotional expressions' (Pavlenko 2005:147). Even though I did not systematically look into my interviewees' situational choices of language, Pavlenko's findings still provided useful points of reference regarding the emotional dynamics behind my interviewees' language use and proficiency. Čeginskas' study, *Exploring Multicultural Belonging* (2015), provided an interesting contrast to my own study as it had a similar approach

and research questions, but the underlying setting was different in nature: Čeginskas' interviewees were people with multiple national and linguistic backgrounds, who grew up in countries other than those of their 'mixed' parents.

However, Čeginskas also focused on her interviewees' feelings of *belonging*—something she described by drawing on Hagerty (1992) as 'the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment which enables an individual to feel and be an integral part of that system or environment' (Čeginskas 2015:12). In my own study, I used the expression 'feeling of belonging' to avoid the concept of 'identity' as for me the former seemed more suitable to describe a person's self-positioning and self-perception as a *process*, or as something that may change several times in someone's life and may depend on various factors, among them time, space, and social surrounding. This resonates with Agha's understanding of a 'chronotope' which plays a central role in Peng's contribution to this volume and which describes the 'entangled relationships among time, space and personhood' (Peng, this volume). Furthermore, it connects to Jack Richards' and Owen Wilson's description of a more 'dynamic understanding of identity', as opposing the 'traditional' one, which 'sees it as something which emerges in different ways during interactions, making use of a variety of verbal, non-verbal and semiotic resources and actions that a person has at their disposal' (Richards and Wilson 2019:180). Taking this dynamic understanding of identity as a point of departure, Richards and Wilson then developed the concept of 'transidentitying' to capture the idea of 'a unitary underlying multidimensional identity rather than considering individuals as having different identities that they switch between' (Richards and Wilson 2019:182).

Nevertheless, there exist different ways of trying to capture this process. Ina-Maria Greverus, for instance refers to it as a '*persönliche[s] Identitäts-management[s]*' (Berchem 2011:61), or 'personal identity management'. According to her, it is a common concept in social and cultural sciences to see 'ethnic identity as a perpetual socialisation process (…), in which knowledge about group-specific culturality, both one's own and that of others, is developed through situation-dependent inclusion and exclusion of specific cultural features or traditions. This knowledge is oriented towards the living environment and results in the emergence of convergent as well as opposing identities' (Berchem 2011:63). In this context, the role of the *Other* cannot be stressed enough. As Ralf Richter explained by drawing on Carl-Friedrich Graumann's '*Identifikationskonzept*' (1983), one may distinguish between three modes. First, there is the ability of humans to categorise their surroundings, which is described by the term *identification of*. The second mode Graumann names is *being identified by* others. According to this, we are 'confronted with role expectations' which we have to grapple with and which influence our identity. Last, Graumann describes the *identification with* as 'the most individualistic pattern'. If people see their expectations being represented by 'groups, objects and ideas', those can become 'models of their mindscape' (Richter 2013:18f). This perspective is complemented by Rivera Maulucci who also describes 'identity' as a process in which 'one

of the key sources of identification occurs during encounters with others' (Rivera Maulucci 2008:20). Rivera Maulucci makes reference to Turner (2002) to illustrate the different expectations and goals involved in such encounters, such as 'self-confirmation, positive exchange outcomes, [and] a sense of group inclusion' (ibid.). In the end it does not matter how we name this phenomenon, as long as we keep in mind that people do not simply possess stable and closed identities, but are to *some* degree free to position themselves within, outside, between, across, etc. all the categories they find in their surroundings. It is important to stress once more that this positioning does not take place in a vacuum, but is influenced by multiple factors.

In a transcultural and transnational context, one of those factors may be language, or as Richards and Wilson put it, '(l)anguage is one of the key resources that speakers employ in realizing identity' (Richards and Wilson 2019:180). In their conceptualisation of transidentitying, Richards and Wilson build on Ofelia García's and Li Wei's concept of translanguaging. With this term, García and Wei tried to deconstruct the notion of people having separate, additive language assets between which they switch back and forth, as terms like bi- or multilingual suggest. Instead, they try to depict what they call a 'new linguistic reality' (García and Wei 2013:36) of fluid language practices of bilinguals having '*one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively' (García and Wei 2013:22, emphasis in the original). The term 'translanguaging' captures this by, first, including the prefix 'trans-', linking to Ortiz' 'transculturación' (1940) to describe the novelty of the phenomenon in question (García and Wei 2013:21). Second, the term 'languaging' refers to an understanding of language as something that can never be accomplished, but as a process that 'both shapes and is shaped by context', putting emphasis on the agency of the speakers involved (García and Wei 2013:8).

Against this backdrop, I will now discuss the role of language in emotional, transcultural landscapes, as it became apparent in the interview material of my study. I will go back to the concepts above and discuss my material in their light whenever deemed suitable.

The Role of Language in Emotional, Transcultural Landscapes

As it became apparent in each of the interviews I conducted, language played a significant role in my interviewees' lives and in particular in their (self-) positioning and feeling of belonging. References to their own language abilities were part of some of the e-mails with which future interviewees of the descendant generation contacted me. Also during the actual interviews, language was one of the first things mentioned when being asked about the interviewees' background and upbringing.

As a background of the analysis of aspects regarding language in my interview material serves Pavlenko's research on *Emotions and Multilingualism*. Besides providing a rather systematic and technical approach to categorise multilinguals' use of their languages, Pavlenko attempts to understand the reasons why someone who is fluent in more than one language chooses

to use a certain language over another. She includes not only people who are bi-/multilingual by birth in her study, but also people who acquired another language later in their lives. She suggests that languages,

> learned in the process of intense childhood socialization seem connected to the body through an intricate web of personal memories, images, sensory associations, and affective reactions, while languages learned later in life, in the classroom, or through limited socialization (for instance, the workplace) do not have the same sensual associations; they do not stir or evoke (Pavlenko 2005:187).

Having this in mind, it is interesting to look at the spectrum of language-related topics discussed in the interviews, which ranged from rather practical aspects to highly emotional ones. Some of my interviewees described that they had made use of the possibility of moving back and forth between Germany and Finland—a possibility that was granted to them due to their social, linguistic, and cultural capital and—for most, though not all, their dual citizenship. Knowing both languages allowed them to present themselves to others depending on what seemed to be more favourable in a specific situation, sometimes as Germans, sometimes as Finns. As I will now show, language turned out to be much more than a 'tool' of communication at other instances, but something that had major effects on my interviewees' personal feeling of belonging. This became clear when my interviewees described moments of their lives in which language caused a renegotiation of their own position, and particularly when the circumstance of *not* being fluent in one of their parents' languages was involved.

More than a Tool—Emotional Associations with Language

We all know how much language and emotions are interlinked. Sometimes it is hard to formulate what we feel, to find the right words to express our thoughts. Sometimes a specific word can bring us to tears, make us laugh, set us in a certain mood. Does the language we use when we think or dream say something about how we feel deep inside of us? Does someone with a bilingual background thinking in only one of their languages necessarily feel more related to the corresponding country? As Čeginskas suggests, the degree to which someone is fluent in a language does not always determine how strong they feel emotionally connected to it, neither does the age at which they obtained it (Čeginskas 2015:62). However, it seems safe to say that having been brought up with a language does mean much more than knowing the vocabulary. Everyone who has learned or is learning a foreign language is well aware of the fact that knowing the words does not equal understanding the language. How often do we understand the literal content of what has been said, but still we do not get the actual message? How it feels for someone who was raised with both a German and a Finnish background and language, was explained by Larissa—daughter to Finnish-German parents—, who moved to Finland in her mid-20s:

> Larissa: And basically when translating I also have—when I speak the language, I also think German and then I also have the whole cultural background. And when I speak Finnish, I also think Finnish and, eh, my emotions are then also Finnish. So, let's say I would translate from German to English, I would consider English to be just a tool to make people understand something, but somehow, ehm, simply translating from German to Finnish, so much more comes along with that, because one has to switch somehow, somehow while translating, that is actually quite exhausting sometimes. (laughs)

Larissa grew up in Germany and another European country, in which she learned an additional language, so in fact she was even trilingual for part of her life. However, during the whole interview, she referred to German and Finnish as her mother tongues. She explained exactly what I myself also feel about my mother tongue and my foreign languages. Even though I grew up monolingually, I can express myself in English. However, for me as well, it feels that I might be able to deliver a message, but the small nuances, implications, cultural references—all this I only have in my mother tongue, German. In this language, I can put things straight—and if I am missing words, I might just invent some new ones that supposedly only other native speakers can understand. Taking what Larissa said as a basis, it seems that in principle this is equally true when being bilingual. The difference becomes apparent when Larissa has to translate from German to Finnish and vice versa. She describes it as tricky and exhausting, since those two languages are not mere tools for her as it is the case with English. She has both German and Finnish cultural background knowledge and knows about the unnamed meanings in both languages. When translating from one to the other, her mind has to do additional work as those two languages are closely linked to their cultural backgrounds for her. In consequence, language can be regarded as a way not only to express one's thoughts, but also as a way to embody the socialisation that has influenced us to an extent that we sometimes are not even completely aware of. In situations like the one described by Larissa, the interconnection between how to express oneself and one's background manifests. This can be seen in the light of John Gumperz' differentiation between 'linguistic competence' and the 'much more significant communication competence', which enables 'in a world of strangers (...) to detect the social norms and values of the group and to act accordingly and conform to them' (Schellenberger 2011:178).

However, another nuance becomes visible in the sequence from Larissa's interview above: she describes that in the moment of speaking German/Finnish, she also *thinks* and *feels* German/Finnish. This resembles Michèle Koven's case study on Linda, a person with a French-Portuguese background. According to Koven's analysis, Linda 'acknowledges that she has a different persona and affective style in French from in Portuguese' (Koven 2004:476). In this context, I adduce Bernardino Di Croce's work about 'second generation migrants in Germany'. He quotes a German-Turkish woman who describes something her grandfather always said to her: '*Bir dil, bir insan, iki dil, iki insan',* which equals 'One language, one person, two languages, two persons'. This brings up the idea that in every language one is another person, with

varying personalities (see Di Croce and Budzinski 2009:33). Language can be regarded as a central component of an identification, as both a self-perception or a partner perception. Drawing on Gumperz, Weckström (2011) states that 'language and ethnic identity [are] reciprocally related—or as Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge put it, 'through languaging (…) people perform their identifying' (Creese and Blackledge 2010:570). Thus, language use influences the formation of ethnic identity and ethnic identity influences language attitudes and language use' (Weckström 2011:91). Sometimes the sound of a language is enough to remind us of something, of a memory, of a place, of 'home'. One interviewee, Lukas, who came to Finland at age six, told me that whenever there is something German on television, 'even if it is something completely dorky', he has to watch it, 'just to hear the language'. He explains that nowadays most of his surroundings are Finnish-speaking, and as he puts it: '(...) and when one hears German somehow, then that reminds of one's other side and one likes to listen to it (...)'.

Several interviewees told me about keeping their German skills alive by listening to German radio, reading books in German (even if they were originally written in another language), and watching German TV. One interviewee, Henning, who was born and raised in Finland as a child of Finnish-German parents, described it as something that has always been a 'normality' for him, namely to be able to 'consume' German culture in Finland. However, something that was once taken for granted could later also become something to reflect upon consciously, as I will now show.

The Language of the Heart—Moments of Renegotiation and Repositioning

> Henning: [...] But there was a specific moment in which I, when the German inside me became exceptionally important and more and more important. And this is something I only understood afterwards and that was basically when my first daughter was born. Until then, I always thought it was something nice and a blessing that I am German and Finnish, and I am very happy that I have both nationalities nowadays, because that describes me best. Back in the days I had phases, when as a student at the German School, I was rather German and then strong phases in which I was rather Finnish and it was kind of a search, until as an adult, as a young adult I finally understood: 'You are stupid! Why do you make things complicated, you are simply both! You are both!'—I am both! That's why it is so incredibly important to me to have both nationalities and I will never give up either one of them. If I had to choose, it would be–ehm, dramatically difficult, that would be really bad! And that is why it was so important for me that my children have both. They do, fortunately. But, as I said, this point when my daughter was born—until then it was normality for me. I know German and I can consume things in German, TV, radio, music, the whole culture we get from Germany. I know how to behave in Germany, with Germans—I know exactly how to behave in Finland... And in Finland I am German, in Germany I am Finnish—these are exactly those things and that was totally normal and I knew how it is. But when the children were born—all of a sudden I had to make

a decision, what are you going to do and how important is it for you? And then I had to think, is this the language of your heart? Should you use German or Finnish with your children? What should you do?—And then I just decided—if it is not the language of the heart, it will become it. I don't really bother, but it is important for me that my children learn to speak German. And from the first moment onward I spoke German. Consequently my children and I went through with it.

Henning was born and raised in Finland, even though he had spent several years studying and working in Germany. He was in the position of being able to choose freely between the two languages, as his German father had ensured right from the beginning that he got a balanced education, both in German and in Finnish. His feeling of belonging changed several times in his life though. It took him a while to realise that there was no need for him to decide between feeling Finnish and feeling German, and that instead, he is just both and that there does not have to be a conflict in this. This confirms what Stefan Wolff claimed about bilingualism, namely that it creates the opportunity to 'construct a plural identity that manages to overcome traditional ethnic boundaries' (Wolff 2000:10). Furthermore, it links directly to the dynamic understanding of identity, as described by Richards and Wilson, and their elaborations on transidentitying as the 'notion of a unitary underlying multidimensional identity rather than considering individuals as having different identities that they switch between' (Richards and Wilson 2019:182).

However, for Henning, the birth of his first child initiated a conscious decision about what the 'language of his heart' was, which would be the one he would speak with his child(ren). In the sequence above, but also in the interview as a whole, Henning expressed a strong appreciation of the options he had, due to his bilingual and bicultural upbringing. Here, questions of responsibility and agency come into play. Just as 'noblesse oblige', Henning's awareness of the privileges that came with him being bilingual and bicultural, caused him to facilitate the same opportunities to his own children. In turn, this directed his decision about what language to use with them.

In our second meeting, after he had read one of the last drafts of my thesis, he elaborated on his previous quote: Henning expressed strong disagreement with his brother's choice of speaking Finnish to his first child for it being the language of his heart. Henning explained to me that for him as well, Finnish was his stronger and more natural language, however, he knew already back then that his children would benefit from being raised bilingually and therefore, he consciously decided that 'if [German] [was] not the language of the heart, it [would] become it'. During our second meeting, he continued telling me that by now it had become the language of his heart, but *only* with his children. In this context, it is important to point out that my interviewees were living in Helsinki, thus their 'natural' surrounding was predominantly Finnish-speaking. Consequently, we need to see their choices of which language they wanted to pass to their children in precisely this light. Due to the surrounding, their children's proficiency in Finnish could be considered as ensured, while their German ability was up to their parents.

In Lotta Weckström's study on second-generation Finns in Sweden, a similar phenomenon became visible. She referred to statements by Burck and Kramsch who claimed that threats from outside could 'trigger a fight for survival and lift languages on a pedestal'. Weckström objects by stating that 'language can become accentuated in an individual's life for other reasons, such as childbirth, migration, or other changes in the social environment' (Weckström 2011:55). In fact, some participants in her study were talking about one of their languages being the 'language of the heart', even though they linked this to the one with which it feels natural to express affections. Tuomi-Nikula's article on Finnish descendants in Germany presents a surprising similarity in how people refer to their languages. As one of her interviewees explained, German was more of a 'head language', the language of her thoughts, in which she had studied at school, while Finnish was the language of her heart, the language that was 'more emotional' for her (see Tuomi-Nikula 2013:102). This does remind of Rivera Maulucci's reflections in which she goes so far to link the first and second language of a person to their 'core- and sub-identity' since the use of the former 'may span different contexts and situations', whereas the use of the latter 'might be confined to particular institutional domains' (Rivera Maulucci 2008:22). In contrast to this, Weckström stresses that such distinctions between the domains of the languages had nothing to do with being more proficient in one of the two (see Weckström 2011:87ff.). It was certainly the same with Henning, who seemed fluent in both languages, and yet decided in favour of German to be the language he would use with his children.

Most interestingly, also for the first generation of German migrants, aspects such as the birth of their first child, language, and a personal repositioning were closely related to each other—though with slightly different characteristics. In the interviews, I found a discrepancy between my interviewees' personal disconnectedness from everything related to Germany, Germans and being German, and their wish to pass precisely some of this 'German-ness' on to their children. 'German-ness' is a term I introduced to summarise everything my interviewees associated with having a German background; aspects they consider to be defining them as Germans, for instance traditions, habits, certain ways of thinking and acting. While the latter could be about specific holiday and food traditions as well as teaching certain manners, a great part of it appeared to be connected to language. Stuart Hall explained that the 'act of positioning' in order to affirm and defend an ethnic representation often draws upon 'solid points of reference' such as history, language and culture (Berchem 2011:614). However, due to the historic guilt of World War II and a cultural practise of remembrance, for many Germans the idea of feeling pride in Germany's history and culture does not come without difficulties (see Möbius 2003; Risse 2010). Therefore, it is not surprising that none of my interviewees mentioned that they consciously wanted to strengthen a German identity of their children. Instead, they felt responsible for supporting their children's language abilities in Finnish *as well as* in German, and it appeared as if compared to the problematic German history and culture, language was seen as a 'safe thing'. The wish to pass some German and 'German-ness' onto

their children often came with direct effects for my interviewees' own life scripts, as a quote of Darius, who came to Finland in the 1980s as a young adult, illustrates:

> Darius: On the contrary, [in the beginning] I even avoided having contacts with Germans. I stayed out of the German community, always, because—as a matter of fact, I was quite glad to have escaped the country of club mania, I really wasn't up for that and also had better stuff to do than to play skat with members of Lufthansa; I'm not good at this anyway. But once my children were born, all of a sudden I needed the whole infrastructure from kindergarten to the German School and ever since that I'm part of it. [...] That was clear to me from the beginning: my children will be given German on their way, whether they like it or not. [But] if it's only you who is speaking German with your children and everyone else, including TV, media, everything—that would never work!

Darius' descriptions resembled those of other interviewees of the first generation of German migrants, most of whom told me that they had actively tried to avoid other Germans after having moved to Finland. Many expressed a firm aversion against a German identification and appeared to be keen on presenting themselves as 'totally un-German' regarding patterns of behaviour and thinking. Many told me that they had always felt like being different from other Germans and stressed that they felt emotionally much closer to Finns than Germans. However, once their children were born, they still wanted their children to have knowledge on and an active relationship to Germany, including corresponding language skills. Due to the circumstance of living in an otherwise Finnish-speaking surrounding, they understood that this task was up to their responsibility. Luckily, my interviewees could seek for support by sending their children to the German kindergarten and/or school.

In this context, I want to emphasise that I conducted this study in an urban setting, more specifically in the capital of Finland. It is important to have this in mind, as it must be assumed that this factor shaped my interviewees' experiences and possibilities significantly. Helsinki offered said 'German infrastructure' to an extent not existent at other places, for instance the only German school in whole Finland, a German library, and the German cultural institute, the *Goethe-Institut Finnland*. Living in rural Finland or just a town or city without a German kindergarten or school drastically minimises the support in raising one's child bilingually, thus a similar study done in other parts of Finland must be expected to have rather different outcomes. Here, it is interesting to draw parallels to findings from other studies, above all Čeginskas' doctoral thesis about '*multicultural individuals*'. Unlike my respondents, Čeginskas' participants were not raised in the countries of their parents, who were both of different national and linguistic background. According to Čeginskas, her subjects could not transmit multiple languages to their children and thus has to focus on one. Consequently, this person is 'limiting her-/himself to predominantly one culture' (Čeginskas 2015:75), possibly causing conflicts both within the self but also with the social environment. In this regard, the decision on which language (and hence, culture) they wanted to pass on to their children

appeared to be less complicated for the people I talked to. Many of them relied on what Darius called an 'infrastructure' of institutional support in order to achieve this goal. In turn, they often became part of those circles they initially wanted to avoid and even made friends with other parents they met at the German school, kindergarten or church congregation. Unfortunately, it remained unclear in my interviews to what extent this rather tangible repositioning might have had an effect on my interviewees' *inner* positioning towards Germans and/or Germany.

Overall, the environment often seemed to be a determining factor on the language spoken in my interviewee's families. This resembles findings of other studies that 'view language use as the result of mutual relations with the main forces present in a place at a specific time. […] In other words, humans engage (or not) in communication practices often depending on the place of verbal and/or written interaction' (Siragusa 2017:75). For instance, Lennard, who was in his mid-20s at the time of the interview and who had moved to Finland when he was twelve years old, told me that his Finnish mother always spoke Finnish with him while living in Germany, but as soon as they moved to Finland, she switched to German. This attempt to stay fluent in the language that was not surrounding them in everyday life caused several interviewees to look for strategies of how to maintain or even improve their other language skills, for instance through longer stays in the country in question.

Most interestingly, it showed that the decision to spend some time in the respective other country could shake up someone's self-positioning regardless of the person's fluency and familiarity with the other country. This became visible in an interview with Hans, born and raised in Finland as a child of a German father and a Finnish mother, and his adult son Jonas. At some point, both of them decided to live and work in Germany for a while. However, their experiences differed significantly from each other, as they told me:

> Hans: [...] And I thought that it would be like my second home, Germany—that was quite a culture shock for me. Even though I did not have any problems with the language, but the way people worked [there], was completely different from what I was used to in Finland. So, that was really exhausting for me there. [...] There was too much friction between people, all the time with someone else, someone complained about something or wanted something differently. One wasn't used to that here [in Finland] [...].

> Jonas: But I think with you that was different, with me, the shock was much smaller, because my expectations were completely different [...]. I went there as a Finn and you are so much more German and maybe you had the expectation that you could just—access straight away.

Hans grew up bilingually and with a Finnish-German socialisation. Apparently, he identified strongly with his German background and due to his German relatives in Finland, he felt familiar with Germans. Before moving to Germany, he believed that he could simply slip into German society and become part of it without difficulty. A bit later, Hans added

that he had to learn that Germans abroad were different from Germans in Germany. According to him, his impression of Germans and German-ness was based on wrong grounds as it was drawn on Finland-Germans, who were 'more open, more flexible' than Germans living in Germany. His son Jonas explained that his father was 'so much more' German than he was, and this was the reason why he had too high expectations, which were then bound to lead to disappointment. When Jonas went to Germany to work there, he 'went there as a Finn', with different expectations than his father used to have. As Jonas told me, he even experienced a strengthening of his Finnish identification when living there as all of a sudden he started to miss 'Finnish things'. This excerpt from the interview with Hans and Jonas illustrates that even though being fluent in both languages theoretically may enable an easy access to both societies, it still is no guarantee for it.

Mismatched Mirroring—Consequences of (not) Being Fluent

Succeeding in raising one's children bilingually could create unexpected issues, stemming from one parent not being fluent (enough) in the other language. This became apparent in an interview I had with Dieter, a German migrant who came to Finland in the 1980s, and his adult son Lari, who was six years old when his German-Finnish parents decided to move (back) to Finland. Like other interviewees, Dieter also tried to speak consistently German with his children. Moreover, he and his family lived in Germany for the first years of life of the two children and after they moved to Finland, both children went to the German School. Dieter describes that even during the first few years after having moved to Finland, the children were speaking Finnish with their mother, German with him, and for a while, they still kept on using German when playing with each other. Consequently, they turned out to be bilingual and as a native speaker, he could not notice any accent in Lari's German. As their mother was also fluent in German, Dieter was the only one who might have had a deficit in one of the two languages, namely Finnish. Even though Dieter presented himself as being capable of communicating in Finnish, and also used it at his workplace, his second son apparently 'still today' refuses to speak Finnish with him, but 'naturally' uses German, even if this means that his Finnish wife gets excluded from the conversation. Concerning this, an interesting discussion between Dieter and Lari took place:

> Dieter: Yes, it's a bit strange. My younger son absolutely doesn't speak Finnish with me, what I find—actually I find that really asocial, since his wife doesn't speak German of course and his [Lari's] wife doesn't speak German. For me it would be natural to speak Finnish with them, so that everyone gets what we are talking about, but that doesn't work. It is actually a bit sad, because it conveys a certain exclusion from certain social events. One gets then the feeling that one is actually not as integrated as if one had grown up here.
>
> I: Did you address this at any point?

D: Yes, we talked about this several times already, but...

Lari: I think that just comes from the backbone.

I: Yes, yes... Those are just... Habits.

D: Well, no, not habits, it's nature, it is natural for them to talk to me like that.

L: It's not as if one... It's not only about including people in a social context, it's also about interpersonal communication. If the expression is not at the best level, as it is with you [Dieter] in Finnish, then there is also a deficit in communication between us—at least that's how it feels to me. One does speak the same language, but one knows that it is not 100 percent valid.

D: Yes, although... One also doesn't really improve one's language then.

L: No! We can speak Finnish once in a while, but as soon as it comes to details, we have to speak German anyway.

D: No, we wouldn't have to, but... One is a bit inhibited somehow, that might be the reason.

At this point of the interview, it was evident how much it bothered Dieter as he experienced this as an exclusion of himself, as the only one of the family who was not raised in Finland, whose mother-tongue was not Finnish and thus also as an insinuation of a deficit of language and integration. This points towards what Bönisch-Brednich claimed when stating that transnational migrants might take an 'in-between' position between countries and cultures, while a true 'inside' position would not be reached (Bönisch-Brednich 2002:271). The discussion between Dieter and Lari might illustrate the other side of the shiny bilingualism coin. Indeed, it might be desirable to raise children to be bilingual, as this equips them with beneficial tools and knowledge for life. However, this does not come without any difficulties in everyday life. If not both parents are fluent in both languages, there might be always someone being excluded. This could be either because of an inability to understand what has just been said, or as in Dieter's case, the conflict was caused by experiences of unequal treatment within the family, due to possibly exaggerated consideration, though well-meant and with good intentions. Here, I want to return to Pavlenko's (2005) reflections on emotionality of language learned at different stages of life. Having those in mind, it seems only natural that even though some of my interviewees became relatively fluent in the Finnish language, they still chose to speak German with their children. In our discussions, they explained that they just wanted their children to know both languages. However, I suppose that it might have also been the obvious choice, possibly being the language they feel emotionally more connected to.

Looking at the descendant generation, it showed that not all of them were bilingual in the way many people understand it to be, namely to have a 'similar level of proficiency' in both languages (Pavlenko 2005:6). Some

introduced themselves as being part of a generation that was raised with only one language, as the paediatricians their mothers consulted, believed that being brought up with two languages would cause harm to the child's development. As a matter of fact, until the 1960s, psychology and linguistics held the belief that bilingualism and cognitive development were negatively associated and saw bilingualism as 'the cause of immigrant children's mental retardation' they thought to detect. Only gradually and through different studies, this changed until a 'positive association of bilingualism with cognitive development has become commonly accepted in the contemporary literature' (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:115ff).

Some interviewees told me of having had problems at school because of a lack of language skills. Lennard for instance admitted that during his first years at a Finnish school, he was mocked because of his pronunciation. Another interviewee, Harri (in his 50s), who was sent to a German boarding school once a year for several weeks, explained that as a child, he continuously mixed up languages so that he had to repeat grades. Several others told me that they used to speak a mixture of Finnish and German in their childhood, something that one interviewee, Lasse, compared to a creole. Lasse was the only Finnish-Finnish person I interviewed, who spent all his life in Germany before moving to Finland as a young adult. He got back to his usage of language at several other points of the interview and explained that, while living in Germany, Finnish soon became a 'secret language' that he used with his siblings. At first sight, this resembles studies on 'secrecy' in language use that present the use of a 'secret language' as a conscious strategy for not letting others understand (Siragusa 2017). However, as Lasse admitted, not even Finns could understand them since their Finnish was 'grammatically not at all correct'—something that he himself was not aware of as a child. Despite the lack of actual fluency, language was closely linked to Lasse's identity:

> Lasse: (...) I would say, by now I belong to a third culture. That's what my girlfriend said during our discussions about Germany and Finland, since I feel that I belong to neither Finland nor to Germany completely. First of all, language is a really important point of identity, because I speak better German than Finnish. It took quite a while for me to admit that my Finnish is not that good. Ehm, the funny thing is that I am somehow a language-chameleon: I am really good at communicating through sayings and phrases. That also means that people don't immediately under—don't immediately notice—don't *immediately* notice that I am not a Finn.

As explained previously, Lasse was the only person I talked to who had no German family background as such, but who had lived all his life in Germany, before he moved to Helsinki as an adult. For that reason, his comment that people in Finland did not notice immediately that 'he is not a Finn' due to him using many phrases puzzled me, especially since he also did not try to explain it after having said it.

What strikes me interesting is an apparent discrepancy between scholarly discussions on concepts such as translanguaging and the way my interviewees elaborated on their own experiences, thoughts and feelings. They themselves referred to their personal reality by drawing on binaries

of languages and cultures, they (largely) described switching between two languages as separate systems. At first sight, it seems like said theorisations and concepts do not reflect my interviewees' narratives. However, at a closer look, translanguaging might show between the lines, such as when Larissa describes how exhausting it is to switch between German and Finnish, or Harri tells about having had issues in school because of mixing up the two languages, or finally Lasse who blended German and Finnish into a secret, novel language used between him and his siblings. Those instances indicate how the surrounding affects the dynamics behind languaging and identifying. Similar to the elaborations on societal forces by García and Wei (2013:15), it showed in my interview material that a surrounding that expects monolingual practices seems to force bilingual individuals to obey this norm, even though it might oppose their natural intuition. Being able to *practice* translanguaging requires a surrounding that understands and accepts all of the respective languages, as illustrated in Creese's and Blackledge's study on bilingual families and language schools (Creese and Blackledge 2010:565).

If such a bi-/multilingual setting was not given, not to know both languages of the parents could cause obvious problems in my interviewees' everyday lives, for instance when not being able to understand relatives, but especially after having moved to the other country in question. Besides mere practical aspects, this inability to communicate in both languages triggered negative feelings in some of the people I spoke to. Linda for instance, who was in her 40s and who grew up in Germany with her Finnish mother speaking German to her, described her experiences during summer holidays in Finland as following:

> Linda: [...] And ehm, I soon started to be quite annoyed that I didn't know any Finnish, because people always approached me in Finnish, because I also look so Finnish and eh, I always had to answer '*En ymmärrä suomea*' (I don't understand any Finnish) and eh, also with the relatives, so, eh, that I had to use cousins as translators and then again had to use English, because the older generation, for example my aunt and my grandmother, they didn't know any foreign language, neither German nor English.

At another point of our interview, Linda emphasised her Finnish appearance, saying that she looks '100 percent Finnish'. This could hint that the perception by others played an integral part in her feeling of belonging, considering how much it apparently bothered her that she could not answer the expectation of others approaching her in Finnish. A reverse picture was given by participants of other studies, for instance Verkuyten's and de Wolf's research on Chinese descendants living in the Netherlands (2002). Their interviewees, who have lived all or most of their lives in the Netherlands, described it as disturbing that even though they were fluent in Dutch and partly even felt more Dutch than Chinese, they were still perceived as Chinese, solely based on their outer appearance (Verkuyten and de Wolf 2002:371–399). Unlike Linda, for them there was nothing to be done about this misconception. Linda on the other hand, thought to herself after high school graduation:

'Either you learn Finnish now or it will never work', which is why she then went to Finland as an au pair. Thereafter, it took her several years with stages in different European countries before she finally moved to Helsinki to stay. During the interview, she expressed pride of having become fluent in Finnish to the extent that she is now able to 'produce several sentences without any mistakes'. Obtaining Finnish fluency meant more for Linda than just learning a language, but rather it was a confirmation of what she had always considered to be part of herself. In the very beginning of our interview, she introduced herself and said: '[...] but somehow I realised quite early that I was not really a typical German, because my mother is from Finland'. At a later point when describing the time she first moved to Finland, Linda told me that she then had something she called 'a click-experience, like an "A-ha, here are your roots!"'

Even though she had always felt connected to Finland as the country where her roots lie, Linda suffered because people did not perceive her as a Finn, due to the lack of linguistic capital. As Hurriyet Babacan states, 'identity is two-pronged' (Babacan 2010:14), meaning that it is shaped by self-perception and the perception by others. Linda might have always perceived herself as 'not totally German', maybe she even related closely to a Finnish self-identification; however, the perception by the Finnish reference group was a different one. Not sounding Finnish meant an exclusion from this group, which stood in sharp contrast to how Linda saw herself—or, to phrase it differently, the reflection in the 'mirrors of the judgment of others', as Caroline Hornstein-Tomić put it (2011:425), mismatched with how Linda thought she would present herself. It is worth linking this to Rivera Maulucci's study in which she discusses the different consequences of a lack of verification of a person's self-perceived core-identity by others. According to her, such experiences may not only trigger emotions like shame, inferiority, even fear and anger, but may also cause severe and long-term struggles with verifying one's own identity that may only be solved once the self-perceived core-identity, in Linda's case that of being Finnish, is affirmed by relevant others (Rivera Maulucci 2008:27f). Becoming fluent in Finnish as her meant-to-be-mother-tongue denoted a completion of Linda's transcultural (self-)identification, similar to what showed up in Čeginskas' study. Her multilingual interviewees did not feel in-between cultures, thus when people detected a 'foreign' accent, this set them 'apart from cultures to which they feel connections' (Čeginskas 2015:87).

Putting those findings in the context of other contributions to this volume, it is interesting to notice the different connotations behind a felt responsibility to learn or maintain a language. The motivation of my interviewees to learn/maintain their German or Finnish language skills did not appear to be about the explicit idea of *kinship* or a demarcation from others, as it showed in Ferguson's chapter (this volume). However, it was still emotionally charged as it enabled a person's feeling of belonging to both of their family backgrounds. Unlike immigrants who—as Innes (this volume) described—are expected to learn the local language to obtain citizenship, most of my interviewees were in the situation of having dual citizenship by birth, but still some of them could not speak both of 'their' languages

fluently. For them, learning the second of their two languages was certainly also for practical reasons, as illustrated above, but it also appeared to be about a reconfirmation of one's personal, private heritage.

Conclusion: Context Matters

This article sheds light on an understudied group of people, namely those with invisible migrant background. The specific context of my study needs to be kept in mind when trying to understand my research material. Drawing on interviews I held with German migrants and their descendants in contemporary Helsinki, I showed how language and a person's (self-)positioning can be interrelated under said circumstances. I started with an interviewee whose description of the act of translating between German and Finnish, her mother tongues, and English, illustrated that some languages can indeed be much more than a mere tool to deliver a message, but comes with the speaker's background and emotional attachment to it. I connected this to Gumperz' distinction between linguistic and communicative competences, even though for me, this still went further as it demonstrated the emotional charge languages might inhere. This impression received further support in the second section of the paper, in which I discuss how language knowledge and language use could cause a renegotiation of a person's self-positioning at certain moments in life. Here, the birth of the first child proved to be a milestone both for the first and the descendant generation of German migrants. At this point, my interviewees had to make a conscious decision on what they wanted to pass onto their children, which sometimes led to significant changes in their own life scripts. Such a decision meant to acknowledge one's own responsibility to enable one's child to position themselves freely within German-Finnish contexts. In the third part, I discussed how the degree of fluency in both languages, German and Finnish, influenced my interviewees' feeling of belonging and (self-)positioning, and reflected upon it in light of the concept of translaguaging and its limitations.

The freedom of choice expressed by my interviewees sets them apart from those, who have migrant background that happens to be regarded as more visible, exotic, and/or problematic by the majority population. Thinking of the #MeTwo tweeters I referred to in the beginning, a sharp contrast becomes apparent. Many of those who tweeted about their experiences as descendants of migrants in Germany were actually born and raised there. Yet, they often felt that they were not accepted as Germans by other Germans. The fact that they were fluent in German did not seem to make a difference here; the prejudices towards their ancestors' backgrounds were too strong. For my interviewees, things appeared to be different. As part of a group that was commonly accepted by the majority population as being close enough to one's 'own', or the 'familiar', they did have the possibility to blend in. Admittedly, those, who were not raised bilingually but still felt emotionally connected to Finland, suffered just the same from a mismatched mirroring of their self-perception and the perception by the reference-group.

However, unlike it was the case for the #MeTwo tweeters, learning the other language could solve this issue, and furthermore could reinforce and reconfirm the person's feeling of belonging. Learning about the experiences of people with 'insignificant' migrant background sets a valuable point of reference to studies about people that are stigmatised and problematized by the majority population. By connecting findings of my research with studies and accounts like the ones mentioned, I tried to contribute to a more encompassing understanding of the emotional dynamics behind language and feelings of belonging of transcultural people.

Acknowledgments

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Unheard Voices of a Rebel City: re-Appropriation of Rights through the City Walls

Introduction

In this chapter, I offer an analysis of the linguistic landscape of the *Centro Storico*[1] district of Naples, Italy, by concentrating on street art as an expressive tool used by citizens to claim the right to the city (cf. Harvey 201; Lefebvre 1991) in the context of mass tourism. 'Linguistic Landscapes' (Landry and Bourhis 1997) are sets of visible written language in a given public space. Advertisement, shop names, traffic signs, graffiti, and so forth all contribute to form the linguistic landscape of a given area. The choice to focus on a specific field of Linguistic Landscapes, namely the graffiti, was not random; it dates back to April 2017, when during a fieldwork assignment in my hometown of Naples, I started to take pictures of statements appearing in the public space of the Old Town. I decided to focus my attention on graffiti as an agentive attempt by citizens to shape and re-appropriate the space of the city. Those graffiti bearing a socio-political statement especially caught my attention, and I started to wonder whether there could be common traits among these statements and how could they be related to the space they are embedded in, taking into account the work of Pennycook and his idea of graffiti as the 'stained glass window of the 21st century'. For Pennycook (2007:303–304), this vision opens up new perspectives on Linguistic Landscapes, as it leads to a broader semiotic domain by analysing the interaction of text and image and by considering the context a fundamental element in order to understand the meanings signs may carry.

The selected area of the Neapolitan Old Town has undergone great social changes in a short period of time: on the one hand, there has been a great increase of mass tourism. This process started to show its less attractive side for the residents through, for example, a contemporary increase in rent prices, especially in the financially most disadvantaged areas.[2] On the other hand, a mix of favourable coexistent conditions has facilitated the

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1   Italian for 'historic centre'.
2   https://retesetnapoli.wordpress.com/2019/01/24/turistificazione-il-commento-di-set-napoli-al-dossier-di-federalberghi/?fbclid=IwAR0m0JKTU9pDp-V4B4WWuYIwofjh_j6-FGR93-dLOo9xrzFh98VWzzxDI9k.

multiplication of examples of re-appropriation of the public space, such as the recognition of buildings of public property as 'common goods', occupied by citizens after years of decay and reconverted in places for a collective use. This simultaneous condition of contested territoriality among the different groups of residents, tourists, and activists let the following research questions rise: How do city dwellers express their needs where the power over the city space is contested? What kind of society are they proposing? Through which linguistic medium are these claims expressed and why? In this paper, I tried to shed light on different forms of re-appropriation of space through the analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of the *Centro Storico* district of Naples. The mass tourism discourse turned out to be an exemplary contestation of space in the struggle for claiming the right to the city, and taking on a sense of responsibility for its spaces. The relevance of this work resides in the possibility offered by Linguistic Landscapes-based research to uncover voices that would stay otherwise unheard, and to explore diverse modalities of human organizations that aim to create an alternative society than the one they live in. The voices I shall refer to here are the result of a selection of the available linguistic data based on my individual perspective and personal research interest or, as Appadurai puts it, a 'creative imposition of order on the many conversations that lie at the heart of fieldwork' (Appadurai 1988:16). Provided that the voices that researchers devote space to result from the intertwinement between their subjective viewpoint and the data available in the field, I selected part of the available data in the form of street art and I analysed it according to how it reveals perspective of the claim to the right to the city in the context of mass tourism. I tried to shed light on examples of contestation of space that do not find a voice in the mainstream narration regarding the social changes that are taking place in the selected area. I attempted to keep in mind that the representation of a greater variety of perspectives about locality corresponds to the development of plural discourses in the construction of contextually relevant knowledge (Pennycook 2010).

Within the present research, I will explore the concept of responsibility through two different directions of study. On the one hand, I consider the claiming of rights to space through graffiti as an act of responsibility towards the community. The authors of the analysed graffiti performed an act of protest aimed at improving the living conditions of the collective. On the other hand, I consider the responsibility that academics bear by using the study of graffiti as a tool to give voices to words of struggles that would stay otherwise unread and unheard. Such responsibilities are performed through both language and place. Language, in the form of unauthorized writings on the city walls, is situated in specific places that not only constitute the physical background of the message; but at the same time designate the recipients—that is, the passers-by of the chosen area—of such message. In the case of the analysed writings, the place where the language is situated is inseparable from its function, for the meaning of such writings might be lost or altered if they were detached from the places in which they are embedded. It is against this background that I will try to answer the raised questions through Linguistic Landscapes theories, such as the ones proposed

by Laundry and Bourhis (1997) and Tuan (1977). I will apply these studies in the context of my fieldwork. The selection of the survey field, objects and items was based on methods proposed by Backhaus (2007) and Pennycook (2008), integrating them into a panoramic of the social and historical context of the considered district. Finally, I will proceed to analyse three pictures in order to answer the earlier raised questions.

An overview of Linguistic Landscapes

Linguistic Landscapes (from now on LL) are a recently explored perspective to analyse the use of the language in public space. For Landry and Bourhis (1997:25), LL is 'the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscapes of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration'. Through a LL perspective, it is possible to analyse and uncover discourses embedded in a given place by observing all forms of language appearing in public spaces, using language and signs as a key to literally 'read the space' from a new perspective. According to Tuan (1977:6), 'words have the power to turn a space into a place', with space being described as an 'undifferentiated space' that gains communicative value through language.

In early years of LL studies, much of the research focused on the use of different languages in public space, especially in multilingual contexts and where a quantitative approach was preferred. Then, a growing interest into more experimental approaches and a wider field of inquiry lead to a shift from quantitative to qualitative methods (Blackwood et al. 2016), which expanded, for instance, the research field to *geosemiotics*. This concept was first introduced by Scollon and Scollon (2003) in their book, *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. They define *geosemiotics* as 'the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world' (Scollon and Scollon 2003:211).

Qualitative methods in LL studies are used to explore the role of power structure and agency in the use of language in public spaces. Since the construction of the space is considered as a social product (Papen 2012:59), the way actors make use of it is the result of power relationship among them. Therefore, the observation of LL can reveal power hierarchies among languages in a given place, especially in the case of the presence of minority languages, or it can shed light on struggles of linguistic or social groups otherwise not represented. Items, which are part of the LL, function not only as informational but also as symbolical markers that can reveal the dynamics among those dwelling within a place. For instance, they can reveal the relative power and status of linguistic communities by analysing the distribution of the languages in public space (Gorter 2006). Street art, in comparison with other forms of written language that the walker's gaze meets in the space of the city, has a peculiar potential in the reading of these dynamics because it signalizes 'tensions and contradictions of urban life' (Avradimis and Tsilimpounidi 2017:3). Moreover, because of their non-

normative nature, examples of street art offer an insight to narratives *in* and *over* the common space that otherwise would not appear in the public space. According to Avradimis and Tsilimpounidi (2017:5),

> These frequently illegal re-appropriations of public space create a spectrum of alternative, and many times subversive urban representation that exposes the untold stories on the ground (…) Graffiti and street art can also affect methodological choices, as they could be viewed as an expression of counter-cultural production on the micro level, as alternative urban diaries projected on urban walls.

These diaries cannot be read without taking the context into account. According to Pennycook in his *Language as a Local Practice* (2010), we should not confine the idea of the local to the micro and contextual, if we do not want to overlook its potential, since 'a local grounding should become the primary and critical force in the construction of contextually relevant knowledge if we are to develop more plural discourses' (Canagarajah 2005:xiv and Pennycook 2010). The local dimension gives us the possibility to take into account all the different discourses embedded in a place instead of only the hegemonic ones.

Graffiti are an instrument through which city dwellers make their personal understanding of the city as it is seen and heard, performing an act of responsibility towards their community. I analyse graffiti as a tool to investigate power relations in the space of the city and to uncover discourses and struggles that are not present in its mainstream representation. I use this tool especially in the perspective of the rights to the city in a place undergoing the phenomenon of mass tourism. Studying Graffiti means to approach alternative discourses than the hegemonic ones that rule over the space; examples of graffiti represent natural 'vital functions' of the city, i.e., the residual traces of the language present in a place that does not fit into the profit-driven scheme of the regulation of the language in public space. Moreover, I want to expand the methodology of Graffiti analysis in the LL showing that a diachronic approach can be a useful tool to trace the dynamics of social changes in a given place.

Selecting the survey area: Neapolitan Centro Storico and Tourism

The present research follows in its first steps the suggestions made by Backhaus in his work, *Linguistic Landscapes. A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*, where he recommends to 'clarify how to determine the survey area(s), the survey items, and their linguistic properties' (Backhaus 2007:61). Since this method can be criticized because it overlooks the emotional or affective consequences of the LL (Stoltmann 2016:108), I chose to take also Pennycook's suggestions into account. Pennycook argues that because the meaning resides in the context at least as much as in the text, we need to pay attention to how linguistic representations were intended, how they are interpreted, and in which discourses they are embedded (Pennycook

2007:304–305). I tried to avoid a lack of consideration to the environment by integrating the procedure suggested by Backhaus with an overview of the social and historical context of the survey field and by employing participant observation as well.

The selection of the area was motivated by my ease of access to Neapolitan society and to my nearly direct knowledge of the first consequences of the ongoing mass tourism process, which has been taking place in the city over the last several years. This dynamic has re-shaped the social and economic fabric of some areas, especially the *Centro Storico*. This is because I wanted to minimize the risk of incurring misinterpretations of the collected data. As I hail from Naples myself, I have the opportunity to spend several weeks a year in the area and to collect data through participant observation and remain in long-term contact with diverse social actors. The 'insider' perspective over the place that I gain makes me something like a 'native anthropologist' (Mascareñhas-Keyes 1987).

Over the last several years, Naples (and especially its central district) have experienced great social change that has been re-shaping the identity and the social fabric of the place. One of these is the political unrest: city dwellers have been claiming their rights to the city in time of crisis, re-shaping the city through a literally re-appropriation of space, making it into place (Tuan 1977:162). The crisis I shall refer to here is the result of a set of different factors: the city of Naples has hosted the bloody scenery of Mafia (locally called *camorra*) battles for many decades. It has undergone a trash crisis with a peak in the years 2007–2011. It has also traditionally played the role of a paradigmatic counterpart of the more developed and 'European' Italian North (Dines 2012). We also must not overlook the frame of the global crisis taking place since 2008 which lead to a greater financial gap between the South and the North of Italy. It is in the context of this already precarious situation that a recent phenomenon came to the fore—namely that of mass tourism—which started to show negative consequences for the residents. Naples is the third largest municipality in Italy after Rome and Milan and it is one of the most densely populated cities in Europe. The city district commonly known as *Centro Storico* (from now on CS) is, with its 180 square kilometres and its approximately 250,000 inhabitants, one of the largest historical centres in Europe. As the district has undergone the greatest changes in the last years, the CS has not always been the place most associated with tourism in Naples and it has been avoided by some Neapolitans that formerly considered it to be a place of decay. In the last years, the situation has changed and the CS is experiencing an unprecedented touristic boom at fast rate. After all, it would be difficult to overlook a 91% increase of tourists in the last 10 years (Ginsforth and Antolino 2019). The number of rooms or whole apartments on AirBnB doubled in the last two years, rent prices increased in the CS, and 50% of Neapolitans now rent an apartment rather than own it (idem).

Through the observation of the LL of the CS, it is possible to read these changes and the way city dwellers express their conflicting visions of mass tourism processes on the city walls. Moreover, the city walls show how the phenomena of mass tourism, together with the so-called 'Refugee Crisis' that

started in Summer 2015, pose questions that do concern the local context, but it also relate to broader issues such as the right to free movement, denied to some (the refugees) and promoted for others (the tourists). These questions have much to do with the way any given society is organized and which values we want our cities to embody.

The Centro Storico *as a laboratory of the* Rebel City

Political activism in the CS is not a new phenomenon. Naples has often played an important role in national student movements. The district has been popular among the alternative scene since the 90s, especially on the wave of the occupation of university buildings by students in opposition to proposed privatization in higher education (Dines 2013). It is in this breeding ground that a new process has been taking place since 2012: abandoned buildings have been occupied in order to give them back to the community and share their use for collective interest. The first one of these 'new wave' buildings was *Ex Asilo Filangieri,* a former monastery owned by the municipality of Naples that was occupied in March 2012 by a group of artists and workers of the cultural sector, along with neighbourhood inhabitants. The activists originally planned to occupy it for a short time as a sign of protest against the culture policy of the administration.[3]

Squatting itself was, as said, not new in Naples. Instead, new are its dimensions and modalities: the occupied buildings scene increased in the last years both in terms of quantity and of quality. One factor to make this possible is the presence of the mayor Luigi De Magistris, an ex-magistrate better known for his campaign against the mafia and for his vision of the city as a democratic laboratory of what he defines as a *rebel city*. The term *rebel city* was originally proposed by the anthropologist and geographer David Harvey (2012), inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) vision of *right to the city*.[4] De Magistris often describes Naples as a *rebel city*, nevertheless there is no evidence that he directly refers to this theoretical framework.[5] Instead, he uses the term to describe the 'rebel' attitude through a diverse use of the constitution to guarantee citizenship rights when the formal political system fails to do so. The most recent example of this position dates to January 2019, when De Magistris and other Italian mayors declared they would refuse to implement a decree that would abolish humanitarian protection permits granted to people who did not qualify for asylum, but for whom it was too dangerous to return home. In this situation, the Italian press referred to him and the other Italian mayors sharing the same position as 'rebel mayors'. The

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3   For further information, see Varriale (2016:16).
4   In his work *Rebel cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (2012), Harvey proposes cultural solidarity and collective memory among social groups as means to empower themselves, making them political subjects strong enough in the struggle against the capitalist oligarchic structure that denies the right to the city.
5   Lefebvre also wrote a book called *The rebel City: The Neapolitan Case* (2017).

Neapolitan Mayor had already described Naples as a sanctuary city and as a city where municipal power is shared. In fact, the current administration has been the first one in Italy to create a *Department for Common Goods and Participative Democracy* in order to promote the use of common spaces managed in a collective way.[6] It is under this perspective that occupied buildings have been declared as common goods, reversing the trend of most of the European city administrations that tend to evacuate this kind of places. Before De Magistris' first election as Mayor in 2012, there were only eleven occupied buildings in Naples. Now there are more than twenty occupied buildings, each with a different agenda, most of them being concentrated in the CS area. A greater presence of such places does not in any way mean that the mayor and his administration bear a personal responsibility for this phenomenon. In spite of such a legislative state of exception compared to other Italian cities, conversations with the activists show that the occupants maintain a high degree of criticism towards the city's policies.[7] The process of increased appropriation of abandoned buildings was nevertheless either peaceful nor without complications: it took three years since the occupation of *Ex Asilo Filangieri* to come to an agreement between the occupants and the city council. According to this agreement, the city council pays for water and electricity consumption and the occupants do not have to pay the rent. The government does not provide leases or concessions for the occupants; it only acknowledges their civic use.[8] The occupants, on the other hand, do not seek to be financially independent in order to offer cultural services within the logic of the private market. This and the other occupied places offer a wide variety of services, ranging from legal assistance for immigrants, to sport courses, to tuition for students.[9] The aim of the occupants is to create new institutions of direct administration, where the decisions are taken in common, where city dwellers can demand services and rights that are otherwise not given, where the means of production are used collectively, and where the public assemblies for the administration are open to everyone.

These organizations also play a role in the safeguard of democracy and legality in the city, organizing, for instance, a *popular control* in and outside the polling places during the elections.[10] To avoid episodes of corruption and to guarantee the democratic course of the voting process, they monitor that there is no exchange of votes and they denounce any illegal act. The latest

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6   See the department's website http://www.comune.napoli.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/16783 <accessed 12 October 2018>

7   A critical point against the current city council addresses the contradiction between the mayor's narration of the *rebel city* of the common goods, on one side, and the lack of concrete policies against neoliberal touristification processes that force more and more dwellers to leave the CS, on the other.

8   For further information, see http://heteropolitics.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Short-report-on-commons-in-Naples.pdf

9   See, for instance, the website of one of the most known occupied buildings called Ex-OPG – Jeso' pazz', http://jesopazzo.org/ <accessed 12 October 2018>

10 http://corrieredelmezzogiorno.corriere.it/napoli/politica/16_giugno_13/controllo-popolare-voto-l-ex-opg-ingaggia-nuove-sentinelle-e3df2d32-316e-11e6-ab69-28ec9e045508.shtml <accessed 12 October 2018>

and most concrete signal of this particular constellation of activism, self-empowerment, and resilience is the creation of a new political leftist party called, *Potere al Popolo*, founded by the activists of the occupied building *Ex OPG–Je so pazz´*. They argued that they did not feel represented by the politics and therefore decided to be the ones to represent themselves and their struggles. In less than three months, they managed to collect the necessary number of affiliates to take part in the general elections of the 4 March 2018, but they did not reach the three per cent minimum threshold to sit in parliament. Nevertheless, their activity across Italy did not decrease.[11]

All of this makes Naples (and especially the CS) a symbol of a laboratory where we can examine the re-appropriation of public spaces through the action of city dwellers whose needs are not fulfilled. They managed, through a material occupation of spaces on one side, and through the metaphorical occupation of political spaces on the other side, to create a new place for self-determination and solidarity in a context that originally did not fulfil these needs, attempting to put into practice the idea of *Rebel Cities*.

Selecting the object: Graffiti—and beyond—as a form of agency

Under this perspective, I observed that the linguistic elements displayed in the form of graffiti in the CS reflect the particular social context of the area. In this situation of contested public space, the presence of graffiti gains a particular social role, where only their communicative content makes them political. They represent namely a contestation of the public space already by existing. Graffiti are usually classified as transgressive signs in the LL studies. But, what does *transgressive* mean? As Jaworski and Thurlow (2010:22) note, 'They can only be considered transgressive if one acknowledges the hegemonic order as the legitimate one'.

The street artist Banksy blames the companies that occupy the urban space with their ads to be the ones defacing the city and argues that 'they expect to be able to shout their message in your face from every available surface but you're never allowed to answer back' (Banksy 2004:8). He also states that the people running the city do not understand graffiti because they recognize the right to exist only to things that make a profit. In this sense, the pure existence of a sign, a form of expression not recognized as legal, is itself a contestation of the power over the speech in the public space of the city. This battle over the right to free speech is at the same time a battle over the right of the city dwellers to give the city the shape they need. These needs gain a more peculiar relevance within the situation of a contested space among tourists, residents, and refugees. The authors Jaworski and Thurlow state that, in this situation, 'what constitutes a violation of rights for one party, may be an affirming and legitimate reclamation of voice (and space) for another, and it can be an important literacy/identity resource' (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009:20). Under this perspective, graffiti can be an

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11 https://poterealpopolo.org/ <accessed 12 October 2018>

important self-appropriation tool to conquer the right to shape and narrate the space in a different way than the profit-driven one, that otherwise is not given. For Pennycook, graffiti 'are about different ways of claiming space. They are also transformative in the sense not only that they change the public space but that they reinterpret it' (Pennycook 2007:307).

Graffiti cause a 'transformation into a different kind of place that carries not only the signs of urban planners but also the designs of urban dwellers' (ibid.). In the LL, street art is the most suitable medium in the struggle for the right to the city, since it is about contestation by those dwellers who are exerting a kind of counter-hegemonic agency make their voice heard. For Lefebvre (2017), the right to the city is the right of social groups to play an active role in the collective construction of the space of the city and to achieve their needs. My case shows how city dwellers attempt to modify the space of the city challenging the mainstream narration over it, giving a voice to the walls that speaks about struggle for rights and that would stay otherwise unheard. Agency and contestation in claiming the right to the city involving profit-free strategies is what has been taking place more and more in the CS in the last years. Therefore, the analysis of graffiti represented a natural choice as a research object in this area. The world-renowned street artist Blu significantly decided to leave his mark with his painting on the Ex-OPG building, supporting their agenda. This is only one of the many examples of how (linguistic) signs and place, bonded together, create a new layer of meaning. Moreover, in the last years, graffiti have obtained more attention as an empowering tool for disadvantaged Neapolitan areas thanks to the graffiti writer Jorit, who painted huge portraits, often in the periphery, that became famous and attracted tourists who would otherwise not go to that area and that inspired educational projects for children of the area.

Another reason why I chose graffiti as a research object is related to the idea of volatility:

> This kaleidoscope [of LL] is dynamic, and what is found today is not necessarily what will be found in the next days, weeks or months […]. It is attention to such nonpermanent, temporary or even accidental signs that defines our ethnographic Linguistic Landscaping approach and generates sensitivity to rapid and unpredictable, social and cultural change (Blommaert and Maly 2014:9).

Graffiti are even more volatile than other linguistic data and they are particularly suitable for functioning as civil, social, and political commentary because of their direct impact and immediacy, reflecting the rapidity with which discourses are produced.

Despite these observations about graffiti, I decided to be flexible about the items selection when considered suitable for the aim of the studio. Since a sign speaks only in combination with other signs in order to be decoded, I am going to enrich the survey corpus with other elements of the LL that share with graffiti the criteria I considered crucial in order to gain a deeper idea of the social processes of the area.

Selecting the items

My photographic corpus contains a total of 112 pictures. I took personally 103 pictures using a mobile phone camera during my four visits to Naples from April 2017 to January 2018; the other nine were taken by a friend in March 2018. Some of the writings have been repainted or damaged by weather conditions and the passing of time. Since changes are part of the discourse-making process, I considered it worthwhile to include them into this analysis. Of these 112 pictures, three in particular synthesize the mass tourism and right to the city discourses. I focus on these ones as they constitute a political act in terms of re-appropriation of space, of the upheavals of power structures and of the representation of unheard voices.

Reading the walls

The CS has been protected by UNESCO since 1995. Some of the most important monuments of Naples are situated in this area and, in spite of this, this part of the city has long been considered off the classical tourist's route. In the 1980s, tourists and some (middle-class) Neapolitans considered it 'off-limits' because of its bad housing conditions, traffic congestion, and the presence of organized petty crime (Dines 2018). This condition remained the same for a few decades, with the CS as well as the whole city blacklisted by global media and tourist operators as a result of the trash crisis taking place between 2007 and 2010 (ibid. 2018). In 2017, the newspaper *The Sun* even included Naples in the list of the most ten dangerous cities in the world.[12] In his article, *An irreconcilable first-place: the precarious life of tourism and heritage in a southern European historic centre,* the author Nick Dines (2018:10) observes that, in his visit to the city in 2014, the CS was not as popular as other tourist itineraries, but it rather represented an extra option within the local sightseeing industry.

    What I witnessed in my visits to Naples in 2017 was a very different scenario. The CS had become much more populated by tourists than in the past years and many new tourist shops had opened at the expense of shops that serve residents like fishmongers, greengrocers, etc. These new commercial activities ranged from tourist shops—selling typical artefacts, magnets, postcards and so on—to small restaurants and cafés which offer typical food or street food, and to places that offer 'the real Neapolitan experience'. Here tourists can spend a day in a *vascio*, a typical Neapolitan twelve-room apartment with a direct access on the street where many people used to live together. They were considered a symbol of urban decay because of the lack of hygiene and many *vasci* were reconverted into small shops. Now, tourists can eat together and play the traditional board game of tombola, alongside actors that act like 'typical Neapolitans'. The residents I talked to

12 http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2017/07/18/naples-among-worlds-10-most-dangerous-cities-sun-5_d304e6fd-cd74-4bae-a0b7-cd7952c140e3.html <accessed 12 October 2018>

divided themselves into enthusiasts of this 'modernization' of the city, which was finally appreciated by visitors from all around the world instead of only being famous for camorra and trash, and those who see the danger of the disappearance of the 'real' spirit of Naples in favour of a 'Disneyfication' created for the benefit of tourists only—one that deprives dwellers of services like small shops selling what they need in their daily life. One person told me 'the only things you will be able to do in the future in the CS will be to eat!' (private conversation). It was not just my impression: statistical data presented a similar picture. According to the information provided by Mibact, the number of passengers in transit in July 2017 increased to 30% respect to the same month of the previous year. 85% of the rooms were booked for the last weekend of August, while in the same weekend of 2010 the number was less than 35%.[13] It is evident that the tourism in Naples has been booming during the last years, and this also means a real revolution in economic and social terms for the city and especially for the CS, a change that lead to the comparison of a new discourse about (the right to) the city in the CS: the threat of mass tourism and gentrification.

I will now analyse the first two items selected for this paper (Figs. 3 and 4). The photos were taken in Piazza Luigi Miraglia, a crucial place for tourists (Fig. 4) and the black writing significantly covers a touristic sign (in Italian, English, French, and German) showing a map of the CS with the title *The Open Museum* (Fig. 3). On the lower side, there are stickers in different conditions, two of them representing the collectives of occupied buildings. The writing *fuck tourists welcome refugees* is similar to other ones that I collected in the CS, but in this one two different (though connected, as we will see) discourses are put together—i.e., gentrification and solidarity with refugees, shining a light on connections that otherwise would not be as evident at a first glance. They refer to the so-called 'refugee crisis' that has exploded in the media since the summer 2015 and that is becoming more and more of a topic of discussion in Italy. The selection of English as a chosen language gives the observer some information. First, it shows that the recipients are principally tourists (or refugees) rather than locals. This choice does not only have a functional reason—to communicate with tourists—but is at the same time a formal choice that places this writing among many others similar to it. It positions itself among an already existing discourse that compares in the LL of other cities dealing with a touristic boom or gentrification at different levels—such as Amsterdam, Coimbra, Lisbon, Paris, and Barcelona—, where writings against tourists borrow this slogan from other social struggles. The phrase *Refugees Welcome* appeared originally in the form of stickers on street signs on highways along the USA-Mexican border. The stickers bear the sentence REFUGEES WELCOME–BRING YOUR FAMILIES and the silhouette of a running family. They were supposed to draw motorists' attention to the migrants who were trying to reach the border by foot (Stolmann 2015).

13 http://www.identitainsorgenti.com/regina-dagosto-napoli-le-cifre-sul-boom-turistico-da-booking-allaeroporto-i-numeri-lo-confermano/ <accessed 12 October 2018>

Figure 3. 'Fuck tourists welcome refugees' in Piazza Luigi Miraglia. Picture taken in May 2017. Credit: the author.

Figure 4. Tourists in Piazza Luigi Miraglia. Picture taken in December 2017. Credit: the author.

The choice of writing in English rather than in Italian—in almost the same form as the ones in other cities—evidences the existence of, and the connection to, a broader community. This could be an example of 'ever increasing cosmopolitan agencies' within urban realities (Accoroni, this volume). About the content of the message, one can argue that to put the two discourses together can identify the common enemy of locals and refugees in the tourists. The latter symbolizes the system that rules who is welcome and who is not, who has the right to travel for pleasure in a safe environment, and who has to fight for his or her survival, to face a dangerous route to

Figure 5. The original writing has been covered in Piazza Luigi Miraglia. Picture taken in December 2017. Credit: the author.

reach a safer ground and to finally become the victim of social inequality in the new environment. Indeed, as already mentioned in this volume, migrants' (especially the most vulnerable ones') rights have been more and more object of erosion since the first years of the new millennium (ibid.). The aforementioned transnational solidarity community deals with similar urban and social changes and claims the same rights all over the world.

A diachronic approach can reveal an interesting panoramic of the social processes occurring in an area and show a further use of LL studies that allows a more diverse vision of the current urban debate. The LL perspective allows the researcher to notice aspects undergoing a rapid development and that are indicative of social changes. In Fig. 5, we can see that the sign has been covered by an unknown individual and one could presume that it has been deleted on purpose because of the popularity of the spot among tourists.

It is legitimate to wonder whether the purpose here is to give an answer to the underlying statement, a reaction that *silences* it, or whether it is a simple act of vandalism that has nothing to do with the sign it covers. Even if the latter option is true, this would be still a communicative act of expressing indifference towards the topic. The other possible scenario is that it would have been covered by someone who does not agree with the content of the graffiti. In both cases, an urban debate is taking place in the public spaces of the city.

As stated earlier, I found it appropriate to expand the selected material to other kinds of linguistic manifestations other than graffiti, as long as they would share the same subject and social modalities of creation, such as Fig. 6.

This poster had been affixed by the activists of the aforementioned Ex OPG–Je so' pazz' in the context of the *Camera Popolare del Lavoro* (People's

Figure 6. 'Tourist remember: who is selling your pizza, taking you for a tour, selling you souvenirs might be working for a low salary without a contract, with no rights. Stop black work. Picture taken in Piazza Luigi Miraglia in May 2017. Credit: the author.

House of Labour), whose aim is to guarantee workers' rights and to fight against illegal labour. The poster is written in four languages: Italian, English, French, and German (as in Fig. 3), thus being expressly addressed to tourists in order to expose the bad working conditions in the tourism sector. This is an example of how LL not only reflects and comments on the turning of social and political gears, but it can have a direct impact in reshaping reality in a concrete way. This poster denounces insufficiently safe and supportive labour conditions and aims to raise awareness among tourists. This example poses again the issue of the power over free speech in urban spaces, especially in the context of a lack of rights.

Who has the right to address tourists? For which aim? Expressing whose needs? This poster is an interesting example of re-appropriation of human rights that are otherwise neglected, with the lack of fair working conditions remaining a serious issue in Naples. According to the report for 2017, irregularities were found in 51% of the companies inspected by *Ispezionato Territoriale Napoli,* and 71% of the inspected construction companies committed irregularities in matter of safety and health.[14] The activists from *Camera Popolare del Lavoro* helped workers win legal battles recovering 22,900 euro between September 2016 and June 2017, and obtained that the

14 https://job.fanpage.it/itl-napoli-un-azienda-su-due-irregolare-e-in-media-con-piu-di-un-lavoratore-a-nero/ <accessed 31 March 2018>

city administration of Naples discussed a new law to fight illegal labour.[15] Activists not only denounce the exploitative labour conditions of the tourism sector to locals and tourists, aiming to raise the consciousness of pedestrians, but they also inform the people who could directly benefit of the service that they provide. Where apparently the politics are not successful guaranteeing fair labour conditions, the self-organized city dwellers come in, taking concrete action in the space of the city. They not only bring to the light the reality of unfair working conditions for the workers of the tourist sector, but also attempt to re-shape this reality through an act of civic responsibility.

Conclusions

Through this study, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of social processes occurring in the surveyed field. The analysis of the Linguistic Landscape of the CS uncovers spaces of contestation that prove the district to be an arena of conflict and re-negotiation over rights and a laboratory of alternative society construction, in which different narratives of the city are embedded by different groups. The negative consequences of the recent touristic boom do not find space in the public debate, since this phenomenon is considered mainly as the symbol of the renaissance of a city that has long been an object of harmful or negative narratives. In this study, we can read the dwellers' reactions to what they see as a threat, namely mass tourism, and their attempt to bring their practices of resistance into the public debate, expressing at the same time their ideal vision of the city.

The LL perspective allows us a better understanding of the multifaceted vision of the social and discursive change occurring in the CS that would normally not be possible to acknowledge, and not with the same immediacy. This is particularly evident in the case of graffiti, which is the linguistic expression that changes LL most frequently and, giving voice to unrepresented social actors, transforms the city's walls into a contemporary urban agora for political discourses, such as the one of the right to the city.

This social practice of urban debate through graffiti expresses the city-dwellers' angst and needs right on the city's walls. Graffiti are the most effective linguistic sign in the struggle over the public space and, especially in the case of writings used in order to claim rights, as the ones analyzed in this study, the issue of the control over public expression shows its relevance. Through the analyzed linguistic expressions is proposed an alternative idea of citizenship, of city users, of trans-urban and global solidarity, and of the right to the city. The selected writings express a vision of the ideal city where solidarity practices are opposed to neo-liberal structures that deprive city dwellers of their rights.

The practices of space appropriation through occupied buildings offer services and rights to city dwellers outside the profit logics. The graffiti of the area are in this sense a complementary sign of these realities because

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15 http://jesopazzo.org/index.php/attivita/camera-popolare-lavoro/448-tempo-bilanci-sportello-legale-del-lavoro <accessed 12 October 2018>

they give a voice to un-heard individuals who finally find a representation in the space of the city that would otherwise be neglected. These practices of solidarity, shared identity, and constant negotiation over rights are what Harvey suggests to rebel cities' dwellers in order to achieve an ideal alternative society that fulfills their needs. These writings are not only a commentary about the city to be read, they are at the same time a construction of the city to be made, one that is expressed through these acts of responsibility by those who live there. To write in a public place means to express an opinion about the society we want to live in and at the same time to shape it, to define it, to narrate it, and, finally, to fulfill the idea.

Acknowledgements

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Tomorrow is not (only) in Humans' Hands: Responsibility for the Future as 'Shared Business' in Vepsian Ways of Speaking

Introduction

Since the beginning of my research in Northwest Russia in 2009, I noticed among many people a general reluctance to give an immediate—either positive or negative—answer to any of my yes-or-no queries, in particular if this concerned an invitation to do something together. Instead, I would often receive the answer *posmotrim* (in Russian, 'we shall see'). During my research, I had been mostly spending my time with Vepsian speakers given the focus of my research on the Vepsian language; yet, I should point out that many Veps are bi-lingual in both Vepsian and Russian, especially those living in rural areas, and many are monolingual in Russian, especially if they have grown in urban settings. In the city, we mainly spoke Russian; so, the Russian word *posmotrim* is what I mostly heard. As an Italian, used to consensus often being given hastily and without much thought, this cautious behaviour caught my attention. Why were Veps being so discreet, even after we had gained more confidentiality and intimacy?

While I soon began to understand that Veps self-identify and are stereotypically regarded by other groups as 'careful people' and, therefore, I accepted such a response as a shared ontology related to 'carefulness', I later discovered there was more to this particular behaviour.[1] In general, many people seemed to accept that words may affect the course that life takes and, therefore, should not be used in vain (cf. Siragusa 2017). Thus, once one has made a promise, (s)he has to stick to it, also to avoid possibly offending others and risking exposing oneself to the 'evil eye'. Such a common attitude must have contributed to an overall resistance to give a prompt response. Yet, that was not all. Indeed, many Veps (but, admittedly also Karelians and Russians, which share this northern territory) demonstrated their acceptance of the fact that they are not always in control of what is to come. Therefore, based on such an awareness, they often refrain from making a promise and committing to anything that they may later regret not being able to keep, due to external circumstances and forces that are bigger than their own.

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1   Breier (this volume) emphasizes the importance of a self- and a given identification to a group.

Figure 7. Territory covered by Vepsian villages. Credit: Alessandro Pasquini.

This last revelation came to me while I was conducting research in Pondal, a central Vepsian village in the Vologda Oblast' (Fig. 7). On an autumn day in 2013, I joined a group of villagers to gather cranberries in a nearby swamp. As we ventured out, I inadvertently said, that I would 'quickly' explore an area in the pond. My Vepsian friends admonished me right away for the language I had chosen, 'Oh, don't say that you will do something "quickly", as you never know how long it will take!' While I said 'quickly' in Russian (i.e., *bystro*), they *impromptu* taught me its Vepsian correspondent (i.e., *hotkas*, synonyms *heredas*, *terevas*) and admonished me not to say it. After this episode, I started noticing that in Pondal my host often warned me to be careful when I decided to wander away from the village, since one can easily fall, lose track of the path, and all of a sudden find him/herself lost in the forest. Therefore, she often reminded me not to announce the exact time of my return or say that I will be 'quick' once entering the forest, as, in fact, I would never know how long it might take to get out and return home. I then remembered that I had received similar advice from friends in other Vepsian villages where I conduct research since in the forest, humans may accidentally step on to the path of the *mecižand*, the forest master, and all of a sudden lose their sense of orientation. As Vinokurova (2015:340) explains, 'putta hondole jäl'gele' in Vepsian literally means 'going along a bad track'— the track of the *mecižand* who might obfuscate people's minds, making them unable to orient themselves, to hear others, and to find their way back home.

Since Vepsian villagers recognize—some more openly than others—that in the forest they are not the 'masters', they also note that they are never fully in control of their actions there. There is unanimity that nonhuman agencies interfere in things that might occur in this space. To be precise, the nonhuman entities I am referring to are the territorial masters/hosts, which have been part of Vepsian cosmology for a long time (Arukask 2002; Vinokurova 1988). Indeed, since Christianity made its way through this northern territory in the 13th century, Russian Orthodox and folk faiths coalesce in Vepsian theology (see Vikhoreva 2010). Orienting between these apparently different faiths is common practice and not felt contradictory (cf. Keane 2007; Schneider 1991). The masters/hosts carry responsibility for a given territory—often indicated by their name—and involve themselves in its control, protection, and care (cf. Fausto 2012). The *mecižand* is the host of the forest and *mecemag* is his female counterpart. *Mecižand* has various other names, such as *mechine, mecamez',* and *mecuk.* All of these attributes refer to place he inhabits, the *mec* (forest). In places like Pondal, he is also referred to as *toine pol'* or *toine čura* which literally means (*on*) *the other side* (the nonhuman side, world) and conveys a relation between equals (Vinokurova 2015:280–286), since a more supervisory role is shared between humans and nonhumans, according to the territory where they usually live. Such egalitarian approach between humans and nonhumans seems to extend to the various territorial masters, who are generally not hierarchically organised (cf. Ingold 2000:61–76). Yet, the *mecižand* stands out as the most recurrent and prominent figure across the whole territory covered by Vepsian villages (field notes, 2016).

Stemming from such observations in the field, I noticed more and more that Veps tend to consider themselves accountable for events that might occur in the future only to a certain extent, since other entities might affect the path their lives take. In fact, any new direction in life is co-constructed and co-shaped by human and nonhuman agencies. I soon began to appreciate that there are certain ways of speaking which reveal such a relational ontology, and can help us better frame the notion of 'responsibility' for the future and how it is conceptualized among Veps. In this paper, I argue that those specific verbal practices allude to a relationship with the environment and the future, which humans accept that they only partly control. The verbal practices that I refer to include the verbal charms (*puheged*, *vajhed/pakitas* in Vepsian) as a way to negotiate and engage with the territorial masters, as well as ways of speaking when expressing the future (such as the use of the *translative case* and the structure *linneb* followed by a *noun* or the *infinitive of a verb)* when discussing omens. In the case of the verbal charms, Veps attempt to regulate future events by negotiating verbally (and sometimes also non-verbally) with nonhuman 'actants' (cf. Latour 1996), such as the territorial masters. In the case of the morpho-syntactic structures of the language, Veps appear to respond to prompts that nonhuman agencies have provided them with by opening to their future developments. These prompts are often provided by both 'wild' and 'domestic' animals, in particular when their behaviour is out of the ordinary. Sometimes it is unexpected oddities in the environment that urge humans to exert a more acute perceptiveness and openness to future

events. Veps react to those prompts by sharpening their attention and getting ready to possible future developments, which are often verbalised either before or after an event has occurred.

Both usages of the language are a manifestation of a relationally co-constructed space and its future development, which humans accept to have limited charge of and thus demonstrate to share their 'responsibility' for future events with nonhuman agencies. Hence, the present paper matches some of the goals found in post-humanist projects and scholarship, as it decentralizes humans and sheds light on what it means to be human in a web of relations (cf. Pennycook 2017). As I show in the next section, the phrase 'shared business' might be more appropriate than the word 'responsibility'.

The observations and words presented in this paper are the result of my long-term ethnographic research among/with Vepsian speakers and other local dwellers in Northwest Russia. Veps are a Finno-Ugric minority, living in three different administrative regions of Northwest Russia: the Republic of Karelia, Leningrad and Vologda oblasts. In the last century, the Vepsian population has drastically dropped in number and, according to the 2010 census, the present Vepsian population counts 5,936 people, most of which live in urban centres, where they predominantly speak Russian (see Perepis 2019). Despite receiving the status of *minority indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East* and financial support from the Republic of Karelia, Vepsian is still estimated as an endangered language and much work is invested into its promotion (Puura et al. 2013; Siragusa 2017; Strogal'shchikova 2016:14). My research with Veps began in Petrozavodsk in 2009. Thanks to the snowball technique, I could reach out to the villagers living in all the three administrative regions where Veps live. In the villages, I have mostly worked with elderly women (those older than 65), since women tend to outnumber men in Russia, especially in rural areas (Strogal'shchikova 2008). However, as I have visited the villages also in the summer, this is a time when the youth from the city come to their grandparents to spend the holidays. I have been able, therefore, to engage with multiple generations of Veps. Long-term relations of trust have allowed me to enter private and semi-public spaces—such as the archives—, which might not always be accessible in Russia. I continued my cooperation with scholars from the Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk all the way through my research and this has helped me have access not only to their archives, but also unpublished material, some of which is also presented in this paper.

A 'shared business' with nonhuman entities

On the basis of such observations, it is not surprising that when Puura and Tánczos (2016) compare how Veps and Karelians attribute 'responsibility' for the maintenance and revival of their respective heritage languages, they notice that Veps assign more accountability to authoritative figures, such as the policy-makers and the activists, rather than to the actual speakers of the language. O'Toole (this volume) raises a similar issue, showing how learners of te reo Māori take on the responsibility to learn the language, yet

relying on state support. That is to say, Veps hold their political and activist leaders responsible for the language(s) they themselves speak (or do not speak), and thus entrust the authorities with agency and a certain degree of power over their own speaking practices, which Karelians do not. Veronica Davidov (2017:40) makes similar observations in Sheltozero, a northern Vepsian village in the Republic of Karelia, where she has conducted research. Davidov (2017) demonstrates that the relationships the villagers have with the territorial masters match their relationships with the managers of the quarries found in this territory. In other words, the territorial masters and the quarry managers are brought together under one common umbrella as figures, who own a territory and have control over its developments while simultaneously taking care of it. While one might argue that confiding in powerful bodies and thus delegating one's responsibility to others was a widespread practice during the Soviet regime (cf. e.g., Grant 1995:9), and that Veps might have simply conformed to it, one should not ignore the fact that Veps and Karelians responded differently to the research by Puura and Tánczos (2016). Their study, indeed, investigated these power relations in a roundabout way. I suspect that the way Veps engage with authoritative figures in a broader sense has more to do with a specific ontology where questions of agency and control are not entirely straightforward and 'responsibility' is negotiated among different beings.

Certain language practices can regulate those relations and minimize nonhuman agency, or at least they can be used with that aim. Nonetheless, one often needs to receive positive input from the masters, before taking further action. Hence, future developments are often mediated through verbal acts. Given these premises, the notion of 'responsibility' among Veps needs further examination, in particular when the study concerns the villagers, who have been exposed less to certain political and scholarly discussions, and are thus more estranged from this concept. The word 'responsibility' has not been part of the Vepsian vocabulary until recently. The Vepsian word, *vastusenpidänd*, was created for the literary language after the Vepsian revival movement began in the late 1980s during glasnost and perestroika (field notes, 2018). Instead of conforming to its Latin etymology, 'respondere' (to answer) and 'abilitas' (ability), i.e., 'ability to respond', the Vepsian linguists combined the words *pidäda* (to keep, to maintain) and *vastuz* (answer), i.e., 'to keep, to maintain an answer'. Nina Zaitseva—often referred to as the 'mother' of the Vepsian language—, once told me that when the Vepsian linguists create a new term, they try to match a way of thinking and speaking that is connected to already existing words and phrases. Admittedly, they also borrow/copy words from Russian and the Vepsian term *vastusenpidänd* finds its Russian correspondent in the phrase *derzhat' slovo* (to keep one's word). It appears that the choice to use the verb *pidäda* (to keep, to maintain) instead of stressing the ability to respond to a situation hints at the sense of duty that I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter: once a promise has been made, one should stick to it. *Vastuz* also means 'meeting' (Zaitseva and Mullonen 1972; Zaitseva 2009), which seems to suggest that someone can be credited responsible for something after some kind of encounter (cf. Duranti 1981 on the *fono* among Samoans).

Either way, this term is new, though its conceptualization has deeper roots. After consulting Oľga Zhukova, a scholar from the Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk, a native speaker and a teacher of Vepsian, it became clear that, before the term was introduced for the literary language, the concept of 'responsibility' among Veps used to be expressed in different ways and that it used to vary according to the context. For example, one could say, *hänen azj, hänen tö* (his/her business), or *holdub neciš* ((s)he is worried about something). In both cases, the person involved in a certain situation needs to take action if (s)he wants to move on. This relational ontology, which Veps manifest in various practices—including language practices—suggests that the action one takes will not be in isolation; rather, it might require an encounter and negotiation, often with nonhuman entities. The 'business' which one needs to attend to, therefore, is jointly partaken.

Instead of employing the most recurrent phrase, 'collective responsibility' (cf. Popke 2009), I will use the phrase 'shared business' in place of 'responsibility' with reference to such a relational ontology dominant among Veps. The reasons for this are not only to move away from a terminology that is often associated with human-to-human interaction, moral judgement, guilt, and negative behaviour (cf. Besnier 1992; Castano and Giner-Sorolla 2006; Lickel et al. 2003; Narveson 2002; Wee 2007), but also (and mainly) because it better represents how responsibility is conceptualized among Veps. To a certain degree, my choice to approach 'responsibility' as a shared action matches some of the work conducted by human geographers in the last decades. As indicated by Popke (2009:88), an approach to responsibility which is non-representational and collective, 'account[s] for our-being-in-common with both human and nonhuman others'. His approach relies on actor-network-theory and non-representational theory, which are founded on 'coexistence' (Nancy 2000:42), 'communication' (Morton 2005:672), and 'conviviality' and 'living together' (Hinchliffe and Whatmore 2006:134). While these last phrases, words, and related ones resonate familiar among anthropologists, given the foundation of this discipline on sociality and relations (e.g., Anderson 2017; Cruikshank 2006; Descola [2006] 2013; Overing and Passes 2000; Viveiros de Castro 1992; Willerslev 2007); the term 'responsibility' has long fallen into disuse in linguistic anthropological debates. The volume edited by Hill and Irvine, *Responsibility and evidence in oral discourse*, was published in 1992, and engaged with questions related to language practices, discourse, and responsibility. Combining an ethnographic approach to discourse analysis, its discussion of social responsibility and language has now become a classic. Nonetheless, in the last few decades new scholarly directions have been explored, especially concerning indigenous ontologies and epistemologies and ways to incorporate them more actively into anthropological analysis (Denzin et al. 2008; Kovach 2009; Smith 2012). Furthermore, recent academic discussions on the role of nonhuman agencies has also informed us of the need to bring up-to-date the discussion initiated by Hill and Irvine (e.g., Latour 1996; Viveiros de Castro 1992; Willerslev 2007). A more recent anthropological work on language and responsibility is that by Henne-Ochoa and Bauman (2015) who, however, do not include the role covered by nonhuman 'actants' and very much focus on questions of

who enact agency when concerning the revival of a language, and not other contexts for 'responsibility'. Therefore, in this paper, I aim to redeem this concept, develop it further given the above considerations, and work with it in order to better comprehend how human and nonhuman beings share and co-create a space.

Puheged, vajhed/pakitas *as 'shared business'*

As mentioned above, Veps have traditionally lived in a rural territory in the boreal forest, which they share with territorial masters, and other nonhuman animals. Besides the *mecižand*, the Vepsian cosmology comprises a number of masters, which look after a specific space. These are, for example, the *pertin ižand* and *pertin emag* who are not only the host and hostess of the house (*pert'*), but also of the territory where the house is built. There are also the *kül'bet'ižand* and *kül'bet'emag* who dwell in the *kül'bet'* (Vepsian sauna), and the *vedenižand* and *veden emag* who have control over *vezi* (water) (Vinokurova 1988). Veps try to maintain good relationships with these masters by showing respect, which among other practices involves watching one's own language not to upset or challenge them. Thus, it is advisable not to swear or scream when one is in the forest or the *kül'bet'*, for example. Employing the folkloric genre of verbal charms (*puheged, vajhed/ pakitas*) is a way to negotiate and come to terms with the territorial masters in situations which need being solved and require a nonhuman intervention. Interestingly, in the charms the language used can be more direct and sometimes even rough, as to convey the message clearly.

Vepsian *puheged* and *vajhed/pakitas* are formulaic verbal art, which are believed to have an effect on the course of life and to a certain extent derail it from its anticipated path (cf. Roper 2004). Similar to the Russian charms, which can be divided into *zagovory* and *zaklinakiya*, Vepsian charms can be divided into *puheged* and *vajhed/pakitas*, where the latter literally mean 'specific words'. Overall, *puheged* and *vajhed/pakitas* cover three broad functions: healing, interfering (either positively or negatively) in human-to-human as well as human-to-nonhuman relations. Just like the Russian *zagovory*, *puheged* concern human-to-human relationships, health, and human and nonhuman relationships. They can be used for healing purposes (such as, curing a hernia, bleeding, earache, and any sickness brought about by the territorial masters), to protect and look after children, and to make people fall in or out of love. Etymologically connected to the Vepsian words *puhuda* (to blow) and *puhutuz* (gust of wind), *puheged* indicate that a change of the current situation is desired and is brought about through blowing specific words and the resulting movement of air (cf. Hämäläinen and Andreev 1936). Instead, *vajhed* and *pakitas* appertain to human-to-nonhuman relations only, just like the Russian *zaklinaniya*. They are often expressed in the form of a humble request with the aim to be granted a favour from the territorial masters. Sometimes they may also sound like a threat more than a request. Indeed, the *tedai* ('sorcerer' in Vepsian or, literally, the one who knows the way)—or anyone who has been instructed in such

verbal art (Agapkina et al. 2003:14–15; Lavonen 1988:136)—approaches the territorial masters and makes a request regarding the bounty found in their territory, building a house, hunting or fishing, protecting the pasturing cattle, etc. (Makar'yev 1932:36–37; Phono-archives at the Karelian Research Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk; Vinokurova 2008). These ritualised, performative acts affect their speakers, who after pronouncing and blowing the 'specific words' wait and hope for a change in the current situation—sometimes the 'specific words' carry semiotic references, other times, they are used for their literate meaning (cf. Newell 2018); either ways they are expected to contribute to a change.

Obtaining the charms can be quite challenging, since once these are passed on to someone, they lose their the potential to affect a certain situation (field notes, 2013; cf. Kurets 2000 among Russians in Karelia). Thus, the *tedai* or knowledgeable villagers tend not to disclose the 'specific' words, unless they feel that it is time to let go of this knowledge, often due to old age (field notes, 2013, 2018). During fieldwork, some knowledgeable villagers did share their charms with me; yet, I decided not to present them in this article, as they better suit a different kind of publication where the context is particularly relevant. For this reason, I now present four charms, which were kept in the phono-archives at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Petrozavodsk and that its Director, Valentina Kuznetsova, kindly provided me with. Besides missing the actual context where these were recorded and, hence, some valuable ethnographic content, some of the audio recordings had already been damaged before being digitalized. Therefore, I relied on the experienced ear of Ol'ga Zhukova to transcribe them as well as to identify some dialectal nuances. I here provide the original Vepsian version and its translation into English. I have selected them on the basis that some were executed in the village, others aimed to send a message from the village to the masters of the forest, and some were performed while dwelling in the forest. I want to show how such relational ontology is not constrained within the boundaries of the village, rather it extends to the forest; this comprehensive territory is called *külä* in Vepsian. Even though most of these are old charms found in the archives, one should not be misled into believing that these practices have ceased to exist as during fieldwork it was clear that they are still in use today (field notes 2013, 2015, 2018). Indeed, it was not only the elderly villagers (i.e., older than 65 years old) who knew and used them, but also middle-aged villagers (i.e., between 40 and 65 years old), who had learned them from either their parents or other knowledgeable people.

In the village

Before building a house, it is advisable to consult the *pertin ižand* and *pertin emag* in order to guarantee that all parties will live together harmoniously. The villagers will ask the territorial masters directly if they approve of their choice to build on a specific piece of land and wait for the response, which might appear during one's sleep at night. While there are some variations in the word choice of the verbal charms, most of them sound like this:

Ižandeižed, emägeižed,	Hosts and hostesses,
pästkat mindei tänna	Let me build here.
stroimaha.	If you like it [i.e., that I
Mel'he, pidägat čomašti!	build here], then behave
Ii mel'he, ougat abit'koi!	nicely!
	If you do not like it, then
	do not get offended!

(Source: Journal 25, tape 3197, number 38. 1989 (Pondal). Kuznetsova and Lukina interviewed O. P. Gerasimova).

These charms shows that once a relationship with the masters is set, agreement and peaceable living have to be maintained by showing respect. One way to do this is to express gratitude for the use of a certain space. Admittedly, such behaviour occurs both in the territory occupied by the settlement, but also in the forest. In the example below, Veps indicated to be grateful to the master of the *kül'bet'* (Vepsian sauna) after having washed and used its environment:

Kül'bet'ižandeižed,	Hosts and hostesses of the
emägeižed,	bath,
Spasibo žaruižuu –	Thanks for the heat and steam,
paruižuu,	For the wash,
Pezetamižuu,	For the shower,
Valatamižuu,	and dressing!
Sobitamižuu!	

(Source: Personal archive. 2017 (Kurb). Zhukova interviewed A. I. Zaretskaya (1935-)).

FROM THE VILLAGE TO THE FOREST

The *tedai* or knowledgeable villagers are sometimes asked to perform a verbal charm in the village in order to solve a situation, which in fact is interdependent with the forest. Such a situation usually occurs when someone has lost his/her cattle and needs to find it. In this case, the *tedai* or other knowledgeable individual might find a spot at a crossroads and make his/her requests from there, or (s)he may blow the message out to the forest masters through the chimney of their house (field notes, 2013). Here's an example of such a request—which sounds like more a threat:

Mecaižandeine,	Forest master, forest mistress,
mecaemägeine,	If you do not give me the cattle back,
Ku ed anda necida	I will fence the whole road,
živatašt mini,	And you will have no way out!
Aidoin kaiken dorogan,	
Nikuna sini hodad ii	
linne!	

(Source: Journal 25, tape 3231, number 44. 1989 (Mäggärv'). Vinokurova interviewed M. E. Grishina).

This charm uses rougher and more direct language than many others charms found in the archives and gathered during fieldwork. However, this might be the case, since the *mecižand* and *mecemag* have control over the forest and one might feel that only stronger words will be effective in persuading the masters to let the cattle get back to the village. Furthermore, Veps used to play games with the territorial masters, when they felt to have been tricked (field notes 2019). In playing those games, one would set impossible tasks for the territorial masters as to show their own personal strength and not to be scared of them. Similarly, in this text, the *tedai* reveals they are unafraid and thus prepared to confront the territorial master on equal grounds. The final scope is to come back to a situation of 'normality' where different entities occupy and govern a certain territory and have control over its inhabitants. The cattle are domestic animals (*kodiživat*), which usually reside in the village. Thus, getting them back might at times require stronger and more determined-sounding language.

In the forest

As indicated at the beginning of my chapter, one can easily lose track of their wandering in the forest. Indeed, both the cattle and humans can get lost in a territory, where nonhuman forces rule. In that case, one may try to find the way back to the villages by tricking the territorial masters and turning his/her clothes upside down (field notes, 2010; Vinokurova 2015:341). If this does not work, one may ask the territorial masters openly to guide them, and simultaneously make some offerings:

Ižandaihed,	Hosts and hostesses,
emägaihed,	Children, grandfathers, and grandmothers
lapsuded, dedaihed,	eat, drink, and send me home![2]
babaihed,	
sötkat, jotkat i oigekat	
kod'he!	

(Source: Phono-archives in Petrozavodsk. File 25, tape 3231, no. 44. 1989, Mäggärv', M. E. Grishina).

These verbal charms indicate that Veps tend to respect the other powerful entities and to carefully relate to the local hosts since they are aware that in the forest nonhuman forces govern. Thus, they need to show respect and gratitude if they want an amicable co-existence and future with nonhuman entities, but also need to show determination and firmness if they want to persuade these nonhuman entities to concur with their requests. 'Shared business' requires being proactive in engaging in verbal acts with the territorial masters with the purpose to foster positive coevality. Another example of 'shared business' is shown in the morpho-syntactic structures of the language when employed as omens.

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2   I have already used this text in a co-authored article for *Current Anthropology* (to be published in August 2020).

Omens: observing and sharpening attention

Odd behaviours displayed by nonhuman animals—be they either 'wild' (*mecživatad*) or 'domestic' (*kodiživatad*)—and other anomalies in the surrounding environment hold a certain authority over the perception Vepsian villagers have about the future. Once observed, such irregularities push the villagers to sharpen their attention and look more closely to what is happening around them. These oddities can be regarded as omens carrying a message for the future, whose materialization Veps expect to see brought to completion.

Vepsian categorization does not distinguish the animals strictly in 'wild' and 'domestic'; rather, they are classified based on the territory, where they are usually found (Vinokurova 2006). *Kodiživatad* are the animals found in the *kodi* (home, dwelling), i.e., either in the actual house inhabited by humans, such as dogs and cats, or in the cattle-shed, which is an extension of the house (Strogal'shchikova 2008:113–119). A development of their meaning is that of 'domestic' animals. *Mecживatad* are, instead, the animals which usually dwell in the *mec* (forest), and are laterally understood as 'wild animals'. Regardless of their classification, however, *kodiживatad and mecживatad* can equally carry information, which Veps will interpret and regard as relevant for the forthcoming future.

Aside from using the present tense to express the future or from indicating the beginning of an action by adding the affix *-ška(nde)* to the conjugated verb, there is no explicit verbal form to express the future time in Vepsian (Karlsson,1999:152; Zaitseva 2002:80). In order to express the omens, Vepsian villagers employ the *nominal translative case,* which can also be used to indicate a change of state, or the third singular person of the verb *lindä* (to become, to be), i.e. *linneb*, followed by either a noun or a verb in the infinitive form (Zaitseva and Mullonen 1995; Zaitseva 2002). In Vepsian, the translative case is formed by adding the suffix *-ks* to the root of the word. Therefore, saying either *adivoks* (where *adiv* is a 'guest') or *linneb adiv* means 'there will be guests'.

These last two structures are often used as a response to something odd that occurred in the environment and has prompted the villagers to hone their attention. The oddity may help them anticipate forthcoming developments, which they start preparing for. In particular, the information that these oddities provide may be relevant to the weather, good/bad news, and life in the village in general. The omens are verbalised as either an observation is made or after it has been completed and the villagers can then give it an appropriate interpretation. This occurred during my visit in Pondal in 2013 when one of the villagers explained how after observing a bird pecking at somebody's window, she later discovered that a boy had died in that house. She thus was able to link the two episodes.

The villagers are often informed about changes in the weather by the behaviour of the animals, either 'wild' or 'domestic', and insects. If the swallow flies slow, for example, then rain is expected (*vihmaks* is the translative case to indicate such expectation). Or when tits fly in the autumn, then the cold weather is anticipated (*viluks* is the translative case to indicate that the

cold is approaching). Overall, oddities in the behaviour of both 'wild' and 'domestic' animals are often interpreted negatively, as they are believed to bring bad news. A fire is awaited when a dog howls with grief, for example, (the translative case in *požaraks* confirms that expectation). Similarly, when the wolves howl, death in the village might be imminent (*koljaks* is the translative case for that). Some information may also appear at night during one's sleep. For example, when a woman sees a snake in her dream, she may soon get pregnant (as expressed in the word *vacaks* in the translative case).

The use of such morpho-syntactic structures indicate once again that Vepsian villagers appreciate that they are not fully accountable for future developments; rather, in the case of the omens, they are only the recipients of a message. This indicates that other forces follow their course, which one cannot have power over. Omens and their verbal manifestation display that Veps are open to future possibilities yet admit that they have limited control over them. Veps place themselves at the receiving end, rather than as points of departure for change.

Conclusion

If the wish is to entirely control the future, guarantee its security and sustainability, we may well think about our practices neither in isolation nor as control, but in conjunction with nonhuman agencies. The future is not (only) in humans' hands! This claim emerges from observing how Vepsian villagers in Northwest Russia engage with nonhuman beings, be they territorial masters or 'wild' and 'domestic' animals, and the environment itself. This paper shows how Vepsian ways of speaking, such as *verbal charms* and *omens*, expressed in certain morphosyntactic structures of the language, reveal a relationship with the environment and future occurrences, which humans accept that they only partly control. Thus, they share 'responsibility' for the future, or better, attend to a forthcoming 'business' together with nonhuman beings.

Ways of expressing the future tense and ways of engaging with other entities through the verbal charms indicate an acceptance of limited control over future developments. When employing the charms, Veps show that the future can be co-constructed when human and nonhuman forces join in a dialogue. So, the future depends on these relationships and their verbal explication. In other words, the masters have agency on the development of a certain situation, but Veps can minimize this agency by engaging verbally with them. When using the translative case or the construct *linneb* followed by a noun or the infinitive of a verb, they demonstrate that it is the environment, its human and nonhuman dwellers, which prompt a way of speaking about the future, as a suspended moment, which will find its final interpretation when an event ultimately takes place.

In this paper, I presented the case of an indigenous group of Northwest Russia as an example of a local ontology, where an anthropocentric rhetoric of control of the future on behalf of the human being does not rule. I fear that certain political narratives around the environment are instead continuing

to advance such an anthropocentric discourse (cf. Boddice 2011; Norton 1984; Williams 1995). While the scope of this paper was not to engage with such discussions around the Anthropocene, it has ultimately also shown that indigenous and local (in this case, mostly rural) relationality with the environment, its human and nonhuman inhabitants, is more fluid and multivectorial. It has indicated that we may need to reconsider the question of 'responsibility' when hoping for a sustainable future, and possibly focus more on the *extent* to which humans can be considered accountable for certain changes and not whether or not they can be solely considered accountable. In agreement with what stated by Pennycook (2016; 2017) and found in post-humanist scholarship, this paper takes humans away from the centre, where they are often depicted as separate from and hierarchically superior to other beings. Instead, it invites us to reflect further on where the human 'sits in relation to everything around us' (Pennycook 2017:2). Last, the paper also stresses the importance to re-focus on relational ontologies, which foster respect and positive behaviour (cf. McShane 2007).

So, to conclude and possibly answer the question posed by Lövbrand et al. (2015): 'who speaks for the future of the Earth?' Veps and their verbal practices show that the future is built relationally with other beings and it is in the relations that a future is possible. The future is a 'shared business', where everybody and everything plays their role, yet showing respect and fostering co-existence through action, which comprises also verbal engagement and expression.

Acknowledgements

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Performing Responsibility and Indigenous Languages in a Virtual Space

II

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Yucatec Maya Language on the Move: Considerations on Vitality of Indigenous Languages in an Age of Globalization

Introduction

According to many speakers, sustaining and revitalizing a minoritized language is everyone's responsibility and, thus, it should be taken up by different stakeholders including citizens—both speakers and non-speakers (cf. O'Toole, this volume, regarding Indigenous and non-Indigenous te reo Māori learners), language activists, linguists, and policy makers (UNESCO 2003). The reasons to maintain a language may vary, often depending on the various meanings attached to a language, which can considerably diverge even within the speech community. Thus, it is important to study the speakers' multiple conceptualizations of language maintenance in terms of why, where, and for whom the language should be sustained. The speakers' answers to these questions—which are highly relevant when considering questions about language responsibility—are significantly shaped through their ideas about the language's territoriality in relation to their own spatial practice. In other words, the speakers of the Maya language have defined their commitment to the language in significantly different ways, usually depending on how they conceive of the links between language, place, and the self. These links become increasingly volatile in the face of intensified global interconnections represented by the mobility of speakers and the circulation of information via electronic media. Thus, this paper considers to what extent processes of deterritorialization (Appadurai 1996) inform the vitality of indigenous languages as they may lead to further diversification on the ways in which people feel committed to their language (cf. Kaartinen, this volume). To illuminate this point, the case study presented in my chapter discusses Yucatec Maya speakers' reflexivity about the link between language, place, and the self, shaped through their experiences of migration to the international tourist city of Cancún, Mexico.

Yucatec Maya is an indigenous language spoken in the Yucatan peninsula, mainly in the Mexican states of Yucatan, Quintana Roo and Campeche, as well as northern Belize. Counting more than 790,000 speakers in Mexico, it is the second most spoken indigenous language in the nation (INEGI 2011). However, both census data and observations made in different localities of the peninsula indicate an ongoing language shift from Yucatec Maya to

Spanish. The process I describe here has much in common with language shift occurring in other parts of the world, displaying the characteristic pattern of a gradual change occurring over several generations. In addition, the factors often associated with the shift from Maya, such as rapid urbanization, the language's insufficient representation in the public domains, and its lower prestige in comparison to the majority language, are the circumstances commonly observed in shifting communities worldwide. At the same time, the Yucatecan case is unique, owing to specific local dynamics, as well as the particular ways in which Maya speakers are situated in—and engage with—the current world order. Above all, the language situation encompasses seemingly contradicting realities: high prestige internationally attached to Maya cultural heritage, for example, is in marked contrast to the disadvantageous treatment Maya speakers experience in everyday life. Finally, what characterizes the current language situation of Yucatec Maya, on the one hand, is a discrepancy between a recently observed improvement in attitudes towards Maya, and on the other hand, a decline in the intergenerational transmission of the language. However, these observations, which appear contradictory at first glance, may be considered as facets of broader cultural formations in today's globalized world.

Based on such considerations, this paper examines the vitality of the Yucatec Maya language in the present age of globalization characterized by mass migration and electronic mediation. Among several possibilities to track global flows significant for the Maya speaking population in Yucatan, the emphasis of the contribution lies on the mobility of Maya speakers within the Yucatan Peninsula—either directly or indirectly—triggered by the transnational tourism development in the Mexican Caribbean. The Peninsula's internal migration is treated as a prominent example demonstrating impacts of global capitalism on the regional transformation, also entailing repercussions on the vitality of the indigenous language. The research project (Yamasaki 2019), of which this paper is one of the outcomes, was conceptualized as multi-sited ethnography focusing on the migrant circuit of Maya speakers from two rural communities (referred to as A and B), located in the state of Yucatan. Ethnographic fieldwork was thus conducted both in the rural communities and the tourist city of Cancún. The following section briefly introduces the respective research sites and delineates the connections between them before discussing how ideas about the Maya language are shaped in this interconnected social space of the migrant circuit.

Research sites: Interconnected social space of the migrant circuit

This paper deals with the mobility of Maya speakers between two rural communities located in the state of Yucatan and the famous tourism resort of Cancún constructed in the neighbouring state of Quintan Roo. Contrary to the impression one might have because of its well-established international popularity, the tourist resort of Cancún was constructed in the 1970s from the ground up as a state-driven tourism project. From the

beginning, Maya-speaking peasants from the surrounding countryside played a crucial role in establishing the basic infrastructure of the tourism industry as migrant workers. In the case of the two rural communities where the fieldwork was conducted, the large-scale out-migration in search of wage work—still observed today—was triggered by the tourism development along the Caribbean coast since the 1970s. This section provides some information on the city of Cancún and the two rural sites, which constitute the interconnected social space of the migrant circuit investigated in the present study.

Cancún

The development of Cancún as a state-driven tourism project has had something of an unprecedented nature, which is still reflected in its current demography and spatial morphology. As the tourist resort of Cancún was built from the ground up, its construction and operation heavily depended on the workforce from outside. Maya-speaking peasants from the surrounding countryside played a crucial role as migrant workers in establishing the basic infrastructure of the tourism industry from its very beginning. In its initial stages, the tourist centre generated many low-skilled jobs in construction and other services, which were often filled by the Maya-speaking population from rural areas of the peninsula. Since the resort began its operation in the mid-1970s, the demand for skilled workforce increased, also thanks to the migration of experienced personnel from other parts of Mexico (Castellanos 2010:82; Hiernaux-Nicolas 1999:136).

To consider the vitality of Yucatec Maya language in this urban space, it is essential to take into account the city's characteristics about linguistic diversity and social differentiation owing to the aforementioned trajectory of development. Cancún is a linguistically diverse city because of immigration from different origin areas. Spoken by slightly over ten percent of the population older than five years, Yucatec Maya is by far the most represented among more than 35 indigenous languages spoken in the city (INEGI 2011). However, some other indigenous languages, which are Tzotzil, Chol, Tzeltal, and Náhuatl, also count more than 500 speakers (INEGI 2005). At the same time, Cancún is a segregated city featuring both the separation of tourist space from the living space of local residents and those working in the tourism industry. Social inequality also manifests in the organization of the urban space, which influences how different populations in the tourist city interact. The experiences Maya speakers have of this particular urban environment also significantly shape what ideas they develop about their indigenous language. Generally, many Maya speakers from the two rural communities studied for this project occupied low-waged jobs in Cancún, mainly those having to do with construction and to a less degree other services. Drawing on interview material, this paper presents how Maya speakers shape the ideas about the Maya language through their experiences in the interconnected social space of the migrant circuit, and demonstrate differing levels of responsibility for the language. The following section

briefly introduces the rural sites to contextualize the mobility of Maya speakers.

Rural sites

The two rural sites in which fieldwork was conducted belong to the municipality of Yaxcabá lying in the maize cultivating zone of the state of Yucatan. *Milpa*—maize cultivation in a system of slash-and-burn agriculture—is the traditional form of production in the Maya economy, which continues to play a significant role as a means of subsistence food supply for many Maya speakers. In the two communities I present, the *milpa* agriculture is conducted as the main socioeconomic activity, on which rural life, albeit to a varying degree, continues to be centred on. Due to the local environmental conditions, this system of agriculture is primarily suited to the production of maize and other comestibles, such as beans and squash, for subsistence needs. It has been common for the *milpa* peasants from the two communities to combine corn production with further economic activities, which may also include occasional wage work outside of the communities during less labour-intensive periods of annual agricultural cycles. Even though new economic opportunities arising from the tourism development in the Mexican Caribbean have been an important factor triggering out-migration from the two communities studied, the mobility of Maya speakers itself is by no means a novel phenomenon. However, one of the distinguishing features of current out-migration is the fact that wage work outside of the communities is increasingly replacing the traditional agriculture instead of being complementary to it, as used to be the case.

In the case of the two communities studied, it is also crucial to note the importance of maize cultivation in the local economy varies, which may at least partly be attributed to a difference in accessibility. This is also attested by the questionnaire survey conducted at the elementary and junior high schools in the communities. In community A, over 50 kilometers from the federal highway, over 80 percent of the students who participated in the survey claimed that their fathers engaged in the cultivation of the *milpa*. The percentage drops to 54 percent in community B, located at 18 kilometers from the federal highway. The language situation seems to be correlated with the variances mentioned above. According to the census data (INEGI 2011), Yucatec Maya is spoken by over 96 percent of the population older than five years in community A, compared to about 62 percent in community B. The variance in accessibility is also reflected in the migration behaviour from the communities, which is characterized by different degrees of intensity and complexity. Of course, it is not adequate to explain the variability of bilingualism merely through relying on the mobility of speakers. However, a quick look at the situation in the two communities already suggests that it is important to consider the vitality of Yucatec Maya in relation to an increased mobility, turning away from the traditional agriculture in the recent decades. With the movement of speakers and a diversification of their ways of life, the perception of the territoriality of the language may change—a process which

is understood as deterritorialization and reterritorialization of culture in anthropology (Inda and Rosaldo 2008:12–15).

The rest of this paper focuses on the perceived territoriality of the language as a key aspect for understanding the implications of the speakers' mobility for its vitality. The following section examines how the territoriality of the indigenous language is conceived by Maya speakers, paying special attention to the way in which this concept is shaped in the interconnected social space of the migrant circuit.

Different ways of territorializing the language: local, regional, global with respective identities

As illustrated in the introduction, the main area of Yucatec Maya language covers the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico which comprises the states of Yucatan, Quintana Roo and Campeche; in the Yucatan state, it is spoken in all 106 of its municipalities (Pfeiler 2014:207). However, this does not mean that this wide distribution of the language is always reflected in the speakers' conceptualization of its territoriality, since the latter depends to a significant degree on the social relations maintained in this geographic space. This section deals with different ways the territoriality of the language is conceived by Maya speakers, which ranges from the community of origin to the increasingly globally produced locality (Appadurai 1996).

Yucatec Maya and the pueblo

In Yucatec Maya, the question about one's origin is asked using the phrase '*Tu'ux a kaajal?*', which literally means 'Where is your village?' As this expression already indicates, identification with one's *pueblo*, the community of origin is central to the social identity of the Maya speaking population in Yucatan today. Moreover, the *pueblo* can be considered as a *habitus* in which Maya speakers cultivate practices and beliefs that reproduce their culture, including the indigenous language (see Nash 2001:31 for the case of highland Chiapas Mayan communities).[1] In accordance with this observation, the most discernible manifestation of the language's territoriality is surely its link to their *pueblo,* the community of origin. However, especially in the face of increased mobility, this relationship is imagined by Maya speakers differently. This section examines the multiple ways in which Yucatec Maya speakers from the two rural sites link the language to their communities of origin.

Not surprisingly, the link of the language to the *pueblo* is the most obvious for those Maya speakers currently living in the locality characterized by high vitality of Maya language practices. Especially in the case of community A, Maya speakers are likely to explain the importance of the language in the *pueblo* where everybody is understood to speak Maya. Thus, Yucatec Maya is

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1   See also Kaartinen (this volume) for the role of rural habitus in reproducing indigenous languages and culture and its fracturing in the course of speakers' migration.

referred to as 'our language' or 'the way we speak in the community' and it is primarily the here and now of the community, which defines the significance of the language. In community B, where language shift is ongoing, Yucatec Maya is recognised as something definitely belonging to the community. However, as the contemporary life of the community no longer requires imperative acquisition of Maya, the link of the language to their *pueblo* is imagined in a more indirect manner especially by the young generations in the community B. More often than not, it occurs through the mediation of other concepts such as 'tradition', that is, Yucatec Maya is the tradition of the *pueblo* instead of being 'their language' or 'the' language of the *pueblo*. However, despite this difference owing to the state of bilingualism, both cases demonstrate that the link between the language and the *pueblo*, as community of origin and residence, is the most discernible manifestation of its territoriality for Maya speakers.

As observed among Maya speakers interviewed in the city of Cancún, the above-mentioned connection of the language with the *pueblo* remains active also in case of speakers' out-migration from the rural communities. In fact, at times it can even become more salient. As will be illustrated with examples below, this way of territorializing the language has ambivalent impacts on the vitality of Yucatec Maya in the urban space.

On the one hand, the language's link to the *pueblo* can be mentioned by Maya speakers having immigrated to the city in explaining the personal value of the language. This argument is typically structured as follows: Yucatec Maya is part of one's origin, the way one was brought up, which one should not forget regardless of the current place of residence. This point is, for example, underlined by a woman from community A who has been living in Cancún for over 20 years. She is a bilingual speaker who acquired Maya as her first language. In the following interview segment, she answers the question of whether she used to feel ashamed of speaking Maya when she arrived in Cancún. The interview was conducted in Cancún in the Spanish language:

> Yes, because people say to you that you are a 'mayita'[2] and then I get humiliated. But then I said: 'Why should I feel ashamed of if it is my origin, right?'
> Interview: Female, 44 years old, conducted on November 12, 2013

In her answer, she points to a change in her attitude regarding speaking Maya in the city, recalling the humiliation she felt in the past. The reason for this change becomes clear in the phrase 'Why should I feel ashamed of it [speaking Maya] if it is my origin?'[3] For this speaker from the community A, the very association of Yucatec Maya with her origin is what substantiates

2   '*Mayita*' is the pejorative term used in Cancún to designate people from Yucatan who are distinguishably Maya mainly due to their dress or language (see Yamasaki 2019:221–223 for further discussion on the term).
3   Based on her case study on German migrants in Finland, Breier (this volume) highlights that patterns of language use among migrants may change across the life course as they tend to renegotiate their self-positioning at significant stages or points in their life course.

her continued attachment to the language in the urban environment (cf. Kaartinen, this volume).[4] However, even though in her case the initial feeling of shame eventually turned more positive, the interlocutor's reference to the shame of speaking Maya upon her arrival indicates a certain social meaning that being Maya speaker can have in the city of Cancún.

In this context, it is important to pay attention to the way rural and urban spaces are conceived in the Yucatan peninsula, which is also accompanied by the spatial mapping of the two languages in contact. It has been mentioned above that the link of Maya to the *pueblo* can have ambivalent impacts on urban language maintenance. While the interlocutor from community A cited above approves continued attachment to the language considered part of her origin in the city, the association of Maya with the *pueblo* can also be used as an argument for 'shutting out' the language in urban spaces. Indeed, some urban Maya speakers remarked how irrelevant the language is in their urban life. This can be seen in the following answer provided by a man from the community B and who has been living in Cancún for 18 years. He learnt Spanish as his first language. The interview was conducted in Spanish in Cancún. To the question whether or not he considers Maya important for those living in the city, he answered:

> But here, here [in Cancún], I don't think that it is necessary because it is a city and in a city, it does not happen that you go to, say, to a shopping centre and only Maya [is spoken], right? [...].
> Interview: Male, 34 years old, conducted on January 1, 2014

At another point of the interview, the interlocutor affirmed that Yucatec Maya is necessary in the *pueblo*. In the city of Cancún, by contrast, he does not consider Yucatec Maya to be necessary, because it is an urban place, which is manifested in his phrase 'because it is a city' as well as his reference to the shopping centre. According to his argument, it is the fact that it is urban—understood in opposition to rurality or the *pueblo*—that renders Cancún an atypical setting for the use of Yucatec Maya.

Indeed, as indicated above, the conceptual opposition of rural and urban is perhaps the most common way the spatial dimension of language contact is perceived in the Yucatan peninsula. In the case of the region, there has even been a well-known scientific approach, the model of folk-urban continuum by Robert Redfield (1941), which theorizes the relation of urbanization and sociocultural change drawing on an assumed polar distinction between the countryside and the city. In his model, the rural-urban dualism is associated with other pairs of opposites including 'traditional' versus 'modern' and 'indigenous' versus 'Spanish'. It is notable that even today, people in Yucatan are likely to map the two languages onto the rural and urban spaces respectively, which are considered to represent distinctive social orders and are evaluated in a hierarchical manner. For those Maya speakers living in the

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4   According to Kaartinen (this volume), speaking the language under such pressures of marginalization allows constructing speakers' commitment to it as moral position, which amounts to an agency.

city, the personal value of the language may derive from its very link to the *pueblo* as their origin and site of socialization (cf. Ferguson, this volume). However, the expression of this attachment is not always unproblematic in the stratified urban society because of the assumed hierarchy of the spaces, which also influence everyday social interactions. This conceptual opposition of rural and urban spaces is one central factor underlying people's image of Cancún as an atypical environment for language use despite the fact that Maya is spoken by over ten percent of the population older than five years in the city. Of course, in addition to the general rural-urban dualism, specific characteristics of the tourist city should be considered to understand how the linguistic environment of Cancún is experienced by Maya speakers from the two communities. Moreover, it goes without saying that implications of speakers' mobility on language vitality cannot be reduced to immigrants' possible abandonment of Maya, due to an adaptation to the urban environment contrasted with their *pueblo*. The following sections discuss other forms of imagining the territoriality of the language, which are emerging in relation to mobility of speakers among other factors.

Yucatec Maya and regional identity

Even though the *pueblo* may be the primary point of reference regarding the perceived territoriality of the language, Yucatec Maya can also become related to a larger construct that transcends the community boundaries and the rural-urban division. One form of such an articulation is the link of the language to the region of Yucatan or the regional identity as Yucatecan, which is still territory-based, albeit much more extensive than a face-to-face community. Of course, mobility is not the only factor for the development of this broader conceptualization of the language's territoriality. However, interactions among Maya speakers coming from different communities, which are facilitated by mobility, seem to be crucial in this context. Even though further investigation would be needed to make a more substantiated claim, it is especially those Maya speakers engaged in trade and interacting with various people on a daily basis who explicitly refer to the link between self-identity, the language and the region.

For example, a merchant from community B provides a different estimation of the linguistic scenery than that based on the rural-urban opposition. He travels between the community and the city of Cancún on a regular basis, trading food. The interview with the interlocutor who claims to have acquired Maya and Spanish more or less at the same time was conducted in the Spanish language in community B. He responds to the question if he also considers Maya important for those living in the city in the following way.

> [...] in the whole peninsula, we need to speak Maya [...] the whole peninsula should speak Maya [...]
> Interview: Male, 47 years old, conducted on September 26, 2013

In this interview segment, he stresses that Yucatec Maya is spoken and should be maintained in the whole peninsula of Yucatan. Thus, his position

differs from the statements cited previously. It is possible that his broader conceptualization of the linguistic scenery is shaped through the extensive trade network he maintains in the peninsula, encompassing both rural communities and urban neighbourhoods in Cancún. Indeed, at another point in the interview, he emphasizes that Maya is necessary for him especially for commercial relationships; he makes a strategic use of the language in order to establish a rapport with agricultural producers, which is supposed to evoke a feeling of trust in his associates.

Intercommunity trade relations seem to be one factor promoting a more region-based perception of the linguistic ecology instead of a community-based one. Given that interactions among Maya speakers from different communities are crucial for this process, the city may be considered a typical environment, in which such encounters occur. In this context, it is important to pay attention to people's conception of the term 'Yucatan' and Cancún's particular position in relation to it.

Even though, the perception of the linguistic scenery based on the rural-urban dualism predominates in everyday lives, especially within the state of Yucatan, Maya language is to a certain degree also recognized as a marker of the regional identity as Yucatecan. However, Cancún—as a young and diverse city lying in the neighbouring state—is rather treated as a locality outside of the territory designated as Yucatan despite its location in the Yucatan peninsula.[5] In this way, the regional identity as Yucatecan seems to operate as a kind of identity among diaspora in the tourist city. Normally, Maya speakers are more likely to draw on the language's link to their place of origin to explain their identification with the indigenous language. However, especially in interactions with Maya speaking strangers and acquaintances in the urban environment, they also draw on the regional identity as Yucatecan.

For example, in the interview segment below, a woman from the community B, who lives in Cancún and sells food at her home, explains her command of Maya to her customers by the fact that she is a Yucatecan. The interlocutor acquired Maya as her first language. The interview was conducted in the Spanish language during her visit to the community B. Here is her answer to the question of whether or not she speaks Maya with her neighbours in the streets of Cancún:

> Yes, I speak Maya. There are many people, who go to buy my tamales and can speak Maya. I, how they talk to me, I reply to them [...] Then, they say to me, 'As I see, can you speak Maya, my neighbour'? They say. 'Of course. I am a Yucatecan', I say to them.
> Interview: Female, 47 years old, conducted on December 24, 2013

This incident demonstrates that Yucatecan regional identity as it manifests itself in Cancún can strengthen affinity among Maya speakers coming from

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5   See Yamasaki (2019:261) for a discussion on the geographic coverage of the term 'Yucatan'. Speaking of Yucatan, Maya speakers tend to refer to the federal entity of Yucatan, while foreign researchers tend to use the term to denote a wider area of the Yucatan peninsula.

different localities of Yucatan. Encounters of Maya speaking strangers and acquaintances in the urban context can also promote their perception of the language's wide geographic distribution reaching far beyond their respective places of origin. However, it should be kept in mind that such a sodality among speakers can only emerge if they use the indigenous language for communication with Maya-speaking strangers in the city, which is not always the case. Rather, also owing to the social meaning attached to being Maya speaker in the stratified urban environment, the use of the language is more likely to be reserved for the private sphere. In this regard, the promotion of urban language use would be crucial, so that the actual wide geographic distribution of Yucatec Maya is perceived and experienced as such by speakers.

Thus far, we have discussed the link between Maya and the region of Yucatan and Yucatecan regional identity as a more all-encompassing form of imagining the language's territoriality than the rural community of origin. As Yucatec Maya language becomes increasingly mobile through the migration of speakers and its transmission via new technologies, a new form of identification emerges. The following section examines how the language becomes related to Maya ethnicity, which is only recently beginning to be referred to as self-identity by Maya speakers in Yucatan.

Yucatec Maya and Maya ethnicity

The Maya-speaking population in contemporary Yucatan is likely to be referred to as 'Maya' by those interested in the culture and region, including researchers. The use of this ethnic category underlines cultural continuity from the pre-Hispanic past, globally known because of splendid archaeological structures found here (Hervik 2003). In contrast to the frequent use of the category in the external discourse on 'their culture', the people in Yucatan have rarely drawn on the term 'Maya' for self-description until recently (e.g. Castellanos 2010; Gabbert 2004; Hervik 2003; Restall 1997). Rather, social identities in Yucatan are 'fluid, localized, and situational'. In place of a coherent ethnic identity as 'Maya', people in Yucatan handle multiple forms of categorization and self-identification, which can be based on either social class, dress, language, or place of origin (Castellanos 2010:xxxvi). Generally, there is a considerable discrepancy between the popular foreign image of Maya culture and the way it is experienced by Maya speakers. However, nowadays, it is increasingly observed that Maya speakers themselves draw on the rather external conceptualization of Maya culture to describe themselves, which is also used to substantiate the importance of contemporary Yucatec Maya language. Among other factors, such as the representation of Maya culture in the mass media, this new way of engaging with their indigenous heritage is to a large extent inspired through interactions with people coming from various places, including tourists and researchers. Given that Cancún is an international tourist resort, Maya speakers not only come into contact with other Maya speakers of different origins, but also with foreign visitors here. Exchanges of different perspectives on Maya culture in Cancún contribute to the development of a new cultural reflexivity.

Towards the end of an interview, a man from community B, who has been residing in Cancún for over 30 years, made a positive comment about the interviewer's attention to the language and then recalls his interactions with the tourists interested in Maya culture. The interlocutor had acquired Spanish as his first language. The interview was conducted in Spanish in Cancún.

> How nice it is that you are interested in Maya. I have got to know in the course of my life here in Cancún, as I worked for many years in restaurants, people like you came there. And I am very glad that they had a better knowledge of Maya than us. They had a book on Maya, yes. In this way, your countrymen, I think (?) they like Maya very much and it seems that they learn more Maya than Spanish [...]
> Interview: Male, 54 years old, conducted on January 5, 2014

After the interview segment cited above, he concludes by saying that, hopefully, the Maya language will not be lost. The interlocutor relates his hope for language maintenance to the tourists' fascination with Maya culture as well as the foreign interviewer's interest in the language, which demonstrates that this emerging type of cultural reflexivity is increasingly global in scope. In this context, the Yucatec Maya language is treated as part of the indigenous cultural heritage attracting foreign interests and not necessarily as the way of life in the *pueblo*, which has a certain social connotation within the postcolonial regional classification system. It is true that the language leaves the community boundaries and becomes deterritorialized to a certain degree through its link to the globally informed conception of the indigenous cultural heritage. Notwithstanding, it does not mean that the question of its territoriality becomes obsolete in this way of engaging with Maya language and culture. This aspect is underlined in an interview conducted with a man from community B.

The interlocutor, who had learned Spanish as his first language, had lived for over 30 years in Cancún and had recently returned to the *pueblo*. The interview was conducted in Spanish in community B. The following interview segment represents part of his explanation on the reason why people should not be ashamed of speaking in Maya in the city.

> [...] if anyone asks me abroad, 'Where are you from'? [the answer would be], 'From Yucatan'. Yucatan is the birthplace of the ancient Maya as well as of those who live now. This whole zone was the birthplace of the Maya civilization, so no matter if I want it or not, I am eating, drinking and stepping on the Maya soil and I can't be ashamed of it.
> Interview: Male, 53 years old, conducted on July 24, 2013

For the interlocutor, it is being from and in Yucatan that gives significance to the indigenous language for him and his contemporaries. Instead of becoming obsolete, the territoriality seems to be central in the way the indigenous heritage becomes connected with identity questions in the present. In this context, it should be noted that his use of the term 'Yucatan' considerably differs from the one discussed in the previous section on the regional identity. Designating it as 'the birthplace of the Maya civilization',

he draws on Yucatan as a worldly known place for the location of Maya heritage sites to establish a link between 'the ancient civilization' and the significance of the indigenous language spoken in the area today. According to this case, appreciation of the indigenous language is mediated through the cultural identity as Maya, whose formation and representation are global in scope. Even though the language is localized in Yucatan, the link of place and contemporary Yucatec Maya language, as illustrated in the interview segment, is rather an imagined one than that based on concrete social interactions and relation in the given setting. It means that this way of appreciating the language is not imperatively based on an appropriation of physical territory as a means of production. Similar to ethnicity as a dimension of social identity comparatively independent of space (Kearney 1996:180), this kind of affinity to the Yucatec Maya language has the potential to extend itself beyond the local community, the region or even the nation. As such, it may be considered a suitable form of engaging with the indigenous language for mobile speakers. However, to consider the future vitality of Yucatec Maya, it is necessary to see how this rather deterritorialized way of appreciating it relates to continued use of the language as embodied practice.

The paper has so far demonstrated that other than linguists' knowledge of the language's geographic distribution or the foreign popular conception of Maya culture, Maya speakers primarily link the language to their *pueblo,* their community. In the case of migration, Maya speaking immigrants often explain the personal value of the language in their urban life by its association with their *pueblo* of origin. On the one hand, their affinity with the *pueblo* is a central motive for language maintenance in the city. On the other hand, the very association of Maya with the *pueblo* also has an opposite effect due to the prevalent conception of rural-urban opposition, which allocates the two languages in contact to respective spaces. Apart from the link of Yucatec Maya to the *pueblo,* it has been argued above that Maya speakers also develop a broader conceptualization of the language's territoriality through different kinds of interactions facilitated by mobility.

Implications of language vitality in an age of globalization

The last section of this chapter discusses implications that the gradual 'uprooting' of the Yucatec Maya from the *pueblo* may have for language maintenance. Furthermore, it aims to open up a discussion on an adequate approach to consider the vitality of indigenous languages beyond community boundaries. I have so far demonstrated that despite negative impacts it can have on the language's vitality, the mobility of speakers can also lead to the expansion of communication networks for language use. It can also lead to more encompassing forms of identifying with the language, which extend beyond the boundaries of respective communities[6]—either the regional identity as Yucatecan or Maya identity as a new, externally-informed ethnicity.

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6   Kaartinen (this volume) also highlights opportunities created through urban migration for language revitalization.

Moreover, in the present age characterized by electronic mediation, new media, and digital technologies open up new space for the use of this indigenous language and foster a deterritorialized form of sodality among Maya speakers (Cru 2014). Due to its participatory infrastructure, social media in particular enables the exterritorial formation of communities for the use and promotion of the indigenous language. Indeed, there are also increasing grassroots initiatives organized by speakers themselves to promote the language, represented by hip-hop and rap music in Maya, which is widely disseminated via social media.[7] This kind of 'horizontal planning' of language maintenance and revitalization is essential not only for expanding domains of language use but also for raising ethnolinguistic awareness especially among the younger generations (Cru 2014:193, 223). Possibly, these new developments are leading to a revalorization of the language, which has been observed by several researchers in recent years (e.g. Sima Lozano 2011:75; Sima Lozano et al. 2014:172). However, to consider the future vitality of Yucatec Maya, a closer inspection is needed, instead of uncritically embracing these new opportunities for language maintenance and revitalization emerging through global interconnections. For this purpose, it is essential to see whether the previously mentioned dissemination and appreciation of the language actually relates to the continued use of Maya and the revaluation of the variety spoken in everyday life. A closer look at the process of cultural reproduction as well as language ideology illuminates this point.

Concerning the former, it should be noted that the meaning attached to the indigenous language may change as it increasingly becomes mobile and deterritorialized. Linking the indigenous language to the *pueblo*—their community of origin—speakers underline the habitus dimension of the language (Bourdieu 1972), namely, that Yucatec Maya is embodied practice and forms part of other related cultural practices in the community. Conceiving of the Yucatec Maya language in this way is not something that is intentionally taught or acquired, but rather is a practical mastery that children automatically acquire through growing up in the Maya-speaking environment. As the language becomes separated from the rural habitus, it becomes more objectified and dislocated from embodied practice. For example, a man from community B, who has lived for over 30 years in Cancún, distinguishes two varieties of the Maya language, the variety learnt at home and the one acquired at educational institutions and points to the hierarchy between them. He learned Maya as his first language. The interview was conducted in the Spanish language in community B.

> [...] But it's not the same speaking what is spoken at home as [speaking] what is taught at schools. At the academy, at the university, well, it is more professional. Believe it or not, but Maya has its grammar, so I improved it (Maya) [later], so to speak [...]
> Interview: Male, 61 years old, conducted on July 24, 2013

7   See Cru (2014:193–222) for an encompassing review of the grassroots initiatives aimed at the promotion of the Yucatec Maya language.

In this interview segment, the interlocutor attaches more prestige to the variety taught at educational institutions than the one learned at home, manifested in the phrases 'more professional' and 'I improved'. As this notion of hierarchy indicates, the authenticity becomes a topic of continuous debate once the language becomes the object of conscious reflection rather than unreflected practical mastery. In the language ideology of Yucatec Maya, the debate on the authenticity of the language is generally accompanied by devaluation of the variety spoken by people in everyday life (Cru 2014; Pfeiler 1996, 1998; Pool Balam and Le Guen 2015). The attitudes for an improvement of the language observed in recent years do not necessarily mean encouragement of present-day ways of speaking (see also Kaartinen, this volume, on his presentation of language ownership).

This change in meaning attached to Maya and the internal differentiation of the language can be considered to exemplify the transition of culture from habitus to 'conscious choice, justification and representation' suggested by Appadurai (1996:44), in face of increased interconnectedness of the world. And its impacts on the indigenous language are multifaceted. On the one hand, increased mobility, contact and communication—characteristic of globalization—enables the language to expand beyond the community boundaries. On the other hand, the habitus dimension essential for maintenance of Maya as everyday language is increasingly fracturing. With increased detachment of Yucatec Maya from its original habitus, more conscious engagement with the language occurs, which also draws upon information on language and culture that originates from elsewhere. Even though it can be interpreted as an improvement of language attitudes and a positive sign for language maintenance, as has been argued above, it does not always lead to appreciation and encouragement of the way Maya is spoken by people in their ordinary life (cf. Kaartinen, this volume).[8]

When considering the vitality of indigenous languages in an age of globalization, the following conclusion can be drawn from the above discussion on mobility and Yucatec Maya language. The case study revealed the transition of culture from habitus to 'conscious choice, justification and representation' (Appadurai 1996:44) in the course of the language's deterritorialization. Threatening impacts of globalizing processes on worldwide linguistic diversity increasingly require speakers' conscious engagement with their language in order to disseminate its value to wider audiences for language maintenance. At the same time, its intergenerational transmission within its habitus is indispensable for the language's continued vitality. However, the Yucatecan case suggests that there are gaps acting as obstacles to a coincidence of these two modalities of cultural knowledge. Namely, those speakers who consciously engage in metalinguistic discourse tend to devalue everyday language use. Bridging the gaps between the two modalities of cultural knowledge is essential so that the issue of maintaining indigenous languages and, hence, linguistic diversity in today's interconnected world can be tackled as a common responsibility.

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8 See also Kaartinen, this volume for further discussion on objectification of language.

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Ownership, Responsibility, and Agency in Language Revitalization

Introduction

Research on the survival and revitalization of small languages is connected to diverse cultural and political agendas. Part of it reflects the idea that languages survive and develop if they are the target of language maintenance, or institutional and scientific support for their use. Language documentation, a central part of these practices, requires expert skills, and until recently, it was driven by scholarly objectives and standards. In current rhetoric and practice, however, these scholarly aims coincide with the demand for recognition and self-empowerment of the speakers of endangered languages (Hinton 2010). Language survival depends on increasing the number of speakers, and recent research has stressed the ability of young speakers to transform language practices in the multi-lingual circumstances they inhabit (Sumida Huaman 2014). The survival of a minoritized language also depends on a sense of ownership that develops when speakers use it to perform a cultural identity in the context of public spectacles (Wroblewski 2019:2) and educational practices (Guerrettaz 2015:169). Such performance by young participants can be crucial for constructing the transfer of linguistic skills as a moral responsibility shared by different generations (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015). The empowerment of speakers to save their own language therefore involves much more than technical skills for recovering it, and the question faced by researchers is how to recognize and support the agency that young speakers derive from their involvement in social relations and cultural practices.

This article reflects on these issues in the context of a revitalization project centered on Bandanese, a language spoken among a dispersed community of roughly 5,000 people based on the islands of Maluku of Eastern Indonesia. My aim is to explore the ethical and political issues that arise from scholarly interventions in specific aspects of linguistic reproduction. Present-day technologies allow different ways of objectifying and controlling language as a cultural property: not merely in the form of written texts, glossaries, grammars, and teaching materials, but also as visual and auditory images of oral performances in particular, culturally recognized settings. Language documentation cannot maintain a neutral stance towards the values and

classifications through which speakers and language communities evaluate different forms of actual language use. This raises the question of how to deal with the ideological links between language forms and the speakers' identities, aesthetics, morality, and knowledge (Woolard 1998:3; Cavanaugh 2009:158) when such links appear to be contested or counterproductive to language revitalization.

This question is made particularly salient by the recent emphasis on empowering young speakers to reproduce and transform their languages of heritage (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015). While early models of language revitalization relied on a consensual view of the social setting and worldview underpinning minority language use (Fishman 1991:58), young speakers today inhabit multilingual worlds in which indigenous languages cannot be isolated from other language groups and social processes. And while the perception of the minority language as a semiotic resource remains crucial for generating an interest in learning and using it (Ahlers 2017), the outcome of such interest depends on the ability of the speakers to create new domains and practices of speaking the language (Sumida Huaman 2014:73).

Today's complex linguistic situations pose a twofold task for such creative activity. One is to gain recognition for the roles and categories in which people fall when they use their own language. Such categories are essential for language ownership: an objectified awareness of language as a communicative field that allows speakers to demonstrate their own skill and to pass the judgment of others. 'Having' a language implies that the language exists in some valued, prescribed form, as a textual or oral tradition, or as a publicly acceptable code for speaking and writing. Such objectification of language is a central feature of modern ideologies of language (Bauman and Briggs 2003). When speakers affirm the public value of their own minority language, they tend to align themselves to such ideological expectations. This, however, does not mean that they actually choose to speak the language among themselves. The other task for creative learning is to restore language as a source of moral and epistemic agency that makes the speaker responsive and responsible to others (Hill and Irvine 1992:4); similarly, Dell Hymes (1981:84) defined linguistic performance as 'cultural behavior for which a person assumes responsibility to an audience'.

Responsibility for language thus extends to responsibility towards social others, transcending the way in which discursive norms and role expectations are mapped to specific categories of speakers. Responsibility claims by young speakers suggest that language revitalization is not so much about expressing age identity and generational group membership through linguistic practice, but documenting and participating in culturally or linguistically reflexive events (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015:130). The focus of language revitalization then moves from the problem of transmission across generations to the problem of generating interaction and dialogue that constitutes the participants as responsible to each other. The point of such interactions is not just to enact existing generational roles, but also to allow the speakers to take a stance from which they argue for the mutual responsibility for speaking and teaching the language among other generations as well as their own (Ferguson, this volume). Language as

a semiotic resource then defines the responsibility of learners and speakers for performing certain aspects of traditional truth or identity—and taking a stance that affirms the cultural capital that the language represents (Ahlers 2017:43).

At best, there is a productive tension between language ownership and responsibility, or between the efforts to learn appropriate behaviors and perceptions and the efforts to enact and explore them in front of an audience. In this article, I explore this tension in the context of a language revitalization project carried out in Eastern Indonesia in 2016 through 2018. While many participants in this project were not expert speakers, all identified strongly with a cultural community for which the heritage language is the foremost emblem of shared identity. Even as their nostalgic relationship to the recent, historical context of language use was a source of responsibility for keeping their language alive, their experience of urban life, higher education, social mobility, and the representation of local cultures in Indonesian national thinking made it challenging to imagine the language as a contemporary domain of communication between equals. Much of the training that took place during the project centered on discussing how to generate rich linguistic documentation based on the culturally salient experience and skills of diverse types of informants, and how to present this documentation in a sufficiently standardized form that would not create new canons and standards of using it.

Opportunities for revitalization: the case of Bandanese

The Bandanese, a small ethnolinguistic group in the Eastern Indonesian islands of Maluku, originate from the pre-colonial population of the spice-producing islands of Banda. The Dutch East India Company conquered their ancestral home in 1621 and massacred or enslaved most of its original population. A small number of surviving Bandanese settled in the Kei Islands, some 400 kilometers southeast of Banda, where their language has survived to the present day. Their descendants kept their Muslim faith and continued to speak their own language called *turwandan* or Bandanese (Collins and Kaartinen 1998), which is quite different from *evav*, the language of the Kei Islands majority.

When I first studied Bandanese in the 1990s, the majority of speakers lived in Banda Eli and Banda Elat, two coastal villages in Kei. In 2009, when I resumed fieldwork in Maluku, a large number of the villagers had moved to urban centers in Maluku and other parts of Indonesia. The urban Bandanese are highly concerned about the erosion of their language. At the same time, they are resigned to the fact that children no longer learn it. As a remedy for this, many people have proposed I should make a dictionary (*kamus*) that would preserve Bandanese in the written form, and might be helpful for those who desired to learn it in adult age. Although some people may have studied the Bandanese wordlists that I made available to the community on various occasions, I was never convinced that they would be efficient learning materials. The speakers' interest in turning their language into

a book is revealing of the effects that formal education and social mobility of urbanizing Bandanese have had for their language attitudes. People who have advanced to civil service and salaried jobs tend to value their language as an objectified inheritance and as a reference point of the traditional, cultural identity that constitutes them as members of the modern Indonesian nation. In the discourse of tradition that evolved after the 1960s, the obsession with various, objectified forms of tradition displaced any explicit concern with class, power, and the legitimacy of political rule (Pemberton 1994:10). First-generation urban migrants from Banda Eli and Banda Elat meet regularly in conversation groups in the explicit purpose of keeping their language alive. I also know persons who have spent their childhood away from the village and taught themselves to speak it in adulthood. However, these measures do not resolve the basic problem: the declining number and competence of Bandanese-speakers. In this situation, the rhetoric of empowering the speaking community is complicated by the fact the older generation has not found a way to transfer the responsibility and ownership of their language to younger people.

Between 1998 and 2004, Indonesia went through an economic and political crisis that caused a profound change in the language ecology of Bandanese and similar small languages. The insecurity of those years heightened people's awareness of kinship networks. For a brief time, many urban Bandanese sought refuge from unrest in their villages of origin. In 2004, urban space in Maluku was reorganized by creating new, separate neighborhoods and housing for mobile groups, including the Bandanese. At the same time, Indonesia carried out a period of political reforms that gave new taxing and budgetary powers to municipal governments. This created a new incentive for education that qualified young people born in rural areas to pursue civil service positions. In a process known as flowering (*pemekaran*), local administrative units are being divided in new municipal districts and sub-districts, and most of them are governed by political appointees of local origin. While education at large draws young people away from rural villages and towns, their employment prospects are best near their place of origin. The current political conjuncture therefore maintains a simultaneous commitment to modern education and localized ethnicity— despite the fact that ethnic and linguistic communities no longer exist as discreet villages or local populations.

The overall effect of these changes for language reproduction was the relocation of children. Most village-based families with children chose to build a house in town, which offered better access to schools and wage employment. At this point, the village of Banda Eli started to lose its status as the center of reproducing Bandanese language and culture. As late as in the 1990s, I witnessed a large population of village children who were fluent in Bandanese. In the early 2000s, however, most families with children spent most of their time in urban locations, and village life ceased to generate substantial new generations of speakers. Although gradual out-migration from the Bandanese villages in Kei had already started in the 1950s, with numerous enclaves of urban speakers across the country, this pattern of

migration did not have the same, dramatic effects on the language ecology as the rapid urbanization that began in 2004.

The conjuncture of urban migration I have described created an acute need for language revitalization efforts focused on children and youths. In only 15 years, Bandanese had lost the only environment in which the language was effectively transmitted between generations. But one should not lose sight of the opportunities created in this situation. Far from simply dispersing the linguistic community, the changes brought new coherence to the urban groups that identify with Bandanese. The new policy of involving all children above age three in pre-school activities improves the possibilities of developing home-language activities, and the interest of new municipal governments in affirming an identification with local culture may also be helpful for those who argue for new notions of linguistic and cultural ownership.

This was the premise of four revitalization projects started by a group of researchers based in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Finland in 2016. The first project, funded by the Kone Foundation of Finland, developed from previous collaboration between James T. Collins, a linguist, and myself (Timo Kaartinen), an anthropologist, on studying the Bandanese language. The project trained a total of twenty-five student-age Bandanese to collect video and audio recordings of the language spoken in the Bandanese villages in Kei and to prepare them for online publication. In addition, the project experimented on the use of Bandanese in pre-school activities and prepared some materials suited for young children. The participation in this project by Dr Herpanus, an Indonesian linguist from the Teachers' College at Sintang, West Kalimantan, and Dr Eka Dahlan Uar, an anthropologist from the State Islamic Institute at Ambon, was helpful for developing similar projects on the language of Sepa, spoken on the island of Seram in Maluku, and several indigenous languages of Kalimantan. In addition to these projects, funded by the Toyota Foundation of Japan, another project was undertaken by Dr Chong Shin in Sarawak, Malaysia.

The model of language revitalization developed in these projects took benefit from the fact that young speakers were almost universally involved in formal education, even as their access to the community of local-language speakers was still much wider than the circle of immediate family. Collaboration with provincial and local teacher-training institutes made it possible to mobilize networks of young people with specific linguistic and cultural commitments, to train them in techniques of language documentation, and to organize campaigns of collecting language materials, which were later edited for web publication. At the same time, it raised the issue of how the participants of each project would manage to take distance from the context of higher education, where national language was the norm, and to recognize the performative effects and values linked to using the minority language in various other domains. As the projects evolved from the seemingly neutral documentation of language towards a concern with its significance in contemporary life, they forced the participants to reflect on the moral positions and frames of interaction that define the value

of learning and speaking it. In the remainder of this article, my focus is on ownership and responsibility—a shorthand for two ways in which aspiring speakers can stake a claim to a language—and their implications for the agency of people facing marginalization by larger sociocultural forces.

Language ownership

The empowerment of the members of a speaking community in revitalizing their own language depends on the successful negotiation of the ownership of language: perceptions of what it means to 'have' or 'know' it. Speaking competence, the most obvious sign of ownership, comes under other people's evaluation in a wide variety of performance situations, in which the present audience and topic have an effect on what language choice is legitimate. 'Having' a language depends on subjective skill as well as 'passing' the judgment of others (Pennycook 2012:86), and different people may not be equally able to recognize each other's competence or learning efforts. The idealized concept of 'native speaker' is therefore a poor means of describing the variation in speaking competence among a migrant, multi-lingual community. Recent scholarship has proposed 'expert speaker' as an alternative concept for recognizing the partial, dynamic, learned, and subjective mastery of second-language speakers (Guerrettaz 2015; Rampton 1990) as well as learners in the midst of acquiring a language (Blommaert 2010). The ability of such speakers to 'pass', and more importantly, to be recognized as sources of and authorities over linguistic information, nevertheless depends on what kinds of language use are valued as socially appropriate or culturally salient in the prevailing linguistic ideology. In the absence of standards and canonical forms of speaking, the authority over a language can take diffuse and decentralized forms that allow people who are not expert speakers to take a role in curating and documenting it and creating new contexts for its use (Guerrettaz 2015:170).

The initial four-day training session we organized for the participants of the Banda language revitalization project in Ambon in May 2016 opened with a series of group discussions exploring such questions as 'what kinds of linguistic data do we need', 'what topics should we ask people to talk about', and 'who will be the sources for language documentation'. By presenting these questions, we aimed at helping the participants to approach language as a skill that could be expanded through encounters with other speakers, rather than by objectifying one's own, embodied skills in the form of glossaries and texts. At the same time, we encouraged them to reflect on various links between language and the cultural objects, technological skills, and other topics that could interest ordinary speakers to reveal their everyday expertise on such topics. By such means, we sought to reframe the perception of the Bandanese language as a canon of traditional forms of discourse in favor of seeing the Bandanese people as a population of expert speakers. The aim of this approach was to record discourse specimens from a variety of speakers with different repertoires and backgrounds, and thus to avoid being trapped into documenting and promoting normative patterns of language use.

The participants in the project were recruited through a Bandanese youth organization that chiefly consisted of urbanizing youth who were attending or completing college-level higher education. Most of the twenty youth who took part in the first phase of training were fluent in Bandanese, having been exposed to language for a substantial part of their youth. Several were born around 1990 and had spent their childhood in the village before moving to town. Particularly these young speakers were aware of diverse, socially embedded settings in which Bandanese speech was an index of authority and prestige. Being able to interpret and report (even if not 'repeat', in the sense stressed by Hymes 1981:82) these speech forms was a source of language ownership that went beyond generic cultural identity. Another advantage of speakers who had lived in the village as children was their familiarity with the use of such figurative expressions as *fokorndan* ('Banda mountain') and *rumo fonuo* ('house-and-village') in terms of which many Bandanese imagine their speaking community as a concrete, localized whole. Due to their familiarity with this imagery of landscapes and congregations, such speakers were not limited to *tradisi* ('tradition') or *budaya* ('culture') as the concepts mediating the link between their language and the speakers (see Yamasaki, this volume).

The post-2000 urban settlement of the Bandanese community was another formative experience for this generation of speakers, and their initial view about the topics and sources of language elicitation pointed to a culturally nostalgic view about the language. One point of debate during the training arose from the perception that the most authentic use of Bandanese takes place in the context of cultural activities, such as dance performances and rituals. In a previous research engagement with urban Bandanese speakers of my own age, I found that the effort to interpret the recorded speech of an even older generation of speakers was a promising way to activate their Bandanese competence (Kaartinen 2013:398). This suggests that the exposure to documented linguistic material may draw a different response from different categories of speakers, depending on their generational status and life experience. What I describe here as linguistic 'ownership' focuses on a number of salient linguistic and cultural behaviors, but falls short of generating a verbal performance that claims or contests the perceptions about 'acceptable' or 'appropriate' delivery among other generations or categories of speakers (Hymes 1981:83). Young people generally play a non-verbal role in dance performances and use the national language in cultural pageants, and instead of challenging such expectations, our collaborators were committed to them.

As an alternative to the canonical language forms associated with the domain of traditional culture, we suggested an emphasis on 'technical narratives'—explanations about food preparation, agriculture, and the manufacture and repair of machines and household objects—as a way of getting people to speak in personal ways and using specialized vocabulary. We also debated the suggestion that the best sources for linguistic information were community elders and agreed that many of them had actually lived outside the village for many years. In order to document the full scope of contemporary Bandanese usage, it would be necessary to disregard cultural

authority and status and pay attention to ordinary villagers, as well as those urban Bandanese who maintain their linguistic competence by assembling regularly to use the language. For practical reasons, the subsequent collecting efforts were focused on the village at the Islamic holiday seasons of 2016 and 2017 that gave access to urban as well as rural Bandanese speakers.

In the Indonesian context, educational backgrounds and social aspirations of national modernity often result in a view of ethnic language as an emblem of identity. In some cases, the wish to promote the language may result in the attempt by cultural elites to create linguistic standards, with the result of simplifying the field of linguistic practices and rendering some persons, activities, or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible (Kuipers 1998:19). Our training was partly aimed at reframing the participants' agenda in order to prevent such outcomes. In spite of the long history of urbanization among its speakers, the Banda language has so far been resistant against uniformity. The urban migration started in the 1950s in Banda Elat, a village with a dialect that is distinct from that of Banda Eli, and the majority of the migrants settled in the Aru Islands and Ambon where they worked as shiploaders. People from Banda Eli began to migrate out of the village in the late 1960s, some engaged in contract work with Filipino timber companies and others in order to attend higher education. Banda Eli is a stratified society with two distinct classes of people, and permanent urbanization initially affected the upper class. This may explain why the linguistic competence in Bandanese is highest among the lower class, even if the majority of households in this group have also partially migrated to nearby towns where they maintain a second residence. While diverse forms of Bandanese are present among today's urban Bandanese community, its members identify strongly with their heritage language regardless of their class background and current socioeconomic status.

Bilingualism and ethnic interactions account for the persistence of certain features of Bandanese. The language is notorious among non-speakers for the difficulty of learning its verbal conjugations and possessive forms—two grammatical features that do not occur in most of the surrounding minority languages or in the national language. These features used to be present in closely related languages spoken in eastern Seram, another area in which the Bandanese settled after their exile from their homeland (Collins 1983:33). They are absent in Evav, the local majority language in the Kei Islands, which past generations of Bandanese speakers used to know fluently. The fact that the pronominal marking system in Bandanese verbs has survived in Kei for almost four centuries indicates the effort of Bandanese speakers to maintain a linguistic boundary against the majority language as well as other local languages.

Urban people who learn Bandanese in adult age make explicit note of the effort it takes to master its verbal conjugations. Another self-conscious feature of Bandanese is the absence of schwa [ə] from its phonetic repertoire. Banda speakers systematically pronounce it as [ɑ], and render it as 'a' in writing, when they use Indonesian loanwords as part of their Bandanese discourse. The awareness of this boundary between Bandanese and the national language may have been created, or at least strengthened, by literacy.

In Indonesian orthography, taught in the national school system, schwa is written as 'e' when it occurs in the unstressed position.

To the speakers of Bandanese, verb and noun suffixes, and the absence of schwa appear as linguistic standards that one needs to master in order to claim ownership of the language (Guerrettaz 2015:170). The fact that people follow these standards in writing practices indicates a self-conscious effort to maintain a boundary between Bandanese and the national language, the source of many loanwords that confront bilingual speakers with two spelling alternatives (for an example of similar boundary-making, see Ferguson, this volume). Banda speakers with higher education also show concern with linguistic purity by suggesting how a loanword used by a previous speaker could be replaced with the real, authentic Bandanese word. The training of our project participants, on the other hand, stressed the need to recognize the actual, contemporary use of Bandanese, including any Indonesian words that occurred in recorded speech. One reason for this policy was the observation that any sanction against deficient language use sets the bar higher for aspiring language learners. In addition, code switching between Bandanese and Indonesian or local Malay used to be a central feature of eloquence and culturally valued speech genres, such as traditional narrative songs and oratorical speech.

To insist on the purity of the Bandanese language is not merely counterproductive to current efforts to revitalize it, but also a deviation from the aesthetics of its actual use in the past. Code switching between Bandanese and Malay was a hallmark of the oratorical and poetic performances I witnessed in the 1990s (Collins and Kaartinen 1998:550). The performers of authoritative, valued genres embedded words and phrases from the regionally dominant Malay in their Bandanese discourse as an index of their personal history of travels and outside contacts that, to their local audience, signified maturity and authority. Code switching in this sense is not a fusion of two imperfectly known languages but involves a meaningful contrast between codes that enables speakers to index aspects of the situation or themselves (Ferguson 2016:144). The current ideology of purity or 'completeness' (Kuipers 1998:11) is partly a reflection of the formal education in the national language of Indonesian, but among Bandanese speakers it may reflect the specific experience of those people who left the village in their teens and were not exposed to situations in which eloquence in their language had its greatest pragmatic effects.

Aside from the effect of social hierarchies and linguistic standards, learning and speaking Bandanese is also constrained by the expectation of its decay among young generations. As early as in 1989, during my first visit to the Kei Islands, Bandanese-speaking parents expected their children to only know Indonesian in the future. Parents may often not be able to make accurate judgments about the children's linguistic development (Spolsky 2012:6), but such attitudes affect the language ecology they shape for their children. Sometimes this ecology is positively discouraging against multi-lingualism. Whenever I visit urban Bandanese households during fieldwork, my arrival usually triggers a discussion in Bandanese and piques the curiosity of children who hang around in the room. Inevitably, my host will point to

one of the children and declare, 'We are speaking Bandanese with this foreign guest, but this child, who is from here, does not understand a word of it!' Whether this is the case or not, this game of embarrassing a potential speaker would seem to ensure that the child will never learn the language. In spite of their professed concern over the survival of their language people cannot avoid shaming the non-speaker. What I imagine happening here is an effort to hold up Bandanese as a distinct domain of meaning: as something that cannot just be reduced and translated into Indonesian. In order to be a powerful way of expressing oneself, Bandanese must point to the non-Bandanese other. But when that other is in fact the non-speaking family member, this strategy comes in conflict with the interest in transmitting the language to younger generations.

Responsibility

Richard Henne-Ochoa and Richard Bauman (2015) have recently argued that language revitalization is not merely a process of continuing transmission of the declining language between generations. Children and youth play an active role in constructing their own responsibility in keeping the language alive, and their stance may include moral expectations and even critique of elders and adults. The participant roles young people assume may decide how language shift progresses and these roles are significant for their understanding of what language learning means.

In the previous section, I outlined some ideological and pragmatic perceptions of language that constrain linguistic transmission and reproduction among the Bandanese. When a language is an emblem of cultural identity for people who do not experience subjective mastery and legitimacy in speaking it, the role of performing this identity necessarily falls on elders, traditional authorities, and senior members of the family. Such people are often represented as vessels of cultural knowledge that should stay in the family and only be transferred to the nearest of kin, unless some exceptional situation calls for making it public. When this model of cultural transmission is extended to language, it discourages younger speakers from assuming a confident speaking role.

Henne-Ochoa and Bauman argue that young people should not merely be seen as victims of the prevailing ideology of language. Children and youth have their own ways of interpreting and conceptualizing the sociolinguistic conditions of their language of heritage, as in the case of Lakota children who participate in a speaking contest in a school setting frame language transmission as a shared moral responsibility (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015:146).

The key to language revitalization in this argument is not how to create a curriculum for effective language learning by the young, but to ascertain whether or not young people can alter the perception of themselves as a 'lost generation' doomed to passive acceptance of language decay (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015:147). From this perspective, creative use of language may have an effect on the sociolinguistic situation of the speakers, above all by

enacting new forms of subjectivity that it makes possible. This again implies that language shift is not a predictable, 'natural' process (Kuipers 1998:17). In the usual account, language shift means the gradual loss of publicly valued domains of speaking. However, the remaining, intimate forms of language may also be the means for people to present themselves in valued ways.

In my earlier research on Bandanese sung poetry, I found that its most prestigious genres were usually performed in intimate settings. In some of these narrative poems, the scene subtly shifts from one that portrays an ancestral, seagoing hero into one that reveals the hero as a familiar, old relative (Kaartinen 2013:395). Up until the 1960s, people in Banda Eli practiced long-distance maritime trade, and sea voyages were a generational experience for recently married men (Kaartinen 2010:24). In analogy with the Lakota speech contest, the songs that commemorated traveling ancestors can be seen as a performative act that gives a general meaning to the experiences of a particular social category. Through a vivid imagery of traveling men's alienation and displacement, the Banda Eli songs enacted the emotionally and morally intense wish that they should return home—either in their own village, or a distant ancestral homeland elsewhere.

Some contemporary use of Bandanese expresses the mentality that used to be fully elaborated in traditional songs. When someone is preparing to leave and travel far away, there are no lengthy farewells: the traveler announces his or her departure by saying *ak ko k^{w}a*, 'I go now'. The austere greeting suggests that the intimacy of the speakers will continue in spite of the distance. In another example of intimacy, the opening phrase used by men who represent their family in communal, public meetings is *ak kormana tosa*, 'I will speak a little'. Everyday interactions in Bandanese allow the use of informal pronouns such as *ka*, 'thou', that would be out of place in Indonesian, except between very close relatives or when addressing a substantially younger person. Such phrases are used as an index of intimacy that extends over large distances; today, this intimacy is particularly pronounced in text messaging and social media postings allowed by mobile phones.

These examples show that people with limited fluency in Bandanese are still capable of language use that performs a crucial aspect of their cultural identity—that is, an intimate connection to people who live far away, possibly in a very different environment and socioeconomic situation from their own. Owing to its long history of migrations, the Bandanese community does not seek its identity in territorial rootedness but in the situation of mobility itself (Bräuchler and Ménard 2017:386). Against this background, the ideological link between language and cultural identity is not merely a constraint but also an enabling factor for revitalization. It seems that token uses of an endangered language of heritage can allow entry into a community of practice associated with that language (for another example, see O'Toole, this volume). I have argued that Bandanese traditional songs reframed temporally and spatially distant narrative scenes as figures of intimacy (Kaartinen 2013:393). When contemporary people use intimate forms of address over the distance, they pursue a similar performative effect. Although the songs are no longer performed, people are aware of them as the backdrop of specific linguistic formulas used today. According to

Ahlers (2017:40), such intertextual relations between present and past uses of language and sociocultural knowledge underpin the value of language as a semiotic resource for performing identity.

Agency

The use of language to 'perform identity' implies that particular kinds of language can frame the situation in such a way that the act of speaking itself gets a particular interpretation (Bauman 1975). In the case of people who face the marginalization of their place and identity by larger systemic forces, such performance allows people to construct their commitment to the declining language as a moral position. This kind of positioning amounts to an agency that is not simply resistance against dominant forms of subjectivity but a creative response to them. Anthropologists have drawn attention to such forms of agency in ethnographies about subaltern people who consciously occupy the margins of the system (Kuipers 1998:14), religious minorities who defy the public order limitations on expressing their minority status (Mahmood 2016:166), and young people who take the high ground with respect to their elders (Henne-Ochoa and Bauman 2015).

In a rather obvious sense, embedding some Bandanese phrases in one's Indonesian discourse might count for 'speaking Bandanese'. But 'performing identity' implies a speech act that engages some social categories and boundaries that are salient to the speaker's situation. In Ahlers's (2017) example, token use of a heritage language helps the speakers of endangered languages in California to identify themselves with a broader category of Native Americans. For contemporary Bandanese, the value of using their own language likewise depends on the categories and scales that are available for recognizing and evaluating it as the language of some particular people or places.

One significant scale in today's Indonesia is the geographic and ethnic 'region' (*daerah*) that approximates the division of the country in provincial and municipal units. Up until 1998, the central government created various public representations of the cultural unity of such entities, even as it controlled revenue from their natural resources and sought to relocate people from densely populated provinces to areas with vacant land. When the Suharto government fell, municipal governments were given substantial, new budget powers. The localization of power (Hadiz 2011) became an incentive to create new, smaller provinces and municipalities in a process known as the 'opening of flowers' (*pemekaran*). Due to this process, the geographic framework of asserting ethnic unity has decreased in scale; at the same time, this unity is being expressed in ways that were increasingly exclusive and hostile to outsiders (Bräuchler 2017:452).

This recent development has transformed the pattern of urban migration and settlement in important ways. Even as the village of Banda Eli has emptied of young families, many of them now reside in Tual, the only major town in Kei, and some of their relatives have substantial influence in municipal politics. In contrast to the population movements of the 1980s and

1990s, the main target of urban migration is no longer a cosmopolitan city but suburban areas that constitute an ethnic space. This alone is not enough to reverse the trend, reinforced by better access to the national school system, in which children and young people stop learning Bandanese. However, the rise of new ethnic neighborhoods has created demand for government-sponsored public services. Some local politicians and community activists have organized pre-school education mandated by the national education policy, and one aim of our project has been to produce material and training for pre-school activities that encourage the use of Bandanese.

Speaking Bandanese has different implications for identity in the urban areas of the Kei Islands and elsewhere. The majority in the Kei Islands speaks *evav*, a strong minority language with 85,000 speakers. There are roughly 1,000 Bandanese in four different locations around Tual, and most of them are either attending school or working in environments where the main language is Indonesian. Any serious attempt to revitalize Bandanese in this environment would probably have to involve collaboration with the school system. This is also implied in other studies: all literature cited in this article about youth responsibility and 'performing identity' draw their examples from the school context.

Promoting the use of Bandanese among youth in larger cities poses a more complex challenge. However, the complex ethnic networks and politics of identity may afford greater possibilities for maintaining the recognition and value of the language in the public sphere. The Bandanese living in Ambon, the capital of the Maluku Province, have always been concerned with two, regional frameworks of ethnic identity. On the one hand, their historical trade contacts, Islamic religion, and prominence among the workforce of major ports sustain an affinity with Muslim immigrants from Sulawesi, whom the people of Ambon regard as ethnic outsiders. On the other hand, their ethnic origin in the Banda Islands is recognized among Christian and Muslim landowning groups who also claim to have Bandanese ancestors and sometimes even pass on their names in the family.

When urban Bandanese interact with these ethnic allies from in- and outside the province, they enjoy demonstrating some intimate knowledge about them. In a ten-minute conversation with a woman who was selling fruit at the bus station of Ambon, my young Bandanese associate confirmed what he had guessed on learning her name: her family derived from the lineage of servants in the Sultan's palace in Buton, a traditional state in Southeast Sulawesi. Aristocratic and ancestral names are often used outside the families entitled to them, and a correct guess about the status claims of people bearing them also depends on observing their contemporary social position and place in long-distance kinship networks. In this field of inter-ethnic communication, any knowledge of the languages and traditions of neighboring groups is a semiotic resource for connecting one's identity with theirs.

Conclusion

Bandanese is among a multitude of minority languages affected by recent internal migrations and the transformation of Indonesia's urban and political space. Until twenty years ago, it was still possible to imagine that these languages were located in rural villages, and this imagined territoriality continues to inform pessimistic nostalgia and the discourse of language decay. In fact, however, few if any minority languages of Indonesia have thrived because of their isolation: the shifting multi-lingual ecology, shaped by government policies as well as migration and resettlement, is a more important factor determining their fate. Young people learn the norms of communication as they navigate in a multilingual world (Sumida Huaman 2014:73), and any intervention in this learning process should start by exploring their position in it.

In answering how to deal with counterproductive ideological links between language forms and identity, I have drawn attention to the insecurities over the question of what it means to have a language. Particularly among educated youth, this insecurity translates into an impulse to objectify language as a textual artefact and as an emblem of cultural identity. The reference point for this identity is localized in an ethnic site or territory, and spatial distance from this site makes it a prominent object of nostalgia. If the value of speaking a minority language is perceived as an enactment of cultural knowledge, the risk is that speech performance is only valued in a domain of cultural canons known by elders and cultural authorities. This risk is present in the language ideology of urban, educated Bandanese speakers and constrains, in direct and indirect ways, their ownership of the language.

The language revitalization project outlined in this article sought to reframe the speakers' interest in Bandanese by stressing the value of personal narratives and technical vocabularies that are part of everyday discourse. Aside from documenting contemporary language use in audiovisual form and making it available to the community, the project explored the ways in which today's young speakers could assume responsibility for revitalizing the language itself. Recent attempts to develop responsibility as a theoretical concept have emphasized the devolution of performing agency to different categories of people, including children and youth. Performance, in this view, is the source of the agency preserving, defending, or safeguarding a language, and it locates this agency in specific life-stages, social categories, and ethnic situations and networks. Public situations that allow different age groups to take a subjective position towards a collective concern while speaking a heritage language afford an opportunity to expand such agency to young people whose culturally prescribed roles would otherwise bring them on stage as singers and dancers, rather than as speakers who are responsible for their words.

In Fishman's (1991:58) view, the reproduction of small languages depends on their territoriality, and migration poses a self-evident threat to it. He argues that when a resettled minority is dispersed among strangers, the density of communication in the lingua franca displaces its ability for

linguistic self-regulation. The strategy of urban Bandanese groups living in the situation Fishman describes has been to build small ethnic enclaves that provide a breathing space from incessant national language use. One might expect that this breathing space has been expanded by recent politics of identity that coincides with the division of Eastern Indonesian cities and towns in religiously and ethnically marked spaces. These spaces, however, are not monolingual, and their inhabitants are confronted with different kinds and degrees of communicative density—some generated by the presence of the national language, and others by inter-ethnic affinities which, as I have argued, may also afford the opportunity to perform identity in one's own language. These spaces are promising sites for exploring the linguistic effects of migration on multiple levels, taking into account locally specific politics and practices of communication and place-making as well as larger symbolic spaces of belonging.

Acknowledgements

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Don't Write It With "h"! Standardization, Responsibility and Territorialization when Writing Sakha Online

Introduction

As many recent studies on computer-based communication have shown (see, among others, Androutsopoulos 2013, 2015; Boyd 2011; Hillewaert 2015), the semi-public nature of writing online brings a certain degree of performativity to the fore; online, the written word essentially comes to stand for the unseen and often anonymous writer. Linguistic choices thus are very much central to acts of representing the self online (Barton and Lee 2013). For instance, on a friend's wall on the Russian-based social media site VK (formerly VKontakte, 'In Contact'), a young man wrote a short message in Sakha (Yakut), a North Siberian Turkic language spoken by approximately 450,000 people (All-Russian Census 2010), primarily within the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia, Russian Federation:[1]

> Туох hонун?ханна hүттүҥ
> Tuokh honun?khanna hüttüng?
> What's new?Where've you gone off to?[2]

There would be nothing remarkable about this brief, hastily posted phrase at first glance—the ubiquitous kind of phatic, bond-reinforcing 'utterances' that appear as friends check in and attempt to keep in contact—other than the particular, non-standard spelling of two Sakha words—'honun' and 'hüttüng'—'news' and 'gone' (lit. 'Disappeared'). In the standard form of written Sakha, the word-initial [h] would be [s]. However, the substitution of [h] instead is often used. As with many languages used in computer-mediated-communication, there are a number of features of online written Sakha that resemble the spoken language far more than offline written versions (cf. Jones and Schieffelin 2009). As with spoken language—especially

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1   While the language is commonly known in both English and Russian by the exonym Yakut, I prefer to use the endonym Sakha.
2   Sakha-language posts will be provided as typed in the original, followed by a transliteration into the Latin alphabet followed by an English translation.

informal varieties—online communication tends to be more heterogenous as well, and thus these 'heterographic writing practices' (Blommaert 2008) in a minority language present us with a rich field to analyse.

Much recent work by numerous authors (see Dovchin et al. 2018; Sultana 2019, for example) on the online linguistic practices of youth has highlighted the translinguistic or transglossic nature of the discourses and presentations of self in virtual spaces; this study takes a different path in focusing less on the use of multiple separate languages, but rather looking at the dialectal repertoires of those who use the Sakha language online. In studying the use of German dialects online, Androutsopoulos (2013) has noted that, 'dialect use can be a part of dialect discourse, and this is particularly obvious with performative uses of language in the media and popular culture'. Therefore, in this chapter, I take as my focus the indexical meanings of a particular phonological feature, the dialect-indexing, word-initial [h] as it is written online by Sakha speakers, and examine the metadiscourse that surrounds its usage.

Beyond the writers' likely intentions to mark their place-based belongings, the reception of [h] by readers points to broader discourse about language and responsibility for a minority language. Focusing on the theme of responsibility—in terms of how Sakha speakers negotiate who should be taking responsibility for maintaining their minority language and how they should be doing so—I look at how it is performed through online discourse that critiques or affirms use of word-initial [h]. Work on language and responsibility introduced by Hill and Irvine (1992) reminds us of the centrality of dialogic approaches to meaning construction, and in particular the importance of considering the culturally variable ways in which speakers (or writers) attribute intentionality and meaning to speech acts. Here, I am most interested in how conceptions of responsibility for the maintenance of a minoritized language is expressed in (semi-)anonymous online forums. Meaning is being constructed dialogically, through (often delayed) conversational interactions, but since the users' off-line identities may be completely or partially obscured by their online personae, attributing 'responsibility' to a known 'self' in their statements becomes an interesting question. Most Sakha internet users I have worked with, especially on social networking sites, tend to 'embed rather than dis-embed or deconstruct their identities and cultures on the web […]' (Christensen 2003:12; cf. Dong 2017; Papacharissi 2011); they use 'real' names in many cases. Forum users, especially in those dedicated to broader topics and themes, may choose a higher degree of anonymity, though many, of course, do recognize each other's user names through repeated interaction and even if they are not attributed to offline individuals, a 'self' imbued with varying degrees of consistency and continuity has been created (cf. Niebuhr 1963). These online selves are indexed primarily through language (and sometimes accompanying images); therefore, the particular acts of (written) linguistic stylization carry a special weight in the creation of identities and senses of belonging (Coupland 2007), as shown in the example above. The question then becomes, as Hillewaert (2015:196) asks, how do we 'write ourselves into being' online?

'Appropriate' Sakha face-to-face communicative styles tend to be sparse and indirect; imposing one's will upon another in a blunt manner is not held in high esteem (cf. Argounova-Low 2012). However, as in many cases in myriad speech communities online, sanctions on directness tend to dissolve under conditions of anonymity, as risk to offline 'face' diminishes. Linguistic choices made by users are openly debated by others, especially as they relate to ideologies of how language 'should be' used; in this sense, perhaps we get a more honest glimpse of language ideological debates and how they are embedded in stances that serve to advance situated pragmatic goals (see Perley 2009:258; Inoue 2004:1). The online media shielding some individuals from the repercussions that bluntness would bring them if spoken aloud in conversation, and 'saving face' for them in a different way than if these discussions were to happen in offline venues. Paradoxically then, these online spaces are both replete with diminished responsibility for the offline self, yet at the same time spaces where users can more openly and directly perform what they believe to be the most responsible stances regarding Sakha language maintenance.

Responsibility for language maintenance—defined here as who is responsible and how they should enact their obligatory roles through language usage—has been discussed in a few key works. Puura and Tánczos (2016) analyse how Veps and Karelians view as responsible for language revitalization and maintenance in each of the cases, while Henne-Ochoa and Bauman's (2015) article examines how young Lakota speakers discuss who must be responsible for their language's continued maintenance within the context of a speech competition. In the latter work, the authors note that a complex set of stances, often referring to one's generational positioning (as children, youth, or Elders), are employed to construct a sense of responsibility for the language and its continued renewal in their communities. Henne-Ochoa and Bauman's work reveals that this kind of 'performance' of responsibility may shape how Lakota speakers experience both the loss and revitalization of the language, and potentially shape the choices they make about language in different life stages. Following this, I discuss ways in which Sakha commenters on Internet forums employ certain stances about taking 'responsibility' for Sakha language, both through employing discourses of distinctiveness and unity, as well as through their linguistic feature choices themselves. It ultimately also resonates with what Kaartinen (this volume) notes in the case of Bandanese language revitalization in Indonesia, noting that the salience of the language as a shared marker of cultural continuity—even more so than the actual language practices—produces the conditions for performing this kind of responsibility. As mentioned above, ideological stances on how Sakha should be written link to perceptions of language vitality, which may be influenced by the speaker/writer's experiences in urban versus rural spaces. First, however, I describe the ways in which ways of speaking Sakha are linked to place, in order to better illuminate how the use of certain linguistic features carry powerful indexical weight within these debates, and thus how the stances on the preservation of dialectal distinctiveness and standardization or unification in writing Sakha remain in tension.

According to the 2010 All-Russian Census, 90% of Sakha speakers reported they are bilingual in Russian; nevertheless, many speakers still choose to use Sakha in their online activities, in both public social media spaces as well as private communications like emails, instant messaging, and texts. In recent years across Siberia and Russia's Far East, an urbanizing population and increased availability of cellular networks and Internet in a once-isolated region brings the use of technology-mediated communication and contact into the fore. Ever since I—a non-Sakha linguistic anthropologist—began research on bilingualism, urbanization, and language maintenance with Sakha speakers in 2010, I have engaged in the Sakha-sphere: individuals, especially young adults, use Sakha on social networking sites like VK and Facebook, on Twitter and Instagram, and in the comment sections of news sites and YouTube; the burgeoning Sakha-language cinema industry and popular music scene provide much to comment on, as well as clips filmed and uploaded by Sakha youth themselves. This circulation of media and conversation creates a new domain for maintaining Sakha language practices, as well as reinforcing social connections across increasingly greater distances as speakers move from rural regions of the Republic to its largest city, Yakutsk, and even further afield.

Sakha is considered by many of its speakers and researchers to be a fairly 'stable' language vitality-wise, in that it has sizeable population of speakers in the hundreds of thousands, and children are still learning the language in the home, some anxieties still arise regarding its continued use in the future. Yakutsk, the Sakha Republic's capital city, became overwhelmingly Russian-speaking during the communist period as negative ideological positioning of Sakha as backwards, non-progressive (and thus non-Soviet), and even dangerously *natsionalist* encouraged speakers to avoid Sakha usage in the city's public spaces (Argounova-Low 2012; Ferguson 2019). Much like the ways Yamasaki (this volume) demonstrates the differing ideologies and attitudes surrounding Mayan language in the rural and urban spaces of the Yucatan, close associations between Indigenous languages and the rural often remain difficult to disrupt; even if there is a substantial migration of speakers to cities, language often remains 'territorialized'. However, for Sakha, things began to change after the end of the Soviet period; city-ward migration of rural Sakha into Yakutsk in a more supportive ideological climate has, in many domains, helped bolster the reintroduction of Sakha into many spaces, including schools, other institutions and within the linguistic landscape of the city more broadly (cf. Kaartinen, this volume). Nevertheless, some Sakha speakers in the city still express unease and ambivalence regarding the continued maintenance of Sakha; stances are taken in various settings that signal anxiety for the future of the language. These also relate to speaker's origins; for instance, are they from the village, and entering an environment like the city where they hear much more Russian being spoken than previously in their rural hometown? Or do the 'emergent vitalities' (Perley 2011) they experience with Sakha usage in Yakutsk (or online!) that have been catalyzed by speakers born in rural areas moving into urban spaces or onto the Internet, make them feel as if the language is now flourishing compared to ten, fifteen, or even twenty

years ago? These perceptions of language vitality or lack thereof may thus influence the performance of ideological stances a speaker may perform in metadiscourse about the fate of Sakha (Ferguson, to appear), as well as how they express stances of taking responsibility for the language.

Online tühülgeter*: writing the sound of 'home'*

As in O'Toole's discussion of Māori in this volume, we see the intersections of language and place come strongly to the fore when understanding how an idea of being 'at home' in language—or indexing a homeplace—can be evoking through particular linguistic performances. However, it is not so much that Sakha speakers online use anything like the Māori *pepeha*, or a personal introduction script, that locates them as belonging to a place, but rather do so indirectly through the indexicality of certain linguistic features that have become iconic of geographically-bound dialects. Elsewhere I have touched briefly upon the use of some Sakha dialect-associated features in spoken language, including this word-initial [h] (Ferguson 2016); here, I also focus on this somewhat slippery sound as it often appears written online in order to shed light on the ways certain dialect features that speakers/hearers feel to be particularly salient become iconic of certain speaker affiliations and identities. As Hillewaert (2015) has also noted in her study of Lamu dialect, Swahili internet users, speakers of dialects do not always write every word or sentence entirely in that dialect, but often select particular features as 'emblems' that index a particular dialect. For numerous reasons that will be discussed, it seems word-initial [h] appears to be the selected emblem for Sakha speakers from the Suntar (and to a slightly lesser extent, nearby Nyurba and Vilyuisk) *ulus*es (regions) of the Sakha Republic, as depicted in Fig. 8.[3] One sound, as written, thus becomes something of a shorthand; it becomes iconized (Irvine and Gal 2000), and comes to 'stand for' an entire dialect or accent, as well as its speakers. Despite many Sakha speakers stressing the similarity of all ways of speaking Sakha, references are still sometimes made to the '*tüölbe tyl*,' (lit. 'meadow speech'). While *dialekt* is also commonly used for 'dialect', *tüölbe* refers to a very specific locality (a small, round meadow, sometimes with a lake), thus anchoring the concept of dialect to a very specific territory.

Select dialect features play a role in how speakers construct and recognize belonging both on- and off-line, especially for those who have moved from rural regions, or *ulus*es, to Yakutsk, the largest metropolitan area in the Sakha Republic. These features, according to those I spoke with, can be powerful indexical markers of 'home', comfort, familiarity, and solidarity—all part of a Sakha social aesthetics of language (Cavanaugh 2009). Those who make this migration—whether permanently or temporarily—often maintain close bonds with others from their *ulus*—an administrative district that has its roots in older conceptions of patrilineal kinship networks and place-based

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3 These *ulus*es are often referred to together as the *Vilyuiskaya gruppa* (in Russian, 'Vilyui group') or *Bülüü Bölökh* (in Sakha).
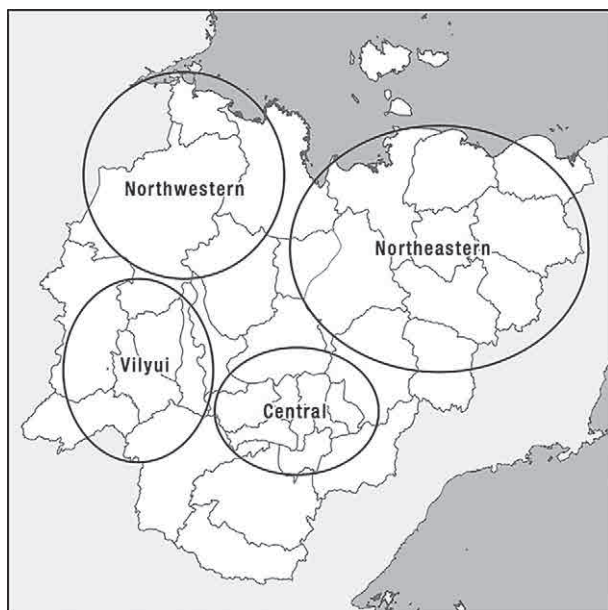
Figure 8.
Approximate dialect
regions of the Sakha
Republic. Credit:
Erin Greb.

connections (see Ferguson 2019). I base this paper on both online and offline ethnographic and textual material gathered between 2011 and 2018, as I have delved into the role of computer-mediated communication in strengthening links between *ulus* members outside of these rural regions. It is through this research that I began observing the use of dialect-indexing features (both through my own networks and those of friends on Facebook and VK) and began asking Sakha speakers (primarily between the ages of 15 and 45) I knew online to reflect on their use. I also have been examining the metadiscursive aspects of how these dialect features develop their indexical values, by focusing on online discussions on popular public forums (hosted through a local site, ykt.ru) in which Sakha speakers debate Sakha history and language and reflect on *ulus*-based connections. It appears from this early research that the use of [h] online exists within an indexical field of multiple—though closely linked—meanings according to those who write it, and that (home)place still matters when invoking identity and belonging, even in online spaces.

Writers who use the non-standard initial [h] online may be performing and intending to index any and all of those meanings—plus others, of course, that have not yet been elucidated. Jaffe (2009; see also Hillewaert 2015) notes that strategic indeterminacy is a key part of many online communications; the audience, or reader, may not ultimately be able to know or discern the writer's intention by writing something in a particular way. This is especially true when we are dealing with such a 'constellation' of meanings present within an indexical field (Eckert 2008). Depending on context and interlocutors, different indexical meanings may be more or less highlighted for speakers and their audience. Use of the [h] is an oft-debated topic among Sakha speakers is general, which also highlights the discrepancies in interpretations. Through an investigation of metalinguistic

commentary online on forums hosted on Ykt.ru, it was revealed that while the geographical western/Vilyui origin index is generally shared by many Sakha speakers and readers, a substantial number also sees it as less neutrally place-related. It may be seen as indexical of 'separatist' sentiments, and/ or a lack of sophistication, and/or even being 'more Evenki'—a Tungusic minority language—rather than *d'ingngeekh* (authentically) Sakha.

For many Sakha speakers, especially those who have not lived long in Yakutsk, another dimension to social relations is vested in one's origins. Even for many Sakha speakers who have spent significant portions of their life in the city, they are from 'the *ulus*'. The *ulus*, or major administrative area of the Sakha Republic, is equivalent to a district or *raion* in other parts of Russia. Due to the changing tribal and clan alliances of the pre-Russian era, and administrative re-drawings throughout imperial and Soviet rule, official *ulus* borders have often shifted and changed. Nevertheless, they remain a key identifying category for many contemporary Sakha. The *ulus* corresponds with the older designation of *d'on*, which also means a people, or a nation, but can be used to directly refer to one's close family and relatives in some contexts, as in 'my people': today, people from one's own *ulus* are *zemliaki* (in Russian) or *biir doidulaakhtar* (in Sakha): they are one's people, people of the same land. There is a certain closeness to this relationship that exists even among those who are not close blood kin. *Ulus* therefore has multiple layers, and refers to a people connected to or identifying with a place—a merger of kin and territory. Therefore, the *ulus* remains a key feature in creating a sense of belonging that stretches beyond the ties of citizens from the same village or *nasleg* (Crate 2006a).[4]

Online spaces have become a key site for the (re-)creation of networks for Sakha speakers, especially those who are separated by the distance between Yakutsk and rural regions, and even those living much further away. There are forums on one of the Republic's most popular news and social sites, ykt.ru, dedicated to each *ulus*, and multiple pages on VK, and more recently, groups on WhatsApp. These spaces—where you can connect with people you know in person from 'home' as well as those you might not know face-to-face—are full of second-order contacts. Just as organized in-person gatherings of *biir doidulaakhtar* in Yakutsk provide places for the reinforcement and recreation of networks of support and camaraderie, so do online social networking sites and forums. In the early 2000s, a Sakha neologism was coined for 'forum': *kepsetii tühülgete* ('a meeting place of conversation/chat').[5] These online *tühülgeter* spaces are particularly essential for languages like Sakha in that they provide another domain of use for a language; they are means for sociable connections, information exchange, and expressing the self, and by bridging the cosmopolitan, global spaces with

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4   Sakha settlements were formerly organized along the lines of patriarchal clans (*agha uuha*) (Crate 2006a). The next level of organization was the *nasleg*, comprised of anywhere from one to thirty clans (*aimak*s). An *ulus* consists of several *nasleg*s.

5   *Tühülge* usually describes a meeting place where relatives gather together at Yhyakh, the summer solstice celebration, to make offerings and enjoy food and company.

the indigenous or local, they are infusing the latter with some of the prestige and capital of the former which can support usage of that language.

Many Sakha speakers—especially those who grew up rurally—commented to me that when meeting other Sakha in Yakutsk, the chance to engage in not only speaking Sakha but using ways of speaking and speech forms that indexed the home *ulus* created a sense of familiarity and intimacy. For example, the site description for the Uus-Taatta settlement page states: 'This group reminds us that wherever we are, we come from the village Uus-Taatta'. For many people, especially younger university students, this helped establish a feeling of being 'at home' in the city. Being with your *biir dojdulaakhtar* and being able to speak freely in the way you are most comfortable with, without worrying about how others might judge the choice of particular linguistic features or whether they could comprehend your dialect, contributes to a sense of those 'culturally shaped and emotionally felt dimensions of language use' (Cavanaugh 2009:11)—it allowed them to 'feel at home' in language as well. Chat, of course, doesn't have to be about much at all, as seen on a Suntar-based forum board in the following excerpt; so much was simply about what was new (*tuokh sonun/honun*), and finding a place to phatically perform a common identity through the use of the common dialect feature (and smiles, represented by the double right-sided parentheses). The user *mindjiiiii wrote:*

> привет)) туох **ь**онун ?))
> *Privet)) Tuokh **h**onun?))*
> Hello)) What's new?

The user *ночной_дозор* then replied*:*

> **Ь**онун **ь**ох, барыта кэминэн. Чалбах да бадаран.
> ***H**onun **h**uokh, baryta keminen. Chalbakh da badaran.*
> *Nothing new, it's seasonal (lit. 'all with the season'). Puddles and mud.*

When user *mindjiiii* opens with **h**onun to find out what is new back home, we see the use of [h] in the response as well. Thus, this iconic feature is an anchor of a physical home in a virtual place, and creates a familiarity and a sense of 'home' among users in disparate spaces: the news from home thus often 'sounds' like home. However, the use of these regionally indexical features, even as they are powerfully affective signs of 'home', belonging, and place, also pushes up against key concerns that many Sakha speakers have for their language. Speakers' perceptions of vitality and the necessity of 'unity' (strength in numbers) motivate similar metadiscursive online stances about language and responsibility. Who gets to decide how to write Sakha? Which strategies are best for the continued maintenance of the language?

Dialects and performing distinctiveness

Sakha dialect boundaries generally do not precisely reflect those of an *ulus*, and overall, Sakha dialects are not considered by most speakers and linguists to be all that divergent from each other—expansion of Sakha speakers over certain parts of current Republic's has only occurred in the last century and a half. A full analysis of dialects is beyond this chapter's scope, but many Sakha linguists classify them into three groups: Namsko-Aldan or central/ northeast, Kangalassko-Vilyui or central/northwest, and Megino-Taatta and central/east) (Barashkov 1985). This schema pays specific attention to certain phonetic features—in particular, labialization. We have 'o' dialects (labializing) versus 'a' dialects (non-labializing), referring to the tendency to swap these vowels in a limited subset of words: *khotun* vs. *khatyn*, *sorgu* vs. *sargy*, as well as front vowel counterparts: *mökküör* vs *mekkier*, etc. Interestingly, while spoken language often reflects these vowel substitutions, they are rarely written online as a way of marking speaker origins or senses of belonging. I posit that this is due to the fact the o/a feature is spread out in such a way that even within one *ulus* there may be variation—it is not distinct or regular enough to mark a coherent *ulus* identity.

The biggest *ulus*-based distinction speakers/writers seem to make online divides the Vilyui group (located northwest of the Lena River) and *Ilin Ener* (the eastern side of the Lena). Many speakers report a theme of long-standing contentiousness between these two major regions, though from where those feelings of competition arose, no one is quite certain. The Sakha literary standard, as developed over the first decades of the 20th century, was heavily based upon a Sakha dialect from *Ilin Ener* (an 'o' Megino-Taatta dialect) for three key reasons: the proximity to Yakutsk as a center of institutional and political power; the central regions were associated with the original Sakha homeland where their ancestors began to form a distinctive ethnic group out of numerous clans (Sleptsov 1986:15120); and several of founders of Sakha literature in the early 20th century (Aleksei Kulakovskii, Platon Oyunskii and Nikolai Neustroev) grew up in part of Taatta *ulus* where this dialect was spoken. These factors helped valorize the standard language, and in my interviews for this paper, many speakers—usually from the region, but not always—often indicated that this general region is where they felt the 'best' Sakha was spoken.

Because 'o' dialects can be found on both the east and west sides of the Lena river, this feature is not as useful for iconizing or marking speaker origins or places with which they affiliate; [h], however, is particularly salient in marking someone as connected to the furthest western areas of the Republic—Suntar *ulus* in particular. When asking interviewees from various *ulus*es and Yakutsk about which dialect features they felt to be more salient than others, it was nearly unanimous that [h] indexed Suntar (and sometimes, other Vilyui group *ulus*es). The question marker suffix –*yyj*/-*iij* and a perceived 'musical' intonational pattern are also associated with that region, but due to the difficulty of representing intonation in writing, [h] is generally perceived the most indexical and iconic of that region. In standard Sakha, [s] is said to be the allophone occuring word-initial position, but

becomes [h] only between two vowels through debuccalization (Krueger 1962). For instance, in all Sakha dialects, *kyys* ('girl') becomes *kyyha* in the third person singular possessive form. Often times, in fast, fluent, conversational speech, the [h] will also occur word-initially when preceded by another word that ends in a vowel. However, reflecting the east-central origins of the standard Sakha, the official government document, 'On the rules of orthography and punctuation of the Sakha language' (Government of the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia 2015) includes the following statement regarding the rules for writing [s] vs. [h]:

> 11. Allowing for variations of pronunciation for the initial consonant with *h*, examples such as *suokh/huokh, Sakha/Hakha, saasky/haasky, suruk/huruk*, are written as *suokh, Sakha, saasky, suruk*.

While rules acknowledge that the pronunciation of that initial consonant may vary, it states that in writing, only [s] is sanctioned. The use of word-initial [h], which is so strongly associated with speakers from the Vilyui group, is thus partially acknowledged through the fact that it is prohibited; this too makes it a particularly strong candidate for carrying more indexical weight when it is written, especially online.

Linguistic features associated with regional dialects are often used on *tühülgeter* and other places online, as they allow language to create a similar aesthetic of intimacy as it does in the face-to-face speech. When speakers 'meet' online, it is a prime opportunity for the performance of distinctive features of their dialect to index their shared belonging or connection to each other, but also signify their distinctiveness to other readers. For instance, the title of one group, '*Huntaar Haasyngngyta*' (Suntar of the Future) for Suntar students at university in Yakutsk, employs the iconic initial [h] alongside a dialectal form for the adjective 'pertaining to tomorrow' (*haasyngngy* versus the Ilin Ener/standard Sakha *sarsyngngy*). A frequent poster in the group had added the following phrase to the page profile, letting those who wanted 'widely-reputed, up-to-date news on the bright young generation of Suntar' know that they should press the subscribe button; all the [h] sounds that would be [s] in literary Sakha or written forms of the central dialects are highlighted:

> '*huon honunnardaakh, hohuchchu hurakhtardaakh, hyrdyk hargylaakh Huntaar ichchata buollakhkhyna* ♥ *battaa!*'

The Sakha youth music scene—especially surrounding hip-hop—is another realm where making your *ulus* allegiances known is important, leading to a VK page called нунтаар, наха рэпка №1нумер ('Huntaar, hakha repka No.1 numer'–Suntar, Sakha Rap is number one) and a song called 'Huntaar uola' ('Suntar boy') by the artist W1ld. Thus, Sakha language usage—especially features associated with the regional dialects—adds to the complex of 'symbolic boundary markers'—aspects such as kinship, language, place—that delineate these online spaces. These online *tühülgeter* help to re-territorialize the *ulus* in virtual space by the performative use of such iconic features.

Performing authenticity: making it more Suntar, more Sakha

There are reasons beyond convenience regarding why [h] has become a marker of Suntar speech, especially when written. However, there are other indexical values that complicate the association of [h] with those *ulus*es. Authenticity in Sakha speech is constructed using values surrounding what Coupland (2003; 2010) labels as historicity (possessing time depth or timelessness); it is also thus linked to place through Sakha ontologies that essentialize land and language and people as stemming from this rural source, and relies on appealing to antiquity and established traditions in attaining legitimacy. Ideological or metapragmatic discourses of 'speaking Sakha properly' or 'purely' (*söpkö Sakhalyy eter*) are prominent among contemporary Sakha speakers both urban and rural; in many cases, this involves either the avoidance of words copied from Russian, or the 'Sakha-fication' of these words so that they adhere to Sakha phonological rules (Ferguson 2016). The use of 'proper' or 'pure' Sakha adds credence to the speaker's standing as someone *d'ingngeekh* ('authentic').

Though asserting an authentic ethnolinguistic identity as *d'ingngeekh*, Sakha may not be the foremost indexical value in all interactions, particular 'more Sakha' features are often strategically used, evoking the process Jaffe (1999) calls the 'logic of oppositional identity'. In this way, aspects of Sakha that Russian does not share are emphasized; it is for this reason that [h] is significant as the voiceless glottal fricative is not part of the Russian phonological repertoire. When interviewing a young woman from Nyurba *ulus*, I asked her if she felt speakers in her *ulus* used the initial [h] as much as those in Suntar—her response was that they did not do it as much, but often did with 'names, to make them sound more Sakha'. For example, as many personal names are borrowed from Russian, changing [s] to [h] in *Saaska* (Sasha) to make it 'more Sakha', was something both affectionate and indexical of where the person was from. She noted though that it could be done with 'already Sakha' names too (e.g., *Sargylaana* becomes *Hargylaana*). Thus, word-initial [h] can also be used to generally index Sakha authenticity among Sakha speakers who are not from the Vilyui group, especially when swapped for the [s] in writing. It may also, however, be used to replicate the sounds of conversational speech in some instances.

Sometimes those who write the initial [h] 'hyper-correct' in that they will write it in every instance, regardless of whether the word preceding it has a vowel. Thus, in these cases, it may be less about imitating the sound and flow of speech, and more about consciously selecting the other qualities of authenticity—whether being Sakha in general (and less influenced by Russian) or being from the Vilyui group more specifically. It seems that in many utterances, especially greetings and places where its use seems exaggerated, it carries the latter meaning primarily—as those speakers I discussed it with stated, 'it lets you know right away where they are from' or if you know them already, it's 'familiar', thus marking closeness and intimacy. As shown, asking 'what's new?' (*Tuokh honun/honunnakhkhynnyj?*) is a common way to slip the [h] in, as are the following, all from a user called

хахаайа (*Hakhaaja*; usually spelled Sakhaaia according to the 'standard' orthography) on a post on the ykt.ru Sakha-language forum *Kepsee* ('Chat'):

тох кэпсээн ьонун[6]
*tokh kepseen **h**onun*
what stories news
болдейдыы ньытабын боо эн
boldejdyy   hytabyn   boo en
like an idiot i'm lying here, you

ьаамай ьебулуур ырыазытын ьуруйун эрэээ..
*haamaj höbülüür yryahytyn **h**urujun ereee...*
Write your favourite singer here…

Where the [h] is in bold, it is following a consonant rather than a vowel (where normally it would be [s] in spoken Sakha).

Performing responsibility: audience contestation of identities and authenticities

Reflecting the importance of *ulus*-based belongings (whether yours personally, or those of parents or ancestors) among many contemporary Sakha, discussions of local history and identity are popular forum topics on both Russian- and Sakha-language subforums of ykt.ru, and are discussed by young adults right up to those of later middle age. In these threads, different dialect features are often connected to or explained by historical narratives that link contemporary Sakha with their ancestors, and the migrations of their ancestors to particular regions of *Sakha Sire* (the Sakha name for the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia). Many of those I spoke with from Nyurba *ulus* recounted the story of a '*Tongus*' (Evenki) woman called N'yrbaachaan who married the sons of a powerful *toion* (leader) from what is now Khangalas *ulus*. This origin narrative, popularized by a well-known novel *Bütej Bülüü* ('Remote Vilyui') by Vasilii Yakovlev (Dalan), is significant for asserting Nyurba—and more broadly, Vilyui group—authenticity, as the Khangalas region seen by many Sakha as the 'center' of Sakha civilization, where the ancestor Ellej first established a long-term settlement and inaugurated significant cultural practices. They point to phonological features shared between the two dialects, such as labialization, as evidence of connection to Khangalas, but also stress their uniqueness through the [h], which many speakers (and linguists, cf. Pakendorf 2007) explain as a trace of Evenki influence. Negotiations of these narratives are one way of performing a stance of responsibility for the language; debating the significance of dialectal differences and their indexical power is a way of working through

6   Often the Cyrillic letter ь (soft sign) is used to stand in for the Sakha h when a writer does not have the character in their keyboard layout—Sakha does not use the soft sign otherwise.

questions about unity versus diversity and what they mean for the continued use of Sakha language.

For those I spoke with from Suntar and Nyurba, the Evenki influence does not invalidate their Sakha-ness; it simply makes them distinct. Evenki speakers have lived in numerous parts of the Sakha Republic long before Sakha arrive in the area, thus affirming the value of antiquity (Ferguson 2019b). The use Быйанг wrote (in Sakha):[7]

> *In Sakha the letter h for the s sound is spoken, this is an Evenki dialect. Sakha Sire (i.e. the Sakha Republic) is large and dialects too are different […] Therefore, no matter how one speaks, the writer should write the letter s. According to the rules of Sakha writing, the h is never written for the s sound.*

For this user, their responsibility stance is conveyed through the recommendation of a standard in writing; due to variation, a standard is simply necessary, but dialect differences themselves are neutral. Other posters have hinted obliquely that perhaps it does invalidate the claims to 'real Sakha-ness' users will imply the [h] indexes; 'that's an Evenki thing' is sometimes employed to discredit users.

A bottom-up form of 'language policing' (cf. Pietikäinen and Piirainen-Marsh 2009) not uncommon to minority language communities can be identified among online Sakha speakers as they debate these stances of 'appropriate' responsibility. For instance, a more aggressive online backlash against those who are seen as overemphasizing the word-initial [h] over [s] sometimes surfaces, and stronger stances are taken. Numerous interconnected linguistic ideologies can be extracted through analysing a few postings on two forums hosted on ykt.ru, usually frequented by middle-aged to older Sakha—*Komu Za…* (primarily Russian-language) and *D'ohun Saas* (primarily Sakha-language). One thread centers on the similarities and differences between western Vilyui and those in Ilin Ener; the other more broadly upon the state of the Sakha language and the role standardization should play in both spoken and written forms. For some online readers, making this substitution indexes for them a stubborn separatist desire on the part of Vilyui speakers, and condemns them for trying too hard to be different—the stance indexes an 'irresponsible' approach to language maintenance. This challenge to Sakha unity seems to recall fears of assimilation and loss of distinct identity (and language) under Soviet rule. At the same time, unity and uniformity were also stressed as strength in Soviet ideologies regarding both culture and language, and this underlying sentiment be part of many older users' comments in particular. Other posts are more prescriptivist laments that value 'antiquity' over the 'change' in the language and the 'incorrect ways' it is being written. Within both of these threads, we see the iconization of [h] dividing Vilyui speakers from other Sakha; while both the [h]-users and the non-users see it as iconic, their interpretations and ideologies surrounding its use (and the stances implied) vary greatly.

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7   http://forum.ykt.ru/viewtopic.jsp?id=3546608, D'ohyn Saas (posted 28 January 2015 11:10, last visited 10 December 2018)

Loss of unity: divide and conquer

In two posts, one from 2011 and one from 2012, on two different ykt.ru forums, a user called Fruit had a sarcastic rejoinder in response to an original poster, Птриот, who discussed, in Russian, the uniqueness of the Nyurba and Suntar dialects by linking them to the Khoro people (a Mongolic-speaking group said to be the ancestors of some Sakha):

> In the words of Ptriot it seems that all the Sakha (beyond the river, i.e. from Ilin Ener) have occupied Nyurba and forbidden them from speaking their dialects!))))))) […] There is no Nyurba dialect nor people, but there are Nyurba Sakha)))))) […][8]
> P.S. Nyurba and Suntar are always trying to separate from the rest of the Sakha people […] they say they are not Sakha, but Hakha….and now they say their language is different. Fuck, if you don't want to be a part of the Sakha people just separate then and form another people)))))))

While the excessive use of smile symbols tempered Fruit's harsh stance somewhat, on another post on the same forum they wrote more bluntly:

> Even here on the forum people from Nyurba write they want to secede from the rest of the Republic, because they have the diamond industry there…
> Suntar people here on the forum all write that they are "Hakha" not "Sakha" […] well what can I say, when they are fed and rich … they're just trying to be someone else.. but when they are hungry and weak, funny how they immediately remember their roots and try to become Sakha again![9]

Despite further disagreement about the supposed separatist desires of these posters—others also insisted that there was little diversity between Sakha in different parts of the Republic. One user, S1818181, echoed the sentiment, emphasizing unity:

> Don't write in the Nyurba or Amga dialects or other such nonsense. We are the Sakha people, and that says it all. We are one/united.[10]

Another user chimed in, and S181818 then suggested, '[Maybe] these are not people from Nyurba writing [about their distinctive dialect], but those who seek to divide us'! To bolster S181818's point even more strongly on the mostly Russian-language forum, user Xaac wrote in Sakha, with no [h] substitution: 'Nyurba folks are also Sakha people, take your dirty hands off Sakhas (*N'urbalar emie Sakha d'ono, sakhalartan kirdeekh iliigin kier gyn*)'. Even posters who acknowledged the existence of words in Nyurba and Suntar that differed from those in *Ilin Ener* stressed they were insignificant

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8   http://forum.ykt.ru/viewtopic.jsp?id=1689223, Komu Za (posted 31 May 2011 23:24, last visited 10 December 2018).

9   See note vi.

10 See note viii.

differences. Георгий chimed in (in Russian), taking the stance that minimized differences:

> Yes, there are words which are not used or even known by Sakha in the central *ulus*es: *muruku, chyyppaan, oskuoma, argy mas* […] and also they might argue about *keeher* and *kebiher*, [but that's all].[11]

These speakers above stressed unity not because they felt that diversity between Sakha speakers threatened a common identity and potentially the maintenance of 'Sakha' as a language; instead, they simply saw diversity as no great threat. Others, however, viewed dialect features like [h] as potential obstacles to clear and uniform communication. Some did not strongly condemn their use, but did question why speakers needed to use them; others were more strongly prescriptivist. Thus, from these stances, we see the use of dialects and distinctiveness are often interpreted by some users as 'irresponsibility' toward Sakha; they foster division and the potential 'conquering' of Sakha speakers which is clearly framed as an irresponsible stance toward language (and ethnic boundary) maintenance.

The frequent poster Айтал71 was once questioned why he always writes Sakha as Hakha (his use of [h] is consistent across his posting history to date). In a post not explicitly about [h]—rather, about a Sakha-speaking talking doll—a user asked how much the doll cost. Айтал71 replied:[12]

> Тыһынча сыаната,чабырҕах ааҕар, ыллыыр, **h**ахалыы таҥастаах.
> Tyhyyncha syanata, chabyrgakh aaghar, yllyyr, **h**akhalyy tangastaakh
> Costs 1000 [rubles], reads tongue-twisters, sings, wears Sakha clothes

In response, the user рядовой jokingly implied Айтал71 had forgotten to substitute the [h] for the initial [s] in *syanata:*

> тыһыынча **h**ыаната...))).....
> tyhyyncha **h**yanata…))) …..

Then бу да кини wrote simply, in Sakha: 'Ajtal, why don't you write Sakha'? The user explained that Айтал71 made good points, but that writing '*hakha*' lowered the viewer's opinion and made him seem contrarian—'why do you do this just to be different?' This led the original discussion sharply off-track, as other users chimed in with their views. Eventually, рядовой, who had teased Айтал71 above, supported his heterographic writing:

> Summer (hajyn), spring (haas), body (et-hiine)... they will be said differently, these ones here who say S [is mandatory] are like people who always have to be self-important.

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11 See note viii.
12 http://forum.ykt.ru/viewtopic.jsp?id=2976724, D'ohun Saas, (posted 30 November 2013 09:14, last visited 10 December 2018).

Similar queries have followed other users' insistence on the [h]; in another post, эрэли куо expressed concern about the [h]—and other Suntar features:

> Does the structure of the Sakha language now worry older people? Different people saying 'bytta', 'buo', 'ikkis kurduk'; some [saying] 'khahyatyNNan, kinigeNNen'; some [saying] 'haaska uol, harsyn' has increased. For example, Sergei Zverev *[a renowned singer]* sings 'Sarsyn, sarsyn, sarsyarda'. To my understanding, he is from Suntar. Yet we find the younger Suntar generation with t-shirts that say 'Huntaar Ichchata' (Suntar Youth). Who is authentically 'Suntar': this new generation, or Sergei Zverev? Why is the Sakha language weakening? [...][13]

In their original post, эрэли куо performs responsibility for Sakha here by challenging the supposed antiquity of the use of [h], insinuating it is an invention of the younger speakers, and thus also its authenticity—furthermore, it weakens the language and is highly 'irresponsible'.

Other Suntar speakers were also opposed to heterography and supported a standard. A new account by a user calling themselves Тугу суруйбуккун өйдөөтүҥ да? (which means 'You understand what is written, yes'?), posted in Sakha in response to эрэли куо:

> I myself am from Suntar I know how I speak, we say h at the beginning of words. In every territory there's a dialect, for example: in the Ilin Ener region they don't always pronounce the ng [...] Therefore we have an official literary language to write in [...]

Questions of standardization and the need for mutual comprehension arise frequently over on another ykt.ru forum, Sakha Tyla ('Sakha language'), neologisms, grammar and style, and other language-related questions are discussed. For example, a user, МинМэн, posted the following question, seeking advice from teachers:

> **h**ахалыы наҥарарым курдук **h**уруйар **h**өп дуо?
> **H**akhalyy **h**angararym kurduk **h**urujar **h**öp duo?
> Is it okay to write Sakha like I speak?

The vast majority of responses on that particular touted the necessity and ease of a standard language, and generally said that the poster was welcome to speak like that, but should not use that [h] in writing. Similar responses were given on other threads of the kind—Номуун concurred a few posts later on Айтал71's thread with a post titled 'The literary language gathers a nation's people together, unites [their] strength'. After giving some examples of regions split by their multiple language standards and mentioning that in China, people may speak differently but write in the same alphabet, Номуун wrote:

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13 http://forum.ykt.ru/viewtopic.jsp?id=3400412, D'ohun Saas, (posted 29 September 2014 15:05, last visited 10 December 2018).

> The 'fathers' of the Sakha literary language are Ojuunskai, Ergis, Künde. The differences in the Sakha language are also great enough that a common language is needed to understand and the variations come to a compromise.[14]

Номуун brings this discussion back to both the unity of people and how this is reflected through the common understanding afforded by standard language, implying that this is what is most important (and thus 'responsible') for Sakha speakers—both the survival of the language and the persistence of Sakha people are connected to how it is spoken and written, though not expressed in such blunt terms as the user Fruit did in the other posts.

Concluding thoughts

Through an examination of presence of the emblematic word-initial [h] as written in various online fora, we see that Sakha writers perform stances or identities that index a linked constellation of meanings that are sometimes more indeterminate, other times more explicit and certain. Focusing on creating a sense of place and connections to land through language, the [h] may signify a Vilyui group (Suntar, or Nyurba *ulus*) origin, and following from this, a feeling or sense of 'home' and bonding for those who use it and read it. It may, of course, also hint at another level of indexicality, in that using the [h] is also more 'authentically' Sakha for those writers, even as this may be contested by other readers from other regions of the Sakha Republic. In writing as they speak, they also make claims to 'naturalness'—so that their online words that come to stand for them also 'sound' like their speech. In response to these stances, other readers take advantage of the online spaces to engage in direct stances of responsibility, variously validating or challenging the writers of 'h', implying either 'responsible' or 'irresponsible' ways of maintaining Sakha. The critiques of those who use [h] stem from a theme of unity and disunity, and the role that standard language plays at fostering a sense of belonging. As we have seen, other readers/writers have criticized those who write with [h] as stubborn for failing to conform to the written standard, accusing them of a desire to 'separate' from the rest of the Sakha Republic, and thus threatening the unity of Sakha speakers and potentially, the continued maintenance of the language.

It has not been possible to discern the rural or urban affiliations, ages, or level of exposure to Sakha language standardization of all the message board posters, and therefore we have not been able to see further patterning of how anxieties about Sakha language loss relate to being from different places as has been possible in other research (Ferguson, to appear). While Sakha is now used in many more domains than in the early post-Soviet period, which speaks to its vitality and the long-term hopes for its maintenance, some Sakha speakers I interviewed remained only cautiously optimistic about the continued use of Sakha. For instance, while other users dismissed S181818's and Xaac's suggestions as paranoia in the examples presented earlier, their

14 See note xii.

sentiment does hint at some of the instability and insecurity Sakha speakers still feel, especially those middle-aged and older; leftover from the Soviet era and the uncertain early days of the 1990s, many people mentioned having a worry that Sakha would disappear as a distinct ethnicity with the loss of their language and cultural practices. Twenty-five years later, fewer people are extremely concerned about fading away or assimilation; nevertheless, for some, the concern is still there at the back of their minds and thus these discussions may become emotionally charged. It is also likely that more recent comments, especially those written in the post-Crimean annexation era, reflect a more recent anxiety about Sakha language maintenance in a climate of increasing Russian federal ethnonationalism (cf. Kølsto 2015), in which the rights for minority languages feel much more precarious.

For those less concerned about Sakha separation or Russian ethnonational threats, but more focused on the 'quality' of Sakha language and the importance of a standard written language, the [h] writing practices are still threatening; these other posters' concerns also reflect an anxiety about the legitimacy of Sakha. While often couched in appeals for the 'need for everyone to understand what is written', there are other undercurrents of prescriptivism that seek to privilege one way of speaking/writing over another. There is the belief that prestigious languages are ones that are standardized, so for Sakha to have some of that prestige, it should therefore have a standard. Thus, that standard, derived from the dialects used by the writers of early Sakha literature, should be respected and upheld—this is the 'responsible' approach to maintaining language. Unfortunately, this continues to privilege Sakha who speak and write closer to the standard language, those from the Ilin Ener region of *ulus*es, and continue to marginalize those from the Vilyui group.

In a way, however, this leads to the strengthening of the iconization of the [h] and it certainly does not seem to be discouraging [h]-users; a user from Suntar, Василыч, highlighted the double 'n' that эрэли куо had pointed out.

> **мин hунтаарбын. h-нан hаҥарабын.** Ууннан суунабын, уунан буолбатах […]))))))))))
> Min **h**untaarbyn. H-nan **h**angarabyn. Uunnan suunabyn, uunan buolbatakh […]))))))))))))
> I'm from Suntar. I speak with the h. I wash with water (uunnan), not with water (uunan) […])))))[15]

The responses of many Vilyui (Suntar and Nyurba *ulus*) dialect speakers—both on the forums and those I have interviewed—suggest that for them, their local *ulus*, place-based identities (performed through local ways of speaking) carry a weightier value to them than the unification of a Sakha identity as a whole; the [h] is their stylized identity marker, iconizing their belonging to place. This stance implies a different kind of 'responsibility' by and through language—one that acknowledges the ways in which language and place intertwine for Sakha speakers and anchor them within

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15   See note xiii.

certain relationships and networks as well. The focus is about extending the connections and relationships already existing offline, and creating new ones through common origins and belongings that link back to places, to home. Sakha internet users from the *ulus*es have transported their networks online, and use these virtual *tühülgeter* to confer about travel, plan taxi trips as well as meetings and gatherings, advertise community events both in the *ulus* and Yakutsk, share news, photos from home and away, ask for favours and offer support, but most of all, it is a place to engage in phatic chat—this reinforces their bonds of *zemliachestvo*, or land-based senses of belonging, as they transliterate the intimate textures of spoken language for these encounters on screen.

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Language and Responsibility in Cultural and Institutional Space III

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Language Ideologies in Gao Xingjian's Literature: a Linguistic Anthropological Study of Chinese Diaspora Literature in Europe

Introduction

Inspired by Samuel Beckett's attenuation of language, the French Nobel Prize laureate Gao Xingjian has conducted various language experiments in his literary creations in the past two decades. Gao's literary works, as Diaspora literature, have received extensive attention from European readers due to their Western modernist literary style, the author's anti-institution attitude, and the classical Chinese aesthetics pursued in his literary creations. As Dafne Accoroni points out in this volume, language is a cultural medium to negotiate value and life choices within the context of diaspora issues. In this chapter, I examine Gao's literary language from perspectives of linguistic anthropology and explore the chronotopes and language ideologies embedded in Gao Xingjian's writings. Gao Xingjian has gone on to explore the idea of the self with all the tools and techniques of twentieth century consciousness. The linguistic aspect of his literary creation connects broadly with the fluidity of identities of people in the cultural frontiers that he came across and constructed. The concept of 'responsibility' is innate in his literary creation: to faithfully and creatively depict the human condition and the fluidity of identities under a newly established political regime. The complex literary language provides a nexus for understanding place, semiotics and people, while this creative understanding is very much undermined by utilitarian and political human relations.

I use Gao's fiction published after he emigrated to France—*Soul Mountain* (Ling Shan 《灵山》)—as a case study. The literary language of *Soul Mountain* is thick with various aesthetic and poetic traditions in Chinese history and geography. However, Gao also conflates the desire to violate his native language with the retrospection of Chinese language and culture from a stance of his new immigrant identity. With detailed analysis of the literary devices including the juxtaposition of timespace configurations, the interactions of diversified language elements, the micro-histories and political geographies embedded in his travel literatures, I look into how Gao's literary language responds to the complex political institutions and to his own identity recognition. The key concept that I use for analysis— chronotope (time-space configuration)—strongly relates to the sense of

responsibility. Not only does the literary language in interest refers to areas marked as great wilderness, where most renowned literary and political figures in ancient Chinese history retreated to and wrote world famous lyrics reflecting politics and humanity; but it also alludes to a variety of highly diversified language forms used in different historical periods and in different circumstances. As Alastair Pennycook concludes, language is used not just through internal capacity, but through assemblages of people, objects and places (Pennycook 2008:13–16). Maria Esposito (this volume) also states that more plural discourses in the construction of context relevant knowledge are, 'contestation of space that do not have place in the mainstream narration'. Modern Mandarin literature has a relatively short history. The chronotope embedded in Gao Xingjian's literary language can be attestations of the potential of creativity among modern Chinese literature, which can absorb diversified literary discourses from a very old literary tradition, from dramatic social reforms and from various folk cultures. In this sense, Gao Xingjian took up the responsibility of driving Chinese modernism as a movement.

The collection *Soul Mountain* introduces a broad linguistic-anthropological perspective to mobility, or the change of space. By using language as a point of departure, I seek to explore the social dynamics of what space means for people (in this case, a writer) in terms of language retention and change, and how they enact their responsibility to language and culture as they move. My chapter seeks to combine literary studies and linguistic anthropology with a focus on space and chronotopes. Jenanne Ferguson (this volume) reviews the theme of language and responsibility, indicating the importance of dialogic approaches to meaning construction. Sharing an interest in this particular theme, I explore the creative uses of language forms in literature as contestation of space and place.

Introduction of Gao Xingjian and Soul Mountain

As the first Nobel Laureate in literature (2000) to write primarily in the Chinese language, Gao Xingjian composed fiction and theatrical works that bear very diversified interpretations in both artistic and political perspectives. Gao Xingjian's writing includes various language styles that he derived and deliberately learned; and the power of the text sometimes comes from the ruptures between different language elements. This is also an effort mostly inspired by European absurdity theatre popular at the time when Gao Xingjian entered his mature writing stage. Literary languages embody the complex relationship between the real historical effects enacted by language ideologies and writers' linguistic creativity (cf. Anderson 2006; Daniel and Peck 1996; Herzfeld 1997). I will use some texts drawn from Gao Xingjian's novel *Soul Mountain* to explore a linguistic anthropological approach of reading. *Soul Mountain* is a collection of loosely connected stories about movement and mobility—specifically, an imaginary journey to a fabled destination, and what one sees and hears on the way. The genres employed are highly diversified, ranging from travelogues, folklore, myths, reports to

artistic criticisms and lyric proses, etc. The spatial archetypes of the route are mainly ethnically and culturally marginal areas in Southwest China. But, in general, the journey is more about an inner pilgrimage and a soul exile.

The novel is very complex in its form. To draw on a few examples, suddenly one comes across a description of a rumour of a female victim of rape and murder, told by a witness in everyday language; this chapter is immediately followed by reports from a Panda conservatory, narrated in an ethnographic writing style. Not long after that, one enters a scene of a magnificent Buddhist ritual depicted in classical Chinese. Each narrative employs a different personal pronoun. 'You' is on a journey to *Soul Mountain* and hears a lot of mythical descriptions concerning it, which are based on very old stories, while 'I' is wandering along the Yangtze River encountering various real people and societies. All of them are different reflections of the same character on the journey. The above-mentioned chapters would be considered high-quality pieces of writing on their own. However, for many, it is difficult to have a sense of the connections between the texts, and the sense of connections between texts and the writer, and the sense of connections between the novel as a whole and readers.

This chapter attempts to draw together theoretical perspectives from both anthropology and literature. In particular, it has been kindled by inquiries from Paul Friedrich, Michael Herzfeld, and Michael Silverstein. From Paul Friedrich, I take how the greatest literatures convey metaphors of a human condition that is beyond time, place, and cultures with fundamentally 'indeterminate' poetic languages and pervasively 'ironic' polytropes (DeBernardi 2006; Friedrich 1986). From Michael Herzfeld, I take how the literature relates to the situational construction of 'history' (people's conception of a certain history), and the dialectic of literary realism, which generates actual political influences in the metadiscourse communications (Herzfeld 1997). And from Michael Silverstein, I take the institutional and ideological processes, by which discursive regimes come into being and become an innate aspect of national languages as well as how modern realistic literature influences these processes (Silverstein 2000). With these inspirations, I look into social and linguistic contexts of Gao Xingjian's fiction *Soul Mountain*, particularly focusing on, firstly, how he consider the role of literati (士, 'shi') in Chinese intellectual history and society and, secondly, the linguistic ideologies, registered as semiotic processes, which mediate identity formation and differentiation in the context of space and mobility.

Deeply influenced by part of traditional culture in his upbringing, Gao Xingjian's understanding of literati is a reflection of his self-identification. I am interested in how the double dimensional, sophisticated image of Chinese literati that spans several historical periods is fabricated by Gao Xingjian in his fiction *Soul Mountain*. Gifted by his classical literary upbringing, Gao Xingjian's paintings and writings are saturated with aesthetics or taste of traditional refined scholars. The construction of literati image in his writings connects to his understanding of his own role as a Chinese literati, and more importantly, the way he takes to fulfil this role. I will employ the concept of chronotope for the analysis of this part.

In particular, my second focus is on how language ideologies are registered through space, and specifically, through the political landscape. I investigate how, in Gao Xingjian's own account, he considers *Soul Mountain* as an experiment of freeing language and literature from both the existing literary regimes and historical contexts. I will use the theory of language ideology to look into his language use, whilst presenting paragraphs of *Soul Mountain* as objects of textual study. I investigate the way language ideologies are felt along the carefully arranged shifts of space. Before looking into extractions from *Soul Mountain*, the concepts of chronotope and language ideology are briefly reviewed.

Bakhtin states that it is the inherent time–space connection in a literary language that defines genre and generic distinctions. He employs the term 'chronotope' (lit. time–space) to describe 'the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature' (Bakhtin 1981:84). Bakhtin also claims that all signs are chronotopic to some extent (Coleman 2010:23):

> [...] in order to enter our experience (which is social experience) they must take on the form of a sign that is audible and visible for us (a hieroglyph, a mathematical formula, a verbal or linguistic expression, a sketch, etc.). Without such temporal-spatial expression, even abstract thought is impossible. Consequently, every entry into the sphere of meaning is accomplished only through the gates of the chronotope (Bakhtin 1981:258).

Thus, Bakhtin states how literary genres in general increase the palpability of signs through their chronotopic features.

Agha (2007) gives his explanation of chronotope in the framework of more recent semiotic studies on the entangled relationships among time, space, and personhood. He suggests that a chronotope is 'a semiotic representation of time and place peopled by certain social types', and indicates that in all forms of ex-textualised representations chronotopes provide frames of ideologically saturated social lives (Agha 2007:321, 323). Agha (2007) further points out the semiotic features of chronotope, i.e., the experience of constructing a chronotope itself also has its representational agency, or an organisation of time, place, and personhood, which may be transformed in construction and circulation. As they circulate in the discursive life of a society, chronotopes become models of and for personhood (Agha 2007:324; Kockelman 2007:376). The semiotic aspect of chronotope presented by Agha (2007) is especially helpful when one deals with extraliterary strata of national language and ideologies. The culturally constructed historical images themselves and the circulation of them together define the spirit of time, as Steve Coleman states:

> Literary representations are chronotopic because they always juxtapose the world they describe and the world which describes them—the narrated and the narrating worlds exist in particular relationships which are historically and generically specific. What is more, representations circulate through social space, over time, so that the relationships between representations are themselves chronotopic as well (Coleman 2010:23).

Seen from Coleman's words, literary representations are naturally linked to the feeling and understanding of space. In *Soul Mountain*, Gao Xingjian presents us carefully constructed social spaces that are unfolded along the shifts of geographical spaces. It is a layout of political geography of mid- and western China in 1950s–1970s.

The first textual study focuses on the dialogic relationship of different chronotopes in this fiction, which project the spatial and temporal dimensions of social life and the way they are felt. The two different roles of Chinese literati in both classical literary tradition and socio-political functions are presented with specific chronotopes, which led to the construction of the intellectual history and personhood. An analysis of literary chronotopes in this study will bring insight to Gao Xingjian's self recognition and identity construction. Chronotopes in this fiction involve complicated and unprecedented meaning of time and landscape entangled with newly imagined personhood and history, opening to a more-or-less fundamental restructuring and renewal of speech genres. Literary language is felt and registered through an understanding of the space and landscapes. The chronotopes in the literary language suggest a responsibility of engaging the social, spatial, and embodied dimensions of language, which are almost always political. It also suggests a responsibility of understanding language as a temporally distributed process, which critically reflects history and changes of human-environment relations (Pennycook 2008:131).

The other important concept employed in this chapter is *language ideology*. Language ideology denotes not only the speakers' feelings towards language(s), but also more importantly the realisations and judgments of language(s) that are connected with historical, social, and political aspects of the speaker/author's *personal agency* (Kroskrity 2009): mythic, symbolist, referential, phatic, and poetic (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Jakobson 1960; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2009:190–191; Silverstein 1979:193). Silverstein and Woolard extensively study how particular linguistic practices and beliefs about languages buttress the legitimacy of specific political arrangements (Silverstein 1996; Woolard 1992). Literary languages embody the complex relationship between the real historical effects enacted by language ideologies and the writers' linguistic creativity (Anderson 2006; Daniel and Peck 1996; Herzfeld 1997). The central idea that literary language is the site of a complex response to modernity and nationalism is particularly apt for the analysis of the Chinese language literature. Friedrich's study of the language institutions embodied in poetic compositions suggests that the poetic nature of language drives individual imagination and that interaction of imagination and poetic potential of language results in changes in meaning relative to specific contexts (Friedrich 1986:16). Modern standard Mandarin replaced classical Chinese as the major administration language and major literary language only since the early 20th century. Considering that modern Mandarin literature has only a very short history, it has a huge potential to absorb various linguistic elements to infinite metaphors of human life and destiny.

Sebastian Veg sums up well both historical and structural aspects of Gao Xingjian's writing. He concludes that the use of different personal pronouns

in sequential chapters in the same fiction is deliberated by Gao Xingjian (2010) to decentralise the narrator's role, so as to elude the political centre and institutions as well as language institution in literature. And here the literary regime can be easily understood in Foucault's scholarship:

> Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault 1980:131)

As Deleuze and Guattari (1986) note in their study of Kafka, that literature tends to deterritorialise, Gao Xingjian self-consciously tried further decentralising the author, who is a parallel institutional embodiment, so that literature can better reveal the human condition and the writer self. This decentralisation also aims at diluting the strong effect of writing on marginal community and marginal space. As Gao Xingjian himself suggested, that all those efforts in search of an origin, locality, and self in the literature usually end in trapping the author or the readers into some sort of ideological institution. And it was his desire to self-exile from these thought restrictions. The marginality of space and mobility in his writings well reflect this theme. Gao Xingjian's retrospection on modernity and modernism corresponds to his envisaging of the tragic result of the collision of modernistic thoughts and socialistic nationalism. Now comes the question: besides seeing this fiction as author's self-conscious experiment which eludes from political regimes and ideological constraints operating in certain literary forms, how can we still read it as a piece of art? How can we consider the connections between different texts in this fiction, and the connections between the fiction and people, who encounter it in the process of its circulation?

In asking these questions, I am referring to Roman Jakobson's classic question of 'what makes a verbal message a work of art?' (1960) and Michael Allen's inquires in his new work *In the shadow of World Literature* (2016), about defining how a text should be read in different text traditions and historic-religious traditions. The two textual studies in this chapter probe into these ideas of literary language in the context of space and political landscape.

The first textual study features chronotope as the main theme of analysis, and Gao Xingjian's effort to locate himself in this social structure is analysed. Before this can be done, a brief introduction of the Chinese literati（Shi 士) is in need.

Historical Background

In a long historical period before the 20th century, ancient Chinese dynasties were not powerful enough to maintain a penetrating bureaucracy that

reaches out to the smallest units of the society. The ruling force of central government could only control down to the level of county, while the basic political structure of rural area was totally different (Gernet 2005; Yeh 2000). Intellectual gentry—the above-mentioned 'shi'—was the social class to unite the upper class and the lower class with the civilising and edifying purpose of Confucianism. This structure existed in ancient Chinese societies in more or less similar forms, and was well connected to central bureaucracy system through the roles of local elites, who were responsible for maintaining local education system, while ensuring that excellent scholars would enter the central bureaucracy through the imperial examination system. For achieving this aim, they had to have a shared understanding of Confucian morality, which was related to the legitimacy of ruling class.

An influential early modern Chinese philosopher Liang Shuming (梁漱溟，1893–1988) proposed that the ethic ground would be taken by the classical Chinese gentry. He also implicated that 'gentry' was a category, which had a wider dimension and fluidity (Liang 2005[1949]). It included people who preserved and transmitted Confucianism, both the ones who excelled in civil service examinations and served the function through government administration, education and writing; and the ones who had their own lands and the ability to hire tenants. These people consciously had their progenies in family standard education, and served their function through education and performative ceremonies, based on the morality of Confucianism. To a certain degree, the classical gentry class decentralised the imperial power in regard to the administration and protected the local benefits, and thereby maintained their own authority.

The second role of literati is to form an alternative response to the mainstream politics, which includes the maintenance of an independent or individualised sense of personhood, and the maintenance of critical thinking in the power relationships that dominate the public and private spheres of Chinese society. Writings generated from these thoughts form a renowned literary genre in Chinese classics. This genre is generally referred to as 'retirement from the world' (dun shi 遁世).

Friedrich sketches the relationship between nature and man in his study on a poet of Tang dynasty (618–907 A.D.). He concludes that in the poet Du Fu's (杜甫，712–770 A.D.) view, 'nature is animated, analogous to society, only meaningful as part of a dialogue, and itself responsive or at least symbolically or indexically related to culture' (Friedrich 1996:51). Such an idea applies to classical Chinese literature in general. However, these specific features respond to different social ideologies (religious and philosophical trends of thought) respectively in each historical period. 'Otherworldly' literature is especially connected to two branches of the poetic tradition. One belongs to the Chu culture best represented by *the Songs of the South* mostly attributed to Qu Yuan; the other is the fable of a utopia hidden from the knowledge of all central political institutions, best represented by poet Tao Qian's (陶潜, 365–427 A.D.) *Peach Blossom Spring Story* (*Taohuayuan Ji* 《桃花源记》, 421 A.D.).

Recent scholarship recognises a distinct culture module of ancient China (11th–2nd century B.C.) indigenous to large areas of the current Central and

Southern China, namely the Chu culture (culture of the ancient Chu Guo 楚国, lit. Chu State). And it is indicated that this cultural module includes apparently different geographical, religious, literary (literature and legal), and burial ritual traditions according to the recent archaeological findings and manuscript researches (Cook and Major 1999). The representative literature of ancient Chu culture is the *Songs of the South* (*Chu Ci*《楚辞》), an anthology of lyrics combining myths and shamanism, which was usually attributed to Qu Yuan (屈原, 343–278 B.C., poet and politician in the State of Chu). Chu religion was identified as complex with the main body of Taoism and a few branches of shamanism and Confucianism (Cook and Major 1999); it was very different from the classical Han culture, which was mainly based on the imperial rituals and Confucian canons.

Chu culture is a synthesis of the prevalent Han culture and the folk cultures in the Chu state. The collective work *Songs of the South* includes Qu Yuan's compilation and edition of ritual songs and lyrics of the Chu state, as well as other verses combining political opinions and emotions towards lives of ordinary people written by Qu Yuan and his contemporaries. These rhythmical songs and verses are supposed to be sung in Southern Chinese dialects, which were creolised with non-Han languages; later they were entextualised with written classical Chinese. Most of the lyrics are dedicated to the local water and mountain deities and sung and performed along with dances; therefore, the written texts were specifically rhymed with structural modal words (Hong 1983[1154]). This literary style is distinct from other classical written text in or around the centre of Han culture and became an independent literary genre, which was used by lots of famous persons before the 4th century A.D. to express emotions similar to Qu Yuan towards corrupted political regimes and the woes of ordinary people. This literary genre shows a sentient relationship between human and nature. The goddesses in the songs are usually covered with plants with fragrant scents and feminine shapes, riding on strong and vigorous beasts. Water and mountain spirits are partly hidden and partly visible in the mist above water and stones, or disappearing in the winds. A great number of names and descriptions of plant and animal species appear in the songs decorating and making connections between the scenes of confrontation and love affairs among the deities. These scenes are chanted and performed in the rituals spreading through Southwestern China until a very recent age, and were considered as demonstrations of natural and healthy relationships among the living.

This literary genre also features the utopian literature represented by Tao Qian's *Peach Blossom Spring Story*. The story tells how a fisherman lost his way in the lower stream of the Yuan River and entered a land covered with flowering peach trees. Being received with hospitality, the fisherman learns that the people living there descend from the refugees escaping wars that plagued the middle land during the time of Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.). They chose to stay in this place by the Peach Blossom Spring and lived a self-sufficient and peaceful life, and so did their descendants. When they inquire about the outside world, the fisherman finds that they know nothing that happened in the history after Qin. When the fisherman leaves, these

people tell him: 'it is not worth mentioning to outsiders' (不足为外人道也). The fisherman, however, reports this to the local official and brings back people to find the peach blossom spring. No one ever finds it, including one honourable scholar who dies in sorrow for not finding it. This literary genre was employed by countless classical Chinese intellectuals to express their wishes for an ideal and self-sufficient society blocked from political upheavals and military chaos that recurred in every imperial dynasty. The space-time configuration in *Peach Blossom Spring Story* is 'nowhere in fossilised time'. In Deleuze and Guattari's sense, here literary language 'deterritorialize', so as to take us out of a space and time framed by linear historical narratives.

The literati is a social class that maintains the institutions of Chinese empires through spreading moralised education and knowledge. In every historical period, however, there were individuals from this learned class pass down independent observations of society and politics. They are expressed in various artistic forms such as writings, paintings, drama, music, religious rituals, etc. They form a depository of alternative reactions to mainstream political ideologies. Many depictions and comments in *Soul Mountain* recur these individuals' artistic creations, not less frequent in his descriptions of Buddhist rituals. Above-mentioned Qu Yuan, Tao Qian, etc. are among the most famous scholars and artists of this type. Gao Xingjian also considered himself to be one before and after he moved out of China.

The Painted Past—Textual Study I

In chapter 17 of *Soul Mountain*, there is a piece of art criticism regarding Gong Xian's *Landscape covered by Snow* (Fig. 9).[1]

Figure 9. Gong Xian's Landscape covered by Snow (Freer Gallery of Art).

1   Gong Xian (cf. 1618–1689) was a painter, famous for his ink-using skills in landscape painting.

The author states:

> 面对龚贤的这幅雪景，还有什么可说的没有！那种宁静，听得见霸雪纷纷落 下，似是有声又无声
> Viewing Gong Xian's landscape painting, what can you say? The silence—snow is falling, seemingly audible and yet soundless.

And he continues:

> 河上架的木桥，临清流而独居的寒舍，你感觉到人世的踪迹，却又清寂幽 深 这是一个凝聚的梦，梦的边缘那种不可捉摸的黑暗也依稀可辨——一片湿墨，他用笔总这样浓重，意境却推得那么深远。他也讲究笔墨，笔墨情趣之中景象依然历历在目。他是一个真正的画家，不只是文人作画
> Wooden bridge over the river, living alone in a thin house by water, you feel the traces of human world, but your world is deep and serene. This is a condensed dream; the fringe of it, the unpredictable darkness, is remotely recognizable. A patch of wet ink, he always thickened the ink, but furthered the view. Yet he appreciated sketching; the scene stands vividly in the fun of sketching. He was a real painter, not some literati who painted.

The author concludes:

> 你说的是故作清高，玩弄笔墨而丧失自然的性灵。笔墨趣味可学，性灵则与生俱来，与山川草木同在。龚贤的山水精妙就在于他笔墨中焕发的性灵，苍苍 然而忘其所以，是不可学的
> What you meant was a very trying loftiness, a play of sketching and a loss of natural spirituality. The taste of sketching is acquirable, the spirit, however, is more with the mountains and floras. Gong Xian's paintings of mountains and water are particularly fine, because of the spirit embedded in his sketching, boundless and carried away, and in-acquirable.

Next, the author critically assesses the work of another artist (Fig. 10).

> 八大也不可学。他怒目睁睁的方眼怪鸟可学，他那荷花水鸭的苍茫寂寥不可 以模仿
> Bada (Bada Shanren's art) is also inaccessible.[2] His raging square-eyed esoteric birds are learnable; his lotus and ducks blanketed by loneliness are impossible to imitate.

Next, I am showing another critical approach taken by the authors (Fig. 11).

The author then states:

> 郑板桥就这样被世人糟蹋了，他的清高成了人不得意时的点缀。他是个落魄才子，而八大是个疯子。先是装疯，而后才真疯了，他艺术上的成就在于他真疯而非装疯。或者说他用一双奇怪的眼光来看这世界，才看出这世界疯了。或者说这世界容忍不了理智的健全，理智便疯了，才落得世界的健全。

2   Bada Shanren (1626–1705), born Zhu Da, widely recognized as the best painter in his period, famous for his ink-washing painting.

Figure 10 . Zhu Da' paintings. On the left, Mynah bird on an Old Tree (Forbidden City, Beijing) and on the right, Lotus and Birds (Shanghai Museum).
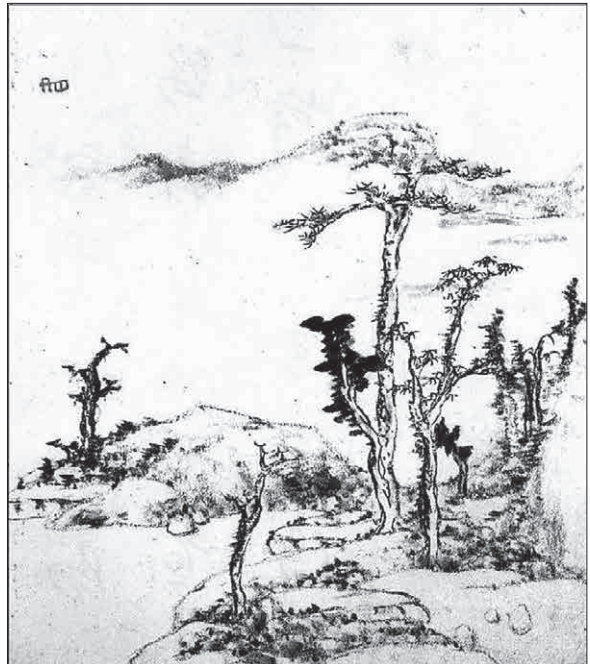
Figure 11. Zhu Da's Dry-pen Mountains and Water (Nanjing Museum).

Zheng Banqiao (his art) is destroyed by people like that; his loftiness has become decorations in their lives, not in moments.[3] He is just a wit coming down in the world. But Bada is a real madman. At first, he pretended to be mad, and later he truly became a madman. And all his achievements came from his real madness. Or, rather, say he watched the world with his esoteric eyes, so he could see that the world was crazy. Or just say that the world could not bear full sanity, and thus the sanity went mad, in order to let the world be sane.

Various questions could be raised from this interesting art criticism. For example, what is a real painter here? And what is the difference between a real painter and 'some literati who painted'? Correspondingly, what is the difference between a person of wit and the real madman? Why has the best art come from madness? And interestingly, seen from the critic here, the arts of the wit are not bad in themselves, but just totally distorted by 'people' who misused them for their own hypocrisy ('destroyed').

Multi-layered indexes can be found in the texts from *Soul Mountain* quoted above. The artistic conceptions are delivered through a classical Chinese rhetoric. The fragments of conceptualising the spirituality in traditional Chinese painting are composed in a style closer to classic prose. And the critical comments are written in modern Mandarin. Readers would have to master the classical Chinese rhetoric in order to grasp the poetics here. Not to mention that to understand the critical comments one would need knowledge of what a literati and an artist are supposed to be like in the context of traditional Chinese academy. However, it is the idea in the critical comments that connects this text to others in the fiction. Even if one does not know anything about Zhu Da, Zheng Banqiao or sketches and spirituality in classical Chinese painting, in reading this paragraph, one can still find the binding elements: there is a basic idea criticising the literary institutions carried on by literati but evaded by hermits. In this manner, *Soul Mountain* can be read as an intellectual historiography, but more on the hermit's perspective.

A dialectical understanding of Gao Xingjian is illustrated here. The literati carries on shaping the society and state, while the madman breaks through patterns and sets up exemplars of artistic spirituality, which would become representations of his time for the generations to come. And from these very different characters we can always find a reflection of both Zhu Da and Zheng Banqiao, a devoting madman and a literati being restricted. One can clearly see the social institutions and insurmountable power relations that shape the society.

The chronotope embedded in Gao Xingjian's writings commenting Gong Xian and Zhu Da's arts points to a mythical time-space, which is eternal as contrast to the realistic history. Unlike Qu Yuan and Tao Qian who connected this time-space to the imagery of disappearing and lost, Gao Xingjian connects it with voluntary reclusion. Especially Zhu Da's compositions create

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3   Zheng Banqiao (1693–1765), born Zheng Xie, a famous painter and calligrapher who resigned from his official position because of his discontent with social inequality.

Figure 12 . Zheng Xie's painting and Calligraphy works: (left) Orchid, stone and bamboo (Forbidden City, Beijing); (right) Nan de hu tu (usually translated as 'Where ignorance is bliss, it's folly to be wise', stone rubbing from tablet stored in Xi'an Beilin Museum).

an otherworld that features wired, lonely, and self-contented creatures. This is an allegory of the uncertain fate when individualised aesthetical category and literary genres confront the realistic 'outside'. This seemingly fabled and fictive literary design, however, also incorporated the historical chronotopes to the modernised novel framework.

In the tradition of Chinese literature before the Early Modern period, the chronotopes embodied in classical Chinese poetic and philosophical writing were closely related to changes in nature and seasons, and to the relationships between life process and nature. A substantial moral system corresponded

to these temporal changes in nature. Spatial representations also bear moral values, as they are linked with social activities such as meeting, parting, and worshipping. Each has a set of customs or regulations to specify tradition. The above two sections discuss the chronotopes in Gao Xingjian's novels with reference to classical literary archetypes and mythical/poetic institutions, which demonstrate the richness and complexity of chronotopes. In his most realistic literary creation, these chronotopes interact with realistic time–space settings of the novel all through the book.

In these texts extracted from *Soul Mountain*, the classical Chinese vocabulary and syntax are what Bakhtin termed *heteroglossia* ('other-languagedness') (Bakhtin 1981:263). The aesthetics inherent in the artistic comments constitute the concepts of retiring from power and desires in traditional scholar society. These discourses were composed with aesthetic perception to gain their 'otherness' in a realistic literary style. Through heteroglossia, Gao Xingjian aligns the textual-chronotopes of artistic rhetorics with the main story line, and therefore implied an 'interdiscursivity' in Silverstein's (2005) sense. He tried to resurrect the images, which were encircled with coherent and independent rules deriving from multiple traditions in Chinese history, which connected with the concept of hermitry of Daoism and Buddhism; and through these images the meaning of life and morality were felt by scholars who thought over and worried about the value of human existence. This seemingly fabled and fictive literary design, however, also incorporated the historical chronotopes to the modernised fiction framework.

The Linguistic Present—Textual Study II

In chapter 36, the authors says:

(...) 说经堂前庭院里有两株盛开的桂花树，一株金红一株月日那散发出阵阵幽香，蒲团从经堂一直铺至庭院，僧人们盘坐在秋日和阳暖照之下心地清净，静候老 和尚最后一次宣讲佛法。说他沐浴斋戒已七天七夜不进饮食闭目盘坐在乌檀木雕的莲花法坛上，肩披 一件异常宽大缀满补丁的袈裟，坛前立式楼空的铜香炉里燃着檀香木片，经堂 内清香弥漫，他两位大弟子一左一右站立两旁，受他亲自剃度的十多位法师全 恭候在坛下，他左手捻一串佛珠右手持一枚法铃，只见指缝间夹着一根钢签轻轻一碰，盈盈铃声便像一缕游丝悬游于堂上垂挂的经幡之间。 说众僧人于是听见他甘柔的声音，佛陀告诉须菩提不可以以身相认如来，如来 之所谓身相凡有所相皆为虚妄若所相非相乃非非相，吾传授的无非佛祖所说而 佛所说皆不可取又不可取也不可言传，这不可言传而不可取又不可取此乃吾 授于汝等亦如来所传之大法，还有什么要问的吗？

(you) say that there were two flowering osmanthus trees, one reddish gold, one gleaming like the moon and the sun. The air in the forecourt of scripture hall was saturated with floating fragrance. Futons scattering along the way from the scripture hall to the courtyard, monks sat cross-legged under the warm autumn sun, cleared their mind and waited for the last preach of the old master. […] say that he had washed himself, fasted for seven days and nights, sat cross-legged on

the lotus altar carved by ebony, eyes closing; that sandal wood chips were burning in the standing fretwork bronze incense burner, scent permeated the scripture hall. Two of his most senior disciples stood at both sides, while all his other students waited respectfully in front of the altar. He held the Fo bead with his left hand the sacred bell with right. A wave of faint sounds got caught by the Sutra streamers high above the scripture hall. […] say that the monks heard his sweet and soft voice. 'Buddha told Bodhisattva not to sense Tathagata through a form; the so-called Tathagata's forms, whenever sensed, are false forms; whenever are non-forms, are double negation forms. What I taught was no more than what Buddha had said; what Buddha says cannot be taken, and cannot be not taken, and cannot be said. Tathagata's fundamental preaches are what I taught you, and what cannot be said and cannot be taken and cannot be not taken. Do you still have questions?'

This paragraph is about an event that the narrator comes across during his journey. It tells a story of one last ritual performed by a Buddhist master before he died. The audience present at the ritual was curious, scared, and confused. This master's disciples wanted the position and at the same time feared the force in the master's hand that led him to decide the moment of death. The moment of fulfilment of his religious life and death arrived at the same time, when the master reached the status of 'emptiness'—void of desires. It is also the place, where narrations are completely replaced by scriptures. The readers may be as well confused as the disciples of the master. The disciples were full of desire towards power, and so they considered the ritual to be a demonstration of power. That is how they missed the meaning of the words. Metalinguistically, the readers' confusion is due to the unfamiliarity of the meaning of the scripture itself. In this narration, Gao Xingjian uses only one personal pronoun in the beginning of the chapter, then uses the phase 'say that' to start each of the rest paragraphs. The entire chapter is technically one long sentence; and the individual paragraphs starting with 'says that' are bond together in a structure of sonnet. This unusual structure in the Sinophone narratives is a sign of influences of European languages.

In this paragraph, Gao Xingjian employs a language style of Buddhist scriptures translations. The most popular Buddhist scriptures read by secular scholars were mostly translated from Sanskrit into Classical Chinese language between the 7th and the 11th centuries. This language style represents an art to be mastered by hermit type literati. Here, it is decontextualized, and alienated by its audience. Gao Xingjian employs syntax and vocabulary that allude to this literary tradition, but also decontextualizes it at a metalinguistic level. In his writings, this language style is used by someone who was dying and doomed to be forever misunderstood and alienated. His spiritual enlightenment will be conquered by desires towards power. For those who do not understand the scripture, what this master said sounds chaotic and confusing, and most of all out of context. The fact that his disciples and audience who expected power games were startled makes this scene appear like an absurd drama.

This independent chapter is one of the examples showing how Gao Xingjian align various language forms (Levine 2015) that are seen out of context where they otherwise make sense. These language forms or styles

are not meant to deliver meaning (for the purpose of narration), but to form an allegory of his situation as a literati inside and outside his community (in and out of China). This idea is well-elaborated in one of Samuel Beckett's comments on James Joyce's works. Beckett says:

> Here form *is* content, content *is* form. You complain that this stuff is not written in English. It is not written at all. It is not to be read—at least it is not only to be read. It is to be looked at and listened to. His writing is not *about* something; *it is that something itself*. (Beckett 1929)[4]

In another piece of Beckett's writing on his own literary creations, Beckett says:

> It is indeed becoming more and more difficult, even senseless, for me to write an official English […] to bore one hole after another in [language], until what lurks behind it—be it something or nothing—begins to seep through; I cannot imagine a higher goal for a writer today. […] Is there any reason why the terrible materiality of the word should not be capable of being dissolved […] a literature of the unword. (Beckett 1983:171–172)

The language crisis in Beckett, which is a crisis of faith in the English language, witnesses the charged language issue of his native country and the absurdity ('senselessness') which language ideology inevitably engineered, most especially the enervation of English in Irish public life. Similarly, Gao Xingjian experienced the end of liberalism in the 1980s in China. After that, he tried to discharge the language he used in writing from the formal regulations, for the structured language was no longer capable of describing the human conditions in his mind and in his experience. As himself once wrote:

> […] his flow of language used for tracking psychological activities clearly cannot be achieved through conventional methods of narration, description, or rhetoric because they are too regulated, and it certainly cannot be achieved through old sayings and allusions. Capturing these perceptions requires avoiding old sayings and allusions, avoiding existing patterns of writing, and searching for fresh narrative methods and a more vibrant language. This requires returning to the source of language—that is, when constructing a sentence, one must listen intently to the language of the inner mind, even if it is not spoken aloud, because this sound of the language is linked to the words and sentences and is the starting point of language. The basic substance of language is sound. At this point, it is necessary to draw attention to the common misconception that the written language is the same as the spoken language (Gao 2012:30–31).

In his ethnographic documentation of a Cretan writer, Herzfeld compares the nationalist ideology of the bureaucratic system to village and kin-based idioms within Cretan socio-political identity, which discloses a history dependent on situational construction even under the same aim of

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4   https://bibliot3ca.com/dante-bruno-vico-joyce-by-samuel-beckett/

nationalism (Herzfeld 1997:72, 254). Similarly, the linguistic aspect of the literary creation of Gao Xingjian connects with the fluidity of identity of the Chinese scholars. This linguistic aspect is about the variation of each language in Gao Xingjian's language matrix and the ways in which they can creatively interact. The language ideologies in Gao Xingjian's literature have demonstrated his incredibly diversified literary discourse. In contrast to standardising linguistic regimes in his time that strip language of Classical Chinese regional and ethical variations in order to create a new nationalist ideology, his literary language deterritorializes modern Mandarin, embraces variations, and reterritorializes classical Chinese. The transformative potential of his language ideologies constructs an (anti-)political agency that challenges the then prevalent nationalist ideology, biased towards revolution and replacement rather than towards reformation and integration.

In a time when radical political idealism points to replacing classical Chinese linguistic devices and aesthetics with relatively unilateral modern narratives, Gao Xingjian engages chronotopes that de-centre modern Mandarin writings. He goes further and de-centres also the narrator. It reflects his sense of responsibility to bring in multi-layered language ideologies and complexity.

Conclusion

Anthropologists often claim that literary texts can deliver the reflexive relationships of different linguistic ideologies, which further turn into a semiotic process with political motility (cf. Becker 1980; Daniel 1987; Geertz 1996). In a multi-cultural world, a world of multiple epistemologies, in all areas of knowledge in which text-building (written or oral) is a central activity: literature, history, law, music, politics, psychology, trade, even war and peace, 'constraints' are different in different languages and in different cultures. That is, the area of significant variation is not the same in all languages, in all cultures, but this can be discovered by finding what the constraints on the text are (Becker 1980:138–139). Historical, ethnographic, and literary texts do no simply index the real social relationships, but also influence and are influenced by people's perception of these relationships.

Gao Xingjian expressed his sense of responsibility as an out-of-place literati through an orchestration of chronotopic 'heteroglossia'. The language ideologies reflect the integrated process of language use and the way it reacts with places and environment (Pennycook 2008:131–136). Just as Gao Xingjian ended the *Soul Mountain* with a declaration that the narrative 'I' knows nothing in the end, it is also difficult for one to know how to read and place this intellectual history within the European context. Diaspora literature is a field where language and cultural elements from different text traditions collide, incorporating these mobile features into new 'places' as they unfold within the novel. In this manner, such an intellectual history can be both independent from the author's self, while also significant in establishing a new immigrant identity in the new 'Republic of Letters'.

Acknowledgements

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Icelanders' Opinions on the Role of the State in Teaching Icelandic to Foreigners

Introduction

Formation of immigration policies, including what to require of immigrants, is something relatively new to Iceland's experience. Iceland became a sovereign nation in 1944 and seven years passed before the first legislation concerning incomers was enacted. From the early 1950s until the early 2000s, there was no formal government position mandating foreigners acquire linguistic skills in Icelandic. Only in 2002, as the number of immigrants to Iceland increased dramatically (Hagstofa Íslands 2018) and garnered attention did the parliament (*Alþingi*) enact a requirement that people from outside the Schengen area and European Union seeking permanent residence must complete a specified number of hours of language courses or pass a test (Alþingi 2002: Art. 15). In 2007, a linguistic component was added to the list of criteria necessary for citizenship, no matter the applicant's national background (Alþingi 2007: Art. 5.c.3). It was only this recently that Iceland began to require that immigrants seeking special status in the nation demonstrate acquaintance with or ability in the national language. This late date is a bit surprising, seeing as Icelandic language ideology has for some time held Icelandic identity to be iconic with speaking the language (Halldórsson 1979; Þórarinsdóttir 2011; Sigurðsson 1996).

The systems and policies of three other Scandinavian states, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, are occasionally taken as points of reference when the Alþingi and ministries develop or modify policies and laws affecting immigrants (e.g., Alþingi 2001). Along with Finland, these three nations comprise the Scandinavian or Nordic welfare states (Greve 2007; Stephens 1995). One hallmark of the Scandinavian states is a liberal system of social welfare, though the precise nature and extent of services and protections afforded by each of these states differ and have shown changes through time (Greve 2007; Stephens 1995). Iceland is not always included as a Nordic welfare state in scholarly and United Nations publications (cf. Greve 2007; Stephens 1995), yet it is often discussed by both Icelandic and non-Icelandic scholars as being among the more progressive states in regard to gender equality, child care, and economic stratification (Eydal and Rostgaard 2011; Ólafsson 1999; World Economic Forum 2016). Iceland's liminal nature as a Scandinavian welfare state makes pertinent the question of whether and

how the welfare state model informs discourses about program areas directed at immigrants and other socially vulnerable populations within Iceland.

It is not only the government that is intent on having certain incomers learn Icelandic, as the Icelandic public and media also are promoters of this stance. The language is commonly framed as a key to joining in public life and learning about one's responsibilities and rights, similar to issues arising from language ownership and responsibility in revitalization contexts (Kaartinen, this volume; Yamasaki, this volume). A concern for this paper is how members of the Icelandic first-language speaking public think an immigrant is expected to access and begin to utilize the language to reach the projected goals of engaging in public life and becoming a member of society. This concern links to broader issues affecting the Icelandic state and its inhabitants, and has led to the formation of two questions to be addressed here. First, what responsibility does the Icelandic state have to play in this? And, how do the ways that native speakers frame the state's responsibilities as according with or differing from the Scandinavian welfare state structure? In considering responsibility, attention is paid to the obligations, duties, and accountability that speakers attribute to the several actors in the Icelandic language learning project: immigrants, non-governmental entities, and governmental bodies. Evidence from focus group conversations and individual interviews will be examined for answers to these queries.

Theoretical perspective

An interest in determining what is actually meant when people and policies speak of 'integration' has informed the work of Castles (1995), Castles et al. (2002), Joppke (2007), Borevi (2010), Jensen (2014), and others. Central to most definitions is the topic of which populations are subject to change as a result of language learning and other integrative measures. Castles (1995) finds that three models tend to dominate the ways that integrative experiences are represented: a differentialist model, an assimilationist model, and a multiculturalist model. In the differentialist model, immigrants and their families are denied access to naturalizing processes and are kept at a distance, no matter how long they remain in the host country. The assimilationist model requires that immigrants adopt the social and cultural practices of the receiving country while host communities resist adopting or valuing immigrants' practices. In the multiculturalist model, accommodation flows in both directions and the receiving country recognizes the ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities of the immigrants as important components in facilitating integration. Castles et al. (2002) demonstrate that service providers and policy makers in Britain continue to work from these models in the early 2000s.

Later research shows that while there is tremendous symbolic import in the direction of accommodation and acceptance, Castles' (1995) models are perhaps too general to be helpful when analysing integrative policies. Carrera (2006) examines the policies and programs in eight EU states for their main tendencies and common elements. The general trend is to implement

mandatory integration schemes and that integration has become 'a juridical, policy-oriented and institutional tool of control' (Carrera 2006:19). In an examination of the integration policies of the Netherlands, France and Germany, Joppke (2007) finds their policies are converging as Carrera (2006) had concluded. Joppke analyses how adoption of these mandatory, juridical tools of control by countries including those among the Nordic welfare states enforce a 'repressive liberalism' by using illiberal means (i.e., requirements) to achieve the liberal ends of integration and/or naturalization. These studies move beyond the tripartite model and demonstrate that states utilize elements from two or all three of Castle's models.

More recent studies continue to refine our understanding of the ways that interpretations of the nation state inform the construction and implementation of integrative policies. Borevi (2010) uses an improved version of Koopmans and Statham's (2000) model to compare Swedish integrative practices with those of Denmark, Norway, and the Netherlands. She demonstrates that of these four countries, Swedish policies are the earliest to focus on immigrants' practices and achievements individually, rather than collectively. This kind of shift seems to have paved the way for imposing obligations on individuals from an early period and yet, Sweden remains an exception as it has not yet mandated integration requirements for incomers as have the other three states. Borevi (2010:23) argues that the complexities of this case demonstrate the need to focus on two realms: how actively the state recognizes ethnic subgroups; and 'conceptions of the common national identity' that may range between 'a "civic" (not ethnic) community of citizens' (*demos*) and an illiberal, ethnically unified community of citizens (*ethnos*)'. Borevi's critical examination of Swedish policies along these two axes makes apparent how development of illiberal policies can occur within a system commonly identified as a classic Scandinavian welfare state.

Jensen (2014) attends to politicians' depictions of national identity during parliamentary debates in Denmark and Norway, coding them for the amount of freedom individuals are represented to have in managing their national identities and the amount of choice the national collective has to (re-)construct and frame itself. Like Borevi's (2010) approach, Jensen's offers a method for analyzing the weight and role of factors that differ from nation to nation, even among those considered similar. Attention to where Danish and Norwegian politicians position individual immigrants and the national collective along these axes when discussing policy areas and expected outcomes allows him to explain how two Scandinavian welfare states have developed such different responses to immigration. Norwegian debates show politicians present individuals as having a difficult time altering their national identity and so require institutional support and a lengthy period of time to manage this. They also portray the Norwegian collective as being open to self-examination and change, positioning the state as accepting of new communities. In Danish debate, however, politicians find both individual and collective identity are resistant to change, a position explaining support for policies requiring immigrants demonstrate knowledge of and adherence to Danish cultural practices and upholding a sense of strict boundaries between Danes and outsiders.

Analysis of focus group responses from members of the Icelandic general public contributes to the discussion about what national identity and integration actually mean and how representations of the state as a potential actor influence expectations for immigrants. First, adding an Icelandic case to those offered by Jensen (2014) and Borevi (2010) helps to discern how strongly adherence to the Scandinavian welfare state model affects integrative measures. While determining an exact definition of the Scandinavian welfare state is difficult, Abrahamson's (1999:36) formulation corresponds with how many people imagine it, as 'a society where the public sector assumes responsibility for financing and providing social care services for all citizens at a high level both quantitatively and qualitatively'. Iceland is identified as a Scandinavian welfare state at times and yet its welfare system has shifted toward a more liberal or liberal-labour position from the 1990s (Jonsson 2001; Ólafsson 2005:234). Ólafsson (1993; 1999; 2005) has shown that Iceland's approach to social welfare, including employment, health, and childcare benefits, has never been as universal or state-driven as in other Scandinavian countries, despite Iceland's position at the top of the World Economic Forum (2016) for gender equality. Analysis of focus group comments shows that elements of the Scandinavian welfare state ideal cause concern for Icelandic citizens as they consider the processes that immigrants face, offering further information for those examining the relation between state system forms and integration policy development and effects.

In accord with other chapters in this volume that present material from publics directly affected by integration measures but whose voices are not always heard (e.g., Accoroni, this volume; Esposito, this volume), opinions and observations from life-long citizens of the receiving state add to language policy and integration literature. Each of the studies discussed earlier concerned themselves primarily with policy documents and politicians' discourses (Borevi 2010, Carrera 2006; Jensen 2014; Joppke 2007) or those providing services to immigrant communities (Castles et al. 2002). While both politicians' and service providers' perceptions of the nation's responsibility to its public are important, their views may or may not be shared by those who have everyday interactions with immigrants that are not primarily service-oriented or policy-driven. Comments in focus group materials can be examined for how satisfied members of the public are with current policies and precisely how they would address perceived shortcomings. As these data show, the citizenry's lived experiences and opinions are not entirely supportive of the policies that politicians have devised and their manner of implementation. Becoming aware of these differences through this kind of public feedback can help to alleviate tensions and promote development of practices and expectations that garner a greater amount of support. These data also demonstrate how members of the public assign responsibilities to different actors involved in the process of teaching and learning Icelandic.

The language school personnel whose commentary and perspectives appear in this paper differ from the professional service providers whose opinions were examined in Castles et al. (2002). Icelandic language teachers are paid by the course and almost none of them work full-time as language

instructors. The vast majority of teachers also have had little to no training in adult education strategies, though some have pursued education in this area. Administrators, despite having full-time employment within their schools, are responsible for overseeing a variety of courses, with the largest segment of the student population being Icelanders, not immigrants. Except for a few cases, the schools offering Iceland language instruction are centres for continuing education, primarily focused on providing courses to adult Icelanders. The administrators attend to the needs and educational development of a number of audiences, with immigrant learners making up but one of these. For these reasons, it is appropriate to include the input from school personnel as commentary from the general public, though a public that is well informed about the content of language education policy in the case of the administrators.

Data Collection and Methodology

Transcribed materials from focus groups and interviews conducted in Iceland provide the data within which to examine how participants construct the roles and responsibilities of several actors involved in the language-learning process. Interviews with language school personnel were conducted between 2012 and 2014 as part of research examining the language teaching process for adult learners of Icelandic. Eight focus groups with residents of Iceland whose families had lived in the country for several generations ('natives') were run from 2016 to 2018 in order to evaluate first language Icelandic speakers' impressions of and knowledge about language education institutions and policies. Participants in both the interviews and focus groups were guaranteed anonymity in published materials; all names used are pseudonyms. In total, the responses and opinions of 45 Icelanders are considered in this research.

Language teachers and school administrators were asked to talk about their opinions of and experiences with the language teaching system that has developed in Iceland. Contact was made initially with administrators during visits to schools and emailing individuals listed on school websites. All administrators whose views appear in this paper oversaw their school's courses in Icelandic for foreigners. Teachers were contacted as a result of using snowball technique, initiated by asking administrators for names of instructors who may share an interest in the project and then asking participating teachers for names of colleagues.

All of these interviews with school personnel were conducted in English. No interviewees expressed concern about speaking in English, despite the fact that it is not their first language. The interviews with teachers examined their knowledge of the government policies surrounding their work, their opinions of available teaching materials, their understandings of student needs and desires, and suggestions for improving the system. School administrators were asked to discuss the ways that they have found policy to affect their schools and pedagogies, how their schools are assisting learners, and ideas to improve the schools or the policies that affect them.

The author also conducted participant observation in the schools so as to gain experiential knowledge of the courses and interactive conduct practiced by students, teachers, and administrators.

Focus groups were held with Icelanders to gather their views on the need to teach Icelandic to foreigners, means through which this should be conducted, their opinion about how successful this is, and whether they believe ordinary citizens should play any role in this process. All focus groups were conducted in Icelandic. Very little code switching occurred in these events; in the example containing switching that is examined later, we see that any switches were often charged with meaning. Individuals were asked to participate in focus groups as a result of using a snowball approach. The author asked friends and acquaintances in Reykjavík for names of people they thought would have an interest in the research topic. Phone calls or emails were sent, asking the individuals to participate in the group conversations. Those responding to the author's invitation, whether positively or negatively, were asked for recommendations of others to contact. This process was followed until at least five people had agreed to meet for each discussion.

Three focus groups were held in Reykjavík, the largest urban metropolis, and five in rural communities outside of Reykjavík. Twenty-six people participated in the group conversations. Those who had some experiences of communicating with learners were asked to discuss these interactions and then extrapolate about the state of affairs of Icelandic language teaching. Those without direct experience with learners were asked to talk about the general impressions they have of the language teaching process and its results. Individuals also were asked to discuss the role of the media in shaping their impressions and views of foreigners' commitment to the language learning process.

Analytic Methods

The author recorded and transcribed the interviews with school personnel. Icelandic research assistants who had been present for five of the discussions transcribed these focus group recordings. The author transcribed recordings from three focus groups that had been held without an assistant. The author is responsible for all translations of the Icelandic excerpts from the recorded materials.

Analysis of the transcripts began by utilizing aspects of Grounded Theory (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Transcripts were coded for themes, which were then examined for fit within larger, overarching categories. This was accomplished using Atlas.ti software to manage the notes and coded materials. For the purposes of this paper, content coded under the themes of recommending government action, policy evaluation-positive, policy evaluation-negative, policy evaluation-neutral, school supportive, learner supportive, and non-governmental body referenced were examined to determine how the Icelandic public envisions the role and duties of the

state and other entities in language education. Results of these analyses are presented in the next sections.

Methods taken from Critical Discourse Analysis were used to examine the transcript excerpts, with the aim of determining which party or parties speakers believe are responsible for language education and skill acquisition. The close reading and analysis of texts required in Critical Discourse Analysis provides analysts with evidence of a number of important details. The ideological positions taken by the speaker become evident through the flow of logic within the argument, what points are taken for granted, and what information is elaborated or over-qualified (Fairclough 2001; Machin and Mayr 2012). The speaker's positioning of various parties involved in teaching Icelandic to adult learners can be discerned by which are foregrounded and which backgrounded, as well as where they are constructed as agentive or passive (Fairclough 2001; Machin and Mayr 2012).

These methods were utilized to determine how speakers frame the language learning process in ways that do or do not align with a Scandinavian welfare system model. In this, attention was paid to actors identified as having agency and duties in the teaching and learning project, what kinds of regulations should be imposed on immigrants, and what obligations various actors are expected to bear in order to facilitate the process. Examination of the freedoms, regulations, duties, and burdens expressed in their discourses demonstrates how both those intimately connected to the language teaching programs and members of the general public envision the responsibilities of the state, individual learners, and school personnel. These representations reveal ideological disparities across the various respondents, suggesting that research into satisfaction with immigration policy implementation should be sensitive to a number of public audiences.

The State Responsibility for Language Education

Within the transcripts, it becomes clear that a number of actors, primarily the state, but also employers and workers' unions, are thought responsible for providing Icelandic classes for foreigners. Implicitly, both school personnel and members of the public hold the Icelandic government accountable for making language classes available to immigrants, particularly when discussing course tuition and geographic availability of courses. Employers and unions are expected to encourage and inform workers about the importance of Icelandic in nurturing strong communal relations, and employers are urged to provide space and time for language learning within the workplace. Discussions about responsibility for the oversight of content and structure of curricular offerings elicited a great deal of criticism levied at both the Icelandic government and schools. Despite Iceland's deviance from the pure Scandinavian welfare state model, those members of the general public taking part in focus groups and the school personnel whose interviews appear here construe the state as having a set of obligations toward immigrant language learners meant to promote their well being and connection with

the Icelandic populace. These concerns align with the classic construction of the Scandinavian welfare state system, where the public sector has a duty to provide high quality social services to all citizens (Abrahamson 1999:36), suggesting that at least some Icelanders would prefer the state adhere more closely to the model in its rules and methods for linguistic integration of incomers.

The position of the state as a body accountable for language education varies across the focus group and interview transcripts. Those active in the educational system raised the issue of policy development and programmatic governance as an area in which the state is an effective, responsible agent. A statement by Vigdís, an administrator at a school in a rural area, is representative of the ways school personnel are affected by governmental processes:

> We had our program but then the ministry developed a curriculum guide. It meant we reviewed all that we had, changed things here and there. They didn't force us, no, but we all thought it was good to follow a general model. It was supposed to make it easier for our students, if they left us and went someplace else [in Iceland] for classes. (Interview, July 23, 2013)

This perspective was shared by Elín, a teacher working independently. She noted that,

> I really tailor the instruction to my students' needs and what they want. We work together on that. Some want to know more about how to have daily conversations with people, others want to read the sagas. It varies. But, if someone is going to take the language exam [for citizenship], then we mostly follow the curriculum that the ministry has published. That's what they'll be tested on, so we work mostly from that. (Interview May 19, 2012)

Across the board, school personnel spoke of the effects of government policies in this way, noting teachers' and administrators' acceptance of an apparently standardized program without coercion. Administrators and teachers shared a sense that changes advocated by the government would lead to improvement or that following the content guidelines would best serve their students, though always with the recognition that the range and form of changes to each school's and teacher's curriculum will be self-determined (Innes 2015; Innes and Skaptadóttir 2016).

Members of the public were unaware of specific policies affecting schools, though every participant recognized that a language test is required of those seeking Icelandic citizenship. When someone mentioned the test in the three focus groups where this topic arose, participants were unanimous in thinking that imposing a test was a good move by the government as it put some pressure on those wishing citizenship to acquire some level of linguistic skill. And yet, participants were unable to identify any examples of the linguistic skills or knowledge that learners might be asked to display in the examination and failed to describe how test performance leads to integration or social inclusion. Nor did they portray imposition of the test as an impetus for learners to achieve any particular level of proficiency in Icelandic. All

participants expressed ambivalence about the utility of the examination, but applauded the symbolic value of the test as an indication that the Icelandic state recognizes language as an important component of Icelandic identity and citizenship.

Is the government doing enough?

When school personnel and members of the public were asked to respond to the question '*Gera Alþingið, ráðuneytin, stjórnsýslurnar og stéttarfélögin nóg til að hvetja innflytjendur til að læra íslensku? Eru þau að gera nóg til að innflytjendur geti lært hana?*' [Are the parliament, ministries, local councils, or trade unions doing enough to encourage immigrants to learn Icelandic? Are they doing enough so that immigrants can learn it?] Answers were, across the board, negative, with all respondents replying that they did not think these bodies do enough to facilitate language learning. One example of this kind of response is found in the following exchange from a focus group held in a community east of Reykjavík:

> Margrét: Nei, nei, engan veginn.
> [No, no, no way.]
>
> PI: Ömm, hvað finnst ykkur þeir eiga að gera? Þeir skulu gera?
> [Um, what do you (pl.) feel they have to do? They should do?]
>
> Guðrún: Þeir *ættu* að hafa íslenskunámskeið ókeypis .. og aðgengileg fyrir fólk sem er að vinna með því að hafa þau um helgar eða á kvöldin .. ekki þvinga fólk úr vinnu á námskeið, heldur bjóða upp á það á mismunandi tímum, og það þarf ekki að borga fyrir það.
> [They *ought* to have free Icelandic courses .. and accessible ones for people who are working because having them on weekends or in the evenings .. not force people to go directly from work to class, I think they should offer them up at different times, and they don't need to pay for it.] (Focus group, February 20, 2017)]

Here, Margrét opens with a negative response, making very clear that she does not find the state offices and unions do enough to promote and facilitate language learning for immigrants. Guðrún takes the same position but goes on to offer concrete examples of acts that the government offices and unions should do to perform better on this measure. Paying entirely for the courses appears twice in her statement and she stresses this highly in her opening line. She notes that they also should conduct classes at times convenient for those who are employed and have other responsibilities that limit their free time and energy. In this, she encourages these bodies to do more than they are required, as neither government offices nor unions are directly involved in offering classes; decisions about class times and locations are made by schools, without government oversight. It is beneficial for schools to offer classes at times convenient for foreign workers as this increases enrolments and tuition income, but these choices are not directed or mandated by any government offices. Guðrún's wish for fully funded language courses available at a range of times promotes an expanded role for governing bodies

and workers' unions, opting for a structure in which the state has a role in creating a system that more easily and thoroughly meets the needs of immigrant learners. Hers was not the only reply to position the state and unions in this way as other focus group participants voiced the same ideas both within and outside of Reykjavík.

Financial responsibility

The next question in the focus group list, and one that also was asked of language teachers, is '*Finnst ykkur að íslenskukennsla fyrir útlendinga ætti að vera ókeypis, eins og á öðrum Norðurlöndum?*' [Do you think Icelandic lessons for immigrants should be free, like in other Nordic countries?] All but one respondent, who participated in a focus group in a community north of Reykjavík, answered in the affirmative. All other participants, 44 of 45, gave verbal agreement to this question and most described how this kind of financial support would benefit learners. Within every focus group, one or more individuals also stated that making courses free would benefit Icelandic society and communities. Elín, Jóna, and Ása, participants at a focus group in Reykjavík, ran through a list of positive outcomes they could foresee, including a symbolic welcoming of immigrants, lessening tensions within society as learners become better able to both converse with Icelanders and learn about their rights, and making learners aware of Icelandic social norms (Focus group, March 27, 2017). They also thought that Icelandic society would be strengthened as foreigners gain the ability to discuss their practices and perspectives more fully with Icelanders. They find that this would cause Icelandic society to develop more opportunities for inhabitants, promote flexibility and options for coping with changes in the global system, and promote social cohesion.

One person, Sturla, spoke against making classes entirely free to learners. Interestingly, Sturla made only minimal, non-committal comments when the rest of the participants were addressing the question directly. As the group's discussion about this topic began to slow down, Sturla asked whether he might answer two questions at the same time, this one about holding free courses and the one asking whether the Alþingi and other entities are doing enough. In this excerpt from his response, Sturla argues that learners should pay some course fees in order to increase their commitment to learning.

> Ég segi, þ'veist, þú átt samt, sko, mér finnst aðeins að þú, þú veist, það, það er, það er líka að vera value, þett'má ekki líka bara vera ókeypis, ef það hrúgast allir á námskeið, og af því að þú ert ekki að borga neitt fyrir það, þá, þ-þ-þ'veist. Ég veit bara að þegar ég borga fyrir eitthvað, þá vil ég fá eitthvað út úr því, skoh! .. Því ég er búinn að eyða peningönum mínum í'ða, það þarf að vera eitthvert value í'ðí. Ég hef ekki neina, þú veist, hef ekki séð eitthverja rannsókn sem að, þú veist, leiðir okkur .. í sannleikann um það hvort að þetta virkar eða ekki, þessi, þetta hugarfar sko, en, en, ég allavegana held að þurfi að borga eitthvað fyrir það, bara líka, aðeins til að vera meira committed, til að mæta, til að sinna'essu, til að sýna, bera virðingu fyrir samnemendum og kennurum og öðrum slíkum.
>
> I would say, you know, you still had, so, I believe only that you, you know, it, it is, it is also to be of <u>value</u>, that may not like just be free, if it piles everyone in class, and because you are not paying anything for it, then, y-y-you know.

> I know just that when I pay for something, then I want to get something from it, so! .. Because I have paid my money into it, it needs to be of some <u>value</u> in it. I have nothing, you know, have not seen any research that, you know, guide us .. in truth about that, whether that works or not, this, that outlook so, but, but, I always believe that if one has paid something for it, just like, only to be more <u>committed</u>, to show up, to attend to this, to show, just respect for one's student peers and the teachers and other such things. (English words used in the original are underlined.) (Focus group, February 6, 2017)

There are several interesting features in Sturla's comment that suggest he is aware that his view is not shared by others in the group, including second person singular constructions, the hesitations, admission that he is unaware of research supporting his position, and his use of English terms for some concepts.

From the outset, Sturla represents his perspective as deriving from a shared set of understandings through his continual use of the second person singular (2S) pronoun 'you'. Immediately after opening his comment with a first person (1S) subject, 'I would say', he inserts two constructions that reference a 2S subject, 'you know', and 'you still had'. He continues with a switch to a 1S form in which he includes a qualifier, 'I believe only', but then refers to a 2S subject who knows what he means when he says that paying for something creates a commitment in the buyer's mind. Second person pronouns appear eight times in the early portion of his narrative as he sets the stage for his position. At the end, after a brief hesitation marked by repetition of 'but', he marks his belief as his own 'I always believe' and then uses a verb marked for third person singular (3S) to refer to the individual paying for the course. In this, he finally commits to his position, drops the 2S forms that denote others acknowledge the foundation for his view, and relies upon an unspecified 3S subject to demonstrate commitment based upon having paid for the course. His co-participants, however, do not indicate support that his construction is shared or understood as there are neither backchannel cues nor verbalized agreements during his discourse.

The repetitions and pauses in his narrative signal uncertainty about how his idea is being taken. Both types of disfluency allow Sturla some time to formulate his thoughts in such a way that they are likely to be accepted by his audience. For instance, when Sturla states, 'it, it is, it is also to be of <u>value</u>', the hesitancy of 'it, it is' buys him time to settle on value as the key concept he feels is lost when courses are free. This concept is emphasized by saying the term in English rather than using the Icelandic term *virði*. It is possible that Sturla was searching for the English term while working up to the full statement. He also admits that he is not aware of research supporting his view, following this admission with a lengthy pause. His acknowledgement and the pause would allow any of his colleagues who have knowledge refuting his position to speak and, when no one else takes the floor, he finally states his position in a direct and forceful manner.

Turning back to answers given by those in favour of making the courses free of charge, it is necessary to determine who these speakers think is responsible for picking up the tab. The question does not specify that the

national government provide the funding to make courses free to learners, though reference to 'other Nordic countries' would key this reference. Icelanders are aware of the wide variety of social services that Norway and Sweden make available to their citizenry and also are aware that Denmark does not provide this amount of social support. Thus, in all focus groups and teacher interviews, reference to free courses and Nordic countries eliminated the Danish structure from the Icelanders' consideration, leaving them to think only of the Norwegian and Swedish models, with which most are familiar. Teachers directly named the Icelandic state government as the source of funding for course coverage. Responses from members of the public show that they also put the responsibility on the national government, though it was often some time before it was clear that this was the level of government accountable for payment.

Imposing additional regulations for language learning on immigrants

Regulations that the Icelandic state already has in place and whether the state should impose additional language learning requirements came up in several of the focus groups and teacher interviews. These topics were not contained within questions posed to respondents in either group but arose spontaneously, most often after people began responding to a question asking whether immigrants do enough to become integrated. In four of eight focus groups, someone spoke about the fact that some learners take courses only to comply with the residence permit requirements and all language school personnel were aware of this fact (i.e., that non-EU or Schengen citizens complete 150 hours of coursework in the three years prior to applying for the permit). After raising this issue, speakers went on to discuss whether further regulations might increase the numbers of immigrants learning the language. Additionally, the subject of imposing rules on immigrant learners came up in two focus groups where the topic of permanent residence requirements did not surface, demonstrating that people are aware of the state's ability to affect the language learning process in this manner.

Discussions about imposing rules related to language learning took three paths. In three focus groups, there was at least one proponent of requiring that immigrants demonstrate a minimum level of competence in Icelandic, placing responsibility for language learning squarely on the immigrant. No school personnel advocated a change of this sort. The second course, endorsed by a many more speakers, involved the government requiring employers, unions, schools, and social service organizations to provide language instruction for employees and those seeking services, thereby making these bodies responsible for language learning opportunities. Nearly half of the school personnel (seven of fifteen) also advocated increased government pressure for this kind of policy development. The third route taken when discussing government regulations turned on the idea of removing or relaxing language learning obligations on immigrants, relieving immigrants, governmental, and non-governmental bodies of responsibility. Comments by the remaining eight school personnel aligned with this perspective.

In every case, those proposing an increase in regulations connected these with employment. For an example of how this employment-language regulation relation was presented, we turn again to the focus group held in a community east of Reykjavík. In this example, comments were made by both Guðrún and Ólafur to indicate agreement with Margrét's statements. Ólafur and Guðrún's positive interjections have been removed from this excerpt in order to save space.

> Margrét: [Þó] svo að það sé að afgreiða, hvort sem það eru þjónar, eða afgreiðslufólk í verslunum eða eitthvað annað, mér finnst *lágmarks*krafa að fólk tali einhverja íslensku og skilji það sem er sagt við það. Svo ég talaði ekki um fólkið inn á sko eldiheimilum og sjúkráhúsinu talar ekki stakt orð í íslensku, og. Spaugstofan gerði mikið grín af .. að gamlingarnir væru bara farnir að tælensku eða pólsku .. þú veist.
>
> Despite the fact it would be serving, whether they are waiters or service people in stores or something else, I believe *the minimum* obligation would be that people speak some Icelandic and would understand what is said to them. So I am not speaking about people [working] in homes for the elderly or hospitals who do not speak a single word of Icelandic, and .. As a joke it would be very entertaining .. that the very old would just begin [speaking] Thai or Polish .. you know.
>
> Guðrún: Já, ég er mikið búin að velta þessu fyrir mér, af hverju er ekki, sem sagt,
> Yes, I have considered this a lot, why it is not, as you say,
>
> Margrét: Gerð þessi krafa ..
> made this requirement...
>
> Guðrún: gerð þessi krafa, af því þetta virðist vera alls staðar í kringum okkur, sko.
> made this requirement, as it seems to be in all locations around us, so. (Focus group, February 20, 2017)

In this selection, Margrét introduces the commonly voiced opinion that people working in shops and other service industries should at least understand some Icelandic, though neither she nor Guðrún nor Ólafur suggest that laws should be enacted to enforce this minimum. However, when she introduces other types of employment in which immigrants are often found, like caring for the elderly and nursing, she specifies that a minimum standard is not good enough, 'So I am not speaking about people [working] in homes for the elderly or hospitals'. In this, she and Guðrún start to speak of imposing stricter requirements, similar to those in surrounding states. Given that Margrét had been describing her experiences in Denmark immediately before making these comments, it is reasonable to think that this country's laws are those informing her statement and Guðrún's reference to 'all locations around us'. The stringent rules that Denmark imposes on immigrants to attend courses and pass a test about their knowledge of Danish language and culture are noted by both women, as well as Ólafur and participants in other focus groups. Notice that Denmark's laws place responsibility for learning Danish directly on the shoulders of immigrants as they are obliged to take steps in order to comply with the rules. Speakers

advocating the adoption of more stringent language learning requirements often either mentioned Denmark's requirements just before or immediately following comments like these offered by Margrét. Interestingly, nobody ever mentioned mandating courses on Icelandic culture, so clearly were not entirely in favor of following Danish legislation in its entirety.

A second position taken by members of focus groups and several teachers would have the Icelandic government pressure bodies that have direct contact with immigrants, like employers, unions and social service offices, to hold language classes. Under this construction, both the national government and these other entities are cast as having responsibility toward immigrant learns of Icelandic. One example of this kind of commentary comes from a focus group held in a town east of Reykjavík, in which Sylvía and Laufey co-constructed a list of institutions they believe should provide courses for their workers and service recipients.

> Sylvía: Já:, innflytjendur sem eru til dæmis afgreiðslumenn, kennarar, þjónar, og, og hjúkrafræðingar, þeir þurfa að tala og skilja íslensku. Það er lágmarkið.
> Ye:s, immigrants who are for example service personnel, teachers, waiters, and, and nurses, they need to speak and understand Icelandic. That is the minimum.

> Laufey: Sammála. Og ferðaþjónustan, fólk sem vinnur í þjónustu, þau verða að kalla á lækni eða að segja, 'hjálp'! En, sko, .. ég held að atvinnurekendur og stéttarfélögin skulu að halda íslenskunámskeiðin. Ókeypis.
> I agree. And the tourism service, people who work in service, they have to call for a doctor or say, 'help'! But, so, .. I think that employers and labor unions should hold the Icelandic classes. Free.

> Sylvía: Einmitt, einmitt, en þau hafa ekki skylduna að gera það. .. Við þurfum reglur eða þau ætla ekki að gera það hérna. Þau ætla ekki.
> Truly, truly, but they do not have an obligation to do that .. We need rules or they will not do that here. They will not. (Focus group, April 26, 2017)

After having identified a range of jobs in which they think workers need a minimum of skill in Icelandic, Laufey states that it is employers and unions that should (*skulu*) provide the courses. Sylvía notes, however, that these groups are not required to perform this activity. Here, she turns to the idea of forcing them to do this through the imposition of rules (*reglur*). In choosing this word, Sylvía is not recommending that laws (*lög*) be passed or that policy (*stefna*) be enacted, but she is definitely pointing to some entity above the employers and unions to enact rules governing this practice. This entity is located at the level of national government, as there are no offices at the municipal level that wield this kind of control over this diverse group.

Recommendations that institutions associated with immigrant groups be obliged to offer coursework arose in interviews with school personnel as well. Ásgeir, a teacher at a school in Reykjavík, made the following suggestions.

> There are a lot of people who want to learn it [Icelandic], there really are. But many are working long hours, or they can't pay the fees. It is sad, really. So I think sometimes that the places where they work, the churches they go to, the

sports clubs where they play football, these are places where they could learn language. I mean it could actually be taught there, have classes. Politicians could do something about this, make it happen with laws or policies. Offer incentives to these places to do this or something like that. (Interview, June 12, 2012)

His list of groups and locations where classes could be offered is longer and accounts for a broader range of collective spaces than did Laufey and Sylvía's. Notable is that he uses the form 'could' here, rather than the more forceful 'should' or 'must'. This connotes that he perceives these organizations are able to offer classes but does not impose responsibility upon them. However, he immediately raises the idea that 'politicians could do something about this' and changes to a directive voice in that the politicians' actions can 'make it happen'. In the last line, however, he backs off from positioning the government's actions as compulsory by softening the approach to one involving persuasive measures in the form of incentives. Either way, he and the other interviewees are advocating greater government engagement in overseeing provision of language services than is currently done.

The third view was that there be no language learning requirements made of immigrants. This perspective was offered by only one participant in a focus group held in Reykjavík but was commonly stated by school personnel. Ásdís interjected in a conversation in which the state was implicitly encouraged to obligate immigrants to learn Icelandic by two other participants:

> Við getum ekki bara sagt: „Þú verður að læra!" En svo eru bara engin úrræði eða þú kannski hefur ekki efni á því, að fara því það er svo dýrt eða .. þannig að. We cannot just say: 'You have to learn'! As though there is no other solution or maybe you do not have the means to go to them [classes], to go because it is so expensive or ... like that. (Focus group, January 23, 2017)

Her comments follow a discussion in which the other participants had agreed that those applying for residence permits and citizenship should be required to demonstrate they had at least attended language classes. In her statements, Ásdís clearly indicates that she does not find legislated requirements to be the answer. Her 'we' in this portion refers to the entire population of Iceland, including the national government. She leaves open the possibility that some other response may be developed, but she argues that legislation and policy directed at making people learn is not the answer.

Eight teachers of Icelandic for foreigners were against adding responsibilities and three of these stated that they were against the current regulations governing language learning. The eight teachers expressed similar views: that the current rules are ineffectual and lead to few actual language gains among learners who attend courses only to comply with the permanent residence visa requirements. Five of the eight gave examples of students who repeated the same level of course several times, simply to receive credit for attending classes, which is the only measure that the Directorate of Immigration (*Útlendingastofnun*) checks. Learners get certificates showing they have completed courses equalling150 hours and attended at least 85% of the time; those applying for permanent residence visas must provide these certificates in their applications (Útlendingastofnun 2018).

The teachers who stated that the hour requirement does nothing to ensure that course attendees actually develop any skills in Icelandic find the obligation to be meaningless. One teacher noted with some irony that, while the rule maintains a recurrent student base for the language schools, it does nothing to populate courses with people willing to learn about the language or use it in any meaningful way (Interview, January 19, 2012). Karolína, another teacher who is an administrator as well, identified this kind of regulation as an obstacle to efficiently sorting students into classes. Learners in Reykjavík have a choice of schools to attend and each school relies on retaining students; as a result, she feels it is risky to directly address the fact that any particular attendee is simply marking time because it risks their social face (Goffman 1955) and an angry or embarrassed learner may switch schools (cf. Innes 2015).

Karolína finds that this affects the quality of courses at her school. Each learner's competence in Icelandic is informally assessed through a short conversation and brief writing exercise conducted by a staff member. After their competence is evaluated, learners are then placed into one of five class levels. Those who demonstrate low skill levels may find themselves in classes where up to one quarter of the other learners are attending simply to acquire course hours. She and other teachers at her school have noticed that the lack of motivation among those simply attending for hour credits can have a deleterious effect on newer learners' drive to achieve. Interviews with immigrant learners from this teacher's and other schools show that some students are, indeed, affected negatively by this mixing of low- and high-achievers (Innes 2015; Skaptadóttir and Innes 2017). Instructors and administrators like her with this kind of experience voiced great scepticism that new or more stringent requirements would do anything to increase language competence among those immigrants only focused on complying with the rules and lacking the drive to actually learn Icelandic. Some suggested that adding regulations would actually decrease language acquisition among immigrant learners by inciting resistant attitudes to an autocratic state.

Three other teachers cited examples very similar to Karolína's and concluded that levying any language-learning regulations on immigrants was counter-productive. One of them, Davíð, stated that removing the obligation would mean only those immigrants intent on learning Icelandic would seek out instruction. He forecast that this would lead to improved conduct in his classes, particularly in terms of completion of assignments and less use of other languages in the classroom. He also said that having a class of committed students would encourage all to work through linguistic and interactional difficulties, creating a community of learners intending to master these points. He feels that under the current system, course attendees apathetic to learning, complacent with producing incorrect forms and unconcerned with improving their skills set a poor example for those who wish to excel. Making class enrolment and attendance entirely voluntary, he and two others think, will promote greater achievements among those who decide to take language courses.

Discussion and Conclusion

Consideration of focus group members' and teachers' comments shows that the majority is comfortable with 'repressive liberalism' (Joppke 2007), finding it reasonable to require that immigrants desiring permanent residency or citizenship attend courses or take a language test. The views presented here suggest these Icelanders are for the most part comfortable that Iceland is following in the footsteps of the eight countries analysed by Carrera (2006). Many who participated in the interviews and focus groups had lived for a period of several months to some years in another Scandinavian country and others had lived for extended periods in EU countries or the United States. Frequently, these participants referred to their experiences as temporary immigrants when they began their responses to questions about the rationale of requiring incomers undergo some language instruction. They had found similar regulations facilitated their understanding of and acceptance by the communities into which they had moved. Their memories of positive feedback from their host communities shaped their views on the legitimacy of a regulatory framework that places some responsibility for learning the national language on the shoulders of the immigrant individual.

Despite the majority (42 of 45) of interviewees finding it acceptable to require immigrants attend courses or pass a test, none expressed satisfaction with the way this is being done. When asked whether courses should be free to learners, everyone but Sturla answered with an unequivocal yes. The discourse in the focus groups and interviews places this responsibility for financing courses on the national government. Some speakers, however, think that the national government should require employers and trade unions to offer courses, thereby making these bodies responsible for aspects of Icelandic language teaching. It was unclear in responses like Sylvía and Laufey's precisely whether the Icelandic state would provide funding to employers and unions in order to finance the courses. When it came to answers to the question asking whether government entities, employers and unions are doing enough to encourage immigrants to learn, the answer was always 'no' and the Alþingi and ministries were singled out at times as the main bodies that should be providing more financial aid.

Iceland, in the view of these Icelanders, is behaving in a way that accords with their understandings of the other Scandinavian welfare states. Those who had lived abroad were subject to assumptions that they would learn Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish and so find it reasonable that this is expected of immigrants to Iceland. They frame a requirement of this sort to be a means for creating social connections with immigrants and as a way of ensuring that immigrants become aware of the privileges, rights, and responsibilities they have as a result of living in Iceland. The regulations are framed as a form of state care for its citizens in this way and so fit nicely within the Scandinavian welfare model. In order to work successfully, however, the immigrant learner also must bear responsibility for entering the learning environment with a willingness to acquire and use the language.

The calls to have the state finance language instruction entirely, however, demonstrate that Icelanders do not view the current arrangement fits entirely

within the Nordic welfare model. All but one person considers the burden on immigrant learners to be too high under the current structure, so there is a call for the national government to cover all expenses for learners. A move in this direction would shift Iceland's position to resemble that of Norway and Sweden, which provide language courses to immigrant learners free of charge. Making this move would require substantial changes to the organizational and fiscal management of the language programs, so it is doubtful that this alteration will occur soon. Knowing that members of the general public voice strong support for such a move in a country whose welfare system is on the liberal-labour end of the welfare system spectrum suggests that the Icelandic system may be subject to change over time. This adds nuance to studies investigating policy directions taken by states with similar systems (e.g., Borevi 2010 and Jensen 2014) by adding the voting public's perspective on the structure and fairness of politicians' policy decisions and by illustrating where they place responsibility for various aspects of the language learning process.

Notes on transcription

… noticeable pause or break in rhythm
underline emphatic stress
: lengthened vowel sound
? rising intonation
. sentence-final falling intonation
, phrase-final intonation
[ ] comments not in the original text

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Responsibility, Language Movement, and Social Transformation: the Shifting Value of te reo for non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

Introduction

'I just feel that, as, as a citizen of this country that it's really important to acknowledge the first people that were here and—and the importance of their language,' said 'Robyn,' a New Zealander of European descent, to me during an interview. Robyn strongly felt a duty to demonstrate respect for Māori culture and language, and hence was learning te reo at evening beginners' classes.[1] This motivation, along with similar ones expressed by other non-Māori participants during my doctoral fieldwork, prompted me to consider the role and responsibility of non-heritage speakers in language revitalisation efforts. The New Zealand Government has recently assumed some responsibility in partnership with iwi (tribes) for facilitating the linguistic infrastructure necessary to revitalise te reo.[2] Here, I query the role of non-Māori New Zealanders in strengthening the vitality of te reo as I ask, In what ways might members of this majority group be making contributions to these language revival efforts?

In this chapter, I discuss a cultural shift occurring in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region of Aotearoa New Zealand amongst some majority group non-Māori people, due to an increasing engagement with te ao Māori (the Māori world) and valorisation of te reo Māori (the Māori language). The discussion in this paper is based on observations of social changes occurring as a result of transformation at the national level, such as visible state support for te reo and increased agency for Māori resulting from Treaty of Waitangi settlements. One result of these changes has to date been a largely invisible

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1   While it is common practice to italicise words from a foreign language within an English text, te reo Māori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand and, consequently, it is not ordinarily italicised. For that reason, and also because I do not wish to mark the language as 'other,' I have not italicised te reo words or phrases throughout this chapter. Also, while the language's official name is 'te reo Māori,' it is commonly referred to in Aotearoa, and throughout this chapter, as 'te reo' and 'Māori'.

2   The 2016 Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori Language Act recognises that both Māori and the Crown have important and interrelated roles in te reo revitalisation (New Zealand Government 2016).

phenomenon: many non-Māori are enrolling in te reo classes to gain at least a novice proficiency in the language. In interviews, students reported often having initial broader aims of improving employment prospects, enhancing social relationships, and fulfilling an internal drive to demonstrate a sense of responsibility towards the achievement of a bicultural nation. Once settled in class, many non-Māori discern further value in learning about tikanga Māori (Māori cultural protocol). As their values change, the way they relate to and engage with te reo also changes. These changes result in language movement as te reo reaches a wider population. They also lead to social transformation due to changing ideas of how the New Zealand identity is constituted.

For many non-Māori tauira (students) learning te reo, learning the language raises to their awareness the current and historical relationships between Māori and non-Māori. Additionally, the engagement with te ao Māori via learning te reo and elements of tikanga Māori can unsettle preconceptions and challenge perceptions that many non-Māori tauira may have about Māori people, language, and culture. As I show in this chapter, the concomitant changing relationship between a non-Māori tauira and herself as the language course progresses parallels her changing relationship with the social and natural environments. It is through learning a 'foreign' language and aspects of Māori language and culture that the non-Māori tauira is paradoxically drawn closer to herself, and to the imagined nation (Anderson 2016).

Methods, methodology, and participants

During 2017, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Whakatāne, a town in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region of Aotearoa New Zealand. The region has the third-highest population of Māori (27.5%) in the country (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa 2013a). The Whakatāne district is inhabited by approximately 32,700 people, approximately 40% of whom are Māori (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa 2013b).[3,4]

The fieldwork primarily consisted of participating in evening te reo classes at the Whakatāne branch of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, a national indigenous tertiary education institution. All courses were offered to adults free of charge and were pitched at foundation level. Due to demand, the same language class (Te Ara Reo, Level 2) was offered on both Tuesday and Wednesday nights. I attended both. Later in the year, I also attended the next-level class (Te Ara Reo, Level 4) for six weeks. This main activity was supplemented by my participation in two home-based courses provided by the same institution. One course was titled Papa Reo, and focused on te reo

3   As at the 2013 Census, 32,691 people were living in the Whakatāne District (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa 2013b).
4   The 2013 Census shows that there were 13,032 people of Māori ethnicity living in the Whakatāne District (Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa 2013b).

Māori for beginners. The other, He Papa Tikanga, focused on tikanga Māori, Māori cultural protocol.[5,6]

The Te Ara Reo Māori language classes were attended by people living in Whakatāne and neighbouring towns. Most tauira (students) had worked a full day prior to attending class, which ran from 6pm until 9pm, with a half hour tea break. Student ages ranged from 23 to 79 and gender was mixed. Just as varied were students' occupations, educational backgrounds, and ethnic backgrounds. On average, classes comprised 44% Māori and 56% non-Māori. Besides Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent), the non-Māori students identified as American, Canadian, Chinese, Dutch, English, Italian, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Zimbabwean.

The teaching staff in the Te Ara Reo Māori language classes comprised a kaiako (teacher) and a kaiāwhina (teaching assistant). The tauira support advisor for the wānanga would also often join the class, either to teach some specific cultural elements or to conduct a lesson if the kaiako was absent. Besides offering te reo at beginners and advanced levels, other modules offered at this branch of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa included raranga (flax weaving), applied sports leadership, money management, and computing.[7]

Throughout this period, I undertook participant observation in class, around town, and around the Bay of Plenty region. I also conducted interviews with 36 people, predominantly with non-Māori tauira, but also with a couple of Māori tauira who wanted to be involved, as well as the receptionist, and current and former Māori teaching staff. The student support advisor served as my cultural mentor. I learned that while class enrolments for beginners' te reo had always been high, these language classes had not always been available to non-Māori. The expectation that numbers of interested non-Māori would diminish over time had not come to fruition and the demand by non-Māori to learn te reo remained consistently high, with enrolments continually meeting or exceeding class capacity. Also, in the view of some staff, non-Māori tauira largely exhibited a more studious attitude than Māori tauira.

During participant observation and in interviews I asked tauira for their thoughts about learning te reo, including the highlights and challenges, as well as their use of te reo and engagement with te ao Māori outside of class. I also enquired about specific elements of class, such as students' experiences

5   While doing the distance learning, I was supported by a kaitiaki (tutor), who regularly visited me at home to answer any questions, provide any course-related guidance, and assess my learning.

6   In addition to offering distance learning, the institution has 80 locations throughout the country (Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa 2018).

7   A wānanga is a tertiary education institution founded on Māori tradition and philosophy, and 'regarded as the peers of universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education' (New Zealand Qualifications Authority Mana Tohu Matauranga o Aotearoa, n.d.). Historically, a whare wānanga (house of learning) was a 'university, place of higher learning–traditionally, places where tohunga [experts, priests] taught the sons of rangatira [chiefs] their people's knowledge of history, genealogy and religious practices' (Moorfield 2003–2017). In those days, the wānanga only operated at a specific time of the year (Royal 2003:77–79).

of singing waiata (songs), reciting karakia (prayers), and learning how to compose and perform a pepeha (personal introduction). I discuss the pepeha further below. Other lines of enquiry centred on class activities such as role playing and visiting a local marae (community meeting place), as well as perceptions of individual and social attitudes of non-Māori towards te ao Māori.

Working across the two main cultural groups in New Zealand (Māori and non-Māori), I employed a methodology which was a combination of elements of traditional ethnography and kaupapa Māori research methodology. The latter foregrounds the Māori voice and embraces Māori principles such as aroha (respect) and whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building and nurturing). A collaborative, respectful, and reciprocal approach was important to me when doing this research, especially since these are important aspects of Māori culture. Thus, many interviews became enriched by becoming guided conversations rather than formal interviews and friendships were established with some participants.

Researcher positionality

As a Pākehā woman born in the Bay of Plenty region and presently residing in Australia, I am an insider-outsider in the Whakatāne community. I have an in-depth knowledge of the Bay of Plenty, after living there for some 20 years. I am in regular contact with family and friends who live in the area. Further, I attended school in the region, including in Tauranga as well as in Rotorua, another Bay of Plenty city which has a high population of Māori people. While at secondary school in Rotorua, I joined my school's Māori Club and learnt waiata (songs) and dances, along with some elementary te reo. I also had friends who affiliated strongly with their Māori background. However, despite having been born and schooled in the region, I have now lived outside it longer than inside it. My current overseas residency and acquired Australian accent initially led some tauira to query my nationality and allegiances, but after some time this no longer appeared to pose any problem and I was accepted as a locally-grown, if not permanently locally-living, Kiwi (New Zealander). My status as an immigrant in Australia even seemed to work in my favour with those tauira who had emigrated to Aotearoa because, like them, I had had the experience of adjusting to new social and physical environments.

Māoridom moves to and from the margins

In this section, I provide an outline of the greater socio-historical context in which this research is nested. As extensively recorded elsewhere (e.g. Durie 1997; Harlow 2003; May 2005; Te Puni Kōkiri 2019), the marginalisation, discrimination, and dispossession of land and language experienced by Māori since colonisation has had measurable effects on te reo. Despite both Māori and the British Crown in 1840 having signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty

of Waitangi, a 'binding constitutional document' (Jackson, 2018:98) which, amongst other things, promised protection of Māori rights—including Māori language—by the British colonial government (Orange, 2011), te reo Māori was long stigmatised (Waitangi Tribunal 2011:262), and, as with the Sakha language (as outlined by Ferguson, this volume), being proficient in Māori was not always viewed as advantageous. Accordingly, the status and health of te reo declined rapidly over three generations (Reedy 2000). Before World War Two, Māori were largely a rural population and although increasingly affected by 'a resolutely assimilationist approach to [their] education' (May 2005:366), a 1930 survey of children attending Native schools showed that, at home, an estimated 96.6% spoke solely in te reo. The decline of te reo was especially notable after World War Two, a period characterised by the increasing urbanisation of Māori. Previously, the majority of Māori had lived on rural marae (villages). As good English skills were integral to education and employment during that era, and as the social structure of te ao Māori changed and became atomised, inter-generational language transmission was no longer effective as a method of ensuring the vitality of te reo (Harlow 2003:33). Thirty years later, however, that figure had dropped to 26%, and by 1979, te reo was considered moribund (May 2005:366–367).

The subsequent and especially current revival and engagement with the Māori world by many parts of New Zealand society is remarkable since past efforts in te reo revitalisation were primarily focused on Māori people. The revival is even more striking when it is considered that less than 200 years ago significant effort was made to eliminate Māori language and culture. From the time that Pākehā outnumbered Māori, the health and status of te reo began to decline. Pākehā emphasised English as being more important, particularly as a vehicle for prosperity and success. Having previously used te reo in everyday life, including in trade relations with Pākehā, Māori were discouraged from speaking in their language in the community, and especially at school. Many Māori reported being physically punished for speaking or using te reo, including as a first name (Jackson 2018:97; Selby 1999). Consequently, many changed their name to a Pākehā one and encouraged their children to learn English, not speaking to them in te reo at home for fear that they too would suffer by having skills in the 'wrong' language. Some of the Māori participants in this research talked about this phenomenon as being experienced by their parents and they expressed some anger and resentment that they themselves had consequently not been taught te reo at home.

Created in 1975 'as a permanent commission of inquiry' (Orange 2011:230), the Waitangi Tribunal was established to hear and address claims brought by Māori relating to alleged breaches of promises made in the treaty by the Crown (New Zealand Government Ministry of Justice 2017; Orange 2011:14-15, 230–231). Around the same time, a number of Māori movements arose which aimed to improve and strengthen the position of Māoridom (Māori society) (Harlow 2003:33). The Kōhanga Reo (language nest) movement was established by Māori in the early 1980s in response to the rapidly declining numbers of fluent te reo speakers (May 2005:368; Reedy 2000). The intention was to foster te reo Māori by immersing pre-school

children in a Māori cultural framework, in which Māori elders and adults would speak to the children in te reo only (Reedy 2000).[8] The model has proven to be so successful that it has been adopted elsewhere—for example, in Hawai'i ('Aha Pūnana Leo), and also in Finland (kielâpiervâl, the Inari Sámi language bath) ('Aha Pūnana Leo, Undated; Nikula 2006). Following on from the Kōhanga Reo, the first Kura Kaupapa school was established in 1985 (Harlow 2003:33; Reedy 2000). Originally funded by Māori themselves, following the 1989 Education Act in which treaty principles were recognised, the New Zealand government adopted that financial responsibility. This total immersion schooling remains on offer in some parts of the country, including around Whakatāne, today.

During this dawning of te reo revitalisation amongst Māori people, the early stages of what is now New Zealand's second largest provider of tertiary education (Paranihi 2018), Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, were under way. Government support for the Māori language began in earnest around the same time, after a claim was made to the Waitangi Tribunal that the language was a taonga (treasure) of te ao Māori, and therefore, as required by the treaty, the government was legally obliged to protect and nurture it (Harris 2004). This came into effect by the passing of the Māori Language Act 1987, making te reo an official language of New Zealand, and by establishing organisations to support it.[9] In 2016 a new law was passed which replaced this Act. Via Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016, The Māori Language Act 2016, and subsequent establishment of the Te Mātāwai organisation (Te Mātāwai 2018), the government moved to share responsibility for promotion and protection of te reo with Māori people. It remains to be seen what impact, if any, this shift of power may have on non-Māori engagement with te reo.

This era of movement towards reconciliation by the treaty partners has seen recognition of te reo as an official language of New Zealand and witnessed the distribution of settlement monies from Waitangi Tribunal claims. The period is also characterised by iwi (tribes) exercising increased economic autonomy (Wells 2017). As the Māori economy grows, numerous organisations both within and without the country are seeking to engage in trade with Māori. The investment of settlement monies is accompanied by a circulation of tikanga Māori (Māori values), such as kaitiakitanga (stewardship, for example, in relation to the environment), because, in addition to having financial aims, iwi often have social and sustainability aims too (Wells 2017).

Te reo and responsibility

As mentioned above, the primary focus and responsibility for revitalisation of te reo Māori has traditionally largely been placed with Māori, rather than on the population as a whole. However, the government appears to

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8   The children are permitted to speak in the majority language, English, if they wish.
9   Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) and Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development).

now be supporting a different approach. Te Puni Kōkiri, the public service Ministry of Māori Development, states in its Strategy for Māori Language Revitalisation 2019–2023 that two of its three 'audacious goals' are:

> Audacious Goal 1: By 2040,[10] 85 per cent of New Zealanders (or more) will value te reo Māori as a key element of national identity

> Audacious Goal 2: By 2040, one million New Zealanders (or more) will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in te reo Māori
> (Te Puni Kōkiri 2019:11–13)

The wording of these 'audacious goals' appears to include non-Māori people as well as Māori. Implicit in each goal is an indication of moral responsibility. Responsibility, whose Latin origins (*respondeo*) indicate both accountability 'and a capacity to reflect on this accountability' (Hage & Eckersley 2012:1–2), is linked to belonging and, therefore, to community (Herzog, 2014).

The prior lack of attention to the non-Māori role in te reo revitalisation has also been noted by Julia de Bres (de Bres 2008a, 2008b 2011:373), who states that there is 'ample evidence of the "problem of tolerability" in relation to the Māori language among majority language speakers in New Zealand' (2011:374). In other words, te reo is sometimes a target of many majority language speakers' 'negative attitudes and behaviours' (de Bres 2008a:466). However, as noted by Albury (2016), non-Māori often go beyond 'tolerating' te reo by appropriating it as a significant element of the national identity. In that way, the value of te reo is reminiscent of that of the Yucatec Maya language (Yamasaki, this volume), since it is often seen as culturally valuable, while foreign languages such as Mandarin are viewed as economically more valuable (Albury 2016:295). As I show in this chapter, my research indicates that attitudes amongst the general population around the nation certainly appear to be changing, both in relation to the Māori language as well as towards Māori culture. This appears to be particularly so in the Eastern Bay of Plenty region.

Recent years have thus seen an uptake in responsibility for promoting and normalising te reo by government, business, and non-Māori. There are numerous illustrations around the country of this cultural and linguistic rejuvenation today. The capital city, Wellington, is working towards becoming 'a te reo city' by 2040 (Devlin 2018; Wellington City Council 2018:5), has renamed its Civic Square 'Te Ngākau' (the heart) (Devlin 2018), and has discontinued the 22-year-old public Guy Fawkes fireworks display held in November each year.[11] Instead, it will celebrate the Māori New Year, Matariki, by holding a fireworks display in the middle of the year (Macandrew 2018). Meanwhile, in the country's largest city, in June 2018, Auckland Transport began making some announcements on its trains in te

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10   The year 2040 will mark 200 years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

11   The annual Guy Fawkes event commemorates the attempt in 1605 to blow up the British Parliament by Guy Fawkes and his companions. New Zealanders typically celebrate the occasion on 5 November with friends and family, often over a shared meal and by creating a bonfire and watching fireworks displays.

reo (Auckland Council Te Kaunihera o Tāmaki Makaurau 2018). Further, in that same year Prime Minister Jacinda Adern, a non-Māori, gave her first child a Māori middle name (Te Aroha), and announced she was intending for her daughter to be bilingual (Greenfield 2018; Māori Television 2018). Some mainstream television newsreaders and presenters on Radio New Zealand now regularly greet listeners or end their news stories in te reo (Te Puni Kōkiri 2019:5). More specifically, actor Jennifer Ward-Lealand and journalist Guyon Espiner, both fluent non-Māori te reo speakers, have been vocal in sharing their experiences in learning the language and encouraging others to do the same (Espiner 2018; Reo Māori 2017). In 2017, the nationally popular New Zealand musician Dave Dobbyn enlisted Māori assistance to translate the lyrics of one of his songs, Welcome Home, into te reo, and himself had pronunciation lessons so that he could perform the quasi-national anthem in Māori (Dobbyn & Mason 2017; McConnell 2017). Contemporary New Zealand currency features both Māori design and te reo, automatic teller machines offer the user te reo as a language option, and New Zealand Post packaging features Māori designs. Just over an hour's drive away from Whakatāne, the city of Rotorua has begun installing bilingual signage and, like Wellington, is working towards being known as an officially bilingual city (Rotorua Lakes Council 2018).[12]

Non-Māori in Whakatāne find value in te reo

All throughout Aotearoa, Māori language has a prominent position in everyday life as te reo lexical items circulate in New Zealand English (Deverson 1991), including street and place names. Elements of Māori culture and key concepts are also known and embraced by almost all New Zealanders. Examples from material culture include whare (house) and waka (canoe), and from social culture include the haka (war dance), and concepts such as tapu (sacred), aroha (love), mana (respect), and whānau (extended family) (Macalister 2007). Even the word predominantly used to refer to non-Māori of European descent is a Māori word: Pākeha. However, not all Pākehā accept the word due to a (misguided) perception that it has a derogatory meaning (Deverson 1991:19).

In Whakatāne, a town with strong historical ties for Māori and a high proportion of inhabitants who identify as Māori, one cannot miss evidence of Māori culture: significant landmarks have Māori names, there are Māori street names throughout the town, and, as can be seen in Figures 13 and 14 below, bilingual signs in the local Pak'nSave supermarket and public murals representing scenes from Māori legends.[13] Furthermore, Māori designs feature on shop signs, business vehicles, clothing, and local government publications.

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12 The city has adopted the nickname 'Reorua' (literally, two languages).
13 Examples of significant local landmarks known by their Māori names include Muriwai's Cave, Wairere Falls, the Kaputerangi pā (fortified village) site which overlooks the town, and the town itself.

Figure 13. Bilingual signs inside the Pak'NSave supermarket, Whakatāne. Photograph taken in August 2017. Credit: the author.

Figure 14. Mural showing scenes from Māori legends in a public car park, Whakatāne. Photograph taken in November 2017. Credit: the author.

The fact that Māori language and culture are increasingly ubiquitous, both on a national scale and especially locally throughout the Bay of Plenty, is not simply indicative of the country's or the region's history—after all, according to Māori genealogical records and oral history, four of the first waka (canoes) to arrive from the Māori ancestral land of Hawaiki landed in the Bay of Plenty (Taonui 2007).[14] However, rather than the increasingly broader reach of te reo being noted as an historical waypoint, it could be viewed as a marker that the perception of te reo as being inferior and impractical in daily life is shifting.

14 The waka were named Tainui, Tākitimu, Te Arawa, and Mataatua.

There are a number of sources of institutional support for the everyday use of te reo in the region. For example, the Bay of Plenty Regional Council Toi Moana, a local government body, demonstrates its aim to respect Māori values and uphold Treaty of Waitangi principles by issuing policy on same and consulting with Māori on relevant issues. In recognition of its significance to Māori, the Regional Council also flies the Māori flag on significant public occasions, such as Waitangi Day (Bay of Plenty Regional Council Toi Moana 2019).[15] In addition, many of the Whakatāne kindergartens and schools—both primary and secondary—teach te reo and have signage in te reo as well as in English. Strong support for language and cultural revitalisation also comes from Ngāi Tūhoe, a prominent local iwi (tribe), some of whose members teach at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Whakatāne, and others who engage in activist works.[16]

Evidence of this shift in perspective towards an increasing value of te reo Māori can be seen at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Whakatāne, where non-Māori students in beginners' te reo classes often outnumber Māori. As there are no course fees, class attendance is voluntary, in the full sense of the word. It is not especially common practice for adult New Zealanders to learn a second language—historically this was most often due to reasons of geographical distance from speakers of other languages. Given the above, it is evident that there is a real effort being expended by some non-Māori adults in learning te reo and, perhaps unintentionally but nonetheless significantly, elements of Māori culture.

During this study, non-Māori participants reported some moral and instrumental motivations for enrolling in these language classes, including improving employment or career prospects and enhancing social relationships. The following exemplar arose during an interview with 'Jane':

> [W]hen I went for my job interview, this one that I had, I said to the lady, 'And you will notice that I'm actually studying at the moment doing that Level 2 Te Reo Māori with the wānanga,' and she said to me, she says, I respect you so much for doing that. She says, and I'll tell you why. She says, I—my husband—I'm from Ōpotiki, my husband is Māori—she's not—she said. And, and we—we don't know how to teach our children Māori because he doesn't speak it—not, doesn't speak it, he never learnt the culture, he never learnt to speak good Māori to pass on to his children—and she said her father speaks Māori but she doesn't. She said, So I actually respect you for doing that. I said, 'Well, you know, if I see somebody coming in or I walk past somebody they feel *so good* if I just look at them and say, Kia ora! [Hello] Mōrena! [Good morning!]' It means, I've learnt their language, you know. And even if they ask how I am I can answer and—and it shows respect, you know, and I think that's amazing. And—I— for me, I feel that if more Kiwis learnt to speak Māori, that [divide] that's been there for too long—…you know, it—it would just be wonderful, for the country itself—for the people.
> (Interview recorded 17 August 2017)

15 Waitangi Day, 6 February, is a public holiday in New Zealand, a day when the nation commemorates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

16 For example, the artist, Tame Iti.

As can be seen in the above interview excerpt, perhaps largely unconscious motivations reveal that there may be more than simply a desire to enhance one's social or employment prospects. The idea of learning the indigenous language to demonstrate respect indicates there exists also a sense of responsibility as a citizen to do one's part for social cohesion, as well as perhaps for the national identity. Jane, as with others, felt that learning te reo was more than an individual endeavour: it was also a social one. Additionally, the expression of respect by Jane's potential employer for Jane's efforts to learn te reo may indicate a moral change in the value ascribed to te reo. 'Laura,' an Italian immigrant, put it succinctly when she said:

> [Since I've been living in New Zealand] I have become aware of the Treaty of Waitangi, become aware of the indigenous rights, and become aware of Māori or indigenous voice. I feel kind of, an ob—not an obligation, but a moral duty to speak Māori.
> (Interview recorded 6 August 2017)

While these two women may not have attended te reo classes specifically to contribute to the language's revitalisation, their attitudes towards te reo and Māori culture may help to lay the groundwork for other non-Māori to do similar and thus their language learning may unintentionally contribute to the vitality of te reo and to meeting the goals of Te Puni Kōkiri for the year 2040.

Contemporary non-Māori identity calls upon te reo and te ao Māori

The majority of participants, both immigrants and locals, talked about the contribution of Māori culture, including te reo Māori, to the national identity. While it is primarily te reo Māori which distinguishes New Zealand English (Deverson 1991), other aspects of te ao Māori are increasingly viewed as integral to the New Zealand identity. The traditional Māori war dance, the Ka Mate haka, performed by the All Blacks rugby union team before test matches, is one well-known example. Others clearly in the public space include whakairo (carvings), such as the tomokanga (gateway) in the Arrivals area of the International terminal at Auckland airport (Auckland International Airport Ltd 2008), the murals and carvings displayed at Palmerston North (domestic) airport (Rankin 2017), and moko, tattoos increasingly worn by non-Māori which feature Māori designs.

For many non-Māori in the Bay of Plenty region, and indeed, in New Zealand, aspects of Māori culture are not only gaining social legitimacy and currency, but they are also contributing to a sense of national identity and, just as some dialectical features of Sakha index ideas of home, place, and belonging (Ferguson, this volume), te reo Māori serves similarly for some non-Māori, particularly when travelling abroad. One participant, when asked about use of te reo outside the classroom, said that he had had an unexpected opportunity to use it—albeit in a superficial way—when holidaying in Bali

and Thailand, as, upon learning his nationality, shopkeepers often greeted him with, 'Kia ora, bro'. Another highlighted the importance of te reo words at home in New Zealand society when she said, 'There are certain—certain words I think that are becoming embedded in our—in our culture, like "whānau,"[17] it's a very easy way of describing someone who's related to you in some way [laughs]. It's a great word, you know' (Interview recorded 1 September 2017). Other participants illustrated exercising a degree of responsibility for the way in which other non-Māori engaged with te reo. For example, some revealed that they corrected other people's pronunciation and practised the language with their family and friends by texting them in te reo.

Many non-Māori participants in this study explained that class attendance was driven by a desire to expand their knowledge and understanding, in order to fulfil a responsibility to contribute to the ideal of a bicultural national identity. In other words, responsibility to uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi was seen as a 'shared action' (Siragusa, this volume). 'John' said:

> I think, um, I think we're very lucky in New Zealand and I have a vision, that—that New Zealand will be truly bicultural and that's why I've gone to Māori language classes. That's what I think I can do to, to achieve that vision… I firmly believe it. I think it's wonderful.
> (Interview recorded 9 August 2017)

However, while not raised as an issue by Māori students or teachers in these classes, it is understandable that some indigenous people could have concerns about contemporary forms of colonisation occurring via indigenous language acquisition (Albury 2015b:316). In this case, though, the kaiako and the Māori tauira I spoke with were proud and excited to share their reo and tikanga with others. As 'Joe,' a Māori participant, said when talking about tauira of other ethnicities participating in te reo classes and learning to write and perform their pepeha (personal introduction), 'It's humbling to hear those Zimbabweans and those Japanese and the Canadians getting up and having a go' (Interview recorded 2 August 2017). Joe also talked about his admiration for television news presenter Simon Dallow, a Pākehā man who had 'stepped out of his comfort zone' to learn te reo. 'It's about being able to make that cultural difference and to say, "Okay, well, open up your heart," so that's what I admire about people like him' (Interview recorded 2 August 2017).

The pepeha, land, and identity

While te reo may be a wellspring of 'national pride and identity' (Albury 2015a), I suggest that there are other sources, which are increasingly including other aspects of Māori culture. For example, 'Alex,' a non-Māori man, talked

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17 Translation: extended family, though can often include close friends or co-workers.

about the value of the pepeha, a prescribed personal introduction learnt in the Te Ara Reo class which situates the speaker in physical, social, and spiritual realms (Derby & Moon 2018; van Meijl 2019:156–157). Alex talked about the important role he found the pepeha serves in establishing working relationships:

> The first time last week actually when I was doing a proposal for a Māori Trust,[18] I did my pepeha and that's the first time I've done it in a business… Oh, [my pepeha] just rolled off. I wasn't planning to do it; it was just the, uh, opportunity came up where it just fell out [of my mouth] because the people I was talking to—which was at a table; it was a formal meeting—had a connection with Rangitaiki [river]... so I had a connection there, so that's why I said it, 'cause Pūtauaki was their mountain so they were from the same area, that—that iwi [were] from that same area that I was, so that's why I said it, and then of course I had a good connection with them. So that was quite cool. So that's probably one of the other reasons I do the—not the main reason or anything, but through work, uh, I get quite a few Māori Trusts, yeah, for various things, so it helps, I guess. Well, it will do going forward. The more I know the more helpful it'll be.
> (Interview recorded 8 November 2017)

The pepeha is a formulaic, ritualistic way of presenting oneself to others. When reciting a pepeha, the speaker stands and details her relationships—and therefore responsibilities—to the land, the water, to material expressions of social structures (such as buildings), as well as to ancestors and social groupings (Derby & Moon 2018; van Meijl 2019:156–157). It is ordinarily performed on formal rather than informal occasions. I present a short version of my pepeha below as an example of a non-Māori person's pepeha:

Ko Mauao te maunga	Mount Maunganui is the mountain
Ko te Moananui-a-Kiwa te moana	The Pacific is the ocean
Ko te Pākehā te iwi	The Pākehā are my people (tribe)
Ko Beaumont rāua ko O'Toole ōku hapū	Beaumont and O'Toole are my sub-tribes
Nō Tauranga Moana	I am from Tauranga
Ko Michelle O'Toole ahau	My name is Michelle O'Toole

Note that a Māori person would often present a lengthier, more complex, pepeha, providing greater information about other connections to socio-cultural elements, such as the names of eminent ancestors, meeting houses, and dining halls. A significant element missing from my pepeha above is the name of my waka, or canoe. If I was Māori, the waka I would name is that (or those) on which my ancestors arrived from Hawaiki, the ancient homeland of many Māori and the one to which many iwi (tribes) believe the soul returns after death. This is an especially important part of a Māori person's pepeha, because it identifies one's ancestral links and ties to land as,

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18 A Māori Trust is a legal instrument 'formed to manage Māori land or assets on behalf of owners' (Te Tumu Paeroa, n.d.).

generally, where the original waka landed is where the population settled (or nearby).[19]

At Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Whakatāne, many non-Māori reported that through learning how to construct and perform their pepeha, they increased their confidence about speaking in front of other people but, moreover, developed a connection to the land and to other people that they had not felt before. This connection is often brought into effect by making verbally explicit the geographical landmarks and bodies of water with which one affiliates. Taking the time to consider one's origins and to where one feels a strong sense of connectedness often opens new cognitive pathways for tauira. Announcing those relationships aloud, in front of other people, one experiences a performed, embodied sense of belonging. In this study, there were only two participants (one male, one female) out of the 36 interviewed who declared that they did not feel any differently toward the land after learning their pepeha. The more commonly reported experience was similar to the following example, in which 'Cathy,' a Pākehā woman, noted changes to her identity as a result of learning te reo. Cathy stated that, upon starting the course, she did not feel a connection to the land, yet after composing and performing her pepeha, she then felt that, like many Māori, she could identify with a specific mountain and a particular river. This new skill and realisation produced a strong emotional response in her. She felt pride and a sense of belonging. Establishing these personal and social links by using the national indigenous language had a profound effect on many non-Māori tauira. In comparison, while many of the German migrants or descendants of German migrants living in Helsinki, Finland interviewed by Dorothea Breier (this volume) talked about their use of language to mediate and maintain *established* social, emotional, and often familial and historical connections with the *extramural* homeland (Germany), in my doctoral research project, I found that language learning facilitated *new* connections for descendants of settlers or more recent migrants *within* the country.

Conclusion

Just as the initiative to enforce the legal protections of culture and language promised in The Treaty of Waitangi intensified over time for Māori, the cultural value of aspects of te ao Māori, including te reo, have changed and become evident for many non-Māori New Zealanders. While '[i]mperialism frames the indigenous experience' (Smith 1999:20), the non-indigenous experience in Aotearoa is imprinted with te ao Māori. Unlike in neighbouring Australia, where the indigenous population and culture is marked by a manufactured 'absence,' in Aotearoa New Zealand elements of Māori culture, including te reo, cannot be missed or even ignored. Non-

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19 Many of the Māori tauira in the Te Ara Reo beginners' classes identified with local iwi, such as Ngāi Tūhoe or Ngāti Awa, though some were from Ngāti Porou in nearby Rotorua and Ngā Puhi in Northland. (Ngā Puhi have socio-historical links with Ngāi Tūhoe.)

Māori political leaders, media personalities, and popular cultural figures are increasingly embracing te reo. Change is also occurring at the grassroots level, as some non-Māori tauira are experiencing and forging new connections with their own identities, as well as with the land and the nation, via te reo and Māori concepts of relationality and responsibility, such as the pepeha. In this cross-cultural way, non-Māori are simultaneously connecting with elements of both their own and Māori culture in order to transform and co-create both individual and national identities, and they are also contributing to the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

As more non-Māori engage with te reo in ways meaningful to them, the value and place of Māori culture in New Zealand society shifts. Whereas following colonisation, te reo Māori was stigmatised, contemporary attitudes appear to be changing. Consequently, altering relationships with te reo are producing language movement and social change, especially amongst non-Māori in some regions. In the Bay of Plenty, economic and sociocultural changes are contributing to an increasing sense of responsibility towards and valuing of te reo Māori amongst non-Māori people. Whether intentional or not, the te reo Māori language classes at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Whakatāne are serving as a vehicle not only for teaching te reo to non-Māori, but also for sharing aspects of Māori culture and raising non-Māori awareness of, and critical thinking about, New Zealand colonial history. Furthermore, for many non-Māori tauira, learning te reo and tikanga Māori has the paradoxical effect of reifying the nation as a bicultural one. For these non-heritage speakers of te reo, this minority language consequently comes to be perceived on personal and social levels as playing a vital part in the New Zealand identity, as well as making important contributions to social harmony.

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Abstract

Responsibility and Language Practices in Place

Edited by Laura Siragusa and Jenanne K. Ferguson

This v olume i ncludes c hapters b y j unior a nd s enior s cholars h ailing from Europe, Asia, North America, and Oceania, all of whom sought to understand the social and cultural implications surrounding how people take responsibility for the ways they speak or write in relation to a place—whether it is one they have long resided in, recently moved to, or left a long time ago.

The contributors to the volume investigate 'responsibility' in and through language practices as inspired by the roots of the (English) word itself: the ability to respond, or mount a response to a situation at hand. It is thus a 'responsive' kind of responsibility, one that focuses not only on demonstrating responsibility for language, but highlighting the various ways we respond to situations discursively and metalinguistically. This s ort o f responsibility is both part of individual and collectively negotiated concerns that shift as people contend with processes related to globalization.

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