STANDARDIZING MINORITY LANGUAGES

COMPETING IDEOLOGIES OF AUTHORITY AND AUTHENTICITY IN THE GLOBAL PERIPHERY

Edited by
Pia Lane, James Costa, and Haley De Korne

Standardizing Minority Languages

This volume addresses tensions that are born of the renewed or continued need to standardize 'language' in the early 21st century acround the world. The case studies collected here go beyond the traditional macro/micro dichotomy by foregrounding the role of actors as they position themselves as users of standard forms of language, oral or written, across sociolinguistic scales. By considering the perspectives and actions of people who participate in or are affected by minority language politics, the contributors aim to provide a comparative and nuanced analysis of the complexity and tensions inherent in minority language standardization processes. This volume provides new insight into how social actors in a wide range of geographical settings embrace, contribute to, resist and also reject (aspects of) minority language standardization.

Pia Lane is a professor in multilingualism at the Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) at the University of Oslo, where she is PI of the project *Standardising Minority Languages*. Recent publications on standardization include: Lane (2015). Minority language standardization and the role of users. *Language Policy*, 14, 3, 263–283 & Lane (2016). Standardising Kven: Participation and the role of users. *Sociolinguistica 30*, 105–124.

James Costa, previously a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Oslo, where he worked on the standardization of Scots as part of the STANDARDS project directed by Pia Lane, is currently a lecturer at Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris, where he teaches sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and semiotics. He is also an affiliate of Lacito, a CNRS, Sorbonne Nouvelle and Inalco research unit. His current research seeks to understand how a nationalist, post-referendum public space is being constructed in Scotland and how the standardization of the vernacular (Scots), or its rejection, has effects on who gets to be included or not in the public debate. He is the author of a monograph based on previous work on language revitalization in Provence, *Revitalising Language in Provence* (2017).

Haley De Korne is a post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan at the University of Oslo. She conducts research, teaching, and advocacy in relation to minoritized language communities, multilingual education, and language politics. She has participated in Indigenous language education projects in a variety of contexts, in particular in Oaxaca, Mexico. She teaches in the 'Critical Language Education' program at the Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca.

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1 Standardising Minority Languages

Reinventing Peripheral Languages in the 21st Century

James Costa, Haley De Korne, and Pia Lane

1. Introduction

This book addresses a crucial, yet often overlooked dimension of minority language standardisation, namely, how social actors engage with, support, alter, resist and even reject standardisation processes. We look at standardisation processes as a political domain where social actors use standards as semiotic resources for articulating discourses on society. The chapters in this volume are therefore concerned first and foremost with social actors, their ideologies and practices, rather than with language *per se*. By considering the perspectives and actions of people who participate in or are affected by minority language politics, this volume aims to provide a comparative and nuanced analysis of the complexity and tensions inherent in minority language standardisation processes. Echoing Fasold (1984), this involves a shift in focus from a sociolinguistics of language to a sociolinguistics of people.

Comparatively little work exists on how individuals engage with standardisation and language standards in minority or minoritised contexts. In this introduction, we provide an overview of ongoing debates about standardisation processes, highlighting how social actors involved in these processes often find themselves at odds with conflicting priorities. On the one hand, standardisation remains a potent way of doing or inventing language, of producing languages as bounded, discrete entities and as social institutions and subsequently increasing the social status of those who use them. On the other hand, standardisation is inherently a limitation of diversity (Milroy and Milroy 1999) and a way to harness and act upon linguistic, that is to say, social differences. Promoting language standards is thus both a way for validating groups and for limiting group-internal diversity. Considering that diversity is often the very *raison d'être* for minority language movements based on the claims that all ways of communicating are equally legitimate and that language diversity needs to be protected, this trade-off is at best contentious and at worst a Faustian bargain. Language advocates, and in some cases state or regional authorities, often view standards as emancipatory and empowering, a way to promote education and other forms of

civic communication through mother tongues and ensure better chances of equal achievement for minority groups. Yet, such processes require selecting particular forms over others; they generate and legitimise certain varieties of writing or speaking, as well as the structures and institutions that sustain their diffusion. This potentially establishes linguistic standards that speakers themselves cannot meet, together with new hierarchies that give advantage to some speakers over others. Consequently, minority language speakers are potentially faced with a double stigma (Gal 2006): their language continues to hold lower prestige and to fall short when measured against official national languages, and they may also be considered inadequate when measured against the standardised version of the minority language. Paradoxically, standards for minority languages may come to be perceived by social actors as lacking both the authority and anonymity of a national language as well as the authenticity or the capacity to index locality often ascribed to minority languages (Woolard 2008).

How do social actors experience and negotiate these predicaments? Why are standards for minoritised languages sometimes sought after and praised and at other times vehemently contested and rejected? What are the consequences of standardisation projects for different people? It is these questions that this volume considers through case studies of minority language standardisation from around the world. The authors, who come from very different backgrounds with respect to involvement in standardisation processes, draw on ethnographic, historical and discourse data in order to examine standardisation projects in diverse settings. In bringing these case studies and analyses together, we aim to provide both empirical and conceptual insights into minority language standardisation. This volume highlights the role of social actors in the creation and negotiation of standards, and the diversity of marginalised or peripheral speech communities in which standardisation efforts occur. Focusing on ground-level processes and participants allows us to illuminate ways in which projects to standardise minoritised languages echo, reinvent, and at times subvert the characteristics of language standardisation established since the 18th century. Beginning with a reflection on language standardisation from a historical perspective (section 2), we then define our focus on minority/ minoritised language communities and discuss the nature of standardisation projects in these settings in particular (section 3). We conclude with an overview of the volume (section 4).

2.   On the Importance of Standardising Language

Language standards have become naturalised and widely accepted as the normal forms of dominant European languages. Processes akin to standardisation have existed in Europe and elsewhere in the world since at least the advent of literary language in Ancient Greece (see Colvin 2009). Koines, norms, standards, literary languages and the advent of grammatisation

(Auroux 1995) all correspond to attempts at harnessing language use and imposing particular views on speech. In this section, we wish to unravel some of the threads that lead to standardisation, and argue that modern processes of standardisation since the 18th century differ markedly from previous processes. While standards are closely related to other collective projects, we suggest that the standardisation processes which have been occurring in the 20th and 21st centuries have roots which can be traced to a particular place and a particular moment in time: the onset of the modern era in Europe and in its early colonies in the Americas. Current standardisation projects, from this perspective, are descended from the 17th and 18th century philosophical projects which aimed at decontextualising language and at instituting a democratic, universally accessible public space.

2.1 Defining Standardisation

First, let us start with a broad definition of standardisation. Following Charles Ferguson (1996 [1988], 189),

> standardisation is the process of one variety of a language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm—the "best" form of the language—rated above regional and social dialects, although these may be felt to be appropriate in some domains.

This definition equates the standard form of a language with a linguistic norm, an accepted set of rules among a group of people who may view themselves as belonging to a unified language community—something which exists and has existed in every speech community (see, for example, Bloomfield 1927). This, Ferguson continues, links standardisation with language spread and is associated with three tendencies: koineisation ('the reduction of dialect differences'), variety shifting (the association of a group's acts of identity with the supradialectal norm) and classicisation ('the adoption of features considered to belong to an earlier prestige norm') (Ferguson 1996). From this perspective, a wealth of historical processes could be subsumed under the label of standardisation, and only the intensification of such collective undertakings would mark recent centuries as different from previous eras. While the term 'Standard language' has been dated to the 18th and 19th centuries (Crowley 2003), standardisation could be seen as a form of institutionalisation, i.e. the establishment of a norm by a source of power, to serve wider diffusion of ideas or government. A broad definition of standards, such as the one above, could include Koines in classical Greece, as well as the forms of Greek devised for teaching the language in Egypt and Rome for instance. Chancery languages in the Late Middle Ages, in what was to become the Netherlands, in England, or in France, can similarly be viewed as precursors to standard languages (Burke

2004; Lodge 1993). Literary languages also bear much resemblance to what we call standards, and attempts at creating prestigious literary varieties can be traced to Dante in Italy, Chaucer in England, Henrysoun in Scotland, the Pléiade in France or the Languedoc and Provence vernacular literary revivals in the 17th century, as well as other literary movements in Europe, Asia or the Americas. Translations of the Bible into German (1522), Dutch (1526), English (1526 for Tyndale's edition) or, later, Welsh (1588) and other minoritised languages[1] may also be included under this label. Finally, grammatisation, the movement to produce dictionaries and grammars for European vernaculars on the model of Greek and Latin initiated during the Renaissance (Auroux 1995), also bears much resemblance to processes of standardisation, as do the various projects of orthographic regularisation which became common in Europe and elsewhere after the 17th century.

Yet, if the term 'standardisation' can be used to describe all such trends, how useful is it compared to other notions such as 'linguistic norms' or 'literary language'? How then to capture the unique developments linked with the promotion of writing in the vernaculars after the Renaissance, the rise of nation-states and colonial and postcolonial language policy? Is the Standard French of the *Académie Française*, for example, a social construct that differs markedly from Koineised Greek, and if so, how? This book adopts the point of view that standardisation is different in nature from these previous language-related projects. We argue that standardisation constitutes an outcome as well as one of the main defining features of modernity, beginning between the 17th and the 18th centuries in Europe. Social actors who participate in the standard language regimes of contemporary nation-states are engaging in a social project that is distinct from earlier projects in both its focus and its reach, as examined below.

2.2   Standardisation as Decontextualisation: A Historical Perspective

From our perspective, standard languages are the product of three intersecting processes. First, the philosophical project of modernity paved the way for the dominance of standards by associating correct forms of language with decontextualised, apparently neutral and indexical-free forms of language (see Gal 2006, this volume). Second, standardisation matured hand-in-hand with the subsequent formation of nation-states, which developed standards for particular political projects involving the creation of an apparently neutral public sphere and the reproduction of behavioural norms within that sphere. Third, colonisation exported this philosophical and political model worldwide and created a need for teachable forms of European languages.

Modernity is a historical period with origins in the early 17th century. Understood as a period of radical transformations, philosophically, scientifically and politically, and broadly defined by the quest for certainty in knowledge, modernity can be understood as Europe's response to 30 years

of religious wars after the division of Christendom between Catholics and Protestants (Greengrass 2014). Politically, modernity is closely connected with the outcome of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), a series of treaties which marked the end of hostilities, the long-term weakening of the Holy Roman Empire (contemporary Germany) and the rise of nation-states as the system that would ensure stability on the continent (Toulmin 1990).

Language standards were not explicitly crafted at this particular time, however. Rather, language standardisation derives from a scientific, taxonomic project which held that in order to achieve certain, definitive knowledge, 'a unique, decontextualised view of nature must be developed' (Slaughter 1982, 85). In linguistic terms, this translated into a deep distrust of language (Bauman and Briggs 2003) and into projects to invent radically decontextualised and supposedly universal languages (Slaughter 1982). In the words of historian Stephen Toulmin, 'one aim of 17th-century philosophers was to frame all their questions in terms that rendered them *independent of context*' (1990, 21). The changes which philosophers such as Locke, Hume or Kant made possible all revolve around the idea that in order to discuss science, and later public life, language must be purely denotational or referential and should break free from indexicals—of place or of social class in particular. Cosmopolitanism in Germany, England or Scotland—another hallmark of modernity—influenced the rejection of parochial allegiances and the emergence of a special type of language that new bourgeois public spheres demanded for the exercise of polite conversation (Habermas 1991). Cosmopolitanism and decontextualisation emphasise the need for a neutral, i.e. purely referential medium of communication available to all for the conduct of common affairs and the government of the nation, thus, in principle, affording to all who can acquire such a medium the (at least theoretical) possibility to take part without the burdensome interference of social or geographic provenance. This, we argue, is also the point to which standard languages can be traced back (see also Gal this volume).

Viewing language standards as an outcome of modernity allows us to emphasise one of the main defining characteristics of such linguistic modalities: that they are meant to represent a form of decontextualised, neutral, widely accessible and learnable language—a voice from nowhere, as Susan Gal and Kathryn Woolard have written (1995), drawing on Thomas Nagel's (1986) notion of the 'view from nowhere'. This points to the intimate connection between standard language and differentiated social spheres, such as the notion of public and private spheres as defined from the 18th century onwards in Europe. This laid the groundwork for considerations about which languages should be used to do science, politics and public life. It was in this context, for example, that Hume denounced in 1752 the use of Scotticisms among his fellow countrymen as unfit for polite conversation,[2] thus linking language with the formation of the new public sphere of Enlightenment Europe.

It should finally be emphasised that standard languages are, from a historical perspective, primarily written languages. As Mary Slaughter (1982) explains, in the same way that projects of invented, universal languages were primarily written ones (which associated one sign with one notion thought to be universal), standard languages initially stem from a reflection on written language. The written medium came to be part of the definition of legitimate knowledge, and of how this knowledge should be conveyed. This element has proven crucial in minority language movements—to the point that Robert Lafont, an Occitan sociolinguist and a prominent minority language advocate from the 1950s to the early 2000s, has referred to the mystique of the written word as pertaining to the 'revivalist ideology of the redemptive text'[3] (Lafont 1997, 117). The origins of standards in the written word are emphasised by John Joseph (1987), and the importance of the written medium is also apparent in the chapters presented in this book.

While the initial philosophical impetus for decontextualised and neutral language is central to the logic of standards, it is another one of the features we mentioned at the onset of this section which ensured the dominance of standardisation regimes; namely the advent of nation-states and their reliance on centralised administrations and public spaces as their mode of political functioning. The current regime of nation-states is also one of the consequences of the Peace of Westphalia (Toulmin 1990) and thus a product of the same modern period as the ideas on language outlined above. Standard languages, seen as ideal and neutral ways to take part in public life without the burden of indexicals of origins, in turn became closely connected with nation-states. Particularly after the French Revolution, the subsequent politics of language sought to eradicate other languages in France (Certeau, Julia, and Revel 1975) and to not only equate polity and nation (Gellner 1983), but also to include language in the equation. This model, subsequently formalised by philosophers such as Condillac in France or Herder in Germany, was extolled during the 1848 Springtime of Nations and exported worldwide through colonisation or cultural influence in the Americas, Africa and other European colonies.

The movement towards standardisation was bolstered through the rise of centralised governments and administration as well as compulsory education and the creation of unified economic and cultural markets, to use Bourdieu's (1977) terminology. The establishment of national language academies (in France, and later in Spain and elsewhere) also played a central role in amplifying purist and prescriptivist ideals and in naturalising the presence of a top-down authority over language practices, particularly in relation to writing. The initial constitution of languages under a standardisation regime required that inhabitants of a given nation-state align with the newly formed standards (Anderson 2006), creating linguistic hierarchies along one major fault line: on the one hand, there would be authorised languages, on the other hand, illicit dialects, accents and patois.[4] Standard languages are thus linked with the active creation of majorities and social

legitimacy. Importantly, however, they should not merely be viewed as the hallmark of majority groups: they also constitute them. In other words, standardisation is always part of a *groupness* project (Brubaker 2002), a project to bring a group into being along lines which are defined with the help of a universalised conception of correct communication and behaviour. The development of structural linguistics in the early 20th century consecrated the standard languages that had been developed in the previous century as the form of language *par excellence* (Milroy 2001; Armstrong and Mackenzie 2013) and subsequently contributed to the expansion of this linguistic and political regime worldwide. This regime has fostered the view of language as an abstract entity, autonomous from the social actors who speak it and the contexts in which it is spoken. Major European languages now boast long histories of codification and standardisation, to the point where those language planning processes, their outcomes and many of the actors involved in them have become opaque; standards are thus generally accepted by speakers and learners alike as the inherently correct form of a given language, and the authority of the standard goes unquestioned.

In the 20th and 21st centuries, so-called minority or minoritised languages—forms of communication which were largely excluded from institutionalised processes of codification and standardisation in earlier eras, as discussed in section 3—are increasingly engaging with the philosophical and political regime of standardisation. This book addresses the tensions that are born of the impetus to standardise minoritised languages in the early 21st century. We seek to denaturalise and re-contextualise language standardisation by foregrounding the role of social actors in the development and use of language standards and by examining ongoing standardisation projects in minority language communities in the global periphery. What are social actors attempting to achieve through contemporary projects to standardise forms of communication which were previously outside the sphere of authorised 'language'? Do minority standardisation projects simply reproduce the linguistic regimes of modernity and nation-states within their own contexts? What is at stake in these processes, for whom? The following section takes up these questions, following the story of language standardisation into the 21st century and questioning its future.

3. Minoritised/Minority Language Standardisation Projects

As projects to create written and/or spoken standards for national and colonial languages in support of the universalising logic of modernity have advanced, so has the delegitimisation of many other ways of speaking and communicating. Whether classified as patois, dialects or other pejorative terms, there are countless speech communities whose communication practices have not been sanctioned by legitimate authorities within the dominant linguistic market, and have often been expressly excluded. Recognising the

spoken and written communication practices of certain social actors as standard has inversely placed many other actors and their practices in a position of lesser status. It is these social actors and groups who have been marginalised along linguistic lines that we wish to focus on here.

3.1   Minority and Minoritised Language Groups

In this volume, we refer to linguistically marginalised social actors as members of *minority* or *minoritised* language communities and, by way of consequence, their communication practices as minority or minoritised languages. These terms are problematic, yet so are all of the labels which seek to link linguistic forms with groups—whether in terms of minorities or majorities, autochthonous or alien, indigenous or colonial, native or new, vital or endangered. Sociology and political sciences have long grappled with the question of minority groups, and in a seminal paper, Louis Wirth (1945) characterised minority groups both as being cast aside by a dominant group for being separate or different (in terms of customs, language or institutions) and as being viewed as different by its own members with respect to that same dominant group. But more importantly perhaps, it should be pointed out that the very notion of a minority group is itself a product of the Enlightenment phase of modernity (Appadurai 2006) and of later 19th-century Romanticism and nationalism (Anderson 2006). The idea of a minority group, created at the same time as the idea of a majority group, comes hand in hand with the birth of modern nation-states, and with a sense of enumeration (*ibid.*). To use the term 'minority' uncritically, then, is to endorse, or at least use, a term that is historically recent and contingent.

The term minoritised, on the other hand, reflects the understanding that minority status is neither inherent nor fixed. It implies not only that 'minorities' are forged out of 'majorities', but also that certain groupness projects entail the creation of a marginalised collective 'Other'. Finally, and most importantly, it emphasises the processual and constructed nature of group categorisation as 'a minority' (Léglise and Alby 2006). The communities and practices examined in this volume are minoritised through political and social dynamics across space and time. The authors in this volume use the terms minority and minoritised interchangeably, always with recognition of the constructed and negotiated nature of this label. In other words, minority or minoritised language is not used as a term based solely on the number of speakers, amount of territory or frequency of use; rather, dominance or minority status is attributed on the social positioning of groups within a hierarchical social structure (Patrick 2012). Thus, the concept of minority or minoritised language is an expression of relations among groups and not an inherent or essential quality of a language or group (Cronin 1995; Pietikainen, Huss, Laihiala-Kankainen, Aikio-Puoskari and Lane 2010).

The languages and communities examined by the contributors to this volume have all fared poorly in nation-state linguistic markets. The kinds

and degree of marginalisation experienced by speakers vary across contexts, with exclusion of their language from schooling, the judicial system and other prestigious social settings being a common experience. The dynamics of political power which contribute to the minoritisation of individuals, social groups and their communication practices range from the homogenising projects of nation-states to the displacement and extraction projects of colonial (and, more recently, corporate) regimes. While some minority language speakers may not be minoritised in all aspects of social life due to bilingualism and shared nationality (such as the Limburgers in the Netherlands described by Camps, this volume), others are marginalised due to racism and structural prejudices (such as the isiXhosa speakers described by Deumert and Mabandla, this volume). Each case is shaped by a unique history and constellation of factors; however, there are common minoritising influences across the contexts we examine. Some communities have come to be demographic minorities on the periphery of national territories due to the tracing of political borders, such as the Finnic language Kven in northern Norway (see Lane, this volume), the Basque bisected by the Spanish-French frontier (see Urla, Amorrortu, Ortega and Goirigolzarri, this volume) or the Limburgians in the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany (See Camps, this volume; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013 for a discussion on peripheral multilingualism). In contrast, communities situated in colonially constructed nations are not always geographically peripheral nor a numerical minority. However, they are routinely excluded from official and prestigious social spaces, and their ways of communicating are marginalised relative to colonial languages, as exemplified in the cases of Manding across West Africa (see Donaldson, this volume), isiXhosa in South Africa (see Deumert and Mabandla, this volume) or even perhaps of Scots speakers in Scotland (see Costa, this volume). These communities can be considered stateless nations, in that there is no political unit which aligns with their community boundaries. Colonised speech communities often experience a loss of territory and weakened political autonomy, such as the Inuit in the Canadian Arctic (see Patrick, Murasugi and Palluq-Cloutier, this volume) and the Isthmus Zapotec in Mexico (see De Korne, this volume). By bringing together such diverse case studies, we aim to illuminate some of these common conditions which shape minority language groups or communities.

One of the features common among minoritised language communities is that their social status is subject to negotiation and flux. While speakers of national languages experience relative stability in the status of their communication practices, shifting and contested status is a defining feature of minoritised speech communities. The delegitimising influences of national and colonial language policies and discourses are not just a matter of history; rather, they are perpetuated and continue to actively construct minorities in many parts of the world (Haque and Patrick 2015; May 2001; Tollefson 1991). At the same time, policies and discourses which legitimise minoritised languages have increased internationally, nationally, and locally. In the

wake of World War II, decolonial processes and international human rights conventions led to social movements foregrounding cultural recognition, including linguistic rights in various parts of the world (Lane and Makihara 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994; UNESCO 1953). This trend was later appropriated in so-called identity politics after the 1980s—often implemented in connection with neoliberal policies (Boccara 2011; Michaels 2006; Speed 2005). Although the outcomes of policies of identity-based recognition are widely and justifiably critiqued (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; García 2005; Hale 2005), the overall trend in policy from international to local scales has been to provide increasing recognition and rights to minoritised groups. Internationally, mechanisms such as the International Labour Organisation Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples (1989), the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992), and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) have been ratified by many nation-states and have increased recognition for minorities. The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996) was drafted and backed by several international NGOs, although it has not been ratified by any political authorities. On the European regional scale, the Council of Europe created the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages in 1992, which has been ratified by 25 countries to date. On a national scale, some countries have implemented their own policies of recognition such as the Sami Language Act in Norway (1987), the post-apartheid South African constitution (1996) and the Mexican Law on the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2003), among many others. On a local scale, members of minoritised communities have engaged in efforts to gain improved status for themselves and their social and linguistic practices, both independently and in conjunction with regional, national, and international policies. These efforts have taken different forms, from promoting literature, song and language aesthetics (Hornberger 1996; Williams and Stroud 2013), to attempts at establishing locally controlled education (Alexander 2005; Hinton 2013; National Indian Brotherhood 1972) and negotiation of territory and resources (Muehlebach 2001; Muehlmann 2009).

3.2   How Similar Are Standardisation Processes Across Contexts?

Language-related projects feature prominently among minority recognition initiatives, both in policy documents and local practices. As noted above, branding a group's communication practices as less-than-language is part and parcel of the marginalisation of a group relative to others who speak authorised languages. Abolishing the 'dialect' label and ushering in a new 'language' label is a key step in shifting the status of a language and potentially those who use it, as illustrated in many cases in this volume (see Camps; Costa; Lane, this volume). However, minoritised communities do not have to go to the lengths of recruiting an army and a navy to stand behind their dialect

(following the classic formulation differentiating dialect from language). More subtle sources of manipulative force have also been up to the task in recent decades. A prescriptive standard, frequently in conjunction with some degree of legal recognition, is often the weapon of choice in struggles to resist minority status and marginalisation. Standardisation is therefore the locus of various struggles over classifications (Bourdieu 1980) in which different sets of interests are played out from diverse sectors of society. Be it in the case of Evenki, Galician or Inuit languages, standardisation is regularly viewed by those who promote it as a way to legitimise their linguistic claims *vis à vis* now-dominant languages. They are often presented as rationalising, pragmatic projects centred on making communication more efficacious. In this respect, they remain aligned with modern, nationalist standardising projects and have the potential to create new minoritised groups while attempting to redraw the boundaries of linguistic legitimacy.

Crucially, however, we argue that minoritised language standardisation efforts differ in important ways from national language standardisation projects. Just as nation-state standards differed from the literary languages, koines and other normative practices that came before them, the minority language standards that have been emerging in an era characterised by the politics of cultural recognition, neoliberal economic exchange and global communication flows present us with new features and concerns. Urla, Amorrortu, Ortega and Goirigolzarri (this volume) critique what they term the 'reproduction thesis': the tendency of scholars to view minority language movements as reproducing or echoing the 'dominant language ideology, and inadvertently, the inequalities and hierarchies these values entail' (43). While noting the similarities across standardisation movements, Gal (this volume) likewise argues that minority standardisation movements do not always reproduce patterns of dominant languages, but have the potential to 're-signify, reindexicalize, re-imagine' hegemonic discourses (238). This volume responds to the need for greater attention to social actors (Lane 2015) and a more nuanced approach to minority language standardisation movements, as called for by Urla *et al* (this volume).

Here, we wish to point out three of the significant ways in which efforts to standardise minoritised languages differ from national language standardisation projects and which are illuminated in greater detail in the chapters that follow. First, the low, yet potentially fluctuating social status of minoritised communities sets minority language standardisation projects apart from the processes that resulted in standardised national languages. Although in some cases minority language movements may echo nationalist discourses, as various scholars have argued (Woolard 2016; Thiesse 2002), the status of the social actors involved and the goals of these movements are often at odds with the dominant linguistic hierarchy. While the developers of national languages established norms concurrently with the forging of political territories and bolstered by discourses of modernity, the developers of minority language standards are typically acting within established

political jurisdictions and in societies which continue to view their language and culture through deficit lenses. Proponents of minoritised languages are arguing to change a hierarchy that has already been established on absolute terms by national standard regimes. The marginalised status as a point of departure creates a new motivation for standardisation (that of improving the status of a mistreated group) and new challenges (such as shifting long-standing prejudices and practices).

Second, unlike dominant state languages, the stages through which minority language standardisation is achieved are a contemporary occurrence, documented, accessible and visible. As such, this impedes (or complicates) the naturalisation processes that rendered dominant language standards unquestionable (Woolard 2008). Minority language standards are consequently subject to negotiation, debate, contestation and appropriation by various types of social actors in very diverse circumstances. In addition to this, current processes of standardisation occur within new historical conditions which generate new sets of tensions with respect to language (Heller 2010) and in which states no longer have a monopoly over the production of legitimate knowledge (Duchêne and Heller 2012). Consequently perhaps, while previous tensions emerging from language revival movements from the 19th century onward involved negotiating authority with respect to authenticity, rootedness and language rights, new sets of tensions have emerged in late modern societies given the rise of new types of linguistic markets and new roles for language(s): as marketable competences on the one hand, and as repositories of commodifiable authenticity on the other (Flores 2013; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). In this new regime, languages may still depend on previous indexical connections with traditional forms of authenticity, but in terms of practice, they no longer necessarily rely on active communities of speakers. In other words, minority language users are not necessarily speakers: they may only depend on written forms in order to access niche markets for instance.

Third, a further difference is in the relation of minoritised languages to other languages. Under the homogenising logic of state languages, the users of standard national languages were intended to be (or become) monolingual. Monolingual individuals came to be understood as the norm, and nation-states were often constructed and based on the idea of one language (Hobsbawm 1990; Tabouret-Keller 2011). While such ideas have been held with respect to minoritised language groups (in particular in Catalan sociolinguistics, where bilingualism was viewed as a myth serving the progress of Castilian monolingualism—see Aracil 1982), such communities are often familiar with multilingualism and view diversity positively, as an asset. In fact, sustaining this diversity is often an argument to legitimise their enterprise. A desire for a pure, monoglossic norm may emerge in minoritised language communities as it has in national ones (Dorian 1994), but it does not (or cannot) translate into the same monolingual outcome. Acceptance of pluralism and/or ambiguity by actors participating

in minority standardisation projects is attested in many of the cases in this volume. Deumert and Mabandla (this volume) argue that there is evidence of 'a decolonial future for standard languages, i.e. a future in which a diversity of voices rather than a monolithic norm is the way in which we imagine the standard language' (218). Rather than being a conflict which is resolved in order to be erased, the diversity within minority speech communities appears to be a tenacious and perhaps essential feature.

3.3   *Minority Language Standardisation as Social Action*

Within the academic community, there are several disciplines which have contributed to and/ or investigated the phenomena of minority language standardisation, including linguistics, anthropology and language policy and planning. The documentation and description projects of linguists and anthropologists laid the groundwork for the recognition and labeling of certain groups and linked them with named languages (Calvet 1974; Errington 2001). Projects of linguistic analysis or translation of religious texts led to the creation of written norms in many contexts, as illustrated in several chapters in this volume (see De Korne; Deumert and Mabandla; Patrick *et al*., this volume). These standards and classifications were not typically adopted by a majority of the population nor given official status, however.

   The field which has given most attention to the social realities of language standardisation is language policy and planning (LPP). A discipline which emerged in the post-World War II reconstruction era (Fishman, Ferguson, and Dasgupta 1968), LPP scholarship and practice has been concerned primarily with a macro-level focus on nation-states, particularly the new post-colonial states. It was in this context that Einar Haugen (1966) devised his four-stage model for the implementation of standardisation, from selection of norm to codification, elaboration and acceptance. The enduring influence of Haugen and other classificatory models of standardisation can be seen in Coupland and Kristiansen (2011) and recent issues of the journal *Sociolinguistica* (2015; 2016; see Darquennes and Vandenbussche 2015). As top-down policies and plans have failed to result in the desired behavioural changes, the field of LPP has begun to give greater attention the study of local actors as bottom-up policy makers (Ricento and Hornberger 1996; Canagarajah 2005). The essential work of Milroy and Milroy (1999) presented standardisation primarily as an ideology, or perhaps an idea which can only ever be attained in writing. Further, as they contend, '[t]he only fully standardised language is a dead language' (1999, 22). Standardisation, in this perspective, should be viewed as an open-ended project rather than as a finished process to be evaluated. Numerous scholars have contributed valuable case studies and insights on how this project is being carried out in different contexts (Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003; Gal and Woolard 2001; Jaffe 2000; Rosa 2016; Urla 2012; Milroy 2001).

This book contributes to this trend, shifting focus from macro-level processes of standardisation to social actors and to how language policy is appropriated, negotiated and enacted on the ground. Whether the aim is standardisation of linguistic form or content, design of education practices or establishing official status—*corpus*, *acquisition* and *status* planning, respectively, in the classic formulation by Kloss (1969) and Cooper (1989)—the nature and result of language politics are co-constructed not only by politicians and recognised experts, but also inevitably by teachers, learners and everyday participants in a speech community. These participants range from local activists creating YouTube videos (see O'Rourke, this volume) or Facebook communities (see Costa, this volume), to regional language councils (see Lane; Patrick *et al.*, this volume), national bureaucrats (see Grenoble and Bulatova, this volume), foreign missionaries (see Deumert and Mabandla, this volume), and educators (see De Korne; Donaldson, this volume). Our approach to minority language standardisation is thus situated at the crossroads between critical sociolinguistics (Martin-Jones and Gardner 2012), in particular in the present conditions of modernity and globalisation (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2011) and the ethnography of language policy (Gal and Woolard 2001; Hornberger and Johnson 2011; Urla 1993).

Through the comparative and historicised analyses of minority standardisation movements compiled here, we aim to move beyond the simplistic 'reproduction thesis' that Urla *et al.* (this volume) critique and to offer new insights into the specificities of minority standardisation movements. In addition to this contextualised, comparative approach, another key way in which this volume purports to explore the dynamics of minoritised language standardisation is through careful consideration of the social actors involved. While large-scale political and economic trends have played a decisive role in the creation of minoritised language communities, this volume seeks to shift our gaze towards the social actors who are central to these structural trends. The diverse types of social actors involved in standardisation projects have differing relations to the languages they engage with. While some have a high degree of competence and/or speak these languages daily, others have limited communicative competence or do not speak the language at all. Participation is marked by negotiation and tension, not just between minority and majority groups, but also within minoritised groups. In this respect, we consider individual social actors not as isolated and autonomous, but rather as embedded in sets of relations within different fields they seek to influence, modify or contest through their practices. Standards contribute to shaping frames of action, and consequently enable and constrain, emancipate and subject, include but also, as a result, exclude; hence, the scope and role of agency is central when investigating (minority) language standardisation. In considering the tensions of minority standardisation projects—between the promotion of diversity in line with a human rights agenda and the creation of norms reminiscent of nationalist agendas—the practices and perspectives of social actors are of immense

importance. The actions, influences and participation of people are at the heart of any language political project, and they demand even greater attention in the consideration of projects which potentially aim to address social inequalities.

4.   Overview of the Volume

How are social actors engaging in minoritised language standardisation projects under different circumstances around the globe? We wish to answer the call put forward by Ricento (2000) when he emphasised that the role of individuals and their agency is one of the unanswered questions within language policy research, and hence, we ask: who engages or does not engage in these processes and who is affected by them? What is at stake and for whom? Through this approach, we align with critical sociolinguistic endeavours to 'rethink language in the contemporary world [. . .] in order to provide alternative ways forward' (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, 3). Our key analytical units are the actual social actors and the complexity of the social fabric in which the invention of standard languages occurs. In that respect, the chapters in this book are not so much concerned with languages themselves as with the social processes that reshape so-called marginal or peripheral minority-language-speaking communities. We aim to analyse the multiple dimensions of minority language standardisation, highlighting the multifaceted political processes subsumed under this appellation and how these processes are created and engaged in by social actors.

The authors in this volume offer insights drawn from ethnographic, interview, multimedia and survey data and, in some cases, their personal experiences participating in language standardisation projects as linguists, planners and/or community stakeholders. The language communities profiled in these chapters vary extensively in terms of geography, demographics and historical trajectories. They have different degrees of political recognition and have been engaged in standardisation projects for differing amounts of time. Above all, it is the relative marginalisation and minorisation of the speech communities profiled in this volume, rather than any official status as a minority language community that motivates the examination of these diverse social groups as they engage in standardisation projects.

In every context, the initiative to standardise a minoritised language is neither straightforward nor universally embraced; while some social actors promote these processes, others inevitably critique and resist them. None of the cases examined here show universalisation or what might be considered an optimal implementation of the standard, regardless of whether the standard in question is five years or five decades old. Rather than assume that all minority language standardisation efforts are failures (as one might if taking national standard languages as a gauge), we argue that ongoing contestation and diversity of practices are hallmarks of such projects. As Urla *et al.* (this volume) point out, social actors in minority standardisation settings

may have a dual stance in relation to standards, whereby they appropriate them for some purposes, yet problematise them for others. The practices and positionings of social actors in all the cases explored here are complex, showing that in addition to an instrumental relation to the standard (one of acceptance or rejection, use or non-use), they additionally associate the standard (and its semiotic components) with open-ended projects of identity and groupness, as discussed above.

Jacqueline Urla, Estibaliz Amorrortu, Ane Ortega and Jone Goirigolzarri open this volume by considering the engagement of new speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. They discuss the attitudes of new speakers towards the standard variety, analysing the results of focus groups and interviews to show that the standard holds prestige, yet has not delegitimised the vernacular as the dominant logic of standardisation would predict. They critique the widespread assumption held by many scholars that minority standardisation replicates the same kinds of social relations as national language standardisation and call for a more nuanced understanding of what is occurring in contexts such as the Basque community. The authors suggest that the political praxis of the Basque promotion movement, which has been characterised by participation and reflexivity, has influenced the kind of non-hegemonic, yet positive uptake that has occurred in this setting. The processes through which the language promotion movement is carried out are thus highlighted as an area which activists would do well to consider.

James Costa then examines the case of Scots, a language which at first glance appears to reject standardisation, both in principle and in practice. Through a mix of traditional and online ethnography, he illustrates moments when social actors challenge the notion that Scots is a free-for-all form of expression and the response they receive from other members of the speech community. Despite the absence of an official standard, he points out that there is an implicit writing norm which some members of the Scots community adhere to and defend. In a context where the dominant national language establishes standardisation as the norm, he questions whether lack of an explicit standard may in fact, despite the emancipatory potential of the idea, impede the way speakers may access the public sphere.

Limburgish in the Netherlands is another example of a language whose status has risen through protection under European policies of recognition. Formerly viewed as a dialect of Dutch, Diana Camps examines the discourses and practices which legitimate Limburgish as a language in its own right. Beginning with a document analysis of protection policies under the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, she notes the role that discourses of heritage play in the legitimation of Limburgish at international and national levels. At the local level of a language classroom, Camps draws on observation data to examine how a teacher of Limburgish legitimates himself and the language through appropriating the discourse of heritage and deploying a discourse of linguistic expertise.

Bernadette O'Rourke considers how different social actors are influenced by and negotiate the Galician language standard in northwest Spain. After over three decades of official status and use in government and education, there remain numerous debates around the use of standard Galician. The experiences and perspectives of people who have learned Galician in the home are contrasted with the perspectives of young adults and adolescents who learn Galician through formal schooling. Discussions about the standard offer insight into the ways in which social actors articulate their legitimacy and ownership as new or native speakers of Galician.

In her chapter, Pia Lane brings to the fore the material outcomes of standardisation through an analysis of the recent standardisation of Kven. Formerly considered a dialect of Finnish, Kven was recognised as a minority language in Norway in 2005, and as a consequence, a standardisation process was initiated. Drawing on her experiences as a new speaker of Kven and participation in Kven language planning, she approaches the standardisation of Kven as chains of social actions, suggesting that the material outcomes of standardisation may be understood as frozen actions. The chapter addresses the acceptance of the standard by analysing the reception of standardised texts by social actors when they read texts written in Kven.

Lenore Grenoble and Nadezhda Ja. Bulatova take a historical perspective on the standardisation of Evenki, a Tungusic language in Siberia. A fundamental division into the core and the periphery has been a defining characteristic of Soviet and Russian policies. Decisions about language policy and planning come from Moscow to other 'peripheral' regions, leaving little room for choices by social actors in the areas where languages are spoken. The top-down language standardisation process of the Soviet era has ongoing effects for the use and vitality of indigenous languages in the Russian Federation today. Grenoble and Bulatova consider actors without the right to self-determination, arguing that to ask whether indigenous people accept or resist (or even reject) a standardised variety is misleading, in that indigenous peoples in the Soviet Union were not included in decision-making processes.

Elsewhere in the Arctic, Donna Patrick, Kumiko Murasugi and Jeela Palluq-Cloutier discuss the standardisation of Inuit languages in Canada, where competing orthographies linked back to complex histories and regional variation are present. They examine historical documents and draw on personal experience in recent language planning events and processes to describe these histories. They highlight the importance of local, Inuit-speaking actors in the establishment of a socially-acceptable standard now and in the future. Although past standardisation attempts had disappointing outcomes, the interest in a trans-regional standard has remained strong, and new efforts are being made to develop one through a maximally participatory praxis.

Differing standardisation norms are also present in the Isthmus Zapotec speech community in Mexico, as explored by Haley De Korne. Newly

proposed writing norms imagine future users who are literate in Isthmus Zapotec in addition to Spanish, while current Isthmus Zapotec literacy practices are mediated through and heavily influenced by Spanish. The ideal of an autonomous writing norm reflects a desire for an autonomous and enduring community; however, the current realities of socioeconomic hardships and the dominance of Spanish make the establishment of such a norm elusive and, for some social actors, an undertaking which could threaten to create new social hierarchies.

Coleman Donaldson contrasts the standardisation initiatives of different social actors relative to Manding, a transnational language in West Africa. The priorities and paradigms of linguists differ significantly from those of language activists and educators. Drawing on ethnographic participation and analysis of historical documents, Donaldson charts the differences among several Manding writing standards, and how these official and de facto standards interface with social practice. He illustrates how orthographic choices index sociopolitical stances, and argues for the need to foster a written register of a language which aligns with existing metapragmatic norms if the goal is a wider uptake of writing standards.

The long history underlying a language standard is brought to the fore by Ana Deumert and Nkululeko Mabandla, who trace actors in the establishment of differing standards for isiXhosa across centuries of colonial and postcolonial governance in South Africa. They present historical images and text analysis to illustrate the role that colonial missionaries played in establishing writing norms and disseminating printed texts. Subsequently, the role of isiXhosa speakers as authors and critics of texts, often in opposition to the externally imposed norms, was pivotal in the development of a written register of isiXhosa. They argue that the many moments of resistance evident in the history of isiXhosa writing demonstrate the possibility of a new kind of standard, one which includes a diversity of speakers and practices.

Susan Gal closes the volume with a contribution which advances the concepts brought forward throughout the case studies in the book. Building on her previous theorisation of language standardisation, she traces the semiotic architecture of standardisation and its intimate links with European modernity, in contrast to alternative regimes of language that exist in other cultural and historical contexts. Gal examines how minority language standards replicate the framework of national standards, yet simultaneously represent a challenge to standard language regimes. Further, she argues that minority language activists do have scope to resist and create alternatives to hegemonic standardisation, drawing on a wide-ranging review of case studies. She suggests that by shifting the value of minority languages and the conditions of standardisation, these movements may contribute to shifting understandings of modernity.

In light of our recognition of the political nature of language standardisation, and the international cases we have assembled, we have invited each author to use whichever written standard of English they prefer, rather than

impose one standard throughout the volume. While this volume is in conversation primarily with scholars and the academic community, we hope that it may be of interest to some of the other social actors who make up the lively domain of minority language standardisation. By making the volume open access, we hope to reach a wider audience and make future conversations on these topics more inclusive of actors from different contexts and perspectives. If minority language standardisation movements are to achieve some of their emancipatory goals amidst ever-shifting political challenges, an ongoing exchange of perspectives, practices and considerations may offer some support.

Notes

1. Note that there were attempts to translate the Bible into non-European languages such as Nahuatl as early as the mid-16th century, but this was prohibited by the Spanish Inquisition in 1576 (Rodríguez Molinero and Vicente Castro 1986).
2. Reproduced in the Scots Magazine, 1760: http://enlightenment.nls.uk/scotticisms/source-1 (last accessed 1 December 2016).
3. Or, in the original: 'idéologie renaissantiste du texte rédempteur'.
4. The latter category was to prove a formidable reservoir of signs and symbols for later social movements that sought to use languages as a central element in national or territorial claims—in the Romantic period, or later at various times during the 20th century, as examined in throughout this volume.

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2 Basque Standardization and the New Speaker

Political Praxis and the Shifting Dynamics of Authority and Value

*Jacqueline Urla,[1] Estibaliz Amorrortu,
Ane Ortega, and Jone Goirigolzarri*

1. Introduction

In his classic essay "The Production and Reproduction of Legitimate Language," sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991) argued that notions of what constitutes proper or good language are intimately tied to hierarchies of class and institutional power. Taking France as his case, he argued that the greater or lesser prestige that official French enjoys derives not from the properties of the language itself but from social factors: the class status and political power of its speakers. Similarly, he insisted that the forging and spread of a standard variety—often ideologically closely associated with "proper language"—is a function of socioeconomic processes, including nation-state building, the spread of a unified state administration, civil service, mass education, and an increasingly unified economic market that demand uniformity and reward those who possess this linguistic capital.

Bourdieu's work paved the way for theorizing about how ideological structures of linguistic value (e.g., attributions of prestige, authority, rationality) are tied to social structure. His work invited us to think about the convertibility of linguistic, economic, and social capital. While his theorizations served well to give a political economic grounding to the denigration of the "patois" of rural peasants, they have proven insufficient for those of us attempting to explain the complex dynamics of value and authority that arise in the context of minority language movements. Such language movements and their related policies generate new pathways of language acquisition, alternate linguistic markets, corpus reforms, and modes of disseminating them that can sometimes have very different sociopolitical origins and institutional presence than those we find for majority language standards. The result may give rise to paradoxical effects that do not reproduce in any simple way standardization dynamics that we find for state-endorsed majority languages.

This chapter advances this argument via an analysis of the results of a study we have conducted of attitudes of Basque language speakers towards standard Basque some 50 years after its introduction. Our data is drawn

from the Basque Autonomous Community (henceforth BAC) of Spain, where language standardization has coincided with Basque social "normalization," that is, the project of expanding the knowledge and public use of Basque. We begin providing a brief history of how standard Basque, commonly known as *Euskara Batua*, or simply *Batua*, was created and provide the basic features of the empirical study of language attitudes we conducted with individuals who have been schooled only in standard Basque. We draw on Kathryn Woolard's (2008) formulation of the sources of linguistic authority as well as notions of enregisterment (Agha 2005; 2007) as conceptual tools for making sense of the shifting dynamics of value in contexts of revitalization. Our chapter then analyzes some key extracts from our data that illuminate how this particular group of "new" Basque language users characterize and attribute value to the standard Basque they learned in school and the vernacular Basque they often hear spoken among native speakers. Our findings show that while these new speakers report the utility of knowing standard Basque, they do not attribute greater prestige to it nor feel that it gives them greater authority over vernacular speakers.

The still-limited institutional presence and socioeconomic rewards of standard Basque may partly account for these results. However, we will argue that the attitudes new speakers have towards standard Basque and its relatively "weak" authority may come not just from the as yet incomplete process of normalization. It may also be a function of the participatory nature of the grassroots language movement that socialized and supported standardization. Our argument, in short, is that the Basque case suggests that political praxis—the sociopolitical processes by which language reforms are enacted—can be a contributing factor in determining the social effects and reception of standardization. Basque language standardization and revival has benefitted from a populist approach involving broad social participation and debate that has tempered some of the de-authorization of vernacular that standardization has been known to provoke in other language revival contexts.

2.   Basque Language Standardization

The standardization of Basque is a relatively recent phenomenon. For most of its known history, Basque was primarily a spoken language characterized by significant dialectal variation (Zuazo 2013). In their review of Basque standardization, Hualde and Zuazo (2007) note that standardization comes late because the social forces that would impel the development and spread of a unified form were very weak. Basque or Euskara speakers are spread across the provinces of what is today northern Spain and southwestern France. Basque is a linguistic isolate and unlike neighboring minority languages, such as Catalan and Galician, it is neither related to French or Spanish, nor did it have a literary tradition comparable to these other languages. The elites of the Kingdom of Navarre that ruled for eight centuries

over this territory (816–1620) never adopted Basque as the language of the court. A modest amount of writing in Basque began to appear in the sixteenth century, mostly for religious indoctrination. Authors tended to write in the dialect of the region where they lived, using the Roman alphabet and borrowing words and spellings from one another in an effort to make their texts legible to as many readers as possible.

We find no evidence that this state of affairs presented any great anxiety until the late nineteenth century, when modernizing reformers and nationalist elites turned the status of Basque into a focus of attention and made both its declining use and "unregulated" nature into a problem. The growing movement for schooling in Basque, industrial expansion, and possible state-building on the horizon all made the standardization of Basque appear an inherent part of becoming a modern and rationalized nation (Urla 2012a). While a Basque Language Academy was formed in 1918 and given the task of standardization, the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and dictatorship interrupted these efforts for many years. A common orthography was only successfully accepted in 1964. Four years later, in 1968, the Academy voted to begin work on developing guidelines for standardizing various aspects of the grammar (e.g. verbal morphology, declensions, syntax). The task was entrusted to the respected linguist and member of the Academy, Koldo Mitxelena. Rather than picking an existing variety as the new norm, Mitxelena and the Academicians opted for building an amalgamated standard to be known as *Euskara Batua* [Unified Basque]. Unified Basque drew heavily on the central dialects, but at the time of its creation, the standard "was nobody's spoken language" (Hualde and Zuazo 2007, 152). What Batua had behind it—and this is a critical fact to which we shall return— was not the economic or social capital of a group of existing speakers, but a grassroots Basque schooling and adult literacy movement that was its advocate and early vehicle for dissemination. It would become emblematic of the national language reclamation movement and the new speaker in particular.

3.   New Speakers

We use the term "new speaker" following O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo (2015) to refer to individuals who have learned a language by means other than family transmission, typically, though not exclusively, through some mode of formal education.[2] New speakers are an especially interesting group to consider when it comes to social effects of standardization in the BAC. First, because they constitute the majority of younger Basque speakers today and second, because their formal schooling has been overwhelmingly in the newly created standard Basque. Their attitudes and language habits are of key concern to revitalization efforts because in many ways they have become the demographic future of the Basque-speaking population.

In 2011, we launched the *Euskal Hiztun Berriak*—New Basque Speakers— research project. This is the first attempt to do a systematic qualitative study

of the language attitudes, educational experiences, and habits of language use among individuals who have learned Basque by means other than family transmission. Our aim was to develop a typology or set of profiles for new speakers, assess whether they had become the active speakers that the revival movement had hoped to produce, and to try to identify the factors that seemed to facilitate or hinder their process of becoming regular speakers of Basque. Relative to the other territories in France and Spain with Basque speakers, the BAC has been the most proactive in Basque language revival.[3] It was the locus of the most vigorous early mobilizations on behalf of Basque language schooling, and subsequently has provided the greatest funding and institutional support for incorporating Basque into public education, media and public administration.

These efforts have resulted in a significant turn-around in what had been until then a steady process of language shift. At the time of Franco's death in 1975, Basque language speakers in the BAC hovered at barely a quarter of the population. Today, that percentage of the population is closer to 36.4%, with another 19.3% who describe themselves as "passive bilinguals," that is, able to understand (but not speak) Basque well (Basque Government 2013). Aside from the increased competency in Basque, the introduction of Basque into the educational system from the 1980s onward has changed the demographic profile of the Basque speaking population in two salient ways. First, if 30 years ago the prototypical Basque speaker was an elderly person living in a rural or coastal fishing village, today more and more Basque speakers are young people living in urban areas. Secondly, recent government surveys show that in the last 20 years, people who have learned Basque outside the home have come to outnumber native speakers among youth in the 16–24 year old age group (Basque Government 2012).

For our research, we conducted focus group discussions and individual interviews with people who have successfully learned Basque outside the home and have enough competency to carry out a conversation in it.[4] In the design of the project, we looked to assemble focus groups with a cross section of people of different age groups who could represent the diversity of sociolinguistic environments in which new speakers experience Basque as well as the different kinds of learning pathways available. Thus, we had people from cities where very little Basque is spoken in public life and others who live in towns where speaking Basque is a common part of everyday life.

Understanding attitudes towards standard Basque was not one of our intended research questions. However, in the course of focus group discussions and interviews, we encountered a significant amount of explicit commentary on unified and vernacular or spoken Basque that we analyze below. Two features stand out. First, that mastery of vernacular seemed to be a more relevant factor in shaping new speaker's success in transitioning into active speakers than language planners had anticipated. Second, that standard Basque was not seen by these participants as superior or more authoritative than vernacular. In order to make sense of this data,

we begin by laying out the conceptual tools we will be using for analyzing linguistic value

4.   Anonymity and Authenticity in New Speaker Repertoires

In approaching questions of the value and prestige of standards in situations of language recovery, we have found the theoretical framework of Kathryn Woolard (2008) to be highly useful.[5] In contrast to Bourdieu's depiction of language prestige or authority organized along a single gradient—from low to high—Woolard has argued that linguistic varieties are attributed respect and authority on the basis of two competing axes or sets of qualities that she describes as anonymity and authenticity (see also Gal, this volume). By anonymity, she refers to characterizations of speech forms that ground themselves in the affirmation of indexical neutrality. They are not seen to point to any particular social class or group. Deracinated, they are presented as belonging to everyone and no one in particular. Authenticity, by contrast, can also be grounds on which a variety enjoys authority or value. However in this case, that authority is grounded precisely on being perceived as particular, the "genuine" voice of a specific group of people and place (2008, 2). How particular varieties come to be attributed values of anonymity or authenticity, notes Woolard, is very much conditioned by histories of power. State-supported "official" languages or varieties often tend to be attributed values of anonymity. They are regarded as the language of the whole nation, the broader public. Their historical origins in the speech forms of particular ethnic, class, or racial groups are under at least some degree of erasure, although not necessarily uncontested. It is not that minoritized languages are without value. Indeed, they may abound with authenticating value. But they are typically seen as overly "specific" and unsuitable candidates for official, public, or institutional use.

Woolard suggests that one way to understand many minority language movements of the twentieth century is as mass-scale efforts to change this structure of valuation. This is certainly true for the Basque case. While nationalist ideology shores up the idea of Basque as the original or authentic language of the Basque people, language revival efforts since the twentieth century have aimed not simply to preserve Basque, as a kind of museum relic, but to authorize it as a legitimately public language, gaining presence in those arenas previously dominated exclusively by Spanish: official communications, civic life, publishing, and education. Indeed, language advocates argued that without this, the future of Basque would be at risk.

Basque and other minority language advocates in Spain have tended to describe their efforts at language reclamation as language *normalization*. While a certain amount of ambiguity surrounds exactly what normalization means, the aim is not—despite the repeated accusations of critics—monolingualism, but rather, to arrive at a situation where the use of the

minoritized language would become possible and unremarkable in any and all spheres of social life—public as well as private. The term normalization is especially interesting for the way the verb "to normalize" semantically links the making of "norms" and the project of becoming "normal" (Urla 2012a, 83–84). As Michael Silverstein (1996) has observed, the presumption of a common set of shared norms is foundational to European language ideology and what it means to be a "real," "modern," or "public" language. Silverstein describes this "ideology of monoglot standard" as a fundamentally intertwined with notions of the modern nation-state. It is understandable, then, that Basque language advocates concerned with modernizing and institutional-building would see standardization as a necessary strategy for Basque to gain legitimacy as a viable public language (Gal 2006). Standards thus have a multivalent role. They are seen as evidence that a language is indeed a "language," both rationalized and unitary. And they are also regarded as the instrument for achieving these goals.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, what Woolard describes as an ideological restructuring of values, and what Basque advocates call normalization, are deliberate efforts to intervene on the enregisterment of the minority language. As defined by Agha (2005; 2007) enregisterment refers to the processes by which linguistic varieties or repertoires come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as emblematic of particular kinds of social actors, relationships, or practices. Some repertoires may actually be named and recognized as belonging to very particular communities of speakers (e.g. lawyerese, gangbanger talk, Valley Girl talk), while others may go unmarked. Registers, as Agha notes, are culturally shaped models that link a repertoire of speech forms with "particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices" (2007, 24). These models, as he is keen to note, are responsive to the social environment and changes in it. As such, registers are not a fixed set of equations but rather historically changing, living formations that depend upon dissemination and reproduction through communicative processes in everyday life and normative institutions (Agha 2007, 38). As the social domains of use and users change, as a variety becomes adopted into new contexts or social institutions, one can expect enregisterment to also shift. So too, one can expect shifts, says Agha, in the alignment or "footing" that speakers take towards the personae that speech forms are seen to conjure (Agha 2005).

The dynamism of enregisterment as an evolving symbolic process is part of what makes it useful for analyzing processes of minority language recovery. Approaching the enregisterment of standard Basque as an historically rooted process shaped by multiple sociopolitical factors, including the changing demographics of new speakers, its gradual institutionalization, as well as the particular political values and democratic praxis of the language revival movement as a whole will help us to better understand how and why it has the social status it has, and also why it has not replicated the hierarchical effects so often associated with standardization. While it may be true, as

sociolinguists often point out, that minority language advocacy reproduces the monoglot ideals of dominant language ideology, the Basque case shows that outcomes are shaped by more than ideology. Civic engagement and the modes by which language advocacy is undertaken can be consequential for the social effects of standardization.

5.   The Enregisterment of *Batua* and Vernacular

We turn now from theorizations about value as it relates to standards and registers to the data collected through our new speaker focus groups. Here our key questions are: what insights can the metalinguistic commentary and narrated experiences of new speakers give us into the contemporary enregisterment of standardized and vernacular Basque? How are values of authenticity and anonymity manifest in their evaluations of *Batua* and vernacular Basque? Has Basque—standard or otherwise—achieved the status of an unmarked, deracinated public language?

Our focus group discussions showed us that new speakers recognized either in a general way or from personal experience, that knowledge of standard Basque has instrumental value for accessing the particular labor markets and forms of media: careers in education, local civil service, newspaper, radio, and television. No one contested the necessity of a standard for Basque society, and some explicitly affirmed it. But none described standard Basque as being more correct or proper Basque. Although this was not a frequent complaint, a few participants recounted being told that *Batua* was artificial or "not really Basque." Many described it as best reserved for reading and writing or the media, but not for everyday spoken communication.

One of the most interesting findings was the decidedly strong interest in speaking what some of our participants called "local Basque" [*bertako euskera*] or "everyday Basque" [*eguneroko euskera*]. This was made quite explicit in statements like the following by a young university student who studied in Basque since early childhood and at the time was living in a highly Spanish-speaking area of Greater Bilbao.

(1) [Niri gustatuko litzaidake] leku bateko euskeraz egitea, lagunekin egunero euskeraz egitea, ba lotsarik gabe euskeraz egitea.

(Gazte-BI-E, 317)

[I would like to] speak a Basque from somewhere, speak Basque everyday with my friends, speak in Basque without feeling embarrassed.

This feeling was more acute, as we might expect, among new speakers who lived in areas with large numbers of Basque speakers and came into daily interaction with native speakers. The latter tend overwhelmingly to speak in local vernacular. The next two excerpts from individuals living

in towns where Basque-speaking is commonplace illustrate this further. Excerpt (2) is by an older man living in the town of Arrati.

(2) Bueno, gero ba kalekoa ikasi behar, claro, ze hango euskeragaz hemen Arratien, ba bueno, txokantea da, ezta? Egia da, ikasten dozuna euskaltegietan gero erabiltzeko, ba bueno, esparru hau ez da igual egokiena, beraz, ba bueno, kalekoa, eta bueno, ba horretarako be nahiko laguntza nuen ba lagunengandik, ez?

<div align="right">(ZEA-D 10)</div>

Well, then you have to study street [Basque], of course, since here in Arratia, well, [*Batua*] is shocking, you know? The truth is that what you learn in the language school is not the right thing to use here, so, yes, [you need] the street [Basque] and for that I had a lot of help from my friends, you know?

This next comment is from a middle-aged schoolteacher who is recounting his experience teaching in the highly Basque-speaking town of Gernika. Note here that another participant [BI-A, 173] interjects, affirming that the schoolteacher is well received by locals because he can speak in vernacular ("because you do not speak in *Batua*"). The moderator of the group then asks him if he considers himself an *euskaldunberri*, a commonly used term for new speakers.

(3) Urte asko emon dodaz, esan bezala, Gernika, Gernika inguruan, eta gero Lea-Artibaitik, eta lana dela-eta, eta nik ikusi dot be bai hangoen erreakzioa, eta hainbatetan harritu egiten dira jakitean euskaldun barrixa nazela [. . .] igual berba eitxeko era, edo ez dakit, ez dakit [. . .] Izan leike doinua, izan leike hiztegia . . .

<div align="right">(BI-C, 166 / 170 / 172)</div>

—Batueraz ez duzulako egiten.

<div align="right">(BI-A, 173)</div>

—Gernikeraz egiten, edo . . . ni pozik, pozik eta harro.

<div align="right">(BI-C, 176)</div>

—Eta zuk zure burua euskaldunberritzat daukazu edo etapa hori ja . . . ?
<div align="right">(BI-M1)</div>

—Euskalduntzat, ez barrixe, ez zaharra, ez.

<div align="right">(BI-C, 180)</div>

—I have worked a lot, first in Gernika, then in Lea-Artibai, and I have seen the reaction of the people there, how they could not believe I was

a *euskaldunberri* [. . .] Perhaps because of the way I speak [. . .] it could be the pronunciation, could be the vocabulary I use . . .

—It's because you don't speak in *Batua*.

(BI-A, 173)

—I speak the Gernika way [. . .] And I felt happy, happy and proud.

—Moderator: And do you see yourself as an *euskaldunberri*?

—As an *euskaldun* [Basque speaker] neither new nor native.

For new speakers who live in areas where native speakers are in abundance, acquiring some familiarity with the informal and vernacular speech forms was clearly attractive. And indeed, close to half of the new speakers in our focus groups (46%) said they could speak in a local variety of Basque. Among those who lived in areas where Basque speakers made up 60% of the population or more, this figure was 84%. On numerous occasions participants' comments recounted their process of acquiring fluency in vernacular as a particular point of pride and pleasure. The teacher (BI-C) quoted above was not the only participant for whom a command of vernacular had authenticating value as demonstrated by his choice to leave behind the label "new speaker."[6]

In a more in-depth interview conducted in Spanish, another subject, a middle-aged carpenter, explained that for him, learning Basque was an achievement of which he was proud. But that learning vernacular made him feel he had crossed a significant social barrier and that he now experienced a stronger identification with Basque. We seem him struggling a bit with the existing categories of speakerhood. Is he a native speaker? He does not seem to feel he has the right to claim nativeness, and like the above speaker, he signals his new status by calling himself simply a Basque speaker [*euskaldun*].[7]

(4) —Yo me siento euskaldun, entonces, de ahí para adelante. Y luego, pues para mí, pues igual ser euskaldunberri es una medalla en un momento dado, porque me lo he trabajado yo, o sea, me lo he currado yo y es algo que lo he conseguido yo. Es simplemente parte de . . . es un proceso, ¿no? Euskaldun zaharra tampoco, porque sabes que no eres . . . Pero en un momento dado yo igual me metería más, o me gustaría más, o yo igual, a mí mismo . . . sin igual decir a nadie . . . igual sí me metería en el saco de los euskaldun zaharras, porque hablo más como un euskaldun zaharra.

I feel like a Basque speaker [*euskaldun*], at least that, if not more. Then, the way I see it, to be a new speaker [*euskaldunberri*] may have been a medal at a certain moment in time, because I worked for it and it's something I myself achieved. But it's just part of a process, isn't it? Native speaker [*euskaldunzahar*], I'm not that either, because you know

you are not that . . . But at times I would include myself . . . or I'd like to . . . without telling anyone . . . because I speak more like a native speaker [*euskaldunzahar*].

Our data show us that in contrast to the above participant, some new speakers feel themselves to be what William Labov (1973) called a "lame." In his seminal study of urban African-American vernacular, Labov borrowed the term "lame" from the adolescent street culture he was studying—to refer to individuals who lacked fluency in the vernacular forms of their peer group. In the case of Basque language normalization, new speakers' "lameness" may refer both to knowledge of dialectal forms (e.g. grammatical features, phonology), lexicon, as well as informal register markers that are used as one participant said, "in the street." Lameness is a structural outcome produced by the reliance on language learning through schooling—which teaches standard Basque—and the uneven sociolinguistic context that makes it such that many of the people studying Basque may not have many sustained extra curricular occasions to interact with vernacular speakers in Basque informally. As a result, some new speakers, particularly those living in areas with low density of Basque speakers, do not acquire a local dialect, if there is one, and/or will comment that they do not feel competent in informal registers necessary for everyday talk.[8]

The differences between standard Basque and local vernacular may certainly present some problems of intelligibility. Verbal morphology for standard Basque, and the Bizkaian dialect in particular, can be markedly different. The use of contractions or allocutive pronouns in some regions can also be challenging. But it is our sense that once basic grammatical knowledge is acquired, problems for interactions between native and new speakers may be more related to register mismatch. New speakers have indeed learned "Basque" (i.e. *Batua*) but not the variety that is habitually used in informal Basque-speaking social networks. Our data suggests that opportunities for socialization in Basque-speaking networks and the familiarity with vernacular ways of speaking it engenders may be a more relevant factor in shaping new speakers' success in transitioning into active speakers than language planners have heretofore anticipated.

The experiences narrated by new Basque speakers show how language normalization can ironically run afoul of its goals to facilitate new and native speaker integration when policies are framed in terms of "languages" as if these were homogenous entities. Despite the long-standing commitment of the language movement to a "communication" -based approach to language teaching, it has remained tied to a vision of itself as the recovery of a "language" more than speakers. From a speaker-centered point of view, registers are a vital element of how languages are lived. As Agha (2007) explains, we become acquainted with registers through socialization via explicit instruction, implicit modeling, and meta-linguistic commentary that continues over the course of a lifetime, first in the family, then peer groups, and continuing on via the kinds of work and social groups in which

we participate. The range of registers a person is able to use, recognize, and interpret bears the traces of his or her life trajectory. The existence of registers is one of the ways that speech forms are instrumental in producing and reproducing meaningful social boundaries. "Once acquired, proficiency in the register functions as a tacit emblem of group membership" (Agha 2007, 29). At the same time, Agha underscores that the indexical properties of speech forms are "open systems" susceptible to reanalysis, revalorization, and change. These are points to bear in mind as we seek to understand the impact standardization has had on the linguistic ecology of Basque as a whole and its relative position vis a vis vernacular in particular.

6.   The Ironies of Anonymity

"The paradox of language normalization campaigns," writes Woolard, "is that they are marked efforts to make the language the unmarked choice" (2008, 14). And so we might ask, have the truly impressive efforts in Basque education and normalization efforts succeeded at this? What role has standardization played in this?

Our focus group data admittedly cannot fully answer this question, but it does seem to point to the fact that standardization has produced a variety more aligned with values of anonymity. *Batua* operates as a deracinated and de-ethnicized code available to anyone anywhere regardless of their heritage or identification with *euskaldun* [Basque-speaking] culture. But perhaps what is more interesting is that the discussions of new speakers showed that becoming an "unmarked" language is not without its complexities for minoritized language speakers. New speakers in our study, particularly those living in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas, were keenly aware that speaking in Basque, regardless of variety, does not have the status of what Woolard calls "the anonymous invisibility of 'just talk'" (Woolard 2008, 13). The following excerpt makes clear that some of our college-aged new speakers felt that language choice remains marked in many contexts and frequently weighted with political meaning.

(8) Nik uste be bai, euskalduna izatea, euskaldun, euskaldun izatea azkenean ba politika erlazioarekin e bai, o sea, lotzen da.

(Gazte-Do-C, 359)

I think that, yes, to be a Basque speaker [. . .] is, in the end, it gets tied to politics.

(9) —Eske badago igual ikuspegi bat hor, horrelako ikuspegi bat, hemen ez dakit, igual ez herri txikietan edo horrelako leku batean, baina Algorta edo Bilbo hurbileko herri batean ba bai, ia-ia, pues ez dakit, erronka bat . . .

(Gazte-GE-B, 469)

—Bai, militantzia bat.

(Gazte-GE-D, 470)

—. . . militantzia bat al euskera, ez dakit, como reciclar, ez dakit, zer-
baiten, casi casi zerbaiten aurka ari zarela euskara egiteagatik . . .
(Gazte-GE-B, 471)

—Its just that here there is this idea, maybe you would not find it in
small villages or those kind of places, but in Algorta or in Bilbao [places
where Basque is less commonly spoken], it's a challenge . . .

—Yes, a militancy.

—. . . a Basque militancy, I don't know . . . it's almost like being against
something just because you speak Basque . . .

As this comment suggests, part of the obstacle to becoming "just talk"
arises in sociolinguistic contexts where there are few Basque speakers.[9]
Language choice becomes militancy under such conditions. But another
factor to consider pointed to in our data is the history of language advo-
cacy. It has been a mainstay of the language movement to promote a socio-
political understanding of linguistic practice and a sense of ethical duty
towards the language. One of the most well-known slogans of the language
movement encapsulates this view well: "A language is not lost because
those who do not know it, do not learn it, but because those who do
know it, do not use it." The topic of whether or not a person should feel a
responsibility to speak Basque in everyday life generated animated discus-
sion among some of our new speakers and marked a difference between
the older new speakers that had intentionally chosen to learn Basque, and
younger generations who had been immersion-schooled. The former were
more likely to have a more political understanding of language choice and
describe their motivations to learn Basque as coming from a deliberate
commitment [*konpromisoa*] and conscious effort [*ahalegina*] to counter
the marginalization of Basque. By contrast, for the younger new speakers,
access to Basque is a given. They see that their classmates and friends all
know Basque, and at least in this phase of their life, while they are still in
educational settings, they may not experience Basque as socially marginal-
ized. Such was the case for one of our younger, immersion-schooled par-
ticipants who adamantly rejected the idea that she should feel any special
obligation to speak Basque.

The following exchange between participants "D" and "A" in our Bilbao
focus group gives a sense of the contrasting views.

(10) —Jo, noizbait, gainera komentatu dut noizbait lagunen batekin, erru-
dun sentitzen garela euskara baztertu izanagatik, askotan, ezta? [. . .]
Batzutan errudun sentiten gara, badakigulako, ikusten dogulako no-
labait beharbada galdu daitekeela, eta ez dogulako zera bat egiten,
esfortzu bat egiten mantentzeko, ezta?
(BI1-D, 234)

—Ba begira, ni horren . . . osea, por seguir en la línea de eso que acabas de comentar, niri, osea, nik ez dut faltan botatzen, baina gustatzen ez zaidana da batzuek pentsatzea ni erredun sentitu beharko nintzatekeela euskeraz ez egiteagatik. Horrek, nik berdin-berdin lo egiten det e, baina . . . eta gainera ez naiz txarto sentitzen ez egiteagatik, ez, egiten dut . . . euskaraz egiten ez dudanean ba erabaki hori hartu dudalako da. Eta neri gustatzen ez zaidana da batzuk ni kriminalizatzea era batean edo bestean, ez dakit, bai . . . Barkatu, baña nere hizkuntza, osea, nik hizkuntzaren erabilera nerea da eta nik erabiltzen dut nahi dudanean, nahi dudan moduan. Eta horrek bai fastidiatzen nau.

(BI-A, 235)

—Bueno, nik esan dudana, neure kasuan behintzat, erreduntasun sentimendu hori ez datorkit kanpotik, baizik eta barrutik . . .

(BI-D, 236)

"D"—I've sometimes discussed this with my friends, that we feel guilty for having abandoned Basque, in many occasions . . . We feel guilty sometimes because we know, because we can see that Basque could disappear and because we do nothing to help maintain it.

"A"—You know what? [. . .] what bothers me is that some people think I should feel guilty for not using Basque. Well, I don't lose sleep over that, and besides I don't feel guilty for not using it, well, I do use it . . . but when I don't, it is because I have decided not to. I don't want people to criminalize me in one way or another . . . Excuse me, but my language, the use I make of the language is mine and I use it whenever I want it and the way I want it. And, yes, that really annoys me.

"D"—Well, what I am saying, in my case at least, that guilty feeling isn't imposed by others, it comes from within . . .

On the other hand, an older person in the same focus group who learned Basque as an adult thinks that this sense of social responsibility towards language revival continues to be important.

(11) Baña ulertzen duzu esaten dudana da, militantismo puntu hori ez badugula mantentzen, ez badugula mantentzen jai daukagula, eta zuek, ni hor, ez dakit, guk ikusi dugu, nik behintzat ikusi dut ahalegin ikaragarri egin dugula gure adinekoak, eta gure seme-alabek aukera daukate biak egiteko eta . . . bueno ba, haiek egingo dute aurre edo ixo.

(BI-E, 88)

But what I say is that if we don't keep the activism then we are lost . . . I don't know, we've seen that, at least I've seen that people of our age have

done a big effort and now our children have the choice to speak both and . . . well, it will be in their hands whether this goes forward or dies out.

The positions we see articulated in this exchange demonstrate some of the ironies or tensions that surround the acquisition of values of anonymity for a minoritized language. For participant "A," Basque is, and should be, an unmarked language. She wants her language use to be divested of the political meanings and identitarian indexicality that such choices acquired through the activism and consciousness raising of the language movement. We could call hers a "post political" or, following Joan Pujolar (2007), a "post-national" understanding of language choice. For this person, linguistic practice should be an arena of individual freedom and personal choice. Hers is a view of language that scholars see as gaining increasing ground in neoliberal times (Cameron 2000; Urciuoli and LaDousa 2013; Heller 2011; Heller and Duchêne 2012). As the above debate makes clear, however, becoming "just talk" presents complications for a minority language precisely because it comes into tension with the values of solidarity and sociopolitical linguistic awareness that have historically propelled the movement forward and which many speakers still embrace.

7.   Political Praxis and Social Consequences of Standardization

We have argued that minority language normalization can be understood as an intentional effort to rework the structure of linguistic values. In contrast to the model of a single gradient of prestige or authority, we have followed Woolard's suggestion that the authority or legitimacy of a variety can come from different and competing values of authenticity and anonymity. This helps to make sense of ideological work and tensions in Basque language normalization and standardization. Nationalist language ideology reinforces values of authenticity in its recurring characterization of Basque as a unique cultural heritage. At the same time, aspirations for generalizing the use of Basque and incorporating it into public institutions pushed forward the creation of an amalgamated standard, *Batua*, that is an intentionally deracinated variety for public use. Knowledge of this standard has become a linguistic resource needed for passing exams and accessing some public sector jobs, particularly in education. But this has not spelled the demotion of vernacular. On the contrary. Our data shows that for many new speakers, especially those in Basque-speaking zones, there is a clear sense that one needs both vernacular and standard if one wishes to be a socially competent Basque speaker of the twenty-first century.

Comparatively speaking, the social acceptance of *Batua* remains remarkably successful. The standard has not been rejected, and although it did initially generate significant controversy and alienation among native speakers, particularly in Bizkaia, it does not seem to have been so intense or long lasting as to derail its normalization (Hualde and Zuazo 2007). At the same time,

standardization has not produced the pronounced hierarchical effects that current theorizing about standardization might have predicted. Our focus groups with new speakers indicated to us that they do not regard standard Basque as more correct or prestigious than vernacular. Two subsequent focus groups we conducted with native speakers in 2013 showed that native speakers also do not confer greater prestige to *Batua*. Rather, they praised new speakers for learning Basque and especially those who could, as they said, speak "the local way," describing them as speaking "well," "normal," and "just like us."

In this final section, we would like to offer some way of understanding these two issues: the widespread acceptance of standard Basque and yet its decidedly non-hegemonic status vis-a-vis vernacular. What has constrained the ascendance of standard Basque, such that it tends to be treated more as a lingua franca for formal occasions rather than a superior, more prestigious, or more correct form of Basque? How do we understand this state of affairs especially when standard is the variety that permits access to new linguistic markets of public sector jobs, media, and education that have emerged with language normalization? A strictly political economic analysis focused on the degree of convertibility of language resources into economic reward will not suffice. We propose four inter-related factors—1) language ideology, 2) the attachment to values of solidarity and local forms of identification forged in a context of sociolinguistic marginalization, 3) political economy, and 4) political praxis—are at work. The first two assign values of authenticity and solidarity to vernacular, while the latter two work to constrain standard's authority.

Nationalist language ideology plays a clear role in sustaining the importance of values of authenticity when it comes to Basque. Although arguments for Basque drawing on values of competitivity and economic development are on the rise in language policy (Baztarrika 2009; Urla 2012b), Basque nevertheless continues to be figured and valorized as a unique cultural heritage. The division of labor between vernacular and *Batua* described earlier contributes to heightening vernacular's emblematic status as the more authentic of the two. As standard Basque has begun to occupy some of the public and official functions once held by Spanish, vernacular, in turn has come to occupy the position once held by Basque vis a vis Spanish—indexing rootedness in euskaldun (Basque-speaking) culture and authenticity. The closely related notion of "mother tongue" ensures that in this contrast, the vernacular spoken by "native" speakers gains distinction as the most authentic expression of the language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1989; Bucholtz 2003).

Vernacular's value, however rests on more than the enduring effects of romantic nationalism and mother tongue ideology. It is more than a passport to a prized authenticity. Sociolinguistic work on loyalty to non-standard and local linguistic variants suggests to us that the attractiveness vernacular holds and the loyalty its speakers have towards it may also be telling us something about the continuing centrality of values of solidarity

(over status) and membership in local community networks has for Basque speakers.[10] Local forms of Basque are very much tied to place. As one of our research subjects said: he wanted to speak the Basque of *somewhere*. Although Basque speakers will sometimes use the linguistically based dialect classifications—Gipuzkera, Bizkaiera—to describe speech, vernacular is popularly described as the speech of one particular town or another. The loyalty to vernacular is a manifestation of the powerful and enduring identification people have with their hometowns, as well as the intense ethic of solidarity that characterizes local, Basque-speaking networks of family, age cohorts, and neighbors. We suggest this should be understood as a feature of marginalization, not simply a "cultural trait." Like racialized and other minoritized groups, the sense of solidarity is intensified by a shared experience of marginality, not only of the language, but of the larger expressive culture and historical experience of Basque speakers. Values of solidarity, forged in the context of an ideology of contempt towards Basque and direct suppression of its use under the dictatorship, are what sustained Basque language use among native speakers for so long. José Luís Alvarez Enparantza's (2001) research has documented that in order to be able to use their language, Basque speakers had to be preferentially seeking each other out and sustaining tight social networks. Vernacular loyalty needs to be situated and understood not simply or even necessarily as a function of nativist ideology, but as an outcome of strategies of resistance by Basque speakers in a context of linguistic domination. In contrast to the deracinated, standard Basque, vernacular conjures a whole sociocultural world and flags a speaker's engagement with tight-knit social networks that were important sites for its survival and continue to be an important part of what it means to be a participant in *euskaldun* culture. These factors conjoin to play a role in counteracting the demotion of vernacular that scholars have often seen as the inevitable result from standardization.

Should we conclude that standard Basque is socially weak? That it suffers diminished social prestige? What underwrites the social status of standard Basque? Susan Gal's (2006, 164) useful discussion pinpoints social structure and institutions as key in shaping the status standards enjoy

> participation in a regime of standardisation is not primarily a matter of speaking such highly valued forms. Rather it requires exhibiting loyalty towards a standard variety whose high status is supported by the centralising institutions of education, labor markets, mass media and government bureaucracies that inculcate in the population a respect and desire for such linguistic forms. For those living in standardised regimes—as we all do now—standards command authority; other linguistic forms seem inadequate (non-language) or simply invisible.

Without a doubt, the creation of the BAC (1979), and the Law of Euskera (1982) were key to opening the door for standard Basque to gain

a presence in state-like institutions of regional civil service, education and media. *Batua* has emerged as a valued linguistic resource in competitions for jobs in these sectors. While significant, this is nevertheless a still limited socioeconomic niche. Spanish and increasingly English are the ruling languages of the private sector—business, banking, the broader entertainment industry—and, of course, the central government of Spain. The power elite is still overwhelmingly Spanish speaking. Thus, we would conclude that the larger national market sustaining Spanish, the limited or incomplete Basque normalization process, and the ensuing restricted mobility and economic rewards that this resource can provide has something to do with the perceived utility, but limited social prestige and authority that *Batua* is able to command relative to vernacular and more generally.

This undoubtedly plays a role. Standard Basque, to use Bourdieu's terms, has a still quite fragmented and limited market. Many analyses might end right here. However, we believe another factor needs to be considered in explaining *Batua*'s acceptance but non-hegemonic relationship to vernacular Basque. It might not be only a result of something that went wrong, domains that have not yet been conquered, political or economic rewards that have not yet been achieved, but rather a result of something that went right and was quite intentional. The non-hegemonic enregisterment of *Batua* vis a vis vernacular, we argue, is partly a consequence of the deliberately populist nature of the language movement, both in the way it mobilized support for standardization in its early stages and how it continues to produce arenas for citizen involvement and experimentation in Basque language cultural production.

Standarization, populist? It seems an oxymoron. It is true that the norms for *Batua* were established and authorized by experts. But *Euskaltzaindia*, the Basque Language Academy is not the kind of ultra-conservative group of scholars that we tend to imagine when we think of language academies (Median, del Valle and Monteagudo 2013). To be sure, the academicians sought to base their decisions on what they thought were objectively sound linguistic principles, but its members were always in conversation with a social movement struggling against the legacy of a dictatorship hostile to Basque. *Batua* was called for and backed by a grassroots language movement with a wide basis of social support that campaigned on its behalf. Key advocates were politicized writers of revolutionary leanings, the Basque primary school movement (*Ikastolak*) and the Adult Language and Literacy organization, AEK [*Alfabetatzen Euskalduntzen Koordinakundea*]. After it was founded in 1979, the leftist-nationalist Basque language advocacy group, *Euskalherrian Euskaraz* [Basque in the Basqueland] became a powerful advocate for Batua as well. It is important to remember how different AEK was from today's more professionalized language schools. AEK's founder, Rikardo Arregi, saw the Basque language school as an instrument for social liberation and nation-building. Not unlike the Young Lords, Puerto Rican leftist nationalists of the nineteen sixties (Wanzer-Serrano 2015), language

politics were seen as an integral part of a larger project of overthrowing a colonized consciousness. AEK organizers used a populist form of community organizing, traveling from town to town, helping to set up adult classes, recruiting locals to be teachers, and giving talks on language domination and the importance of preserving Basque. Among AEK's creations was the *gau eskola* [night school], offering low-cost evening classes so as to be accessible to working people. This decentralized, participatory, and working-class-conscious approach (Kasmir 2002) shaped the praxis of the language movement and, by extension, infused the enregisterment of its primary emblem, *Batua*, in its early (pre-Basque autonomy) phase with values of patriotism and radicalism.

Because standardization was disseminated in this way and because its sociopolitical motivation was not mystified, as so often happens with standards (Inoue 2006), it was not lived as just the top-down dictate of linguists, but as a contested project in building a solidary nation. There was a significant level of popular engagement and debate, some of it passionate and vehement, in the project of standardization. The President of the Academy, Luis Villasante, was at pains to explain in plain language the criteria they had used in deciding on *Batua* forms and to insist that *Batua* was not a better or more correct form of Basque.

Some might say the Academicians were being naïve. As Gal (2006, 171) has argued,

> by the nature of the standardization process, every creation of a standard also creates stigmatized forms—supposed 'non languages'—among the very speaker whose linguistic practices standardization was supposed to valorize. Contrary to the common sense view, standardization creates not uniformity but more (and hierarchical) heterogeneity.

Gal's observation is spot on: what standardization creates is norms not uniformity. But we also note the parenthetical term, hierarchical, is presented as an equally inevitable outcome. Our claim is not, of course, that hierarchy was absent from Basque standardization. It is well documented that for some time after it was introduced, native speakers illiterate in Basque responded to *Batua* by questioning if their ways of speaking were corrupt or incorrect. (Zuazo 2000) Nor do we want to suggest that buy-in was complete or that *Batua*'s adoption was a totally consensual affair. Opposition and debate was very much a part of the process and our data from new speakers shows some of the insecurities, stresses and strains that Gal quite rightly identifies as ironic outcomes of minority language standardization. Institutional support has been key to *Batua*'s social power. Its adoption as the de facto official variety in schools and public administration was undoubtedly a key factor in its eventual acceptance. But what is also unique and consequential for the non-hegemonic enregisterment of *Batua* has been the class-conscious form of its dissemination at its inception as well as the continuing popular

movement that has characterized Basque language revival as a social process. This involvement has sustained multiple venues for reflection, debate, reassessment of prior stances, and creative experiments in reappropriating and valorizing vernacular that we argue have left their mark in mitigating standardization's hierarchizing effects.

One sees this most clearly in the multitude of often small-scale cultural projects and publications produced in and around language advocacy circles, from the more widely distributed cultural magazines like *Argia*, which regularly features debates on language policies, to large-scale events like UEU [*Udako Euskal Unbersitatea*], the Basque Summer University, that has been running annually since the seventies, to the many local Basque associations (*euskara taldeak*) that began to emerge in the nineties. The existence of local spaces in which to become involved and the diverse projects such associations have created, including local media, provide opportunities for debating policies but also experimenting with informal genres and an array of activities from cooking classes, yoga, to gardening that brought new and native speakers together outside the classroom where standard holds dominion. Basque television, media, and zines provide a rich terrain for tracing the shift in stance toward *Batua* and an increasing incorporation of dialectal features into local and regional Basque language print and broadcast media (Urla 1999). Basque comedy shows and popular culture have provided some priceless satires of the early years when advocates were wedded to the dictates of the Academy and *Batua*. Regimenting Basque, for example, has not led to the disappearance of vernacular oral poetry, as has happened for Romani speakers (Gal 2006, 171). If anything, there is an increasing pride and curiosity about this mode of poetry and other vernacular voices. In short, stances towards the authority of standard and vernacular Basque have clearly been dynamic and shifting.

8.   Conclusion: Questioning the Reproduction Thesis

In her insightful review of scholarship on standardization, Miyako Inoue (2006) reminds us of how important it is to situate matters of language in their broader historical and political economic context. When assessing the impact of standardization it is critical she argues, to pay close attention to "the historical, political-economic, and cultural specificity and diversity of the ways in which a particular standard came to be standardized and normalized" (2006, 122). To date, scholars have given most of their attention to political and economic factors of material advantage and institutional support to explain the status of a standard. These remain unquestionably critical. But the Basque case, we believe, points to the important yet understudied effects of praxis: in this case, the differing modes of dissemination and civic engagement in standardization efforts. The social support that Basque standardization has enjoyed may have something to do with the decentralized and populist character of the language advocacy movement

that has been attentive to issues of accessibility, ongoing self-critique, and tactical shifts. There has been a relatively fluid contact between linguists, language advocacy, and local communities of speakers in the BAC facilitated by its diverse network of non-governmental language associations that are sites of discussion and often very creative experimentation. Time, no doubt, has also played a factor. Some of relaxed stance towards vernacular heterogeneity that we see today might also be an effect of the confidence advocates have gained from more than three decades of language promotion policies. But we think it reasonable to consider that the "weak" authority of standard Basque is not simply an effect of time or the "failure" of an inadequate normalization, but at least partly an outcome of the mechanisms by which social actors have chosen to carry out this process.

The Basque case we have presented prompts us to call for some reconsideration of scholars' frequent claim that in advocating for their linguistic rights, minority language movements tend to reproduce the values of dominant language ideology and, inadvertently, the inequalities and hierarchies these values entail. The affirmation is made often with a sense of disappointment or irony that such movements frequently fail to provide real alternatives to the dominant ideologies that have marginalized language variation. We call this the "reproduction thesis." Standardization efforts and the nationalist framings of language (one nation, one language) used by minority language advocates are some of the most common examples of the reproduction thesis. While it is true that some of the very same discursive tropes and values are invoked in a good deal of revitalization discourse, we think that the stances we have found among Basque new speakers show us that the reproduction thesis begs for more nuance. At a semiotic level, standardization produces, ipso facto, its opposite: the non-standard. But how non-standards are socially regarded is mediated by multiple factors. A careful social history of praxis, historical context, and the evolving linguistic market needs to accompany our analyses of the semiotic features of language ideology and discourse. One could say, and indeed we think the Basque case shows, that the conditions of minoritized languages and advocacy efforts are rarely rehearsals on a smaller scale of majority language dynamics. They generate ironies, predicaments, and innovations that need to be appreciated in their full complexity.

Notes

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2. The term "new speaker" was developed in an effort to set aside the ideological connotations of inauthenticity that terms like "non-native" speaker tend to imply. See Rampton (1990), O'Rourke and Pujolar (2013), and O'Rourke et al. (2015).

3. It is important to note that many language advocates see the scope of their work as the totality of the Basque-speaking territory that spans four provinces in Spain and three in France. There are various efforts at collaboration across these territories. However, language policy is variable across these spaces. Useful documentation on policy can be found on the web site of the BAC's Department of Language policy www.euskara.euskadi.eus [accessed May 20, 2015]

4. Our findings are based on nine focus groups and nine individual interviews in 2011 and 2012 with 74 new speakers between the ages of 18 and 56. In 2013, we conducted two additional focus groups with native speakers of the two main dialects of the BAC (Gipuzkoan and Bizkaian) to assess their attitudes towards new speakers and standard Basque. For more details on methodology and recruitment of participants, see Ortega, Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri, and Urla (2016).

5. This framework is anticipated in the earlier work by Gal and Woolard on the linguistic construction of publics (Gal and Woolard 2001).

6. Knowledge and use of vernacular forms declined to 67% in municipalities with 30% to 60% Basque speakers. Only 8% of new speakers living in areas with less than 30% Basque speakers spoke in dialect. It is worth noting that despite this variance, the vast majority of our participants (82%) affirmed that they could understand well one or more dialectal varieties of Basque.

7. For an elaboration on how the popularly used labels *euskaldun* [Basque speaker], *euskaldunberri* [new Basque speaker], and *euskaldun zahar* [native Basque speaker] are used, see Ortega, Urla, Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri, and Uranga (2015).

8. The markers of local vernacular merit their own study to understand not only what the markers are but how and when they are used. See, for example, Lantto (2014) on the colloquial register of Basque in Bilbao.

9. See O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013, 299–300) for a similar situation in which use of Galician outside of rural areas is taken to index political support for Galician nationalism.

10. On vernacular loyalty, see the classic work by Milroy and Milroy (1978), Milroy and Margrain (1980), and Blom and Gumperz (1972). Roseman's (1995; 1997) work on vernacular loyalty in Galicia stresses the importance of a longitudinal view.

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3   On the Pros and Cons of Standardizing Scots

Notes From the North of a Small Island

James Costa[1]

1.   Rejecting Standardization in a World of Standards

In an article published in early 2016 in the left-wing, Glasgow-based and pro-independence newspaper *The National*, a famous Scots language advocate and celebrated novelist called for a standard form of Scots to be established. "The lack o a Standard is simply haudin the language back when it needs tae be gangin forrit,"[2] Matthew Fitt wrote, urging the various interested parties to start working at once.[3] This call was in sharp contrast to the positions he had taken up to then, as he also asserts in that same paper. The opinion voiced by Matthew Fitt also stood in opposition to the generally prevailing opinion among language advocates that Scots needs no standard since it is overly diverse dialectally for a general agreement to be reached without much conflict. From Shetland in the North Sea to the border with England, from rural areas to urban centers such as Glasgow or Edinburgh, the realities of vernacular practices in Scotland are undoubtedly complex. Whether or not this complexity impedes or, on the contrary, warrants a standard form has, however, been a matter for debate throughout much of the twentieth century—a debate that seemed settled when an anti-standardization consensus began to apparently prevail towards the end of the twentieth century, but which continues to re-emerge among Scots writers today.

Fitt himself had, until his 2016 commentary, been a strong advocate of the anti-standardization position. The Scots language, proponents of this approach generally argue, does not need a standard because, in the words of James Robertson, an internationally acclaimed novelist, "[o]ne of the language's very strengths lies in its flexibility and its less-than-respectable status: writers turn to it because it offers a refuge for linguistic individualism, anarchism, nomadism and hedonism" (Robertson 1994, xiv). In a more radical form, this view can take the shape of the words of the lexicologist Iseabail Macleod, for whom Scots "covers everything from dialects which the English—or even other Scots—wouldn't understand, to the way we're speaking just now, which is English with a Scottish Accent" (quoted in Dossena 2005, 15).

Under such conditions, it is no surprise that a position that rejects normative approaches to language should be rejected in favor of more inclusive

views. But, one may ask, does the absence of a standard make linguistic individualism possible?

Bearing Robertson's remarks in mind, consider the following event, which I will develop later in this chapter. One morning in the spring of 2015, the world of Scots language activism woke up to a change made to the Falkirk entry on the Scots language Wikipedia—Falkirk is a small town located between Glasgow and Edinburgh. It then read:

> Faukirk [. . .] is a mukil tún in Stirlinscheir, Skótlin. Faukirk is heim ti i Faukirk quheil amang iðir hings sik is i Kalanur hús an i Faukirk Fitbau teim. It wis a geʒ iʒdent airt ai i kuntrai. Faukirk is in atwein i mukil seiteis Gleska, Edinburgh an Stirlin.[4]

Until the previous day, the text had been as follows:

> **Fawkirk** [. . .] is a muckle toun in Stirlinshire, Scotland. Fawkirk itsel is hame til the Fawkirk Wheel amang ither things sic as the Callander Houss an the Fawkirk Bairns Fitbaw team. It's a gey industrial an weel-populatit airt o the kintra. Staunss an aw as the main nave atwein the ceities o Glesgae, Edinburgh an Stirlin.
>
> (https://sco.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fawkirk—the current
> version differs slightly)

This change prompted a series of discussions on the Wikipedia forum associated with the page, as well as among language advocates on various forums, online and offline. The previous version was swiftly reinstated by the Scots Wikipedia editor, and the author of the changes was served a warning: "If yer disruptive behavior continues much mair, ye may be blockit wioot further wairnin."[5] Linguistic individualism, it would appear, only goes so far.

This chapter is interested in how much individualism is acceptable—in other words, it is interested in how, in the apparent absence of a standard, written occurrences fall within the realm of the acceptable or the unacceptable. Doing so allows us to engage seriously with Susan Gal's (2006, 17; see also Gal, this volume) assertion that "[s]tandardization is only one kind of language regime." A language regime can be understood as a set of individually internalized rules of conduct as well as the myriad actions and ideas that govern linguistic usages. The examination of standards is a way of understanding logics of action under regimes of standardization, including contestation of such a mode of regulating language. It is useful to consider what is deemed acceptable or not in a regime, such as that of Scots, that purports to reject standards, especially given that no speaker of Scots leads a life outside the highly standardized regime of English.

The case of Scots provides insight into how much freedom a non-standard linguistic regime allows, compared to the constraints presupposed by a standard language regime. Is the absence of a standard really a way to maintain

linguistic individualism and hedonism for all? Characterizing standard language ideologies, James Milroy writes:

> The standard ideology decrees that the standard is an idea in the mind—it is a *clearly delimited*, *perfectly uniform and perfectly stable variety*—a variety that is never perfectly and consistently realized in spoken speech.
>
> <div align="right">(Milroy 2001, 543, emphasis in the original)</div>

Standards, in other words, must combine the greatest possible variety of usages with the least variation in form (Mugglestone 1995). Yet, standards are linked to institutions that guarantee their value (see Gal, this volume) and require constant enforcement and policing, something that apparently juxtaposes them to the freedom granted in a non-standard linguistic regime.

Suggesting, as Susan Gal does, that standardization is only one type of language regime points to the fact that it is a way of policing social relations, that is to say the types of rights and obligations that individuals concerned by its jurisdiction must exert towards each other. In a standard language regime, the source of linguistic authority is supposed to rest outside the individual or the situation of communication and equal mastery of the standard should, in theory at least, position all participants in an interaction as equal. As such, standards serve as a "voice from nowhere" (Gal 2011, 34). The purported neutrality of a standard also tends to suppress certain indexicals, such as one's place of origin. In non-standard regimes of language individuals must, on the other hand, rely on other criteria to establish authority, legitimacy and to organize social positions through speech.

By analyzing a situation in which no official standard exists, but in which standardization is regularly construed as an issue, I argue that one can explore certain important aspects of language standardization, namely that beyond being a linguistic register, standards serve as organizational principles among people. In the next sections of this paper, I explore how language regimes can be understood through the case of Scots. I then return to the vignette introduced at the beginning of this paper and add another one, an analysis of an attempt by a burger restaurant chain to print a menu in Glaswegian Scots for the launch of a new restaurant in Glasgow.

This paper is informed by several years of on-and-off fieldwork in Scotland (from 2007 onward, in particular in Edinburgh and in Shetland), by several formal and informal interviews with various language advocates involved with Scots language advocacy and by participation in Scots social media networks. During fieldwork, I was particularly careful to seek the various sites in which standardization could be turned into an issue. Both of the events I look at in this paper are fairly unusual, but this uncommon aspect allows me to highlight the difficulties linked with the rejection of language standardization in a society where the presence of standard language is the norm.

2.   Regimenting Scots Through History: Between Language and Dialect

By historicizing the issue of standardization of Scots in Scotland, this section seeks to show how an absence of recognized linguistic standard came to be and how a number of discussions came to shape what may or may not be done when it comes to writing down Scots. While there is no Scots standard *de jure*, numerous debates have come to shape sets of expectations, if not of norms, as to what Scots should *de facto* look like. This also explains, in part, why the writing of Scots is constrained by a number of covert rules, stratified through decades of academic and scholarly conversations. It is a game, in other words, whose rules are more complicated than the absence of a standard would have new players to believe.

An understanding of the historical distinction made in Scotland between language and dialect is essential to understand contemporary debates on the standardization of Scots. In the English-speaking world, Scotland included, a distinction has long existed between those categories, as Mugglestone (1995, 9) points out, quoting the writer George Puttenham in 1589: "After a speech is fully fashioned to the common understanding, & accepted by consent of a whole country & nation, it is called a language," he could then write. So while it is now commonplace to state that languages have usually been conceived as bounded, discrete entities since the onset of Modernity, what Puttenham alerts us to is the extent to which "doing language" is a political project—one that aims at bringing certain forms of imagined communities into being. Dialects, on the other hand, could be seen as the provincial offshoots or rejects of this project—or, alternatively, as projects on a smaller scale.

In Scotland, the politics of dialect can only be understood in relation with the political project that gave rise to the diffusion of Standard English as the normal means of communication in polite society throughout England and Scotland—a moment that occurred towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, at the very moment when Scotland was losing its political independence. While Scots is now often conceptualized by its speakers as well as by some linguists as slang or as dialect, this is the result of several centuries of a delegitimization project that originates in the sixteenth century (Bald 1926). This project was subsequently reinforced during the Scottish Enlightenment (Dossena 2005) in the eighteenth century, when Edinburgh literati such as the philosopher David Hume sought to acquire legitimate pronunciation and to rid their speech of Scotticisms (Mugglestone 1995). Over the next few hundred years, English was to become the *de facto* standard language in Scotland.

Scots is variously described in academic and non-academic literature as a dialect, a group of dialects, a language in its own right and/or as a national tongue (McClure 1984). Whichever terminology is adopted, the main issue is that of the relation of Scots to English. Their linguistic proximity is

emphasized by all commentators, who, if they favor the option that views Scots as a language, will also point to similar cases of linguistic proximity in Spain, France or Scandinavia (McClure 2009; Unger 2013): if Occitan, Catalan or Norwegian can be languages, then so can Scots, they argue. The question of whether Scots is an autonomous language or a form of English is therefore central to linguistic debates in Scotland, especially since it can never be answered due to its political nature.

The question of the Scottish vernacular cannot be separated from a wider discussion on the standardization of English, linked with a political project of linguistic unification of the British Isles. In the eighteenth century, after the Acts of Union of the parliaments of Scotland and England (1706–1707), linguistic unification came to be seen in intellectual circles in both Scotland and England as a way to promote social harmony and equality throughout the new kingdom (Mugglestone 1995, 27). Note that while differences in speech between Scotland and England are remarked upon throughout history, few in Scotland had ever considered their vernacular as a different language in the modern sense of the term. Fewer still had thought of either the vernacular of the South and the East or even of Gaelic (a Celtic tongue then widely spoken in the Highlands) as being a marker of national identity (McClure 1984).

Because of its closeness to English, the Scottish vernacular thus became, in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both an object of veneration and of contempt: admiration for its capacity to express poetry; contempt because it increasingly indexed backwardness and provinciality. This ambivalence is still very much present in contemporary Scotland. J. Derrick McClure (1995c), a Scottish sociolinguist, refers to it as "the Pinkerton syndrome"—after John Pinkerton (1758–1826), a scholar of Scottish literature who published Scotland's first critical literary anthology in 1786 (a large part of which was in Scots). Pinkerton wrote:

> None can more sincerely wish a total extinction of the Scottish colloquial dialect than I do, for there are few modern Scotticisms which are not barbarisms . . . Yet, I believe, no man of either kingdom would wish an extinction of the Scottish dialect in poetry.
>
> (quoted in McClure 1995c, 57)

What appealed to Pinkerton were certain chronotopical aspects of Scots, its ability to index a mythicized Scottish past in particular—in his own words: "Remember this vulgar speech was once the speech of heroes" (*ibid*.). Scots was thus to be reserved to the higher realms of poetry, and everyday use was to be dealt with through the various forms of linguistic policing that much of Europe became accustomed to at that time: education in the national standard, in this case English (Williamson 1982), and delegitimization of the vernacular in the public domain. Throughout the nineteenth century, the use of Scots continued, even if it was only as a "dialect of English"

(in the view of speakers and non-speakers alike), as the language of "country bumpkins" (Unger 2008, 97) or as urban slang (Macafee 2002).

Those views seem to endure, and a 2010 government-commissioned survey found that 85% of the sample reportedly spoke Scots, while 64% of that same sample did not view Scots as a language in its own right (TNS-BMRB 2010, 15). Similarly, there was much anger in some sectors of Scottish society (most conspicuously in social media) when, in January 2016, *The National* published its front page in Scots to discuss a crisis within the British Labour Party. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the continued lack of legitimacy of Scots in the public domain has resulted in the almost complete exclusion of language issues in public debates before the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence or in its aftermath.

Recent events, however, have tended to propel Scots into a much more visible position—not least through the efforts deployed in recently created media such as *The National* or online media such as *Bella Caledonia* or *Common Space*. In July 2016, Robin McAlpine, a long-term left-wing pro-independence campaigner and founder of the pro-independence movement *The Common Weal* ("Common Good"), a man not generally known for his public use of Scots, wrote:

> The official Yes campaign was constantly vigilant about the issue of identity politics, policing diligently uses of Scots language, couthy [friendly] imagery, flags and symbols. It was always worried about being tied to an impression of a "small Scotlander" mentality. So was Nicola Sturgeon [the First Minister of Scotland since 2014] who was always at great pains to claim that she was really only interested in the democratic and civic cause.
>
> ("Say it loud, we're Scots and we're proud . . . fighting against our cultural cringe" *The National*, 9 July 2016)[6]

In this opinion piece, McAlpine refers to a common trope in Scottish public life, the "cringe," in other words, the type of stigma that is attached to Scottishness in Scotland itself, something not unlike what Catalan sociolinguists once referred to as *auto odi*, or "self-hatred" (see, for instance, Kremnitz 1980). But in so doing, he moves away from the traditional associations of the cringe with "accent" to a more recent type of link with "language."

3.   Standardizing Scots: A Long and Winding Road

While the current leaning of Scots language advocates is to oppose a formal standard, debates around the question of Scots orthography and standardization go back a long way—not least because of the literary tradition associated with fifteenth-century *Makars* ("Makers," i.e. poets), whose work in Scots "has come to represent [. . .] Scotland's classical literature"

(Craig 2007, 16). While Makars had developed autochthonous spelling conventions, those were gradually discontinued after the sixteenth century and the development of printing:

> In course of time Scotsmen tended to write like Englishmen even though they continued to speak in their distinctive fashion. The printed books of Scottish production were the first to succumb. They submitted to English usage some years before the death of James VI [in 1625]. It was to take another fifty or sixty years before the manuscripts written by Scotsmen were completely purged of national peculiarities.
>
> (Bald 1926, 106)

J. Derrick McClure (1995b), however, argues that the standardization of Scots was well under way by the first half of the sixteenth century, a move later thwarted by the advance of the Reformation and the use of English as a language of liturgical instruction. In effect, the eighteenth-century revival of Scottish letters witnessed no particular interest in orthographic issues—even less so in the necessity of a standard. Poets such as Robert Burns or Allan Ramsey readily adopted English conventions, "modified to a greater or lesser extent according to the preferences of the individual writer" (McClure 1995a, 35).

Some attempts at standardization were nevertheless made in the course of the twentieth century in the Modernist context of what has become known as the Scottish Renaissance—notably by the poet Hugh MacDiarmid. The choices that were made were meant to fuel nationalism through linguistic differentiation. MacDiarmid's interest in Scots was, however, ambiguous. In his own words: "[. . .] the revival of Scots is only a half-way house. It is time to conceive of Scots not as an intermediate step on the way towards English, but on the way back to Gaelic" ("Towards a Scottish Renaissance: desirable lines of advance," 1929, quoted in Calder, Murray, and Riach 1997, 79). Pending that moment, he devised for Scots a register he called "synthetic," which he used in poetry.

Much has been written about Synthetic Scots (e.g., McClure 1990; Purves 1997; Hart 2010), which was in effect an attempt at standardizing the vernacular in order to confer attributes of languageness upon it and make it appropriate for literary usage. Synthetic, however, soon came to index artificiality (Aitken 1980), rather than the type of neutrality or "voice from nowhere" that standards should embody. This disputation was followed by many other debates, which drew on similar patterns. As Margery Palmer McCulloch, a specialist of Scottish literature, recounts about a later exchange of views on the matter:

> One dispute which did reach the public stage in 1946 was a re-run of the "synthetic Scots" argument of the early 1920s, when a writer in

> the Glasgow Herald, complaining about the Scots-language poetry of MacDiarmid and his younger associates, gave their writing the inspired description of "Plastic Scots" on the grounds that they made use of "any gobbets of language, which, once thrown together, can then be punched into any shape the poet likes."
>
> (Palmer McCulloch 2009, 204)

MacDiarmid's Synthetic Scots never gained currency beyond a small circle of writers and never achieved the type of institutional legitimacy necessary to back an effective standard. More recently, in 1947, an attempt was made by a group of writers to propose a set of unifying rules to subsume various forms of spelling and idiosyncratic styles in a document known as the Makar's style sheet (McClure 1995b). The proposal remained largely unused, but they were taken up again at the end of the twentieth century by a group of nine writers, language advocates and academics. The group worked between 1996 and 1998 to produce a set of rules, based on phonological data in a way that could accommodate the various dialects of Scots.[7] This document is known as *Scots Spellin Comatee Report an Recommends*, or RRSSC. It is, however, not widely used either in education, publishing or official usage.[8]

Scots remains, however, and to this day, tied to its capacity to index locality and provenance. Forms of written Scots are loosely united by a set of more or less accepted rules, often based on the 1947 document, such as the rejection of the "apologetic apostrophe"—the use of an apostrophe where English has a consonant, said to construct Scots as a form of defective English (hence <aa> or <aw> rather than <a'>, "all").

The absence of an agreed Scots standard parallels, paradoxically perhaps, a rich lexicographic tradition in Scotland. There have been extensive dictionaries of Scots since the eighteenth century at least, including remarkable ones, such as the Reverend John Jamieson's (Rennie 2012). The *Scottish National Dictionary* project was initiated in the early twentieth century by a number of Scottish scholars to "capture a dying language before it disappeared" (Macleod 2012, 145). While there is no dearth of Scots Language dictionaries, including some designed for school usage and published by the Scots Language Dictionaries (SLD) organization, none claims any sort of orthographic authority. As Christine Robinson, a linguist and the head of SLD for many years, indicated when I asked her about the principles of their main everyday dictionary, the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, the organization's aim is to record usage, including orthographic usage, rather than to prescribe one single spelling form. While the line between description and prescription is of course always thin, at best, it is important to note that no Scottish dictionary consciously intends to impose one particular orthography over another. Consequently, dictionaries perpetuate the types of spelling inspired from English and developed after the eighteenth century.

4.   Making Scots Public—or Not: Who Gets to Decide How?

The elements outlined above help understand why the vignette from Wikipedia presented at the opening of this paper was problematic. In this section, I will review this particular case in detail, as well as another in which the use of Scots by an international burger restaurant chain for the new opening of a branch in Glasgow, the most populated city in Scotland, was at stake. What I am particularly interested in is the chasm between the promotion of Scots as a tool for the expression of individual freedom and the ways in which particular usages are policed and regimented in a non-standard regime.

4.1   *A Mukil Tún or a Mukkil Toun? A Town, by Any Other Name, Might Not Smell as Sweet*

Luke,[9] the author of the changes to the Wikipedia page mentioned in the introduction, was 19 at the time he chose to change the Scots Wikipedia page for his hometown, Falkirk. A self-trained linguist and, at the time, a farm laborer, he had obtained much of his linguistic knowledge from conlanging (devising constructed languages)—he has up to now invented several, together with proto-versions for each of them. With this background, he set out to draw up what he called a standard for Scots, the language he speaks at home with his family. He had previously used this standard, which he called SSS (*Staunirt Scóts Screivin*, "Standard Scottish Writing"), to compose a dictionary and to write short stories. It is the story of the reception of this standard upon its first public display that I wish to recount and analyze here.

In its current form, this is what SSS looks like (this is taken from a Facebook post which Luke wrote on a dedicated SSS group in 2015):

> A stairteid screivin a stóre in Scóts (we a Ingils ersetin), av nó feinischt ȝit bit heirs quhit a screivit fur nú, a macit a pucil misscreivins se tac tent.

> I started writing a story in Scots (with an English translation), I haven't finished yet but here's what I have for now, I made a few typos so beware.

Based on the Falkirk dialect of Scots, SSS drew on a number of inspirations, in particular Scandinavian languages and Middle Scots. The former is manifest in his choice to use the Icelandic letter <ð> for /ð/, or in the choice, in this instance, of <ú> for /u/. The latter is particularly salient in the use of <quh>, an Old and Middle Scots solution for what became <wh> in English, or in the adoption of the letter yogh, <ȝ>. Yogh was used in Old English and in Middle Scots until the seventeeth century to represent /j/ (it ultimately derives from the Old English way of rendering the letter <g>).

I met Luke in Falkirk for the first time in the spring of 2014. He explained to me that he had come to realize the necessity for a standard form of Scots when he noticed that his younger siblings spoke less Scots than he did, a shift he attributed to the language's lack of societal prestige. According to him, if Scots was to survive as a living tongue, it required a standard—one as different as possible from English, a move he thought would facilitate the identification of Scots as a language in its own right. A recognizably different written language would make it easier, he said, for people to take pride in speaking it and to promote it in public life.

The first steps towards proposing SSS were taken on Facebook, where Luke set up a group dedicated to discussing various possible options. Luke regularly posts proposals to reform the standard and gets members to vote on them (in August 2016, the group counted 99 members). For example, <k> (/k/) was changed to <c> after such a vote. Accordingly, <Skóts> became <Scóts>, and <Faukirk> is now spelt <Focurc>. But a suggestion to change <ʒ> to <j> (e.g. <ʒúl>, "Christmas," becoming <Júl>) for practical reasons was rejected by Facebook group members on the grounds that <ʒ> was distinctively Scots and should be maintained. The "Falkirk" change in Wikipedia can thus be read as a further experiment, a real-life test, as it were.

The attempt, however, was swiftly rebuked and quickly made unwelcome in various sectors of the Scots language movement—and not just on the Wikipedia page itself. The activists I spoke to, mainly writers and advocates connected with the Scots Language Centre (SLC), unanimously condemned both the initiative of proposing a standard and the orthographic choices made by Luke, in particular the use of <ʒ>. But it was on the SLC's Facebook page that the discussions, involving both well-known language advocates, published authors and Luke himself, were the most active.

The SLC is the main organization for the promotion of Scots, but it operates mainly on an online basis through its webpage and Facebook discussion group. Its website acts as a resource center for those interested in the language, and its (part-time) employee is also active on a political level, campaigning for greater official recognition for Scots. The SLC's Facebook page is followed and used by most of the language advocates that I was in contact with during fieldwork and serves as a forum for the discussion of ideas and for the diffusion of political or cultural information. Among the topics debated online, the issue of standardization is recurrent but usually ends in the recognition that such an option is unrealistic or not desirable.

The main arguments deployed against SSS revolved around ideas of authority and authenticity, as is usual in minority language standardization: first, SSS was said to be unrecognizable to speakers; second, no single person has, or should have, the right to propose a standard. In fact, many instead underlined the fact that Scots already has a standard, albeit an irregular one. Those pointed for instance to the recommendations of the Scots

Wikipedia itself, to the several Scots language dictionaries or to the more recent attempt RRSSC (see above). Indeed, Wikipedia specifies that:

> Here at Wikipaedia it's recommendit that fowk uises "*tradeetional*" pandialect spellins. Awtho thir isna sae strict as in Inglis we ettle tae come up wi writin that's easy tae read an can be soondit bi readers in thair ain dialect. Ae thing tae mynd is that maist fowk that kens better disna uise the apologetic apostrophe onymair. Mair oot ower evite slang in an encyclopaedia.
>
> O coorse maist awbody haesna been teached siclike at the schuil but wi practice it shoudna be ower deeficult. A wheen resoorces is aboot that expounds on whit "*tradeetional*" spellins is an hou tae applee thaim in a conseestant mainer.
>
> We ettle tae follae the wey set oot bi the Report an Recommends o the Scots Spellin Comatee, itherwise kent as the RRSSC.
>
> https://sco.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Spellin_an_grammar

> Here at Wikipedia we recommend that people use "traditional" pandialectal spellings. Although they are not as strict as in English, we seek to come up with writing that is easy to read and can be sounded by readers in their own dialect. One thing to remember is that most informed people do not use the apologetic apostrophe anymore. Also, avoid slang in an encyclopedia.
>
> Of course most people have not been taught this in schools but with practice it should not be overly difficult. Many resources are available that explain what "traditional" spellings are and how to apply them in a consistent manner.
>
> We seek to follow the way set out by the Report and Recommendations of the Scots Spelling Committee, otherwise known as the RRSSC.

For many contributors, SSS was not Scots at all, raising the idea that despite the absence of a standard, there is a general semiotic type (or abstraction) that can be exemplified through a number of possible tokens or concrete particulars. Tokens rely on certain factors that maintain an iconic link, one that ensures some resemblance between all tokens. Habitually, both <mouse> and <moose> (for Scots /mus/, "a mouse") can be found in writing, but <mús> is not usual. Iconicity, in this case, is mainly based on familiarity: <mouse> is visually the same as in English; <moose> because <oo> is a familiar rendering of /u/ for readers of Standard English.

Familiarity, a form of iconic relation between signs, is one of the main principles that tend to preside over spelling usage. The resemblance of most Scots writing to English is emphasized for this reason: it allows people with no particular training in reading Scots to access texts in the vernacular. Writing about SSS, one commentator on the SLC's Facebook page, a well-known Scots language poet, stated: "Oh dear, just exactly what will kill the language stone dead. I'm fae Fawkirk. Thon's no it."[10] Most interestingly

however, other commentators focused on the fact that Scots already had accepted spellings and that no single person could declare a standard. Variation is acceptable, but only if it fits the loose pattern of familiarity—while forms can differ, they should look familiar.

What was thus emphasized was the collective nature of standards. As one participant posted:

> PS: It's wrong to say Scots has no standard orthography. Most people write it much the same way. Sure, some people prefer "faw" to "faa" same way in English some prefer "realize" to "realise." But there are regular and known underlying systems.

Whereas <realize> and <realise> index stabilized (national) usages backed by institutions, the use of <faa> or <faw> ("fall") relies on personal preference as well as local traditions of spelling. They are nonetheless viewed by this writer as equivalent, representative of collective practice and deserving of recognition.

Writers of Scots thus have a duty towards other writers of Scots if tokens are to be considered instances of a type—instances of the same thing, written Scots. What Luke failed to take into account in this case is precisely the type-token relation of his spelling, which constitutes the social relations in an implicit contract: one writes so that more or less defined others can read one's production. Luke, however, contended that his sister could read SSS without difficulty, despite having no prior knowledge of it. The argument was thus that even though SSS was unfamiliar to readers used to written Scots, it was accessible to native speakers with no particular background in written Scots.

In Luke's case, the difficulty to impose a standard could also stem from his being unknown in the Scots language milieu. Idiosyncrasy, combined with the will to create a standard for the language, here betrayed the basic premise of writing Scots today: that it is a closely monitored communal undertaking, one which leaves little room for individual attempts despite the claims to hedonism and freedom mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. As the case of Hugh MacDiarmid showed, even poetic genius was not enough to generate belief in the value of the standard he established in the early twentieth century. A proposal by an unknown, young speaker with no other credentials than nativeness and perhaps the enthusiasm of youth had no chance to convince.

What, then, does this episode tell us about minority language standards? First, the absence of a central authority or of generalized models of minority language standardization allow for loose forms of standards to function as types, as long as tokens are recognized by those who use the language and authorize its public usage as iconically linked, whatever element might be chosen as basis for resemblance: custom, or similarity to (or distance from) the dominant language for example. The argument that

Scots does in fact have a standard is most interesting, for as we have seen with Matthew Fitt's call in *The National*, many would claim that it does not. However, when presented with a form of writing that is markedly different, writers of Scots recognize what does, or does not, fit within the standard type. As one commentator on the Scots Language Centre wrote in response to Luke's claim that current Scots spellings were inconsistent: "And yet, even without an official standard, I could still point out errors in your spelling . . . " Second, minority language advocates and users cannot escape the standard language debate because of the model imposed by the dominant language. In a standard language regime, ideological options are greatly reduced and impose a reflection in terms of standards vs. non-standards. While there is room for maneuver with regard to what standards should look like, as with Corsica's polynomie (see Jaffe 2003), how one writes, and spells, matters.

In the case where standards are rejected for a minority language but where standard language is nevertheless the norm because of the presence of a standardized dominant language such as English, not addressing the issue results in its cyclical return to the front of the scene, as in Scotland. The claim that Scots is a refuge for hedonists and anarchists is thus, sadly perhaps, an illusion maintained only by those who have mastered the semiotic type of written Scots, or whose intrinsic characteristic and position of authority make it possible to play around with that type—in a way not dissimilar to poetic license in standardized languages. The spirit of the standard haunts non-standardized languages because their speakers are *de facto* part of a standard language regime, one that classifies linguistic resources in terms of publicly available, purportedly neutral rules. The next example will illustrate further the complexities of operating according to a non-standard regime within a powerful standard language regime.

4.2 How Dependent Is Food on the Language Used to Talk About It? Selling Burgers Through Scots

In December 2014, a few months after Luke proposed his language standard on Facebook, another controversy involving language arose in a different sector of Scottish society—this time with no direct connection with the Scots language movement. The controversy occurred when a London-based burger restaurant chain opened its first restaurant in Glasgow, thus adding to its other Scottish venue in Edinburgh. In order to demonstrate commitment to Glasgow's original character, the chain commissioned a local comedian to translate its menu into Glaswegian—something it had not done in Edinburgh. Glasgow is well known for its particular vernacular (Macafee 1994), a form of urban Scots locally known as the Patter (a term possibly derived from the word "patois") and for its working-class sociological fabric (see Macaulay 1975 for an analysis of some forms of linguistic insecurity potentially linked to language use in Glasgow). The menu was promptly

removed after dozens of people complained at the restaurant, in newspapers and in social media.

I wish to use this example to analyze another instance of a body, here a restaurant, being denied the use of Scots in public life on the grounds that the language it uses is not right—recall the comment stating that Luke's version of the language: "Thon's not it." The public outcry resulting from this usage was linked by some Scots language advocates to the absence of a standard. The "Glaswegian menu," as it was named on the printed version, presented a variety of food items and phrases in what was assumed to be the local vernacular. The "While yer waitin" ("While you wait") section thus offered "Mixed olives £2.45," "Hamemade onion rings £3.35," "Chargrilled chikin skewers £4.25." Other examples include the "Cheese & Baucon" burger, as well as a variety of burgers under the following rubrics: "Chickin," "Speicials" or "Veggie." The "Bevy" section contained "hoat" or "cauld" drinks, "posh ginger made wae fresh mint, lemon & lime," as well as various beers, presented as "oor pick ae craft beers fae wee-er breweries."[11] Finally, under the "Sweets" ("desserts") heading, the menu suggests: "Hid enuff? Room fur mair? Juist ask wan ae oor troops."[12]

Readers unfamiliar with Scots might be struck by an impression of mixture of English and something else—a combination of English, localized dialect respellings and eye dialect, i.e. "forms which reflect no phonological difference from their standard counterpart" (Preston 1985, 328). This impression derives in part from a habit in Scots language lexicography that states that whenever a word is identical in phonological and semantic terms to its English counterpart, it should be spelt as in English (Robinson 1985). While this is meant to facilitate reading and intercomprehension, it also generates the idea that Scots uses many English words because those are missing in Scots—that it is, in effect, a *halbsprache*, a half-language in the terminology of the infamous Heinz Kloss (1968, 70). This terminology was also used by Scots scholars such as A.J. Aitken (1990).

The launch of the restaurant, along with the menu, could well have gone unnoticed: after all, other restaurants have or have had Scots language menus—an Indian restaurant in Edinburgh had one for years without causing any concern. But the burger chain advertised their initiative on social media. On Twitter, they posted: "And as a special Glasgow thing? We commissioned this—our full menu, instore, in Glaswegian. Avacada baucon,[13] anyone?" This caused uproar in social media; when I visited the place some days after the events had taken place, all signs of the menus had vanished. One waitress said that they had been removed since they had only been designed for the opening weekend.

The event was, however, recounted in the press—in *The Scotsman*, an Edinburgh-based daily newspaper, and on the website of the Scottish television channel STV. On 11 December 2014, STV thus reported: "Pure mince:

burger restaurant apologises over 'patronising' Glaswegian menu." In her article the journalist, Mary McCool, added:

> Gourmet Burger Kitchen on St Vincent Street printed a set of Glaswegian menus, hoping to entertain diners with some of the local parlance. Some enjoyed a chuckle over the quirky idea, while others felt it hadn't quite hit the mark. The burgers themselves don't have distinct Glaswegian ingredients—the restaurant simply altered a few key spellings. So "chicken" became "chickin," "salad" became "salid" and "bacon" became "baucon." Oh, and "water" becomes "cooncil juice."[14]

Many on social networks indeed felt patronized, although by no means all. One tweet stated: "Well this is up there with the U2 iTunes fiasco. How to insult your customers in one easy lesson (for dummies). Not a great PR move." Another wrote: "I'm not going to a restaurant that canny spell bacon," while yet another wrote that "Nobody in Glasgow speaks like that."

On the other hand, a supporter of the Scottish National Party wrote, also on Twitter: "Finally a menu I can read." Likewise, the menu generated a long discussion on the SLC's Facebook page. The discussion there focused on putting Scots out in the public sphere and on the difficulties in doing so. The discussion can be summarized by quoting from a well-known language advocate, author of a teach yourself Scots method: "Gin we hid an approved generic written Scots, oniebodie sayin its uise wis "patronizing" culd be dismiss't oot o haund."[15] In a standard language regime, it would thus appear that the authority resides in the language itself, rather than in the people who use it.

The data are problematic in the sense that, in ethnographic terms, it is not possible to account for who most of the people who commented on the event are, or if they would have boycotted the restaurant or if they even went themselves. Those data, however, remain valuable in the sense that they point to fundamental characteristics of non-standard language regimes in terms of language ownership. The comments mirror common reflections I repeatedly heard with respect to Scots in Scotland, and in many ways they echo the Pinkerton syndrome, that capacity to love and hate the vernacular simultaneously. Scots, then, is a valid medium for humor, for nostalgia and maybe for local poetry—but only under certain conditions, in particular in-groupness: not anybody can use Scots, especially not a large English company.

Several remarks can be made with respect to the burger case in order to understand why this public use of Scots was rejected. Those remarks will help understand what it means to live in a double linguistic regime: the non-standard for the vernacular, and the standard for English. First, it appears that dialect respellings and eye dialect forms were in fact understood as what Dennis Preston calls allegro speech forms. Such forms, Preston writes "attempt to capture through the use of nonstandard spellings (some more

traditional than others) the fact that the speech is casual, not carefully moni-
tored, relaxed-perhaps slangy" (Preston 1985, 328). This would account
for the understanding of the menu as patronizing: in that sense, the menu
echoes other types of Scots usage in written form and indexes sloppiness
(e.g., "canny spell bacon") through an iconic form of relation linking speak-
ers and spelling.

Scots is clearly not freely available to all, whether in spoken or written
form. In the absence of a standard construed at least potentially as a voice
from nowhere, using Scots is always a display of number of voices from
somewhere: in this case, it was the patronizing voice from a London-based
chain who had no ultimate linguistic authority to rely on to legitimate its
claims to locality. The absence of a publicly available standard makes the
use of Scots tied to who the user is, and to where they originate—socially
as well as geographically. Given that the menu is obviously not poetry, the
language used in this case becomes an icon for humor and possible self-
deprecation—a genre which can be legitimate when developed by a local
comedian but which takes on a different meaning when it becomes the voice
of an English company: mockery. One may, of course, also ask why the
burger chain hired a comedian and not a linguist, an act that betrays the
general association of Scots and humor.

In the menu, the use of non-standard language was inevitably viewed as
a token of a different type to the one identified in the previous section—not
as a token of a legitimate written type, but a token of a genre type: humor.
The menu displays an interesting type of disjuncture that delegitimizes it,
because of the status of Scots as non-standard English: while the comedian
recruited by the restaurant may be the author of the words, the burger chain
takes credit as principal and animator (Goffman 1981, 144–145), a position
which its geographic externality to Glasgow does not permit.

5.   Concluding Remarks

This chapter asked whether living in a regime of non-standard language
was a way to ensure more freedom to language users (speakers and non-
speakers)—hedonism and anarchism, in the words of the novelist James
Robertson (1994). The questions raised here are thus whether standards are
necessarily heavy constraints on individual language usage and whether they
inevitably impinge on people's right to poetic license and idiosyncrasies. The
answer is, naturally, not clear-cut. What the two examples developed above
do show, however, is that there is no clear link between the absence of a stan-
dard version of a language and the right to use language for any purpose, in
any idiosyncratic way. In Luke's case in particular, the will to propose not
just an idiosyncratic way of speaking but also a standard for everyone brings
out claims that there is in fact an established common way of writing, based
on covert, but well entrenched, ideas about what type Scots writing should
follow. While standards attempt to codify use by providing purportedly

public and widely available models, in the case of Scots, the absence of a standard tends to result in the limitation of the scope of possible usage not only based on context, but also on the origin of the use. Not only can Scots not be used for any purpose, whether in oral or written form, and not only can it not be spelt in any way, but it appears that not anyone can use Scots. The absence of a standard makes it more difficult for purportedly unmarked uses to exist—uses that would perhaps index authority and academic normativity but that would also be decoupled from the social and geographic origins of the animator of a particular written discourse.

While this text neither advocates nor discourage the implementation of a standard form of Scots, it points to the difficulties for non-standard forms of language to exist alongside standardized languages, in particular if there are claims, in certain sectors of society, to ascribe features of languages to the non-standard vernacular. This is certainly the case of Scots, which is increasingly gaining institutional recognition and which is also being increasingly considered for educational purposes. In Scotland, the question of the standard then needs to be raised not for the sake of standardization, but as part of a wider reflection on how the public space is changing after the 2014 referendum on independence, on who has access to it and under what conditions.

Notes

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2. "The lack of a standard is simply holding the language back when it needs to be going forward."
3. See the full article on *The National*'s website (11 February 2016): www.thenational.scot/comment/matthew-fitt-we-maun-tak-a-tip-fae-the-klingons-for-futur-o-scots.13563.
4. "Falkirk [. . .] is a large town in Stirlingshire, Scotland. Falkirk is home to the Falkirk wheel among other things such as Callander House and the Falkirk footfall team. It used to be a very industrial part of the country. Falkirk is located between the large cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Stirling."
5. "If your disruptive behavior continues much more, you may be blocked without further warning."
6. Robin McAlpine, 'Say it loud, we're Scots and we're proud . . . fighting against our cultural cringe', 9 June 2016: www.thenational.scot/comment/robin-mcalpine-say-it-loud-were-scots-and-were-proud-fighting-against-our-cultural-cringe.18556
7. I owe this information to John Magnus Tait, a language advocate from Shetland and a specialist of Shetland Scots, who was part of the commission that established those recommendations. The full RRSSC report is available from Tait's

website at the following (shortened) address: http://goo.gl/eOw6tI [link verified on 09/10/2016].

8. Official usage remains minimal and symbolic despite Scots being recognized and protected under the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Public use of Scots is confined to the translation of some static pages on the Scottish Parliament website. Some public bodies, such as Creative Scotland, a body that caters for the arts in Scotland, have recently launched policies indicating a commitment to greater usage.
9. Names have been changed in this chapter.
10. "I'm from Falkirk, that's not it."
11. "Our pick of craft beers from smaller breweries."
12. "Had enough? Room for more? Just ask one of our troops [staff]."
13. "Avocado bacon."
14. Literally, "council juice."
15. "If we had an approved generic written Scots, anybody saying its use was patronizing could be dismissed straight away."

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4   Legitimating Limburgish
The Reproduction of Heritage

Diana M. J. Camps[1]

1.   Introduction

A 2016 column in a Dutch regional newspaper, *De Limburger*, touted the following heading: "*Limburgse taal: de verwarring blijft*" (Limburgian language: the confusion remains). In its introduction, Geertjan Claessens, a journalist, points to the fact that it has been nearly 20 years since Limburgish was recognized as a regional language under the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML[2]) but asks "which language is recognized?" (Claessens 2016). In 1997, Limburgish, formerly considered a dialect of Dutch, was acknowledged by local and national authorities as a regional language under the ECRML. In his editorial, Claessens points to the multiplicity of dialects that constitute Limburgish as a regional language, each with their own unique elements and nuances. As such, expert opinions about how to conceptualize Limburgish as a "language" still widely differ, and negotiations and tensions about how to write Limburgish continue. Despite the creation of an official spelling standard in 2003, Claessens asserts that these discussions about spelling norms will not see an end any time soon.

Spelling was also highlighted in a Limburgian classroom I observed in 2014, where nearly a dozen adult students focused on the reading and writing of their local Limburgian dialect. Rather than framing spelling as a potential point of debate, however, the teacher presents an instrumentalist view, stating:

> dit is een spelling en dat is als 't ware een technisch apparaat om de klanken zichtbaar te maken want dao geit 't om [. . .]en dat is 'T grote idee van de spelling [pause] de herkenbaarheid

> this is a spelling and that is in essence a technical device to make the sounds visible because that is what it is about [. . .] and that is THE big idea about the spelling [pause] the recognizability.

These two short vignettes exemplify how various discourses come into play to frame conversations about language and spelling. This instrumental

view on spelling is not uncommon in Limburg and has been one of the recurring elements in ongoing debates. The teacher describes spelling as a technical device, implying notions of neutrality. As will be shown in the analysis below, this technical view of spelling ties in closely with expertise discourses the teacher mobilizes in the classroom. Recognizing that tensions often arise between the prescriptive nature of orthographic standards, in which certain elements are accepted and others are rejected, and social actors' varied language practices, this chapter wishes to ask how legitimacy is constructed once a language has been recognized as such by regional, national, and European authorities. As such, this investigation draws attention to the development of a writing standard and the interrelated processes that continue to redefine Limburgish as a language rather than as a dialect of Dutch. I consider the notions of discourses, ideology, and the production of knowledge central to this analysis of language legitimation in a regional/ minority language context. I focus in particular on developments in recent years, following the protection of Limburgish as cultural heritage under the ECRML as a form of status planning.

According to the Council of Europe (henceforth CoE), the ECRML serves as an instrument of protection and promotion of the wealth and diversity of Europe's cultural heritage and as a means for enabling the use of a regional or minority language in private and public life (Council of Europe 2014). The inclusion of Limburgish under the ECRML directed renewed focus on establishing and promoting spelling norms applicable to the various Limburgish dialects, as will be discussed in section 3. Although the ECRML does not explicitly require standardization for languages protected under level II,[3] such as Limburgish, this has been an area of significant activity, suggesting that it plays a role in the local processes of language legitimation.

Taking a discourse analytic approach, I first examine the framing of Limburgish as cultural heritage in policy texts related to the ECRML and spelling reforms at international, national, and regional scales. Secondly, drawing on data gathered through classroom observation, I show how the notion of cultural heritage is taken up at the local level and is variously constructed through articulating a discourse of historicity with a discourse of linguistic expertise.

2.   Limburgish

Limburg is the southeasternmost province in the Netherlands bordering Belgium and Germany. According to a 2003 State report, the province of (Dutch) Limburg is home to approximately 1.1 million residents with an estimated 70–75% of its inhabitants considered "speakers" of Limburgish (Council of Europe 2003, 203, also see Belemans 2002). The official languages in the Netherlands are Standard Dutch (Algemeen Nederlands [AN]) and Frisian (in the province of Fryslân [Friesland]). Limburgish became the fifth recognized regional language in the Netherlands in 1997 when it was

recognized under the ECRML, a move previously completed in 1996 by the Dutch parliament for Frisian, Low Saxon, Romani (Roma and Sinti), and Yiddish.[4] Language experts commonly portray Limburgish as consisting of six main variants (Keulen and Van de Wijngaard 2007). These variants entail significant dialectal differences, primarily with respect to the lexicon. This is evident in the number of *leesplankjes* (reading boards) that have been developed in various Limburgian dialects over the last three decades (Robroek 2013). In Limburg, these differences in word choices and pronunciation easily distinguish speakers as being from a particular area, for example, the Dutch word *"dat"* (that) might be pronounced as *"det"* or *"deh"* in middle and north Limburg and as *"dat"* in south Limburg.[5] Lexical variation includes words such as *"petat"* or *"aerpel"* for the Dutch word *"aardappel"* (potato) and *"zwaevelstekske"* or *"zjwaegel"* for the Dutch word *"lucifer"* (match).

Despite this regional linguistic diversity and pride in local dialects and culture, residents of Limburg also recognize a common Limburgian identity (Belemans 2002; Cornips, de Rooij, and Stengs 2012; Cornips and Knotter 2016; Thissen 2013). For centuries, Limburgish has been closely linked with the annual traditions and festivities of carnival or *"vastelaovend"* (Mardi Gras) held the three days preceding Ash Wednesday, marking both the advent of the fasting period before Easter (within Roman Catholic tradition) and the nearing of spring. Limburgian communities take great pride in their local carnival associations and activities, and the celebration is regarded as an important event closely tied to a Limburgian identity and culture (Cornips and de Rooij 2015; Cornips et al. 2012). The Limburgian dialects have been part and parcel of the carnival festivities and can be observed everywhere, from parade floats, to newsletters and programs, to music. In recent years, the role of writing Limburgish has increased to more domains, now widely used on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media for personal communication.

The Limburgian dialects also extend across national borders into Belgium and Germany, but from a language policy perspective, the Netherlands is the only territory where Limburgish has the status of a language, rather than a dialect. Limburgish is not covered by the ECRML in Germany and also has a different status in Belgium (Belemans 2002), which has not ratified the ECRML. The categorization of "language" is based, in part, on a strong association of the language and a bounded administrative area, i.e. the Dutch province of Limburg. The ECRML explicitly excludes the dialects of a State's official language(s), as well as the languages of migrant. Thus, the classification of Limburgish as a dialect in other administrative areas highlights how the notion of language is socially and discursively constructed, as discussed further below.

The status of Limburgish as a regional language under the ECRML has not been without debate or contestation, including objections from the *NederlandseTaalunie (NTU)* or Dutch Language Union.[6] In a

letter (05.07.1999) addressed to Mrs. D. Verstraeten, *Directeur-generaal*, Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap (Director General, Ministry of the Flemish Community),[7] Koen Jaspaert, the General Secretary of the Dutch Language Union, expressed his disapproval of the inclusion of Limburgish under the ECRML. Jaspaert's justification for his negative view was that the text of the ECRML explicitly excludes dialects of Dutch, and in his opinion, scientific literature had always considered Limburgish as a dialect of Dutch and not a separate language. He went on to say that he had determined that the ECRML was meant to protect languages such as Frisian in the Netherland, Breton and Corsican in France, and Albanian or German in Italy. Furthermore, Jaspaert noted that the inclusion of Limburgish under the ECRML could have consequences for the status and use of Dutch, given that speakers of recognized regional languages could not be regarded as "*moedertaalsprekers*" (mother tongue speakers) of Dutch. Jaspaert's statements reflect ideological conceptions of what real languages are, the type of protection they are entitled to, and attitudes towards bilingualism/multilingualism. His declarations also highlight why processes of legitimation are vital within a regional language context, and particularly within the multidialectal space of Limburg.

3. Legitimation at International, National, and Regional Scales

In this section, I wish to show how policy texts at the European and national levels establish the status of Limburgish through the promotion of cultural heritage and an inclusive discourse around the right to identify with and participate in that heritage. Despite its protection under the ECRML, legitimizing the status and use of Limburgish remains an issue of concern for language activists and policy makers. The Dutch Charter texts explicitly delegate policymaking for the protection and promotion of Limburgish to the local and provincial authorities, further reinforcing the significance of local actors. I will show how the heritage discourse is taken up by regional organizations and in the local classroom and how it is articulated with other discourses to valorize and legitimate Limburgian varieties locally as a regional language. The reframing of Limburgish from a dialect to a regional language entails allocating new values and the creation of new norms. One way of navigating the fuzzy boundaries between dialect and language has been to consider dialects as primarily oral varieties, while languages are closely tied to literacy and writing (Goody and Watt 1963). This tendency can be observed in the case of Limburgish, where heritage discourses and writing norms have received attention from language planners and activists in the pursuit of linguistic legitimacy.

Commenting on the nature of heritage discourses and social differentiation, the Icelandic folklore and heritage anthropologist Valdimar Hafstein (2012) notes that heritage is not merely a description, but rather an

intervention, in that it reorders relations between persons and objects, even intangible ones such as language, potentially along hierarchical lines. He states:

> [h]eritage assembles previously unrelated [objects], and it constitutes these as something to be safeguarded, that is, acted upon through programs, schemes, and strategies carried out and evaluated by experts whose operations connect the calculations of authorities with the desires and ambitions of citizens.
>
> (Hafstein 2012, 508)

This is true for many of the languages protected by the ECRML, including Limburgish, that now strive to be recognized as "a real language". Given the role of written languages in the creation of nation-states, it is not surprising that the cultural heritage framework also mobilizes efforts to homogenize a common way of writing as a means of language preservation. The ideology which constructs languages as bounded, autonomous entities and places value on formal properties pervades both dominant and minority language communities in present-day standardized regimes (Gal 2006; this volume). Despite the idea of linguistic unity embodied in the nation-state ideology and in writing norms, standards nevertheless corral feelings of belonging and legitimacy.

3.1   *Legitimation Through Heritage*

In this section, I explore the discursive legitimation of Limburgish in policy documents related to the ECRML and the spelling norms. I use the term "Charter texts" to refer to the documents entailed in the ECRML monitoring process, such as State Periodical Reports, evaluation reports from the Committee of Experts, and recommendations from the Committee of Ministers.[8] Policy texts produced by individual states in relation to the ECRML provide important insights into how minority languages are being legitimated. As such, I have selected these Charter reports to show how Limburgish is legitimized at European, national, and regional scales, as they entail both European and national discourses of Limburgish, as well as regional voices from activists and policy makers.

   Charter texts describe Europe's historical regional and minority languages as *cultural heritage* and *wealth*. In its introduction to the ECRML, the Council of Europe (henceforth CoE) states: "[a]mong the fundamental aims of the Council of Europe today are the protection and promotion of the wealth and diversity of Europe's cultural heritage. Regional or minority languages are very much part of this heritage" (Council of Europe 2014, par. 1). The CoE outlines the purpose of the Charter as "a convention designed on the one hand to protect and promote regional and minority languages as a threatened aspect of Europe's cultural heritage and on the

other hand to enable speakers of a regional or minority language to use it in private and public life" (Council of Europe 2014, par. 4).

Given that the protection of Limburgish as a regional language is framed in this particular manner, it is important to understand what is entailed in the notion of cultural heritage. The very broad CoE's definition of cultural heritage is defined in the *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (2005). It recognizes heritage as a social construct shaped not only by the past but by the present:

> The definition of "cultural heritage" is the broadest proposed by any international instrument to date. It pays particular attention to the interactive nature of the cultural heritage, recognising that it is defined and redefined by human actions and that it must not be perceived as either static or immutable. [. . .] The definition does not require action. One can be a member of a heritage community simply by valuing a cultural heritage or wishing to pass it on". (Council of Europe—Explanatory Report to the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society.
>
> (CETS no. 199)

At the State level, Charter-related texts iterate European discourses that frame the protection of regional/minority languages as cultural wealth or cultural heritage and recognize the role of local social actors in constructing this heritage. The following excerpt is an example from the 2011 Periodical Report the Netherlands submitted to the CoE, highlighting the link between heritage and a moral imperative for language preservation:

> 2.4 Article 7, paragraph 1.d (the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of such languages in speech and writing, in public and private life)
>
> 2.4.1 The province of Limburg encourages the use of the Limburger language in speech and writing, in both public and private life. It does this partly by supporting the activities of the Raod veur 't Limburgs and *Veldeke Limburg Association, both of which seek to keep alive the Limburger language in all its diversity as a valuable repository of regional and provincial identity (original emphasis)*. It is hoped that raising the profile of the Limburger language, particularly among young people, will be an effective way to ensure its survival among future generations.
>
> (Fourth Periodical Report to the Council of Europe 2011)

These policy texts evoke discourses of shared cultural heritage and language endangerment as a means to valorize Limburgish. This is evident in lexical choices such as *keep alive*, *survival*, and *diversity*. As such, endangerment discourses legitimize Limburgish through promoting the maintenance of (linguistic) diversity as a common good. In effect, Cameron (2007) ties

the preservation arguments embedded in cultural heritage discourses to discourses of endangerment: such discourses espouse a moral obligation to preserve diversity, often relying on ecological metaphors that compare languages to biological species on the verge of extinction.

In the excerpt above, the importance of social actors is acknowledged through a discussion of young people whose uptake of the language in the future will be requisite to its survival. In this Charter report and others, the agency to promote Limburgish is granted to local organizations, which are tasked with maintaining Limburgish "in all its diversity" (Fourth Periodical Report to the Council of Europe 2011). How the imperative to maintain diversity within the confines of standardization initiatives is realized at the local level will be developed further below.

3.2   *Legitimation Through Standardization*

Activities aimed at standardization, such as the development of spelling standards, dictionaries, and grammars, are part of corpus planning and an integral component of language policy and planning or language management (Cooper 1989). In Limburg, the development of spelling norms has not been a linear process. Some activists claim a rich literary tradition dating back to the second half of the twelfth century, with activities aimed at providing norms for usage taking place long before the implementation of the ECRML. A range of social actors have been involved in the spelling standardization of Limburgish. Notten (1974) refers to a comment made by Dr. E. Jaspar in 1929 about the importance of spelling rules as a solid basis for language maintenance and further alludes to subsequent spelling controversies concerning the creation of acceptable spelling norms (60). The literature points to spelling norms dating back to 1932 and 1941 (Notten 1974). The introduction to the current spelling guidelines considers the first "Veldeke" spelling developed in 1952. The term "Veldeke spelling" stems from *Veldeke Limburg*, a language advocacy organization[9] established in 1926, generally accepted to be the oldest and largest language association in Limburg. The 1952 spelling was followed by a revision in 1983 by Jan G. M. Notten.[10] Notten is known for his book *De Chinezen van Nederland* (1974) (The Chinese of the Netherlands), in which he sketches the distinctive features of the Limburgian dialects, includes an overview of spelling rules, and a bibliography of research activity concerning the dialects in Dutch Limburg.

The spelling reform efforts gained momentum following the protection of Limburgish under the ECRML in 1997. In 2003, the "*Raod veur 't Limburgs*" (Council for Limburgish), a provincial advisory body, appointed a special committee to extend the work of Notten. Veldeke Limburg played a prominent role in the creation of the officially[11] accepted spelling norms, *Spelling 2003 voor de Limburgse dialecten* (Spelling 2003 for the Limburgian dialects). Notten took part in this collaboration with Dr. Pierre Bakkes, Dr. Herman Crompvoets, and Frans Walraven. The authors hold

prominence in Limburg through positions of leadership within Veldeke and as the first Regional Language Officer (*Bakkes*), scientific contributions in dialectology, and publications in Limburgish. Except for Notten, each of the actors were members of the committee responsible for devising the formal request to the CoE for the recognition of Limburgish under the ECRML.

In order to make the spelling more accessible to a broader audience, a new spelling website was launched in 2013.[12] This initiative was led by the Regional Language Officer, a consultant, and the *Raod veur 't Limburgs*. These entities also work in close cooperation with Veldeke-Limburg and the *Huis voor de Kunsten*, the official entity responsible for the cultural sector in Limburg, including the arts and (intangible) heritage. The project received support from the provincial government.

Beyond the creation of norms, language planners and activists are also interested in how people are writing Limburgish in practice. As previously mentioned, Limburgish is common on social media and other cultural domains and exists in a diglossic context with standard Dutch. The interest in dialect usage and language variation in social media is illustrated in a recent example of a regional language conference[13] wholly dedicated to this particular topic. Interestingly, an editorial summarizing the conference, featured on the front page of the regional newspaper, *De Limburger*, reported that digital spelling usage for the Limburgian dialects often does not align with the province's official spelling norms (Urlings 2016).[14] Following a lecture about spelling on Twitter, Leonie Cornips, a prominent researcher at the Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, and Maastricht University, was quoted as saying that language users display a mixture of language forms, i.e. combining Dutch and regional variants. While absent from the discourses of ECRML policy texts, this interest in language forms, and the categorization of such forms, repeatedly appears among speakers and Limburgish promoters at the local level.

The introduction to the 2003 spelling norms, written by Roeland van Hout, a Dutch sociolinguist and former chairman of the *Raod veur 't Limburgs*, recounts the motivations for supporting and promoting a spelling norm for the Limburgian dialects. Van Hout states that support for Limburgish and its dialects also means paying attention to its written form and that therefore the adoption of a spelling scheme was given high priority on the agenda of the *Raod veur 't Limburgs*. Emphasizing the role of a standard, he writes (in Standard Dutch):

> De gedachte achter de nieuwe spelling is niet alleen het gebruik ervan voor teksten van expressief-literaire aard. De doelstelling is veel breder. Een officieel standaardpakket spellingsregels voor de Limburgse dialecten leidt tot een groter gewicht van het geschreven Limburgs in al zijn vormen, vooral ook in de educatieve sector. De Spelling 2003 wil voorzien in die doelstelling. [. . .] De Spelling 2003 moet onder de aandacht van de Limburgers gebracht worden. Het is van groot belang dat ze er

aan gewend raken. In de moderne tijd zal het dialect ook geschreven moeten worden wil het overleven.

                    (Bakkes, Crompvoets, Notten, and Walraven 2003, 5)

> The idea behind the new spelling is not only for the use of texts of expressive literary nature. The objective is much broader. Official standard spelling rules for the Limburgian dialects lead to a greater weight of written Limburgish in all its forms, also especially in the educational sector. Spelling 2003 wants to provide for this objective. [. . .] Spelling 2003 must be brought to the attention of Limburgers. It is of great importance that they become accustomed to it. In modern times, a dialect must also be written in order to survive.

Activities aimed at standardization are, however, not limited to spelling reforms, but can also be observed in offerings of local adult literacy courses for several Limburgish varieties, numerous dictionaries and grammars, periodic spelling contests, and the development of primary and secondary school curriculum.[15]

Efforts to standardize Limburgian writing practices and political rhetoric about heritage and inclusive Limburgian belonging both contribute to the legitimation of Limburgish and the creation of value in relation to writing practices. As will be shown in section 4, within the local classroom, the discourse of heritage is constituted not only by preservation discourses, but coalesces with discourses of historicity and linguistic expertise to construct legitimacy for Limburgish.

4.   Negotiating Legitimacy in the Local Language Classroom

Discourses of heritage and standards can be traced from official texts to various other sites, such as classrooms in Limburg. I draw on observations conducted in 2014 as part of a larger study on the discursive construction of Limburgish in the Netherlands, as I sought to understand how policies decided at provincial or national level were taken up locally by social actors involved in language promotion. The classroom data are analyzed in light of additional qualitative data collected through focus groups, various interviews conducted with teachers, speakers, and language planners and activists. I conducted two separate focus groups, meeting each of them three times over the course of several months. Those groups included students from the classrooms I observed. I use an inductive approach to research, identifying and categorizing themes emerging from the data and coding statements for various types of discourses related to purism, linguistic expertise, historicity, belonging, etc. At a second level of analysis, I examine the interactions for the positional stances participants take, such as alignments and oppositions. Although I adopt a discourse analytic approach, I do not conduct a detailed

interactional analysis. I am primarily interested in how the teacher invokes certain discourses and articulates them in particular ways.

The language classroom is a microcosm for examining how people talk about language and exploring which discursive representations of Limburgish are reproduced and foregrounded within that context. The reading and writing course I discuss here took place as evening classes in a small city in Limburg and held in a classroom of a local secondary school. Eleven participants attended the class, six women and five men, plus two male board members from the foundation which hosted the language courses and of which the teacher was the chairman. The majority of the participants were over the age of 50, although there were three younger participants, all female, in the 30–50 age range.

The instructor for the course was a teacher of Dutch by profession who had completed academic research in the field of dialectology. He had been closely involved with language policy and planning activities, was a previous board member of Veldeke, and one of the editors of a recently released word list for the local Limburgian dialect. This word list was released in the same vein as the one published by the NTU every ten years with the aim of reducing ambiguity concerning the official spelling of Dutch words.

The atmosphere in the class felt serious yet relaxed. The classroom was organized much like you would expect in a language course, such as a large dry erase board at the front of the room and desks organized in pairs to face the front of the classroom. Participants chatted and laughed with ease until the teacher called order to the class and began addressing the students and researcher. Following an introduction and offering the researcher welcome, he began his planned instruction, focusing in large part on the historical development, linguistic description, and writing practice of a phenomenon considered a distinctive feature of the local Limburgian dialect, the diphthongization of certain vowels. The teacher noted that he had adapted the lesson to fit within the allotted time and to satisfy the interest of the researcher. The lesson drew, however, on previously presented knowledge as evident in the students' responses and familiarity with the linguistic terminology used.

In the following section, I aim to show how the teacher establishes legitimacy, both for himself as a person with the authority to speak about prescriptive norms for Limburgish, and for the local dialect, drawing on particular discourses to make specific claims. Whereas at European, national, and regional scales, the heritage discourse is constituted largely of endangerment discourses and a call for language preservation, at the local level, the heritage discourse also articulates with discourses of historicity and difference and is closely linked to a discourse of expertise.

4.1   Legitimation Through Expertise

I focus my analysis on how the teacher establishes authority, as his perceived legitimacy is a crucial factor in creating validity for the local dialect. The data show that the teacher's legitimacy is constructed though the notion of

linguistic expertise and through positioning and stancetaking (Jaffe 2009). Claiming expertise through positioning is done primarily as a means of differentiation, meaning the (re)production of boundaries to construct legitimacy for both Limburgish as a real language and for the teacher as a producer of knowledge. Although these strategies are not mutually exclusive and show extensive overlap, I will demonstrate how the concept of cultural heritage is constituted through notions of historicity and difference. These elements of the heritage discourse are intimately linked with a discourse of linguistic expertise.

The data indicate that in the classroom, the teacher adopts an ideology of heritage that is constituted in a discourse of "historicity", reflected in notions of time in both absolute terms and diachronically with respect to language development. For example, in a discussion about diphthongization, a salient marker for the local dialect, the teacher makes reference to the regional variety's linguistic past, i.e. "*in de taalhistorie wiet weg*" (in the language history far off). He also makes claims about the origin of the local phenomenon of diphthongization, tracing its start to the second half of the fourteenth century and refers specifically to documents dated from 1571. Secondly, historicity is expressed in the notion of language development and biology, as evident in the ongoing class discussion about diphthongization. The teacher draws a parallel between Dutch and Limburgish explaining how some vowels undergo diphthongization in the local Limburgian dialect but do not behave the same way in Dutch. He explains this phenomenon as a case of difference in "*genen-apparaat*" (gene-apparatus). Stating that although on the outside the vowels look the same in both languages, the teacher explains that Limburgian vowels come from a different "family" and are constituted by different genes. While pointing to the Limburgian vowels on the board, the teacher states the following:

> maar dees hie, wat zich hie ontwikkelt höbbe laot ver zegge die höbbe anger genen. . .ja van thoes oet die höbbe anger genen dan die

> but these here, that developed themselves here, let's say, have other genes. . .yes from home (origin) these have different genes than those.

The teacher's reference to genes brings to mind images of species and biology, metaphors often taken up in endangerment discourses which, as expressed in the example above from the Charter text, are in this instance linked with heritage discourses. Conceptualizing language as having its own "gene-apparatus" constructs languages as having unique genealogies, though deriving from a common source.

The way the teacher conceives of heritage as historicity reframes the notion of cultural heritage by downplaying the symbolic value of a shared heritage and emphasizing historical facts. Furthermore, it provides an opportunity for displaying historic and linguistic knowledge, bolstering his legitimacy as

an expert in the classroom. Effectively, notions of language and the past are constituted through discourses that legitimate knowledge in specific ways.

Another discursive strategy for reproducing expertise is the teacher's use of linguistic terminology and the iteration of particular words and phrases. He commonly refers to rules and provides explanations for them using complex linguistic terminology. The lesson on the diphthongization entails explanations of phonological processes and features and a focus on morphological awareness. As such, the teacher refers to *monoftongen* (monophthongs), *dalende tweeklanken* (descending diphthongs), and *steigende tweeklanken* (ascending diphthongs). Students repeat back words, such as "*r-metathesis*" and "*palatalization*". While the discursive production of expertise is a means of reproducing differentiation, the teacher also uses the expertise discourse in order to neutralize opposing or conflicting discourses about Limburgian variation, as demonstrated below.

While engaging the students in the reading of a pre-selected text, a compilation of poems and stories in the local dialect, the teacher directs students to the editor's words in the introduction. The teacher explicitly expresses an interest in the content of the material, but as I show, weaves this together with a focus on language form and linguistic knowledge in order to engage students in a discussion about language beliefs. The interaction I describe here begins with the teacher asking his students what the book's editor has to say about the local dialect.[16] In response, the students begin shuffling through their papers to provide an answer to the question. One of the students reads the following words from the text: "*de modesjtaal zuverder en direkter is dan 't ABN*" (the mother tongue is purer and more direct than ABN [Dutch standard]). The teacher provides an affirming statement, takes over reading from where the student left off, but then promptly interrupts his reading aloud by drawing attention to the verb in the sentence "*gaon perbeire*" (going to try). He reads, "*en toch zeen der, zeen t'r, die—ich lees effe boavenaaf—op ei gegaeve moment gaon per perbeiere—is dat good of fout?*" (and still there are, there are, those—I read quickly from the top—at a certain moment "gaon perbeiere" [going to try]—is that right or wrong?). The students respond to the teacher's question as to whether or not "perbeiere" is right or wrong by focusing on the most salient aspect of the word, which is the diphthongization of the latter part of the word, i.e. per*bei*ere versus per*be*re. The teacher, however, redirects the students to the first syllable of the word by writing on the board the words "*per*beiere" and "*pro*beiere" (emphasis is mine) and asking students whether they favor the first or second variant. The students are divided in their responses, which prompts the teacher to ask why that might be the case. One of the students offers that the same phenomenon occurs with the words "processie" and "percessie", which prompts another student to jump into the discussion offering an explanation: "*verspringing van de 'e' nao de 'r'*" (jump/skip from the "e" to the "r"). The teacher hones in on the student's response and confirms stating: "*van de 'r' rondj de klinker dao höbst 't euver*" (from the "r" around the vowel. That's what you are talking about).

The excerpt that follows shows the subsequent class discussion and helps to illustrate how the teacher neutralizes tensions between normative notions of correctness or standards and linguistic variation.

Teacher:	[17]De r-metathesis noeme ze dat. Die vakterm kent ger (unclear) vergeite. R-metathesis dat is de verspringing van de "r" rond de klinker, dat höb ich uch vertèlt dat kump tamelijk veul veur—feberwari februari, secertaris secretaris, driede en derde [. . .] in anger talen kump 't ouch veur de "l" veur. Ich höb uch gezag in Tjechisch zègke ze mlek, veer zegke mèlk	The r-metathesis they call it. That technical term you can (unclear) forget. R-metathesis that is the skipping of the "r" around the vowel, I told you that occurs fairly often—feberwari februari (February), secertaris secretaris (secretary), driede en derde (third) [. . .] it occurs in other languages too before the "l". I have told you in Czech they say "mlek" (milk), we say "melk"
Student (female):	Dat klopt	That's right
Teacher:	Wie ich dat zoug staon zei ich hei dat is de verspringing rond de klinker. Veur ós is t hoofdzakelijk de "r", kiek maar 't weurdje drie driede en derde en dat zin de typische gevallen in t nederlands zègke ver derde maar as eemes zaet driede [. . .] krig ze de discussie nei dat is fout [pause] nei dat is een variant	When I saw that I said, hey, that is the skipping around the vowel. For us it is primarily the "r", just look at the word "drie" "driede" and "derde" (three third and third) and those are the typical cases. In Dutch we say "derde" (third) but if someone says "driede" (third) [. . .] you get the discussion no that is wrong [pause] no that is a variant
(Teacher writes on the board)	(pointing to the examples on the board) hie wirk dae regel op van de versjpringing en hie haet dae regel neet gewirkt. That's all. Dus as eemes zaet secertaris, 't nederlands haet gekoze secretaris haet t nederlands gekoze, maar in dialect schrif secertaris, is dus de verspringing van de "r" rond de klinker	(pointing to the examples on the board) Here applies the rule of the skipping and here that rule has not applied. That's all. So when someone says "secertaris", Dutch chose "secretaris" has Dutch chosen, but in dialect writes "secertaris", is thus the skipping of the "r" around the vowel

The teacher engages the students in a discussion around the linguistic phenomenon of metathesis, i.e. the reordering of phonemes or syllables in a word.[18] This discussion not only serves to increase the students' metalinguistic awareness but also affords the teacher an opportunity to claim his role as a linguistic expert and reproduce linguistic boundaries.

The teacher claims his expertise in the first statement when he provides the linguistic term "r-metathesis" and immediately states that students don't have to remember this technical term. Here, he clearly positions himself as an authority, separating himself from the students. He further claims legitimacy as an expert by making a reference to "*anger talen*" (other languages) in which metathesis occurs, specifically the example of "mlek" in Czech versus "melk" in Dutch and the local dialect. The teacher uses a similar strategy later in the interaction when, referring to r-metathesis, he states:

> Veur ós is t hoofdzakelijk de "r", kiek maar 't weurdje drie driede en derde en dat zin de typische gevallen in 't nederlands zègke ver derde maar as eemes zaet driede [. . .] krig ze de discussie nei dat is fout [pause] nei dat is een variant

> For us it is primarily the "r", just look at the word "drie" "driede" and "derde" ([three third and third] and those are the typical cases. In Dutch we say "derde" (third) but if someone says "driede" (third) [. . .] you get the discussion no that is wrong [pause] no that is a variant.

However, in this instance, he not only draws a comparison between the local Limburgian dialect and the Dutch standard to put them on equal footing as linguistic varieties, i.e. "languages", he also uses his expert knowledge to bridge the gap between norms of correctness and linguistic variation. By explaining how the rule of metathesis is applied in certain instances but not others, he aims to neutralize the right/wrong dichotomy and create legitimacy for variation.

The students, nevertheless, are not immediately swayed by the teacher's argument for variation as they are still focused on linguistic form and matters of correctness. This is evident in the following question from one of the students and the teacher's response:

Student:	dus wat mót t noe zeen? Is 't noe perbeiere of probeiere?	So now what is it? Is it perbeiere or probeiere?
(Several students respond saying that both forms are correct)		
Teacher:	't kènt allebei. . .(directed to student) wat zeis ze?	Both are possible . . . (directed to student) what did you say?
Student:	maar 't ein is neet fout?	But the one isn't wrong?
Teacher:	nei loester de kens zegke ich gaef de veurkeur—ich höb zelf een bietje de neiging aan probeiere maar misschien omdat ich van hoes oet leraar nederlands dit gewent ben—maar besef maar al te good dat dit een lEUke variant is op ene regel de verspringing van de r rond de klinker.	No listen, you can say I give preference—I personally have a little bit the tendency of "probeiere", but perhaps because as originally a teacher of Dutch I am used to this—but keenly realize that this is a nICe variant to a rule, the skipping of the "r" around the vowel.

The teacher appears to recognize that his students feel uncomfortable with the flexible nature of variation, preferring instead predictable and uniform rules. As such, he responds in an informal manner, aligning with his students, when he says that one can give preference for one variant over another and shares his own personal inclinations perhaps attributed to his profession as a teacher of Dutch and familiarity with its forms.

In addition to discursively taking a stance as a knowledge producer in the classroom, the teacher shows alignment with his students, shifting between different frames. The teacher shows evidence of frame shifting when he states, "*[v]eur ós is t hoofdzakelijk de 'r'*" (For us it is primarily the "r"). Here, the "us" includes everyone in the classroom, i.e. users of the local dialect. When the teacher says, "*in t nederlands zègke ver derde*" (in Dutch we say "derde" [third]), he aligns as a speaker of Dutch and frames himself and his students as bilingual speakers of both the Dutch standard and the local variety of Limburgish. The alignment with Dutch in this case contrast with other instances where the teacher focuses on differentiating between the local dialect and the Dutch standard. In other words, the teacher adopts different stances, which in some instances create oppositions and at other times show alignment. In both cases, however, the teacher reproduces linguistic boundaries that give the local dialect, as a variety of Limburgish, value and legitimacy. One might argue, though, that in the latter case, adopting a stance of alignment with both Limburgish and Dutch, the teacher attempts to create a bridge between two opposing discourses. On the one hand; a discourse of difference, evident in his use of comparisons or "othering" in order to create clear boundaries for Limburgish as a language separate from Dutch; on the other hand, a discourse of heritage which entails an identity encompassing both Limburgish *and* Dutch.

5.   Conclusion

This case study aimed to illustrate how the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages frames language protection in terms of heritage and how in the Limburgian case, the production of heritage discourses materializes at regional and local scales in connection with language standardization. In other words, this chapter shows that standardization is inherently linked with processes that authenticate language, rather than anonymize it as other minority language groups have attempted (see the introduction to this volume). Far from removing indexicality of place and origin, standardization through heritage anchors language in situated forms of authority. In this case, minority language standardization follows a very different path from the pattern that led to the standardization of Dutch and its establishment as a national language.

This investigation thus shows how a claim to heritage creates legitimacy for languages under the ECRML by increasing the perceived status and value of the languages it protects, but also creates new imperatives for social

actors to manage and control those resources. This is evident in the increase in language management activities focused on linguistic form. In Limburg, specific focus has been aimed at developing spelling norms that address the dialectal diversity within Limburg in a polynomic way.

A focus on the local language classroom illustrates how the teacher appropriates heritage discourses and articulates them with discourses of expertise and difference to valorize Limburgish. As shown in the classroom, the discourse of heritage is realized through merging a discourse of historicity with a discourse of expertise, each in turn justifying and authorizing the other. The teacher indicates notions of time and distance by referencing a language history in the past and by painting a picture of language development over time. Through this discussion, the teacher is able to demonstrate linguistic knowledge, which is an important component in constructing him as an expert in the classroom. This chapter thus points to the importance of combining the study of texts at policy level and local studies showing how those texts are taken up, adapted, and modified to suit and construct local perspectives.

Notes

1. This work was partly supported by the Research Council of Norway through its Centres of Excellence funding scheme, project number 223265, and *Standardising Minority Languages,* project number 213831.
2. The ECRML is one of the treaties under the auspices of the Council of Europe designed to protect human rights.
3. The ECRML entails two levels of protection. Part II of the Charter, which outlines objectives and principles applied to all the regional or minority languages spoken within a territory, is largely symbolic. Part III provides the highest level of protection and entails specific measures to promote the use of regional or minority languages in public life in accordance with a minimum of 35 (sub) paragraphs chosen. In the Netherlands, Frisian is the only language receiving protection under Part III, whereas other regional and minority languages, including Limburgish, are covered strictly under part II.
4. Romani and Yiddish are considered non-territorial languages.
5. See the page of the province of Limburg: www.limburgsedialecten.nl (last accessed 25 January, 2017).
6. The Dutch language union was created in 1980 as the governing body on language for the Netherlands and Belgium. Suriname joined as an associate member in 2004 and additional collaborations exist with Aruba, Curaçao, and St. Martin (http://over.taalunie.org/dutch-language-union).
7. Jaspaert's letter was in response to a letter from Verstraeten dated 21.06.99, asking the NTU for advice regarding Belgium's consideration of the ECRML, and particularly the recognition of Limburgish as regional language within its borders.
8. Any party who signs onto the ECRML is part of a continuous monitoring process, which entails three main partners: the CoE, the State, and NGOs/ representatives of the speakers. Reporting is conducted at three-yearly intervals. The State Periodical Report is a means for the country itself to report on how the treaty is being implemented. The CoE examines the country's reports, carries out monitoring, and conducts on-the-spot visits. Their evaluation report,

which is then presented to the Committee of Ministers who make a set of rec-ommendations, is considered the most authoritative instrument of the treaty. The Charter reports are not government policy texts; they emanate from the CoE. Nevertheless, these texts provide the framework for how minority lan-guages are dealt with in Europe, and in this sense, they are normative.

9. Veldeke is an acronym for V.E.L.D.E.K.E, meaning **V**oor **E**lk **L**imburgs **D**ialect **E**en **K**rachtige **E**enheid [for every Limburgian dialect, a powerful unity]. The name also points to Hendrik van Veldeke (Heinrich von Veldeke), a writer/poet from the Low Countries whose works date back to the twelfth century.

10. *Aanwijzingen voor de spelling van de Limburgse dialecten* (modifications for the spelling of the Limburgian dialects).

11. The 2003 spelling has been termed "official" in the sense that it is supported by the most prominent social actors in Limburg and receives backing from the provincial government.

12. See www.LimburgseSpelling.nl (last accessed 25 January, 2017).

13. Annual regional language conference, hosted by the Stichting Nederlandse Dialecten (SND) (Foundation Dutch Dialects) in Middelburg, Netherlands on 07.10.16 and focused on the theme "Taalvariatie in sociale media" (language variation in social media).

14. De Limburger, 10.10.16, Guus Urlings, Dialect doet 't digitaal.

15. A discussion of these various activities is beyond the scope of this chapter.

16. For the purpose of anonymity, I refrain from using the actual term of the local dialect as used by the teacher and students.

17. In my transcription, I aimed to represent the speech of participants as respect-fully and accurately as possible. Capital letters show significant emphasis in speech. Bold and italic fonts highlight specific contrasts made in pronunciation or spelling.

18. Most commonly, as is the case here, metathesis refers to the swapping of two or more contiguous phonemes. An example in English might be ca**val**ry versus ca**lva**ry or comf**ort**able versus comf**ter**ble.

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5 Negotiating the Standard in Contemporary Galicia

Bernadette O'Rourke[1]

PROFESORA:	Vale, veña. Mellor comezamos a primeira clase, si? Abran o libro polo tema un, que é o de saúdos e . . . tedes un exemplo aí que pon "como está vostede, cabaleiro?"
MARUXA:	Pero, perdoa, isto non era un curso de ghallegho?
PROFEORA:	Si, claro.
XOSÉ:	Usté perdoe, pero eso non é ghallegho! Ghallegho é o que falamos nós, o "de toda a vida" e iso non se lle parece NADITA!
PROFESORA:	Xa pero é que, vós, empregades un rexistro así como . . . máis coloquial.
MARUXA:	Coloquial, carallo! Nós falamos ighual de bien que o presidente da Xunta.
TEACHER:	Ok, come on. Let's get started with the first class. Open the book on theme one which deals with greetings and . . . you have an example there that says, "how are you, sir?"
MARUXA:	But, sorry, I thought this was a Ghalician [Galician] class?
TEACHER:	Yes, of course.
XOSÉ:	Excuse me but *that* is not Ghalician! Ghalician is what we speak, for our whole lives, and this is not like it AT ALL!
TEACHER:	Yes, but you see, you use a type of register that is like . . . more colloquial.
MARUXA:	Colloquial, my ass! We speak just as *good* as the President of the Xunta [the Galician Government].

(Retrieved from https://vimeo.com/21254827, all translations my own)

1. Introduction

This excerpt is part of a longer sketch taken from an internet television comedy programme entitled *Non saimos do lixo* (literally 'We cannot get out of trash'). The programme was put together by a group of Galician language activists whose aim is to satirise contemporary sociopolitical issues affecting Galician society. The particular programme from which this excerpt is taken comes from a longer series of sketches on *lingua* (meaning language in Galician). While to some extent exaggerated for comic effect, this sketch captures the tensions which have emerged in the context of language standardisation policies in Galicia since the 1980s. The sketch satirises the

normalisation process, where the official standard—*galego normativo*—often does not reflect the everyday communication practices of certain Galician speakers. This sketch sets the scene for this chapter, in which I will discuss the current metalinguistic discourse around Galician and its speakers in contemporary Galicia and analyse how different social actors relate to the standard.

While *galego normativo* is used and to a large extent accepted in the area of education and the media, tensions continue to exist and can be detected in the way different social actors talk about *galego normativo* and how it is sometimes used to give legitimacy to some speakers and not to others. For whom then does standard Galician hold value? For whom does it not? What aspects of the standard are contested and debated by different Galician social actors on the ground? To answer these questions, I draw on data from various fieldwork trips to Galicia since the early 2000s, in which I explored what Galician means to contemporary Galicians. This field work included interviews, focus group discussions and participant observation involving a range of social actors at various fieldwork sites including schools, cultural associations and alternative bars. Questions relating to *galego normativo* formed part of many of the accounts I collected, sometimes emerging naturally in conversation and at other times through direct questioning. I also draw on non-elicited accounts about *galego normativo* which I observed. Certain aspects of the data have been analysed in more detail elsewhere (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 2015). In this chapter, I revisit some of this data, focusing specifically on instances in which debates around *galego normativo* came to the fore. In what follows, I piece together select observations from this eclectic set of resources to help understand the social consequences of standardisation in contemporary Galicia. I begin with a brief overview of the historical context in which Galician standardisation has emerged (section 2), before turning to several of the factors which complicate this endeavour. Considering the impacts of the standard on social actors, I examine how ideologies of authenticity compete with the authority that the standard represents (section 3) and illustrate differing perspectives among native speakers (section 3.1), new speakers (section 3.2) and adolescent learners (3.3). Additionally, I show how some actors continue to debate and resist standardising influences (section 4) and conclude with reflections on the future of standardisation in Galicia (section 5).

2. Language Standardisation and Normalisation in Galicia

Galician, like Spain's other minority languages, including Basque and Catalan, underwent major policy changes coinciding with Spain's transition to democracy in the 1970s, and these policy changes brought the use of Galician into public and institutional spheres. This, in turn, led to significant changes to the way in which Galicians came to perceive and use the language. Historically, Galician and its speakers had come to be associated

with rurality, a lack of education and poverty. Spanish, in contrast was the language of authority, power and upward mobility and the language of the upper classes and urbanites. As Álvarez Cáccamo (1993) notes, in post-Franco Spain, political discourses on Galicianhood (re)constituted Galicians as new social subjects within the Spanish State and created new technical discourses on language and linguistic identity.

In 1981, residents of Galicia successfully completed a long-standing bid for recognition as a distinct and autonomous community within the Spanish state. With the passing of the *Estatuto de Autonomía de Galicia* (Galician Statute of Autonomy) (1981), Galicians were granted the autonomous status that they had originally proposed in 1936, prior to the civil war and Franco dictatorship. The statute named Galician and Spanish as the official languages of the Galician Autonomous Community. Subsequently, the 1983 *Lei de Normalizacion Linguistica* (Law on Linguistic Normalisation) laid out steps for standardising official Galician, and recognised the *Real Academia Galega* (Galician Royal Academy) as the ultimate authority on the 'correct' use of Galician:

> Nas cuestións relativas á normativa, actualización e uso correcto da lingua galega, estimarase como criterio de autoridade o establecido pola Real Academia Galega. Esta normativa será revisada en función do proceso de normalización do uso do galego.

> In questions related to the standard, revisions and correct use of the Galician language, the form set out by the Galician Royal Academy is seen as the criterion for authority. This standard will be revised in line with the process of normalisation of Galician language use.
>
> (*Lei de Normalizacion Linguistica* 1983)

Galician language advocates argued that Galician was evidence of their distinct nationality and was fully capable of functioning as a modern language. They sought to facilitate this modernisation by developing a set of standardised norms which would align it with contemporary life and raise the status of the language and, in turn, its speakers. Standardisation was part of a broader process of corpus planning which involved the elaboration of terminologies to respond to expanding domains of language use (Monteagudo 1999).

The development of *galego normativo* formed part of a new technical discourse about language linked to the larger process of *normalización lingüística* (linguistic normalisation), driven by its newly ascribed role as a co-official language with Spanish and its regulation by the Galician Royal Academy (Beswick 2007). The concept of normalisation is specific to the Spanish context. The term itself was coined by Catalan sociolinguists, Aracil, Ninyoles and Valverdú (Mar-Molinero 2000), and came to be used as a model for language planners within Catalonia itself, as well as in Galicia and the Basque Country. While the concept is widely used in the

Spanish context by academics, policy makers and even among the general public, the way in which the term has come to be understood and interpreted across and among these different groups has varied. This has led to the confusing array of technical as well as common sense meanings linked to the term. In the past, in much of Spanish linguistic terminology, the terms *normalización* and *normativización* tended to appear in discussions around the process of language normalisation. *Normalización* was used to refer to the extension of a standardised language to all areas of public life and as such corresponded to the concept of status planning commonly used in English-language terminology (Cooper 1989; Kloss 1969). *Normativización* referred to the selection and codification of a standard language and was more directly related to the concept of corpus planning in the terminology used in English. However, *normalización* now tends to be used to encompass both the status and corpus elements of language planning in line with Williams's (1988) suggestions that language is a seamless web and that distinctions between status and corpus elements are artificial.

Galego normativo, particularly in the early years of language policy in Galicia, was the subject of bitter debate and led to ongoing divisions within Galician activist groups and proponents of the language (Lorenzo Suárez 2008). Much of the debate centred round two ideological camps—*reintegrationists* and *isolationists*. For *reintegrationists*, or *lusistas*, the goal of contemporary language normalisation has involved the progressive adopting of Portuguese as the standard language in Galicia. This argument is based on the idea that historically, Galician and Portuguese were the same language and that the distancing between the two was the result of language contact between Galician and Spanish. They have argued for the alignment of Galician with Portuguese on the basis that Portuguese is classified as a major world language and thus increases the potential of Galician to become elevated to that status. They oppose *galego normativo*, arguing that it does not recognise the true origins of the language and reject the official standard on the basis that it is too influenced by Spanish. For Reintegrationists, as Herrero Valeiro (2003) highlights, the 'reintegration' of Portuguese orthography has strong symbolic significance, as it establishes a clear linguistic divide with the contested dominant language, Spanish. *Isolationists* subscribe to *galego normativo* and favour the independent development of Galician from both Spanish and Portuguese. The more heated debates of the eighties and early nineties around *galego normativo* have died out somewhat in the new millennium. There were changes to the prescribed standard in 2003, where certain proposals made by *reintegrationists* were taken on board, leading to the inclusion of some Galician-Portuguese norms. These compromises can be seen as an attempt to quell the so-called normative wars in Galicia and to build consensus between different sides of the debate.

The story of how *galego normativo* came about has been told on numerous occasions (see Monteagudo 2004; Ramallo and Rei Doval 2015). My aim is not to retell that story here, but instead to look at how *galego*

normativo has shaped the ideologies and linguistic practices of Galician speakers. Beyond the Academy and legal documents, technical notions such as *normalización* and *galego normativo* have spread throughout civil society and are talked about by social actors and members of Galician society on the ground. The normalisation process has become part of a Galician consciousness, shaping both people's linguistic ideologies and their perception of legitimacy and ownership in relation to the language.

3.   Consequences of Standardisation for Social Actors

An important effect of standardisation has been the development of a consciousness among speakers of a so-called 'correct', or canonical form of language, as Milroy (2001) highlights. The ideological consequences of this development are cleverly captured in the comic scene which opens this chapter. The main protagonists in the sketch are Xosé and Maruxa, depicted as stereotypical uneducated, Galician-speaking country bumpkins who accidentally find themselves in a government-subsidised adult Galician class. In the 1980s, Galician became a language of instruction for primary and secondary schooling and became a compulsory requirement for access to public sector employment in Galicia. The humoristic scene is created when Maruxa and Xosé confuse the acronyms CELGA, referring to the *Certificado de Lingua Galega* (Certificate of Galician Language) with *Celta*, the latter a well-known local football club, *Celta de Vigo*. As a result of this confusion, they find themselves in a Galician language class aimed at students preparing for CELGA exams. As Maruxa and Xosé are of an older generation, the language of instruction at school would have been Spanish, and they are surprised to find themselves in a Galician class. After much ordeal, as the opening lines of the excerpt above show, the teacher eventually succeeds in bringing some order to the classroom and begins the lesson.

   Maruxa and Xosé immediately question the teacher's legitimacy, rejecting her Galician, in comparison with what they perceive as their own more authentic, non-standard dialectal variety. The main objection on their part is to being taught a language which they deem to already know and resent being told how to speak something which they have always spoken (*de toda a vida*). The teacher tries to coax them into cooperating, suggesting they use the class as an opportunity to improve what she refers to as their more 'colloquial' way of speaking. However, Maruxa and Xosé stand their ground and uphold their claim to speaking 'good' Galician, just as good, they say, as the President of the Government (*ighual de bien que o presidente da Xunta*). This has comedic effect partially because of the stigmatised features of Maruxa's and Xosé's speech, notably that of *gheada*, which is indexically linked to non-standard Galician. *Gheada*, represented by the digraph <gh>, is the production of a glottal fricative [h] instead of a voiced velar [ɣ].[2] This can be seen in the use of words such as *galego* (Galician), which

becomes *ghallegho*. In the sketch, Mauxa and Xosé exaggerate this feature and explicitly name *their* Galician as *ghallegho*, which combines the Spanish-sounding word *gallego* (Galician) with *gheada*.

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) remind us that while standardisation can provide benefits for minority language speakers (such as access to new linguistic markets and job opportunities), the process can also lead to continued language loss. Rather than strengthening speakers' dignity and self-worth (Cooper 1989), it can in fact lead to further stigmatisation of certain varieties and subsequently their speakers. In the comic sketch above, the teacher criticises Maruxa and Xosé for their use of what she refers to as their more 'colloquial' register, misconstruing their dialectal Galician as incorrect and inferior to the standard. This problem is not, of course, unique to the Galicians (see Gal 2006; Silverstein 1996). However, following Urla (2012) in her discussion of the standardisation of Basque, *galego normativo* does not mean the absence of a dialect as *galego normativo* is itself of course a dialect, albeit the more prestigious variety. The teacher therefore confounds dialect with register and in doing so distinguishes between her own 'formal' register, which she associates with *galego normativo*, and Xosé's and Maruxa's vernacular 'informal' register (*un rexistro máis coloquial*). At some levels and in certain contexts, such as the Galician class in which Xosé and Maruza find themselves, standard Galician has come to represent a powerful filter for social mobility and positions users of the standard as legitimate speakers of the '*langue authorisée*' (Bourdieu 1991) and traditional native speakers as illegitimate. On other levels, the standard varieties of the teacher are seen to lack authenticity, sounding artificial and alien to native speakers like Xosé and Maruxa, who dismiss it as completely unlike their authentic Galician (*non se lle parece NADITA!*).

Standardisers often promote policies which reject loanwords in an effort to rid the minority language of influences from the dominant contact language and put in place a conservative and purist policy (Dorian 1994). Maruxa's and Xosé's speech is full of mixing and codeswitches with Spanish, and both speakers frequently adopt Spanish-sounding words in place of Standard Galician equivalents. For instance, the Spanish loanword *bien* (well) is used instead of the Galician standardised form *ben*. Using this and other everyday Spanish loanwords instead of standardised forms is common among traditional speakers (Dubert García 2005; Gugenberger 2013; Gugenberger, Monteagudo, and Rei-Doval 2013). It thus follows that purist ideologies inherent in the standardisation process can disempower vernacular speakers like Xosé and Maruxa. As Coulmas (1989) suggests, purist policy often suits and is indeed frequently produced by the educated urban elite and, as such, risks alienating speakers on the ground. Therefore, standardisation can have counter effects and produce new forms of linguistic alienation and insecurity among existing speakers of the language.

Many of the spoken varieties of Galician show a high level of influence from Spanish, displaying the effects of language contact over a relatively

long period (Rojo 2004). Attempts by the Galician Royal Academy at replacing existing Spanish-derived terminology or *castelanismos* (words from Castilian Spanish) with more Galicianised equivalents have been the subject of heated debate and criticism among dialectal speakers, leading to a language form which Carcácel (cited in del Valle 2000, 122) highlights comes to be perceived by Galician speakers as artificial, alien and full of errors. It is perhaps because of this that despite over 30 years of institutional standardisation, half of all Galicians still see *galego normativo* as artificial, including a younger generation with the highest levels of exposure to it through the education system (*Observatorio da Cultura Galega* 2011). As I have examined in more detail elsewhere (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 2015), new speakers, who were not brought up speaking Galician in the home and typically speak the standard, instead of 'correctness', are in search of *authenticity*. Their desire 'to be from somewhere' thus often overrides the value of linguistic correctness and the value of *anonymity* associated with the standard (Woolard 2008, 2016).

In light of these general trends, the following sections provide examples from my fieldwork which illustrate how social actors experience and relate to *galego normativo* differently, dependent on their social positioning. I discuss the impacts of standardisation on older speakers, those who identify as speaking '*de toda a vida*' (all their life) (section 3.1), in contrast to the impacts on new speakers who have acquired the language in formal education outside of the home (section 3.2), and adolescents who are currently studying *galego normativo* in school (section 3.3).

3.1   What Does Galego Normativo Mean for Galician Speakers 'De Toda a Vida'?

The comic scene discussed earlier in the chapter replicates the long-standing stereotypical representation of the rural uneducated Galician. However, Maruxa's and Xosé's boisterous behaviour is somewhat atypical of what would be expected of an older generation of native speakers in a formal language class, as they openly rejected *galego normativo* and elevate the status of their own dialectal Galician. As anthropologist Sharon Roseman (1995) has noted, an older generation often shows insecurity in their own way of speaking and tends to award greater authority to *galego normativo* than to their own dialectal variety. While knowledge of Spanish has continued to be indispensable for Galicians, the creation of *galego normativo* introduced a new resource in Galicia's communicative economy. Roseman also found that vernacular Galician speakers often described themselves as speaking poorly, referring to their variety of Galician as corrupted *castrapo* (mixture) (1995, 14). *Castrapo* is an interesting word etymologically, combining the words *castellano* or *castelán* (Castilian) with *trapo*, meaning rag.

As a student in a similar adult Galician language class in the early 2000s, my observations were consistent with Roseman's earlier analyses.

Enrique and María were the only two native speakers of Galician in the class. Both had public sector positions and were attending the classes to prepare for public service exams in line with requirements at work. Both had always spoken Galician and, like Maruxa and Xosé, were Galician speakers *de toda a vida* (all their lives). In their late fifties, they had not benefitted from the bilingual policy changes of the 1980s which made Galician a compulsory subject at school, and, as such, they never had any formal training in the language. They spoke Galician, but Spanish was the language in which they had learned to read and write when growing up. This perhaps explains their recurrent insecurity in class in their own ability to produce what they perceived as 'correct' Galician, frequently commenting that they spoke 'badly' because of their tendency to codeswitch between Galician and Spanish or because of their use of Spanish-sounding words. They too described their Galician as *castrapo*. They would often tell me and other learners with no home use of the language that we spoke 'better' than they did because we had learned it formally and to them sounded more authoritative. They frequently apologised for the possible deficiencies in their Galician, thus publicly underscoring the sense of inadequacy they and so many native speakers of their generation were feeling about their language skills.

The Galician-born new speakers I encountered during my more recent fieldwork reported similar experiences with older native speakers. In difference to Enrique and María, a new speaker generation of urban Galicians often had their first encounters with Galician at school, and the type of Galician to which they were exposed was *galego normativo*. Many of the new speakers I spoke with reported how insecure older native speakers often felt in their presence, something with which made them very uneasy in turn. Alberto, a student of Galician Philology whose profile is discussed in more detail elsewhere (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 2015), recalled vividly his grandmother's reluctance to be recorded for a sociolinguistic project he was carrying out, claiming she did not know how to speak. For many older speakers, the indexical ties between *galego normativo*, education and Galician nation building has loaded the standard with prestigious and political connotations, linking it to authority and Galician nationalism. This authority, as Bourdieu (1991) has shown, is sustained by educational systems, the media and government administrations, providing powerful institutions through which the respect for the norm is promoted and through which rewards are given to those who master it. The new speaker of Galician, as the standard language speaker, is generally perceived as being more educated and thus can often become the authoritative speaker in the eyes of older speakers. As such, as Frekko (2012) has shown in the case of Catalan, social class and educational background become more important in determining linguistic authority than nativeness.

However, as Roseman (1995) cautions, care needs to be taken when interpreting self-deprecating statements made by native speakers, suggesting that

they cannot always be taken at face value. Longer-term fieldwork revealed to her that while dialect speakers would publicly recognise the higher status of Castilian and standard Galician, at the same time, they expressed preference for their own speech varieties in other settings. She suggests that their signs of linguistic insecurity are in fact ambiguous and that statements which downgrade their own way of speaking may be nothing more than ironic gestures of deference which they display to outsiders. Maruxa's and Xosé's inversion of older Galician speakers' linguistic behaviour as outlined in the comic sketch exaggerates such ironic gestures where mastery of the vernacular is flaunted, at least momentarily contradicting the dominant standard ideology.

3.2   Shifting Authorities and Legitimacy Among New Speakers of Galician

While an older generation of Galicians frequently perceive *galego normativo* as the prestige norm, language attitudes toward vernacular and standard can be multifaceted, dependant on the interactional context, and vary according to generation. Without downplaying the hierarchising effects and dominance of standard language ideology, as Urla (2012) points out, we need to be cautious about assuming that vernacular is uniformly perceived as inferior.

New speakers of Galician often value authenticity over linguistic correctness and in doing so can suffer from the same linguistic insecurities as the older speakers described above. Many labelled their Galician as 'imperfect' and emphasised the need to become 'better' speakers (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 2015). 'Better' tends to be understood as adapting to more local dialectal varieties and replacing their standardised, non-localised and anonymous way of speaking. As Nacho, a young urban new speaker told me when I asked him what it meant to speak 'good' Galician:

> Bueno, supoño que . . . a ver, o galego sufriu un montón de ataques. E se deteriorou muitísimo. Supoño que para min falar ben tampouco é respectar unha norma, non é . . . Supoño que falar como fala un . . . alguén da aldea que directamente non sabe español, sabe galego porque o mamou cuando o naceu, desde que naceu. Supoño que eso é falar ben.

> I suppose that . . . let's see, Galician suffered a lot of attacks. It deteriorated a lot. I suppose for me speaking well does not mean respecting the norm . . . I suppose that speaking like . . . someone from the village who doesn't know Spanish, who knows Galician because they were fed Galician from the breast from when they were born. I suppose that is speaking well.

While an older generation of Galicians often explicitly downplayed the value of vernacular Galician, as I have discussed elsewhere (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013), a younger generation of native speakers often seemed to allocate value to vernacular speech and in doing so position themselves as authoritative speakers. Xavier, for example, a 25-year-old Galician speaker who was brought up speaking the language in the home, was adamant that only people who had spoken Galician *'de toda a vida'* were 'good' speakers. The implication was that that 'good' Galician could not be learned; rather, it had to be inherited. This was in turn linked to place of origin, being from the village, and associating linguistic authenticity with a localised geographical space. According to Xavier, '*o galego é máis dos galegos que falan de sempre*' (Galician belongs more to Galicians who have always spoken it). This includes Xavier himself as someone who was brought up speaking the language and fits the category of speaking Galician *de toda a vida*.

   The authority displayed by younger native speakers can in part be explained by their access to different forms of linguistic capital and an implicit recognition of the value of Standard Galician on Galicia's linguistic market. Claims to ownership of this resource can, of course, lead to tensions about who is considered a legitimate speaker and who has access to the authoritative code. Younger native speakers were openly critical of new speakers of Galician who had not acquired Galician at home but instead through the school system. They often described the Galician spoken by new speakers as being of low quality and criticised it for its closeness to Spanish. Dominant ideologies about language underlie such criticisms and establish clear-cut boundaries between Galician and Spanish. This sometimes leads younger native speakers to delegitimise new speakers' more hybridised forms of language.

3.3   Galego Normativo—Un Galego Ben Falado

The higher value placed on vernacular speech as expressed by both younger native speakers and new speakers I spoke to contrasts with the views of a group of early adolescents at one of the urban-based schools I visited during a 2012 fieldtrip. For many young Galicians in urban areas, their first encounter with the language is with *galego normativo* as imparted formally through the education system. The question of what constituted 'good' Galician emerged in my discussion in one of the Galician language classes I observed as part of my fieldwork. Fran, a 12-year-old with a predominantly Spanish-speaking profile, made fun of the Galician spoken in his grandparents' village, associating it with rurality and the stereotypical image of the uncivilised rural Galician farmer:

   Eu estiven na aldea cos cabras e esas cousas . . . escoitas o pasterio o alguén "a ver rapaciña vete pacá" así gritando é como de monte

> I was in the village with the goats and those sort of things. . . you hear the shepherd or someone "little girl get over here" shouting that way it is like being from the mountain.

His remarks generated lots of laughter from the rest of the class, who happily joined in making fun. When asked if they thought there was a difference between the Galician spoken by those who had spoken it all their lives and those who had learned it at school, one girl commented that '*o galego de toda a vida é máis brusco*' (the Galician spoken by someone who has always spoken it is rougher) and that '*nas zonas rurais é onde ten o galego máis pechado*' (in rural areas is where you have the most closed Galician). This perception was closely linked to the stereotypical image of Galician speakers as uneducated and uncouth, similar to the way Maruxa and Xosé were depicted in the comic sketch set out at the beginning of the chapter. While these are stereotypes which have generally been eliminated within Galician society (Lorenzo 2008), at certain levels of consciousness they continue to exist (González González et al. 2003; Iglesias Álvarez 2002; O'Rourke 2011) and emerge here in these students' discourses. Students described older speakers as speaking *castrapo*, a term which, we will recall, was also used by older Galician speakers described in Roseman's (1995) study discussed above. Here, they use the term pejoratively to criticise the mixing of Galician and Spanish by older speakers. As one student put it:

> E galego da vila. . . eles cando aprenderon a falar galego falaban mal porque como non era galego normativo . . . empezaron a falar galego con palabras do castelán

> It is Galician from the village . . . when they learned to speak Galician they spoke badly because it was not *galego normativo* . . . they started speaking Galician with words from Castilian.

Anything that was not *galego normativo* was therefore seen as 'bad Galician'. While older speakers' *castrapo* was referred to as *un galego mal falado* (badly spoken Galician) and *galego normativo* was defined as un *galego ben falado* (well-spoken Galician). As one student put it, '*Na miña vila falan castrapo pero eu falo un bo galego*' (In my village they speak Castrapo but *I* speak good Galician).

   While students in the classroom praised older speakers in terms of fluency, they linked this to the fact that they were speakers *de toda a vida*. Interestingly, being a speaker *de toda a vida* was used by the 20-something native speakers described above, as well as by Xosé and Maruxa, to authenticate their way of speaking. However, for these younger age groups, the fact that older Galicians had always spoken the language devalued their competency because of its 'naturalness'. As such, they did not see older speakers as role models and showed no desire to emulate their way of speaking. As one student put it: '*Falo o galego que me coresponde, o sea*

como os novos' (I speak the Galician which corresponds to me, that is like younger people).

In the various classroom contexts I visited, students strongly dismissed dialectal features such as *gheada*, explicitly associating it with older speakers. Many of the students were bemused by the examples the teacher gave of *gheada* in words like *ghato* instead of *gato* for 'cat'. As one student pointed out, a *'xente que fala así consideranse do monte'* (people who speak like that are considered as people from the mountain), with other students referring to them pejoratively as *'montiños'* (mountain people). Older speakers were described as speaking *'un galego antiguo'* (an old Galician). As one student put it:

> Falan un galego antiguo. Si porque agora o galego é mais normativizado . . . mais modernizado e ten mais . . . están corexiendo o que antes soaba mal. . . Porque a mairoia da xente . . . os maiores dicen ghalegho

> They speak an old Galician. Yes, because now Galician is more standardised . . . more modernised and it has more . . . they are correcting what sounded bad before . . . Because most people . . . older people say Ghalician.

Attitudes are, however, dynamic and can change over time, as Woolard (2011) showed in her longitudinal analysis of the school-going, non-native-speaking Catalans. Some 30 years after initial encounters had taken place with the participants in the study, who were, at the time, teenagers, their attitudes and ideologies had changed. It may be the case that some of these same pre-adolescents will alter their ideologies and take the leap of faith in becoming active Galician speakers, similar to the new speakers described above. Attitudes towards the standard as discussed above are multifaceted, dependant on the interactional context and vary according to generation and across space and time. Indeed, in a more recent study by Álvarez Iglesias (2016), older adolescents seemed to show more affinity to '*castrapo*' than to more standardised forms.

4.   Who Owns Galician? Disinventing Galician Norms and Acts of Resistance

Many of the new speakers I encountered and queried were aware of the criticisms levied on them by their native-speaking peers and rejected the linguistic policing and surveillance of their use of Galician (see O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 2015). These tensions were also played out by social actors on the ground. During my fieldtrips, I got to know and socialise with many younger Galician speakers and would hang out with them in the alternative bars which they tended to frequent. Many of the people who went to these bars were Galician language advocates and activists. The alternative bars they frequented represented in many respects safe spaces for Galician

and were places where the topic of language often emerged in the course of conversation. The following battle of words which I observed is a telling example of the tensions that emerge because of the new linguistic capital that *galego normativo* represents.

On this particular occasion, the topic of *normalización* came up, leading to an argument about what '*normalizar unha lingua*' (normalising a language) involved. The incident involved two 30-year-old Galicians, Diego and Anxo. Diego was from a rural part of Galicia and had been brought up speaking Galician at home but also learned standardised Galician through the post-1980s school system. Anxo, on the other hand, was from one of Galicia's main cities and had a predominantly Spanish-speaking upbringing. He acquired Galician at school and went on to become a Galician language teacher. Diego's definition of *normalizar* as '*extender o uso da lingua*' (extending the use of a language) was refuted by Anxo, who insisted that it was also about the standardisation of the language. Disagreements around the technical discourse about Galician ensued, involving arguments about differences between *normalizar* (normalise) and *normativizar* (normativise). These discussions escalated to another level in the more heated debate about the correct use of *galego normativo* and Anxo's corrections of Diego's speech. Diego responded to Anxo's corrections of his *castelanismos* (Castilian sounding words), saying: '*Eu aprendín así. . . da mina nai e dos meus avós. É o ghallegho que falo*' (That is how I learned . . . from my mother and my grandparents. That is the Ghalician I speak).

As discussed earlier on in the chapter, the technical discourse about language through the use of terms like *galego normativo*, *normalización lingüística* and *normativización* has entered people's consciousness and often becomes part of discussions such as the one I observed above. The way in which these terms have come to be understood and interpreted across and among these different groups often vary. Normalisation is associated with a confusing array of technical as well as common sense meanings. Anxo's role as a new speaker and Galician teacher position him as the authoritative speaker and expert in the authorised code as well as the technical discourse about language. However, having also gone through the education system and learned *galego normativo*, Diego was also confident in his '*ghallego*' and flaunted his inherited knowledge of vernacular Galician above *galego*. For Diego, Galician (in both vernacular and standard form) was recognised as a resource, as a form of cultural capital and an emergent or potential mark of 'distinction', convertible, as Bourdieu (1991) would say, into other forms of economic or political capital to which Anxo laid claim.

The language activists who produced the comedic sketch discussed in this chapter are likewise questioning where the authority over Galician lies through their humourous portrayal of an authoritative teacher and 'authentic' students. As Coupland (2010) notes, comedy has the ability to transform and resist social values and the parody presented in the sketch works to produce and iconise ideologies about the Galician language. Following

Makoni and Pennycook (2007), the performative act of language use in the sketch can be seen on the one hand as a way of disinventing Galician and, on the other hand, of reinventing it as something new. The indexical link between Galician and rural peasants is displayed in the stereotypical characters of Maruxa and Xosé but is reinvented through their boisterous outspoken behaviour and their self-positioning as legitimate and authoritative speakers. The humorous effect is created through the violation of expectations based on the pre-conceived norm about what is appropriate behaviour in a formal language classroom and by older native speakers. As such, the comic sketch can be seen in many ways in what Bakhtin (1981) terms an act of resistance and a questioning of Galicia's existing sociocultural and sociolinguistic norms.

These forms of debate and questioning continue to occur among social actors in Galicia regardless of the well-established existence of a standard. Xosé and Maruxa's struggle in the language classroom, like the debate between Diego and Anxo, captures a number of contemporary debates around *galego normativo* and the types of tensions which emerge between different social actors in minority language contexts where language revitalisation and standardisation efforts are in place. The scenes capture many of the tensions which have emerged in the context of language standardisation policies in Galicia since the 1980s between older and younger speakers and between native and 'new speakers' about what type of Galician people should be speaking, who has linguistic authority and who does not.

5.   Concluding Remarks

When we focus on the comments of young learners, the debates of teachers and advocates, the insecurities of old and new speakers and the satiric performances of language activists, we observe the multiplicity of ideologies which social actors in Galicia express. The normalisation process has become part of a Galician consciousness, shaping both people's linguistic ideologies and their perception of legitimacy and ownership in relation to the language. Local actors such as those I have interviewed, observed and spent time with play an important role in mediating the hierarchising effects of standardisation. In normalising Galician usage in new domains, they have also proven to be leaders in initiatives to make a more accessible Galician. If Galician norms once came from above, what some of the accounts from Galicians presented in this chapter show is that Galician is being retold from below and actively being reshaped by social actors on the ground. So while it is difficult to generalise from the set of stories I present here, there is some indication that vernacular Galician has acquired new meanings and has influenced communicative practices, although some meanings remain unchanged for certain social actors. Similar to what Urla (2012; Urla et al., this volume) describes in the case of Basque, while older speakers of Galician may have experienced their speech as stigmatised in relation to the new 'power

code', this stigmatisation itself is protested, appropriated and transformed by a younger generation of native speakers and new speakers.

The stories presented in this chapter signal the variety of connotations associated with *galego normativo* at this particular historical moment and how these connotations differ across contexts, generation and interactional situation. As the Galician linguistic and social order has been reconstructed by revitalisation and political autonomy, usages of vernacular show us that a new communicative economy has emerged. For new generations of Galician speakers, vernacular may be a way for them to signal a kind of identification with 'realness', authenticity, and populism in relation to a progressively institutionalised Galician political culture. *Galego normativo* has become the authorised code amongst older speakers and amongst younger age groups who often reject dialectal forms and see them as stigmatised due to their consciousness of a 'correct' form of language. New speakers of Galician often place a higher value on dialectal forms because of their perceived authenticity. The standard, while having an alienating effect on some speakers, as I have shown, does not completely control speakers' choices and ideologies, and some feel able to negotiate or resist it. The ways in which different Galician social actors variously resist and embrace *galego normativo* in order to negotiate legitimacy in contemporary Galicia provide important insights into the ways in which users and non-users reshape top-down standardisation processes.

Notes

1. This chapter has benefited from collaboration in the COST Action IS1306, 'New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges'.
2. Galician dialectologists identify three broad dialects which include the Eastern, Central and Western blocs, corresponding to the geographical areas in Galicia in which they are spoken, with each bloc containing individual sub-varieties (Fernández Rei 1990). Gheada is a more predominant feature of the Western blocs and has historically been a stigmatised feature.

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6 Language Standardisation as Frozen Mediated Actions

The Materiality of Language Standardisation

Pia Lane[1]

1. Introduction

In June 2015, a padded envelope arrived in my mailbox at work. The envelope contained the book *Kainun kielen grammatikki*,'A grammar of Kven' (Söderholm 2014)—the first grammar of my parents' mother tongue (Figure 6.1). Even though I was surrounded by Kven as the everyday language in my home village Pykeä[2] on the coast of northern Norway, I did not learn to speak Kven as a child due to my parents' belief that children were better off learning only Norwegian. I grew up as a passive bilingual: I understood Kven, but spoke only Norwegian. Later, as an adult, I embarked on the journey from a passive bilingual to a new speaker of Kven. This journey included studying and researching Kven as a linguist, coming to understand the prejudice experienced by my parents and their generation and seeing what was once considered 'dirty Finnish' become officially recognised as a language in its own right. Eighteen years later, receiving and reading the first grammar of Kven was a significant moment for me.

Reading a book is a common and ordinary social action, but for me, both from a personal and professional perspective, this was a very important moment. In this chapter, I will investigate this book as a 'frozen mediated action', resulting from cycles of discourse and a chain of previous social actions (Scollon 2001; Norris 2004). My analysis is guided by the following questions, based on Scollon and Scollon (2004), and Scollon and de Saint-Georges (2012): What are the actions going on here? What are the social actors doing here and why? What is the role of discourse in these actions? This moment when I picked up the book can be understood as a site of engagement—a point in time and space where separate practices come together, a moment defined by Scollon (2001, 147) as: 'the convergence of social practices in a moment in real time which opens a window for a mediated action to occur'. I will map cycles of discourse and the chains of social actions ultimately leading to the moment in space and time when I opened the envelope and held a grammar of the Kven language in my hands.

I begin with a description of the Kven-speaking community and the sociopolitical process which lead to the creation of a written standard of Kven. I
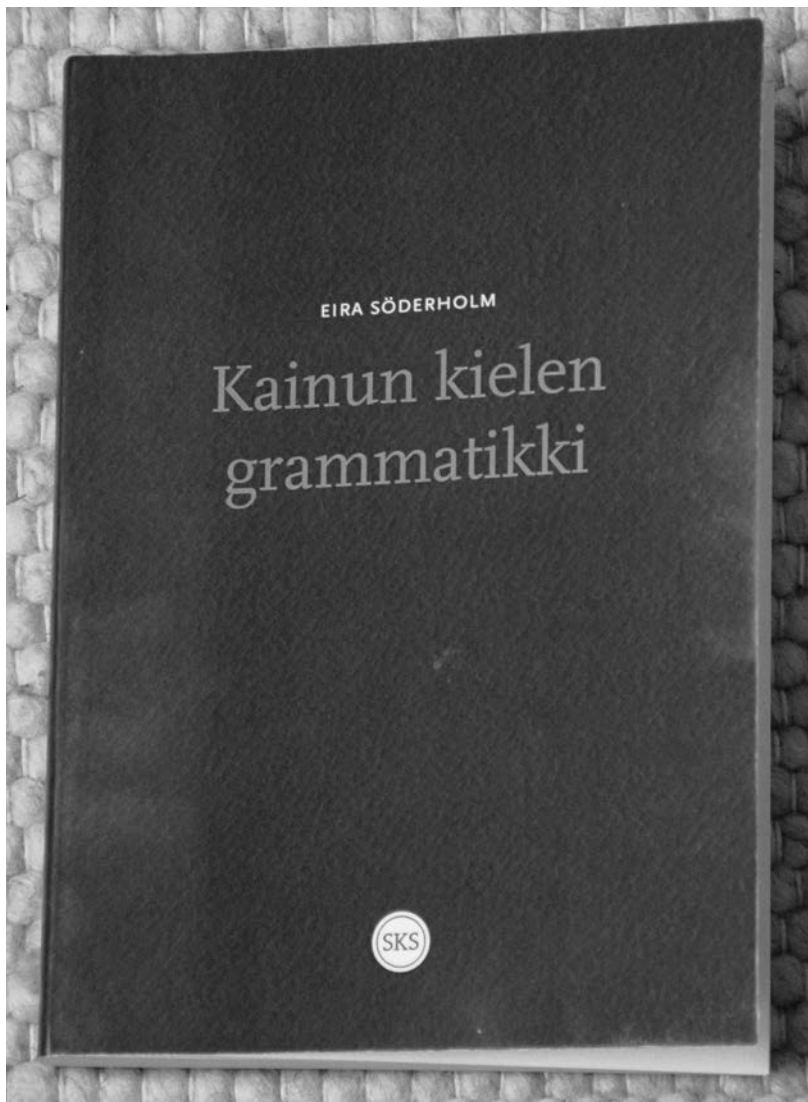
Figure 6.1 Söderholm 2014: Kainun kielen grammatikki

then analyse the role of various social actors in the standardisation process, suggesting that the material outcome of standardisation may be understood as frozen action (material results of social actions taken in the past [Scollon 2001]) and as mediational means (a tool for social action [Wertsch 1991]). I discuss these characteristics of standardisation in relation to the grammar book. Finally, I analyse the reception of standardised texts by investigating

how social actors positioned themselves when they read texts written in Kven. I draw on my experiences as a new speaker, a linguist and a participant in Kven language planning over two decades.

2.   From Dialect to Language—Recognition and Standardisation of Kven

The Kven are a Finnic-speaking national minority[3] group traditionally living in the two northernmost counties of Norway, though today many live in other parts of Norway (Figure 6.2). Like many other minority groups, the Kven went through a period of linguistic oppression (Eriksen and Niemi 1981; Pietikäinen, Lane, Salo, and Laihiala-Kankainen 2010). They were not allowed to use their language at school, and during the first part of the 20th century, boarding schools where the use of Kven and Sámi was forbidden, were built. Until 1959, the use of Kven and Sámi in the educational system was forbidden. Until 1964, one had to speak Norwegian to buy land in the northern area, effectively excluding Kven from owning land and achieving social mobility (Lane 2010; 2015). One consequence of this oppression was a feeling of shame and a devaluing of the Kven culture and language. Many Kven speakers have expressed that they did not wish to place the same burden on their children as the one they had to carry, and therefore, they chose to speak only Norwegian to their children (Lane 2010). These oppressive policies and general processes of modernisation where Norwegian was seen as the language of progress and possibilities have led to language shift in all Kven communities (Lane 2010; Räisänen 2014). Language shift is a process in which 'the habitual use of one language is being replaced by the habitual use of another' in communities (Gal 1979, 1). Those born after around 1965 were largely raised speaking Norwegian, and Kven is no longer used in the majority of social domains. The notion of monolingualism as the natural state of being and the only way to social mobility (though people tended to spend their lives in Kven-speaking communities) led to widespread language shift. This devaluing has changed somewhat in recent decades, although negative attitudes to the language remain. As is the case for many indigenous groups, there has been a growing awareness and recognition of Kven language and culture during the last two decades. Initially, people studied Finnish, as there were no textbooks or courses in Kven, but courses in Kven at the University of Tromsø have been popular since they were offered for the first time in 2006.

Norway ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992, and the text entered into force in 1998. The Charter is a convention under the auspices of the Council of Europe. It is designed to protect and promote regional and minority languages as a part of Europe's cultural heritage and to enable speakers of a regional or minority language to use it in private and public life[4] (see also Camps, this volume). According to the Charter, minority languages are languages traditionally used within
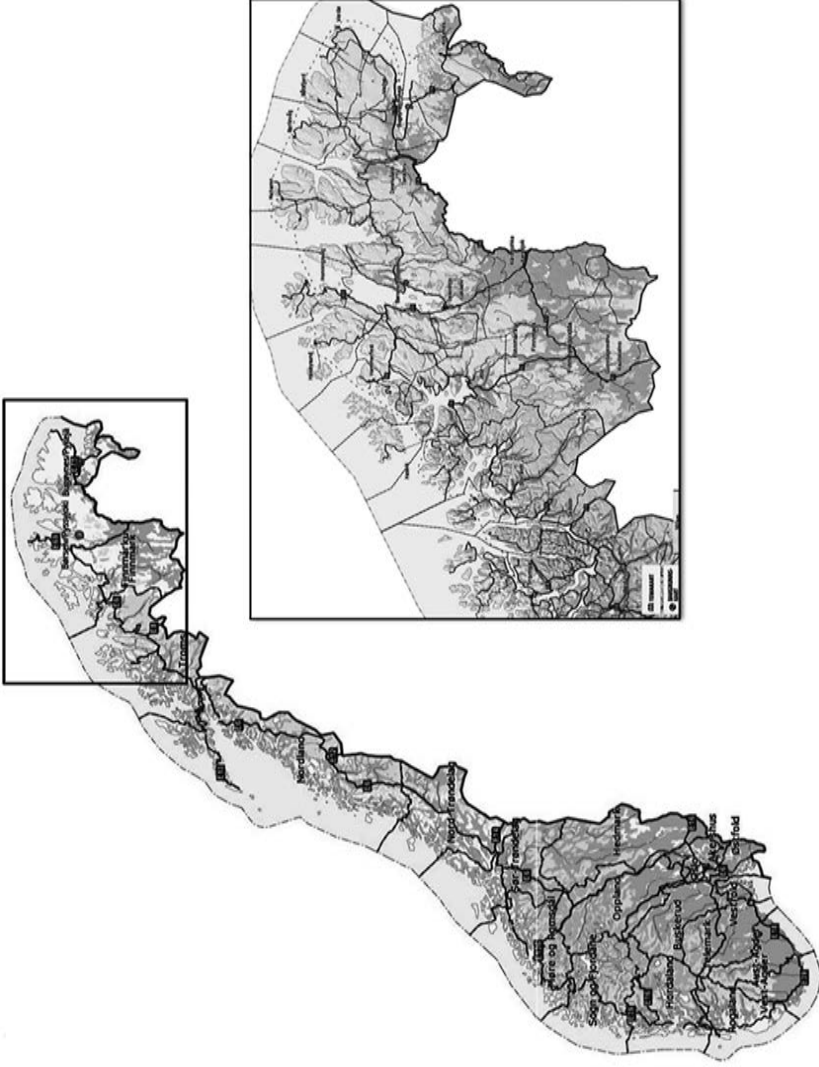
Figure 6.2 Kven- and Finnish-speaking areas in northern Norway

Source: © Kartverket Place names are obtained from SSR ©Kartverket: www.kartverket.no.

a State's territory, spoken by a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population, and are different from the official language(s) of that State. Dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of immigrants are not covered by the Charter. Each signatory country elects which languages the Charter applies to. Based on reports by the nation-states that have ratified the Charter and meetings with national authorities and representatives of the minority language speakers, the Council of Europe makes recommendations for improvements in national legislation, policy and practice. A repeated recommendation for the Kven language was for Norway to clarify whether Kven should be seen as a dialect of Finnish or a language in its own right (Lane 2011). The Norwegian government commissioned a report on the status of Kven. The report was written by Hyltenstam and Milani at Stockholm University (2003), and based on their conclusions, Norway decided that Kven should be regarded as a language (25 April 2005).

This was not an uncontroversial decision, and many (and often diverging) opinions were expressed in a wide range of local media. When talking to people in my home community, I noticed recurring statements regarding the Kven language. A frequently expressed opinion was that Kven is not a language, but rather a dialect of Finnish. Kven was often explicitly measured against standard Finnish and seen as falling short, illustrated by the use of terms such as *kjøkkenfinsk* 'kitchen Finnish' or even *paskasuomi*, 'dirty Finnish'. Thus, when Finnish was used as an implicit or explicit point of reference, Kven would be seen as lacking. For others, the recognition of Kven was a welcome development, as they felt that Finnish was quite different from their variety, and for many, the recognition of Kven also indexed their primary belonging to Norway and not Finland. Kven used to be seen as a derogatory term, so for some, both speakers and non-speakers of Kven, the term Kven still carries with it negative associations. An increasing number self-identify as Kven, but many refer to themselves as 'being of Finnish descent' or use no ethic label. Not all Kven people use the term Kven for their language. Some perceive this as a stigmatised term, whereas others self-identify as Kven but are not used to the term Kven, as this is a relatively recent term for the language, and refer to their languages as 'our Finnish' or 'old Finnish'. When the language is referred to as Finnish, this is frequently modified in this manner. Some say '*Kainun kieli*' ('the language of Kainu'— seen by some as the Kven land of origin) or link the language to a place by using the name of a village, such as 'Bugøynes Finnish'.

As Kven was to be considered a language, the Norwegian government allocated funding to the Kven Institute, a national centre for Kven language and culture, so that they could initiate the standardisation process. For a 'proper' language having a written standard was seen as important, both by the authorities and the NGO the Norwegian Kven Association. This was seen as a way to counteract the oppression experienced by Kven speakers in the past and to make the language more accessible to a new generation

of learners. The standardisation process was carried out under the auspices of the Kven Institute, and in 2007, the Kven Language Council was established, and five linguists were elected to serve for a three-year period. Two of the members were Finnish researchers who had worked in Kven communities for decades, and the three other members were Kven (and Kven speakers). Having by then acquired fluency in Kven, I was one of the elected members, and I was one of those whose actions eventually contributed to the grammar of Kven. I became engaged in this project as an academic with a professional interest both in the corpus and status planning aspects of the standardisation process. Prior to conducting fieldwork for my MA thesis on language contact in my home village in 1997 and 1998, I did not see a need for a Kven written standard. Experiences in the field made me reflect on the issue, mainly because people refused to talk to me if I spoke standardised Finnish to them, stating that they didn't know 'proper Finnish'. I had studied Finnish at school and attended a language course in Finland, but I felt that no matter how hard I tried, I never wrote Finnish properly. My texts seemed to be littered with mistakes.

I have spoken to other Kven speakers who also had studied Finnish, either as a school subject or at language courses in Finland. They share my experience: We were told that because we were speakers (or passive bilinguals), and Finnish orthography basically has a one-to-one correspondence between sound and letter, we should write the way we speak. When we did, our texts were returned covered in red corrections. A man from my village described this as texts covered in 'red fly poop'. Only when I started systematically studying the phonological and morphological differences did I realise that most of what the teachers corrected were features of Kven dialects: shortening of word-final vowels, monophthongisation, loss of personal affixes on verbs, differences in the case system etc. This is not an uncommon experience for those who reclaim a minority language: You are expected to know 'your language', and part of the motivation both for the Norwegian Kven Association and the language planners involved in the standardisation of Kven was to develop a written standard closer to the varieties spoken such that mother tongue speakers and passive bilinguals would not feel alienated by the standard.

The mandate of the Kven language planning body was to outline the principles for the standardisation of Kven. The Kven language planning body was comprised of two parts: The Kven Language Council, consisting of linguists, and the Kven Language Board, with members representing various user groups (education, media and religious organisations). The Language Council's task was to make recommendations based on linguistic descriptions of Kven and dialect samples and to prepare documents and suggestions for the Language Board, who in turn made the decision. The council's recommendation was to establish a standard that could be recognised by different groups of users: Those who speak Kven and would like to learn to read and write their language, and so-called new speakers who acquire

the minority language outside the home through formal instruction, but also those who have grown up as passive bilinguals; that is, they understand Kven but do not speak the language (for discussions of the New Speaker concept, see O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo (2015), Walsh and Lane 2014, O'Rourke (this volume) and Urla, Amorrortu, Ortega and Goirigolzarri (this volume)). Many of those who understand but did not speak Kven when growing up (such as myself and Henry, presented in a case study later in this chapter) have opted to study Finnish or Kven when courses in Kven became available from 2006. In line with Walsh and Lane (2014), I see passive bilinguals who have undertaken a journey from social actors with a receptive competence to using a minority language actively as an important type of New Speakers, particularly in indigenous settings. Such New Speakers are important in the standardisation of Kven, as this is one of key group of intended users of the written standard.

At a joint meeting of the Language Council and Language Board (18.-19.4.2008), the Language Board decided that the standard should be a compromise variety based on Eastern and Western Kven dialects, close to Meänkieli (a Finnic minority language spoken in Northern Sweden) and not artificially removed from Finnish (Andreassen 2009, meeting minutes). Meänkieli and Kven are similar both in terms of grammar and vocabulary, and many Kven speakers express that spoken Meänkieli is very easy to understand. Because there is more written material in Meänkieli and the number of speakers of Meänkieli is considerably higher than for Kven, the Language Council saw it as advantageous that the Kven standard is close to Meänkieli.

The Kven Language Board supported the recommendations of the Language Council; hence, the decision was that the standardisation should proceed based on these recommendations and the preliminary outline of Kven grammar was drawn up by the Kven Language Council during the period 2007–10. The Kven Language Board decided that preference should be given to patterns found in several Kven dialects, while allowing for some geographical variation (see Lane 2015 and 2016 for a discussion of this process). Though Norway is a relatively young nation-state, there is still a long history of language standardisation, both before and after Norway became an independent nation in 1905. Norwegian has two written standards—*Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*—and has been described as particularly tolerant of variation (Trudgill 2002), and Røyneland (2009) points out that there is a large degree of variation within the two written standards of Norwegian. In the light of this, it is not surprising the Kven Language Council and Language Board were in agreement on a standard encompassing variation and including forms from a wide range of Kven dialects, and in a brief written by the director of the Kven Language Council, the parallel to the variation in *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* is explicitly mentioned (Andreassen 2009). However, the amount of variation was debated at the meetings of the Kven Language Council. A large degree of variation was seen as essential if those who speak

or understand Kven were to identify with and accept the standard, whereas a standard with less variation might be easier to master for new speakers who would learn Kven through education. In 2011, the Kven Language Council commissioned Eira Söderholm, who was one of the members of the Council, to write a grammar according to the principles approved by the Kven Language Board. The grammar is a descriptive grammar of Kven and is intended to serve the educational system.

The attitudes of members of the Kven community towards the standardisation throughout the standardisation process have been mixed. Some maintained that it would be better to write standard Finnish; others expressed concern that elements from their dialect might not be incorporated in the new standard. A number of Kven welcomed both the standardisation process and the use of the term Kven. Those who criticised the standardisation process frequently stated that the actors involved in this process were removed from the grassroots and carried out planning from their ivory tower (Lane 2011; 2015), and hence, that their efforts were primarily motivated by self-interest. The main axes of division are geographical: People in the Western parts generally use the term Kven and are positive to standardisation, whereas attitudes are more ambivalent in the Eastern areas, including my home village, Pykeä. In general, younger people are more positive to standardisation, also in the Eastern areas. In the Kven context, attitudes to the recognition and standardisation of Kven are closely linked. Those who favoured recognition saw a written language as the next logical step, both because they saw a written standard as contributing to making a 'proper language' and also because a written standard was seen as an essential part of teaching Kven (Lane 2015). Minority language standardisation is a complicated and often contradictory process (Gal 2006; Lane 2015), consisting of shifting, interlinked and at times competing top-down and bottom-up processes (Darquennes and Vendenbussche 2015). As mentioned above, there were discussions and sometimes controversies as to who had the right to take part in the process, but the aim and mandate for the Kven Language Council and Language Board were to ensure participation of Kven speakers and to develop a standard the speakers themselves would want to use (Lane 2016).

3.   Historicity of Frozen Mediated Actions

One key goal of the standardisation of Kven was to initiate and implement processes that would lead to written texts, such as grammars, textbooks, novels and children's books. These material outcomes of standardisation can thus be understood as a result of a range of actions taken in the past. Texts (as other objects) can be seen as frozen mediated actions because they are the material manifestations of actions taken in the past. In the hands of users, they can also be seen as mediational means, or a tool through which to take actions.

In line with Scollon and Scollon (2004) and Wertsch (1991), I understand all action as inherently social and mediated, because action is communicated or mediated through symbolic and/or material tools. The term 'mediational means' was introduced by Wertsch (1991) and defined as semiotic tools ranging from language to material objects. Mediational means, including language, are seen as intrinsically linked to, embedded in and shaping both social and individual processes. Mediated action is seen as any action performed by a social actor through the use of mediational or cultural tools (Scollon and Scollon 2004; Lane 2014). Wertsch (1991, 12) emphasises the connectedness between the social actor and the tools used for carrying out an action in the following manner:

> The most central claim I wish to pursue is that human action typically employs 'mediational means' such as tools and language, and that these mediational means shape the action in essential ways [. . .] Thus, the answer to the question of who is carrying out the action will invariably identify the individual(s) in the concrete situation and the mediational means employed.

The grammar of Kven is a result of chain of previous social actions carried out by Kven language activists, scholars and language planners. In Norris's terms, this book is a frozen mediated action—a material result of social actions taken in the past and embedded in objects or our physical environment. Norris (2004, 13–14) defines frozen actions in the following manner:

> Frozen actions are usually higher-level actions which were performed by an individual or a group of people at an earlier time than the real-time moment of interaction that is being analyzed. These actions are frozen in the material objects themselves and are therefore evident.

When I pick up the grammar of Kven in my office, the book becomes a mediational means for me as a researcher as I page through the book to get an overview of the grammatical descriptions it contains and how the author has dealt with dialectal variation. I try to get an idea of to what extent the author has followed the decisions by the language planners involved in the standardisation of Kven and read the introduction acknowledging her sources. As I read this, I picture the author who I know well from academic settings, language planning work and lively dinners, and, perhaps more importantly, I realise that I am reading a grammar not only **on** Kven, but also written **in** Kven, the language of my childhood. In my hands, this book becomes a mediational means or a tool for social action, including promoting, teaching and researching Kven and writing this chapter. I may use it as a tool in my academic work and also as a means for constructing and perhaps even visualising Kven identity.

Norris and Makboon (2015, 44) explain that 'as social actors use, produce, and keep material objects, these multiple actions are embedded in the objects themselves'. Objects have histories and project possible futures and therefore cannot be analysed without including a time perspective (Scollon and Scollon 2004; de Saint-Georges 2005; Lane 2010). As I hold the grammar of Kven, I am aware that my past actions have contributed to and are embedded in this object. As an academic, I have done research on the Kven language for two decades, and I have also been actively involved in mapping and describing grammatical, phonological and lexical variations in Kven, developing the guidelines for the standardisation of Kven and compiling a large corpus of Kven dialects used by the author when she wrote the grammar.

As mentioned earlier, all social action is mediated. When social actions result in objects, these objects may be seen as frozen actions. Such frozen actions may at a later stage be used by social actors as mediational means for carrying out new social actions. Language promotion activities result in, potentially at least, various types of textual objects, such as dictionaries, grammar books, textbooks, novels, letters, newspapers and signs in public spaces. At each stage of the production of such texts, a wide range of social actors are involved; the choices made by those involved, including choices related to standardisation, form the outcome of the process which in turn limits or facilitates future action.

There were several key actions and actors involved in the recognition and standardisation of Kven, which contributed to the creation of the grammar. One of the first elements in this chain of social actions was linguistic fieldwork and grammatical descriptions. All the members of the Kven Council had worked in Kven communities for a long time and based their recommendations on patterns they had observed when doing fieldwork and linguistic analysis. Another major source of data was the Ruija corpus, a speech corpus from Kven- and Finnish-speaking areas in northern Norway, developed by me in collaboration with the Text Laboratory at the University of Oslo from 2007. The corpus contains 76 hours of speech with transcriptions from 12 towns and villages in the Kven region. The majority of the interviews were carried out during the period 2007–2009, though the corpus also has older recordings. These sources allowed the members of the council to map grammatical and phonological patterns of the Kven dialects.

Members of the Kven community who produced literary texts in Kven were also key actors in the standardisation process. Literary texts were used to establish a preliminary standard in order to teach Kven at the University of Tromsø in 2006. Eira Söderholm, the lecturer and author of the Kven grammar, started from a few texts, most of them produced by authors from Pyssyjoki,[5] a village in the western Kven regional area (in reality favouring patterns close to the Pyssyjoki dialect). She also took dialectal variation in various Kven dialects into account. This course in Kven drew on three novels published by an author from Pyssyjoki.

Many Kven speakers in the Eastern dialect areas who were positive to the standardisation of Kven worried that their dialects would not be sufficiently reflected in the standard. Texts were also a significant influence in the creation of the grammar that Söderholm later wrote (Lane 2016). In the foreword to the grammar, Söderholm writes that the lack of research and academic publications on Kven grammar made the task of developing the grammar exceedingly difficult, and she chose to base the grammar on the texts written in Kven (Söderholm 2014) and used as a basis for the course mentioned above. However, in line with the decisions by the Kven Language Board, patterns found in other Kven dialects were also included. Aside from linguists and writers, a third group of actors who were influential in the standardisation process were the potential users of the written standard; therefore, the elected members of the Language Board represented different user groups (Lane 2016). The Language Council and Language Board were concerned with creating a norm that would be acceptable to users.

Developing a written standard always entails making choices of what to include and what to leave out, which ultimately translates to choices about *who* to include and *who* to leave out. Drawing on Woolgar (1991), I suggest that the design and production of a written standard amounts to a process of configuring its user, where 'configuring' includes defining the identity of intended users and setting constraints upon their future actions. When choosing to base the Kven standard primarily on the Western varieties, there is a risk that speakers of other Kven varieties may reject the proposed standard or parts of the standard and thereby position themselves as non-users; they may, for various reasons, oppose, reject or be reluctant to standardisation or even get excluded from the standardisation processes (see Lane 2015 for an analysis of non-users). They may also adapt their behaviour and conform to the inscribed user of the standard and start using features that are not part of their variety.

When we document and standardise languages, we inscribe and configure users. The decision to include, and thereby exclude, some grammatical forms is not a purely linguistically based choice. Users are inscribed in standards whether those who are involved in this process or not. An example from the standardisation of Kven was the inclusion of certain phonological traits primarily found in Pyssyjoki. This included the letter <đ> (see Lane 2016). This letter represents an interdental fricative /ð/, a phoneme that has been retained by some Kven speakers in Pyssyjoki and is used by the writers from this village. This phoneme has not been retained in the Eastern areas, including my home village, where I have done most of my fieldwork. In the Kven grammar, dictionary and in most Kven texts, the letter <đ> is used consistently. Though the choices were pragmatic (based on the availability of existing written material), the unintentional outcome is an inscription of a certain user or speaker of Kven. In a sense, the inscribed user is made visible in these texts.

Through chains of actions involving linguists, writers, planners and users, a written standard for Kven and later a grammar were designed. The

material outcomes of a published grammar and other texts which follow these norms have now given greater visibility to the actions and choices taken. Understanding these products implies tracing the history of actions and actors over several decades and seeing the outcomes of their actions as frozen mediated action. Once established, standards may appear fixed and immutable; however, this case illustrates the many negotiations that go into the creation of a standard.

4.   Reception of Standardised Texts

Reception, i.e. usage, is an integral part of the process of standardisation and thus is part of the chain of actions described above. As a language planner, I was interested in observing how actual or intended users react to texts. Do they identify with and accept the textual outcomes of the standardisation process? Do they distance themselves? Are they ambivalent? In order to investigate this, I selected one of the texts used as a basis for the Kven grammar and language course. The most comprehensive text is a trilogy written by an author form Pyssyjoki, but I was concerned that these novels may be too complicated as most Kven are not used to reading texts in Kven. Therefore, I chose a children's book—*Kummitus and tähtipoinka* (The Ghost and the Starboy) written by Agnes Eriksen from Pyssyjoki. I wanted to investigate how Kven speakers in Western and Eastern areas related to reading a text in standardised Kven. The fieldwork was carried out in 2014, before the grammar was published. Based on my engagement in the standardisation of Kven and contact with Eira Söderholm, I was well aware of the challenges the author had faced when working on the grammar, and I also knew which texts she had used as a basis for identifying grammatical and phonological patterns. The interviews were carried out by my field assistant Anna-Kaisa Räisänen, who is well acquainted with several Kven communities due to extended fieldwork periods in the area. Anna-Kaisa Räisänen is Finnish, but due to extensive fieldwork in Kven communities, she has adapted her Finnish to Kven. The interviews were conducted in Kven, with occasional switches to Norwegian, and participants were also asked what term they use for their language. I chose to use an assistant instead of conducting the interviews myself because my role in my home village and the other communities are quite different as I am still an in-group member in my village due to strong family ties, and I was concerned that my presence would influence the outcomes of the interviews.

I was interested in investigating how social actors who resist a Kven standard (Lane 2015) would respond to reading texts in Kven. In order to examine the reception of standardised texts, 35 people were interviewed and filmed while reading texts in Kven. The interviewees grew up in homes where Kven was the main language of communication, and most of them identified their mother tongue as Kven. The majority of these participants

had not read texts in Kven, but some had done a short course in standard Finnish. Apart from the letter <đ> (for /ð/), Kven and Finnish have similar orthography. All participants have some familiarity with Finnish orthography, as they sometimes shop in grocery stores on the Finnish side of the border, but many expressed that they found longer texts in Finnish challenging to decipher. In the interviews, the topic was brought up as making a *kirjakieli*, 'written language', and the abstract term standardisation was not used unless mentioned by those interviewed.

One participant was Henry, a man from my home village in the Eastern region who speaks Kven but uses Norwegian in the bulk of his social interactions. Like many born after 1960 (myself included), his parents spoke only Norwegian to him and his siblings. At the beginning of the interview, he says that his mother tongue is Norwegian, and when asked when he learned Finnish,[6] he explains that it is difficult to say because he grew up with the language in the home, but even though his parents spoke Finnish to each other, they spoke only Norwegian to Henry and his siblings. Henry used to speak Norwegian only with his mother, but as a number of other people of Kven background who were passive bilinguals, he has started speaking Kven in some contexts. Henry's language trajectory has taken him from a passive bilingual to a point in time when his linguistic practices change and he starts to speak Kven. Hence, he represents an important type of New Speaker. A few years ago, Henry signed up for a one-semester Finnish course, and he says that his main motivation for studying Finnish was that his son had taken on Finnish as one of his school subjects, and Henry wanted to support him. When asked if he had heard about attempts to revitalise Kven, Henry says that when he studied Finnish for a semester, this was a frequent topic of conversation—'that they tried to construct a language'. The interviewer follows up by asking, 'What do you think about this?' and Henry says (in Norwegian) that this might be interesting but to him this is a dialect, and he does not really know what the Kven language is: '*man vet ikke ka det e det sv—kvenske språket*' ('one doesn't know what it is this Sv—Kven language'). He then goes on to say that there seems to be a strong influence from Sámi, a frequent statement in Bugøynes, and that this makes it foreign to him.

When reading a text in Kven, however, he takes a different stance. The interviewer says that she has texts in Kven: '*mulla on täällä pikku teksti joka on kirjoittenut kväänin kiellelä*' ('I have here a short text that is written in the Kven language') and places the text on the table. She asks Henry to read it, and he answers in Kven *kväänin kiellelä*, 'in the Kven language' with rising intonation, indicating a question or possibly surprise, accompanied by a change of body position and gaze shift from the text to the interviewer. He reads the text, intercepted by a few questions of clarification. When Henry has finished reading, the interviewer asks him about his experience with reading Kven. Considering that Henry just has said that to him, Kven is experienced as foreign, it may seem surprising that he states that the text

he has just read is easier to read and understand than texts in Finnish. He
answers using both Kven and Norwegian:

> ei mie olen lukenut nii paljon [. . .] pian [. . .] mie ymmärä tään parempi
> niin tientenki [guestures towards text] [. . .] jo suomen kieli lukemanna
> on niin vaikea [. . .] tama on mere det mer sånn lydspråk minusta mer
> konkret lydspråk rett på sak [. . .] finsk blir det litt ner vanskeligere å
> forstå [. . .] mer endelser mere mere fremmede endelser som du ikke
> kjenner til [. . .] det her virker lettere å lese og forstå enn finsk [. . .] see
> on niin vaikea lukea suomea tama on helpompi [. . .] hvis det er lettere
> å lese er det lettere å ta det fram og prøve å lese

> I haven't read that much [. . .] a little [. . .] I understand this better than of
> course [gestures towards text] yes reading Finnish is difficult [. . .] this is
> more [switch to Norwegian] it is more like sound language to me [switch
> to Kven] more concrete straightforward [. . .] Finnish it gets more difficult
> to understand [. . .] more endings more more foreign endings that you
> don't know [. . .] this seems easier to read and understand than Finnish
> [. . .] [switch to Norwegian] it is so hard to read Finnish this is easier [. . .]
> if it's easier to read then it's easier to take it (the text) out and try to read.

In spite of expressing an ambivalent attitude to the standardisation of Kven
when explicitly asked about his opinion on developing a written standard
for Kven, Henry's positioning changes when talking about his experience of
reading a text in Kven. He describes the texts in Kven as easier to read and
understand, as Finnish has endings that he finds difficult to grasp, and also
says that the words in the texts he has read are more familiar: '*nämät sanat
me tunnen*' ('I know these words'). Henry's reaction is in line with those of
the other readers from Bugøynes who also express a reluctance to the idea
that Kven should be standardised or used in new domains, or, maintain-
ing that the written standard should be Finnish, they still state that 'their
Finnish' is not the same entity as Finnish.

    Another participant, Anna, expressed an even stronger reluctance to the stan-
dardisation of Kven (see Lane 2015 and 2016 for further analysis), but, like
Henry, she showed a shift in positioning when reflecting on the texts she read
compared to talking about the standardisation of Kven in an abstract manner.
When asked if she would like to read more texts in *Pykeä*[7] Finnish, Anna replied:

> mhm se olisi mukava [smiles] joo .h se olisi mukava oppia omma omma
> kieli mitä sie ittet puhhut [looks at text on table] mull on viakkea puhua
> oikea mie en ossa lukkea oike suoma

> mhm it would be fun [smiles] yes it would be fun to learn your own
> own language that you yourself speak [looks at text on table] for me it's
> difficult I can't read proper Finnish.

She expresses a positive attitude towards the texts, which represent her 'own language'. Interestingly, when relating to material outcomes of the standardisation process, both Henry and Anna move from positions of non-users (rejecters/resisters) to users—Anna by saying that she would like more texts, and Henry by stating that it one would be more likely to read texts like the ones he has read because they are easier. Their reactions to the abstract idea of a standard differ from their reactions to the material manifestation of a standard, and this also characterised the reactions of others who expressed an ambivalent attitude to the standardisation of Kven

Social actors might oppose or express ambivalence to the idea of a standard for many reasons. In the Kven context, based on my preliminary analysis, I have identified some tentative reasons. Kven speakers in the Eastern areas have stated that they feel that Pyssyjoki has received more than a fair share of attention and resources because the Kven Institute is situated there, and therefore, they expect features from the Pyssyjoki dialect to be given prominence. It might also be the abstract notion itself that alienates some people, as illustrated by Henry's comments above '*man vet ikke ka det e det sv—kvenske språket*' ('one doesn't know what it is this Sv—Kven language')—how can social actors assess or accept something if they do not know or understand what this something is? Another reason could be that many perceive written languages as something that has always existed, so imagining that a new standard can be made could be difficult. When I presented transcribed data at a gathering in my home village, one of the participants exclaimed, '*men det går jo ikke an å skrive vårres finsk!*' ('but it isn't possible to write our Finnish!'). This was countered by one of the others present stating, '*ho har jo akkurat gjort det*' ('she has just done it'). This might indicate that standard language still to some extent is associated with national languages like Norwegian and Finnish and not 'our language'.

5. Conclusion: Frozen Mediated Actions and Future Trajectories

Language standardisation may be analysed as a chain of social actions performed by individuals, organisations and official authorities in a given sociopolitical context, including documentation and mapping linguistic variation, development of dictionaries and production of textbooks and grammars. The grammar of Kven and texts like the one read by Henry and Anna are the material outcomes of these actions, and can be seen as frozen actions (Norris 2005). Interestingly, when relating to a physical object—a book written in Kven—both Anna and Henry's positioning changes from expressing resistance or ambivalence. Anna embraces the idea of writing and reading 'her' language, and Henry states that this text is a lot easier to read than texts in Finnish.

Social actors can use these objects as mediational means for new social actions, such as designing methodology for fieldwork (the author), carrying out a sociolinguistic interview (the field assistant) and reading a text in Kven

(Henry and Anna). Mediational means may become tools for future social actions, and the uptake and use of the material outcomes of standardisation processes such as the grammar and text analysed in this chapter will shape the ongoing standardisation of the Kven language. Perhaps the language that my parents and Henry's parents did not speak to us when we were children will be acquired by a generation of new speakers. The languages we do not pass on, avoid speaking or reclaim are closely linked to our perception and construction of self, as underscored by Pavlenko (2005, 223) when she writes:'The languages we speak, or refuse to speak, have a lot to do with who we are, what subject positions we claim or contest, and what futures we invest in'. My parents' generation invested in a future where there was room for one language only—Norwegian. Today, new speakers reclaim Kven because the language may be used in trade with Finland, but also as an act of identity. Thus, reclaiming Kven now opens up present and future possibilities.

Notes

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2. The Norwegian place name is Bugøynes.
3. Norway has included Kven as one of their national minorities, protected by the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities under the auspices of the Council of Europe.
4. www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/aboutcharter/default_en.asp
5. The Norwegian place name is Børselv.
6. In the beginning of the interviews, the interviewer asked what they would prefer to name their language; see section 2 of this chapter. Henry used the terms *mean kieli*,'our language', and *vanha suomia*,'old Finnish'.
7. Name of village: Pykeä (in Kven), Bugøynes (in Norwegian).

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7   Language Standardization in the Aftermath of the Soviet Language Empire

Lenore A. Grenoble and
Nadezhda Ja. Bulatova

1.   Introduction

In this chapter, we discuss the position of minority language users in the Russian Federation, with a particular focus on the Siberian context. The top-down language standardization process of the Soviet era has ongoing effects for the use and vitality of indigenous languages in the Russian Far East, North, and Siberia, as the region is called in the Russian Federation today, referred to here more simply as Siberia. The present chapter first describes the legacy of Soviet language policy and its impact on Siberian indigenous languages and illustrates the ongoing challenges of language standardization and the use of a standard language in modern-day Siberia. Within the larger territory of Siberia, we illustrate our claims with a focused analysis of users of one particular language, Evenki (ISO 639–3 evn), an endangered Tungusic language with less than 5,000 speakers today. Evenki is spoken by reindeer herders and hunters in Siberia whose nomadic lifestyle has meant that they are widely distributed over Siberian territory. The modern context can only be understood within the context of the situation inherited from the Soviet period. Top-down language policies that ignored the needs and opinions of potential users have resulted in a spectacular failure of standardized varieties created in the 1930s by a government that ostensibly was fostering the development of indigenous languages. Although the particulars of individual language communities vary in detail, the centralized government of the Russian Federation, and the Soviet Union before it, has meant that blanket decisions about language policy and planning come from Moscow to other "peripheral" regions and not in those areas where the languages are spoken and used. The fundamental divide into the core and the periphery has been a defining characteristic of Soviet and Russian policies.

We consider users who, by and large, lack agency. Siberian indigenous peoples have been in a position where decisions about their language are out of their control, as are decisions about when the language is used in education and basic decisions about orthography, standardization, and implementation. To ask whether indigenous people accept or resist (or even reject) a standardized variety is misleading, in that indigenous peoples in the Soviet

Union were more the recipients of such decisions than active agents. It is only in terms of the local family policies that people have decision-making power, and their attitudes and ideologies have been heavily influenced by language and education policies of the national government.

After providing an overview of Soviet language policy and its broader impact on Siberian indigenous languages, we illustrate the ongoing challenges of language standardization and the use of a standard language in modern-day Russia with the case study of Evenki (ISO 639–3 evn), an endangered Tungusic language with a reported total of 4,800 speakers in 2010 (All Russia Census 2010), and even fewer today (§3). Evenki is spoken by reindeer herders and hunters in Siberia whose nomadic lifestyle has meant that they are widely distributed over Siberian territory. This fact alone brings significant challenges to implementing a single codified standard across a vast geographic and scarcely populated region; the demographics of the speaker population have meant that significant geographic variation. Evenki provides the focal point for our discussion here, which is anchored in the larger Siberian context.

2. The Historical Context: Early Soviet Years

For our purposes here, we divide the history of the country currently known as the Russian Federation into three broad periods: Imperial (or Tsarist) Russia (1721–1917), the Soviet Period and the country known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR (1922–1991), and the post-Soviet Period, with the dissolution of the USSR and creation of the modern Russian Federation in 1991 (Riazanovsky and Steinberg 2010). The Russian Revolutions of 1917 and the Bolshevik period, transitional from Tsarist times to the foundation of the Soviet Union, laid the groundwork for Soviet language policies that shaped not only the development of standardized forms of many indigenous languages, but also the ideologies behind them.

Like Imperial Russia before it, the newly formed USSR was multilingual; although Russians constituted the majority population, many citizens were monolingual speakers of other languages or had minimal knowledge of these languages. And many of the minority indigenous (or autochthonous) languages had no written form and no tradition of literacy. At the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, the country was far behind the West in terms of industrialization. Soviet planners needed to rapidly industrialize the new country, and this required an educated workforce. Education, in turn, requires literacy. In 1917, only 28.4% of the total population aged 9–49 was literate, and illiteracy was as high as 98% in some regions (Grenoble 2003, 35). The need for industrialization, perhaps more than anything, drove the Soviet literacy campaign. Many of the standardized varieties that exist today in the Russian Federation are the direct result of Soviet language policies that created not only codified written systems but defined ethno-linguistic groups, their languages and their speakers, in a very fundamental

way (Crisp 1990). These policies were ideological, invoking first Lenin's, and then Stalin's, theory of nations and nationalities, while at the same time, the policies were pragmatic, driven by a need to create an educated workforce efficiently and rapidly.

In Tsarist times, Russian was the sole official language of the Empire. The policy shifted radically when the Bolsheviks took power in 1917. On November 2, 1917, The Declaration of Rights of the People of Russia proclaimed the right of equality and self-determination for all people (Grenoble 2003, 35–63; Hirsch 1997; Smith 2010; Wade 1991, 24–26 gives an English translation of the Declaration). The Declaration provided the legal and ideological groundwork for the nativization campaign, which was a fundamental force in the development of the Soviet peoples. Ideally, it meant that all citizens had the right to use their own language, in all aspects of society. Although there is much debate as to whether Vladimir Lenin, the Bolshevik leader in 1917, actually intended to grant full equality to all citizens, the ideology was foundational in setting language planners and linguists on a path of making mother-tongue education possible. This idealistic goal met a number of very practical obstacles, in terms of the time and resources required to make it happen. From 1935 on, the USSR followed an unambiguous path of Russification, requiring Russian-language instruction in the schools, the development of Russian-based terminology for all languages, and the mandatory use of Cyrillic-based orthographies (Smith 2010, 107). The Education Reforms of 1958–59 made mother-tongue (i.e. indigenous language) education optional and was effectively replaced by Russian-language education, which spread rapidly (Grenoble 2003, 57–58; Kreindler 1990).

Fundamental to the literacy effort was an exceptionally focused and rigorous language policy that involved standardizing a number of minority languages, rapidly and strategically. Although some of the autochthonous languages had written traditions and codified norms at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, most did not, and Soviet language planners needed to decide which among them would be "developed" for writing and thus formal education. The notion of what constituted a separate language (as opposed to a dialect), and which languages were worthy of standardization, was decided by authorities in Moscow and linked to current ideologies about what constituted a nationality, which would be roughly equivalent to Western understandings of ethnicity, but not identical. In the 1920s, the government set out to reclassify people, rejecting Tsarist identity concepts that were based exclusively on language and religion to include class structure. Reclassification was undertaken in conjunction with the first Soviet census and was done in part to determine how to count different peoples, who should be categorized as constituting separate groups (and thus separate census entries), and who should be grouped together. In a somewhat circular way, this thinking further drove decisions about what counted as a language, since language was a defining characteristic of a nationality in Soviet Stalinist ideology.

One of the more absurd aspects of this policy was the decision to apply unilateral criteria for determining a nationality despite regional differences and without input from the people themselves. The dissonance between applying identical standards are determined by the central government on the one hand, and the vast heterogeneity of factors involved in ethnicity and identity at a local level on the other, led to ideological clashes. Ethnographers working in the western, European part of the USSR saw language as the key criterion in identity, while in Central Asia (where the Turkic language/dialect continuum is robust), they tended to focus on physical characteristics, and Central Asian peoples themselves viewed religion, not language, as a core marker of identity. In many places, high levels of multilingualism and intermarriage made the identification of a group of people as constituting a single "nationality" a meaningless exercise. Moreover, there was an inherent tension between ethnographers, who maximized differences between groups and attempted to identify a large number of nationalities, and Soviet planners, who wanted to minimize differences and create fewer, larger groups (Grenoble 2003, 38–41).

Regardless of methodological and ideological problems, this classification proceeded, and the Soviet labels became a reality. By 1927, there were 172 officially recognized nationalities, and the Soviet of Nationalities instructed officials to regroup the inventory into sets of "major" nationalities. They were then further categorized according to population size. Groups with 50,000 or less were considered "small" peoples (*malye narody*), later to be renamed "small-numbered peoples" (*malochislennye narody*), as they are currently known. Even today, this classification is robust: Population size is the key criterion for identification as an indigenous group, sometimes called specifically "indigenous" and sometimes "small-numbered." These labels have odd repercussions in an international climate that defines indigenous peoples not according to population size but rather in terms according to Article 1 of ILO Convention 169 (ILO 1989).[1] Nonetheless, languages that were targeted for standardization were chosen on the basis of a set of factors, including population size and determinations of overall viability as to what were called national languages (§2.2).

2.1   Orthographies and Standardization: Soviet Practices

One direct result of the centralized Soviet governmental system was that decisions were not only made from Moscow, but that unilateral decisions were made by the federal government for all its citizens. A case in point is the development of orthographies. Prior to 1917, Russian was written in a standardized Cyrillic orthography that had not changed as the language itself had changed, making it difficult to learn. In December 1917, the Bolshevik government mandated use of a simplified orthography in "all state and government institutions and schools without exception" (Comrie, Stone, and Polinsky 1994, 290; see pp. 283–307 for a concise

overview of the details of Russian orthographic reform and the politics involved in the process).

For other languages, in the early years of the USSR until the early 1930s, there was a strong push for the development of Roman-based orthographies.[2] For languages that were officially recognized and deemed suitable for development, new orthographies were created, and for others, existing orthographies were modified and replaced (as in the case of the Turkic languages, which used Arabic script). However, language politics changed in the mid-1930s, with a transition to Cyrillic-based orthographies imposed by the government. It is difficult to determine whether such decisions were political or practical, but for our purposes, here the important point is that they were mandatory, required by the Soviet government and implemented in the schools, administration, and in the production of all pedagogical and other written materials by law.

There is no indication that local people were consulted about the process or the decisions. In fact, there is ample evidence to the contrary. The central Soviet government unilaterally determined that Siberian languages would be written in a Roman-based alphabet, using what was called the Unified Northern Alphabet (UNA), an alphabet created by linguists in Leningrad at the Institute of the North. Standard languages were created for 14 languages, including Evenki, using the UNA in the early 1930s, although three (Itelmen, Ket, and Saami) ceased to be developed and used within the first few years of their existence (work on all three was not resumed until the 1980s). After the policy favoring Roman-based alphabets was revoked in 1937, new Cyrillic-based alphabets were ratified by the government for 13 Siberian languages (Grenoble 2003, 171–173). In some cases, it is hard to know what alphabet some users would have chosen, had they been given a choice. There had been no writing traditions among Siberian indigenous peoples, and levels of formal education levels were so low that potential users were not in a position to make an informed decision about an orthography. By the time of the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991, generations of speakers had no sense of the possibility of local control over such matters.

At first, it would seem that Soviet standardization practices have the hallmarks of language standardization in Europe: On the one hand, the Soviet state explicitly support multilingualism, and the creation of standard varieties was done with the publicly stated goal of making education available to all citizens. On the other hand, these standards are arguably exclusionary: A single standard variety de facto results in other varieties being interpreted as non-standard and thus divides speakers (Gal 2006). For indigenous minorities of the former Soviet Union, both are arguably true, but oversimplify a very complex situation. Early Soviet policies at least theoretically supported multilingual education, but were replaced by policies and laws that favored the exclusive use of Russian and relegated indigenous languages to a secondary or inferior role. The artificially created standardized Siberian languages

did not succeed as written varieties. Rather than excluding potential users, they failed to include anyone.

2.2   *The Creation of Nationalities in the Context of Siberia*

The identification of a language, or more importantly an ethnolinguistic group, was itself a shifting target in the USSR. In the early 1900s, Siberian indigenous peoples self-identified along clan lines or in conjunction with a particular geographic region, not ethnic groups. Their ethnonyms were frequently derived from place names, not linguistic groups, and the creation of such groups (or "nationalities" in Soviet terminology) was an important part of Soviet ideology and language policy.

The situation was further complicated by the renaming process undertaken by the Soviets, so that some peoples who had not viewed themselves as having the shared identity of a "nation" were now classified together, in an artificial creation of group identity where historically there had been none, and some names were just changed. Thus, people who had been called Gilyak and had spoken a language also called Gilyak (Shternberg 1999) were given the name Nivkh for their language and themselves. Similarly, the Lamut peoples and language became Even. This is indicative of the State's power to determine a group's identity, and any rights, privileges that accompanied that identity as a nation. These abrupt changes ultimately became a reality, and the classification has had long-lasting effects for these peoples, who today self-identify as belonging to one or another of these constructed groups.[3]

The initial goals of creating a standardized form for each officially recognized language, with primary education conducted in each language, were abandoned due to a lack of resources. Instead, as a resource-saving measure, languages were reclassified and grouped according to linguistic similarity, with a "base" language selected. This affected both the development of the standard and the use of the standard. Speakers of some languages were educated in a different, albeit similar, language. So, speakers of Negidal were taught in Evenki and Ul'ch speakers taught in Nanai, presenting challenges in the classroom and further erasing a self-determined sense of identity. In others cases, speakers of one language were taught in an entirely different, unrelated language, so for example, in some regions Evenki speakers (a Tungusic language) were educated in Sakha/Yakut (a Turkic language). These two groups were in contact in parts of Siberia, and some of the Evenki had some functional knowledge of Sakha/Yakut, although it is unclear if many ever had a full command of Yakut. Thus, from its very onset, Soviet education policies undermined use of the very standardized languages they themselves had created.

Moreover, Russian officials determined not only what constituted an official language and how it would be written; at times, they decided what a person's native language was. Many Siberian indigenous peoples spoke multiple languages, to varying degrees of fluency, and the question of which language was

their "first" or "native" language did not seem relevant to them. The decision that individuals should identify with a single, primary language was part of a Soviet, and Russo-centric, view. The need to identify core, base languages also stems from limitations on the resources (financial and human) to teach the languages. Mother tongue required the development of a standard variety, the creation of textbooks, dictionaries, and other pedagogical materials, and the training of teachers. This was a massive and costly enterprise. Resources accordingly determined how many languages could be taught, and so the distribution of peoples across languages, and the boundaries drawn around languages, was in large part driven by economic and logistical considerations.

Now, many years later, indigenous peoples in Siberia live with the repercussions of those early Soviet decisions. All minority indigenous Siberian languages are endangered, and many are moribund (Vakhtin 2001). None of the artificially created, standardized forms succeeded as written languages. Their failure may be due to the lack of engagement of potential users in the development process, but a major obstacle was the failure of literacy as a socially driven and culturally embedded activity. Then as today, there are no domains where a written indigenous language was or is needed: Russian is the language and culture of reading and writing. The first two pedagogical books published with a Siberian audience in mind were written in Russian, both appearing in 1927, a primer of 127 pages (Tan-Bogoraz and Stebnickij 1927) and (Leonov and Ostrovskikh 1927). To be fair, 1927 also saw the publication of the first primer for a Siberian language (Evenki), and by the late 1930s, textbooks and newspapers were published in seven different languages and primers were written for four others. In 1938, the Constitution of the USSR and the Constitution of the RSFR (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) were both translated into five native languages (Chukchi, Evenki, Koryak, Nanai, and Nenets). This represents a remarkable increase in the written forms of these languages, but did it mean an increase in users? It is hard to imagine indigenous Siberian peoples reading the RSFSR constitution in 1938, for example.

In the broader Siberian linguistic landscape, particular details of local language ecologies, including the use and success or failure of standardization, vary not only from language to language but even from village to village (Vakhtin 1992). But the overall impact of Soviet language policies of standardization and education in the standard is roughly the same throughout, and the challenges are roughly analogous as well. One major impact of Soviet centralized policies is the erosion and loss of agency: Indigenous peoples may be actors, but they are actors without the right to self-determination.

3. Case Study: Evenki

The arguments here can be illustrated by Evenki, which serves as a case study that highlights the difficulties inherited from Soviet language policies and the challenges current standardization efforts face. The Evenki people

(and language) were known as *the Tungus* in the early Soviet years; the first mention of the Tungus people can be traced to the 16th century (Halde 1736, 64–68), and the term was understood in the 17th century to encompass what today are called Evenki, Even, and Negidal (Al'kor and Grekov 1936, 95). In 1931, they were reclassified by Soviet authorities as Evenki and Even. Negidal (ISO 639–3 neg) was first determined to be a dialect of Evenki, following the 1934 classification proposed by Z. E. Chernjakov (Myreeva 2006, 11), then subsequently identified as a distinct language.

In the early Soviet period, the Tungus showed the greatest resistance to the Communists and thus presented the greatest challenges to authorities who attempted to bring them in line with the Party's notions of how proper citizens should live and behave (Forsyth 1992, 249–253). One important part of the process of Soviet education for the proletariat was the creation of a standard (or literary) language as a tool for enlightenment. Sergei M. Shirokogoroff, a Russian anthropologist and ethnographer, had been researching the Tungus peoples during the Russian Revolution, living on the far eastern coast in the city of Vladivostok, ultimately leaving to live in China in 1922 (Sirina and Zakurdaev 2016). He provides a first-hand account of the process of the development of literacy for the Tungus (Evenki) in an unpublished manuscript that was discovered in Poland in 1991 by Inoue Kōichi, who subsequently published it, along with his own introduction and commentary (Shirokogoroff and Kōichi 1991). This article presents an internal view of what the process was like, and the motivations behind it, from a scholar who knew the Tungus language(s) and people(s) very well, and published several ethnographic studies of the Tungus (see, e.g., Shirokogoroff 1924; 1933).

In his discussion of the political context that resulted in the creation of a standardized language, Shirokogoroff notes that it "was not derived from the cultural needs of the Tungus, nor was it carried out by the Tungus themselves. Everything has been done by a group of naive enthusiasts who perhaps sincerely wanted to help (as they understood it) the Tungus, because the Tungus were needed by a certain political party for certain political reasons. It was also partly dictated by the need to obtain cheap fur goods" (Shirokogoroff and Kōichi 1991, 49). Rather, there were four core points in the development of a written language (p. 44): (1) The existing clan structure was to be abolished, with the Tungus peoples reorganized into Soviet structures; (2) their economic activity should be overseen and managed by non-Tungus, who would insure that the Tungus worked for general interest and not private initiative; (3) old beliefs, including shamanistic practices, were to be abolished, with young Tungus moved to cities and educated; and (4) "a literary language should be created in order to facilitate this operation and to develop a Tungus 'consciousness.'"

This is a strong condemnation of Soviet practices and of the overall push to "develop" a written standard for any Tungusic language. Soviet ideologies have had a strong impact on even how the linguistic description of the

languages unfolded. Evenki is generally classified into three major dialect groups (Northern, Eastern, and Southern); this categorization dates to the Soviet period and has repercussions for the language today, as a standard language was created during the Soviet regime on the basis of a now extinct Southern dialect. The decision to make it the basis of the standard language was determined by its central geographic position and by its relatively large (at the time) speaker basis. It has failed as a standard variety for a number of reasons. One is that speakers of other dialects reject it as being too distinct from their own speech. The differences are largely phonological and lexical but also include some morphological distinctions. They apparently did not strike Russian linguists at the time of standardization as particularly salient, but certainly are perceived by speakers of Eastern dialects today as decidedly foreign or as indexing a kind of "otherness." Second is that the Southern dialects as a whole are no longer robustly spoken; the Eastern dialects have the highest numbers of speakers today. And finally, the failure to create any domain where a written form of Evenki—as opposed to Russian—would be used meant that speakers, educated in Russian, read and write Russian, not Evenki. In addition, speakers of the centrally located Southern dialects met the Soviet requirement that the base dialect be members of the proletariat. And finally, Shirokogoroff points out that a large percentage of the speakers of this dialect had moved to urban centers and become more Russified and were more compliant in working with Soviet authorities (Shirokogoroff and Kōichi 1991, 50). His condemnation of the process highlights the clash between official rhetoric and actual practice, and Shirokogoroff himself predicts the failure of the standard language at the very time of its creation.

The division of Evenki into three main dialect groups is based on the distribution of etymological *s. In the Southern group, [s] occurs word-initially and intervocalically; in the Northern group, [h] is found in these positions, and in the Eastern group, [s] occurs word-initially and [h] intervocalically, as summarized in Table 7.1.

In the 1930s, a standard language was created on the basis of the Nepa dialect; in 1952, a decision came from Moscow to change the basis of the standard to the Poligus dialect. The motivation for the change is unclear, but it had little to no impact on the actual standard language. Both dialects are from the Southern group of Evenki dialects. This led to prioritizing certain

Table 7.1 Distribution of *s in Evenki dialect groups

Dialect group	Word-initial	Intervocalic
	woman	*fox*
Southern	asi:	sulaki:
Northern	ahi:	hulaki:
Eastern	ahi:	sulaki:

dialect features in the standard, not only the realization of *s but also vowel quality and phonemic length on the vowels, which is typically written with a macron over the letter. Perhaps the most salient morphological difference is that adjectives agree with nouns in gender and number in the Southern dialects (1) but do not take case morphology; (2) in the Eastern dialects, and only occasionally take plural morphology (3); (see Myreeva 2006, 35). In the standard, adjectives agree with nouns.

Orthographic decisions were made along with creating a codified standard. The first written system for Evenki came in the early 1930s, using the Roman-based UNA (§2.2). It was replaced with Cyrillic in 1937, just a few years after its initial creation. The standard orthography follows Russian Cyrillic with a few minor adjustments: The Cyrillic letter x represents a glottal glide in Evenki (and a velar fricative in Russian). The Evenki phonemic inventory includes a velar nasal, a sound not found in Russian. It is alternately written as a digraph in Cyrillic (нг) or with two possible variations of the Cyrillic letter н, with a hook or a tail. The fact that there continues to be variation in writing a phoneme of the language shows the failure of the codified orthography and education in the standard, as speakers do not agree how to write the alphabet. Another example is the marking of vowels. Vowel quality, in particular in the mid-vowel range, varies considerably across dialects, with both inter- and intra-speaker variation. Deliberately, theoretical decisions were made so as to explain the variation in terms of vowel harmony, and to regularize their spelling. As Shirokogoroff points out, the manipulation of certain phonemic features, such as vowel quality, vowel length, and the existence (or absence) of the labio-dental [v], are all features of the standard language that make it an artificial construct that does not reflect the living, spoken dialects (Shirokogoroff and Kōichi 1991, 51–53).

Even so, there continues to be a certain haphazardness in the orthographic marking of some features. The standard language requires vowel length to be marked. It is most frequently marked with a macron. That said, length is not always marked, even in pedagogical and reference materials. In some publications, it is consistently marked with a macron, in some, it is sometimes marked with a macron, and in others, it is not marked at all. Publications aimed at linguists and specialists tend to mark length, although not always. Materials designed for users, including both pedagogical materials and general reading materials, often do not, with some exceptions. Bulatova (2002), designed for learners of Evenki, consistently places stress. Myreeva (2004), a reference dictionary designed for Evenki users, marks stress.

3.1   *Evenki Today*

Today, Evenki is most robustly spoken in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) and in the Amur Oblast immediately to the south, home of the Eastern dialects. These dialects have some differences, and those spoken in Sakha

(Yakutia) show more borrowings from the Sakha language than do those in the southern part of the Amur oblast, but speakers readily understand one another without difficulty; the dialects are very similar. Traditional culture, including reindeer herding, hunting, and shamanism, is also more vital in the Eastern regions, thus the speaker and cultural epicenter for Evenki today is located in eastern Siberia. As a result, linguists and language activists in this region have implemented the use of what they call a "practical" Evenki language which is used in language teaching and revitalization programs. This practical variety is closer to the spoken language of the area. However, this results in a general problem. The resources for language learners and teachers continue to be created in the standard language: this is by far the largest body of published materials.

In writing textbooks, the phonological features of the Southern dialects were followed, as were morphological and syntactic norms. With few exceptions, reference materials, such as grammars and dictionaries, were designed for the academic community, not for community users. And yet, currently, there are few speakers of the Southern dialects that served as the basis of the standard language, and they live so far away from the majority of Evenki speakers that they have little impact on the larger speech community. The vast geography that separates them, plus the fact that they live in different administrative districts, means that they have few opportunities to speak to one another.

A logical place for the use of the standard language is the schools. Milroy and Milroy (1997, 75) point out that "standard language maintenance is assisted by overt institutional pressures (sometimes called explicit planning of language), non-standard maintenance relies wholly on informal, non-institutional and largely uncodified norm-enforcement, and . . . this informal norm-enforcement will frequently be in conflict with the norms of the standard." Sadly, however, the school system works against minority language usage. Evenki is taught as a secondary subject for two hours per week. That is insufficient for children (who no longer learn the language at home) to learn it in the classroom, and it is also insufficient for teachers: Teaching Evenki is not considered a full load, and so Evenki language teachers do not earn a full salary. The net result is that they cannot live on the limited wages from a partial salary and seek other forms of employment (Bulatova 2012).

Evenki is highly endangered, a status that raises a set of specific questions about the potential of a standardized variety to offset language shift and be used as a tool in revitalization. Although there are pockets of communities where the language is vital and learned by children, the post-Soviet era has been marked by rapid decline in usage. This means a radical change in language proficiency for schoolchildren and schoolteachers alike. Textbooks and other pedagogical materials were produced in the Soviet era and early post-Soviet period for monolingual Evenki speakers; today, many children learn Evenki as a second language. The Eastern dialects of the language are

most robustly spoken, and so many argue that schools in these areas should be the center of Evenki learning. This leads to the question of whether a different standard language based on Eastern (not Southern) dialects should be created. The current standard language failed in Soviet schools when children were fluent speakers of other Evenki dialects; it does not seem likely to succeed today.

Moreover, pedagogical materials need to be created on the basis of what children in the schools know and not assume fluency. The majority of people who self-identify as Evenki do not know the language well or know it only passively but cannot fluently produce language. These people, who can pronounce only a word or two, possibly speak at best with simplified syntax. There is heavy code-mixing, and often when people hear questions in Evenki, they respond in Russian. Evenki speakers who are not fully fluent in the language may know basic pronouns (personal, possessive, deictic), but reflexive pronouns are harder. In terms of the lexicon, certain fields are known as well: body parts, colors, adjectives of size and measure (e.g., big, small, near, far), and adverbs of time and place. They can use nouns connected with animals, traditional foods, toponyms and spatial and landscape terminology, local animals, and kinship terms. The most frequently used verbs—verbs of speech, motion, and action verbs that involve subsistence activities such as hunting and fishing—are still known. Our own fieldwork has shown that verbal morphology tends to be lost, although the imperative forms are known best, especially in the 2nd person, due to frequency (Bulatova 2012). The current situation, with language shift occurring more rapidly in the Southern and Western Evenki regions, has meant a transfer of the user center to the East. Activists have emerged in this region with a set of initiatives aimed at teaching the language and making reading materials more accessible. These include creative educational models, such as the Nomadic School program (Lavrillier 1998), intended to provide schooling for children living in nomadic families so that they need not be sent to boarding schools at an early age. Its primary goals include language and cultural maintenance by facilitating intergenerational transmission in families. Other initiatives are focused at making use of the language readily accessible to speakers and learners to create a community of users.

The role and agency of Evenki users in language revitalization and maintenance are visible in the creation and use of two interrelated Evenki language sites, *Evenkiteka* and *Evengus*.[4] The first of these, Evenkiteka, is an online digital library that houses what to our knowledge is the single largest collection of Evenki publications. The site has downloadable PDF files, scans of published works, and a few items (such as short stories) that do not appear to have been published elsewhere. They include materials created for and by academics (primarily linguists and anthropologists), but this is not a comprehensive collection of all research on Evenki. There are also materials designed for a more general (non-academic) public. This includes pedagogical and reference materials for teaching or learning the

language and materials created in the language for reading or reference purposes.[5] The latter category gives a good sense of the kinds of materials written in Evenki that are available for general reading. The prose collection of Evenkiteka has short stories, novels, and personal remembrances with an Evenki or Siberian theme written in Evenki, Evenki translations of Russian original works (including Pushkin, Lenin, and Stalin, and a few others), and some original Evenki writings (less than a dozen). A large percentage of these publications, consisting primarily of Evenki translations of Russian, date to the late 1930s, coinciding with the height of the pre-war literacy campaign. The late 1980s till early 1990s, the perestroika period sees another burst of publication activity. More recently, in 2009, a school reader was published; it is aimed at middle and high school students with a collection of Evenki prose, short stories, and proverbs, with a history of Evenki literature. The poetry section of this website has 47 entries, and most are individual poems. The poetry of the Evenki poet Nikolai Oëgir, who wrote in Evenki, is given here in translation (but is in Evenki in the 2009 reader). One noteworthy publication is the Evenki translation of the Bible (Bulatova and Myreeva 2001), which has been very successful and popular.

Yet all in all, there is simply not very much to read in Evenki. Many of the existing publications in Evenki are Soviet (e.g., the writings of Stalin and Lenin) and would not motivate speakers to use the written language anyway. Field recordings and notes by linguists who have worked with non-standard varieties exist but are not, by and large, in a format that is readily accessible to non-linguists. Folklore collections most adequately reflect spoken language, and Myreeva (2013) is an excellent example. Evenki are now returning to folklore texts as part of broader cultural revitalization; the folklore (legends, myths, heroic epics) have preserved indigenous views about the surrounding world, the cosmic model of the world, including the origins of the sun, sky, and stars. These texts preserve traditions that are tied to indigenous cultural practices, including information about how to perform certain rites. Moreover, they are an important source of forgotten lexical items, and can provide models for talking about certain aspects of culture (Bulatova 2012).

Language vitality is of increasing concern to some Evenki community members. Factors that drive language shift elsewhere are also true for Evenki, and all Siberian indigenous languages are highly endangered today. The digital library Evenkiteka is part of an effort to make materials for learners and teachers available: It includes reference materials, conversation guides, and textbooks. Its sister site, Evengus, hosts materials specifically targeted at language learners. This site is aimed at language learners and potential users, written by users in Sakha and thus represents the most available resource designed by users for potential users. It includes a set of language lessons for beginners, complete with audio, written by Galina Varlamova and Aleksandr Varlamov. The lessons are explicitly intended to

teach the "practical language of the Evenki of Yakutia (Eastern dialects)." The pedagogical grammar (Konstantinova and Lebedeva 1953) is posted on the site as a basic textbook, with the disclaimer that it is in part outdated, with references to Stalin (for example). Moreover, it is based on the standard language which is seen as "artificial," based on a synthesis of forms from a number of different dialects, which resulted in a codified norm that, at the time of its creation, had both proponents and opponents.

An interesting part of the Evengus website discusses orthography.[6] Elizaveta Afanas'eva, author of the section on orthography, notes that there are some differences in orthographic conventions, and states that Evenki today is written without regard for orthographic norms. Instead, people write as they speak, making it difficult for fluent speakers to read, let alone beginning learners. For that reason, Afanas'eva proposes a set of orthographic norms, based on an analysis of the Evenki sound system and its writing system, and a study of typical mistakes made when writing.

An appendix to the Evengus site has a set of practical tools for learning Evenki: a program that runs on Windows and can be downloaded so that users can access lessons when not connected to the internet; a "talking" picture book for children, recorded by a speaker of a dialect spoken in the Amur Oblast; fonts to write the Evenki Cyrillic version of the velar nasal and the letter *h* for the pharyngeal fricative (and not *x*); podcasts with a basic Evenki lexicon and a set of beginning lessons; and a dictionary program and conversation guide for Android-compatible mobile phones. In addition, the site has recordings of 13 different texts (creation myths and folktales, and also a set of Evenki proverbs) read aloud in Evenki, with written transcription and parallel translation into Russian. They are all written in the practical orthography and do not mark vowel length.

The creation of these resources attests to the fact that there are interested users and potential language learners. The development of a new practical orthography speaks to the perceived need on their part for literacy in the modern world. More importantly, however, this represents the emergence in the post-Soviet era of a new kind of social actors in indigenous Siberia. People today are taking ownership of revitalization, development, and use of their language in all aspects. It is still too early to tell what the long-term effects of this movement will be, both in the vitality of the language and in terms of overall social agency and independence.

4.   Conclusion

In order for a written language to thrive, it needs to be used, and usage requires engagement of users. The Soviet system orchestrated artificial written languages, introducing writing for cultures which had not had it. In the early Soviet period, the introduction of indigenous-language instruction in the schools was a vehicle for rapidly building literacy and educating the labor force. Full-fledged mother-tongue education was never achieved in

the small-numbered minority languages; at best, educational practices promoted transitional bilingualism that fostered the acquisition of Russian.

The complex social dynamics that result from the lack of engagement of users in the selection, codification, and elaboration of standardization (Haugen 1966) is amply illustrated by the development and use, or lack of us, of a standardized form of Evenki. It is, in essence, no one's language; in an odd way, the very fact that they are officially supported varieties may undermine their authenticity. Since the dialectal basis of the standard has been depleted, standard Evenki is, in essence, no one's language. It does do not have the prestige or social power to replace the country's much larger lingua franca, Russian, the native language of many people on a national level, that provides pathways to socioeconomic advancement.

It could be argued that potential users rejected the standard because it differed from their own dialects. This may account for some users, but not all. There is no evidence that users actively rejected it. Rather, it failed to become a norm that cuts across dialects because there was a failure to create a need for a written language. Written domains were exclusively Russian, and there was no need—historically or today—to read and write in Evenki. Instead, Evenki continues to be associated with traditional activities, specifically reindeer herding, where Russian is perceived as an inadequate means of communication.

At present, all of the indigenous languages of Siberia are endangered; only Nenets has a speaker base of more than 50% of the ethnic population (with 21,296 speakers out of a total population of 44,640 according to the 2010 All-Russian Census[7]). Efforts today to revitalize Siberian indigenous languages generally include education efforts and involve the use of a standardized written form of the language. In some regions, there are attempts to reinvigorate the standard made by the Soviets, while in others, there are local moves to create a standard that more closely corresponds to the language spoken by local communities. By and large, however, efforts to create a locally based standard variety are thwarted by a number of factors. These include a scattered speaker base, with people living in small villages not in contact with one another; a lack of a clear local leader who has both authority and responsibility for creating and implementing the use of a standard; dialect differences and disagreement about some fundamental issues of what should be included in the standard (such as the marking of phonemic vowel length); and ongoing language shift, which makes it difficult to determine who is the expert. But at the same time, it would be somewhat misleading to claim that potential users willfully rejected the standard. Rather, it failed on its own.

Notes

1. For more discussion on this topic, see also the United Nations background paper at www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/workshop_data_background.doc.
2. Exceptions include languages written in Cyrillic, and Armenian and Georgian, each of which already had its own script and well-established written tradition.

3. Even children of mixed marriages frequently identify as belonging to one specific ethnic group; see, for example, Aboimov (2011).
4. *Evenkiteka* is at www.evenkiteka.ru/ and *Evengus* at www.evengus.ru created by Rustam Yusupov (first created in 2007/2011, with ongoing updates).
5. More specifically, the site catalogue lists the following categories and number of entries: prose (23 items), poetry (27), folklore (27), literary criticism (9), textbooks (11), dictionaries (20), conversation guides (3), ethnography (126), linguistics (42), pedagogical materials (8), nature (2), society (19), law, (2) religion (28), travel (6), personalia (5), and bibliography (7).
6. www.evengus.ru/spravki/index.html
7. Language information from www.gks.ru, accessed May 14, 2012; information about total population reported at http://raipon.info/peoples/data-census-2010/data-census-2010.php, accessed December 28, 2015.

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8 Standardization of Inuit Languages in Canada

Donna Patrick, Kumiko Murasugi,
and Jeela Palluq-Cloutier[1]

1. Introduction

The Canadian Arctic is a region with a great deal of linguistic diversity. This is reflected not only in the twelve Inuit language varieties—widely referred to under the cover term *Inuktitut*—spoken by the close to 55,000 Inuit living there (Dorais 2010), but also in nine distinct writing systems, which are based on either Roman or syllabic scripts. The latter writing systems in particular were useful for translating prayers and other religious texts (Harper 1983a), but they also fostered widespread literacy among Inuit and thus have come to play an important role in other spheres, including governance, media, and formal education.

Yet, the existence of so many different writing systems among such a small speaker population has, perhaps inevitably, led to calls for standardization (see Harper 1983a). This process, termed "unification" by Inuit involved in the current standardization project, is being spearheaded by Canada's national Inuit organization, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK).[2] In August 2015, ITK hosted a two-day Summit on the Unification of the Inuktut Writing System in Iqaluit, Nunavut, which was attended by Inuit linguists, language experts, and elders, as well as representatives of Inuit organizations and governments. The participants heard reports on the feedback received from community members during ITK's consultation visits to Arctic communities and learned about the standardization of the Inuit writing systems in Alaska and Greenland. Discussion at the Summit focused on two key issues: potential threats of a unified writing system to Canadian Inuit, and issues to consider in the implementation of the unified system. At the end of the Summit, the participants unanimously recommended that Inuit jurisdictions "formally explore the implementation of an Inuit writing system rooted in a standardized form of roman orthography that is developed by Inuit, for Inuit, and introduced through the education system" (ITK 2015). This was an important step in the process of unifying the Inuit writing systems and in legitimizing the term *Inuktut* (rather than *Inuktitut*) to encompass all of the Inuit language varieties spoken across the Canadian Arctic.[3]

In this chapter, we will discuss the process of "unification" of Inuit languages, from earlier attempts at standardization to the current ITK project,

which culminated in the 2015 Summit described above.[4] In doing so, we will be drawing on our respective research areas and experience. One co-author, Jeela Palluq-Cloutier, was ITK's National Inuit Language Coordinator from 2013 to 2015, is currently Executive Director of Nunavut's Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (Inuit Language Authority), and has played a major role in the unification project. Another co-author, Kumiko Murasugi, is providing linguistic support to ITK on the project, and the third, Donna Patrick, is a sociolinguist with over 25 years of experience working with Inuit, who has a broad knowledge of Indigenous language issues and the Arctic. We will focus on the unification project's Inuit initiators, leaders, and users—who, through the phrase "by Inuit, for Inuit" in the Summit recommendation, are clearly identified as the key players in this process. In doing so, we will make use of an analytical framework that recognizes the agency of speakers and of Inuit in particular, while at the same time recognizing the authority and legitimacy of codified language forms linked to modern forms of nationhood and the state.

As this characterization suggests, investigating social actors in the unification process will also involve addressing the tension between, on the one hand, modern Western standardization processes and "the need of . . . developing nation[s] for reliable communication in writing" (Milroy and Milroy 1985, 35), and, on the other, Inuit cultural values and worldviews that continue to shape Inuitness (i.e. ways of being Inuit) into the twenty-first century (Pauktuutit 2006).[5] These values include a focus on "multiple interdependent inclusive relationships" with kin-relations as well as with the "people, place, things, animals, weather, community events and so on" (Rowan 2014, 85–86). These dynamic and respectful relationships form an "understanding of the world includ[ing] the interconnections of all beings in it" (Annahatak 2014, 28). This understanding or worldview has been formed across generations through hunting, fishing, trapping, berry-picking, and other subsistence and cultural practices, and constitutes a deep and "intimate knowledge of [the] environment and [the ability] to adapt to that environment" (Pauktuutit 2006, 43). While the introduction of Western technologies of communication through written scripts could arguably play a role in these "interdependent relationships", in the mediation and constitution of meaningful relations between people, institutions, and ideas, they are not "traditional" or central in Inuit communication, nor do they play a large role in Inuit (primarily oral) socialization practices. While localized writing systems for church and everyday literacies may be meaningful for many Inuit in different communities (nine systems are currently in use, as noted above), a unified writing system is not seen as something "Inuit", or as something necessary in the constitution of interdependent relations in one's daily environment. Put differently, the adoption of a unified writing system, as part of a state-based, hegemonic, and ideological project (see Gal, this volume) is not an unproblematic nor a smoothly implemented process for Inuit across the Canadian Arctic, who for the most part are content to

continue to use their place-based, localized writing systems. This, then, is the tension in the language unification process, which is not unlike similar tensions in other Inuit political, legal, and institutional spheres (Todd 2014) and the "principled pragmatism" that guides Inuit leaders to negotiate Inuit interests and sovereignty in these settler-colonial spheres (Kuptana 2014). In this chapter, we will be highlighting the paradox that this tension creates, whereby the adoption of a unified writing system is seen as inextricably linked to Western notions of linguistic knowledge, literacy, and nationhood, even though it is Inuit themselves who are now driving this process.

Given this tension, a question that inevitably arises is how Inuit can manage language unification in ways that are respectful of Inuit place-based identities and practices across the Arctic. One answer to this question is to look at other Inuit political and policy contexts, such as the incorporation of Western science into wildlife management (Todd 2014; Heath 2011) and rights-based approaches in national and international juridical spheres, where an [Inuit] "principled pragmatic" approach has been adopted regarding Inuit "positions on the complex relationship between human rights, indigenous knowledge, development and the environment" (Kuptana 2014, 2). Inuit interests have been asserted through negotiation, collaboration, partnerships, and Inuit "attachment to values of equality and fairness . . . [and] cultural norms of cooperation" (ibid).

Another answer to this question is to look at other Indigenous language contexts in Canada, which have undergone similar processes of orthographic standardization. These include the Dene languages in the Northwest Territories (Rice 1995; Rice and Saxon 2002), Innu-aimun (Montagnais) in Quebec and Labrador (Drapeau 1985; Mailhot 1985; Baraby 2000), East Cree in Quebec (MacKenzie 1985), and Mohawk in Ontario and Quebec (Lazore 1997). As in the Canadian Arctic, these written forms were developed for the language varieties spoken within the jurisdictions of priests and missionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulting in an assortment of orthographic systems based on individual and regional differences. In the 1970s and 1980s, with all levels of government in Canada (provincial, territorial, and federal) mandating the teaching of native languages in Indigenous schools, a standardized writing system was recognized as facilitating the teaching of Indigenous literacy, as well as maximizing economic efficiency by developing and sharing resources across communities. Standardization was also viewed as a means to strengthen and revitalize the native languages.

While the above examples of Inuit political "principled pragmatism" and the history of language standardization in other Canadian indigenous contexts offer optimism for the Inuktut project, the magnitude of this project is immense. The Arctic area in question has 53 communities in four Inuit regions, encompassing one-third of Canada's land mass and spanning two territories and two provinces. The Inuit population in this area is close to 55,000, and these Inuit speak twelve language varieties and use nine different

writing systems. In contrast, as noted by Baraby (2000), approximately 8,000 speakers of Innu-aimun at that time inhabited ten communities in northern Quebec and Labrador, and the East Cree people discussed in MacKenzie (1985) resided in 13 villages in western Quebec.

Despite these challenges, the current unification efforts, we contend, will in fact result in more tangible results than previous attempts (to be discussed below), due largely to the attention paid to inclusivity and consultation. This attention not only gives voice to social actors involved in these processes, but is also seen as a principled Inuit way of approaching a complex political and education-oriented process. Our discussion draws on previous studies and policy documents, as well as the experiences of the authors in conducting ethnographic and linguistic research in Inuit communities, and participating in unification workshops and meetings, including the 2015 Summit.

2.   Historical Processes in Inuit Writing Practices

Before we proceed with our discussion of unification processes, we need to place these within a broader historical context: that of the introduction and use of writing systems among Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. These systems include two scripts used to represent the Inuit language: Roman orthography and syllabics. In the syllabic script, symbols are oriented in three directions that correspond to the vowel in the syllable (/i/, /u/, or /a/). Syllable-final consonants are represented by smaller versions of the /a/ orientation (see Figure 8.1).

The introduction of the first writing systems dates to the earliest periods of colonization and contact with missionaries. However, other systems were also introduced later by Inuit and non-Inuit government officials, linguists, and others with strong views about the language (Palluq-Cloutier 2014, 19). These systems varied from region to region. In Labrador (now referred to as Nunatsiavut), Moravian missionaries opened their first mission in Nain as early as 1771; this soon led to the introduction of the first written form of Inuktitut in what is now Canada. The system that the Moravians employed, similar to the one used in Greenland, made use of Roman orthography. Alternative writing systems introduced in other regions by Anglican, Roman Catholic, and other proselytizing missionaries were based on either Roman or syllabic scripts: Roman orthography was used in Labrador and in the western Arctic, and syllabics in the central and eastern Arctic. However, the ways in which Roman and syllabic orthographies were used to represent particular Inuktitut sounds differed from region to region. In general, the writing systems introduced to Inuit were considered to be useful technologies and viewed positively by them (Harper 1983a). In fact, these writing systems have now become key parts of Inuit language and cultural identities.

For example, many Inuit in both Nunavik and Nunavut retain a strong attachment to the syllabic script that they adopted generations ago; this

Figure 8.1 Inuktitut syllabic chart with Roman script equivalents in alternating columns

Adapted from *Inuit Titirausingit*, poster created by Department of Culture and Heritage, Government of Nunavut.

system is closely tied to church literacy practices especially, although also to other contexts (Harper 1983b; Palluq-Cloutier 2014). The syllabary's religious connection is a clear one: in the 1870s, it was introduced to what is now Nunavik by Edmund Peck, an Anglican missionary, in translations of parts of the Bible, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and some hymns (DCB/ DBC 2015; Patrick 2003, 68–76; Harper 1983a). The syllabic script that Peck used had been in use for Cree since 1845, having been developed for this purpose by James Evans, a Wesleyan (Methodist) missionary, and subsequently adapted to Inuktitut by the Anglican missionaries Edwin Watkins and John Horden. Syllabics were subsequently introduced to the central Arctic Kivalliq and Natsilingmiut Inuit by Catholic and Anglican missionaries in the early 1900s through Bible translations. However, as noted above, the syllabic systems in use at that time were not always consistent with each other.

In fact, more than a half-century later, this was still true. As noted in Shearwood (2001), a study of literacy in Igloolik in the early 1990s, literacy practices were not uniform either within or across Inuit communities,

and differentiated uses served to construct local identities and group boundaries—"to make judgments about themselves, about others, and about which person belongs to which group" (Shearwood 2001, 296). This had implications for those who had grown up reading and writing in syllabics and whose personal and social identities might be tightly linked to these forms of literacy. In Shearwood's study, older Inuit reported reading and writing in Inuktitut frequently as part of everyday communicative life, keeping personal records of important events, writing notes, and communicating with local organizations using an older syllabic system. However, letter-writing had, for the most part, been supplanted by use of the telephone. In addition, the members of this group reported that they read the Inuktitut (syllabic) versions of documents when both English and Inuktitut ones were available. By contrast, younger Inuit and biliterates (born between 1946 and 1976, who had learned the ICI standard in school, to be discussed below) would, when given a choice between English and Inuktitut versions of a document, report a preference for the English version, finding it easier to read (see also Hot 2010). Significantly, this group's mastery of syllabic and Roman orthographies made them more likely to obtain paid employment in which their literacy skills were valued, despite the rarity of paid work in fields such as translation or administration.

This last point, about the economic benefits associated with knowledge of the two writing systems, highlights some of the paradoxes reflected in their introduction into Inuit communities. This introduction has included not only the integration of these writing systems into the dominant language market[6]—where Inuit script literacy has competed with English and (to a lesser extent) French—but also the growing recognition among Inuit themselves of the benefits of codifying and standardizing these Inuit writing systems. One key paradox for all of the syllabic and Roman writing systems introduced into Inuit communities is that, though their introduction represents external (non-Inuit) processes, these systems are now widely seen as key semiotic resources in contemporary expressions of Inuitness. In other words, although script literacy was originally set in motion by colonial and settler regimes in order to allow Inuit to function in Western institutional contexts—beginning with the church and later expanding to school, government, and private sector contexts—it has nevertheless come to play a major role in the maintenance of Inuit language varieties and in the traditional knowledge and economic and cultural practices associated with them.

A second paradox is associated more specifically with Inuit adoption of non-Inuit standardizing or unifying communication processes. It is clear that these processes foster the expansion of text-based literacy and can facilitate the development of Inuit-based school curricula and the production of Inuit texts. Inuit script literacy has the potential to support Inuit-centered curricula, bilingual teacher-training, and other institutional policies and practices, which, in turn, may help to transmit the traditional knowledge and economic and cultural practices associated with the language. It is also clear

that standardization has come to be recognized by Inuit leaders and others as crucial for gaining greater Inuit control over education and other institutions and is thus now being spearheaded by Inuit themselves, with the participation of their leaders and consultation with Inuit communities. Yet, granting all of these benefits and all of this involvement of Inuit social actors and communities, standardization still appears, especially to local language users, to threaten local and regional writing systems and the more localized expressions of Inuitness conveyed through them.

These paradoxes highlight the fact that the Inuit goal of self-determination cannot be divorced from complex historical and contemporary political economic conditions that shape the everyday lives of Inuit. For the Inuit to retain their identity as a distinct Indigenous people—particularly today, when they are facing rapidly changing environmental conditions that have been affecting flora and fauna and thereby their own livelihoods—it seems necessary to create a united Inuit voice globally. To this end, Inuit linguistic, educational, political, and economic goals are increasingly reflecting an ideological investment in largely Western-based centripetal or unifying processes (see Gal, this volume). Yet, while these processes may, as already noted, be central to the maintenance of a distinct Inuit identity regionally, nationally, and globally, they nevertheless come at the expense of supporting more localized, Inuit-specific concerns.

3.   Previous Standardization Efforts and Inuit Agency

If we return now to the ITK unification project described in section 1, we can see that its Inuit-driven nature reflects a significant departure from previous introductions of writing systems to Inuit communities. Indeed, as described in the previous section, the very presence of such systems among the Inuit was due largely to the efforts of non-Inuit missionaries. Inuit language users who adopted the new writing systems played mostly subordinate roles in the development and implementation of early script literacy.

As it happens, a similar lack of Inuit participation and consultation characterized previous, and unsuccessful, standardization efforts pursued by the Canadian government in the 1950s and 1960s. The first of these initiatives arose from the government's recognition in the 1950s that, with its increasing presence in the Arctic, a standard orthography was needed for the efficient distribution of materials to Inuit across the country (Harper 1983b).[7] A linguist, Gilles Lefebvre, was hired to develop a new writing system based on Roman orthography, with the goal of gradually phasing out the use of syllabics. However, the development of this new system involved no consultation with Inuit—as was the case for other federal Indigenous policy initiatives from the nineteenth century through to the 1960s (Haque and Patrick 2015). In the end, the government considered it premature to adopt the new system, and it was never implemented.

In 1960, the government hired another linguist, Raymond Gagné, to continue Lefebvre's work in collaboration with Inuit assistants—in other words, this time including Inuit participation in this work. However, it was again the federal government that initiated the process, and it made no effort to seek out the input of Inuit in the initiative's target communities either to make the case that standardization was needed or to promote the new system. As the government's priorities shifted to English language education, this project, too, was eventually abandoned.

The era in which this second standardization effort took place, that of the 1960s, might be seen as one marked by the rise of Indigenous mobilization in Canada. In many respects, this era was a progressive one for state processes in Canada: one of laws and policies entrenching national linguistic duality through official bilingualism (1969) and official multiculturalism (as a policy in 1971 and in law in 1988). Yet, this was also an era in which the Canadian state continued to dismiss Indigenous claims to territorial, economic, political, cultural, and linguistic rights (see Haque and Patrick 2015 for an overview). Arguably, this systematic exclusion and historical dismissal of Indigenous claims for self-determination within the Canadian state were a catalyst for increased Indigenous mobilization, which centered on land rights and self-governance but also included objectives that can be seen as preconditions for achieving these goals, such as Indigenous control over education and other institutions and language revitalization, preservation, and maintenance.

It was, in fact, soon after this, in the 1970s, that Inuit-driven orthography reforms took place in all Inuit regions, from Alaska to Greenland, including Canada. In May 1972, Canadian Inuit held a four-day seminar on syllabic systems, which resulted in a number of modifications to syllabic symbols (Harper 1983b). In 1974, the Inuit Language Commission (ILC) was established as part of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the precursor to ITK, founded in 1971. One of the commission's responsibilities was to examine the writing system in use at that time and make recommendations for changes. The ILC consisted of the late Jose Kusugak, the Executive Director; commissioners from six different regions in the Arctic; a coordinator; and a three-member advisory committee (an administrator, a linguist, and a priest). The commissioners visited Inuit communities to gather opinions on their writing systems and the state of the language and to explain the role of the ILC. The result was that they came to recognize the need for a common writing system for all Canadian Inuit.

This led to the formation of the Technical Orthography Committee, composed of members of the ILC and other (both Inuit and non-Inuit) authorities on Inuktitut, which worked to create a standard writing system based on linguistic analysis and the earlier work of Gagné. The feedback that the ILC received from various Inuit communities revealed these communities' attachment to their own writing systems, whether syllabics or Roman orthography. In 1976, the ILC made a recommendation based on this

feedback for the use of a dual writing system where syllabics and Roman orthography were completely compatible and interchangeable. That same year, this dual system was adopted at a meeting of delegates from Inuit associations, the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, and observers from the federal and territorial governments. By this time, the ILC had become part of the newly created Inuit Cultural Institute (ICI), hence the term "ICI standard" to refer to this dual system.

Support for the proposed system was strongest in the Keewatin region in what is now Nunavut (Harper 1983b). Today, the ICI standard writing system is used across the territory of Nunavut for all but the Qitirmiut (western region) language varieties (Palluq-Cloutier 2013; 2014). This system is in wide use among Nunavut teachers and translators, has been taught in schools in most Nunavut communities since the late 1970s, and is well established for government publications, school materials, and children's and adults' books. However, in other Inuit regions in Canada, the ICI standard is either not fully in use (Nunavik, Quebec) or not used at all (Inuvialuit, Labrador), and the review of the system planned for five to ten years after its adoption never took place (Harper 2011).

There are various reasons for the lack of full acceptance of the ICI standard across all regions. Foremost among them was the agency of Inuit social actors, including diverse groups of affected language users. As already suggested, these different groups had attachments both to their communities and to the writing systems that they used, including the Labrador Inuit's Moravian system and the Nunavik Inuit's original syllabic system. Indeed, for some Inuit elders in Nunavik, whose only reading material was the Bible, relinquishing syllabics amounted to altering the words of God (Harper 1983b). By contrast, Inuit in the western Arctic showed little concern with language issues, let alone a new writing system, at that time.

Another reason for the rejection of the ICI standard by some Inuit was related to the origin of the system. According to Harper, many Inuit felt that the new system was being imposed on them by authorities in the Northwest Territories, who had not properly consulted with them. Harper (1983b, 59) notes this sense of a system being imposed "from outside" among Labradorian Inuit, who were "far from the mainstream of Canadian Inuit life", even though "one of the six language commissioners had been a Labrador Inuk". In addition, there was a widespread misunderstanding that the new orthography would mean the loss of local spoken language varieties. What this resistance to the ICI standard also signalled was that its acceptance required more than simply initiation by and the participation of Inuit. Certainly, the ICI process was one that involved a range of social actors, given that it was spearheaded by Inuit and that the resulting orthography was developed by a committee of Inuit and non-Inuit members based on consultation with Inuit communities. Yet, what was still missing, as Inuit working on orthography standardization have themselves found, was Inuit leadership in promoting and implementing the new writing system.

4.   Recent Developments and the ITK Standardization Effort

Given the importance that Inuit have attached to the issue of standardization, it is perhaps no surprise that it has also emerged in more recent policy discussion. For example, this issue was raised in 1998, 20 years after the last standardization effort, at a language policy conference held by the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC). This conference focused on policies related to Nunavut that were to be established the following year (Palluq-Cloutier 2014). Of the 50 recommendations made at the conference, nine dealt directly with orthography and standardization (NIC 1998). However, this issue remained such a sensitive one for many Inuit that the NIC recommended that the government consult extensively with Inuit, including elders and young people, before deciding on either a syllabic or a Roman system as the standard. In the years following, standardization was on the agenda of many meetings attended by Inuit experts and community members, hosted by the Government of Nunavut's Department of Culture, Language, Elders and Youth (now Department of Culture and Heritage), the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and IUT(Palluq-Cloutier 2014).

Standardization was one of the 10 recommendations made in *First Canadians, Canadians First: National Strategy on Inuit Education 2011*, a report by ITK's National Commission on Inuit Education (NCIE) for improving the educational outcomes of Inuit students. As this report stated:

> Key to a new era in bilingual education is the ability to produce, publish and distribute common Inuit language materials. A standardized Inuit language writing system with common grammar, spelling and terminology, may facilitate the production of these materials. The National Committee on Inuit Education recommends: The establishment of an Inuit Task Force to explore the introduction of a standardized Inuit language writing system.
>
> (NCIE 2011, 14)

Indeed, standardization is seen as necessary for creating Inuit ownership of a unified language system. This can serve not only in the legitimization of Inuktut at regional, national, and international levels, but also in more effective curriculum materials and in turn more effective teaching and learning of the Inuit language, improved school outcomes, and better grounding of schooling in Inuit language and culture.[8] This is part of the process to achieving greater Inuit autonomy, self-determination, and prominence on the global stage—all of which serve to counteract the hegemony of English (and also French) in Canada and beyond. The challenge, then, for the recent ITK unification effort lies in developing and implementing standard forms while acknowledging the need to maintain and promote local ways of writing and speaking that are highly valued by the communities that use them and avoiding the difficulties encountered by previous efforts.

Of course, since standardization is a Western-based and not Inuit practice, many hurdles exist in initiating and implementing such a change. As already noted, consensual decision-making is necessary in consultation, education, and implementation, but the decision-making process itself must be guided by strong Inuit leadership. Since the ICI standardization project some 45 years ago, Inuit political and administrative leadership has grown in a number of domains, in line with the rapid changes witnessed in the Arctic's political, economic, and environmental landscapes. The current unification efforts have made significant progress in consultation and participation frameworks. ITK and the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq (AIT) Task Group[9] have themselves taken on a key leadership role. In 2012, the Amaujaq Centre for Inuit Education was created within ITK to coordinate implementation of the NCIE's recommendations. The AIT Task Group was set up specifically to address the NCIE's recommendation to establish an Inuit Task Force to consider a unified Inuit language writing system (NCIE 2011, 90), and it was given the mandate to oversee the development and implementation of this system. But the Task Group is also taking care to ensure that its decision-making flows from discussion and consensus in line with Inuit cultural values (see Pauktuutit 2006). This could be seen, for example, in the Task Group's March 2014 workshop in preparation for the 2015 Summit on the Unification of the Inuit Writing System. At the workshop, participants stressed the importance of being respectful, non-intimidating, and non-threatening in treating a topic that is sensitive for many Inuit—particularly for those who experienced forced relocation and residential schools, two dark chapters in Canada's relations with Indigenous groups,[10] and those who are not fluent in the language or who fear losing their local varieties.

As with the ICI standardization project, community consultations play a central role in the current ITK initiative. For example, at the 2014 pre-Summit workshop, the AIT Task Group decided on when, where, and how consultations would take place (ITK 2014b), with the objective of informing all members of the community about the unification plan and gathering their feedback. The Language Coordinator and members of the Task Group were able to visit 17 communities in total, almost one-third of all Inuit communities. At each consultation, the Task Group discussed the importance of a unified Inuit writing system for education and language preservation; presented the history of writing systems and previous standardization attempts; provided examples of what a unified writing system might look like; and listened to their audiences' questions, ideas, and concerns. The idea was to include as many different community interests as possible, including those of teachers, students, elders, youth, translators and interpreters, and language experts. The Task Group held open meetings for all community members, targeted specific groups such as educators and translators, and participated in local radio call-in shows, thereby including a wide range of social actors in the process.

What also emerges about the work of the Task Group is its sensitivity to the language that it uses to discuss what (as already noted) remains a very sensitive topic for many Inuit. For example, during the pre-Summit Workshop, participants acknowledged the negative associations of the term "standardization", suggesting a norm to be enforced, while also noting that the sense it conveyed of imposing standards related to the use, promotion, and maintenance of one's language was appropriate for communications with government and southern institutions. After considering and rejecting such alternatives as "harmonization" and "auxiliary writing system", the Task Group decided on the terms "unified" and "unification". This concern with wording can also been seen in ITK publications and media releases. For example, the NCIE's Recommendation to establish an Inuit Task Force "to explore the introduction of a standardized Inuit language writing system" (NCIE 2011, 90) became in ITK's 2012–2015 Strategic Plan the objective of "working towards the establishment of a standardized Inuit writing system" (ITK 2014a, section 2.2); and in ITK's media release after the Summit, the participants' recommendation that "jurisdictions formally explore the implementation of an Inuit writing system" (ITK 2015). What expressions such as "explore" and "working towards" also highlight is that there is no foreordained standardized system and that any such system will emerge only with the support of all Inuit, through the leadership and localized consensus-driven processes pursued by the organizations representing communities and their interests.

What has emerged as the recommendation from the 2015 Summit on the Unification of the Inuit Writing System is a unified system based on Roman orthography. The full recommendation is as follows:

> Existing writing systems have been imposed on us. Canadian Inuit now have an opportunity to choose and create our own unified writing system. The recommendation from this summit is for jurisdictions to formally explore the implementation of an Inuit writing system rooted in a standardized form of roman orthography that is developed by Inuit for Inuit and introduced through the education system with quality materials, publications and training resources. The participants of this summit acknowledge that this process will take time and cannot be rushed.

This recommendation was supported by reports from community consultations. These revealed, much as previous research and discussion had, that many Inuit in Nunavut and Nunavik, though strongly attached to syllabics, also realize that compromise is necessary. Such compromise is certainly necessary to accommodate regions that have no history of using syllabics. But it is also necessary to appeal to young Inuit, many of whom are strong supporters of the unified system and use Roman orthography for texting and social media as well as in other literacy practices, all of which allow them to use their language in new and innovative ways. Interestingly, support for

a unified orthography has also come from older adults, including elders, who note that while they themselves may not come to use this unified system, they support its use for future generations of Inuit, who will need it to maintain the Inuit language.

The importance placed by the current ITK project on winning the support of regional and local Inuit leaders and organizations may well be the reason that this project has achieved greater success than its predecessors. This support has been earned mainly by convincing leaders—during the course of formal and informal meetings as well as at the August 2015 Summit on the Unification of the Inuktut Writing System—of the need for a unified writing system and the unification process itself. Among these leaders and organizations are the territorial education ministers; Nunavut's Language Commissioner; the Kativik School Board, which operates in Nunavik; Nunavut's Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit (Inuit Language Authority); and the four land claims organizations: Nunavik's Makivik Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, and the Nunatsiavut Government. The support of these organizations is crucial as ITK enters the next stage of the unification process—namely, implementation—given the role that they will play in continuing to lead the unification process in their regions. As the post-Summit media release states: "[l]and claims organizations, language authorities and governments will make their own decisions for moving forward and the participants of this gathering look forward to receiving a progress report within one year of this gathering" (ITK 2015).

Nevertheless, further consultation will likely reveal continued opposition to the elimination of syllabics. So far, this has come particularly from translators and others engaged in language work, who will need to adjust quickly to a new system, although (as already noted) it has also come from those who express a strong attachment to the syllabic system. For some, this opposition might also be linked to opposition to what is still perceived as a centralized and fundamentally non-Inuit language process, implemented by a central governance structure at the expense of lived local and regional identities. Although speedy codification of the new orthography—the AIT Task Group is aiming to do so within the next two years—will allow work to begin on resources for teaching and learning the new system, thereby addressing the professional needs of language workers, this will do little to address opposition based on attachment to syllabics. One suggestion for doing so is through the introduction of syllabics in the high school curriculum in addition to the use of the new Roman orthography standard, not only in Nunavut and Nunavik but also in the Roman-only regions. Recognizing the value of syllabics in this way might help to avoid division and serve to unify Inuit across the regions. What, at least, emerges very clearly from these concerns and suggestions is that discussion and consultation will continue to play a key role in the success of the ITK's unification effort.

5.   Summary, Conclusions, and Future Directions

In this chapter, we have discussed how Inuit are managing standardization by seeking to implement a comprehensive approach through strong leadership and broad intergenerational consultation, and by drawing on Inuit knowledge and values so as to create a respectful and consensus-based process involving Inuit social actors. There is little doubt that such reforms take considerable time to implement, as has been the experience of those who have undertaken such reforms elsewhere. For example, Greenlandic orthographic reform in the 1970s took ten years to implement, even without extensive regional consultations (Møller 2015), and the standardization of Innu (Montagnais) took 25 years, due in part to the absence of an authority with a mandate to develop the standard orthography (Baraby 2000).

Given both historical and contemporary connections between Inuktitut scripts and Inuit social and cultural identities, tensions surrounding the introduction of a new, unified Roman orthographic script are perhaps to be expected. This is the case even though this script is being advanced by Inuit working for Inuit organizations and not the Canadian state, the church, or some other non-Inuit institution. For Inuit working in these organizations, the goal is that Inuit from across the regions will eventually adopt the new writing system as their own, as they have with other localized Inuit language scripts. In this way, they could form attachments to the new script as a new semiotic resource, which comes to be used in everyday communication as well as in discursive meaning-making and expressions of Inuit identity. Accordingly, the unified script may come to be linked to forms of Inuit identity in the Canadian context and serve to express this identity not only to the rest of Canada but also to Inuit and other circumpolar peoples beyond Canada. Despite these goals of unification, it is both understood and emphasized by those Inuit working on the standard that local writing systems will continue to be used, although this use will depend on local efforts to maintain them (see Gal, this volume, and the case discussed by Faudree (2013) regarding the continued use and legitimization of non-standard scripts in a song contest in the Oaxaca highlands).

A number of steps still remain in the Inuit standardization process. For now, the key ones are to codify the new writing system and, if given the mandate, to implement it. Inuit have chosen to develop a new orthography by drawing on the variety of regional writing systems rather than by simply selecting one language variety as the standard; and this new system will be developed by the AIT Task Group whose expertise encompasses all of the Inuit languages in Canada. As with other steps in the process, the Task Group members will need to work closely with their regions to ensure the engagement of all Inuit in Canada.

One concern that has been consistent throughout the history of standardization is the loss of local language varieties and ways of speaking.

A feature of the current process has been the ability of those engaged in outreach efforts to show that the proposed system will not directly affect spoken language varieties, by providing examples of the same written words being pronounced in different ways. In addition, there is no reason to believe that regional vocabulary will not continue to be shared across distances and time through the media, print publications, and education in Inuktitut, just as it has been for well over 40 years. Another concern, especially among those using syllabics, is the loss of local writing systems once children start learning only the new writing system. Preventing this will require concerted effort by the regions to protect their local varieties; this admittedly remains a challenge. Perhaps most promising for those Inuit involved in the unification process is that this is not the first large undertaking by Inuit, who "have a well established reputation as political actors who focus on what can be accomplished in any situation" (Kuptana 2014, 2). With a track record of collaborative, negotiated settlements "from business to political arrangements to environmental protection [Inuit] take stock in their ability to be "guided by fundamental notions of what is right and by the long game" (ibid).

As discussed earlier, there are a number of fundamental paradoxes in Inuit language writing systems and in the process of unifying them. For one, the writing scripts that were originally introduced by colonial agents (through missionaries and proselytization) are now largely held as salient markers of Inuit identities. These localized, historical, and place-based identities attached to writing systems account for some of the tensions that arise in attempts at unifying these scripts. Yet, Inuit themselves are now leading what can be broadly characterized as a non-Inuit unification process, and this in a bid to produce Inuit-oriented and culturally relevant school curricula, pedagogical materials for Inuktut-medium education, and the production and circulation of more Inuktut texts across the Arctic. The fact that a unified technology is deemed necessary to help maintain Inuit diversity and distinctiveness is itself an inherent contradiction that Inuit ingenuity and creativity will need to tackle. Of course, these contradictory stances are hardly unique to the issue of standardization: they can also be seen in other forms of Inuit political mobilization and state formation, which Inuit have actively engaged in to protect their interests in a rapidly changing Arctic. Engaging in the "long game" has for many Inuit been the only viable path for mobilizing their agency and engaging social actors in the face of the ongoing effects of colonial history and the environmental, social, and political challenges currently facing Inuit and other circumpolar peoples. In processes such as language unification, working with the inherent contradictions and seeking a negotiated middle-ground through principled Inuit leadership is for many Inuit engaged in the process a viable way of shaping Inuit futures.

Appendix

List of Abbreviations

AIT: Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq
ICI: Inuit Cultural Institute
ILC: Inuit Language Commission
ITC: Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, National Inuit organization founded in 1971, precursor of ITK
ITK: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, National Inuit organization
NCIE: National Commission on Inuit Education
NIC: Nunavut Implementation Commission
NWT: Northwest Territories

Notes

1. We wish to thank the editors and Benjamin Shaer for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.
2. See the Appendix for a list of abbreviations used in this chapter.
3. The term *Inuktut* was first introduced by Joe Allen Evyagotailak, Member of the Nunavut Legislature Assembly, in 2007. ITK passed a resolution for adopting the term at their Board of Directors Meeting in April 2016.
4. We use the term *unification* when referring to the current Inuktut standardization project, and *standardization* for other projects and as a general descriptor.
5. At the same time, it is worth emphasizing that such values do not necessarily generalize to all Inuit, any more than any other group's values would generalize to all members of that group.
6. The notion of language market, which derives from Bourdieu (1977; 1982), has been discussed in relation to Inuit languages in Patrick (2003, 100ff.). In a competitive "language market", language is tied to political and economic arrangements, such that language "represents a form of social and cultural capital which is convertible into economic capital" (Milroy and Milroy 1992, cited in Patrick 2003, 18).
7. This material on the history of standardization from the 1950s to the late 1970s is drawn primarily from Harper (1983b). Kenn Harper is a historian, linguist, and author who has written extensively on Arctic history and the Inuit language.
8. It should be noted that language standardization is not the only factor preventing more effective education for Inuit youth. For example, *The Economist* (7–13 November 2015) notes that "75% of young Inuit fail to complete secondary school in part because the curriculum does not reflect their culture and history" (32). Nevertheless, access to a standard writing system would arguably support such culturally relevant approaches, given the affordances such a system would have in curricula production and Inuit pedagogical development. The positive effects of culturally relevant pedagogies with Inuit youth are documented in Eriks-Brophy and Crago (1994), where attention to Inuit language use and appropriate interaction norms played a role in improved educational outcomes.
9. The Task Group is composed of three members from each of the four Inuit regions in Canada—northern Labrador, Nunavut, Nunavik, and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories—as well as the president of the National Inuit Youth Council and ITK's National Inuit Language Coordinator.

10. On this, see the reports of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission (which was set up in 2002 and released a final report in 2013). This work addresses Inuit experiences regarding the era of colonialization in the Arctic. See www.qtcommission. ca (Accessed April 11, 2016). At the national level, see the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Final Report: *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*. This was preceded by the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (2015). See www.trc.ca

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9 "That's Too Much to Learn"

Writing, Longevity, and Urgency in the Isthmus Zapotec Speech Community

Haley De Korne[1]

1. Introduction

A speech community is constituted as much by boundaries as by a core (Fishman 1989). Language standardization politics are an important means of defining both the center and the margins of a community, as well a key mechanism for maintaining speech community identification over time. In this chapter, I explore the standardization politics in the Isthmus Zapotec or *Diidxazá* (hereafter IZ or Diidxazá[2]) speech community in southern Mexico, with a focus on the *who* and *when* of language standardization. An array of actors across social scales drive processes of planning, implementing, or negotiating standardization politics or, indeed, language politics of any kind (Canagarajah 2005; Ricento and Hornberger 1996), as illustrated throughout this volume. Building on this participatory understanding of language politics, I examine some of the social actors who are involved in the creation of a written standard for Diidxazá and interrogate the implications of standardization for the past, present, and imagined future of the speech community.

I begin with a discussion of the significance of standardization politics in the creation of imagined communities, in particular in education contexts (section 2). Drawing on ethnographic data, secondary sources, and linguistic analyses, I then sketch the historical context of Diidxazá use (section 3) and outline two closely related standardization movements which manifest different orientations towards the idealized IZ speech community member (section 4). Social actors engaged in the current orthographic normalization process express different priorities, including immediate social needs and constraints, as well as an imaginary of an autonomous future speech community. I compare and contextualize the perspectives and actions of different actors, including linguists, educators, and learners, providing insight into the tensions between historical precedents, immediate needs, and long-term goals of diverse members of an Indigenous speech community (section 5). Through the Diidxazá case, I aim to illustrate the role of diverse actors in negotiating and establishing language standards, as well as the ways in which a language standard may define and project the characteristics of

idealized future social actors. In other words, I show how social actors are engaged in creating IZ standards and how these standards may serve to project or create certain kinds of social actors.

The analysis of IZ language use discussed in this chapter is drawn from a larger ethnographic monitoring study of Diidxazá education and advocacy initiatives, including participant observation, interviews, linguistic landscape documentation, document collection, and action-research (De Korne 2016). During 2013–2015 I lived for 17 months in Juchitán de Zaragoza, a central city in the Isthmus, and conducted participant observation in IZ education initiatives in numerous towns across the region. As a European-American researcher interested in education and language use, I sought and was granted permission to participate as a student in several IZ programs and to observe and conduct interviews in a variety of education-related settings. In three focal settings I was eventually invited by stakeholders to participate in planning and trouble-shooting, leading to my engagement in action-research. The majority of the settings that I observed or participated in were Spanish-dominant, and I conducted my research principally in Spanish, while acquiring basic competencies in IZ over the course of my study. In this chapter, I share examples of different social actors who are engaged in IZ education and standardization initiatives. I use extracts from interviews and field notes to illustrate my discussion, as well as analysis of documents that I collected during my fieldwork.[3] This chapter focuses on standardization initiatives during the period of fieldwork from 2013–2015, while discussions and initiatives around Diidxazá standardization remain ongoing.

2. Socializing the Voices of the Future Community

What constitutes an educated and socially valued individual varies from social group to social group and over time. As discussed by Levinson, Foley, and Holland (1996), socialization norms have existed independently of formal systems of education; as formal, state-endorsed education has spread around the globe in the 19th and 20th centuries however, formal education has come to exert unprecedented influence on what counts as education and knowledge. Language use is an especially significant aspect of social and educational norms. Linguistic variation was used as a means to differentiate and devalue speakers well before the rise of formal education (Haugen 1973) and has become one of the most significant tools through which learners are excluded or assimilated within educational systems (Bourdieu and Passeron 1970; Cummins 2000; Tollefson 1991). How "good" or "bad" language is socially constructed and policed by actors across social scales has long remained a topic of concern among sociolinguists and language policy scholars, who note that the inequalities produced by linguistic biases in school and society continue to impact learners on a daily basis in many

parts of the world (Hymes 1973; Menken and García, 2010; Ruiz 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994).

The process of learning a standard variety of a language includes investment in an imagined community of speakers (Norton 2001), much as acquiring belonging in a social group includes adopting the behavioral norms of an imagined community (Anderson 1991) or community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The linguistic choices that teachers make can be especially significant in (de)valuing certain language practices over others and influencing the norms that their students adopt. As Jaffe (2009) illustrates in the context of a minority language promotion program, teachers, through their privileged access to educational authority, often "propose ideal models of bilingual practice and identity, and *attribute* stances to their students" (119, italics original). Typically, specific language norms are an integral part of the idealized practices and identities which are attributed to students. For example, a "good" student will be identifiable through their "good" language practices, as interpreted and evaluated within the local sociolinguistic context. Negotiations over language standards, particularly in relation to learners—the future of the speech community—provide insights into the ideals and imaginaries of a speech community, which learners are expected to embody through the communicative behaviors that they will acquire.

The stances and identities attributed to speakers and learners of Diidxazá in formal education in the past have had a profound (and largely negative) impact on the IZ speech community, as taken up below. The ongoing negotiation of language norms may also have significant social outcomes, in particular if prescribed norms are appropriated into practices and into the "social imaginaries" (Taylor 2002) within which identity and belonging come to be framed.

3.   Isthmus Zapotec in Historical Perspective

A traveler passing through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca will likely hear and see Diidxazá in public spaces alongside Spanish, even on the briefest of visits. The language is in regular use, although, as with many minoritized languages, it is now used more in home and family domains than in public or official spaces, and there are fewer and fewer children who are acquiring it.[4] Some public spaces make special efforts to use it, however, such as the *Lidxi Guendabiaani* (*Casa de la Cultura*, or cultural center) of Juchitán de Zaragoza, where visitors will see bilingual signage, an archaeology room with ancient Zapotec codices (picture texts), and other artifacts, and may overhear a Diidxazá lesson for children underway, among other classes conducted in Spanish such as music, dance, and artwork (e.g., Field notes 140804, 160126).

While IZ is readily identified as the Indigenous language of much of the Isthmus today, this has not always been the case. Speakers of Zapotec

arrived in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, a coastal plain surrounded by mountains on one side and the Pacific on the other, around 1400 CE en route from Zapotec city-states in the mountain valleys of what is now the state of Oaxaca. They displaced and occasionally clashed with members of the four other language communities indigenous to the region, as well as confronting the growing influence of the Aztec empire throughout the 15th century and the Spanish invasion in the 16th century (Acosta Márquez 2007; de la Cruz 2008; Miano Borruso 2002). The political status of the IZ speech community has thus changed dramatically from the pre-colonial era through to the present day.

Prior to Spanish colonization, the Zapotec empire had developed sophisticated literacy practices, including pictographic and semi-phonemic writing systems, vigesimal (base 20) mathematics, astronomy, and architecture. These practices were not universally taught, however, being limited to a social elite (de la Cruz 2008; Romero Frizzi 2003; Urcid 2005). The era of Spanish colonization saw the erasure of many Indigenous literacies in both material and ideological ways; writings were destroyed, and the practices of the literate elite were not transmitted, while Indigenous languages were also labeled *dialectos* (dialects, or lesser forms of communication) in contrast to European *idiomas* (languages) and alphabetic literacy practices.

The postcolonial nationalist era in Mexico has perpetuated social inequalities and largely continued to devalue Indigenous languages and cultural practices. Fueled by the nation-building ideology that followed independence from Spain in 1821, Mexican political leaders no longer ignored the Indigenous population, but instead attempted to include and assimilate them (Heath 1972). Mandatory Spanish-language public education was established in stages during the first decades of the 20th century and continued the process of marginalization begun through economic exploitation in the colonial era by excluding Indigenous people and communication practices from the symbolic capital represented by formal education. The first regional teacher training college in the Isthmus, the *Escuela Normal Regional de Juchitán* (Regional Normal School of Juchitán), opened in 1926, and an increasing number of primary and secondary schools followed (Ruíz Martínez 2013), where all children were required to attend and to learn to speak and read Spanish.

Schools that include Indigenous languages at the primary level (called "Indigenous" or "Bilingual" schools) have been present in Mexico from the early 20th century (Rebolledo 2010); however, these schools are widely acknowledged to transition Indigenous children to use of Spanish as quickly as possible, rather than developing the bilingualism after which they are named (Coronado Suzán 1992; Hamel 2008a, 2008b; Maldonado Alvarado 2002). The ongoing development of standardized testing in Mexico since the early 2000s, as part of neoliberal education reforms that aim to align with international standards, is additionally contributing to the exclusion of Indigenous languages from schooling (Anzures Tapia 2015). At the same time, during my

fieldwork, I observed that a state-level policy promoted by the Oaxacan state teachers union (*Sección 22*), the *Plan para la transformación de la educación de Oaxaca* (Plan for the transformation of the education of Oaxaca) (IEEPO, SNTE, and CNTE 2013) has played a role in motivating teachers to explore new uses of Indigenous languages in classrooms and offered some official support for school-initiated projects (Interviews 140717 E-9, 140917 E-10, 141017 UH-3, 141118 J-5). Therefore, the stance which schools promote towards Indigenous languages can vary depending on the motivation of individual teachers and administrations.

Residents of the Isthmus consistently describe Spanish-dominant schooling as the main motivator for choosing to speak only Spanish to children, a practice which is now common in almost all municipalities across the region (Augsburger 2004; Marcial Cerqueda 2014). Schools in the Isthmus today include actors with diverse communicative repertoires, from adult teachers who use Diidxazá in the majority of personal domains and Spanish in the majority of professional domains, to child learners who have receptive Diidxazá abilities as part of their Spanish-dominant repertoires, and teachers from outside the region who have no knowledge of Diidxazá. Teacher training does not include instruction in IZ (or any other Indigenous language) literacy, and most teachers are much more comfortable reading and writing in Spanish, the language through which their educational socialization occurred. Many teachers comment that speaking IZ is easy for them, but writing it is another matter entirely (e.g., Field notes 130424). There are an increasing number of young adults who have grown up with passive or no competence in IZ who are interested in acquiring it and turn to workshops and classes that are offered in cultural centers and in the Tehuantepec branch of the public state university (*Universidad Autónoma Beníto Juárez de Oaxaca*).[5] Diidxazá teaching and learning in schools is thus taking place in contexts which are dominated by Spanish literacy practices and which have traditionally held the aim to assimilate the IZ speech community into the Mexican nation-state.

4.   Negotiating a Written Standard and Imagining an Autonomous Community

The people who have engaged in Diidxazá standardization efforts have focused on writing rather than speech. The high value placed on writing within European cultures has served to delegitimize oral communicative practices and multimodal literacies in Indigenous communities, as López Gopar (2007) and Maldonado Alvarado (2002) discuss in the Oaxacan context. It is therefore not surprising that Indigenous language politics often take up issues of writing and the establishment of written norms. Efforts to create written norms for Indigenous languages in the postcolonial era can thus be viewed as an attempt to improve the social status of people and practices which have been (and often continue to be) marginalized. Manipulating or

shaping language practices is often undertaken to draw boundaries and to set certain people and practices apart. Stewart (1968) discussed how perceptions of linguistic *autonomy* are interrelated with *historicity*, or the social trajectory of a speech community. An official written norm is often seen as a prerequisite to the recognition of social or cultural autonomy within Western political spheres; correspondingly, orthography development for Indigenous languages has been pursued in postcolonial contexts around the world (Hornberger 1993, see also Deumert and Mabandla; Donaldson; Patrick, Murasugi, and Palluq-Cloutier, this volume).

Efforts to standardize Diidxazá have emerged from the people involved in two different sociopolitical processes, both of which orient towards counteracting the exclusion of Diidxazá. The first process is a literary movement made up of writers, musicians, and the general public in the Isthmus (e.g., de la Cruz 2013; Pérez Báez, Cata, and Bueno Holle 2015; Pineda 2014), sustained by the unabated popularity and recognition of the literary and musical heritage of Diidxazá at the local and regional level. The second process is the more recent development of recognition policies within the era of neoliberal multiculturalism at the national and international level, which has created a context within which Indigenous languages are accorded greater social value in national discourses (e.g., Muehlmann 2009; Overmyer-Velázquez 2010). IZ writers and speakers played the principal roles in the initial establishment of a writing norm during the 20th century; however, more recent language planning impetus has been spearheaded by the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (INALI), a national organization established by the federal government in 2005 as a result of a 2003 law recognizing the rights of Indigenous language speakers (*Ley general de derechos lingüísticos de los pueblos indígenas* 2003). Diidxazá standardization initiatives have a complex history that cannot be fully explored in this limited space; however, in the following paragraphs, I will briefly sketch the two processes which have contributed significantly to the contemporary politics of language normalization: the *Alfabeto Popular para la escritura del Zapoteco del Istmo* (La Sociedad Pro-Planeación del Istmo 1956) (Popular Alphabet for the writing of IZ, hereafter refered to as the Popular Alphabet) created through a writer-led initiative (section 4.1), and the INALI-led initiative to "enrich" this norm (section 4.2). While I organize this discussion around linguistic forms and the chronological development of orthography norms, I seek to highlight the roles of members of the speech community in the negotiation of these forms, as well as the idealized speech community which the norms interpellate in the present and future.

4.1 The Popular Alphabet

Diidxazá writers have been actively publishing since at least 1935, when a group of students from Juchitán began producing a pro-Zapotec newsletter (*Neza*, 'Path' in IZ) in Mexico City. Albeit published largely in Spanish,

Neza included some IZ poetry and strongly pro-IZ rhetoric, characterized as "*ferviente nacionalismo étnico de los intelectuales zapotecos*" ("fervent ethnic nationalism of the Zapotec intelectuals") (Miano Borruso 2002, 108). Orthographic planning and language documentation were topics of interest for the writers and readers of *Neza*, as discussed by Pérez Báez et al. (2015), who pinpoint this era as the time when IZ orthography began to consolidate through the work of *Neza* and the closely affiliated *Academia de la Lengua Zapoteca*,[6] which was founded in the same year. Velma Pickett, an American linguist and member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) who began documenting IZ in Juchitán in 1943, recounts that when she arrived in the Isthmus there were multiple writers each using their own orthographic system, in most cases closely related to Spanish orthographic norms which they had been exposed to in formal schooling. When she presented her intention to use <k> to uniformly represent /k/ to the school superintendent, he responded that "*no era aceptable por la 'k' es un símbolo extranjero*" ("[it] was not acceptable because the 'k' is a foreign symbol") (Pickett 1993, 28). Although as a trained linguist she initially attempted to use one phonetically transparent symbol per phoneme, the reactions of readers eventually convinced her to maintain some of the non-transparent Spanish representations. Informed by the preferences of Spanish-literate speakers of IZ, Pickett and her SIL colleagues developed an orthography which they began using to document the language and produce biblical translations.

As writers continued to publish using a variety of orthographic systems, in 1956 a Zapotec writer, Máximo Valdivieso, convoked a group of IZ writers living in Mexico City to a round table to discuss the possibility of a unified orthography, additionally inviting members of the SIL and Morris Swadesh, an American-trained linguist with extensive experience researching and teaching in Mexico (Pickett 1993). This round table considered a variety of proposals and, through a process of voting, produced the Popular Alphabet in order to facilitate the work of IZ writers and publishers (*La Sociedad Pro-Planeación del Istmo* 1956). A significant feature of the Popular Alphabet is its adherence to the orthographic norms of Spanish. The alphabet converges with Spanish and the practices of existing writers at the expense of the transparent (one symbol-one phoneme) norms proposed by linguists; for instance, through the alternating use of <c> and <qu> for the phoneme /k/ and the alternating use of <g> and <gu> for the phoneme /g/, as conditioned by the subsequent vowel.[7] The use of the acute accent to mark word stress was also adopted from Spanish (problematically so, considering the phonological properties of IZ, as discussed by Pérez Báez (2015) and Pérez Báez *et al.* (2015) and developed further below).

The round table adopted transparent representation of the four consonants and ten vowels within the IZ phonemic inventory that are not present in Spanish. The vowel inventory of IZ consists of two different vowel phonations or realizations with transparent graphemic representation ("*cortada*", a vowel followed by a glottal stop, represented with an apostrophe

following the vowel, e.g., <a'>, and "*quebrada*", a rearticulated or laryngealized vowel, represented by a double vowel, e.g., <aa>) as well as the "*sencilla*" or unobstructed modal vowels which are pronounced and represented like the Spanish vowels, e.g., <a>. These three possible realizations of five different vowels constitute the complete 15-vowel inventory of IZ. The representation of consonants was also negotiated; the round table rejected several aspects of the orthography in use by SIL at the time, adopting <dx> /dʒ/, <x> /ʒ/, <xh> /ʃ/, and <z> /z/ as the graphemes for the four IZ consonants that are not in the Spanish phonemic inventory.[8] Pickett (1993) notes that the choice to use <x> for the voiced fricative /ʒ/ contrasts with its use as an unvoiced fricative in Nahuatl, the most widely spoken and written Indigenous language of Mexico from which many contemporary place names derive. However, because of the IZ place name *Xadani* (*Santa María Xadani*, a town in the Isthmus, literally "Saint Mary beneath the hill"), which used the <x> to represent the voiced fricative phoneme, this was considered appropriate for the Isthmus Zapotec region in particular (*ibid*, 29). The Popular Alphabet was thus heavily influenced by the literacy norms that were familiar and preferable to residents of the Isthmus, including Spanish orthography and stress marking, and regional points of reference.

A guide for using the Popular Alphabet was published following the conclusion of the round table in 1956 and has been archived and made available by SIL (*La Sociedad Pro-Planeación del Istmo* 1956) and more recently reprinted and distributed by the INALI. In this guide, the authors note that the Popular Alphabet will not mark the lexical tones that exist in IZ (discussed further in the following section), because marking tone is not necessary for IZ speakers who know instinctively which tones are present in which words. However, the potential need to mark tone for people attempting to learn the language is mentioned, and the authors suggest that "*artificios apropriados según el caso*" ("artifices/devices suitable for the case/context") (*ibid*, 8–9) should be used, such as indicating tone in parentheses after a word, or using marks above or after vowels to indicate their tone in order to assist in language learning or documentation. The authors of the Popular Alphabet thus did consider a possible audience of Diidxazá learners, although the principle users that they envisioned were people fully competent in oral use of Diidxazá and in written use of Spanish.

The Popular Alphabet norm has never been widely taught nor policed in the Isthmus; however, most writers and those who use IZ in signage or for other official purposes, including education, are aware of it. Zapotec linguist and writer Víctor Cata notes that many young people began to learn the Popular Alphabet through the publications produced by the *Lidxi Guendabiaani* or *Casa de la Cultura* (Cultural Centre) of Juchitán in the decades following its founding in 1972, because Zapotec scholar Víctor de la Cruz, who served as its director and editor of publications, required the use of the Popular Alphabet (Cata, Interview 141121). A guide to writing IZ which included lexical tones was produced by Juchitán-born musician

Eustaquio Jiménez Girón in 1979 (Jiménez Girón 1979); however, it did not become as publicly known as the Popular Alphabet. Additional writing systems have been developed and used by linguists in documentation projects; however, as linguists working in the Isthmus have generally not aimed to extend or impose these systems in popular use, they remain restricted to research contexts.

Many residents of the Isthmus are aware that the Popular Alphabet norm exists, although the majority have not been formally instructed in it. Diidxazá writing in social media and other public domains frequently does not conform to the Popular Alphabet at the phonemic level, although corrections and questions among writers in both online and classroom contexts testify to the desire of at least some people to write "well" or "correctly" (e.g., Interviews 131114 E-1, 140515 UH-2).

The Popular Alphabet standardization efforts have impacted language use in education in that most teachers are aware that a norm exists. Some make efforts to learn and use it, while others express feelings of insecurity in relation to their inability to use it. Many of the teachers in bilingual schools who I interviewed mentioned their lack of comfort with the Popular Alphabet and the goal to acquire more familiarity with it, although this goal must be pursued through the motivation of individual directors and teams and/or in their own time, as it was not part of their pedagogical training (Interviews 140114 E-3, 140128 E-2, 140917 E-10). A variety of community-based literacy workshops aimed at disseminating the Popular Alphabet have occurred throughout the Isthmus in recent decades, however participation is far from widespread. One bilingual teacher who was attending a two-week IZ literacy workshop explained to me that she was attending for the second time, because the first training she had attended the previous year was not sufficient for her to master the system, especially the vowels (Field notes 130423). Therefore, despite the nominal inclusion of IZ within bilingual schools, formal education has not been a domain in which increased standardization has been promoted beyond the initiatives of a few motivated teachers.

4.2   *An Enriched Norm*

The status of Indigenous languages in Mexico has shifted at the national level to provide official recognition (through a 1992 constitutional amendment recognizing Indigenous people as the foundation of the "pluricultural" nation of Mexico) and rights (through the 2003 Law on the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples), as well as Mexico's ratification of international documents such as Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. As in other parts of Latin America, however, the celebration of multiculturalism in political rhetoric has not translated into substantial improvements in material conditions for Indigenous communities in many cases (Hale 2005; Stavenhagen

2015). In the case of the Law on the Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples, one concrete outcome was the establishment of the INALI in 2005, a fairly high-profile organization which has been engaging in research, classifying, materials development, translation, and standardization efforts among a variety of Indigenous Mexican languages. Linguists and representatives from the INALI have been meeting with Isthmus Zapotec speakers (among other communities) over several years to further develop the orthographic norm. The changes that are planned are explicitly considered to be "enrichments" of the Popular Alphabet, rather than a new norm or alphabet. The enriched norm will be published and distributed in book format by the INALI, as has occurred for several other Indigenous languages, giving it greater official status and national visibility than the Popular Alphabet has held up until now (Field notes 130904, 140905).

The central concern of two INALI meetings which I observed in 2013 and 2014, as well as an additional workshop facilitated by a linguist working on a dictionary of IZ, Gabriela Pérez Báez, was developing norms for the representation of lexical (semantically contrastive) tone in IZ orthography. Aside from the phonemes mentioned above, additional features of Diidxazá which are not in Spanish include three lexical tones (low, high, and ascending) and a regular stress pattern on the first syllable of roots. Tone and stress interact with the three vowel types in phonotactic ways which are often difficult for speakers (and especially learners) to perceive. For instance, glottalized (*cortada*) vowels may be mistakenly interpreted as bearing a high or rising tone, or vice versa. As a result, writers using the Popular Alphabet have used the acute accent to mark not only stress, but also tone and vowel phonation, without distinguishing among them (Pérez Báez 2015). During the normalization workshops in 2013 and 2014, the facilitators discussed the benefits of representing lexical tone in order to capture all of the semantically significant information in the language (Field notes 130816, 130905, 140905) and to provide accurate documentation of phonological detail in case "in 100 years there are no speakers . . ." (Field notes 130813).

An additional area of discussion in workshops was the representation of phonotactic changes in vowel realization. In compound words, the rearticulated (*quebrada*) vowels are produced with less laryngealization and typically sound like modal (*sencilla)* vowels, leading to concerns over whether to represent the vowel that is in root words, or the vowel that is actually produced in compound words. This concern is visible in the different ways of writing the word <Diidxazá> itself, where the most widespread practice is to maintain the *quebrada* vowel of the root word <diidxa> ("*palabra"*, "word", "language") in the compound with <za> (usually translated as "*nube*", "cloud"; the compound <Diidxazá> is often glossed as "language of the clouds"). Noting that the first vowel becomes *sencilla* in the compound form, others have proposed writing <didxazá>, exhibiting greater convergence with the phonological realization than with the lexical root.

While this later decision was officially adopted at one time by the committee collaborating with INALI, it has never come to be a common practice, and this remains a topic of concern (for detailed discussion of challenges in the use of the Popular Alphabet, see Pérez Báez et al. 2015).

The recent INALI workshops are designed to be democratic and to arrive at decisions through the participation of local stakeholders in consultation with linguists (Field notes 130904), much as the 1956 round table involved IZ writers and intellectuals and non-IZ linguists in a process of voting. The INALI workshops that I observed used formal lectures (in Spanish), handouts, discussions, and problem-set exercises in order to lay out the phonology of IZ and the role of tone in particular. Participants included current and retired teachers, as well as some writers, with representatives from different dialect regions within the Isthmus. Through these strategic invitations, the workshop organizers hoped to produce results that would be used in education contexts, as well as across different dialects. Although the initiative to create written norms has not emerged from within education contexts, educators and potential learners are positioned as important actors in current standardization politics as linguists actively seek their participation and approval of the norm that will ultimately be endorsed by the INALI.

4.3   *Imagined Future Diidxazá Writers*

Comparing the linguistic features of the Popular Alphabet with the "enrichments" proposed in workshops, it appears that the current movement orients away from Spanish literacy norms and towards greater inclusion of IZ-specific features (tone, stress patterns). The enriched norm imagines a future IZ writer and reader with biliterate abilities that include metalinguistic awareness of the phonological system of Diidxazá as independent from that of Spanish. This contrasts with the Popular Alphabet that omits several phonological features of the language as discussed above and is framed largely within the Spanish literacy practices that residents of the Isthmus have acquired in school. Both norms ultimately converge with Spanish in important ways, but the proposed enrichments are oriented towards greater autonomy, as shown in Table 9.1 below.

The imagined future IZ writer will need to understand the phonology of their language (including tone, and potentially stress and phonotactics) in greater detail than nearly all current members of the speech community do in order to fully participate in normalized writing practices. They are envisioned as developing IZ literacy in addition to Spanish literacy and having that literacy officially recognized, in contrast to the current situation of unofficial and Spanish-leaning writing practices.

While the previous unofficial endorsement of the Popular Alphabet among writers, educators, and cultural elites has provided a considerable amount of respect and permanence for this orthography in the Isthmus, it still has a lower status than that enjoyed by the norms of national standard languages.

Table 9.1 IZ orthographic convergence/divergence with Spanish

	Convergent factors	*Divergent/autonomous factors*
Popular Alphabet	Uses Spanish graphemes wherever possible to represent IZ phonemes (including <g>/<gu>/<gü> alternation; <c>/<qu> alternation)	Introduces four graphemes for IZ consonants that are not found in Spanish (<x>, <xh>, <dx>, <z>) and conventions for vowels that are not found in Spanish (e.g., <a'>, <aa>)
	Uses Spanish stress marking (acute accent)	
	Does not mark tone	
	Word spelling is static	
		Unofficial endorsement
Enriched norm	Continues use of Spanish graphemes (including <g>/<gu>/<gü> alternation; <c>/qu> alternation)	Continues use of four graphemes (<x>, <xh>, <dx>, <z>) and conventions for vowels that are not found in Spanish (e.g., <a'>, <aa>)
		Proposes consistent use of diacritics to mark lexical tones
		Does not mark stress
		Word spelling changes to reflect phonotactic processes in compound words
	Official endorsement	

Orthography promotion by a nationally recognized body (INALI) parallels the power structures of language planning that are associated with nationally recognized, European languages such as Spanish, and contrasts with the previous standardization initiatives. The presence of an official entity which oversees Indigenous languages in Mexico has changed the political dynamics within which standards are negotiated. These new possibilities of official recognition may contribute to how the core and boundaries of the IZ speech community are defined in the future.

5.   Competing Claims of Longevity and Urgency

Speech community norms, or the idealization of certain behaviors and/or certain people, are in constant flux in social life. Standardization politics help to slow down and shed light on these processes, however. In this section, I examine how linguists, educators and learners participating in standardization politics voice priorities orienting towards the long-term well-being of the speech community, as well as towards immediate, pressing needs. The ideal of a more autonomous linguistic norm is viewed as a positive

development and path towards greater status for IZ use and users, while at the same time, some note the potential to exacerbate existing inequalities in education and society.

The discourses of linguists contain urgency in relation to the increasing use of Spanish in IZ communities and the decreasing number of children who are speaking IZ. The possibility of a future with "no speakers" was invoked several times during normalization workshops and also arises in conversations and interviews about the social status of IZ (e.g., Field notes 130813, Interview 141015 J-2). Documenting and categorizing unique language features (such as tone) is the core of the response of linguists to language shift or endangerment (Dobrin, Austin, and Nathan2009; Hale et al. 1992; Moore, Pietikainen, and Blommaert 2010), and thus, it is not surprising that a norm with greater linguistic detail is considered an immediate need. Longevity for the IZ speech community is envisioned through detailed documentation and the production of a norm which will be accessible to non-speakers as well as to speakers in the future. A recent guide to IZ orthography by linguist Gabriela Pérez Báez expresses this position, stating that

> La representación del tono es muy importante para aquellas personas que no hablan el zapoteco del Istmo y buscan aprenderlo, puesto que su representación ortográfica les permitiría pronunciar cada palabra con la precisión necesaria para comunicarse adecuadamente.

> The representation of tone is very important for those people who do not speak Isthmus Zapotec and want to learn it, given that its orthographic representation would permit them to pronounce each word with the precision necessary to communicate appropriately.
>
> (Pérez Báez 2015, 27)

The writing system would then support learners who do not acquire communication capacity through oral input, as previous generations of learners have.

While Pérez Báez and other linguists promote the use of an enriched writing norm, they do not impose it and continue to attend to the preferences and practices of members of the speech community. For example, in her free guide intended for a general IZ-speaking or learning public, Pérez Báez follows the Popular Alphabet and does not mark tone; rather, she provides non-technical explanations of IZ phonology and argues that marking tone in the future would be beneficial to learners as well as to language documentation goals. As a linguist, she views the enrichment of the alphabet as a necessary and urgent response to the decline of language use, although in the creation of materials for public use, she continues to respect the preference for the Popular Alphabet.

Educators in the Isthmus have different immediate priorities and concerns about the long-term trajectory of the IZ speech community. Among the participants in the standardization workshops, some agreed that it could be

useful to mark tone but were not eager to choose a system of diacritics, while other participants said nothing, and one confided to me later that he found the alphabet to be completely functional as it is and was entirely opposed to any tone marking (Field notes 130816, 130905). A common point of argument among those opposed to marking tone is that it is unnecessary because speakers intrinsically know the tonal patterns and can interpret any semantic difference through context. This argument was put forward in the 1956 Popular Alphabet guide and remains common in conversation today.

In follow-up interviews with several participants, concern over the risk of creating an overly complex norm which might alienate possible learners was common. Many teachers expressed the view that additional markings or rules would be "too much to learn" for students who already have limited IZ competencies (Interviews 140925 E-11, 140512 X-2, 140128 E-2). One retired teacher discussed the importance of a simple orthography, saying:

> Que sea aceptable. Que no sea tan engorroso. Si no se va a espantar la gente: '¿para qué aprendo zapoteco? ¡Es complicado! Si con el español me peleo a cada rato'.

> It should be acceptable. It should not be so bothersome. If not, it will scare people: 'Why should I learn Zapotec? It's complicated! As it is I'm struggling with Spanish time and again'.
>
> (Interview 140430 J-1)

I expressed my sympathy with this position, but brought up the unique features of IZ that linguistic perspectives try to capture, to which he responded:

> Quizá podríamos entonces crear una escritura de una élite y una escritura para el común. Para uso común. Pero pedagógicamente, didácticamente, no es tan aceptable. Yo coincido más con usted en la idea de que tengamos que hacerlo más sencillo . . . menos complicado. Para que así todos aprendan a escribirlo.

> We could create a way of writing for an elite and a way of writing for the common [people]. But pedagogically, didactically, it's not very acceptable. I agree with you that we have to make it easier . . . less complicated. So that everyone learns to write it.
>
> (Interview 140430 J-1)

Many current teachers expressed similar worries about scaring learners with a difficult norm. The risk of alienating potential users through standardization processes is common in minortized language contexts, as discussed in many of the contributions to this volume, and these teachers want to avoid this risk of exacerbating existing exclusion and social hierarchies.

The teachers who view an enriched norm as a potential problem orient towards other urgent priorities for their students and themselves,

including students' difficulties with Spanish reading comprehension (e.g., Interview 140318 E-5), socioeconomic instability of students' families (e.g., Interview 140513 E-8), and the instability of the education system which teachers must navigate (e.g., Interview 140313 E-7). Long-term benefit to the IZ speech community will require addressing these issues. The establishment of a new, elite writing norm without sufficient support for teachers and students to become competent users of the norm could pose problems in this context, as these teachers point out. Rather than helping students to achieve success in education, literacy, and eventual employment (all of which are indisputably Spanish-dominated domains), they fear that recognition of a new IZ norm will become yet another curricular expectation that teachers do not have the training nor resources to implement, and which brands students as "failures" when they inevitably do not master it.

What makes a norm simpler or harder to learn varies based on the communicative repertoire of the individual, as well as structural issues of access and resources. In other words, a writing norm which includes tone marking is not inherently harder to learn, but rather, it becomes more difficult in a context where there are not sufficient educational resources and expertise available to disseminate it. As mentioned above, IZ speakers note that the lack of tone marking does not cause confusion or ambiguity for them, because they are able to differentiate word meanings by context and know where to place stress and tone. Some young adult learners, however, note that they would benefit from greater phonological transparency in the language (Interviews 131107 LV-2, 140515 UH-2). One young adult, who speaks Diidxazá but expresses insecurity over her pronunciation, responded to a question about whether more symbols for marking tone would seem difficult to her saying:

> Pues no tanto, pero yo creo si uno se pone a aprenderlo así pues ya no es complicado, pero yo creo para mí sería más fácil aprender a leerlo así.

> Well not really, but I believe if one starts to learn it like that well then it isn't complicated, but I believe for me it would be easier to read it like that.
> (Interview 131107 LV-2)

The inability to use the "right" tone is a source of common insecurity among younger speakers (e.g., Interview 131113 LV-3, Field notes 150523), none of whom have metalinguistic awareness of what they are doing "wrong" when they fail to produce the tonal patterns that mature speakers expect to hear. While these young adults are not "new" speakers of Diidxazá, as younger generation speakers who are more comfortable using Spanish, they experience some of the conflicts around authenticity and authority that have been discussed in relation to learners of European minority languages (see Urla *et al.*, this volume). The perspectives of these young adults imply that an orthographic system which includes tone is not considered too much

or unnecessary by all education stakeholders; however, the issues of lack of access and lack of opportunities to learn such a system remain pressing. While some young learners might benefit from a more detailed written norm, those who do not have access to learn it may find themselves further criticized for not producing the same pronunciation as older speakers and ultimately placed outside the boundaries of the future speech community as it continues to be defined.

6. Discussion

While observing IZ education settings across the Isthmus, such as the IZ literacy workshops taught by writers Natalia Toledo and Víctor Cata, I met many teachers, parents, and young adults who were choosing to attend in order to increase their ability in IZ writing and/or speaking. Some mentioned that they subsequently try practicing writing on social media with family members who have emigrated, in their personal creative writing, or in the case of teachers, with their students in school. These actions may be brief and largely undocumented, yet they contribute to the language politics of the Diidxazá speech community in ways which are increasing visibility and status for Diidxazá writing both within and beyond the Isthmus. Residents of the Isthmus are increasingly aware of the new spaces of opportunity for Indigenous speech communities in the Mexican political climate and the value that IZ literacy could have for them and their children if this climate continues. Their actions, as well as the ambitions of social actors participating in standardization and literacy initiatives, offer a glimpse of the possibility of a Diidxazá-literate speech community, one where Diidxazá writing is developed and refined with a status equal to that of Spanish and a new generation of learners becomes biliterate in Diidxazá and Spanish.

Participants in literacy workshops and education initiatives are by no means the majority, however. Many teachers noted that language variation, youth's changing language repertoires, and socioeconomic inequalities make it difficult for most people to learn and use an IZ writing standard, whether the Popular Alphabet or an enriched norm. Acquiring Spanish literacy is viewed as a pressing priority that not all students achieve, and takes precedent over the time that would need to be spent to learn the consonants, vowels, and tones that are unique to IZ. The imagined future of Diidxazá-Spanish biliteracy put forward by language advocates is in line with a positive shift towards self-determination and pluralism in a national context that now recognizes Indigenous languages as national languages alongside Spanish, but unfortunately, it remains starkly separate from some of the goals and concerns which are urgent for many education actors.

Written use of Diidxazá—and minority languages in general—provides opportunities for empowerment of the speech community within an environment which values standard, written languages (Maldonado Alvarado 2002). However, language norms can potentially create "literacy

inequalities" (Street 2011), in particular when some people lack access to the powerful code (Janks 2000). Avoiding the creation of new inequalities is an important priority for some education actors, leading them to reject a more autonomous norm regardless of the biliteracy ideals that it may embody. Although an enriched norm may promise increased recognition and autonomy, it also threatens to bring Diidxazá further into the homogenizing modernist regime of standardization discussed by Gal (2006; this volume), where linguistic authority is removed from the speech community in favor of a fixed norm. A standardized minority language in a region where schools lack sufficient and appropriate learning materials and students' schooling is frequently interrupted by political upheaval may become a new unmet expectation rather than the channel for achievement that it is intended to be. If an inaccessible standard becomes a defining feature of the core of speech community membership in the eyes of authorities such as the INALI, this risks creating new divisions which would place a large number of the people who currently use IZ in their multilingual repertoires outside of the boundaries of the Diidxazá community.

Considering that the Popular Alphabet norm has not been made accessible to many residents of the Isthmus in past decades, the skepticism that educators express about the lack of accessibility of new norms seems well-founded. At the same time, the presence of the Popular Alphabet, along with Diidxazá poetry, literature, music and art, is often mentioned as a source of pride, even among those who have not mastered its use. This positive valuation of standardized IZ indicates that the presence of a standard does produce positive prestige, even when it is not made universally accessible. Participatory initiatives such as Pérez Báez's (2015) free orthographic guide and Toledo and Cata's literacy workshops may help to address multiple priorities, including raising the status of Diidxazá and Diidxazá speakers *and* normalizing a transparent representational system that conserves unique features of the language. More educational spaces of this nature could help to make an enriched or elite IZ norm, and the social status that it carries with it, more commonly available.

It is likely that multiple priorities will remain entangled in standardization efforts, as linguistic science aims to conserve in the face of language shift, while educators seek change in the face of the social inequalities that they experience in their community. The possibility of a future where Diidxazá users are biliterate and socially valued in local, national, and international spheres is one which all stakeholders would readily pursue; however, there is less agreement on the way to turn this social imaginary into a reality. The linguists and educators participating in ongoing normalization efforts have increasingly prioritized accessibility in recent meetings, proposing that the enriched norm will use tone marking only in specific cases of ambiguity. Whether ongoing standardization efforts are successful in strengthening the status of Diidxazá language and producing a future biliterate speech community will ultimately be negotiated by multiple social actors. If the long

and rich history of past IZ writing is any indication, the future is likely to hold many interesting developments.

Notes

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2. Within the speech community the language is called Zapoteco del Istmo, Zapoteco, or the auto-denomination Diidxazá. In this chapter, I continue this practice and use the auto-denomination interchangeably with the term Isthmus Zapotec.
3. Field notes and interviews are identified by date (YYMMDD), and in the case of interviews, by an anonymous code.
4. Currently, the Isthmus variety of Zapotec is one of about 62 recognized varieties of the Zapotec branch of the Oto-manguean language family, with an estimated 80,000–100,000 speakers (INALI 2008; Pérez Báez 2011).
5. Although there appears to be a growing interest among learners, this movement is not yet established enough to have generated the dynamics evident in the production of "new speakers" of European minority languages (see O'Rourke; Urla *et al.*, this volume).
6. Zapotec Language Academy (a group which no longer exists under this name).
7. For example, in the Popular Alphabet, <caadxi> (a little) and <qué> (negation particle) both begin with the phoneme /k/, but the representation varies in relation to the subsequent vowel, as in Spanish. Similarly, words containing the phoneme /g/ are spelled with either <gu> or <g>, as in <guitu> (squash) and <gaande> (twenty), as conditioned by the subsequent vowel.
8. The SIL orthography, as recounted by Pickett (1993), had used <dch> /dʒ/, <zh> /ʒ/, and <sh> /ʃ/ prior to the round table meetings.

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10 Orthography, Standardization, and Register

The Case of Manding

Coleman Donaldson

1. Introduction

Since at least the rise of nineteenth-century European nationalism, Westerners have in large part judged languages by whether they are written and standardized (Anderson 2006; Bauman and Briggs 2000; Blommaert 2006; Flores 2014). As the colonial era came to an end across much of the world in the 1960s, this tendency intermingled with the rising interest in development: what would be the place of the long minoritized indigenous languages of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the educational and political projects of postcolonial states? In Africa in particular, this led to a flourishing of orthographies for a large number of languages which had previously been excluded from domains of government and schooling. The initiatives of the post-independence period, however, did not lead to one single orthography, script or standard for many of these languages. This chapter examines one such case, the West African trade language of Manding, which is written in at least three distinct scripts today: Arabic, N'ko (ߒߞߏ) and Latin. Emerging respectively from before, during and after colonial rule, these three writing systems are variably embraced and wielded by distinct West African actors today.

Which of these scripts provides the best system for peoples' needs in classrooms, at home or on their mobile devices? A typical linguistic approach views orthography development as an objective scientific endeavor involving the adoption of graphic principals for mapping the phonemic system of a language. Other approaches focus on efficiency or usability as judged by speakers' ability to quickly and accurately read text. While these questions of linguistic fidelity and usability are worthwhile, my own research in Manding-language literacy and education suggests that too narrow a focus on these elements obscures the ways in which social actors' choices of script, orthography or spelling can align with competing sociopolitical projects.

To reason about both Manding and other minoritized languages, in this chapter I develop a framework for taking into account not only the technical side of orthography but also its language ideological component as manifest

in the practices and commentaries of individuals. Drawing on historical and ethnographic data collected since 2011, viewed through a lens built from the perspectives of linguistic anthropology and New Literacy Studies, I focus on the competing post-independence initiatives behind N'ko-, Arabic- and Latin-based Manding orthographies. Following discussion of the context, methodology, and conceptual framing of this chapter (section 2), I investigate choices of script and spelling to demonstrate how the graphic side of orthographic standards are debated and established in everyday practice by social actors (section 3). Next, I explore orthography's connection to speech by looking at the historical development and social actors involved in N'ko and Latin-based orthographies (section 4). Analyzing these competing initiatives, I demonstrate how the success of orthographic development and standardization efforts often—independent from questions of linguistic accuracy—hinges on cultivating locally salient models of usage amongst speakers and writers (section 5).

2. Background and Conceptual Framework

From a linguistic perspective, Manding[1] is a language and dialect continuum stretching across West Africa from Senegal to Burkina Faso, spoken by upwards of 30 million people (see Figure 10.1) (Vydrine 1995). Manding varieties that are frequently treated as languages (i.e., Maninka in Guinea, Bamanan in Mali and Jula in Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso) are widely used in their respective zones as trade languages between different peoples and language groups (Dalby 1971; Mansour 1993) (see Figure 10.2).While linguists clearly acknowledge their connectedness and overlap (Creissels 2009; Dumestre 2003), national language policies and linguistic work typically treat them largely as distinct though related varieties or even languages (Calvet 1987).

From a political perspective, the varieties that make up Manding can be considered minoritized despite the language and dialect continuum's reach as a major African lingua franca. The marginalization of African languages in favor of French was part of the French colonial drive for domination under the banner of a civilizing mission (Conklin 1997; Lehmil 2007). While they are widely spoken and are often recognized as so-called "national languages" (UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Africa 1985) in the postcolonial era, speakers of Manding varieties, like almost all African languages, remain marginalized in that access to civil-service, secondary education and general social mobility requires knowledge of French (or English or Portuguese as appropriate).

This dynamic has not escaped the attention of local actors, where a formidable social movement based around vernacular literacy promotion in the N'ko script has flourished (Amselle 2001; Hellweg 2013; Oyler 1995; Vydrin 2011; Vydrine 2001b; Wyrod 2003). Invented in 1949 by the Guinean "peasant intellectual" (Feierman 1990) Sùlemáana Kántɛ,[2] N'ko
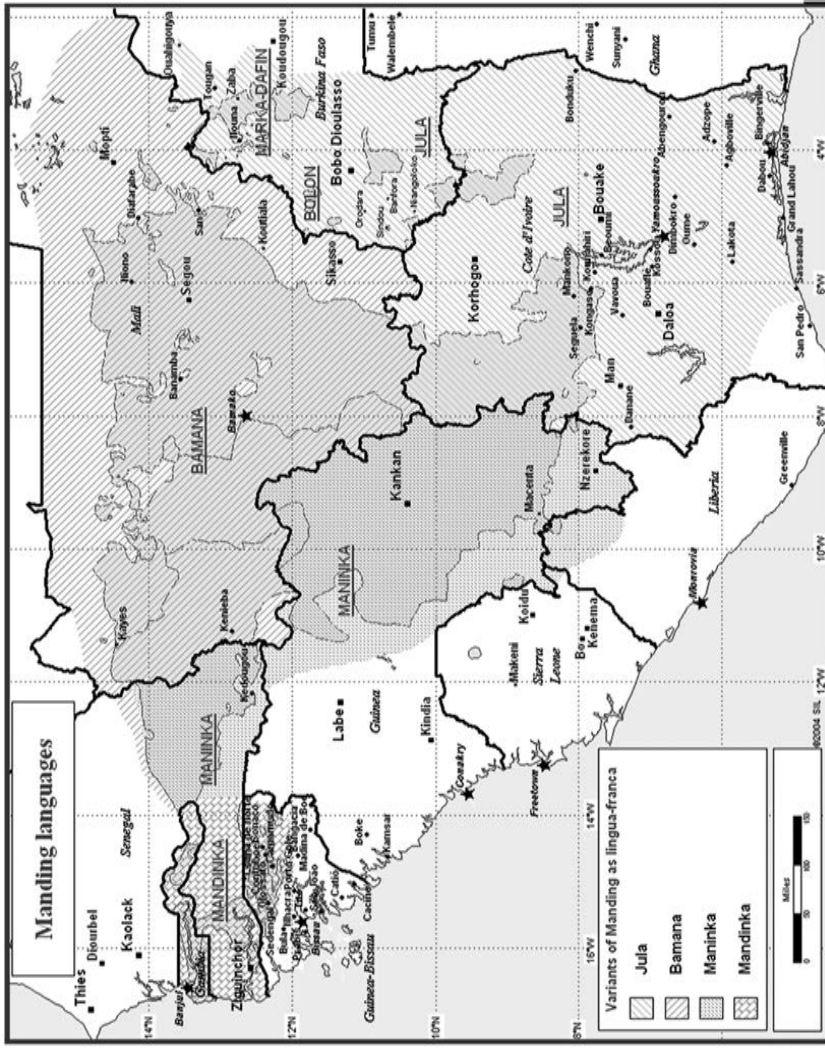
Figure 10.1 Manding languages: variants of Manding as lingua-franca
Used by permission, © SIL (Vydrin, Bergman, and Benjamin 2001). Permission required for further distribution.

Local Name	Etymology	French Name	English Name	Alternative Spellings
màndinkakán	"Language of the people of Manden"	*mandingue, malinké*	Mandinka, Mandingo	
màninkakán	"Language of the people of Manden"	*malinké*	Maninka	
bàmanankán	"Language of those that refuse (Islam)"	*bambara*	Bamanan	Bamana
jùlakán	"Trader's language"	*dioula*	Jula	Dyula, Diula, Dyoula

Figure 10.2 Major Manding varieties

is a non-Latin, non-Arabic-based writing system for Manding. Despite his lack of formal training, Kantè's alphabet is a perfect phonological analysis of his native Manding variety and remarkably includes a set of diacritics for marking contrastive length, nasalization and tone (Vydrine 2001b, 128–129). Critically, Kantè also used his unique script to write over 100 books on a vast range of topics spanning across linguistics, history, traditional medicine and Islam (including a translation of the Quran), which continue to be typeset and sold alongside the works of current N'ko intellectuals today.

Manding-language texts, however, are produced in at least two other writing systems. Many Manding speakers spontaneously use adapted forms of the Arabic script for short jottings in a practice known as *Ajami*, stemming from the centuries old Quranic schooling tradition (I. Diallo 2012; Mumin 2014). The Latin script, originally applied to Manding varieties by colonial agents and missionaries (Van den Avenne 2015), has informed a range of disparate orthographies in postcolonial efforts to promote adult literacy and bilingual/mother-tongue education (Calvet 1987; Skattum 2000; Trefault 1999; Yerende 2005).

In the sections that follow, I explore the interplay among these social actors and their orthographic choices based on linguistic anthropological research conducted with and amongst N'ko students and teachers between 2012 and 2016, as well as archival and library-based research focused on Manding linguistics, education and language policy.[3] My data were collected through the ethnographic tools of participant observation, recorded and unrecorded informal interviews and artifact collection (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). A critical source of so-called artifacts are the writings (linguistic and otherwise) of Sulemaana Kantè (2003; 2004; 2007; 2008a; 2008b; 2009) and other N'ko intellectuals whose books circulate today.

2.1   Orthography as Practice

The written word is often regarded as having unique properties allowing for spiritual, intellectual or cognitive benefits depending on the society. While not particularly Western,[4] this idea became strongly linked to Europeans' conceptualizations of their own superiority during the imperial and colonial periods (Mignolo 2003). In Sub-Saharan Africa, where the literate tradition was limited for indigenous languages and not widespread in the case of Arabic, this colonial ideology gave rise to a Western understanding of Africans being on the wrong side of humanity's great Oral-Literate divide (Goody 1968). On this view, lack of literacy was responsible for the continent's subordinate place in the world. In the aftermath of World War II, as the Cold War heated up and independence loomed for many African countries, literacy arose as a major social and political cause for both certain African intellectuals and international organizations such as UNESCO (Dorn and Ghodsee 2012). The seeming link between literacy and progress then is in part responsible for the marginalized position of even widespread postcolonial languages such as Manding which lacked an institutionalized written tradition.

The linguistic hierarchies and development agendas that the Oral-Literate divide has engendered are based on a view of literacy as "autonomous" (Street 1984)—it is an isolatable and singular skill-set that correlates with a range of desirable economic outcomes. The basic premise of this understanding, however, is now largely rejected by scholars of literacy thanks to the writings of those working under the banner of New Literacy Studies (Gee 1989; Gee 2008; Street 1984). In the foundational work of this school, Street (1984) opts to ethnographically probe the literate/illiterate distinction in Iran. Contrary to the premise undergirding the ideas of Goody (1968) as well as UNESCO's functional literacy programs, he finds that being literate often has little to do with one's ability to graphically decode symbols representing speech on a page. Indeed, by this measure, many of those deemed illiterate in the world are, in fact, literate. For Street, therefore, literacy must be approached ideologically and understood to manifest itself in various culturally embedded forms without any natural or inherent consequence for the brain, intellect or spirit.

There are important parallels between the autonomous approach to literacy and theorizations of orthography (Sebba 2011, 14). Frequently, laypeople and scholars alike assume that there is evolutionary progress in orthographies from pictographic to logographic, syllabic and finally alphabetic systems (Gelb 1963; Goody and Watt 1968). Alphabets are to be phonemic (Pike 1947); they are to assign one graphic character to each phoneme of a language, thereby offering supposed benefits in cognitive processing because of a closer matching to the proposed psychological reality of the phoneme (Sapir 1985; Sebba 2011, 17). Psycholinguists and

scholars of reading have dedicated years to studying this idea now known as the "Orthographic Depth Hypothesis", which posits that the closer (i.e., *shallower* [Klima 1972]) to phonemic representation an orthography is, the easier it is to read (Frost and Katz 1992).

While a large body of research has investigated this hypothesis (see Venezky 1977), firm conclusions have been hard to come by because different readers seem to benefit from different kinds of orthographies:

> Phonemic or 'shallow' orthographies may have advantages for learners at an early stage, but they may also have disadvantages, as morphological changes required by the grammar may result in a lack of a 'fixed word-images' which help the full-fledged reader.
>
> (Sebba 2011, 23)

As such, Sebba finds that "the structuralist insistence on 'perfect' phonemic orthographies was at best unnecessary, at worst bad science in its claim to deliver 'learnability'" (22). This conclusion is echoed in Bird's (1999a; 1999b) research on tone and orthography in Cameroon, which uncovers that orthographies with different depths afford distinct advantages in different kinds of sentences.

These findings harken back to the framing of literacy as practice because it suggests that, ideally, developing an orthography must take into account for whom and for what literacy practices it will be used. Deciding upon an orthography's so-called learnability for a particular user however is not just about accurately gauging their reading level; it is also about what an orthography represents culturally to people (Bird 2001). In short, the question of determining a correct orthography cannot simply be reduced to a linguist's or a technician's task, but hinges on social actors and practices, as emphasized throughout this volume. My goal in this chapter therefore is to provide some ways of approaching the case of Manding orthography as a social practice.

3. Orthography as Writing: Normative vs. Normalized

To begin to analyze how individuals use and evaluate Manding orthography, it is helpful to refine our analytic vocabulary for understanding and evaluating different systems. Scholars of writing have given us a robust set of ways of classifying different kinds of *writing systems* or *scripts* (Latin, Arabic, Cyrillic, Chinese etc.) based on the linguistic level that they tend to represent (Rogers 2005). An *alphabet*, for instance, refers to a writing system that in general tends towards the graphic representation of *phonemes*. Other scripts, such as the Chinese character system, however, may tend to focus on the level of words (a *logographic* system) or morphemes (a *morphographic* system). These qualities, of course, do not adhere in the scripts, but are based on convention. Any script in principal can be used phonemically, logographically etc., although certain ones lend themselves to one

system more readily than others. Regardless, while useful for description, such categorizations are of little use in evaluating an orthography's adoption or actual deployment in social practice. This requires an entirely different set of constructs.

We typically think of orthography as the so-called proper, correct or standard way of writing speech down. However, it is critical to see that an orthography or set of norms for writing can exist even without explicit rules. In other words, orthographies exist along "thresholds of normativity" (Agha 2007, 126). In the case of so-called "grassroots literacies" (Blommaert 2008), users typically do not respect a single system of conventions for penning language; they write in non-elite local languages using the resources at their disposal, often with little regard for adhering to one standard of writing. In the case of Manding Ajami, for instance, there are no official decrees or written documents for articulating a *normative model* for writing (see Donaldson 2013; Vydrin 1998; Vydrin 2014). Normative in this sense refers to a standard that is "linked to judgments of appropriateness, to values schemes of 'good' vs. 'bad' behavior, and so on" (Agha 2007, 125). Nonetheless, given that Ajami is frequently used in correspondence, there exists a *normalized model* or *de facto* standard that writers in general respect albeit with some variation.[5] All of this suggests that we need not conceive of orthography as exclusively the realm of top-down policy makers or institutions; users themselves can be understood as forging orthographies. Even when orthographies *are* standardized through normative models by linguists or policy makers, they have a social life of their own that can lead to revisions. Each and every time we write, whether we respect or flaunt an orthographic norm, we orient ourselves to a model for writing a language (in other words, an orthography) and provide a *reflexive* comment (Lucy 1993) or metacommentary (Rymes 2014) on it. These metacommentaries are visible in a variety of writing practices, including choice of script and graphemic conventions, as illustrated below.

3.1   Script

In the case of written Manding, the choice of script constitutes a metacommentary which is often transparently aligned with actors' sociopolitical stances. For instance, in June 2013, while in Bamako, I was invited to participate as part of one N'ko association's delegation to meet with members of the National Assembly's "Education and Culture Committee" (currently the *Commission de l'Education, de la Culture, des Nouvelles Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication*).While the country was still in the transition period following the botched coup of 2012 and French troops of Operation Serval had only just begun to withdraw, there was no halt to daily life and concerns for most—including deputies and N'ko activists. After our disconcertingly simple entrance into the parliament's grounds, our group of four men, two women and myself made its way to the room where we would be meeting.

Following greetings, and prior to sitting down for the official start of the meeting (the only time during which any of us would hear or speak French for the following two hours), a staffer asked for us to sign in for the purpose of record-keeping. Faced with a table laid out entirely in French, I reciprocated, writing out my name, affiliation and number in the alphabet that French and English share before passing the sheet on. It was only after the piece of paper made the rounds and my eyes strayed upon it again that I understood the choice I had been presented with; the leader of our delegation, Mamadi had written out his name and number in N'ko.

While this moment of banal government record-keeping did not lead to any major confrontation or debate, it is useful in how it highlights the most overt part of orthography's social life: script. In writing his name and number, Mamadi could arguably not even be accused of writing in an inappropriate language since in graphic form (e.g., <12> and <Mamadi> in Latin script), neither can be definitively attributed to a single grammatical code or language. Our only means of evaluating his writing therefore is at the level of script or orthography. Mamadi's *spelling*, or act of choosing the N'ko orthography over Latin or Arabic,[6] then transparently provides its own *metacommentary* (Rymes 2014) that is an implicit message valuing this orthography and distinct from the actual propositional content of any written words.

3.2   *Graphemic Conventions*

While this instance at the Malian parliament hinged on different scripts, it is important to see that these same issues also apply to the level of the graphic conventions that an orthography fixes within one script. For instance, even within Latin-based Manding systems, writers must regularly make socially marked and potentially political choices. While a Maninka-speaking Guinean may freely converse with a Bamanan-speaking Malian or a Jula-speaking Burkinabè, their three countries have distinct Latin-based orthographies for this language (Calvet 1987). In Mali alone, Bamanan speakers may opt to write their language in any number of ways: with post-1982 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) characters, with the pre-1982 Latin system, with French spelling conventions or with or without tonal diacritics (Balenghien 1987; Vydrin and Konta 2014). While the prescribed variants of Manding orthography circulate in official instances, they are largely absent in advertisements and informal usage by Malians. In these cases, orthography is indeed Latin-based but manifests itself in a variety of forms that can be placed on a continuum from more Linguistics-like, or normative, to more French-like, or normalized. The normalized or French-like end of the continuum is the *de facto* norm recognized by many speakers and writers of Manding, but not subject to authoritative judgements of correctness. Normative or Linguistics-like, on the other hand, refers to the institutionally prescribed forms, which, while not common in the writing of most Manding speakers, are understood as a baseline for judging correctness in certain

Figure 10.3 Thresholds of normativity in Latin-based Bamanan orthography

Figure 10.4 Orange's national languages billboard

contexts. This idea is illustrated with the word *yɔ́rɔ* 'place' as an example in Figure 10.3, with the continuum extending from French-influenced spelling through historical and current official orthographies, to the normative IPA model prescribed by linguists.

One thing that is striking in the range of Manding textual artifacts that I have encountered is how little one actually encounters any of the official orthographies in daily life besides some token government signs. On store signs, taxis, trucks and in Facebook and text messages, the overwhelming tendency is something between "French-like" and "Pre-1982". For instance, Orange, the dominant Telecommunications company in Mali, has partially integrated the country's "national languages" into its services and advertisements. In July 2016, while stuck in traffic in the chaotic shopping days leading up to Ramadan, I happened upon a huge billboard on top of one of Bamako's taller buildings. The advertisement is laid out in Figure 10.4 above. Below a simple text announcing their new automated voice menu system, "Kuma" ("talk" in Manding), which works in five of Mali's supposed national languages (French, Bamanan, Fulani, Songhay and Soninké), there was a small slogan written out in Bamanan:

(1) <Foyi té wari ko nienabo ka témé Orange Money kan> 'Nothing resolves the issue of money like Orange Money'

    Fóyi té wáriko ɲénabɔ kà tὲmε Orange Money kàn

    Nothing NEG money.affair resolve INF pass Orange Money on

This written form of Manding as seen in (1) clearly uses the Latin-script, but it is far from the official Malian government norm as well as the Linguistic norm. In short: it under-distinguishes phonemes, it variably marks graphemes; it doesn't respect word boundaries; it ignores both pre- and post-1982 graphemic conventions; and it omits tone entirely.

How does one account for this? One way of responding would be to chalk this up to an incomplete or ineffective adoption of the normative orthography via official education channels. While this certainly plays a part, there have been decades of major post-independence literacy and bilingual education programs in Manding-speaking Mali (Dumont 1973; Skattum 2000; Traoré 2009). As such, I argue that a more complete account must also focus on this orthographic usage as a social practice.

Just as the usage of N'ko orthography on a Latin-based French form outlined above was a transparent metacommentary in favor of N'ko script, one's *graphic conventions* can also be reflexive commentaries which index various stances. In a context where there is no shortage of people trained in official Bamanan orthography, the fact that the multinational telecommunications firm Orange fails to respect the official conventions is not simply a case of shoddy work; it is in fact *part* of the message. That is, choosing to not fully mark tone like linguists and choosing not to use IPA characters like government functionaries is itself a metacommentary. Orange, Malian T-shirt designers and other social actors are taking their standards from the *normalized* orthographies established by their clients and flaunting the normative standards at their disposal.

The two instances of orthographic behavior laid out above have important implications for our social practice understanding of orthography, demonstrating the crucial role of individuals over institutions in deciding orthography practice. The Manding case reveals that sufficient metacommentaries on a *normative* orthography through divergent usage (e.g., by Malian shop owners, Orange etc.) can lead to a shift or the emergence of a *normalized* or *de facto* model that circulates amongst users. It is institutions as individual creators of texts, and not as institutions per se, that establish orthographies. In this sense, an orthography is the accumulated sediment of actual instances of spelling a language. Such acts reflexively formulate a model of usage which may be understood socially as varying on a threshold between normative and normalized.

4.   Orthography as Speech: Transcription vs. Registers

So far, our analysis of orthography as a social practice has only touched upon the purely graphic aspects of written discourse. However, orthography is not just a set of conventions for using a script to write; more precisely, it is a set of conventions for using a script to write *an actual language*. As such, one's approach to language and languages is an important part of orthography development. To explore this point, it is useful to compare

and contrast the linguistic approaches undergirding the original formulations of the two dominant systems for writing Manding that arose following World War II and continue to compete today: State-sponsored Latin and Sulemaana Kantè's N'ko.

4.1 Latin-Based Transcription

The Latin-based orthography's application to Manding emerged in the nineteenth century at first in close connection with Christian missionaries and colonial agents, and later researchers within the rising fields of phonetics and linguistics (Pawliková-Vilhanová 2009; Tucker 1971). Founded in 1924, the International African Institute (IAI) stemmed directly from this close intertwining. Concerned with the "linguistic question" in light of increasingly dangerous contact between Western civilization and African minds (Smith 1934), the Institute's benevolent members sought to revise the disparate practices of the nineteenth century into a "practical orthography of African languages" based on scientific principles (IILAC 1930). Their efforts appear to have had little direct influence on scripting practices in French West Africa (Dalby 1978; Houis 1957; *Sɛbɛni Kalan Kitabu (Syllabaire Bambara)* 1936), but their alphabet reared its head in the region following independence through a series of conferences sponsored by UNESCO (Sow 1977; Sow and Abdulaziz 1993). The group's 1966 meeting in Bamako was particularly important as it brought together experts and government representatives of West African countries to determine and unify the alphabets of six major languages, including Manding (Dumont 1973; Sow 1977; UNESCO 1966).

While both Mali and Guinea participated in the Manding working group of Bamako in 1966, the materials subsequently developed by their governments were for particular varieties of Manding. The Malian and Guinean representatives in the Manding working group of 1966 each describe their countries' language policies in terms of *bambara* and *malinké* as opposed to Manding, despite each purporting to represent a common West African lingua franca (Sow 1977).[7] And yet, the Bamako 1966 conference focused not on Bamanan or Maninka, but rather *Manding*. How to account for this dynamic? The Western linguistics tradition has grappled with Manding dialectology since at least the end of the eighteenth century (Van den Avenne 2015), so the divergence of Mali and Guinea's paths cannot be attributed solely to their distinct sovereignties. Nonetheless, the 1966 Bamako conference was an important moment when their paths diverged along the lines of Maninka and Bamanan instead of forging a common Manding orthography or literary tradition and, as such, is worth inspecting more closely.

The 1966 UNESCO-sponsored meeting on the unification of national language alphabets in Bamako was meant to provide a forum for 31 experts and government representatives to determine and unify the alphabets of six West African languages (Dumont 1973; Sow 1977; UNESCO 1966).

Divided into teams that each focused on particular language, the overall objective was not the creation of orthographies per se, but rather "the elaboration of alphabets and their unification" (UNESCO 1966, 3). The task of Manding group—which included linguists from France, the United States, the USSR, as well as literacy services representatives from Guinea, Mali and Burkina Faso—therefore was to create an inventory of letters that would be both suitable for Manding phonemes and in line with the proposals for the other languages (Dalby 1978; UNESCO 1966).

The goal of the participants was not to define the contours of Manding; it was rather to catalogue the phonemic inventory of all the dialects across the language and dialect continuum (UNESCO 1966, 5). Linguists such as the Manding specialist Houis (1966) focused on explicating the concept of the phoneme and how to extract it from all of its contextual realizations. While this linguistic notion underlying orthography was duly exploited, its other half—the delineation of the language itself—was given short shrift. Thus, while Houis spoke of "the Manding language",[8] he did not engage with this entity (3). The Frenchman's approach to language in this setting was distinctly *ahistorical*. The purpose of the conference was not to develop orthographies for sociohistorical languages but rather to come up with "unified transcriptions" (*ibid*, 1) that could serve the task of accurately representing synchronic phonemes. Working groups were advised not to take etymological considerations or "graphic habits"[9] of language users into account and instead to aim to account for the phonemic inventories of *all* of the language's varieties (*ibid*, 8). Houis's own words in a 1964 letter to Sulemaana Kantè are telling in this sense: "[. . .] the choice of an orthography is a question of convention. What matters the most for me is to produce the most accurate description possible of *maninkamorikan*" (Vydrine 2001a, 136). What was most important was *not* creating an orthography for the Manding language, but rather a graphemic inventory that could take a synchronic snapshot of any dialect. This phonemicist ideology of orthography did not just lead to inventories of the sound categories of the Manding dialect continuum, however; it also provided the basis for regimenting what could be viewed as the Manding language into the dialect boxes of Maninka, Bamanan and Jula etc. Per this ideological view, Manding orthography is not a standard for writing a language—it is a system for dialect *transcription*. French and Arabic have writing conventions which are understood as right and wrong, high and low, and which do not reflect the variations of oral usage. Languages like Manding, however, are viewed as simply a collection of diverse dialects to be transcribed according to oral realizations, with no unified written register.

The conference did not result in an enduring standard orthography for Manding; neither Mali nor Guinea upheld the alphabet of Bamako 1966 as their official orthography. Guinea opted for an orthography that could use a standard AZERTY typewriter (Balenghien 1987). Mali, on the other hand, decided to unify their Manding orthography with that of their other national

languages. Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire each devised their own related, albeit distinct, Latin-based orthographies beginning in the 1970s (M. Diallo 2001; Dumestre 1970; Dumestre and Retord 1981). In short, each country pursued promoting Manding along the lines of named national varieties: Bamanan, Maninka and Jula. Not only did this lead to a loss of economies of scale in terms of printing, but it also led to the irony that mutually intelligible spoken varieties use different orthographies depending on where they are printed (Calvet 1987, 220).

4.2   Sulemaana Kantè's N'ko

The approach of Kantè to Manding and its orthography was radically distinct from the transcription ideology of Bamako 1966. Kantè directly engaged with the object that the linguists and specialists of Bamako 1966 would not approach: the Manding language itself, as an entity above and beyond the varieties and phonological systems that constitute it. In his letters to Maurice Houis regarding the Frenchman's interest in *màninkamorikán*, a Maninka variety from Kankan in Guinea, Kantè states that "*Le dialecte malinké-morine diffère pas du malinké proprement dit que par quelque point, et voici les principaus* [sic throughout]" "The *màninkamóri* dialect does not differ from true *Maninka* except by a few points, and here are the major ones" (Vydrine 2001a, 138). From his perspective, *màninkamóri*, while a recognizable dialect, it is not *the* language itself; it is a derivative of it.

   Kantè also engaged with etymology and language use, recognizing the historical variations and social linkages across the sprawling Manding speech community. Again from his letters to Houis:

> It must be noted that the letter <g> no longer exists in Manding, it is only used by races—assimilated at the height of the Manding empire— that can no longer pronounce the typically Manding group <gb> and that they replace by <j> or <g>, for example: *jɛman* 'white', *gon* 'gorilla' which in Manding are *gbɛman* and *gbon*.
>
> (Vydrine 2001a, 138)

Not only did Kantè see phonemes (viz. "letters" in his usage here) as historically constituted, but he also delved into accounting for the sociohistorical process that gave rise to such a divergence (that is, the conquering of later assimilated races [viz. ethnic groups] during the spread of the Manding/ Mali empire). Indeed, he dedicated an entire work towards documenting the phonological divergences from what he promoted as the true form of Manding (Kántɛ 2009). Kantè's interest in proto-forms, however, was not limited to a linguist's interest in etymology; he endeavored to uncover them because he wished to develop unifying conventions for writing the language. How, though, did Kantè conceptualize and lay out a case that could hold the Manding language within one orthography?

First and foremost, it is important to highlight that for Kantè, the proper name N'ko did not apply solely or even primarily to the writing system that he invented in 1949. According to Kantè, N'ko is the name of the Manding language itself. As he writes in his first N'ko grammar volume, a work that figures prominently for many students in N'ko curriculum:

ߡߊ߲߬ߘߋ߲߫ ߠߎ߫ ߞߊ߲߫ ߡߍ߲߫ ߝߐ߫ ߟߊ߫ ߸ ߏ߬ ߟߋ߬ ߒߞߏ߫ ߘߌ߫

Màndén' nù yé kán' mén' fɔ lá, ò lè Ń'ko' dí

The language which the Mandings speak is N'ko.

(Kántɛ 2008b, 1)

Nonetheless, even in this first N'ko grammar book, Kantè does not shy away from addressing the diversity within the language:

ߡߊ߲߬ߘߋ߲߫ ߠߎ߫ ߟߊ߫ ߒߞߏ߫ ߦߋ߫ ߞߊ߲ߓߟߏ߲߫ ߞߎ߲ߓߊߓߊ߫ ߄ ߣߍ߫ ߘߌ߫ ߸ ߏ߬ ߟߎ߫ ߝߟߍ߫ ߣߌ߲߫ (ߓߊ߲߬ ߓߊߙߊ߲ ߸ ߡߊߣߍ߲ߞߊ ߸ ߡߊ߲߬ߘߋ߲߬ߞߏ ߸ ߊ߫ ߣߌ߫ ߖߎ߬ߟߊ)

Màndén' nù lá Ń'ko' yé kànbolón' kùnbabá' 4 nè dí. Ò lù fɛ́lɛ́ nìn: (bàn-bàran, mànènka, màndènko, à ní jùla)

The Mandings' N'ko is 4 principal dialects. Take a look at them: (Bamanan, Maninka, Mandinka, and Jula).

(*ibid*, 1)

Here, we see that for Kantè, then, "N'ko" is the baptismal hypernym for what linguists conceptualize as the Manding language and dialect continuum (e.g., Vydrin 1995). Indeed, the term Manding (viz., ߡߊ߲߬ߘߋ߲߬ߞߊ߲ *màndenkán*) is a technical term that no speakers of Manding varieties actually use as their own glottonym. Kantè's *N'ko* parallels linguists' *Manding*, but unlike the linguistic label, his dubbing[10] is also tied to an envisioned community.

Kantè's N'ko orthography in this sense aims to be a tool that matches or calls into being not necessarily a *speech community* but rather a *language community* (Silverstein 1998). While a speech community is defined "by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs" (Gumperz 2001, 66), language communities are not definable by actual interaction. This is clearly demonstrated by the case of French being spoken in both France and West Africa, for instance. Regardless of the expansive reach of information communication technologies, the majority of French and West African citizens are not connected by regular and frequent inter-action, and the same is true of many speakers of Manding. N'ko's inventor does not claim that Manding is homogeneous; he clearly acknowledges that Manding is made up of at least four major varieties, which themselves can be divided into still smaller units. If Kantè's alphabet respects the phonemic principal, how can written N'ko be all of the varieties at once?

4.3   Kantè's "Clear Language" Register

Scholars have suggested that through their so-called "cultural fundamentalism" N'ko students aggressively take only Maninka to be correct in spelling and pronunciation (Amselle 1996, 825). Indeed, the forms metadiscursively prescribed in N'ko documents show evidence of being primarily congruent with Maninka (see Davydov 2012; Vydrine 1996; Vydrin 2010). But Kantè did not clumsily claim that only Maninka was appropriate for writing Manding. Just as he historically anchored the baptismal title "N'ko" for both Manding and its script, he sought to call into being a historically rooted register that would act as a mediating standard in his pedagogical language works. Registers are not simply different ways of saying the same thing, but rather are "cultural models of action" within a language that are identifiable by: linguistic features, enactable pragmatic values and a set of users (Agha 2007, 169). Within N'ko circles, a register has been taken up by a community of teachers and learners who produce and circulate the linguistic features and pragmatic values that Kantè developed.

Kantè laid out a linear progression for learning N'ko and even developed a series of N'ko degrees that could be earned based off of the mastery of different subject matter (Vydrin 2012, 73). One of the most important domains in the study of N'ko is that of grammar, or what Kantè terms *kángbɛ* (ᴧ𝐕𝐈𝐇):

ᴀᴌꜰ ᴐ ꓸ ꙴꙻ ꙶ ᴊꚈꚈ꙼꙼ꚈꚉꚈꚉ ꙶꙵ ꙶᴊꓼᴧ ᴧꚈ ᴊᴏ ꙶꙶꚈꚉꚈꚉꚈꚈ ꙶꙶ Ꚉ ꙶ ᴊꙶ ᴧᴊ ꙴ ꙴ꙰꙰ Ꚉ꙰ ꚉ ꓸ

ᴊꙴꙴꙴꙴ ꙶꙶ ᴐ ꙶꙶꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ꙶᴊᴊꙵ ꙶꙶ ꙶꚈꚉ ꙶꙶ ꙶᴊꙶᴊ ꙶꙶ ꙶꙴ ꚉ ꓸ ᴧᴐ ꙶ ᴐ꙰ ꙶ ꙶꚈꚉꚈ ꙶꙶ ꓺꓺꓺꓺ ꙸ

ᴊꙴꙴꙴ ꙶꙶ ᴊꙴꙴꙵ ꚉꚈ ᴧ𝐕 ꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ꙶᴊꙶ ꙶᴊ ᴐ ꙶꙶꓺ ꙶꙶꚉꚉꚈꚉꚉ ꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ᴐ ꙶꓸᴧꙺꙺꙺꙺꓺ ᴊꙴꙴꙴ ꙶꙶ ᴇᴧꙶꙶꓺ ꙶꙶ ᴐ꙰ ꙶ ꙶꙶꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ᴐ ᴇᴧꙶꙶꙵ "ᴧ𝐕𝐈𝐇" ꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ᴐ꙰ ꙶ ꙶꙶꙶꙶ ꙶꙶ ᴐ

Báò, kán' sébɛli' ɲálɔn' gbɛ̀lɛnman kósɛbɛ. Lɔ́nin' k'à yé, kán' bɛ́ɛ n'à sàriyá' lɛ̀, à sàriyá' ò ɲáye' lɛ̀ kán' sébɛli' lɔ́n' nɔ̀ɔya lá. Ò ké', àlú k'ò ɲáfɔ' kàfá' lù ládan. Kàfá' lù lɛ̀ kán' gbɛ́ lá pérere kà bùdún' bɛ́ɛ bɔ́ à dɔ́ kà kán' lɔ́n' nɔ̀ɔya tɔ́lɛ! Kán' sàriyá' ládanɛn' ò lù kàfá' lɛ̀ tɔ́ɔ' kó 'kángbɛ'

Because mastering a language in writing is very hard, experience has shown that every language has its rules. Grasping a language's rules facilitates knowing its writing. As such, people created explanatory books. These books clarify the language properly, remove blemishes from it, and make knowing the language much easier! The name of the book of established rules of a language is '*kángbɛ'*.

(Kántɛ 2008a, 4–5)

Here, Kantè is clearly developing both a technical term, *kángbɛ*, which is best glossed as "grammar", and the basis for a standard language register. *Kángbɛ* is a tonally compact compound noun made up of the noun *kán* 'language' and the polysemous qualitative verb *gbɛ́*, which can variably be glossed as 'white', 'clean', 'clear' (Bailleul 2007). While Kantè makes his vision of logical and rule-bound language explicit in the above quote, his

term further naturalizes the idea of grammar as something that serves to clarify and order a language.

On one hand, Kantè's theorization clashes with modern theories of language; he relies heavily on the idea that a language has a true or correct form. While this position is antithetical to modern linguistic approaches to grammar, within it lies a sophisticated understanding of languages as inevitably composed of distinct registers. Indeed, just as with the proper name, N'ko, Kantè's term does not seem to have been chosen randomly. The term *kángbɛ* figures prominently in the monograph dictionary and grammar of French colonial linguist Delafosse (1929, 22–23):

> En dehors de tous ces dialectes plus ou moins localisés, il s'est constitué une sorte de 'mandingue commun', auquel les indigènes ont donné le nom de Kangbe (langue blanche, langue claire, langue facile) et qui est compris et parlé par la grande majorité de la population, en plus du dialecte spécial à chaque région. C'est sous la forme de ce parler commun que se fait l'expansion de langue mandingue. C'est lui principalement qu'adoptent les étrangers et qui tend de plus en plus à devenir langue internationale, si l'on peut dire ainsi, de l'Afrique Occidentale. Il a ceci de particulier qu'il répudie toutes les formes et les locutions proprement dialectales et n'use que des expressions ou tout au moins usitées dans le plus grand nombre des dialectes.

> These more or less localized dialects aside, a sort of 'common Manding' has formed that the indigenous have given the name *kangbe* (white language, clear language, easy language) and which is understood and spoken by the great majority of the population in addition to the special dialect of each region. It is in the form of this common variety that the expansion of the Manding language is happening. It is this one that foreigners typically adopt and is tending to become the international language, if one can put it that way, of West Africa. It has the particularity of rejecting all the truly dialectal forms and locutions it uses only the expressions of or commonly used in the largest number of dialects.

This description of *kángbɛ* is confirmed in Sanogo's (2003) tracing of the genesis of the Jula ethnicity in Burkina Faso around the Manding variety of Jula. In fact, Sanogo, an ethnic Jula himself, asserts that "Ethnic Jula continue to designate the linguistic forms that they use at home as *kangbè* or *kangè*" (*ibid*, 373).

Kantè's selection, then, of the compound noun *kángbɛ* serves to tie his prescriptive grammar and its standard register to an already circulating historically named lingua franca register. What counts as *kángbɛ* may be largely congruent with a particular Manding dialect (the so-called *Màninkamóri* of Kankan), but it is nowhere near a *Màninkamóri* orthography. It is rather the basis for a written standard language register that Kantè sought to anchor

for the Manding public that he envisioned. Kantè therefore clearly intuited an important lesson for orthography developers: an ideal orthography for a language community encompasses the divergent grammatical codes that have a social life as one language, while legitimizing its own linguistic form and value amongst the users of these diverse codes.

4.4 The Metapragmatics of N'ko

The case of Sulemaana Kantè's N'ko holds other interesting lessons about orthography and standardization for minoritized languages in general. It is not simply that Kantè crafted a linguistically sound transcription system or that he created a politically palatable compromise dialect (Unseth 2015); he also sought and successfully cultivated locally compelling language ideologies which value and prescribe the *kángbɛ* register above others. While N'ko writers typically use a register that is quite distinct from the lingua franca registers of the streets of Bamako, Bobo-Dioulasso and Abidjan, new students of N'ko rarely object to the linguistic forms that they read and are instructed to pen out. This can in part be attributed to their uptake of Kantè's own conceptualization of Manding, writing and *kángbɛ*. N'ko users today, for instance, often decry the prevalence of "public mistakes" (ߝߐߘߓ ߝߌߟߌ ߟߎ, *fòdoba fíli' lù*) in Manding speech.[11] For instance, the following are my typesetting and translation of handwritten remarks prepared in advance for a 2012 radio show by one N'ko teacher based in Bobo-Dioulasso:

ߌ ߦߴߊ ߟߐߠ ߊ߲ ߓߍ ߞߊ ߞߎߡ ߘߐ ߟߎ ߝߐ ߣߌ ߝߌߟߌ ߝߊߣ ߊ߲ ߓߴ ߊ ߝߐ ߏ ߟߎ ߟߍ ߡ ߞߐ
ߝߘߓ ߝߌߟߌ ߏ ߕߍ ߡߐ ߞߍߟߍߣ ߞߐ ߘߌ ߓߍ ߟߍ ߏ ߝߐ ߊ ߣ ߟ ߝߌߟߌ ߦߍ ߕߊߣ [...] ߒߓ
ߊ߲ ߘ ߝߊߡߎ ߏ ߘߐ ߊ ߓߍ ߕߍߣ ߣߌ ߞߊߣ ߛߍߓߘ ߊ ߢ ߖߘߍ ߡ ߊ ߘߌ ߛߍߓ ߣߌ ߊ
ߛߊߙߌߦ ߟߎ ߟߍ ߦߍ ߒߞ ߡߍߣ ߝߐߟ ߓߐߟߐߣ ߣ ߛ ߏߟߍ ߊ ߓߊ ߣߐߐߦ ߡߍߣ ߟ ߢ
ߡߍߣ ߏ ߦߴߊ ߝߐ ߟ ߕߍߣ ߣߍ ߖߐߣߛ ߢߐߣߝߊߡߎ ߘߌ ߞߍ ߒߞ ߘߐߙߐߣ ߕߍ ߣߌߣ ߘߌ ߘߍ
ߞߊߣ ߓߍ ߟߍ ߕߊߣ ߌ ߓߊ ߕߎߓߓߎߞߊߣ ߕ ߏߏ ߕߍߣ ߌ ߓߊ ߊߙߊߓߎߞߊߣ ߕ ߏ ߝߊߣ ߦߍ
ߕߊߣ ߣߍ... ߊ߲ ߦߍ ߓߍ ߟߍ ߞߌߟߌߟ ߊ ߞߊߙߊߣ ߡ ߞߊߙߊߣ ߓߊ ߣߌ ߞߊߙߊߣߓߊߟߌ ߓߍ

Í' y'à lɔ́n án bɛ́ kà kúma' dɔ́ lù fɔ́ ni fìlí' fána. An b'à fɔ́ ò lù lè mà kó fòroba fíli'. Ò tɛ́ mɔ̀ɔ́' kèlen kó di, bɛ́ɛ lè ò fɔ́ á n'à fílí' yé tan. [. . .] Ǹba án d'à fàmú ò dɔ́ à bɛ́ tèn. Ní kán' sébɛda à ɲá' jɛ̀dɛ́' mà à dí sébɛ ní à sàriyá lù lè yé. Ǹka mén' fɔ́la bɔ́lɔn' ná sá, òlè à báa nɔ̀ɔya mén là ɲá' mén', ò y'à fɔ́ lá tèn nè jɔnsa' ɲɔ̀ɔnfáamù dí ké. Ń'ko' dɔ̀rɔn tɛ́ nìn dí dè kán bɛ́ɛ lè tàn. Í báa tùbabukán' tà òo tèn, Í báa àrabukán tà ò fána yé tàn nè . . . án yé bɛ́ɛ lè kílila à kàrán mà, kàran báa ní kàranbáli bɛ́ɛ.

You know that we say certain thing with mistakes. We call these 'public mistakes'. We're not singling out one person; everyone speaks with some mistakes [. . .] But this is how we understand things. If a language is written in its true form, then it is written with its rules. In the street though, one simply says that which is makes mutual comprehension

easier. It's not just N'ko [viz. Manding], all languages are this way. Take French, it's like that. Take Arabic, it's like that too. We [therefore] are calling all people—schooled or unschooled—to come study it.

This common act of judging whether a form of language is correct or not is a token of *metapragmatic* typification (Agha 2007, 150–154). Such acts—when people "refer to and predicate about language in use" (Wortham 2001, 71)— are instances of larger valorization schemes or *metapragmatic stereotypes* that exist about languages and their registers, and which model norms of use.

Kantè and N'ko teachers today make compelling appeals to notions of Manding "verbal hygiene" (Cameron 1995) that serve to both harness and solidify a positive metapragmatic stereotype of a particular variety (that of *màninkamorikán*) while also giving birth to a distinct register that cannot be reduced to the dialect from which it stems. This move exists both implicitly in the grammar books that are central to N'ko classrooms and study sessions, but is also quite explicit at other times. For instance, in his treatise on Manding dialectology, "The Language's Rules: or the Rules of N'ko" (2009), Kantè dedicates a series of pages to what he calls "public shortcomings", where, in a table of 51 common expressions, he lays out what he labels as "improper speech" (*fɔ́kojuu*) alongside what he prescribes as their "proper speech" (*fɔ́koɲìman*) equivalent. It is clear, then, that N'ko's inventor knows how people speak in daily life, but he simply views these norms as flawed and not appropriate for this "age of writing" (p. 26). The logic and appeal of Kantè's conceptualization to many Manding speakers is evident in the N'ko classrooms of Bamako, Abidjan and Bobo-Dioulasso. In all these locales, which I have visited repeatedly between 2012–2016, students express little to no qualms about the fact that the linguistic forms that they, myself and their instructor use orally in the classroom are not those penned in the pages of their proudly upheld mother-tongue education books.

I do not mean to suggest here that all Manding speakers accept and use N'ko, nor that orthography development and standardization efforts must adopt the same strategy as Sulemaana Kantè students and N'ko students today. Indeed, the linguistic strategy of N'ko activists is not without controversy, as some opponents of the movement in Mali like to insist that N'ko in fact is not Bamanan, but rather a foreign language unto itself. Ultimately, however, it is not the level of purity but rather the metapragmatic scheme of valorization that better contributes to a register's use. Developing a successful orthography for minoritized languages must go beyond transcription and engage with register phenomena of the language community. That is, it is peoples' attitudes about a register (which we can assess through metapragmatic discourse) that potentially motivate individuals to use or learn it. As the case of Manding orthography illustrates, this can be done through attending to registers and their metapragmatic stereotypes as already present in the language community or by attempting to call into being a new scheme of valorization around a register.

5.   Conclusion

Through an examination of the role of social actors and their language ideologies in relation to orthographic development and standardization of Manding, we have seen how orthography, as a way of graphically representing speech through choices in script and conventions, is necessarily wrapped up in sociopolitical debates. As such, the use of an orthography provides a metacommentary about the orthography itself and potentially establishes a sociopolitical stance for the user. I have outlined how orthography and writing necessarily engages with the fractionally divergent registers that make up any language. While opting for the *de facto* or normalized standard register of a language when developing an orthography is, in general, sound advice, we have seen that this alone does not guarantee its acceptance, as the case of N'ko usage in Bamako demonstrates. A register of a language is always subject to distinct valorization schemes, such as N'ko users' prescriptive valorization of certain spoken and written practices over what is typically regarded as standard in Bamako and elsewhere.

The tools of linguistic analysis provide one approach to orthography and standardization, but as I have shown here, spurring the adoption and use of a standard often ultimately has little to do with efficiency or learnability, and more to do with thresholds of normativity and metapragmatic stereotypes. Proponents of minoritized language standardization or promotion ignore the connections between orthography, literacy and these phenomena at their own peril. This is particularly the case in postcolonial contexts like Manding-speaking West Africa, where seemingly simple choices about script, graphic conventions and linguistic register point to unique sociopolitical positions and the histories behind them.

Notes

1. The word "Manding" is a Western adaptation of the word *"Màndén,"* the name of both a place and former West African polity now commonly referred to as the Mali Empire that at its apogee encompassed much of modern-day Guinea and Mali, primarily between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Levtzion 1973; Simonis 2010, 41–54). In terms of Latin-based transcription of Manding, I follow the de facto official phonemic orthography synthesizing the various national standards that linguists use while also marking tone. Grave diacritics mark low tones and acute diacritics mark high tones. An unmarked vowel carries the same tone as the last marked vowel before it. The tonal article on nouns is noted by an apostrophe but not in citation form.

2. Henceforth <Sulemaana Kantè>, ignoring tonal diacritics and using <è> in place of <ɛ>, except in citation (e.g., Kántɛ, 2008). I have opted to write Kantè's first name as Sulemaana given that it is written as such by Kantè himself in the majority of his works that I have in my personal archive (see Vydrin 2012, 63 for a discussion).

3. Ethnographic fieldwork includes three summers in West Africa primarily between the cities of Bobo-Dioulasso, Bamako and Kankan, as well as sustained research around New York City and Philadelphia. My research also draws

on my past experience as a US Peace Corps Volunteer based in Jula-speaking Burkina Faso between 2009 and 2011, where one of my major projects was running post-literacy (*alphabétisation*) trainings in Jula.

4. The clerical classes of Islam, for instance, have long had similar understandings of literacy's power (Chejne 1969).

5. In drawing on Agha's notion of "thresholds of normativity", I discuss orthographies as being more *normalized* or *normative*. Similar terminology, *normalization* and *normativization*, is also used in the Catalan tradition of language policy scholarship (Aracil 1982) in a manner that mirrors the classic distinction between *corpus* and *status* planning (Kloss 1969). Agha's usage refers to how social actors themselves interact with models of behavior. Applied to language policy literature, this distinction more closely parallels that between *de facto* and *de jure* (Schiffman 1996).

6. Mamadi is almost surely capable of writing in the Latin script, or he would potentially not have known what to do with the form. Additionally, given his generation and background as someone who grew up near Kankan, it is nearly guaranteed that he is literate in the Arabic script from having attended at least basic-level Quranic school.

7. This tradition of affirming distinct national varieties while insisting on their transnational character has continually been upheld by the countries' linguists. A Malian researcher stated in 1986 that "[w]e find Bamanan (Manding) in Guinea, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire"(Ouane 1991, 101), while Guinea's representative at a 1981 UNESCO conference affirmed that "Maninka is a common language to Guinea, Mali, Côte d'Ivoireand the Gambia"(Doualamou 1981, 174).

8. All translations in this chapter are mine unless otherwise noted.

9. Note this attitude towards graphic habits would exclude not only previously learned Latin-based orthographies but the older traditions in terms of popular usage of Ajami and N'ko.

10. Though it is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that for Kantè, N'ko is not *his* baptismal name; it is rather an archaic name for the language that was used as far back as the founder of the Mali Empire, Sunjata Keïta in the 13th century (Kántɛ 2007, 7)

11. This notion of "public mistakes" can be traced back to Kantè's writings on the issue of "public shortcomings (ﱝﻼJ ﺐﻃﺂﺓﻤﻤ *Fòdoba tánbon' nù*) (Kántɛ 2009, 26).

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11 Beyond Colonial Linguistics

The Dialectic of Control and Resistance in the Standardization of isiXhosa

Ana Deumert and Nkululeko Mabandla

1.   Introduction: Control and Resistance

The histories of standard languages are shaped by a dialectics of *control*—the formulation of norms and their imposition—and *resistance* against precisely these norms. Under conditions of colonialism, the interplay of control-and-resistance develops its own contours. And even when overt colonial rule disappeared with postcolonial state formation, its legacy lingered on, shaping experiences and opportunities in the Global South, as well as in the Global North. Coloniality is the term commonly used to refer to the legacy of colonialism, that is, the ways in which old patterns of power and inequality survived the end of empire and the colonial situation (Maldonaldo-Torres 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). In this chapter, we discuss the formation of a written form of isiXhosa by paying due attention to its colonial history, as well as the coloniality that continues to shape it.

Closely linked to concepts of colonialism/coloniality is that of decoloniality, an epistemic and political project that aims to overcome coloniality. A core aspect of decolonial thinking is its focus on diversity—and as such, decolonial thinking stands in direct opposition to the very notion of a standard language, as a uniform and prescriptive norm. Decolonial thinkers have also emphasized the need to recognize the politics of knowledge production: who speaks, who is spoken for and who speaks back. This approach articulates well with the purpose of this volume, i.e. to understand how social actors engage with, support, negotiate, resist and even reject processes of standardization (Lane, Costa and De Korne, this volume). In looking at historical actors, we follow Walter Mignolo's (2011, xxiii) suggestion to investigate 'geo-historical and bio-graphical genealogies of thought'. We argue in this chapter that the history of isiXhosa has been shaped fundamentally by its geo-historical location (in a former colony, now postcolony) as well as by intellectual lineages: the lineages of colonial agents (in this case primarily missionaries) and the lineages of those who challenged the former, but also, at times, collaborated with them (African writers and intellectuals). It is in the encounter between these two groups that we see how 'global designs' (colonialism, conversion, standardization) shape 'local histories', in

this case, the history of one of South Africa's African languages, isiXhosa (on 'global designs' and 'local histories', see Mignolo 2000).

IsiXhosa belongs to the Nguni-group of the Sintu languages and is closely related to other languages of Southern Africa (isiZulu, SiSwati and South African isiNdebele). It is currently spoken by about eight million people and can be understood as a minoritized language, i.e. a language that, despite its strong demographic base, remains restricted in its use in higher-status functions. A note on terminology: nineteenth-century sources usually refer to isiXhosa as 'Kaf(f)ir' or 'Caffre', a term that reflects the deeply racist thinking of the time and the division of the world into categories of us-and-them (similar to the use of 'Bantu' in the twentieth century). The term is today deeply offensive, a racial slur similar to 'nigger' in the United States. In our own writing, we use isiXhosa; this is the language name used in the South African constitution and tends to be preferred by speakers (as opposed to the anglicized form 'Xhosa'). We do, however, cite historical sources in the original. Thus, we do not adopt the convention used by J. C. Oosthuysen (2015) of replacing the offensive terms in the sources, since this would eradicate the realities of colonial racism, sanitize the texts and create a polite, comfortable and well-behaved version of the colonial past.

2.   Conquest: Early Encounters and Colonial Creations

Across Africa, missionaries were heavily involved in the description and standardization of African languages. By publishing grammars, dictionaries and text collections, they created the tools that allowed them to communicate with potential converts, to start mission schools and to engage in scriptural translation (Errington 2008; Fabian 1986; Irvine 2008). With regard to the amaXhosa, missionary work took place under conditions of violent colonial conquest and continued African resistance. It is against this backdrop that isiXhosa emerged in the nineteenth century in its written and printed form.

In 1799, Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp was the first missionary to arrive in amaXhosa territory, preaching a form of radical as well as mystical evangelism (Peires 1982).[1] He produced an isiXhosa wordlist, based on the local amaNgqika dialects, within months of his arrival (published 1804).[2] The wordlist, which also includes a brief discussion of pronunciation and grammar, shows the hallmarks of colonial linguistics: it is a written representation of what is deemed to be 'a language', seen through the eyes of the missionary who positions himself as authoritative even though his actual linguistic knowledge remains rudimentary (Deumert and Storch forthc.). Van der Kemp's word list shows types of errors that remain persistent over the next decades: the inclusion of non-existing words, mistaken semantics, phonetic simplifications (such as the replacement of click consonants by stops and the omission of nasalization), as well as peculiar morphological and syntactic constructions. The colonial frontier was multilingual, involving

not only European missionaries and the amaXhosa, but also Khoisan inter-preters. Among these a variety of languages were spoken with varying degrees of proficiency: Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, local Khoisan languages as well as isiXhosa. Traces of these linguistic forms and ways of speaking are visible in van der Kemp's wordlist. For example, van der Kemp translates 'the people are gone' using a hybrid construction that mixes Cape Dutch/Afrikaans (the perfective marker *toe*) with an unmarked isiXhosa noun (1). The unmarked form of the noun and the absence of inflectional morphology points to a second-language or pidginized variety of isiXhosa. The isiXhosa version of the sentence, based on contemporary usage, is given in (2).

(1) toŭ   baaénto
     finish   people

(2) abantu   bahambile
     people   they-go-past
     'the people have gone'

While van der Kemp's wordlist was intended for European audiences, mis-sionaries began to produce material for isiXhosa speakers from the 1820s onwards, when a new mission station was established near the Mgwali river. In the colonial archive, the person who has been credited with writing isiXhosa for the first time is John Bennie, a Scottish missionary who, like many others, came from humble backgrounds (Comaroff 1989). The text he produced on the mission's printing press was a reading sheet for the local mission school (1824/25; reproduced in Shepherd 1971). While the strong contact and interlanguage features that marred van der Kemp's word list are now muted, the text still bears the imprint of his imperfect mastery. The short narrative speaks about a better world that will come with Christianity, a world where cows—a key aspect of the amaXhosa's social, cultural and economic organization—will give 'sour milk' (3). The spelling system is heavily disjunctive, almost staccato like.

(3) zi ya ni ka i ma zi za ko we tu lo masi
     [ziyanika imazi zako wethu lo masi—in contemporary conjunctive spelling][3]
     they-give cows of ours that sour-milk

Amasi ('sour milk') is a favorite staple among the amaXhosa; yet, its use in (3) is semantically peculiar: *ubisi* ('milk') would be the expected term if one wants to talk about cows that give milk plentifully. Is it a mistake by Bennie who failed to grasp the semantic difference between *ubisi* and *amasi*? Or perhaps it reflects the mischievous hand of his interpreter, play-ing the missionary for a fool? The text is not only semantically peculiar: the very construction of the sentence seems unidiomatic, rather than incorrect.

The analytic-emphatic construction *lo masi*, 'that milk', for example, represents a form strongly associated with the colonial Nguni pidgin (known as Fanakalo). Examples (4) and (5) provide alternative, and more idiomatic, renderings of the sentence.

(4) imazi zako wethu zinobisi
     cows of ours they-are-with-milk

(5) imazi zako wethu ziyehlisa (nobisi)
     cows of ours they-PROG-lowering (milk)
     'our cows produce plenty milk'

In missionary hagiography, Bennie's one-page reading sheet has been celebrated as a momentous achievement, so momentous that a fellow missionary bestowed on him the title 'the father of Kaffir literature' (cf. Andrzejewski, Pilaszewicz, and Tyloch 1985, 588). Hyperbolic statements of this type are common in the historical record and Rajend Mesthrie (1998, 7, also Samarin 1984) has argued that historiographers have, at times, romanticized the work of missionaries and other colonial field linguists. We would like to go one step further and argue that what we see here are not simply linguistic mistakes and failures, but that these texts constitute a form of epistemic violence (in the sense of Spivak 1988). That is, the colonial control over the subaltern was not limited to politics and administration, but was also applied to local ways of speaking which were reduced 'to form and rule' (J. Bennie, cited in Shepherd 1971, 4) by those who barely spoke them (see also Makoni and Mashiri 2007; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991).

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, second-language speakers moved from 'descriptive appropriation' to 'prescriptive imposition and control' (Fabian 1986, 76). Such 'prescriptive imposition' is most clearly visible in the work of John Whittle Appleyard. Twenty-five years after Bennie's reading sheet, Appleyard published his grammar of isiXhosa (1850). In the preface, Appleyard describes the process of writing the grammar as follows: he engaged in an 'an exact and careful analysis of the most approved translations and writings, tested in all needful cases by a reference to oral testimony' (viii). Rachel Gilmour (2006, 111) has drawn our attention to this formulation and interpreted it astutely as a 'reversal of authority—subordinating the competence of the native speaker to that of the missionary linguist'. Thus, the translations and writings of missionaries (*aka* second-language-speakers) formed the basis for his grammatical description; the 'oral testimony' of first-language speakers played only a secondary role, to be consulted merely in cases of doubt. The texts produced by the missionaries, however curious their form, emerge as the model of correctness in the early standardization of isiXhosa; the outsider becomes the expert, the one who is in control. Yet, the control was more imaginary than

real, and those who have remained at the margins of the colonial record, the amaXhosa, have engaged in various forms of resistance.

3.   Resistance: Early Converts and the Soga-Appleyard Debate

In *Towards an African Literature*, A. C. Jordan (1973, 51) turns the historical narrative on its head; he writes: 'the harbingers of the dawn of literacy' were not the missionaries, but Ntsikana and Nxele's disciples. Who were Ntsikana and Nxele, and who were their disciples?

In their work, the missionaries relied on local mediators who were able to translate from and into isiXhosa. These mediators were typically early converts, many of them religious leaders in their own right. They powerfully merged African tradition with new Christian beliefs and practices and by doing so contributed to the development of a new—spiritual/religious—register of isiXhosa. Even though the historical record does not provide much information on those who worked as interpreters for the missionaries, a few names stand out: Oukootzo and Bruintjie (who assisted van der Kemp), Ntsikana Ka Gaba, the amaXhosa prophet, who composed the first hymns in isiXhosa; Makhanda Nxele, another charismatic prophet and early freedom fighter; Noyi Robert Balfour; and Dyani Tshatshu. These interpreters/teachers/ prophets appear briefly in the missionary reports that were sent back to London and Glasgow: sometimes they are praised, at other times described as obstacles to the mission because their translations were found to be wanting, or their characters were not considered sufficiently 'Christian'. However, their role was much larger than acknowledged in missionary reports (and historical writings based on them). Although the missionaries positioned themselves as the agents of literacy (and the reduction of isiXhosa to writing), it was through African teachers that literacy—the idea of it and its practice—spread during the early years of contact (Jordan 1973, 50–51; Njeza 2000, 36).

Over the course of the nineteenth century, mission stations emerged as central places for instilling capitalist social and economic norms, enabling access to land for the newly dispossessed and, at the same time, promoting a culture of consumerism through which Africans could be drawn into the colonial exchange economy. They became the main centers for Western cultural transmission, including the transmission of new agricultural techniques (such as the mechanical plough), and for the acquisition of literacy skills. The following example from van der Kemp's journal illustrates the way in which individuals—from early on—took advantage of the new skills the missionaries offered, sought the encounter with them and, once acquired, were able to pass these skills on to others. This, as the extract shows, applied to both men and women.

> When I was in the wood writing, Pao, the wife of a Caffre captain, came to me, and desired me to teach her to write her name; the letters

she then formed were, as I think, the first written in Caffreland by a native.

(2 December 1799; van der Kemp 1804, 407)

New forms of social differentiation and new identities emerged from the colonial encounter: on the one hand, there were those called *amagqoboka*, 'the perforated/pierced ones', who had been influenced by contact with Europeans and had adopted European practices; on the other hand, the *amaqaba*, 'the smeared ones', who used traditional red ochre as a form of bodily adornment and continued to follow amaXhosa practices (Hunter 1936; Mayer 1961).[4] While the two terms seem to depict distinct social personae, they are better understood as social orientations that can be fore-grounded by the same person at different times (Deumert 2010), and they thus form part of a complex local response to colonial conquest (Mabandla 2013). A common strategy was for one child of the family to be sent to live at the mission station. This was, for example, the case for Dyani Tshatshu, one of the early interpreters mentioned above and son of the chief of the amaNtinde. The intention was to have a foothold on the mission, but also for Tshatshu to learn new skills (Levine 2011, 19; also Mabandla 2013, 44–45). Such strategies of engagement led to the emergence of a new social group: mission-educated and literate, while nevertheless rooted within the local context (see Figure 11.1).

Figure 11.1 'White wedding' party of mission-educated *amagqoboka* among tradi-tional *amaqaba*, showing the overlapping of old and new in everyday life and the necessary hybridity of these categories

Source: Stewart (1894, 88).

Another example is Tiyo Soga, perhaps the best-known among the first generation of mission-schooled writers. His father, known as 'Old Soga', was a counsellor to King Ngqika and a follower of Ntsikana. He was thus deeply embedded in traditional structures of governance and spirituality. At the same time, he chose to reside in close proximity to the mission station at Mgwali, and the family, as noted by Donavan Williams (1978, 10), 'daily demonstrated flexibility, a desire to experiment beyond the bounds of traditional African society'. Here we see a clear 'geo-historical and bio-graphical' lineage from Ntsikana to 'Old Soga' to his sons. Tiyo Soga learnt to read and write at an early age from his brother Festiri, showing— yet again—the importance of local modes of transmissions. Soga later attended the mission school in Mgwali and the newly established seminary at Lovedale (founded in 1841 and named after Rev. Love, founder of the Glasgow Missionary Society). He went to Scotland for further studies, before returning to South Africa as an ordained minister. Soga was committed to the mission and a charismatic preacher. He also took a firm stand against racism, and expressed great pride in his African heritage, articulating an early version of Black consciousness and pan-Africanism (Williams 1978; Mancugu 2012; Odendaal 2012).

Soga was a writer and translator of note: writing isiXhosa articles for the early missionary newspapers and translating John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into isiXhosa (1866). Even though there existed by the 1850s a growing African intelligentsia, missionaries continued their control of the language; in the form of grammars and dictionaries, as well as Bible translations. Various portions of the Bible had been translated by missionaries since the 1830s, and in 1864, Appleyard published his translation in London. In 1866, various missionaries, among them Tiyo Soga, issued a severe critique of Appleyard's translation, with the most damning assessment coming from Soga. The exchange between Soga and Appleyard documents what V. Y. Mudimbe (1988, 44) called the battle of the 'two magnificent actors: the missionary and his African successor', articulating the discourses of 'missionary language and its African echo or negation'. Soga described Appleyard's translation as 'ridiculously defective' (31); as unidiomatic, ungrammatical, using neologisms which are entirely idiosyncratic and containing a large number of semantic mis-assignments. According to Soga's assessment, readers will feel as if their 'mother tongue is served out to them by a foreigner'. Indeed, Soga speaks of 'degradation' and 'violence' being done to the language, its distortion an insult to its speakers. He writes:

> [T]his translation is not the language which the Kafirs themselves speak . . . it is an effort—a constant effort—to understand what the meaning of the Kafir is—that is, what is meant by such a combination of Kafir words . . . The Gospels are passable, but the Epistles are as dark as midnight.

> (Soga cited in Appleyard 1867, 43–45)

Appleyard's response was defensive, even a tad aggressive: Soga might speak isiXhosa, but he is not an isiXhosa scholar and his metalinguistic knowledge is 'defective' (38, 59). Moreover, Soga, according to Appleyard, is wedded to the world of 'the concrete' (a common racist assumption about Africans and other colonial subjects) and 'incapable of going beyond the literal signification of a word' (72). Appleyard took issue with the severity of Soga's critique, something he was clearly not used to; his authority had never been challenged like this before.

> I am the more surprised at the unfriendly and slighting tone of Mr Soga's criticisms, because I have generally found that Kafir readers, when left to themselves, are ready to make every allowance for the mistakes which occur in printed publications . . . They do not lose their temper when they meet with a few errors of the press, or with a word here and there not just what it should be, or with a sentence now and then not exactly so clear as it might be.
>
> (76f.)

Appleyard lost the fight, and a multidenominational committee, including Soga, was established to create a revised translation. In his reflections on Bible translation, Soga formulated three rules: (i) translation should be a work of collaboration; (ii) it should not be created by someone 'who acquired the language . . . after he was 17 years of age' (a clear attack on the missionary experts), and (iii) it should avoid borrowings from other languages. He referred to the version the committee finally created—tongue-in-cheek and with a sense of intertextual play—as '*Saxon* Kafir', 'as you English people say of your purest writings' (cited in Chalmers 1878, 364–365).

4. More Voices of Resistance: The Rise of isiXhosa Newspapers

The 1860s saw not only discussions about Bible translation, but also the growth of isiXhosa journalistic writing. An important outlet for this was *Indaba* ('News'), a bilingual, English-isiXhosa periodical published by the Lovedale mission between 1862 and 1865 (see Figure 11.2). Soga was a prolific contributor as were others, such as William Kobe Ntsikana (son of the prophet Ntsikana) and John Muir Vimbe (one of Ntsikana's disciples; Jordan 1973, 49). There is thus a lineage and geneaology going from Ntsikana to these writers.

English-isiXhosa newspapers appeared from the 1830s onwards and were the first African language newspapers on the continent (Salawu 2015). All of these early papers were under the editorial control of the missions. This monopoly was challenged only in the 1880s, when independent newspapers were published under Black control (albeit financed by White capital). These were *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 'African Opinion' (founded 1884,

I-YULOPE.

EMANENJE amazwekazi amakulu ehlabati eli, siyakuti
namhla sike sise amehlo kweloke kutiwa li-Yulope.

Sesike satsho, kwelinye ipepa, ukuti elozwekazi
limiwe zezonthlanga zimhlope kusakutiwa nga-Belu-
ngu; satike ezonthlanga zikolise ukuti zibe nomonde,
zibe nencwadi, zibe nelizwi lo-Tixo ohleliyo; saza
sabuya sati, zinjalonjeke, zinazo noko indawo ezinkulu
ezite zahluka azafana ngazo—ezinjengokuba kuko
ezitshoyo izizwe ukuti uluntu olu lunindzi ukumkondza
kwalo u-Tixo malwanele ukugcina into esakuba itetwa
ngabafundisi, lungabuzi ukuti azi litsho alitsho kusinina
lona Ilizwi lake, zibe ezinye zisiti hayi abantu aba
mabati beyinyamekelenje into etetwa ngabafundisi
babo babe beya kuyinhqina Ezibalweni Ezingcwele
ukuze bandule ukuyendza.

Fanel'ukuba senibona nani, betu, ukuba izwekazi
elinendawo ezinjalo asingebe nakulikangela kakuhle
sizigqibe into zalo zonke ngalanganye. Sesiyakutike
okwanamhla sanele ukuhamba sikangela ukuma kwamaz-
we alo; kusekuba kokwezinye imini ukuteta ngento zawo.

Ukuze niqondeke, xa siwakankanyayo amazwe nga-
mazwe e-Yulope elo, nakuhlala nilazi apo lilunge
kona lona ngokwalo i-Yulope elo kuti, sihleli e-Wa-
fulika apanje tina. Onokufumanana ne-Mape makati,
etetanje nelipepa, aman'ukukangela kuyo, kosuka
kukanyeke kubemhlope ukuteta kwencwadi-le.

Kanene sabe site mhlamnene, singati sibeke elangeni
paya emini enkulu sibe sikangele ebukulwini balo

Figure 11.2 Front-cover of *Indaba*. The motto reads as follows: *ukuti umpefumlo uswele ukwazi akulungile*, 'for the soul the lack of knowledge is not good'. Visible in the image is also the change to conjunctive writing. However, orthographic conventions remained variable until well into the twentieth century (see Saul 2013)

edited by J.T. Jabavu), a fairly moderate paper, and *Izwi Labantu*, 'Voice of the People', a more radical Africanist paper (founded 1897, ed. by W. B. Rubusana; Switzer 1997). However, one mission newspaper survived into the 1880s, *Isigidimi samaXhosa*, 'Messenger of the amaXhosa'. Established in 1870, it had been under Black editorship since 1879: Elijah Makiwane (1879–1880), J. T. Jabavu (1881–1883) and, finally, W. W. Gqoba (1884–1888). While *Indaba*, in the words of the historian André Odendaal (2012, 32), had allowed for the 'first articulation of African opinion', the periodicals of the 1880s enabled 'African political mobilization' (see also Jordan 1973, 53 ff., who classifies this period as 'literary stabilization'). The popularity of these (mostly weekly) periodicals was supported by growing school enrollment, and thus literacy rates: in 1856, less than 3,000 students had been enrolled in mission schools in amaXhosa territory; by the mid-1880s, this had risen to over 15,000 (on literacy rates see Fourie, Ross, and Viljoen 2014).

In 1879—after 100 years of military resistence—the last of the frontier wars ended, and the military defeat of the amaXhosa was complete. Yet, even though lands and political independence were lost, the fight against colonial rule and oppression was not over, and the newspapers became a central space for the articulation of political resistance. In 1882, William Wauchope published a much-cited political protest poem in *Isigidimi samaXosa*. The poem was formulated as an answer to the traditional rallying call to arms: *zemk'iinkomo, magwalandini*!, 'there go your cattle, you cowards' (i.e. they have stolen your livestock and wealth). To this call, Wauchope replied in poetic form:

Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga,	They've gone! Compatriot,
Putuma, putuma;	Chase them! Chase them!
Yishiy' imfakadolo,	Lay down the musket,
Putuma ngosiba;	Chase them with a pen;
Tabat' ipepa ne inki,	Seize paper and ink,
Lik'aka lako elo.	That's your shield.

<div align="right">(Excerpt, cited in Opland 2004, 10)</div>

African writers made their voices heard, in both English and isiXhosa. Caught between the promise of European modernity and their exclusion from exactly these promises, the mission-educated intelligentsia was a force to be reckoned with. While *Isigidimi* remained popular, it also came under critique for its association with the mission and its refusal to publish articles on controversial political issues. The non-missionary papers, *Imvo* and *Izwi*, differed not only with regard to their content and overt politics, but were also more deeply embedded in the secular world of capitalist consumption, with a strong presence of advertising (see Figure 11.3).

Figure 11.3 Front covers of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, showing the use of isiXhosa in advertising, a genre closely associated with capitalist modernity

Among the early writers of isiXhosa, one person stands out: S. E. K. Mqhayi (his great-greatfather, like the father of Soga, was a counsellor to Ngqika; we see, again, lineages and genealogies). Jordan refers to Mqhayi as a 'model for everybody who tried to write the language', and Ntongela Masilela (2013, xviii) emphasizes the fact that Mqhayi, unlike many others, made a conscious choice to write *only* in isiXhosa. Mqhayi's style is strongly influenced by the colonial encounter. In his poems, for example, he combines the oral tradition of *imbongi* with Western-style poetic techniques (such as the use of rhymes or stanzas, which are not common in traditional isiXhosa poetry; Jabavu 1943, 21). Mqhayi also established himself as a novelist of note with *uSamson* ('Samson', 1907; the text of this novel has unfortunately been lost; Opland 2007b), *Itayla lamwele* ('The lawsuit of the twins', 1914) and *uDon Jadu* ('Don Jadu', 1929). Like many others, Mqhayi published his newspaper contributions unders pseudonyms such as *Imbongi yakwaGompo*, 'the East London *imbongi* (poet)'.

The fact that pseudonyms were common makes it difficult to get a sense of female contributors, but they certainly existed. Generally, we would expect women to contribute: women outnumbered men on most mission stations and also had higher literacy rates (Fourie et al. 2014). However, so far, few of these voices have been uncovered. The best documented one is the voice of Nontsizi Mgqwetho, a poet and political activist whose work appeared mostly in the 1920s (in *Umteteli WaBantu*, 'Mouthpiece of the People', established in 1920 under the leadership of Marshall Maxeke). She is also likely to have published two pieces in *Imvo* in 1897 (signed with *Cizama*, her clan name; Opland 2007a, xv). Interestingly, in one of the two *Isigidimi* contributions she takes issue with the Soga-led translation of the Bible. Her critique is no longer about grammaticality and unidiomatic usage, but about style and timbre, and she contests the purist neologisms ('unfamiliar words') favored by Soga. Here, the standard is contested from within, and the poetic nature of writing is foregrounded.

> Ukufaka amazwi angaqelekileyo kwinteto enjenge Sibhalo, kunjengo-kutya ukutya okumnandi ze kugalelwe intanga ezirwada zomxoxozi ungade uhlute ungeka qondi ukuba usesitubeni sokuhluta

> To include unfamiliar words in a text like the Scriptures is like eating tasty food mixed with raw melon seeds; you could become sated without realizing that you have already reached a stage of satiation.
>   (Cited in Opland 2007a, xv; translation partially revised)

That the newspapers were not only a space for political discourse and the development of a literary tradition, but also for the discussion of various linguistic issues was emphasized by Jordan (1973, 82–83), who comments, for example, on a 'protracted controversy' regarding the appropriate translation of the term 'conscience' over several issues of *Isigidimi*.

It is important to note that, in addition to newspaper writing, letter writing was common and widespread. Writers engaged with the colonial authorities (usually through the medium of English: see, for example, Burns 2006, on the letters of Lousia Mvemve), but also composed many personal letters, especially in the context of the migrant labour system (see Beckenridge 2006, on working-class letter writing). Thus, the reading/writing public was, from the early twentieth century, no longer limited to the mission-educated intelligentsia.

5. Keeping Control: Books, Lovedale Press and Apartheid

The early twentieth century saw the beginnings of African language book publishing, and the missions, especially Lovedale Press, maintained their core position. However, following the independent spirit in which *Imvo* and *Izwi* had been established, some authors preferred to pay for the printing of their publications, rather than to subjugate themselves to the control of the mission. An early example of this was Walter Rubusana's *Zemk'inkomo magwalandini* (1906), an anthology that brought together many of the texts that had been published in *Isigidimi, Imvo* and *Izwi*. However, self-publishing required funds, and in the absence of such funds, many writers relied on the acceptance of their manuscripts by Lovedale Press.

Editorial interference at Lovedale became especially prominent under R. H. W. Shepherd (1930–1955). Shepherd established a powerful sub-committee that would make all publishing decisions. The sub-committee had only three members: Shepherd and two other Europeans ('who supervised the bookshop and the mechanical side of the press'; Peires 1979, 157). As noted by Jeff Peires (1979), it was a blessing in disguise that Shepherd's knowledge of isiXhosa was very rudimentary—this meant that in order to assess isiXhosa manuscripts, he had to rely on outside readers. IsiXhosa publishing was shaped not only by local conditions, but also by global developments which reflect the linkages between colonialism, the mission and the emerging science of linguistics (Pugach 2012). In 1926, the *International Institute for African Languages and Cultures* was established in London. Soon after its foundation, the institute published a *Practical Orthography of African Languages* which aimed to unify the spelling of African languages. This system was implemented across the continent, supported by colonial officials and most missionaries, but resisted by many Africans. Well-known is Solomon Plaatjie's critique which appeared in *Umteteli* (December 1931; reprinted 1976). Plaatjie—a journalist, writer and co-founder of the *South African Native Congress* (which later became the ANC, *the African National Congress*)—decried the 'White orthographic zealots' and 'orthographic amateurs', who felt justified in their actions only because of their 'superiority complex'. He described the proposed spellings as 'new fangled and cumbersome',

creating an 'unwanted' and 'artificial' language. Such critiques notwith-standing, the system was implemented and, by 1933, used for a number of African languages, including isiXhosa. African readers did not take kindly to the new expert-endorsed orthography. A powerful response, reflecting on the politics of orthographic reforms and language, comes from one H. S. Ndlela (*Umteteli*, 18/18/1934; cited in Opland 1998, 287):

> We have been deprived of land, rights and even the dignity of our colour, and, to my discomfiture, we are now under the last cloud—the tragedy which finishes the whole game—the taking out of the core of our language . . . The whole secret is that the Europeans want to make our language simple for them to master, and thus deprive us of the privilege of being masters of our own language.

While many newspapers resisted the new spelling, Lovedale adopted it with the proverbial missionary zeal and demanded that henceforth all manuscripts had to be in the new orthography. At times manuscripts remained unpublished simply because they were written in 'faulty orthography' (Opland 1998, 288). One of the manuscripts that fell victim to this was J. H. Soga's history of the amaXhosa (J. H. Soga was a son of T. Soga, showing again lineages and geneaologies). The English translation of the text appeared in 1930, the isiXhosa version remains unpublished as it was considered to be too time consuming to retype the manuscript in the new orthography (Peires 1979, 163). The degree and nature of editorial interference can be seen in the example given in (6). The original text was written by Mqhayi and Opland (1998, 297) describes it as a 'racy code of conduct for cricketers'. It was edited by William G. Bennie, the son of John Bennie—another lineage and genealogy—for inclusion in a school book. The nature of the changes goes beyond orthography (i.e. changing *pofu* to *phofu*, thus following the new orthographic rules for marking aspiration) and includes the replacement of English borrowings (*u-chairman, iklabu*) by formal isiXhosa equivalents. As noted by Opland (*ibid.*), the style created by Bennie might be 'correct', but it was also 'stiff and formal, eliminating the vibrant, racy tone, that Mqhayi was at pains to establish'.

(6) Editorial interference by Lovedale Press (Opland 1998)

　　a. *Original version by Mqhayi (excerpt)*

　　　　Ukuze iklab'u ibe nomdhlal' omhle nobukekayo, iyakuti kwase zintlanganisweni zayo imbeke ngokoyikekayo u chairman wayo, manditi u "Kapi", pofu imtande, pofu imtembe, pofu imhlonele, elixa akwa ngangayo ngobu ntanga nange mfundo, umhlaumbi engapantsi. Izwi lake malingadlulwa man! (original, Mqhayi 1930, published in *Umteteli*)

b. *Edited version by William G. Bennie (for the Senior Stewart Reader, a school textbook; excerpt)*

> Ukuze ibutho libe nomdlalo omhle nobukekayo, liya kuthi kwa sez-intlanganisweni zalo limbeke ngokoyikekayo umongameli walo, phofu limthande umphathi, phofu limthembe, phofu limhlonele, eli xa 'akwanga ngalo ngobuntanga nangemfundo, umhlawumbi engaphantsi. Izwi lakhe ma lingadlulwa.

'For a club to play well it will have to, in its meetings, treat their chairman with fear, let me say the "captain" [chairman] should be loved, trusted and respected even though they are peers and equal in education, maybe his is even lower. His word should be final, man!'

At other times, manuscripts were rejected for being 'too partisan' (i.e. too critical of the colonial government, e.g., Mqhayi's biography of Rubasana) or because their topics were of an un-Christian nature (e.g., Mqhayi's text *Ulwaluko*, 'Circumcision', which dealt with traditional initiation rituals; Peires 1979, 166–167). A. C. Jordan also had several run ins with the press. His masterpiece *Ingqumbo Yeminyana* ('Wrath of the Ancestors') was only published with considerable delay: Shepherd did not like the ending and engaged Jordan in a prolonged correspondence before accepting the manuscript as it was. His second novel, *Kwezo Mpindo zeTsitsa* ('On the Banks of the Tsitsa'), was submitted to the press in 1946 but published only in 1976 (after Jordan's death in 1968). In the mid-1950s, another spelling reform was implemented, this time under H. W. Pahl. Similarly to Shepherd and Bennie, Pahl was 'severe on orthographical lapses' (Opland 1998, 290), refusing to recommend any books that did not meet his standards for inclusion in the school curriculum. In 1972, *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography* was published. It was revised in 2008 and forms the basis for the current orthography (see Saul 2013, for a comprehensive discussion of isiXhosa orthography).

Missionaries and other 'language specialists' engaged with book publishing in African languages by providing colonially-funded infrastructure. However, their support always took place within clear hierarchical relations, and ultimately, Africans were not allowed to be 'masters of [their own] languages' (Ndlela, in Opland *op. cit*). This was also visible in the field of education. Bennie's *Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa Speaking* (1939) was intended for use in schools. It was, however, written in English because, according to Bennie, isiXhosa is expressive only 'in the field of the concrete'[5] and 'requires further development on the side of the abstract' (iii)—here re-emerges the racist argument that Appleyard used against Soga. One of the most intriguing chapters in the grammar is the one on the sounds of isiXhosa. One would assume that a speaker of isiXhosa, growing up with the language from childhood, would know how to pronounce its sounds (especially given that click consonants are fully acquired by age two, Gxilishe 2004) Yet, the

grammar includes detailed phonetic descriptions. Below are the instructions for producing the dental click.

> If the tongue be placed behind the upper front teeth and against them, a suction space may be formed by lowering the middle of the tongue. If now the top is sharply withdrawn from the teeth, the sudden rush of air into the suction space produced the snap or click sound of *c* in *caca*.
>
> (1939, 20)

In descriptions such as these, isiXhosa is positioned as an 'unknown language', a language that needs to be studied in the same way that one studies a second language. And indeed this became the dominant approach of the era of Bantu education under apartheid. The syllabus for 'Bantu languages', published in 1973, states this perspective overtly, describing isiXhosa and other languages of the Sintu family as 'different' (from a European perspective), thus requiring a special approach when taught.

> Because Bantu languages differ so much from the European language, it is necessary that *the Bantu child should not view his mother-tongue as if it were a European language . . . he must be taught that his mother tongue has a peculiar character.*
>
> (*Joint Matriculation Board*, 1973, cited in Prinsloo 2003, 58;our emphasis, spelling as in original)

As a result of such pedagogical approaches, there has been a strong feeling of disjunction and disassociation between isiXhosa as spoken informally, at home and with friends, and as taught at school. As noted by Pam Maseko (2016, 82): '[W]e have inherited a system in which African languages were taught in ways that were entirely disconnected from the people who spoke the languages'. Yet, at the same time, the amaXhosa also inherited a history of resistance—resistance against colonial rule and control in all its form. The language was kept alive, both spoken and written, and its standard norm, bearing a strong colonial imprint, was consistently contested.

6. The Coloniality of Language: Vitality in the Face of Continued Marginalization

The reading/writing public, although growing, remained fairly small in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From the 1920s, new educational spaces emerged, especially night schools in the urban centers, and—in the second half of the century—the public school system expanded. However, the quality of schooling remained under-resourced and inferior for most Africans, especially after the introduction of the infamous *Bantu Education Act* of 1953, which limited the content of the curriculum and aimed to produce workers, not scholars. As the liberation movement gained

strength, English emerged as a strong unifying language. This does not mean that African languages played no role anymore: the *Freedom Charter* (1955) was translated into isiXhosa and Sesotho, as was other political material, such as the *Communist Manifesto*. And indeed, lack of translation into African languages often meant lack of dissemination (Benson 1963, 243). Thus, during apartheid, isiXhosa continued to develop, both within the liberation movement, as well as within South Africa, where puppet governments were created by the Bantustan system. Questions about political legitimacy notwithstanding, the Bantustan governments have been important for language development, as they operated strongly through African languages and engaged in various forms of corpus planning. The statutes of the Transkei Bantustan, for example were published bilingually in isiXhosa and English, thus contributing to the consolidation of a legal register (Transkei Statutes 1977).

IsiXhosa, written and spoken, remains a strong presence in post-apartheid South Africa: while English is certainly desired as a symbol of, and tool for, socioeconomic advancement, and also functions as a lingua franca, African languages have their firm place in everyday life and cultural production (music, TV dramas, radio). Recent years have also seen the revitalization of the book market and the isiXhosa press: *Isigidimi* has been re-issued (online version available at isigidimi.co.za), and in 2015, *I'soleswe*, 'The Eye of the Nation', was established as a daily newspaper (Kondile 2015). Unathi Kondile, who became the first editor of *I'soleswe*, is a longstanding language activist. In 2011, he decided—a bit like Mqhayi more than one hundred years earlier—to tweet only in isiXhosa, and he still continues. His decision received media attention and the journalist Percy Zvomuya (2012) compared Kondile to yet another literary heavyweight, Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

> [Unathi Kondile] had mostly written in English until he decided, in October last year [2011]—in a moment reminiscent of the decision by Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o to write only in Kikuyu . . . His "form of rebellion" cost him hordes of fans (known as followers in Twitter parlance) who were mostly white. He was surprised by the reaction. "People tweet in their own language. Why not us?" . . . As Wa Thiong'o, scholar and ex-Robben Islander Neville Alexander and other language activists like him age, *the fight to mainstream African tongues seems to have received momentum on Twitter.*
>
> (Our emphasis)

While others might not write 'only' in isiXhosa (or any other South African African language), many make use of African languages in one form or another: language mixing is common practice in digital communication as is the re-contextualization of traditional genres, such as clan praises (see Deumert 2014a/b, for examples). It is in these spaces that we also see diverse forms of bottom-up language planning. This is illustrated in example (5), where an isiXhosa translation equivalent is proposed for 'feminist' by Unathi

Kondile on his public Twitter feed. The tentative and negotiable nature of the suggested term is indicated by including the English translation in brackets.

(5) *Proposing a translation of 'feminist', providing the English term in brackets*

> @L yeka *abafazikazi [feminists]* . . . iyakubasisichotho sezithuko kwiTL yakho

> @L leave the feminists alone . . . there will be a hail of insults on your timeline.

> (Twitter, December 2012)

Apart from old and new media, isiXhosa also features in various forms of vernacular literacies. This is especially noticeable in the Eastern Cape, where isiXhosa is clearly visible in the print environment. Billboard advertisements as well as numerous small posters, often handwritten, advertise a variety of services and products in isiXhosa. Thus, we see notes such as 4SALE IINKOMO NEENKATYANA, 'for sale cattle and bull calves', combining isiXhosa with globally mediated ways of writing English (sign recorded in 2016, Eastern Cape, Cala).

While isiXhosa has a strong position in the Eastern Cape, the situation is different in other parts of the country. In the Western Cape, for example, speakers of isiXhosa constitute about a quarter of the population, yet, currently, there is not a single high school in the province that uses isiXhosa as medium of teaching and learning (compared to more than 200 schools that teach through the medium of English, and more than a hundred that teach through the medium of Afrikaans). There are also concerns about the quality of the teaching of isiXhosa as a home language, and many students who attend former Model C schools (which were White public schools under apartheid) do not have a chance to study an African language, either as home language or as additional language (Maseko 2016). Consequently, they have limited exposure to the written norm of isiXhosa (or any other African language), and are often bilingual, but mono-literate. As one young woman, 17 years old and fully literate in English, said when asked whether she likes reading isiXhosa books: *simnandi isiXhosa qha askwazi kusifunda*, 'isiXhosa is nice, but we don't know how to read it' (cited in Deumert 2010, 250). At the same time, some universities are introducing African languages as part of their vocational training, aiming to develop them for teaching and learning over time. The situation is thus complex and in flux: there are signs of strength and vitality, as well as continued signs of marginalization and minoritization.

7.   Conclusion: Decolonial Futures

Colonialism shaped the early standardization of isiXhosa (and other African languages), but it never defined the narrative. From early on, other traditions and other voices were present, and the standardization history of

isiXhosa reflects complex dialectics of control and resistance. The colonial encounter, which is at the core of these dialectics, created unique genealogies of thought, with the disciples of Ntsikana forming a particularly powerful group, combining old and new, African and European thought, isiXhosa and English, and thus shaping the intellectual world of the early mission-educated writers, such as Soga. Thus, we see not only to the formation of a particular version of Christianity and spirituality, but also of a particular version of language, with oral African traditions shining through the written text. Genealogies of thought are also visible in the line from Mqhayi to wa Thiong'o to Kondile—all three of them self-consciously and deliberately writing in African languages.

It is especially the many acts of resistance which provide moments for reflection. They allow us to imagine a decolonial future for standard languages, i.e. a future in which a diversity of voices rather than a monolithic norm is the way in which we imagine the standard language. As noted in the introduction, the notion of decoloniality foregrounds diversity, a perspective which Mignolo (2011, 54) described as being 'epistemologically disobedient'. For example, when Mqhayi mixes English and isiXhosa, he is disobedient not only to European ideas of purism, but also to Soga's discomfort about borrowings. And in doing so, he anticipates the mixed and multilingual urban vernaculars that have emerged across the country. Similarly, when Nontsizi Mgqwetho asks for a more poetic timbre in the Bible translations, she adds another voice to what a written language should be like—limiting language not just to form and grammar, but making it palatable and experiential by comparing it to 'tasty food'.

The history of isiXhosa displays a vitality and vigor we don't usually associate with minority languages which are often imagined as being under attack and dominated. English is certainly dominant in South Africa, and there are some signs of language shift in the urban middle classes—but even a cursory look at Twitter in South Africa sees people reading and writing in isiXhosa. And while the visible linguistic landscape in Cape Town or Johannesburg is increasingly English dominant, things look quite different when we move into other spaces, such as the many rural towns in the Eastern Cape where *I'soleswe* is available on every newsstand, and formal as well as informal advertising create an everyday isiXhosa print culture.

Notes

1. Van der Kemp belonged to the London Missionary Society. Other societies included the Scottish Presbyterians (Glasgow Missionary Society) and the Wesleyans.
2. Short wordlists were also included in travelogues: Sparrman (1776) and Barrow (1801/1804; cf. Gilmour 2006).
3. Modern isiXhosa, like other Nguni languages, uses conjunctive spelling, reflecting correspondence between orthographic and linguistic words. Sotho languages, on the other hand, use disjunctive spelling (see Taljard and Bosch 2006, Saul 2013).

4. The distinction is sometimes also referred to as the difference between 'school people' (those who attended mission schools) and the 'red people' (referring again to the use of red ochre).
5. This obsessive ethnocentrism became the foundation of Western ethnographic prejudice against Africans and is also to be seen in the work of Levy-Bruhl (1923) on the Yórùbá language. Levy-Bruhl makes the same spurious claim of African languages being rooted in the 'concrete' rather than an abstract orientation.

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12 Visions and Revisions of Minority Languages
Standardization and Its Dilemmas

Susan Gal

1. Introduction

It has long been recognized that the legitimacy accorded "standard languages" derives not simply from any linguistic properties but from social institutions that valorize one variety as the standard and install it as a hegemonic and supposedly fixed norm. Standardization is therefore best approached as an ideological phenomenon. In contrast to classic studies that focused on linguistic form—choice of variant(s), orthography, lexical expansion, uniformity in grammar and denotation—current explorations treat standardization as one among many possible sociolinguistic regimes that produce visions of speakers and speaking. It consists of a metadiscourse of comparison and hierarchical contrast in which the rankings of varieties are justified and explicated by narratives about modernity. Like any language ideology, standardization encompasses much more than linguistic practices; it includes presuppositions about types of speakers, their relations and interests, values and authority.[1] The ideology relies on institutions such as schools, state bureaucracies, mass mediated publics and credentialing to inculcate the hegemony of linguistic norms so that even those who do not use or know them nevertheless accept their high value. Yet, like any hegemony, that of a standard regime is never complete. Challenges are ubiquitous, even when the norms seem most solid. Movements to standardize minority languages are attempts to create such challenges. Yet, perhaps ironically, they also reproduce standardization and are often contested in turn.

I argue that to see how and why this is so, we should analyze standardization not only as an ideology, but more specifically as an ideology of *differentiation*, with all the attendant semiotic processes that implies (see Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000). This enables better understanding of a key observation, well put by Woolard: Although attempting to counter the hegemony of existing standards,

> . . . movements to save minority languages are often structured, willy-nilly, around the same received notions of language that have led to their oppression. . .language activists find themselves imposing standards,

elevating literate forms and uses, and negatively sanctioning variabil-
ity in order to demonstrate the reality, validity and integrity of their
languages.

<div align="right">(Woolard 1998, 17)</div>

Others have also remarked on this irony (Joseph 1987); I have called this
reiterative process fractal recursivity (Gal 2006), a conceptualization to
which I will return. Simply naming it, however, leaves unexplored exactly
how such a reiteration of standardization emerges and with what results.
We live in a world of standardized forms (of language and virtually every-
thing else [Bowker and Star 1999]). It is hardly surprising that commonsense
understandings even in the scholarly world assume standardized languages
to be simply the ordinary state of "the language." Yet, if standardization is
but one sociolinguistic regime, one way of organizing the linguistic variation
that is inescapable in social life, then it is useful to compare it with other
forms of differentiation and ask: How do ideologies of standard separate
and contrast images of speech and speakers? What value hierarchies do they
establish? What ranked visions of speakers do its linguistic forms convey?
What discourses explicate and justify its differentiations as part of cultural
systems? Finally, if standardization is not the only mode of reproducing
languages (minority or otherwise), then we should examine the alternatives
and the possible changes in this regime.

   In what follows, the first section provides a critique of the concepts of
"minority" and "language." These are commonsense notions that appear
routinely as background assumptions in our own scholarly work. It is worth
showing their historical and political embeddedness in the elite, academic
Western tradition and in recent changes of that tradition. Other "cultures
of language" (ideologies) diverge significantly from Western definitions.
Accordingly, the second section attends more specifically to a selection of
ethnographic studies of minority populations to highlight the dimensions of
differentiation they recognize. In each of these, I review the metacommu-
nicative (i.e. ideological) discourses that inspire and justify distinctions of
value as embodied in social, linguistic and cultural forms. In particular, my
focus is on *axes of differentiation* as a semiotic "moment" in these ideolo-
gies. Axes are models of contrast that organize values and qualities imputed
to linguistic practices, speaker types (personae), objects and activities so that
they index each other and seem similar as against another set of opposed
yet co-constitutive qualities in contrasting objects, personae and activities
(Gal 2013). Comparative evidence I review will highlight regimented yet
non-standardized variation in order to reveal what is distinct about stan-
dardization, what culturally significant contrasts it highlights, organizes
and imposes. I will argue that standardization is the linguistic aspect of
modernity. That is, standardizing regimes are part of a broad differentia-
tion, what I am calling an "axis of modernity." This is a configuration of
values that distinguishes between those values understood to be "modern"

such as universality, rationality and progress and those supposed to be the opposite, such as particularity, emotion and tradition. By indexing one side of this axis of modernity, standardized languages claim to be "better" in contrast to other forms of linguistic practice in the same community.

The third and final section takes up challenges to standard regimes. Making a minority language into a standard is one form of challenge. Yet, when minority languages are standardized, there is invariably contestation and counterhegemonic moves with respect to them too, often enacting opposed political interests among minority speakers. I suggest that by considering standardization as a semiotic process operating through axes of differentiation, it is possible to describe more precisely some ways of challenging a standard regime's hegemony that do not simply reproduce standardization. For instance, counterhegemonic moves by speakers and activists have proposed novel discourses of justification by re-working the valence of the qualities that axes represent, rearranging and re-signifying what is indexed by practices and linguistic forms, or adding/subtracting qualities on an existing axis. Standardization is a feature of the broader process of conceptualizing "modernity." In some challenges to language standardization, the entire model of modernity may itself be rejected. These are modes of linguistic and cultural change that rest on institutional as well as discursive projects. Ethnographic examples from my own fieldwork and that of colleagues provide examples of these processes.

2.   Critique of Concepts

The concepts of linguistic "minority" and "language" are taken for granted in much work on language standardization and preservation. Yet, uncritical use of these concepts erases the assumptions they evoke and reproduce. "Minority" seems to imply relative numbers of speakers. However, since people can be categorized in innumerable ways, counting always involves some universe of enumeration (e.g., a geographical or political unit) and a purpose or project, explicit or hidden, usually instituted by a state or suprastate system. Ideological frameworks are immediately relevant: Why are people being counted? Whose project is this? Why now? Why according to linguistic practices? What "counts" as a linguistic form (e.g., "mother tongue," first language, diversity of repertoire), and how do observers ascertain its instantiations? The history of state censuses as technologies of political disciplining is illuminating in this regard (Hacking 1990). It suggests that minorities are anything but natural units.

"Minority" may also imply disempowerment vis-à-vis a majority in a state.[2] Moreover, as census-takers noticed early on, counting and news about it have reactive (performative) effects, helping to create what is counted. Language activists themselves have borrowed this technology, using its effects for their own purposes (Urla 1993). Both activists and states may adopt counting and minority language standardization mainly as a

way-station to other goals. Often, language is no more than a supposedly reliable surrogate for some other dimension of difference, such as ethnicity, religion, race, origin, migration or asylum status, that is feared as politically dangerous or volatile (Gal 1994). In specific contexts, does a focus on counting the speakers of a language work as a de-politicizing strategy, making some other and linked dimension of difference seem superficial or harmless? Or, alternatively is it a politicizing strategy, garnering attention by outsiders and mobilizing a grouping otherwise ignored by states? Scholars use the term "minoritization" to signal such active processes of constructing difference.

Despite such caveats, the concept of minority is indispensable because it has become a term of international law to which language activists turn to make claims for resources and rights vis-à-vis states, NGOs and interstate organizations like the EU and the UN. To highlight this, it helps to historicize the concept. Let us recall that the "minority" concept is a relatively recent creation. As a legal and political category, it emerged with the treaties that closed the First World War, when the victorious Allies destroyed the European multinational empires (Habsburg, Ottoman, German). They used the data of language censuses to cut up the east of Europe in new ways, imposing an ideology of state-centered monolingualism on the region's ethnolinguistic mosaic.[3] In many cases, speakers of one language were suddenly made into citizens of a new nation-state identified with another language. Their language rights within the new states were to be protected by international treaties and the new League of Nations (Pederson 2015). Subsequent treaties and conventions, later at the United Nations and at regional organizations, have dealt specifically with the rights of linguistic minorities (Duchene 2008). The politico-legal reality of "indigenous" languages as a part of internationally guaranteed rights is an even newer phenomenon, dating to the mid-1980s with the formation of transnational indigenous movements and UN support for them (Muehlebach 2001). More recently, migrant enclaves, sometimes reconceptualized as diasporas, have also been included in discussions of minorities.

Thus, populations once identified by ruling elites as dispersed "nationalities," or "tribes" within empires, or as migrants, were re-cast politically as "minorities," often on the basis of their supposed linguistic differences from neighboring groups within newly constituted states (Mazower 1998). In a parallel way, in France before the Revolution, linguistic difference was framed as a matter of regions and provinces, not minorities. The administration of such groups and their relation to states was re-conceptualized as the idea of minority became common not only in Europe but in the colonized world globally. Wilsonian "self-determination" and its assumed link to language were taken up in colonization and later in de-colonizing national movements worldwide that, after the Second World War, created the global system of nation-states (Anderson 1991; Manela 2007). Since international treaties and policy pressures define the political and legal context of linguistic

minorities today, they are the crucial background to any analysis of minority standardization. Moreover, legal and policy changes continue. By the 1980s and 90s, and in response to international pressures as well as grass-roots organizing, many states that had previously coerced cultural and linguistic assimilation, urging the mixture of populations, were changing their policies, encouraging and funding instead the recuperation of languages and speakers newly defined as indigenous (Muehlmann 2008; Povinelli 2002).

The practices of census-taking and the re-vision of linguistic enclaves as minorities complement each other because both relied on and helped reproduce an elite European view of "language" as (implicitly) standardized. I sketch here the view of language that emerged. It is a view that has been critiqued repeatedly in linguistic anthropology. This view assumes language to be a bounded, homogeneous, structural system, a unity made primarily for denotation (i.e. reference, labeling the world), with centrally defined norms of grammatical and orthographic *correctness* to which all speakers are expected to orient. Each such named language ideally expresses the particular spirit of a people (nation), determines the national identity of its speakers and is linked to a territory. Language's objectified unity is reinforced by dictionaries, grammars and literature which seem to physically embody and license the regularities. Monolingualism with respect to such a language is assumed to be a natural condition, the language fulfilling all functions and separated from other, parallel systems by self-evident limits on mutual (denotational) intelligibilty and connected to them via intertranslatability. The presence of multilingualism—of speakers and communities—is usually erased or made to seem exceptional, deviant.[4] This system of values, beliefs and practices is a regime of standardization.

Much as liberal thought endows individuals with rights, invoking an analogy with ownership of property, so language defined in this way is imagined to be "owned" by peoples and even individuals—usually one to a customer. A people with a language of its own is understood to deserve some degree of political-territorial autonomy. It is, of course, this complex picture that enables a language census, in which individuals are asked "their" language. Linguistic maps represent just this view, conventionally using one color per language, so defined, painted homogeneously inside the boundary lines of states, erasing (as does the ideology itself) any signs of register/stylistic variation, functional differences (scholarly, religious, minority or trade varieties) or multilingualism.

This vision emerged from particular eras of European politics and served specific interests. In brief outline: A Lockean view in the 17th century proposed the revolutionary principle that political legitimacy is not a monarchical inheritance but springs from law. This discourse further claimed that the authority of government based on rule of law is mediated by words, whose reliability and thus authority is ensured if they provide denotational accuracy, that is, a true, objective and rational representation of the world. It was with such justification that the French Revolution's language policy

urged the people to learn French, supposedly the language of maximal ratio-
nality, so they could participate in political discussion as informed citizens.
Indeed, the concept of a liberal public based on rational deliberation har-
kens back to these views. Moreover, a centrally defined "correct" form of
language was thought to be essential in order to reduce variation and thus
guarantee the rationality and reliability of language's denotational accuracy.
Norms of "correctness" for grammar and lexicon were decided usually by
language specialists (linguists, teachers, philosophers) and did not follow
the conventions of use by communities of speakers.

In reaction to these ideas, Herder and other German philosophers turned
this view of language on its head a century or so later. Correctness remained
a central value. But, rather than people learning the language of reason to
participate politically, a difference in language was used to determine who
rightfully belongs to the *Volk*. Speaking the same language would create the
unity of the *Volk*. One might say: How you spoke mattered more than what
you said. In the course of the 19th century, "mother tongue" was roman-
ticized and essentialized further as specially valuable in shaping speakers'
national character and thus unity. Foreign words were anathamized and
analogized to intruding foreign armies: Purity of language became a security
issue (Bauman and Briggs 2003).[5]

Many aspects of this view have been productive for the development of
modern western linguistics, an Enlightenment project that inferred gram-
matical patterns on the basis of denotative distinctions. It abstracted gram-
matical patterns away from the conditions and ways of speaking, claiming
that language, so abstracted, was autonomous from social and cultural
matters. Systematically (though implicitly) one way of speaking—often elite
forms—was made to stand for all others (Errington 2008, 7–10). As with
any dominant ideology, the contingency and limits of this view become
apparent when set beside an alternative standpoint, another ideology. This
change of perspective is helpful in "provincializing" the European under-
standing of language (Chakrabarty 2000). The elite European approach is
itself ideologically grounded, not a natural fact or an objective "view from
nowhere." The theoretical perspective pursued in this chapter is one that
has a different lineage (Bakhtin 1981; Lucy 1993). It approaches commu-
nication as social practice, focused as much on non-denotational signaling
(social indexicality) and the importance of socially meaningful variation as
on denotation. Thus, the view represented here encompasses all the linguis-
tic varieties that speakers themselves recognize, as evident in ideologies of
language that are part of cultural principles.

For example, although people everywhere seem to recognize words as
units of denotation, the notion of "language" as structured, bounded and
providing intertranslateability of denotational content with other such units
is much more limited. Moreover, outside of standardized regimes the notion
of "correctness" is very rare; linguistic practices are deemed appropriate
to context or effective to purpose, but not as matching or failing to match

an imposed norm. Silverstein (2014, 1) argues that neither correctness nor the idea of language as a structured whole was evident among his "aboriginal [Worora] friends in northwestern Australia." Collins (1998) shows that Tolowa speakers in California identify not grammatical regularity but lexical items linked to features of the natural landscape as the communicative means that count as the Tolowa language. Rather than espousing ideals of boundedness, or purity, speakers in many regions—New Guinea, Native North America—actively desire to appropriate linguistic forms that are seen to come from far-away places; these convey the high status of the speaker (Dorbin 2014).

The nature of speakers' connection to language is also quite variously conceptualized. Reconstructing the precolonial ideology of indigenous Mono-speakers in Central California, Kroskrity (2009) describes their view that Mono people were not Mono by virtue of speaking a particular way, but by participating in certain ritual activities. This was one of the regions in which cultural syncretism placed positive value on borrowing from neighboring tribes; heterogeneity of speech—including inside the family—was the valued norm. Nor are languages, even if normalized, always and everywhere seen to be intertranslateable. Mitchell (2009) shows that until the 20th century, South Asian languages were considered specialized for contrasting functions; they were not expected to "do" the same tasks. Translation from one to the other would therefore make little sense. A single speaker would compose an official letter in Persian, record a land transaction in Marathi, send a personal note to a relative in Telugu, perform religious ablutions in Sanskrit and barter with a vegetable dealer in Tamil.

A similar situation held in 19th-century Macedonia, where speakers were expected to use Ottoman Turkish for official written matters, Greek or Church Slavonic for religions observance, Bulgarian or Greek for market transactions (Friedman 1996). European ideologies were generally more diverse before the rise of nation-states and standardized national languages.[6] Earlier, in 1696 in Nuremberg, the philosopher Johannes Zahn disinguished European national types—the Germans, Spaniards, French, Italians and English—by characterological features. But he did not link them with what we would now call languages. Later, the famous *Völkertafel* of Styria, produced around 1720, represented the major national groups of Europe as a table of stereotyped cross-tabs, contrasting them by customs, clothing, temperament, knowledge. But named languages were not mentioned as a national feature.

How did individuals experience this state of affairs? In the 18th-century Habsburg Empire, the polymath Bél Mátyás (also known as Matej Bel) described himself as Slav by language, Hungarian by *natio* and German by education; he wrote in Latin.[7] Only from the late 18th century did named languages start to become indexes of national identity. The transition is evident in the biography of Vörösmarty Mihály, one of Hungary's national poets of the 19th century, when Hungary was part of the Habsburg empire.

The poet's father, a Hungarian-speaking nobleman and patriot, had fought against the centralizing and Germanizing policies of Emperor Joseph II. Nevertheless, in the early 1800s, the father sent his young sons to learn German. The poet later recalled that the German language felt alien to his identity, yet he yearned for the modern, urban clothing—shoes and suits— of German youth. His father insisted the sons retain the boots, stirrups and corded jackets that showed them to be Hungarian gentry. The son felt the winds of linguistic nationalism, while the elder Vörösmarty, still living by the old discourse, feared not linguistic but sartorial assimilation (Dávidházi 2004).

3.   Axes of Differentiation: A Comparative View

Having "provincialized" the moderninst, European definition of language, I suggest we get a better sense of how it operates by examining the wide ranging system of cultural values within which it makes sense, namely the axis of modernity (Gal 2013). My goal in this section is to juxtapose several non-standard axes of differentiation with the globally hegemonic standardizing regime that is part of modernity, in order to highlight the latter's particular properties. But first a few words of definition: What exactly is an axis of differentiation?

Participants' assumptions about what differences matter in speech, and what social and linguistic practices "belong together," are based on an ideological (also called metasemiotic) process of *enregisterment* (Silverstein 2003) that creates, for some population of language users, an association between a typified speaker, occasion, speech variety and values. Once recognized by participants, such an assemblage, usually justified discursively, is called a "register" by analysts.[8] The linguistic materials that constitute a register in this sense may come from any aspect of linguistic structure or inter-actional practice and are often labeled: for instance as 'literary,' 'southern accent,' 'upper-class speech,' 'legalese,' 'codeswitching.' Even though these labels pick out different aspects of variation—event-type, or speaker type, or geography, or function or form—in fact, each labeled register indexes all these dimensions of difference simultaneously. Moreover, in using a register, speakers do not simply reveal fixed identities, they align with (or against) the register stereotype, simultaneously aligning with and against interlocutors— as they pursue interactional goals. Indexicality, a sign-relation fundamental to enregisterment, always encompasses many kinds of signs: speech forms but also other expressive materials—music, food, clothing—and sensuous qualities like color and taste can all be taken up as pointing to (indexing) and evoking a speaker type, event and function.

But no register ever stands alone. Axes of differentiation organize registers into contrast sets.[9] The relation of opposition between registers provides a template that invites the perception of *the same* contrast between the images/personae/places that they index. Or, vice versa: Culturally salient

contrast among personae suggests a distinction of qualities that can be "found," i.e. projected or picked out, between the expressive registers with which they are associated. Thus, an axis of differentiation is a model of co-constitutive contrast for some group of speakers: One sign cluster (register) is distinguished from the opposing cluster (register) by contrasts that mutually define them; one side is what the other is not. Furthermore, the personae and activities that each register represents seem to match in quality the properties and features of the forms they index, so the personae seem to differ from each other in the same way that the linguistic forms do. A register comes to seem particularly apt for representing the category of person (and time, place and situation) that it indexes; it seems not only to point to (index) a category but also to resemble it (as icon) by seeming to share its qualities.[10] In order to show the broad scope of the axis concept, and to highlight the special properties of the currently hegemonic standard dispensation, I present three quite distinct ethnographic instances of axes that are normalized and conventionalized but do not create regimes of standardization.

My own fieldwork in rural Hungary provides a first example, showing the way that even in the midst of powerful standardizing states, divergent values exist in a minority context. During the late 1980s and 1990s, in a bilingual town called Bóly, everyone spoke Hungarian, but about half the town's population, descended from 18th-century German migrants, also spoke German. In the interwar years, everyone was German-speaking. Elders recalled an interwar cultural system that conceptualized two German "languages" spoken in the town: one they called *Bäuerisch* ["farmers' language"], the other *Handwerkerisch* ["artisans' language"]. Each was supposedly characteristic of the named person-type. Neither register was written; both were contrasted by speakers with school German (*Schriftsprache*). The two linguistic registers differed in details of phonology, some grammatical features and the pragmatics of greetings and address forms, which were considerably more elaborated in artisans's stereotyped speech than that of farmers. Each register indexed distinct contrasts—linguistic, characterological, aesthetic and ethical—that could be schematized like this:

Bóly's system of cultural contrasts (axis)

Handwerkerisch (artisans')	*Bäuerisch* (farmers')
fancy	authentic
innovative	traditional
ornamented	restrained
various	monotonous

Every kind of human activity could be done in an "artisan way" or a "farmer way." In eating habits, entertainment, clothing and architecture

preferences—as in their speech forms—the stereotyped artisan appreciated and enacted innovation, novelty, variety and ornament, a kind of connoiseurship related to craft skills. In contrast, the farmers' aesthetic was restraint, frugality, the tried and true; even rich farmers ate and dressed monotonously.

In this way, all the farmers' practices seemed to share qualities, with each other and with the farmers themselves (they were said to be personally traditional, restrained etc.) The artisans' activities shared the contrasting qualities, and the artisans themselves were thought to be fancier, more innovative etc. Speech forms seemed to be iconic of (to resemble) those who spoke them. Individual farmers could nevertheless take up the artisans' "voice," and style, if the situation demanded, and vice versa. Note that the qualities were culturally defined as co-constitutive: authenticity was defined as the opposite of fancy, although one could imagine some other system in which "authenticity" would require elaboration. Significantly, each side viewed this system from its own pespective. Organized into farmers' and artisans' clubs, they each held their own practices to be superior.

A different kind of example is one to which I will return. It is provided by Kuipers's (1998) discussion of subsistence cultivators on the Weyewa highlands of Sumba, in Indonesia. Hardly touched by Christian missions, the Weyewa's practices of "following the path of the ancestors" and the ancestors' words remained in the 1990s as guarantors of fertility and well-being. Kuipers's detailed description enables me to reanalyze as an axis of differentiation the contrasts recognized by the Weyewa. These contrasts were named for contrasting activities, not people-types. The most striking linguistic distinction for Weyewa speakers was between everyday talk and ritual speech. Ritual speech, especially in major ceremonies, was filled with a rich array of syntactic and phonological features as well as poetic genres—the "words of the ancestors"—specific to it. It was conceived to be "whole," "full," dense with meaning and closely associated with particular places in the landscape where the major rituals were to be performed. Everyday speech, used everywhere, was seen as a mere derivative, just the "tip" of the ritual "trunk." Ritual speech was neither supported by a state, nor taught in school, nor a matter of correctness: It was not standardized. It was, however, heard as "angry," in contrast to the relative emotional calmness of everyday speech. People types were also involved: Those who had the skill to perform the ritual register won leadership; they demonstrated the "anger" (emotional intensity) necessary to justify their claim to power. The "angry" register iconically displayed the personal qualities needed for leadership. Although the qualities attributed to each register are vastly different than in my own fieldwork, it is clear that here, too, speech forms (in this case genres), qualities of character, places and events are lined up on one side of an axis and contrasted (complemented) by their opposites in the sociolinguistic regime of this cultural system.

A third example, from a horticultural and hunting village on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, provides yet another twist on axes of

differentiation. In Kulick's (1992) detailed account, Taiap speakers in the village of Gapun elaborated two aspects of the self, two co-constitutive qualities of personhood. The organizing distinction here was neither person-type (as in my fieldwork) nor activity-type (as for the Weyewa) but qualities of personhood that everyone had. The first was called *hed* (head), a quality of individualistic irascible, selfish, unbending, haughtiness. This basic attribute coexists in all individuals with another aspect of self that is called *save* (knowledge): The sociable, cooperative side of a person that sometimes suppresses *hed* in order to make joint decisions and collaborate with others. Both *hed* and *save*—like the farming aesthetic and the artisan aesthetic—could be enacted in every kind of activity and in this case were performed (at least in part) by everyone, though women and young children were thought to have more *hed;* adult men to have more *save.* Here, too, linguistic forms indexed the contrasting values. Particularly indicative of *hed* was a verbally violent, angry and obscene form of argument (the *kros*), a specialty of women; associated with *save* was the emotionally controlled oratory with which men debated in the men's house. Again, these genres of talk were conventionalized but not standardized. Their alignments were strongest in the days before missionization and wage labor. Although the display of *hed* was considered necessary and uncontestable in certain situations, it was devalued in village rhetoric; *save*, on the other hand, was extolled and praised.

Despite the vast differences among these examples, the analytic parallels are clear: different aspects of talk are picked out—dialectological contrasts vs. ritual speech vs. genres of debate. In each case, the qualities of speech resonate with fundamental contrasts of qualities and cultural principles that organize the rest of life. These are models; not descriptions of activity, but perspectives on possible action that individuals take up in accordance with their projects and circumstances.

Turning now to standardization as a sociolingistic regime, I ask: What axis of differentiation organizes the values displayed by the use of standardized languages? Woolard and I (2001) have argued that in modern, Western societies two ideological complexes underpin the authority—the persuasiveness, recognized legitimacy—of linguistic forms. Myriad case studies suggest that the terms and concepts of "authenticity" and "anonymity" capture specific characteristics formulated in modernist discussions of the value of language. These are reflexes of the Lockean (Rationalist) vs. Herderian (Romantic) philosophies that I mentioned above. Each of these philosophies/discourses naturalizes a set of relations between linguistic practices, sociopolitical arrangements, people types and much else. These are values that constitute the conceptualization of modernity. Woolard and I have suggested that in the domain of communicative forms, standard languages and their "others"—dialects, patois, minority and indigenous languages—display and enact these value distinctions, which together are typical of modernity. Standard languages signal the anonymity side of the

axis; the non-standard forms (whatever they are) signal the authenticity side. Standard languages are thus one of the practices that constitute the axis of modernity. I rely here on Woolard's (2008) pithy discussion to outline the values of the modernity axis. These two kinds of valuation are in co-constitutive contrast: they depend on and define each other, even as their philosophical sources were in close dialogue. The Herderian/Romantic view was a reaction to the Lockean view (Bauman and Briggs 2003). These contrastive values and qualities *jointly* constitute the discourse of "modernity." Here is a schematic summary:

Modernist axis of contrasting values/properties

Standard language	Dialects, patois, minority and indigenous languages
anonymity	authenticity
universal	particular/emplaced
reason/economy	emotion
progress	tradition/backward
literate/educated	oral
center	periphery
homogeneous/unified	various

It is (only) in contrast to minority languages (or patois, dialects, indigenous practices—whichever is relevant to the historical situation) that standards gain their values. It is by being "correct" that standard languages supposedly gain the values of "literate/educated" and "reason/rationality." It is possible to trace the division into opposed properties—e.g., reason/economy vs. embodied emotion—as these emerged historically in European thought (e.g., Hirschman 1977) although their co-constitution is often ideologically erased, ignored.

In this configuration, minority languages index emplacedness in some particular landscape or territory. Only those with a claim to such rootedness can authentically speak the minority language/dialect, others are seen as fakers or appropriators. In juxtaposition, standard languages signal anonymity in a specific sense. Their authority rests on the claim to be the voice of everyone because they are the voice of no one in particular. They seem to exemplify disembodied reason, evoking a (Habermasian) public that supposedly transcends interests to speak for the whole. "The disinterested public . . . freed through rational discourse from the constraints of a socially specific perspective, supposedly achieves a superior 'aperspectival objectivity' that has been called a 'view from nowhere'" (Woolard 2008, 3–4). Moreover, each side seems to index a chronotope: The future belongs to the standard. The iconic relation between speaker-type, quality and linguistic form holds on both sides of the axis. The emplaced minority language and its speakers supposedly share qualities, though these qualities are different

in different historical situations.[11] The "voice from nowhere" and its speakers supposedly share a lack of markedness, a lack of linkage to any social group, a position above them all, representing, in this ideology, not any specific positions or interests, but science and truth itself. Because this axis constructs the modernity/tradition contrast, it could well be called "civilizational" as well.[12]

   This final distinction and the link to the future (to progress and development) make the modernist axis strikingly different from the others I have described. Only this regime claims a single objective pespective that is supposedly better than any other and against which all others are to be *measured*. It is the only one that claims "correctness" as a quality of language and correctness as measured by the degree to which any utterance matches the rules laid down by a science of language (by linguists, grammarians, schools). Though claiming to speak for all, the standard position in fact marginalizes or excludes women and lower classes, among others, claiming the authority of scientific expertise, while attaining global reach through colonial conquest, missionization and the global upake of nationalism (Bauman and Briggs 2003).

4.   Challenging (Minority) Standardization

This is the organization of value-contrasts that speakers of minority languages face, in trying to fight their own stigmatization, not only as this is projected by speakers of a dominant language but—in the usual way of hegemony—in their own eyes/ears as well. Developments among the Weyewa suggest the key role of axes in these struggles. Recall that Weyewa ritual speech contrasted to ordinary Weyewa speech as trunk to tip, as anger to calm. But it gained quite a different interpretation when, through colonial incursion, it was no longer contrasted to ordinary Weyewa speech but instead paired with Dutch public discourse. The Dutch (and later Weyewa too) interpreted the "anger" of rituals as an icon of the supposedly over-aggressive, out-of-control, "savage" condition of Weyewa leadership in contrast to that of the restrained Dutch (Kuipers 1998, 11). This interpretation buttressed Dutch demands that Weyewa men act more "civilized/educated" by giving up their major, "angry" rituals. The "fullness," "wholeness" and completeness of the "trunk" receded in importance; major rituals were abandoned, and, thus, many syntactic and phonological patterns that were key features of ritual speech went out of use. Later attempts by linguists to create grammars and dictionaries for Weyewa, to provide means of teaching the "correct" forms of Weyewa in Western-style schools to Weyewa children, necessarily relied on the "tips"—mostly everyday speech. The grammars lacked the phonological and syntactic forms of the major rituals, producing far-reaching and unanticipated linguistic reductions in what was understood to "be" the Weyewa language. The effects of colonialism were mediated by a re-analysis of the indexical and iconic values of ritual speech

in an imposed axis of differentiation: the modernist axis, with its roots in European history and philosophy.

Yet, given the hegemony of the modernist axis, it is no wonder that a major strategy of language activists has been to win recognition by states and international agencies for minority languages, and official standing for them in these organizations in the current global system of nation-states. They do this by making their linguistic practices into a "language" as defined in the modernist ideology of standardization. I call this a fractally recursive move because it does not question standardization as part of the modernist axis and its configuration of values, but rather subdivides the "authenticity/emplaced/particular" side of the modernist axis into yet another "anonymous/authentic" pair, recreating at a more limited scale the very same contrasts. This is a widespread process of differentiation that resembles fractal geometry, hence the name we have given it: fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000). Among practices that can be categorized as authentic, some are picked out or newly created as anonymous, representing-the-whole-group, unified and not various. When the practices picked out in this way are linguistic—rather than religious or political—then they must have a written form and become the standard measure for correctness. Whatever the form of the stigmatized linguistic practices had been—and axes of differentiation can be quite diverse—a newly constructed standard register will reproduce at least in part the values on the "anonymous" side of the modernist axis. As Woolard noted: Minority language activists adopt the values whose results they oppose. A further fallout of this process is that some versions of "authenticity" itself, as well as shibboleths of minority languages that signal it, are now available as economic products. Once the minority language is on the "anonymous" side of the axis, it is available for economic functions; it no longer belongs only to certain people and so forth. At least some registers of minority languages are monetized, affixed to similarly commercialized regional products—or as signage in tourist destinations—to increase the products' attraction for buyers seeking the quaint, the cute and/or the exotic (Duchene and Heller 2012).

In Europe, this process has a long history; minority language activists have used the full paraphernalia of modernist expertise in pursuing standardization. As Urla (2012) describes for Basque: Language censuses, maps and even quality management techniques have all been appropriated by the language preservation/revival/standardization project. An earlier phase of the process can be tracked in other parts of the world. For instance, Swinehart (2012) shows how Aymara radio in Bolivia is creating a standard register and how the radio's staff safeguards linguistic boundaries, purifies the register against Spanish borrowings, polices neologisms and disciplines correctness in their own usage and that of other speakers. They orient to Aymara as if they were monolinguals, rather than to their own multilingual practices. Interestingly, this endeavor in part creates the role of indigenous intellectual, aligned with expertise and the objectivity of modernist science.

For those that this register-formation is attempting to unify and bring to consciousness as a language community, the standard register aims to be the anonymous voice of everybody. But it effectively relegates other practices to a double stigmatization: nonstandard (authentic yet backward, quaint) now vis-à-vis standard Aymara (educated, written) as well as Spanish.[13]

Yet, exactly because education, writing, expertise are constitutive values of the modernist axis of differentiation, there are invariably struggles around the knowledge needed for making a standard register, as current ethnographies document. For instance, should the making of a standard— which often involves creation of an agreed-upon orthography for writing as well as choice of variants that might level or unify spoken dialect chains—be entrusted to trained linguists (western science in the flesh!) or to "native speakers" (of what kind?) or to speakers who are both? Cheery (2012) shows the effects when official, western linguists make a standard Navajo, intended to match U.S. imaginings of what a language is and what it should be for. In the case of Mayan activism in Guatemala, French (2010) describes the different results reached by western specialists in Mayan linguistics vs. the native speakers they have trained. They differ in identifying the boundaries of what will be considered separate Mayan languages. The native speakers choose boundaries based on historical animosities between settlements; the western linguists rely on structural similarities between dialects. This seems like a dispute between "tradition" on the one hand and "education/science" on the other. But that distinction itself, in the revival of Mayan languages, falls entirely within a world that, were we to view it from the perspective of the Spanish-speaking Guatemalan state, would be the "traditional, backward, oral and particular, emplaced" side of the modernist axis.

Who exactly has the authority to police and control the speech and writing of minority languages? This continues to be a matter of struggle in Europe as well (McEwan-Fujita 2010; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). Disputes are evident in stark divisions among indigenous intellectuals, who have diverse interests in standardization and disagree on how it should be done. Although she does not call it fractal recursivity, Faudree (2013) documents a series of such disputes that eerily and iteratively reproduce the value contrasts of the modernist axis, subdividing the "authentic" side. Thus, one set of writers among Mazatec-speakers in Oaxaca, Mexico, urges that indigenous language not be written at all; speakers should learn to read Spanish in order to enter a national public. Among those who want indigenous languages to be written, there is disagreement on the alphabet to be used, either siding with Spanish orthographic conventions or insisting on newly instituted indigenous ones.

Yet, as I mentioned at the start of this chapter, there are other and nonstandardized ways of responding to the hegemony of modernity's standardization. Indeed, the standardization of minority languages is often challenged by such alternative practices. A striking example is Urla's (2012) discussion

of "pirate radio" in the Basque country. Young people who opposed middle class intellectuals and their creation of a standard register of Basque responded by organizing illegal broadcasting that deliberately mixed Basque and Spanish, used familiar and rural registers of Basque while playing decidedly unfolkloric, rock and other popular youth styles of music. The radio stations were unofficial, uncommercial and not middle class, thereby turning upside down the values of standardizing preservationists. Arguably, they were not traditional or backward looking. Indeed, they enacted another form of modernity.

Faudree (2013), too, gives vivid examples of indigenous practices that go against the values of the modernist axis, while claiming modernity. In the highlands of Oaxaca, a popular musical competition, the Festival of the Dead, asks young people to submit written lyrics and then perform their works for a gathered audience. But instead of a uniform orthography that is deemed "correct" by some expert or authority, the organizers of the festival will accept any form of writing at all, as long as it is consistent within the one text. Similarly, some indigenous poets do their own subversion, insisting on the recognition of their bilingualism: They write poetry in bilingual editions, unifying Spanish and the indigenous language on the printed page. They translate their own poetry between Spanish and the indigenous language and perform it, but some even go so far as to make the Spanish and indigenous verse denotationally different. Faudree notes that some of these steps recast indigenous goals away from standardized monolingualism (i.e. orientation to indigenous languages as standards). They argue instead that cross-ethnic conversations *among* indigenous people and the use of national (i.e. Spanish) publishing possibilities are just as important. Here we see a whole series of values linked to standard being systematically subverted including the priority of denotation and intertranslatability, purity, uniformity, correctness and the denial of bilingualism, among others. As Faudree notes, in many of these cases, disagreements about linguistic matters are caught up in—and index—other factional disputes among indigenous writers.

We might interpret at least some of these practices as subversive because they not only undermine the classic distinctions of (minority) standardizers, they also re-indexicalize linguistic practices, switch distinctions from one column to the other of the classic modernity axis or add and subtract values from it. Thus, Suslak (2009) reports that young Mixe speakers have adopted codeswitching with Spanish as an ironic comment on purist standardization, conveying their cool sophistication. Their parents also codeswitch, but in the ears of the young people, their parents' codeswitching is a sign of ignorance. In this case, as in others, it is discourses about language and metadiscursive functions in interaction that reformulate the indexical values and iconic images of linguistic practices.

Irony is apparent if we follow the changes that Kulick reports for the village of Gapun. The stark contrast between *hed* and *save* as parts of

selves has remained as an organizing distinction; in this way the Gapun case contrasts with the Weyewa example of a disrupted axis. Yet, as Kulick shows, missionization and schooling have introduced a series of added contrasts and re-significations that have equated *save* with Christian and modern, while equating *hed* with pagan and backward. So, as he notes, the *hed/save* contrast becomes parallel with "Pagan/Christian and Backward/Modern." The Christian, modern linguistic form is the national language Tok Pisin (1992, 20). The repercussions are profound in that a continued reproduction of the self in their familiar terms has led Gapuners to extol and express *save* (as earlier), but now the expression of *save* also reproduces the Christian, the modern and the use of Tok Pisin. Their use of Taiap, the favored form for expression of *hed*, has been much reduced and stigmatized.

Finally, I draw attention to another strategy that seems to reject the entire modernity axis, its implicit connection to anonymous, deliberative publics and democratic process as the flip side of an emplaced authenticity. Several reports from southwestern Native American groups in the United States have explicated a set of language ideological principles that focus on secrecy and the inappropriateness of outsiders teaching, learning or systematizing the group's language or any other form of their cultural knowledge (Hill 2002; Whiteley 2003). On the one hand, it is clear that, in the Hopi case, this is a struggle with experts from anthropology and linguistics who have in some ways appropriated for their own purposes Hopi language, Hopi cultural principles. So, the fight is for Indian sovereignty and control over knowledge practices. As a result, linguists are not permitted to report on the words and expressions that speakers use and have had to find other and creative ways of writing publicly about discursive practices in a range of settlements (Debenport 2014). As Richland (2008) shows in his ethnography of a Hopi law court, the notion of "tradition" is not at all like an objectified "thing" that can be explained in an encyclopedia or consulted as a repository of denotational materials. It is, instead, a stance and position that elders take up, as they claim the power to settle specific disputes in dialogic co-construction with American law. On the other hand, this view of knowledge and language as secret is itself a matter of dispute inside Hopi settlements.

In the examples I have discussed in this final section of the chapter, activists and indeed all speakers "play with"—re-signify, reindexicalize, re-imagine—the hegemonic discourse of modernity through which their linguistic practices have been evaluated. They thereby transform their own communicative practices. As some have suggested, along with the political economic changes that capitalism and the nation-state have undergone, these transformations might well be changing the discourse of modernity itself by changing the values attributed to and expressed by minority languages.

Notes

1. For classic views, see Garvin 1964. The literature of standardization as ideology is large; some of it predates the efflourescence of the concept of language ideology: Haugen 1966, Bourdieu 1981, Milroy and Milroy 1999, Joseph 1987, Silverstein 1996. See Inoue's 2006 overview.
2. But in some cases, disempowered groups are numerically a majority in a state or may be counted to be so according to some categorizations (see French 2010 on Maya speakers in Guatemala).
3. There were lingua-nationalisms in the region, but also opposition to these (Judson 2006). In most places, no one asked the millions of (often multilingual) speakers what language(s) arrangements they preferred.
4. Speakers orienting to a language as (standard) denotational code constitute a *language* community. A *speech* community is made up of those who more or less share how linguistic practices—including multiple languages, registers, genres, accents and other variants—convey social meanings. Any speaker will be a member of at least one and usually more communities of both types (Irvine 2006; Silverstein 1996).
5. This woefully truncated account, though hopefully adequate for my purposes here has been elaborated by so many both inside and outside of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology that citation is daunting.
6. Hobsbawm 1990, Gellner 1983 and Anderson (1991) are the classic works exploring these issues.
7. Despite Revolutionary France's homogenizing and centralizing linguistic policies, Hyacinthe Sermet, a devoted revolutionary, wrote in Occitan (Bell 2001, 170). Even in the 20th century, the playwright Odon von Horváth, born in Trieste, famously remarked: "I am a typical mix of old Austria-Hungary: at once Magyar, Croatian, German and Czech; my country is Hungary, my mother tongue is German" (Mazower 1998, 44).
8. Note that this extends, generalizes and abstracts an older definition of "register" in the work of Halliday, Reid and others. "Style" has been extended in a parallel way in sociolinguistics (Irvine 2001).
9. For more on how to locate axes empirically, relying on both discourse about language and the presuppositions that operate in the uptakes of talk see for instance, Gal (2013) among other works.
10. Irvine and I have called this rhematization, to emphasize that the similarities are picked out and constructed in ideological processes, not inherent in the materials themselves (Gal 2013).
11. Historical specificities for emplacedness: The non-standard/minority forms of American English are indexical of race, those of British English of class (Milroy 2000), those of Hungary and France of region.
12. Notice how the various arguments by linguists for the "preservation" of minority and indigenous languages are themselves oriented to this axis, often in quite problematic ways (Hill 2002).
13. See my discussion (Gal 2012) for how a more encompassing fractal move allows each standard language to be the authentic side of the modernist axis, indexical of and iconically resembling a national essence.

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Contributors

Estibaliz Amorrortu holds a PhD in linguistics from the University of Southern California with expertise in Basque language standardization. She is the Vice Dean of Research and a Professor in the Department of Modern Languages and Basque Studies at the University of Deusto and a member of the Advisory team for the UNESCO Chair of World Language Heritage of the University of the Basque Country.

Nadezhda Ja. Bulatova (PhD, Institute of Linguistics, Leningrad Academy of Sciences) is a Leading Researcher at the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, a long-standing teacher of Evenki at the Gertsen Institute of the Peoples of the North and an active participant in RAIPON (Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North). Dr. Bulatova is a specialist in Evenki dialectology, folklore and shamanism and comparative studies of the Evenki (Russia) and Orochen in the sociolinguistics of Northern Siberian languages and people. She is the author of multiple textbooks and pedagogical materials for Northern languages, in particular for Evenki.

Diana M. J. Camps is a PhD Research Fellow at the Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) at the University of Oslo. Her PhD research is part of the STANDARDS project directed by Pia Lane. Research interests include minority languages, policies and discourses, and issues related to language and migration.

James Costa, previously a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Oslo, where he worked on the standardization of Scots as part of the STANDARDS project directed by Pia Lane, is currently a lecturer at Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris, where he teaches sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and semiotics. He is also an affiliate of Lacito, a CNRS, Sorbonne Nouvelle and Inalco research unit. His current research seeks to understand how a nationalist, post-referendum public space is being constructed in Scotland and how the standardization of the vernacular (Scots), or its rejection, has effects on who gets to be included or not in the public debate. He is the author of a monograph based on previous

work on language revitalization in Provence, *Revitalising Language in Provence*, published by Philological Society/Blackwell (2017).

Haley De Korne is a post-doctoral fellow at the Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan at the University of Oslo. She conducts research, teaching, and advocacy in relation to minoritized language communities, multilingual education, and language politics. She has participated in Indigenous language education projects in a variety of contexts, in particular in Oaxaca, Mexico. She teaches in the 'Critical Language Education' program at the Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca.

Ana Deumert is a professor at the University of Cape Town. Her research is located within the broad field of African sociolinguistics and has a strong transdisciplinary focus. She has worked on the history of Afrikaans (*The Dynamics of Cape Dutch*, 2004) and co-authored *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (2009, with Rajend Mesthrie, Joan Swann and William Leap) and the *Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (2004, with Joan Swann, Rajend Mesthrie and Theresa Lillis). Her latest book looks at mobile communication from a global perspective (*Sociolinguistics and Mobile Communication*, 2014).

Coleman Donaldson is a doctoral candidate in Educational Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania. He is interested in historical and current efforts at promoting African languages such as Manding for education and literacy.

Susan Gal is the Mae and Sidney G. Metzl Distinguished Service Professor at the University of Chicago in the Departments of Anthropology and Linguistics. She is the author of *Language Shift* and co-author of *The Politics of Gender After Socialism*, as well as co-editor of *Languages and Publics*. She has written extensively about the political economy of language and the relationship between linguistic practices, semiotic processes and the construction of social life.

Jone Goirigolzarri holds a PhD in Political Science and is faculty in the Department of Social Work and Sociology at the University of Deusto. She specializes in the study of language policy and practice in Basque political parties.

Lenore A. Grenoble is the John Matthews Manly Distinguished Service Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago. She specializes in Slavic and Arctic Indigenous languages, in particular Evenki (Tungusic) in Siberia and Kalaallisut (Greenlandic, Inuit) in Greenland. Her research focuses on the study of contact linguistics, language shift and vitality, language documentation, discourse and information structure, with particular attention to local and indigenous knowledge.

Pia Lane is a professor in multilingualism at the Centre for Multilingualism in Society across the Lifespan (MultiLing) at the University of Oslo. She has investigated multilingualism from a range of theoretical perspectives, primarily drawing on data from Kven-speaking communities in Northern Norway, but also amongst Finnish-speakers in Canada. She is the director of the project *Standardising Minority Languages*, funded by the Research Council of Norway. The project investigates sociopolitical aspects of the standardization of minority languages, with a particular focus on the role of users in these processes and how users accept, resist and reject aspects of standardization.

Nkululeko Mabandla's training is in sociology, and he is a researcher at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town. He has written widely on the South African middle class, and published, in 2013, *Lahla Ngubo: The Continuities and Discontinuities of a South African Black Middle Class* (African Studies Centre, Leiden). His current work looks at globalization in the South African countryside, with a particular focus on Chinese migrations. His research interests include the fields of philosophy, political economy, postcolonial theory, language and history.

Kumiko Murasugi is an associate professor of Linguistics and Cognitive Science at Carleton University. Her research examines Inuit languages from a variety of perspectives: their linguistic structure, documentation, dialectal variation, language change and bilingualism. She is currently providing linguistic support to Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami on their project exploring a unified Inuktut writing system.

Bernadette O'Rourke is a professor of sociolinguistics in the Department of Languages and Intercultural Studies at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh. Her research focuses on language planning and policy, language rights and language ideologies in bilingual communities. She is the Chair of COST Action IS1306 New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges.

Ane Ortega is faculty at the "Begoñako Andra Mari" Teacher Training College, Department of Language and Literature Education in Bilbao. She has expertise in multilingual pedagogy and is a member of the Advisory team for the UNESCO Chair of World Language Heritage of the University of the Basque Country and Coordinator of the 2016 European Language Diversity Forum.

Jeela Palluq-Cloutier is the Executive Director of Inuit Uqausinginnik Taiguusiliuqtiit, the Inuit Language Authority of Nunavut. The focus of her research in the past five years has been on standardization of Inuktut orthography in Nunavut, as well as at the national level with the Atausiq Inuktut Titirausiq task group with Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. Her passion is working with the Inuit language and its continued use and survival. She

passionately enjoys learning about the language variants from Alaska to Greenland.

Donna Patrick is a professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University. Her research interests are in linguistic anthropology and include political, economic, social and cultural aspects of language use; language rights and policy; Indigenous languages and peoples in Canada and the Arctic; and critical literacies. Her most recent work has involved participatory action-research with urban Inuit in Ottawa and Montreal.

Jacqueline Urla is a professor of anthropology at the University of Massachusetts. She has written widely on cultural activism and language revitalization in the Basque Country. She and the co-authors of this volume have recently completed a study on the language ideologies, experiences and attitudes of "new" speakers of Basque.

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