JASO-online

*Editor***: Robert Parkin**

Guest editors for this issue:

Nancy Hawker, Kinga Kozminska and Leonie Schulte

*Web Editor***: David Zeitlyn**

Reviews Editor: **Emilia Antiglio, Riccardo Jaede, Kare Poulsgaard**

ISSN: 2040-1876

Download current issues and back numbers for free from:

http://www.anthro.ox.ac.uk/publications/journal-of-the-anthropological-society-of-oxford/

CONTENTS

LANGUAGE, INDEXICALITY AND BELONGING: INTRODUCTION[1]

NANCY HAWKER,[2] KINGA KOZMINSKA[3] and LEONIE SCHULTE[4]

I.   The Language, Indexicality and Belonging Conference

The articles presented in this volume are the result of a two-day linguistic anthropology conference organized at the University of Oxford in April 2016 by the present editors and Dr Stephen Leonard of the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology. The conference was a joint initiative of three university departments, the Faculty of Linguistics, Philology and Phonetics, the Faculty of Oriental Studies and the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology. The conference, held at Somerville College, was supported by the John Fell Research Fund. The aim of the conference was to offer a linguistic anthropological approach to questions of the global economy, the state, local communities and institutions while also focusing on the crucial role language plays in processes of group formation, power relations and the construction, destruction and reconfiguration of social boundaries at each of these levels.

The papers discussed at the conference – the first linguistic anthropology conference of this kind at the University of Oxford – presented a range of situations from all over the world where conscious and unself-conscious displays of language varieties, styles and registers are connected to wider social factors. At a time when multiple languages and language varieties are being brought into contact with increased frequency, previously taken for granted categories of social affiliation such as nationality and ethnicity are challenged and redefined. We thus found it crucial to analyse how belonging to a group is

---

[2] DPhil. Leverhulme Early Career Fellow, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford. Postal address: Oriental Institute, Pusey Lane, Oxford OX1 2LE, United Kingdom. Tel.: +44 (0)1865 2 88179. Email: nancy.hawker@orinst.ox.ac.uk. Web: http://www.st-benets.ox.ac.uk/-Nancy-Hawker

[3] DPhil candidate in Linguistics, Faculty of Linguistics, Philology, and Phonetics, University of Oxford. Postal address: Clarendon Institute, Walton Street, Oxford, OX1 2HG, United Kingdom. Email: kinga.kozminska@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk

[4] DPhil Candidate in Anthropology, School of Anthropology & Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford. Postal address: 51 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 6PF, United Kingdom. Email: leonie.schulte@gtc.ox.ac.uk

constructed through linguistic practice. We chose to focus on 'belonging' to stress the changing character of self-presentation in the contemporary world, where group formation should be seen as a process rather than a static norm, following the lines of thought drawn by Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) and by Bucholtz and Hall (2005).

II.   Conceptualizing indexicality and belonging

In order to study 'belonging' and processes of group formation, we put the focus on the indexical character of language as manifested in communicative practices impacted by social, political and economic processes. The key premise was that language is not a bounded system composed only of grammatical and lexical forms, but rather a socio-cultural process that shapes social relations and modes of exchange. It was also assumed that particular ways of speaking serve as indexes of social relations and presentations of the self as forms of belonging to a given social group.

The indexicality of linguistic forms allowed for a conceptualization of variation in language at every level as indicative of group membership and social differentiation. In this approach, linguistic signs are seen as markers of other social phenomena in interaction, which can only be understood within a given sociohistorical context. The fact that they are context-dependent demonstrates that their meaning is variable and mutable. One linguistic sign provides information about multiple aspects of the context. Such premises allow an understanding of language as a sociocultural formation that both reflects and creates social reality. Thus, we found this concept useful in examining the non-static character and ongoing process of belonging to a group in the contemporary world.

Our tools of analysis can be just as well turned on ourselves, to examine our formation of and belonging in the community around the Language, Indexicality and Belonging Conference. This volume's 'group' of academics came together for a ritual, known in our jargon as a 'conference'. This ritual has inherited very strict rules of linguistic behaviour in its form and content (English as the lingua franca in various registers; keynote speeches, presentations, coffee-break chats, dinner toasts), and these rules are seldom challenged; rather, they are applied with a view to a 'standard' that is aspired to. The rules have evolved into an 'indexical field' over the decades and centuries

since an (imagined) baptismal enregisterment of the conference genre. In the times of innocence, before that enregisterment (Agha 2003), speaking and acting in the conference genre would have invoked indexes of the *first* order, performed and understood commonsensically, without explicit metapragmatic knowledge. At our Oxford conference in 2016, our group, now a fleeting 'community of practice' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992), deliberately came together to perform the rules and reiterate the aspiration to achieve perfect conference standards at the level of the *second* indexical order. Our 'belonging' to the conference group was thus produced through our communal negotiation and reiteration of these standards, both formally, in productive session debates, and informally, in personal conversations over drinks.

Less alert attendance, late arrivals and other very common and understandable 'sub-standard' conference performances form a counter-current that nevertheless indexes the same genre and, by knowingly violating the rules, pays respect to the very same standards. And then we can use this paragraph in the conference proceedings to analyse the linguistic-anthropological genre of 'conference' using the concepts of 'belonging' and 'indexicality', though self-ironically, now with its indexes ascending to the *third* order… and so the dialectics of our discipline progresses.

The keynote lecture, given by Michael Silverstein and published here under the title *Standards, styles, and signs of the social self*, provides a solid discussion of the basic concepts and analytical tools that are used to talk about group formation processes from a linguistic anthropological perspective of this sort. As Silverstein shows, language can be used to index one's belonging to nations, political realms, religions, classes, races or genders, as every language community is heterogeneous. In order to comprehend how such belonging is interactionally accomplished, Silverstein reminds us that every language community is an assemblage of enregistered forms that serve as emblems of certain identities and groups. According to Silverstein, 'complex indexicalities […] bespeak complexity of crisscrossing and overlapping voicings with which we articulate ourselves to each other as exemplars of social types' (1999: 108). By examining a number of examples, he demonstrates how, in interactional events, we always position ourselves towards or away from normative sociocultural expectations. It is thus crucial to examine interactional events as sites for the negotiation of social categories and groups

and to acknowledge that the self is always narrated in relation to the sociocultural normativity in which it operates.

III.   The contributions

The remaining papers apply 'belonging' and 'indexicality' to situations of varying scopes, from the intimate settings of an orphanage in Kazakhstan (Meghanne Barker) and of a nursing home in the Netherlands (Jolien Makkinga), to the transcontinental links of colonialism and conflict with a Belizean island (Britta Schneider) and with Turkish speakers in Cyprus (Dionysios Zoumpalidis). The papers differ also in terms of the types of belonging they describe. The first three articles, by Schneider, Zoumpadalis and Yount-André, look at belonging to sociopolitical constructs such as a nation, a race or an ethnic group. Schneider's article, *Kaleidoscopes of indexicality: multiplex symbolic functions of language and unfocused social categories*, examines how Belizean Kriol's indexical properties are embedded within multiple social discourses: on racial subordination and slavery, access to education, transnational ties between Belize and other countries, national identity and colonial history. Despite English being highly valued in Belize, Kriol is widely recognized as a language of national, but diverse Belizean space due to its very subversive character as a non-standard language. The very conceptualization of language as non-standard and heterogeneous operates in opposition to common Western ideologies, successfully refuting the idea that belonging to a national space has to be indexed by a single standardized linguistic code.

Zoumpadalis depicts the extensive efforts exerted by the recently immigrated Turkish- and Russian-speaking community of Pontic Greeks in Cyprus to position themselves as Greek in opposition to Turks. Their determination not to pass on their communal Turkish to the next generation grew out of their acquired sensitivity to the Cyprus conflict, which was not relevant in their former homes in the Soviet Union, and to Greek-Cypriots' essentialized conceptions of linguistic belonging. It is argued in the paper that Pontic Greeks' linguistic preferences contribute to a collective language shift in the direction of Russian and Greek multilingualism to the exclusion of Turkish.

The power of language ideologies in shaping social relations within a nation state is also depicted by Chelsie Yount-André in *Indexing integration: hierarchies of belonging*

in secular Paris, where the analysis of legal discourses and interactions within the households of a group of Senegalese migrants in France shows how they replicate and adapt both Senegalese status categories and French judgements of immigrants in performing their integration in France. The study describes how the Senegalese position themselves in relation to normative expectations of French and Senegalese societies in everyday interactional events, which results in them reinforcing hierarchies of class and religion in an immigrant context.

The next two papers, *Longing and belonging in a second home* and *Belonging to the old and unsuccessfully aged: language practices in a nursing home in Maastricht, the Netherlands*, describe how communicative practices index belonging at the institutional level. Both depict how social relations are interactionally created by examining conversations within two institutions, an orphanage and a nursing home respectively. In both cases, we see how categories of belonging are created by means of language in daily practices. Meghanne Barker shows how, in the absence of biological mothers, caregivers in a Kazakh orphanage use language and objects to create narratives of kinship. We see how notions of kinship are incorporated and naturalized into the children's world through interactions, as temporary caregivers rely on imaginary interactions with real kin. In this way, the caregivers' ongoing narrative allows for socialization of the children into expected social relations within the framework of local kinship philosophy. Barker's article on children's socialization can be contrasted with Jolien Makkinga's paper on a nursing home in Maastricht. This seemingly different institutional setting, and life stage, provides an example of a similar process of socialization into expected social roles, in this case into being an older inhabitant of a nursing home. Relying on Makkinga's thorough conversational analysis of exchanges between carer and patient, we observe how the nurse's linguistic moves at the prosodic, semantic and syntactic levels frame the patient as incompetent, passive and powerless. As Makkinga rightly points out, the carer's communicative adjustments do not operate in a vacuum, but are mediated through the ideologies of ageism circulating in the Netherlands and Western societies more broadly.

Finally, the last two articles in the volume, Abbie Hantgan's *Choices in language accommodation at the crossroads: convergence, divergence and mixing*, and Rebecca

Wood's *The power of language: indexicality and the sociocultural environment* investigate linguistic strategies using iconic indexes to express belonging through the negotiation of communal allegiances. Hantgan's article shows how identities and social relations are context-dependent in an area called Crossroads, in southwest Senegal, where speakers from three villages, Essil, Brin and Djibonker, meet and interact on a daily basis. By examining the voicing of word-initial velar consonants in greetings, Hantgan demonstrates that the speakers both diverge from and converge with their interlocutors' ways of speaking, precisely in terms of their phonetic realization of the velar [k g], to mark their alignment with or distance from members of other ethnic groups. The multilingual practices in the Kingdom allow us to see that the fusion of phonetic forms in a multilingual context can participate in the continuous process of expressing and creating belonging to social and ethnic groups. Revitalization efforts in a multilingual setting can, however, have mixed effects, as in the context of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community of Western Montana dealt with by Wood in her article. In the Salish context, we see that both external, colonial ideologies and practices, and internal power dynamics within the minority community have an impact on the actual linguistic practices of this native community and their indexing of belonging to the Salish community by means of language.

IV.   Onwards

The series of articles presented in this volume form a solid basis for further discussion on the role of language in shaping social relations and belonging in the contemporary world, and we are delighted to offer it as the founding texts of 'our group', our belonging to which is now committed to paper. The articles demonstrate the ways in which multiple linguistic and cultural systems constantly interact. The indexical character of language, expressed by means of a variety of linguistic detail, becomes crucial to comprehending how we make sense of existing norms, how we interact with other cultural frameworks, how we adapt to and interpret the changes in political economies, and finally, how we create new categories of identity and belonging that help us make sense of the world around us. Most importantly, we see that linguistic practices always function within a sociohistorical context and are shaped by multiple social discourses that often transgress

geographical and cultural boundaries. We hope that the volume will trigger further debate on the role of language in shaping social reality in the globalized world.

References

Agha, Asif 2003. The social life of cultural value, *Language & communication* 23/3, 231-273.

Blommaert, Jan, and Chris Bulcaen 2000. Critical discourse analysis, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 1, 447-466.

Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall 2005. Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach, *Discourse Studies* 7/4-5, 585–614.

Eckert, Penelope, and Sally McConnell-Ginet 1992. Think practically and look locally: language and gender as community-based practice, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 461-490.

Silverstein, Michael 1999. Nimby goes linguistic: conflicted voicings from the culture of local language communities, in *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 35, 101-123.

KALEIDOSCOPES OF INDEXICALITY:

MULTIPLEX SYMBOLIC FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

AND UNFOCUSED SOCIAL CATEGORIES

BRITTA SCHNEIDER[1]

Abstract

Original data from an ethnographic study on the indexical meanings of language in a multilingual and ethnically highly diverse context in Belize, Central America, demonstrate that ascribing language to ethnic belonging does not necessarily work. The Belizean language Kriol, an English-lexified Creole that is Belize's dominant oral lingua franca, is a vehicle for several indexes. On the basis of social discourses on Kriol, which are interrelated with the culturally complex history of Belize – involving transnational ties to the former coloniser, to surrounding countries and to the US – I argue that Kriol has multiple indexical functions – as 'the language' of Belizeans, as expressing ties to race and place, and as creating a space of resistance towards Western ideologies of standardization. The case shows that, where social categories are not focused and naturalized, we find multiplex orders of indexicality and non-teleological processes of enregisterment.

I. Language, belonging and diversity on the periphery

Since its very inception, sociolinguistics has been concerned with language diversity and tends to concentrate on linguistic phenomena that display non-standard forms. In recent times, and as an effect of discourses of globalization, the interest in language diversity under conditions of multilingualism and language contact has predominated. This article discusses the multilingual complexity of a single village. The place is rural but nevertheless highly diverse due to its postcolonial, political and economic relationships.

I introduce data from Belize, where I studied the language ideologies of the residents of a small island in the Caribbean Sea. Belize has both a colonial history and a multicultural, national history, with older and newer ethnic formations and diverse trajectories of immigration and emigration, and is today part of the global tourist industry. It is a compelling example with which to study patterns of language and belonging in diverse contexts and to show that monolingual structures are not natural, but rather an effect of particular historical and political conditions in which both language *and* ethnicity are discursive categories

---

[1] PhD. Primary Researcher, Institut für Englische Philologie, Freie Universität Berlin.
Postal Address: Habelschwerdter Allee 45, D-14195 Berlin, Germany. Email: britta.schneider@fu-berlin.de
Tel.: +49 (0)30 838 72333. Web: http://www.geisteswissenschaften.fu-berlin.de/we06/institut/mitarbeiterinnen_und_mitarbeiter/schneider/index.html

dialectically linked to each other (as groundbreakingly illustrated in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). The study of the indexical functions of language (on indexicality, see e.g. Silverstein 1979) means scrutinizing the discourses that contribute to their emergence. To do this in a context in which language and ethnicity are not and have never been congruent promises crucial insights.

The article is therefore based on an ethnographic study of the indexical functions of different languages and focuses on the functions of Kriol. Kriol is a non-standardized Creole language that has gained considerable prestige in Belize and that indexes national belonging but at the same time remains tied to lower class belonging and expresses postcolonial resistance. So, how is it possible that a language of continuing low prestige can index national belonging? As will be shown, this is related to the fact that discourses on Kriol are simultaneously interwoven with complex and sometimes contradictory social discourses linked to different territorial scales – national and transnational – and therefore have multiple and paradoxical meanings.

To take up the 'kaleidoscope' metaphor invoked in the title of the article, I argue that indexical meanings change depending on the discursive positioning we take. The same person may have access to several such positions, particularly where social categories are not fully reified and stable, as is commonly imagined in Western modernist discourse. A 'kaleidoscope' framing goes beyond arguing that indexical meanings change depending on the group we belong to. Yet, despite arguing that indexical meanings of linguistic categories are shifting and multiple, and that therefore we cannot pin down the 'essential' nature of such categories, signifiers that express linguistic categorisation remain relevant in symbolising social difference. Where national epistemes are unstable due to social conditions, resources of multilingualism may still be ordered in categories, though not necessarily arranged in linear, hierarchical forms in the way the modernist, centralizing powers of the twentieth century hoped. Furthermore, resistance to modernist language ideologies characterized by fixity, linear order and standardization may be a more or less conscious part of postcolonial power struggles. Thus, the indexical functions of language may be kaleidoscopic – unfixed and contingent – as enregisterment (Agha 2007) is not a teleological process, and as several threads of enregisterment may exist side by side.

In the following section, I introduce the methodological approach used in the study, including background information on demography and language. In the third and main section, I focus on data from qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations to illustrate the complex and multi-faceted role of the Belizean language Kriol. In the discussion section, I

reflect on the relationship between language categories and social categories in highly diverse contexts such as Belize. The article ends with a short conclusion.

II.   Ethnography in a Multilingual Caribbean Village

This study's research design is based on the assumption that we need to approach the indexical meanings of linguistic categories with qualitative and ethnographic approaches, as they are not 'given' but emerge in discourse. The ethnographic method ensures openness towards the documentation of unexpected meanings (Pérez-Milans 2015). The ethnographic field study undertaken in spring 2015 produced field notes from three months of participant observation in public spaces, a school and a kindergarten, as well as photographs and a collection of printed material. In addition, I conducted nineteen qualitative interviews of length from thirty minutes to two and a half hours, recorded two group discussions with pupils on the role of language in Belize of one hour's length each, and recorded twenty hours of interactions in the school, both inside and outside of class. Furthermore, I collected quantitative material on language attitudes in the form of 155 street interviews in which I asked permanent residents of the village about their language use across domains (family, friends, work). Since 2012, the on-site data collection has been supplemented by observation of online interactions and media (radio, newspaper, television), as well as by studying Belizean literature and the history of Belize.

Belize is a small country of about 300,000 inhabitants and is located south of Mexico and east of Guatemala, its eastern border being the Caribbean Sea. British colonial rule ended as late as 1981 (on Belizean history, see Shoman 2011) and introduced English as an official language. English is used in official and written communications, in education (officially) and in broadcasting. Yet, the country has been diverse from the beginnings of colonial times and probably even before. Kriol, Spanish, Mopan, Queqchi, Yucatec, Garifuna, Hindi, German, Lebanese and different varieties of Chinese belong to the better known diverse linguistic repertoires of the country (Statistical Institute of Belize 2011). In most families ethnic mixing is common, and most Belizeans grow up speaking at least three languages (Escure 1997: 37); it is therefore difficult to map language use and ethnic belonging. Due to immigration from Hispanic neighbours during the nineteenth century and again since the 1980s, Spanish is the demographically dominant language (see also Bulmer-Thomas 2012). Nevertheless, it is Kriol that functions as the country's lingua franca and is seen as indexing Belizean belonging (see Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; also Balam 2013; Salmon 2015: 607). The term *Kriol* refers to an English-lexified Creole (the spelling *Creole* co-exists with Kriol, which also

refers to people of Euro-African descent) and, given that Creole languages usually do not carry overt prestige (see e.g. Morris 1999), the status of Kriol may come as a surprise.

One relevant aspect in understanding the prestige of Kriol is Belize's British colonial history, as speakers see Kriol as related to English. The particular colonial history of Belize led to (some) members of the group of Creoles forming the political elite of the country (see e.g. Barry 1995). Another explanatory factor for the positive prestige of Kriol is Belize's hostile relationship with Guatemala. Since the seventeenth century, Belize has been a contested territory, where first the Spanish and then the Guatemalan authorities questioned the legitimacy of the British presence (Bolland 1992). Even in 2016, bilateral relationships between Belize and Guatemala are difficult, and Belizeans' fear annexation by Guatemala, which has not officially recognised Belize's full status as a nation.[2] Many Belizeans (including Hispanic ones) thus feel a need to differentiate themselves from their Spanish-speaking surroundings, which is strengthened by the fact that Creoles are a cultural and linguistic minority in the region. The Kriol language, in being understood as a version of English, has important boundary-marking functions in its role in symbolizing Belize's 'uniqueness' and differentiating it from Guatemala (see also Ravindranath 2009: 129).

The village I studied has about 1500 inhabitants and is located on a small island in the Caribbean Sea. It is a famous spot for tourists, particularly North American and European divers.[3] Being surrounded by shallow waters that prevent the approach of large ships, the island functioned as hideout for British buccaneers until the eighteenth century. Since the mid-nineteenth century it has been permanently inhabited, dating from when Spanish/Yucatec-speaking refugees from the Mexican Caste War were given the island as a residence (as recorded in collective local knowledge). These 'original families' still reside on the island and, as some of them occupy political functions in local contexts, they are known among the village population. Streets are named after these families, and they tend to be materially well off, as the land parcels they own are now, after the tourist boom, worth greater or smaller fortunes. Due to the increasing economic opportunities on the island in the fishing industry and in tourism since the 1970s, there has been an increase in Kriol-, Garifuna- and other Spanish-speakers both from within and outside Belize, and an increase in speakers of international 'standard' English, as well as of other European and Asian languages. We can

---

[2] See Amandala 2014. For the Guatemalan perspective, see Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatemala 2010.

[3] The number of annual overnight tourists in Belize is 1.3 million; cruise passengers added another 957,975 to that figure in 2015, according to Amandala 2016. Both sojourning tourists and cruise passengers visit the island, which has about 1000 hotel beds (see Belize Tourism Board 2013, no exact information on numbers of visitors to the island is available), ;

summarize that, from all we know, the island was Yucatec/Spanish-dominant until 1970s, and is now highly diverse.

This figures in the quantitative data on language use across domains, given below (Table 1). This should not be misunderstood as documenting actual language use, but rather the language ideologies and attitudes of informants, who tend to say what they think they use, what they think they should use, or what they think the researcher thinks they should use. In the context of this Belizean village, many people clearly downplayed their knowledge of Spanish. Furthermore, some language practices indeed may not fit at all with such categorizations, which some informants also commented upon. Interestingly, these were particularly informants who cannot be assumed to have had access to institutional education (e.g. elderly men working in the fishing industries).
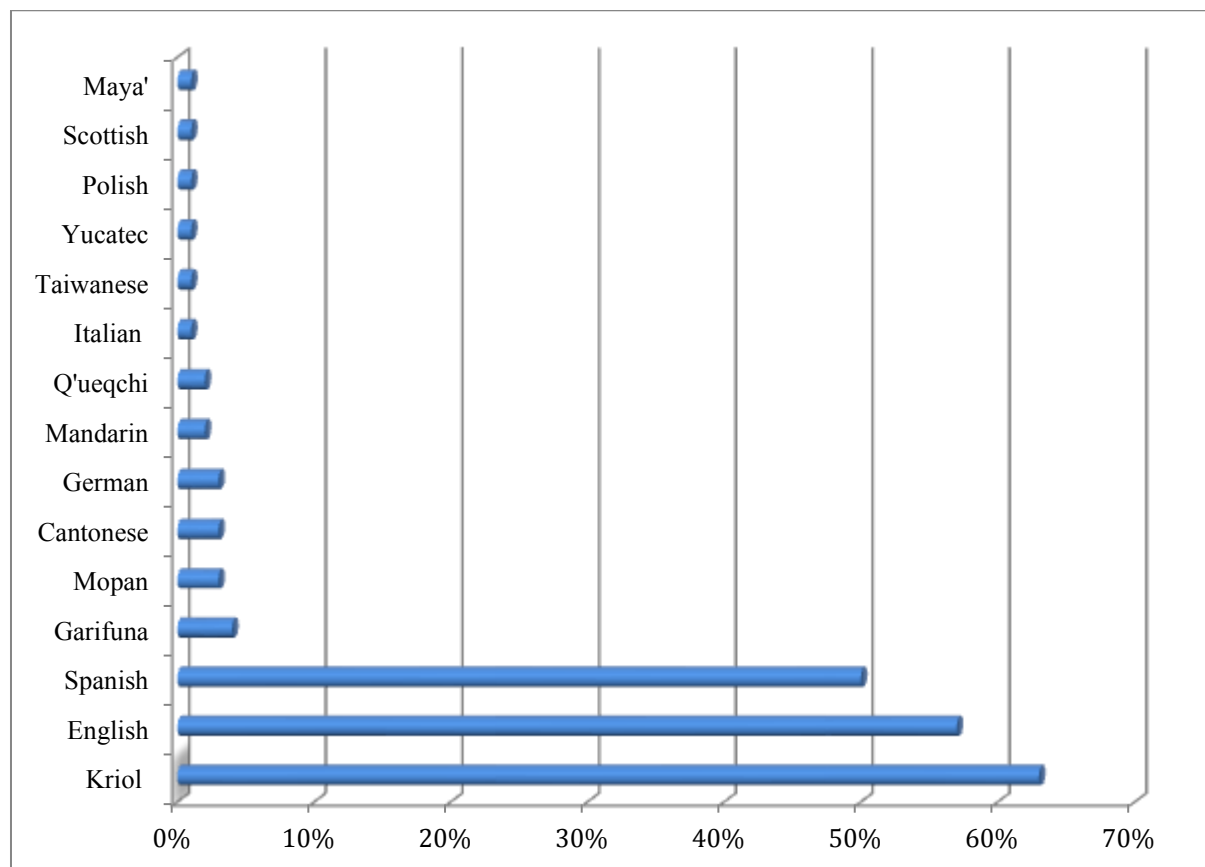

Table 1. Reported home language use, several answers possible (n=155)

As can be inferred, besides a rather large number of other languages where the boundaries between some of these *languages* may be unclear, Kriol is indicated to be the most frequently used home language, the different indexicalities of which are analysed below.

III.   Kriol's multiple indexicalities

IIIa.   *National and transnational class hierarchies*

Kriol is associated with lower class belonging, as it is a non-codified, oral code, intertwined with histories of slavery, despite its relative status in some contexts. Constructions of Kriol as 'broken English' do indeed appear in my data set, where some see Kriol as an index for the lower classes and a lack of education. In contrast to the aims of the National Kriol Council and a public discourse that is known among the educated elite, various local informants conceptualize Kriol as 'a dialect' of English and not as 'a language' in its own right (on the socially constructed nature of this distinction, see any introductory textbook on sociolinguistics). The following quote from an informant who is a high-school English teacher of Mestizo and Arab descent, and a proud speaker of Kriol, an internal class division is apparent within Belize, where Kriol indexes the lower classes:

> Transcript 1
> *Even here on the island*
> *You'll find a few*
> *But I'm talking about those that consider themselves,*
> *You know (.)/*
> *Interviewer: / Superior*
> *Person 1: Yes, in terms of, ahm, class*
> *And that sort of thing.*
> *How much money, you know,*
> *They're making*
> *And that sort of thing.*
> *They won't have their children speak Kriol because (.)*
> *Kriol is beneath them.*

Kriol's lack of prestige is directly linked to constructions of class and economic prosperity. There is a small political-economic elite in Belize whose children attend prestigious schools usually run by US American religious institutions and who, when older, leave the country to study in the US. Some refer to his cohort of the population as the 'Royal Creoles', which apparently includes people of mixed ancestry (British/African or British/ African/indigenous American, sometimes also 'white' Belizeans; see also Johnson 2003: 602). The 'Royal Creoles', in their overall style (e.g. clothing) and patterns of consumption (e.g. of media, imported goods such as cars, food), as well as their linguistic behaviour (also in the

phonology of the quote above, which I do not discuss further here), are strongly oriented towards US American styles. Belize maintains transnational ties to the US in the form of economic relationships, mass media and emigration, thus entering the value system of the exonormative prestige of standard US American English.

Therefore, the Kriol language is mainly described here in terms of its indexing of class. To a certain extent, therefore, belonging to the upper and upper middle classes in Belize implies disconnecting oneself from national values, as it means using English and not Kriol. The devaluation of the 'Belizean' language is thus linked to the construction of class on a transnational level, as the performance of elite identity in Belize clearly ties in with US American habits.

Kriol's function as indexing lower class belonging therefore cannot be understood in isolation from the symbolic values of English. The indexical function of Kriol is embedded in a transnational value scale, co-produced locally, in which English ranks highest:

Transcript 2
Within the Belizeans
There's this social hierarchy
Where if you know how to speak proper English
That means you're going to be well educated
You're going to go somewhere in this world
You're not going to stay here and become just another you know
You're not going to fit into the cycle
You're going to be smart
You're going to get a scholarship somewhere
You're going to get out of this country
To locals it is prestige you can speak English
You read a lot
You know a lot.

In this quote, the informant evokes the national community ('Within the Belizeans …'), and regards getting out of that social space as being of high social value. While Kriol does have local prestige, being able to use English has overt prestige associated with education, intelligence, knowledge and social and geographical mobility. Clearly, here, English is imbued with the power to index educational advance and access to expert knowledge, of which the culture of literacy is an important aspect ('You read a lot, you know a lot'!).

14

Indeed, as a legacy of colonialism and its institutions, the British Queen is head of state, and standard British English enjoys exonormative prestige with which, however, only a small fraction of Belizeans identifies or can access.

Such observations show that national frameworks are not sufficient if we want to understand the indexical functions of language in a globalized context. The indexical meaning of Kriol interrelates with that of American Standard English. Economic and educational mobility in Belize requires, on the whole, geographical mobility – work or study in the US – so that Standard American English indexes these three forms of mobility. Yet many Belizeans do not master Standard American English since this competence is unnecessary for the majority of jobs in the local economy. Despite widespread positive attitudes towards Kriol, applying a transnational perspective, and considering the transnational economic relations, we may argue that Kriol speakers are left behind, socioeconomically and geographically.

IIIb.   Racial alignment and national belonging

Kriol's indexicalities intersect with racial constructions and, due to their being historically the repertoire of slaves and the subordinate people, are symbolically related to people whose skin colour implies non-European descent – which can nonetheless clearly be part of positive local constructions of belonging. This can be seen in the following quote, in which 'race' is depicted as a central social category. The reader should be aware that the main local racial categories are 'dark-skinned' and 'Spanish', where 'Spanish' is an emic categorization for Hispanic people, irrespective of ethnicity (Belizean, Mexican, Guatemalan, Honduras, etc.). The following quote is from an interview with a young Belizean woman whose skin colour happens to be rather 'white' and who has attended elite schooling in Belize City:

Transcript 3
Every time I speak Kriol
But you're white!
You know, I would have never guessed that you're from here
And I was like
'I'm Belizean'
You know, that's (.)
It's pretty much the up the adaptation mode of it
If you're not pretty much Spanish-looking or dark-skinned,
You're automatically a tourist.

We can infer that Kriol is linked to racial constructs developed during colonialism, where only a non-'white' kind of skin colour is interpreted as indexing local belonging. 'Being white' means 'being from somewhere else', irrespective of when one's ancestors started to reside in the country. In the case of Belize, it may well be that a 'white' person's ancestors came to Belize earlier than those of someone who looks 'dark-skinned' or 'Spanish'. Another interesting observation is that the social role of 'being white' is no longer associated with British colonists but with tourists – a comparison of these social identity types might be worthwhile. In the quote above, it is very clear that Belizeans with a more European-looking phenotype are considered to be 'foreign' and consequently need to prove their authentic local belonging. One way to do this is by means of language – if you don't use Kriol, you are 'automatically a tourist' (a privileged outsider).

At the same time, the above quote is telling in demonstrating that the Kriol language is indexically linked to national identity: 'And I was like "I'm Belizean"'! Kriol is thus simultaneously linked to constructions of class, race and national belonging. However, race and class categoriations are not in a nested relationship with regard to the nation, nor with regard to the 'national' language Kriol – it is not a 'Chinese box' type of relationship. The kind of national identity that is indexed by Kriol does not necessarily include the Belizean upper classes. 'Racial' features (e.g. being 'dark-skinned') are not exclusive to Belize, and some of the 'racial' features of Belizeans are not regarded as being linked to the Kriol language. In addition, it can be inferred from the above that the local category 'Spanish' can be associated with Kriol, at least more easily than if someone is classified as 'white', even though in other contexts the (often derogatively used) ethnic ascription of 'Spanish' is associated with the Spanish language. 'Spanish' is a product of regional ties experienced through immigration, regional cultural contact, media from Hispanic countries, creating links to exonormative non-prestigious (lower class) *and* the prestigious (standardized) language Spanish. And yet, it is Spanish and not Kriol that is demographically the dominant language. According to statistical data, only 30% of the overall population declare Kriol to be their main home language (Statistical Institute of Belize 2011). This brings us back to the question of why Kriol is popular and why it indexes national identity, despite its lower class associations and minority numerical status. The following quote shows that Kriol is the *lingua franca* of Belize and demonstrates its prestigious social status:

> Transcript 4
> *So, everyone who comes to Belize (.)*
> *Learns Kriol (.)*
> *Because it is spoken everywhere.*
> *So, it doesn't matter if you're Chinese, Haitian, Arab, Indian, Mestizo.*
> *Kriol is the common language.*

In this quote by a local teacher and Kriol activist, Belize is constructed as a Kriol-speaking place. In the face of a complex and diverse ethnic and linguistic population, a discourse on linguistic sharing is an important element in constructing national belonging: 'It doesn't matter if you're Chinese, Haitian, Arab, Indian, Mestizo, Kriol is the common language'. In this national language ideology of 'one nation, one language', linguistic diversity is actively erased (on processes of erasure, see Irvine and Gal 2000), as well as the fact that competence in Kriol ranges on a continuum and – being a mostly non-scripted code with locally very diverse influences – differs across regions within Belize. Despite its linguistically unstable and diverse nature, positive attitudes towards Kriol strongly prevail (similar attitudes to Northern Belize are discussed in Balam 2013). In the high school where I conducted research, virtually all students were eager to confirm – with a large smile on their faces – that they spoke Kriol. This is despite the fact that the majority (about 90%) regard themselves as being of Mestizo ethnic background. The national discourse of 'one nation, one language' here overrules ethnic alignment.

Given the increase in the prestige and popularity of Kriol in recent decades, it should come as no surprise that in some parts of public discourse, a European modernist ideology of language – making it a 'real' language with a dictionary and a grammar book – has become popular. The National Kriol Council's activities are well known and reported in newspapers and on television (see e.g. Amandala 2013; Salmon 2015: 608). One of its greatest successes was the publication of the *Kriol-Inglish Dikshineri* (Herrera et al. 2009), and grammars of Kriol are also available (e.g. Decker 2013). The Council actively supports the use of Kriol as a written language in the media and in education. It has implemented a relatively phonetic spelling with the intention of making it visible that Kriol is different from English (personal communication with Council members). The activities of the Council are, however, contested.

IIIc.   *Postcolonial resistance*

Besides practical issues related to the acquisition of Kriol literacy and the historical and ideological links to English that some speakers would like to see in writing, there is another, more profound ideological struggle when it comes to standardizing Kriol and using it in written and formal contexts. Some of my informants saw the enterprise of aligning Kriol with Western language ideologies of homogeneity, as well as the focus on form, as opposing what is the 'nature' of Kriol:

Transcript 5

That is actually the whole thing about Kriol.

There is no proper Kriol.

Nothing in Kriol is proper at all.

Nothing is set.

Everything is just

It's a sound

It's very phonetic

That's it

That's about it.

And it changes

[...]

And that the culture of Kriol is to have no standard

Because it develops

And everyone can be individual

And be much more creative with the language

Than if you have the actual idea that you have one.

This quote from an interview with a young villager who has attended elite schooling in Belize City shows that the actual idea of what is 'proper' is seen by some as being in opposition to the culture of *Kriol*. The informant uses the term 'proper', which is the common adjective used locally to refer to Standard English ('proper English'). The term 'proper' implies not so much a neutral description of linguistic form, but rather moral evaluations, which in the above case brings to mind Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) and language ideological processes of iconization (Irvine & Gal 2000). Even though 'English' is not mentioned in the quote, the word 'proper' evokes the contrast of Kriol and English as 'proper' language. The informant above assumes that the concept of a fixed and standardized language – the idea of

being 'proper – does not correspond to the practices that are associated with using Kriol. She regards the changing and idiosyncratic nature of Kriol to be in opposition to the standardized form. The final lines in the quote above further illuminate the speaker's concept of Kriol. She argues that the actual idea of using Kriol is to be 'individual', to be 'creative', and that this stands in contrast to the idea of having 'one'. The term 'one' is used ambivalently here, as it may either be interpreted as being an anaphoric reference to 'standard' (four lines above). However, it may also be understood as expressing that having 'one' 'language' is in opposition to the multiple, individual and manifold practices that the informant regards as being 'Kriol' (the intonation pattern, with stress on this sentence-final word 'one', actually makes this latter interpretation more likely). Another interesting observation is the informant's explication of the material character of Kriol: Kriol is 'just a sound', it is 'very phonetic'. While, of course, this is one reason for the more flexible and elusive nature of Kriol, it is also important to consider the oppositions that are brought to the fore here, where the 'proper' language is materialized in writing and Kriol is described not primarily as a different grammatical system, but as a cultural practice that is of a different material nature. These language ideologies that co-construct Kriol show the potential of Kriol to index a cultural space that is linked to 'creativity' and, presumably, to resistance to Western, modernist, colonial ideals of standardization, logocentrism and linearity. Cultural contact within the Caribbean, particularly through music, played a role in linking exonormative non-prestigious (Creole) to (in popular culture) the prestigious language Jamaican Creole.

To sum up, we have seen that Kriol has several indexical ties to different social discourses that range from local belonging, racial ties, lack of access to education, national identity and the construction of a national albeit diverse space. Kriol has succeeded in indexing a kind of national belonging, even though it is used neither in overly formal realms nor by a small upper class. On grounds of these national indexicalities, attempts are made to render Kriol a standard language according to European models. However, this is contested because of Kriol's role in indexing a creative space, free from the restrictions of standardized language that may be specific to Western and colonial language ideologies. In addition, the attempt to make Kriol 'a real language' is problematic, as, like any other verbal practice, Kriol is part of a stratified transnational value system in which, at least locally, 'proper English' ranks highest.

The presence of several parallel indexical meanings does not mean a postmodern kind of 'anything goes' but demonstrates that people have access to different indexical orders (Blommaert 2010) at the same time. This implies different simultaneous indexical meanings

of Kriol within local scales, which are complexly interlinked with global and local socio-political histories. In the final section, I draw some more general conclusions about language, indexicality and constructions of belonging on the basis of these observations.

IV.   Enregisterment and teleology: on the formation of hegemonic indexical meanings of language

As we have seen, the creation of a hegemonic single meaning of Kriol – as in 'Kriol is the language of Belizeans' – has not been entirely successful, despite Kriol's indexical meaning of 'Belizean-ness'. The colonial condition of Belize and its diverse make-up are central reasons in the multiplexity of Kriol's indexical functions. Presumably, the national community that is 'Belize' has never been imagined as entirely isolated or homogenous. We may assume that such an imagination has had more force elsewhere, for example, in Europe, where economic structures and political structures tended to coincide for a while and where, therefore, unified and hegemonic concepts of culture and language were discursively dominant and could reach the status of 'truth' (on the discursive construction of truth, see e.g. Foucault 1978). In the Belizean case, the impossibility of creating a discourse of a 'focused' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985) social category that is linked to a specific linguistic category leads to the lack of a hegemonic indexical meaning for the 'Belizean language' Kriol. The process of what Agha (2007) calls 'enregisterment' has not resulted in the construction of one dominant meaning. As Silverstein observes, processes of enregisterment are related to the power of institutions to make indexical meanings 'true' (speech at LIB conference, 08.04.2016). Yet discursive forces from outside Belize have always been powerful.

Due to the particular nation state-building process in Belize – involving multiple ethnic practices, the continuing prestige of a coloniser's language and culture, and strong economic and social ties to the surrounding countries and to the US – institutions in Belize have not developed a one-dimensional position with regard to the question of what is considered culturally desirable, and whether or not local traits, among them Kriol, are ascribed formal prestige. One may refer to this as an 'incomplete' kind of enregisterment, but maybe we should rather describe it as a form of parallel enregisterment, where diversity – now a buzzword in contemporary Western societies – has always been constitutional. The signifier 'Kriol' indexes Belizeaness, but due to its embeddedness in transnational structures, its meaning of 'national belonging' and its being an index for an 'authentic' national community are enregistered in parallel with the meanings of 'working class', 'incorrect' and

'undeveloped', linked to stigmatised histories of racial subordination and slavery. Faced with English being used in formal and elite practices, and because of the status of English worldwide, these latter indexicalities are difficult to overcome.

Kriol is simultaneously linked to spaces of creativity, appropriation and resistance, as well as to transnational networks of black popular culture, the 'Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1993), music styles and a general notion of postcolonial resistance (see also Salmon 2015). A refusal to engage in coherent and standardized verbal practices and use Kriol instead to a certain extent expresses postcolonial resistance. These meanings are actually endangered by the endeavour to align Kriol with modernist, Western, ideologies of standardization.

Thus, due to the continuing contact between different discourses, which tie in with different social, ideological and geographical spaces, Kriol has multiple meanings simultaneously. The co-existence of various indexical meanings for the same linguistic form reminds one of Silverstein's concept of 'indexical orders'" (Silverstein 2003). Snell describes Silverstein's line of argument as follows:

> The ideological process begins when a particular linguistic form or 'n-th order indexical' becomes associated with social values (e.g. through correlation between the linguistic form and some social characteristic of the users or contexts of use of that form) so that they acquire indexical meaning. The association between form and meaning is not stable, however; the process occurs within a fluid ideological space in which the n-th order indexical form is always available for reinterpretation, for an additional $n + 1$st order indexical meaning: '$N + 1$st order indexicality is thus always already immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the n-th order' (Silverstein 2003: 194). (Snell 2010: 632)

We can use this interpretation of the development of indexical meanings to scrutinize the case of Belizean Kriol, where we also first have to assume a historical correlation of form with social characteristics – Kriol as the verbal practices of slaves and their offspring. These practices were then subject to different reinterpretations, as being one of the codes of the national middle class that emerged as the descendants of slave-masters and slaves. Members of the national elite, however, often regard themselves as speakers of English, and most of them have been educated in the US. Together with English being used in written form, this has had an effect on Kriol as continuing to mean 'orality' and 'informality', to which the meaning of 'resistance' is added, which at the same time is linked to a transnational scape (Appadurai 1996) of Creole language speakers and also to African American vernacular

English (as my informants also stated). All in all, it is difficult to conceptualize these enregisterments and reinterpretations as a linear process, as they seem rather to be a dialectical development whose elements are mutually dependent. I would therefore hesitate to use the "n-th order" and "n+1ˢᵗ order" scheme to analyse these simultaneous and partly paradoxical developments, as the scheme may evoke the image of a linear development, even though this is not its target.

If we were to look for multiplex and paradoxical indexical orders in the contexts of other languages, we would probably easily find them – in any sociolinguistic context, there are contested and multiple discourses that impact on paths of enregisterment (see Agha 2007: 74). We should therefore not make the mistake of assuming that processes of enregisterment are of a teleological nature that necessarily result in a hegemonic language with naturalized ties to people and territory – what some call 'indigenization' in the case of localized 'World Englishes' (e.g. Schneider 2011, for a critical view, see Saraceni 2015;). The discursive production of a dominant language with ties to a particular territory is often constructed as a 'natural' development in 'modern' nation states, while, more recently, processes of cultural globalization have made it apparent that such ties may be untangled (see e.g. Heller 2007) or, as in the case described here, never fully develop.

V.   Conclusion

In this article, I have described the multiple indexical ties of the Belizean language Kriol as indicated in data from ethnographic observation, questionnaires on language use across domains and qualitative interviews. We have seen, first, that communal linguistic diversity is an effect of the histories of political structures and economic practices. Secondly, we have seen that a language – in this case Kriol – may display multiple indexical ties. Due to different and partly opposing social discourses, there are parallel processes of enregisterment with regard to the language Kriol. This, thirdly, demonstrates that languages, as categories, are an effect of social practices that bring into being social belonging, where we can assume that linguistic and social categories emerge in a dialectal fashion. However, where social categories are not clear-cut but overlap and are tied to different geographical scales and social discourses at the same time, indexical meanings of languages and practices of creating belonging may be unstable and multiplied in a deliberately fluid ideological strategy.

References

Agha, Asif 2007. *Language and social relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Amandala 2013. Kriol version of the New Testament is now available, http://perma.cc/PQ4D-9PPK (accessed 12 September 2016).

— 2014. Guat passport offensive, http://perma.cc/K45Q-76TJ (accessed 12 September 2016).

— 2016. Belize received 1.3 million tourists in 2015, http://perma.cc/FT6J-MFW6 (accessed 12 September 2016).

Appadurai, Arjun 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Balam, Osmer 2013. Overt language attitudes and linguistic identities among multilingual speakers in northern Belize, *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 6, 247–-77.

Barry, Tom 1995. *Inside Belize*, Albuquerque: Resource Center Press.

Belize Tourism Board 2013. Travel & Tourism Statistics Digest, Belize City, http://perma.cc/R7H7-QT4V (accessed 12 September 2016).

Blommaert, Jan 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolland, Nigel 1992. *Belize: Historical Setting*, in Tim Merrill (ed.), *A country study: Belize*, Washington, DC: Library of Congress Federal Research Division.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor 2012. *The economic history of the Caribbean since the Napoleonic Wars*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Decker, Ken 2013. *The song of Kriol. A Grammar of the Kriol language of Belize*. Belize City: Belize Kriol Projekt via SIL, http://perma.cc/96HG-AT52 (accessed 12 September 2016).

Escure, Geneviève 1997. *Creole and dialect continua: Standard acquisition processes in Belize and China*, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Foucault, Michel 1978. *Dispositive der Macht. Michel Foucault über Sexualität*, Wissen und Wahrheit, Berlin: Merve.

Gilroy, Paul 1993. *The black atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*, London: Verso.

Heller, Monica 2007. Bilingualism as ideology and practice, in Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: a social approach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-22.

Herrera, Yvette, Paul Crosbie and et al. 2009. *Kriol-Inglish dikshineri* [English-Kriol dictionary], Belize City: Belize Kriol Project.

Irvine, Judith T. and S.Susan Gal 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation, in Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language. Ideologies, polities and identities,* Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press, 35–-83.

Johnson, Melissa 2003. The making of race and place in 19th century British Honduras, *Environmental History* 8, 598–-617.

Le Page, R. B. and Andrée Tabouret-Keller 1985. *Acts of identity. Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatemala 2010. Síntesis, Situación del Diferendo Territorial existente entre Guatemala y Belice y las perspectivas de solución al mismo [Summary of the Status of existing Territorial Dispute between Guatemala and Belize and prospects of solution to it], https://perma.cc/GCG7-H3VP (accessed 12 September 2016).

Morris, Mervyn 1999. Is English we speaking, in Mervyn Morris (ed.), Is English we speaking and other eEssays, 1–16,. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

Pérez-Milans, Miguel 2015. Language and identity in linguistic ethnography, *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 132, 1–-15.

Ravindranath, Maya 2009. Language shift and the speech community: Sociolinguistic change in a Garifuna Ccommunity in Belize, Publicly accessible Penn Dissertations 33. https://perma.cc/L7JZ-VF3Q (accessed 12 September 2016).

Salmon, William 2015. Language ideology, gender, and varieties of Belizean Kriol, *Journal of Black Studies* 46, 605-25.

Saraceni, Mario 2015. *World Englishes. A critical analysis*, London: Bloomsbury.

Schneider, Edgar W. 2011. *English around the world*, Cambridge: University Press.

Shoman, Assad 2011. *A history of Belize in 13 chapters*, Belize City: Angelus Press.

Silverstein, Michael 1979. Language structure and linguistic ideology, in Paul R. Clyne, William F. Hanks and & Carol L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The elements: a parasession on linguistic units and levels*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, 193–-247.

Silverstein, Michael 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life, *Language and Communication* 23, 193–-229.

Snell, Julia 2010. From sociolinguistic variation to socially strategic stylisation, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14, 630–-56.

Statistical Institute of Belize 2011. 2010 Population & Housing Census Belize. Main Results of 2010 population and housing census. https://perma.cc/6WVQ-48VH, (accessed 12 September 2016).

CHANGING ATTITUDES: RECONSIDERING THE ROLE OF TURKISH

IN THE COMMUNITY OF PONTIC GREEKS IN CYPRUS

DIONYSIOS ZOUMPALIDIS[1]

Abstract

The present paper examines the linguistic behaviour of the first wave of Pontic Greek immigrants to Cyprus based on their internalized language attitudes and dominant language ideologies. Since the time of its settlement in Cyprus in the early/mid 1990s, the predominantly Turkish-speaking community of Pontic Greeks has experienced a rapid linguistic and cultural transformation. This occurred primarily due to the local population's (i.e. Greek-Cypriots') reluctance to recognize the Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks as belonging to the Greek linguistic and cultural 'world' in light of the former's historical and socio-political tensions with the Turkish-Cypriot minority. More specifically, I will analyse the factors that have contributed to this rapid language shift and show what (non-) linguistic means are employed by the members of the Pontic Greek community to index their ethnic identity and belonging.

I. Introduction

The tightly-knit community of immigrant Pontic Greeks in Cyprus numbers 25,000 to 30,000 out of a total island population of nearly 839,000 (Census 2011). The first Pontic Greek immigrants to Cyprus, who arrived in the early to mid-1990s, spoke a variety of Turkish as their first language (L1), and although many of them also spoke Russian, their Greek skills were poor. Only twenty years later, Turkish speech has contracted even in the domestic sphere, and while Russian has been retained, Greek has gained ground.

The community of Pontic Greeks has mainly been studied from a historical perspective (see Karpozilos 1999, Bruneau 2000, Eloeva 2000 and Fotiadis 2000, among others), while limited research has been conducted from a sociolinguistic perspective (see Melikishvili and Jalabadze 2016, Höfler 2016 for anthropological and linguistic anthropological approaches to the study of

---

[1] PhD. Assistant Professor, Institute of Education, National Research University, Higher School of Economics, Moscow. Postal address: Building 10, Office 305, Potapovsky pereulok 16, 101000 Moscow, Russia. Email: dzubalov@hse.ru. Tel.: +74957729590*22907.
Web: https://www.hse.ru/en/org/persons/133908090

the Pontic Greeks, mainly in the Tsalka region of Georgia). The aim of this article is therefore twofold: (1) to fill in this gap in the existing literature on Pontic Greek sociolinguistics; and (2) to investigate how the language attitudes and language ideologies of Pontic Greeks towards the Turkish variety spoken in the community have triggered the rapid linguistic and cultural transformation of the community in question.

II.   Theoretical considerations

Language ideology and language attitudes form the theoretical framework for the analysis of the data. Following Woolard's (1992: 235) definition of language ideology, based on Silverstein (1987), 'language ideology' refers to a shared body of common-sense notions − seen as expressions of a collective order − about the nature of language, the nature and purpose of communication and appropriate communicative behaviour. According to Tollefson (2007: 26), this means that 'the ways human societies communicate both reflect and shape fundamental assumptions about individuals as members of collective identities.'

Ryan et al. (1982: 7) define language attitudes as 'any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers'. Fasold (1984: 148) broadens the definition of language attitudes further by arguing that all sorts of behaviour concerning language can be investigated, including attitudes toward language maintenance and planning efforts. It is this interpretation of language attitudes in tandem with language ideology that constitutes the theoretical basis in this paper. Since attitudes are 'socially-structured and socially-structuring phenomena' (Garret, Coupland and Williams 2003: 5; see also Sherif and Sherif 1967), this method can provide the tools to analyse and explain why Turkish speech has contracted in favour of Greek within the Pontic Greek community.

III.   Methodology

The present study uses a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods and analyses. A questionnaire was used as the main methodological instrument for collecting quantifiable data. Interviews were used as a supplementary methodological tool for obtaining qualitative data. In addition, ethnographic observations of cultural events and celebrations offered an insight into the patterns of actual language use. This synthesis of methods provided a more complete picture of the research object.

As a researcher and a member of the Pontic Greek community, I attempted to make observations as objectively as possible while gaining access to the information the participants

provided (though instances of bias cannot be excluded). From 2009 to 2012, I regularly attended two celebration centres owned by Pontic Greek businessmen: 'Σπάρτακος' (Spartan), located in Nicosia, and 'Αγαπητός' (Beloved) (previously known as 'Καύκασος' or Caucasus, a name which is still used unofficially by a large number of Pontic Greeks), located on the outskirts of Nicosia. Both are specifically targeted at Pontic Greek customers and where various festivities, such as weddings, christenings, birthdays, Christmas and New Year parties, are celebrated. In particular, I observed behaviour patterns, traditions, types of music, songs and other cultural specificities, as well as guests' language practices, including language selection when proposing a toast. Similarly, I attended various celebrations such as the annual national celebration of the Greek day of independence on 25th March. It should be stressed that my ethnic background and my experience as a first-generation Pontic Greek immigrant to Cyprus (from Russia but born in Georgia) greatly facilitated my access to the Pontic Greek community in Cyprus, most of whose members were eager to take part in the study.

In total, 291 Pontic Greeks from the former Soviet Union (mostly from the north and south Caucasus area) participated in the study. The quantitative part of the study consisted of 247 questionnaires. The participants were divided into four age groups: 10-25 years old, 26-35 years old, 36-50 years old and over 51 years old. The questionnaire was divided into four parts and consisted of 54 questions in total. Qualitative data consist of 44 semi-structured interviews (40 one-to-one and four group interviews). The questions in the questionnaire constitute the basis for the interview. In addition, five open-ended and semi-open questions were included in the interview, which were intended to trigger a more in-depth discussion. The respondents were offered Russian or Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG) as the preferred languages for the interview, these being the two languages that *all* the participants reported knowing (see Figure 1). My limited knowledge of Turkish did not allow me to offer this language for oral interviewing (the written questionnaires would not have been useful in Turkish anyway, since the overwhelming majority, if not all, of the members of the Pontic Greek community are illiterate in Turkish). However, in general, all generations (younger, middle and older) showed a preference for answering the questionnaire in Russian (some younger participants opted for the questionnaire written in SMG). The majority of the participants felt comfortable using Russian and/or SMG in interviews in so far as nearly 84% of them identified with Russian and/or SMG as their mother tongue(s), while the remainder reported being good or very good speakers of the languages in question. In a similar (qualitative) study, Höfler (2016), when investigating the interrelationship between language and identity in the Pontic Greek community of Georgia, used

Russian as the main medium of communication with her Turkish- and Pontic Greek-speaking respondents (see also Loladze 2016, also Popov 2010, who also resorted to the Russian language in the investigation of the Pontic-Greek and Turkish-speaking Pontic Greek community in Georgia and Russia, respectively). In the present article, pseudonyms are used instead of the informants' real names.

IV.   Results and discussion

There are different factors that contribute to a community's shift away from one (or more) of its languages, and they normally fall into two categories: internal and external. We shall look accordingly at the factors that have led the community of Pontic Greeks to shift collectively away from the Turkish variety that was until recently the main intra-communal means of communication (see Figure 1). This variety of Turkish is often referred to as *Urum*, as, often, are its speakers: it is an eastern dialect of Turkish, which is mutually intelligible with Standard Modern Turkish (Kolossov et al. 2000; Bruneau 2000). In this article, I will use the term 'Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks' and 'Turkish' to refer solely to the Pontic Greek context and the Turkish variety the Pontic Greeks speak, while 'Standard Modern Turkish' will be used to refer to the standard variety of Turkish spoken in present-day Turkey.

As for the external factors in this case, these include the current status of Standard Modern Turkish (henceforth SMT) in Cyprus, and the language attitudes of the out-group majority (i.e. Greek-Cypriots) towards SMT. As for the internal factors, the language attitudes of Pontic Greeks towards Turkish will be examined, along with their ethnic self-perception as representatives of Greek culture. In a recent ethnographic study, Charalambous et al. (2016), investigating Turkish linguistic identities in a highly diverse Greek-Cypriot classroom and the use of Turkish in educational settings, found that the request to prove one's competence in Turkish in a public performance produced emotional resistance among primary school students. In other words, language ideologies that stigmatize the Turkish language had long been rooted in Greek-Cypriot society and led to Turkish-speaking students experiencing difficulties in formal contexts such as a classroom or in front of a teacher as far as their competence in Turkish. Charalambous et al. insightfully demonstrated students' heightened sense of the negative indexicalities and stigma associated with speaking Turkish, especially in cases when students suppressed any indication of their 'Turkishness'.

The community of Pontic Greeks forms a multilingual community in so far as nine languages, including the Cypriot-Greek dialect (henceforth CGD) and the Pontic-Greek dialect

(henceforth PGD), were reported to exist in the linguistic repertoires of my participants. However, only four languages (dialects) seem to be the most popular (above 80%) within the community: Russian, SMG, Turkish and CGD. However, this does not mean that all four languages (dialects) are in active use. Figure 1 shows the languages (dialects) that the members of the Pontic Greek community reported knowing, but not necessarily speaking:
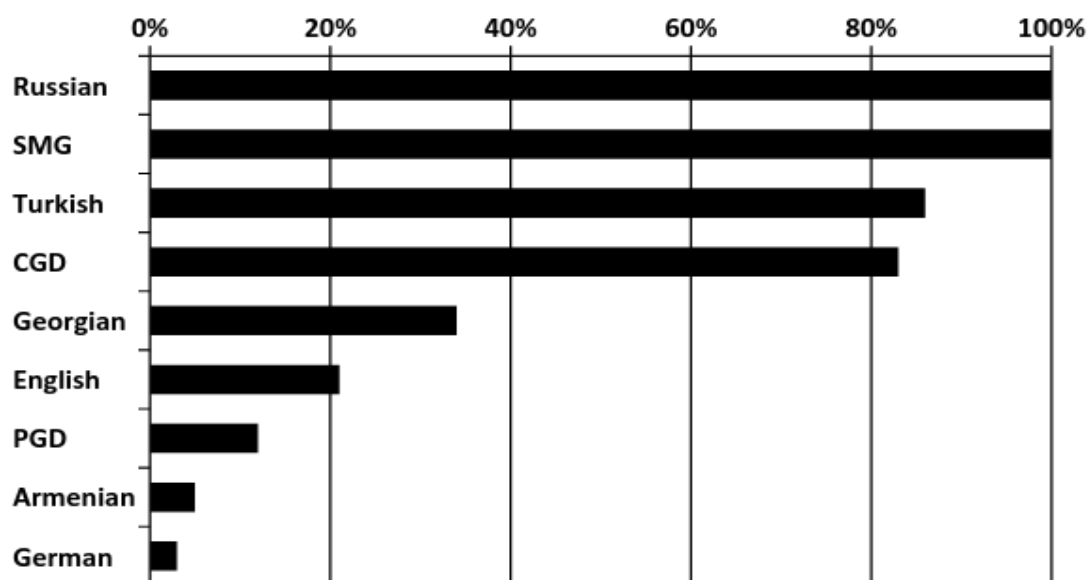
Figure 1. The languages (dialects) Pontic Greek participants reported knowing.

As shown in Figure 1, all the participants reported being speakers of Russian and SMG (100%). Russian, as the language of education, science, administration and everyday communication, often functioned as a lingua franca in the Caucasus area (in both Russia and Georgia) and has therefore secured a strong position in the linguistic repertoire of Pontic Greeks. Similarly, every participant reported knowing SMG, as, along with CGD, it is the dominant and official language used in Cyprus. The Turkish variety that Pontic Greeks reported knowing also boasts high numbers (more than 80%), though it is currently undergoing a rapid decline heading towards its demise due to negative individual attitudes and widespread language ideologies, as will be argued below. In her study investigating language attitudes in immigrant communities, Saville-Troike (1989) points out that the attitudes of immigrant students towards languages and their identity may be a crucial factor in their disposition towards learning a second language. In this respect she observes that, while some students value their own group membership, others reject their own group (and most probably language) and wish to change, while yet others wish to be

members of more than one community of the languages they speak (Saville-Troike 1989: 201). In order to gain a full understanding of the status of SMT among Pontic Greeks and the Cypriot population, it is necessary to look at it from a socio-historical perspective and examine its current socio-political status in Cyprus.

IVa.   Socio-historical heritage of SMT

Regional and international power struggles around the Black Sea since the fifteenth century have led to mass population transfers, including of the Greeks in Pontos, in the north-east of present-day Turkey, from where they were expelled to neighbouring Georgia in the early nineteenth century. The first relocated Pontic Greek villages appeared in the mountainous area of Tsalka (located in the south of present-day Georgia) in 1829. Out of the 43 villages re-built in the Tsalka area, the residents of only four villages (Santa, Charampa, Kioumpet and Tarsoun) were Pontic Greek-speaking (Tsatsanidis 2000: 165-166). The rest spoke Turkish, due to the conditions of previous centuries under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Dorian (1999: 39) points out in this respect that in cases in which people have shifted language and have 'given up their own entirely, it has nearly always been due to a local history of political suppression, social discrimination, or economic deprivation'.

The island of Cyprus was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571 and remained under their rule until 1878, when it was transferred to the British. In 1960, when Cyprus gained independence from the British, it hosted a mixed population, including a Turkish-speaking minority. In 1974, amidst sectarian strife, Cyprus was partly occupied by the Turkish army, and it remains divided today. On the Greek-Cypriot side of the island, in the Republic of Cyprus, representations of Turks as 'Hellenism's barbaric archenemy' were widely circulated in public and in educational discourses as an effect of the conflict (Papadakis 2008a: 5; 2008b; Zembylas 2010, cited in Charalambous et al. 2016). It is therefore no surprise, that although SMT is one of the official languages of Cyprus (see Karyolemou 2003), it is practically absent from the linguistic and socio-political landscape of Cyprus.

It must be stressed that in the 1990s the tensions between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities intensified and were accompanied by a series of tragic fatal incidents in the Buffer Zone. It was precisely during this period that the major influx of Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks to the Republic of Cyprus took place. Pontic Greeks, probably being unaware of or showing little interest in (or in some cases, disrespecting) the Turkish problem in Cyprus, used Turkish in their ordinary communication practices both at home and in public, a fact which

frequently triggered negative or very negative sentiments among the local population, the Greek-Cypriots. The first Pontic Greek immigrants had poor command of SMG, and consequently had a very limited spectrum of choice with regard to employment opportunities, frequently resorting to the manual labour market. Their children, however, most of whom attend, or have graduated from, local Greek-Cypriot state schools and who have mastered SMG to a near-native level, now have a wider spectrum of jobs to choose from. A study conducted by Pavlou and Zoumpalidis (2011) showed that some younger Pontic Greeks exhibit a high degree of knowledge in foreign languages such as English, French, Italian and Spanish, among others. Younger Pontic Greeks do not seem to want to follow the work 'path' of their parents, as many of them work in different spheres from those of the older generation. For instance, younger female Pontic Greeks work predominantly in the service economy. As for the younger male representatives of the Pontic Greek community, there are still a number of them who follow the manual-labour careers of their fathers on construction sites, or in low-skilled occupations such as car-cleaners, couriers, drivers and waiters, among others.

Papapavlou and Pavlou (2005) suggest that speaking a particular language triggers beliefs about the members of the corresponding speech community. In this light, taking into account the great sensitivity to the links between language and ethnic and religious identity, local Greek-Cypriots do not seem willing to recognize the 'Greekness' of those Pontic Greeks who speak a language which is highly reminiscent of SMT. This is compounded by the economic class associated with the immigrants, as research in other contexts indicates: Appel and Muysken (1987: 33), for example, report that many Spanish-speaking immigrants in the USA, who fall into the low-income group, associate speaking English with academic achievement and economic progress, whereas Spanish 'gets the stigma of the language of the poor people, and parents who themselves sometimes have a poor command of English try to urge their children to speak English, because they have internalized the societal attitudes towards Spanish'. In this light, it becomes obvious that the attitudes of the majority group can also have an impact on the members of the minority group's attitudes towards their own language.

This idea was clearly manifested in a group interview with three Pontic Greek teenagers from Georgia: Dimitris aged 16, Dina aged 14, and Tasos aged 17, who all attended a local secondary school.

Zoumpalidis, Changing attitudes

Interview 1.

(the interview was conducted in SMG/CGD)

>ΔΖ: Δηλαδή αυτό που θέλεις να πείς είναι οτι μερικοί Κύπριοι δεν αναγνωρίζουν την Ελληνικότητά σου;

>Δημ: Ναί..

>Ντιν: Μερικοί;! Οι περισσότεροι!

>Δημ: Επιδή όταν έγινε ο πόλεμος με την Τουρκία με Πόντο, και είπαν να αλλάξουν θρησκεία για γλώσσα...οι πιό πολλοί άλλαξαν γλώσσα, καί όταν μιλούν Τούρτζικα, λαλούν: "δε τους Τούρκους!".

>DZ: In other words, what you want to say is that some Cypriots don't recognize your Greekness?

>Dim: Yes.

>Din (intervenes): Some?! The majority!

>Dim: Because when there was a war between Turkey and Pontos...and they told us to change either our religion or language…the majority changed language (to Turkish, DZ), and when Pontic Greeks talk in Turkish, they (Greek-Cypriots, DZ) say: 'look at the Turks!'

>(from Zoumpalidis 2008)

It becomes clear from the above interview excerpt that Greek-Cypriots, being sensitive to the link between language and ethnicity, are sceptical about the Pontic Greeks' allegiance to Greek culture and to Greek civilization in general. Under such circumstances, having familiarized themselves with a high degree of sensitivity to the political situation of the Turks in Cyprus, Pontic Greeks have become more linguistically aware, leading them to suppress their Turkish linguistic identity (see Figure 2, below). In other words, the great possibility of social and economic disadvantage flowing from speaking Turkish in public became clear to them. In this respect, Karan (2011: 139) argues that, 'When individuals perceive that the use of, or association with, a language is toxic to their personal good, they will not only stop using that language, they will also often cognitively, socially and emotively distance themselves from that language so that it becomes less and less part of their linguistic repertoire'. Clearly, Turkish is seen as a highly stigmatized language that in Cyprus has a strongly negative indexical value.

IVb.   Internal factors of language shifts

The internal factors that are leading to the demise of Turkish seem to stem from external factors: Pontic Greeks seem to have internalized out-group attitudes to SMT, a fact which has caused them to start distancing themselves from using the Turkish variety they speak, as its perceived 'toxic' effect appears to be affecting their ontological essence as 'authentic Greeks'. This is particularly reflected in the participants' reported language use patterns (see Figure 2).
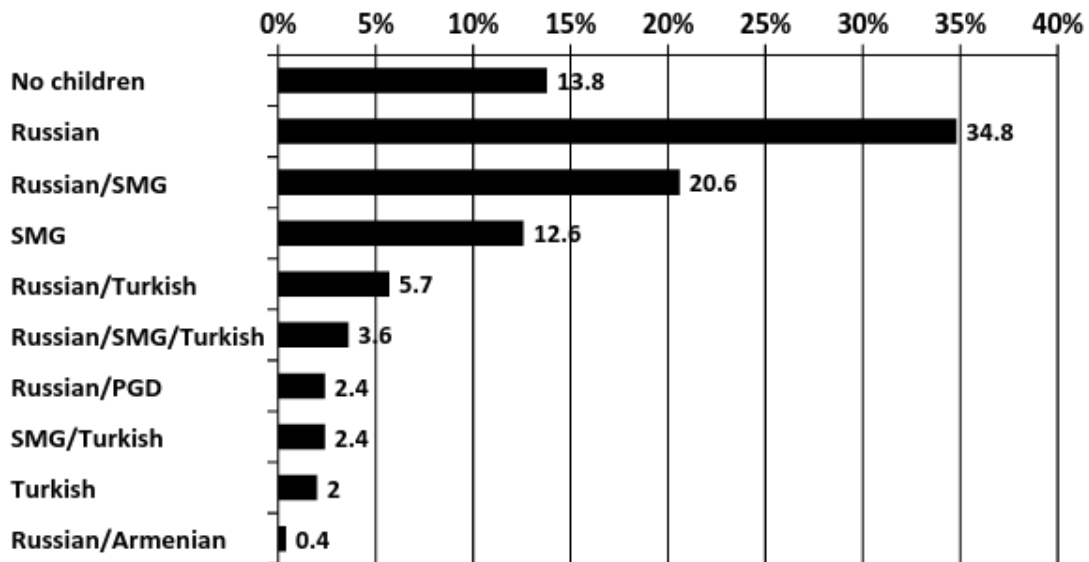
Figure 2.[2] Language varieties Pontic Greek parents reported using in addressing their children.

As shown in Figure 2, only 2% (n=5) of Pontic Greek parents reported using only Turkish when they address their children. Out of this number, three participants belong to the older age group (51+), one participant belongs to the third age group (36-50) and one to the second (26-35). It appears that, for these parents, Turkish functions as the dominant language within the family domain. Slightly higher in number were those parents who reported using Turkish along with other languages when they address their children: SMG and Turkish (2.4%); Russian, SMG and Turkish (3.6%); Russian and Turkish (5.7%). As in the former case, it is predominantly older Pontic Greek parents who reported using Turkish in combination with Russian and/or SMG when they address their children (some of whom are probably adults themselves). A Pontic Greek father of two primary school-age children mentioned in an informal conversation that,

---

[2] This question is, of course, not applicable to those participants who reported not having any children.

although they have access to a few Turkish TV channels (living in proximity to the Turkish-Cypriot border in Nicosia), he forbids all members of the family, except for his father, who does not speak any language other than Turkish well, from watching TV in Turkish. The relatively insignificant number of Pontic Greeks who use Turkish with their children, in the context of 80% reporting knowledge of Turkish, implies that these speakers are exceptionally immune to the ideological stigmatization of Turkish in their new home, probably due to their adherence to the habit of speaking this language with their children in their country of origin. The vast majority, however, are reluctant to use Turkish with their children, which is indicative of the fact that they are highly concerned about transmitting what is a stigmatized language to the younger generation, and they make every effort to shield their children from any exposure to it. Consider, in this light, Interview 2, where Vlad, aged 34, who knows Turkish, claims to refuse to address his only daughter in this language.

Interview 2.

(the interview was conducted in Russian)

ДЗ: У тебя есть дети?

В: Есть, дочка.

ДЗ: На каком языке ты с ней разговариваешь?

В: Русский.

ДЗ: Только русский?

В: Да!

ДЗ: А турецкий, греческий?

В: Нет! Вообще турецкий нет!

ДЗ: Почему?

В: На греческом так немного, а на турецком нет.

ДЗ: Почему?

В: Я не хочу на турецком говорить.

ДЗ: Почему?

В: Зачем? Зачем ей это?

ДЗ: То есть ты не хочешь чтоб она вообще..

В: (вмешивается) Нет! У нас считается русский культурный язык, это надо

по-русски разговаривать.

ДЗ: А турецкий это некультурный язык?

В: Он некультурный считатется.

DZ: Do you have children?

V: Yes, I've got a daughter.

DZ: What language do you speak to her?

V: Russian.

DZ: Only Russian?

V: Yes!

DZ: What about Turkish, Greek (SMG, DZ)?

V: No! I never use Turkish!

DZ: Why?

V: I may use a little Greek (SMG, DZ), but Turkish no.

DZ: Why?

V: I don't want to speak Turkish.

DZ: Why?

V: What for? What does she need it for?

DZ: That means you don't want her to ever...

V: (intervenes) No! Russian is considered to be a cultural language, we should speak Russian.

DZ: And Turkish isn't a cultural language?

V: It is not considered to be a cultural language.

As can be seen from Interview 2, Vlad questions the need to speak (and consequently to teach) Turkish to his daughter, as this language does not seem to have any instrumental value to him in Cyprus. It should be noted that the Turkish language survives only in the spoken, not written form within the Pontic Greek community, a fact which itself seems to signal lack of prestige. In this respect, Hudson (1996: 21) maintains that for most people a variety which is not used in formal writing is not prestigious. Interestingly, Vlad considers Turkish not to be a cultural language. This negative attitude to Turkish could be extended to imply that those who speak Turkish are culturally 'void' people in his opinion, uneducated or people without good manners. Since Vlad is greatly concerned that his daughter should grow up culturally educated, he consciously chooses not to use Turkish with his daughter and uses Russian instead, which, he claims, is a cultural language, suggesting it possesses great prestige. It should be stressed, however, that not all participants share this strongly negative view of Turkish: a view which might be educationally self-defeating: Siegel (1999) suggests that the use of stigmatized native language varieties in instrumental, accommodation and awareness programmes has a positive effect on the acquisition of the majority language and literacy, as well as on students' participation, self-esteem and overall academic achievement.

Thus, over the last decade, Pontic Greeks have restricted the use of Turkish to a considerable degree mainly so as to not trigger negative emotions or attitudes among the local population, fuelled by a concern not to associate 'speaking Turkish' with 'being Turkish'. In this respect, Hoffman (1991: 229) points out that language is frequently seen as a symbol of national identity. Under these circumstances, Pontic Greeks are trying to use more SMG in their attempt to reconstruct their linguistic identity and exhibit their ethnic allegiance to Greek culture through linguistic behaviour not only with the out-group majority but also within their own community.

Based on my observations of different in-group celebrations or parties, it appears that the vast majority of Pontic Greeks openly and proudly use SMG when proposing a toast.[3] Instances of Turkish language use were also observed, mainly by older, Turkish-speaking members of the community, who apparently resorted to Turkish due to their poor Russian and SMG language skills. In most cases, every utterance in Turkish was followed by a translation into SMG or Russian. In addition, during the celebration, it was predominantly Greek or Pontic Greek live

---

[3] It is frequently the case that, when demonstratively using SMG, some middle-aged and older Pontic Greeks make occasional grammatical, vocabulary, stylistic or phonological mistakes by native Greek-Cypriot standards, which is not unexpected, as it is a second, even third language for them. Nonetheless, these speakers do not seem to be afraid or ashamed of their imperfect SMG skills, thus demonstrating their desire to adhere to the Greek community that this speech indexes.

music and songs that were played and sung, accompanied by Greek or Pontic Greek traditional dances, in contrast to the predominantly Turkish music and songs, accompanied by the Turkish traditional dances, which predominated at most celebrations and parties of Pontic Greeks in Cyprus from the mid- or late 1990s to the beginning of 2000. By speaking SMG, Pontic Greeks claim rights to linguistic and ethnic identity as authentic Greeks and a right to belong to the broader Greek culture and Greek civilization in general. It is therefore not surprising that slightly fewer than 50% of participants ethnically self-identified as 'Greeks', while others used various other labels that connote Greek-related ethnonyms, such as 'Pontian', 'Russian Pontian' and 'Greek from Russia', among others. What is noteworthy here is the fact that no one associated themselves with any Turkish-related ethnic labels, despite more than 80% of the community members claiming to know Turkish (see Figure 1).

IVc. The role of the 'mother tongue' and its influence

The concept of the 'mother tongue' also comes into play in the case, especially when it concerns participants' symbolic manifestations of their common Greek roots on the one hand and their distance from Turkish on the other. In the present study, the term 'mother tongue' is used to denote the language one feels to be one's 'mother tongue', irrespective of whether this language is one's dominant language (i.e. the language one speaks best) or the one acquired as L1, or not (see Figures 3 and 4).
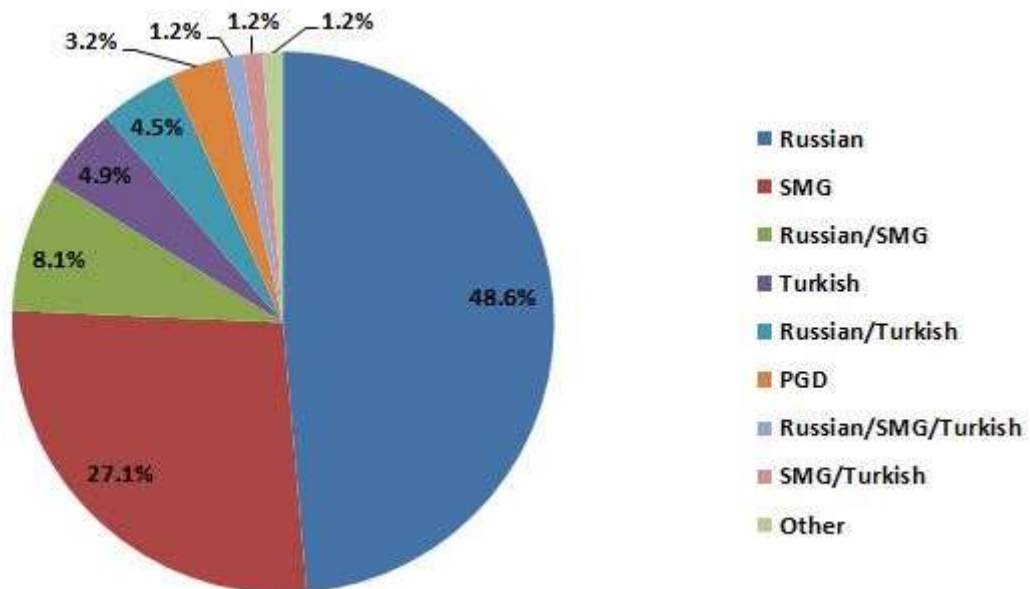

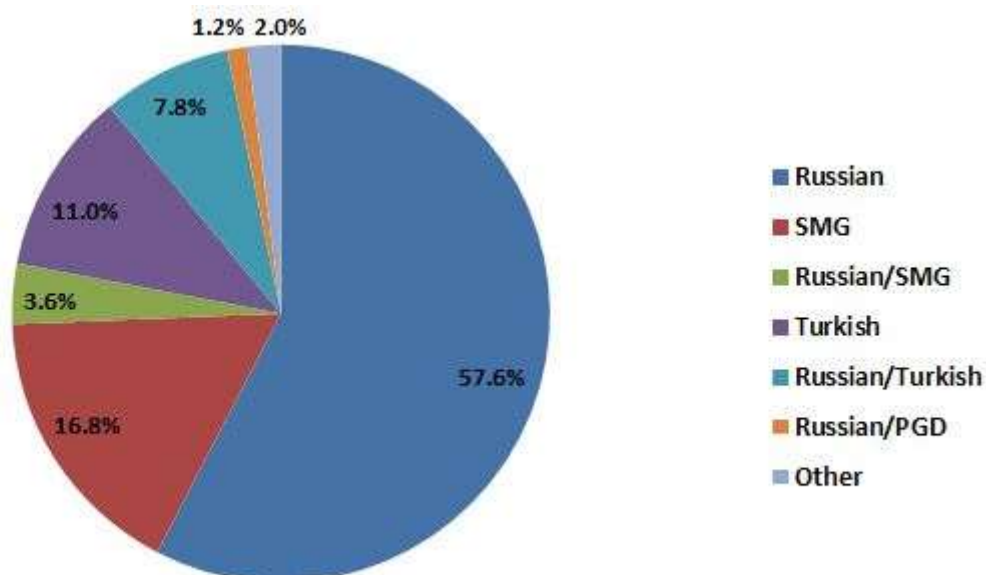Figure 3. Languages reported as 'mother tongue(s)' (figures in %).

Figure 4. Reported dominant language(s) of participants (figures in %).

As the evidence in Figure 3 illustrates, almost half of the participants identified Russian as their 'mother tongue', whereas nearly 58% of them reported having Russian as their dominant language. However, remarkable differences are observed in relation to SMG and Turkish. Slightly more than a quarter (27.1%) of the participants identified SMG as their 'mother tongue', even though only every 6th participant reported being proficient in it (16.8%, Figure 4). More specifically, by reporting SMG as their mother tongue (which, however, does not necessarily mean that those participants are highly proficient in it), Pontic Greeks seem to wish to be associated with the Greek culture, language, and identity (see also discussion above). The situation with Turkish is the opposite: fewer participants identified Turkish as their 'mother tongue' (nearly 5%, Figure 3), and more participants reported having it as their dominant language (11%, Figure 4). In this particular context, the term 'mother tongue' seems to be loaded with a very intimate meaning, as it is the language that indexes a linguistic heritage inextricably linked to one's own kin. Seen in this way, as part of a language ideology of belonging to a nation conceived of as extended kin, it becomes clear why the number of respondents identifying Turkish as their 'mother tongue' is smaller than those reporting it to be dominant. As Blommaert (2006) argues, the indexical dimensions a language possesses anchor it firmly in larger socio-political processes. Thus claiming Turkish to be one's 'mother tongue' in Cyprus incurs a high risk of being associated not only with being (or being related to) a Turk, but also with Islam (though Pontic Greeks identify on the whole as Orthodox Christian). Following this logic, it

becomes obvious that one's 'mother tongue' plays a significant role in the community of Pontic Greeks, which can unambiguously highlight or diminish one's cultural, linguistic and/or ethnic belonging. Participants therefore appear to be aware of the historical and social nature of language, as they have internalized language attitudes and the consequences of the linguistic and socio-political 'burden' that is associated with speaking Turkish in Cyprus.

V.   Conclusion

The present paper has sought to shed light on the internal and external factors that have led the Pontic Greek community in Cyprus to shift collectively away from Turkish and towards Greek. It was argued that the negative language attitudes and dominant language ideologies of Greek-Cypriots regarding the stigmatized Standard Modern Turkish and consequently the Turkish variety that Pontic Greeks speak has led them to question the very Greek nature of the Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks. However, the major driving force towards a language shift is the desire of Pontic Greeks to see their community as authentically *Greek* (and to be recognized as such by the out-group majority), rather than being excluded from the 'Greek world'. It was also argued that Pontic Greeks are trying to 'reload' their community by reconsidering the role of the Turkish language; active attempts are made to distance themselves from their community's previous linguistic and cultural circumstances, which were interwoven with the Turkish language and Turkish cultural elements. As a result, the community seems to be indexing its ontological linguistic, cultural and ethnic Greekness, having been sensitised to the Greek-Turkish question after moving to the Republic of Cyprus, whereas this had not been a problem when they had lived in the former Soviet Union.

Turkish, being associated with a low-income group and seen as a negative index in ethnic group identification, appears to be left with little chance of survival in the community of Pontic Greeks in Cyprus, despite the fact that some members of the community still use it in their everyday communication. Generally, it was argued that language can function as a salient index of one's linguistic, cultural and ethnic belonging. More specifically, it is for this reason that Pontic Greeks, in claiming allegiance to Orthodox Christianity and entertaining great pride in being Greeks, vehemently reject using Turkish not only in public, but also within the domestic environment and at parties and (national) celebrations. Lastly, it appears that Pontic Greeks are parting fairly easily with Turkish, previously a dominant language within the community, and

without any regret, thus positioning it as 'foreign' to their community and implicated in centuries of life under the Ottoman Empire.

References

Appel, René, and Pieter Muysken 1987. *Language contact and bilingualism*, London: Edward Arnold.

Blommaert, Jan 2006. Language ideology, in Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics (2ⁿᵈ edn.)*, Oxford: Elsevier.

Bruneau, Michael 2000. Η διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού και οι Έλληνες της πρώην ΕΣΣΔ, η εδαφική σχέση [The diaspora of Pontic Greeks and of the Greeks of the former Soviet Union: the territorial relationship], in Michael Bruneau (ed.), *Η Διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού,* [The diaspora of Pontic Greeks], Thessaloniki: Herodotos.

Census 2011. Census of population in Cyprus: main results, *http://www.cystat.gov.cy*: http://perma.cc/5DN7-FFSM (accessed on 20 June 2016).

Charalambous, P., C. Charalambous and M. Zembylas 2016. Troubling translanguaging: language ideologies, superdiversity and interethnic conflict, *Applied Linguistics Review* 7/3, 327-352.

Dorian, Nancy 1980. Language shift in community and individual: the phenomenon of the laggard semi-speaker, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25, 85-94.

Eloeva, Fatima 2000. Οι τουρκόφωνοι Έλληνες της Γεωργίας: περιοχές και προφορική παράδοση σε Τσάλκα και Τετρίτσκαρο [The Turkish-speaking Greeks of Georgia: spaces and oral tradition in Tsalka and Tetritskaro], in Michael Bruneau (ed.), *Η Διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* [The Diaspora of Pontic Greeks], Thessaloniki: Herodotos.

Fasold, Ralph 1984. *The sociolinguistics of society*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Fotiadis, Konstantinos 2000. Οι Έλληνες της πρώην ΕΣΣΔ: η γέννεση της διασποράς [The Greeks of the former USSR: the birth of a diaspora], in Michael Bruneau (ed.), *Η Διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* [The diaspora of Pontic Greeks], Thessaloniki: Herodotos.

Garret, Peter, Nicolas Coupland and Angie Williams 2003. *Investigating language attitudes: social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Höfler, C. M. 2016. Group belonging beyond language boundaries: language, religion and identity in the multilingual Greek community of Georgia, *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 69/2, 213-234.

Hoffman, Charlotte 1991. *An introduction to bilingualism*, London: Longman.

Hudson, Richard 1996. *Sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Karan, Mark 2011. Understanding and forecasting ethnolinguistic vitality, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 32/2, 137-149.

Karpozilos, Apostolos 1999. The Greeks in Russia, in Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek diaspora in the twentieth century*, Oxford: Macmillan and Oxford: St. Antony's College.

Karyolemou, Marilena 2003. Keep your language and I will keep mine: politics, language, and the construction of identities in Cyprus, in Daniel Nelson and Mirjana Dedaic-Nelson (eds.), *At war with words*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kolossov, Vladimir, Tamara Galkina and Alexei Krindatch 2000. Οι Έλληνες της νότιας Ρωσίας και του Καυκάσου: εποικισμός, κατανομή, χωροταξία [The Greeks of southern Russia and the Caucasus: colonization, distribution, planning], in Michael Bruneau (ed.), *Η Διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* [The diaspora of Pontic Greeks], Thessaloniki: Herodotos.

Loladze, N. 2016. Greeks of Georgia: main factors and motivations of emigration, *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 69/2, 175-192.

Melikishvili, L., and N. Jalabadze 2016. The issue of ethnic identity and aspects of cross-cultural orientation of the Greeks in Georgia (on the example of Ts'alk'a Greeks), *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 69/2, 193-212.

Papadakis, Y. 2008a. *History education in divided Cyprus: a comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus'*, Prio Report 2/2008, Prio Cyprus Center.

— 2008b. Narrative, memory and history education in divided Cyprus: a comparison of schoolbooks on the 'History of Cyprus', *History and Memory* 20/2, 128-148.

Papapavlou, Andreas, and Pavlos Pavlou 2005. The interplay of language use and language maintenance and the cultural identity of Greek Cypriots in the UK, in Andreas Papapavlou (ed.), *Contemporary sociolinguistic issues in Cyprus*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.

Pavlou, Pavlos, and Dionysios Zoumpalidis 2011. Language attitudes among Russians of Greek origin towards the linguistic variety in the Cypriot Greek speech community, in Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Pavlos Pavlou, Angela Ralli and Spyros Armosti (eds.), *Studies in Modern Greek dialects and linguistic theory,* Nicosia: Research Centre of Kykkos Monastery.

Popov, A. 2010. Making sense of home and homeland: former Soviet Greeks' motivations and strategies for a transnational migrant circuit, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36/1, 67-85.

Ryan, Ellen, Howard Giles and Richard Sebastian 1982. An integrative perspective for the study of attitudes toward language variation, in Ellen Ryan and Howard Giles (eds.), *Attitudes towards language variation*, London: Edward Arnold.

Saville-Troike, Muriel 1989. *The ethnography of communication*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Sherif, Muzafer, and Carolyn Sherif 1967. Attitudes as the individual's own categories: the social judgment approach to attitude and attitude change, in Carolyn Sherif and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Attitude, ego-involvement, and change*, New York: Wiley.

Siegel, J. 1999. Stigmatized and standardized varieties in the classroom: interference or separation? *TESOL Quarterly* 33, 701-728.

Silverstein, Michael 1987. Monoglot 'standard' in America, *Working Papers and Proceedings for the Center of Psychological Studies* 13.

Tollefson, James 2007. Ideologies, language varieties and ELT, in Jim Cummins and Chris Davison (eds.), *International Handbook of English Language Teaching*, New York: Springer.

Tsatsanidis, Panagiotis 2000. Οι ελληνικοί οικισμοί της Γεωργίας: 19^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνας [The Greek settlements of Georgia: 19th-20th century], in Michael Bruneau (ed.), *Η Διασπορά του Ποντιακού Ελληνισμού* [The Diaspora of Pontic Greeks], Thessaloniki: Herodotos.

Woolard, Katherine 1992. Language ideology: issues and approaches, *Pragmatics* 2, 235-250.

Zembylas, M. 2010. Children's construction and experience of racism and nationalism in Greek-Cypriot primary schools, *Childhood* 17/3, 312-328.

Zoumpalidis, Dionysios 2008. Language and ethnic identity of Pontic Greeks in Cyprus, Essex: MA dissertation.

INDEXING INTEGRATION: HIERARCHIES OF BELONGING IN SECULAR PARIS

CHELSIE YOUNT-ANDRÉ[1]

Abstract

In the wake of terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015, stereotypes of Muslim migrants who pose a threat to the French nation loom large. This article considers how communicative practices associated with belonging in France shift with rising tensions surrounding Islam and immigration. By analyzing the language used in state discourses on the one hand, and in conversations in Senegalese households on the other, this article examines 'integration' in France, both as a legal category and as a powerful metapragmatic framework that mediates indexicality in everyday interactions. This article shows how immigrants take part in the continual redefinition of what is required to 'sound' integrated in attempts to illustrate their belonging in France. It contends that French republican ideologies create an axis of contrast between the 'integrated' foreign-born and potentially problematic 'immigrants,' revealing how immigrants appropriate state discourses in their efforts to demonstrate their own integration. In so doing, immigrants themselves produce nested hierarchies of belonging among France's immigrant minority populations, in which Senegalese Catholics perform integration through critiques of Muslims, while Senegalese Muslims denounce Islamic associations and others who are more pious in public than they.

I.   Indexing integration: hierarchies of belonging in secular Paris

In the wake of recent terrorist attacks in France, stereotypes of Muslim migrants who pose a threat to the French nation loom large. Faced with heightened tensions surrounding Islam and immigration, French-educated Senegalese provide a striking example of the ways in which transnational migrants reinforce hierarchies of education, class and religion among minorities in France as they struggle to present themselves as successfully integrated into French society. To demonstrate belonging, immigrants attempt to distance themselves from stereotypes of foreigners who menace the secular French nation.

This article examines 'integration' in France as both a legal category and a powerful metapragmatic framework that mediates indexicality in everyday interactions. It contends that France's integration policy, predicated on an axis of contrast that divides 'integrated'

---

[1] PhD Candidate in Anthropology, Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University (Ilinois) and EHESS, Paris. Postal address: 1810 Hinman Avenue, Evanston, IL 60208, USA. Email:
chelsieyount2015@u.northwestern.edu

foreigners from potentially problematic 'immigrants', provides the foundation for racializing discourses in state policy and everyday discussions in immigrant households. It then shows how Senegalese in Paris discursively populate categories of 'immigrant' and 'integrated' with person types that are salient in Africa, laminating French hierarchies of belonging on to status hierarchies that are relevant in Senegal. Analysis of the language used in French state discourses on the one hand and in conversations in Senegalese households on the other reveals the ways in which educated migrants from Dakar adopt the language of the French state to demonstrate their own integration. In so doing, they take part in the continual redefinition of what is required to 'sound' integrated, reproducing nested hierarchies of belonging among Senegalese in France. Educational and geographical hierarchies, significant in Senegal pre-migration, are reinforced in France, whereas the significance of class and religion are transformed in the context of migration.

France's official approach to immigration is based on a contractual approach to citizenship founded in the 'republican' tradition. French republican policies claim that anyone, regardless of skin colour, religion or ethnic origin, may 'become French' by demonstrating the willingness to integrate into French society (Lamont 2004: 148; Raissiguier 2010). In everyday language, Senegalese who prove sufficiently 'integrated' are not referred to as 'immigrants,' but rather as 'French of Senegalese origins'. The legal distinction between naturalized citizens and immigrants becomes, in turn, a division based on class, religion and education that distinguishes 'immigrants' from 'integrated' foreign-born residents who have the means to manage their semiotic practices according to French expectations. In what follows, I examine how French republican discourses that advocate equality and inclusion paradoxically reproduce exclusion and stratification among racially marked minorities. Scholars have highlighted the exclusionary outcomes of France's approach to integration, focusing primarily on the ways state institutions and the 'unmarked' (white) majority attribute racial otherness to maintain positions of power (Fassin 2005, P. Silverstein 2005, Hargreaves 2007, Ndiaye 2008, Raissiguier 2010). Analysis of how educated migrants from Dakar discursively position themselves relative to other Senegalese in France shows how immigrants draw on the language of French republicanism in their efforts to preserve their privileged position as 'integrated' foreigners.

Following Hilary Dick and Kristina Wirtz, I define racializing discourses as 'the actual language use (spoken and written) that sorts some people, things, and practices into social categories marked as inherently dangerous and other' (2011: E2). The present article traces

'intertextuality', which Shankar and Cavanaugh have summarized as 'culturally constructed, maintained and interpreted connections among instances of language use (spoken or written)', between French government communications and talk in Senegalese households (2012: 356). Like reported speech, which transports an utterance to a new time and place, transforming and reframing speakers' words, 'interdiscursivity' is a process through which linguistic form and meaning are linked across contexts (Briggs and Bauman 1992, M. Silverstein and Urban 1996, Irvine 1996, 2005, M. Silverstein 2005). Examination of how educated Senegalese urbanites draw on French republican discourses reveals how immigrants reproduce and transform racializing discourses, mapping them on to hierarchies of education and geography that are salient in Senegal, while transforming the significance of class and religion in stratification among Senegalese in France.

The stigmatizing rhetoric of racializing discourses is often not explicit but couched in value-laden discussions of integration that draw multiple semiotic practices into relation with one another, mapping ways of speaking on to dress, eating, and religious and economic practices in ways that establish indexical chains between person types and diverse behaviours. This article examines 'covert racializing discourses,' which 'racialize without being denotationally explicit about race,' (Dick and Wirtz 2011: E2), focusing specifically on those that are located in moral stances regarding economic practice. Borrowing a term first proposed by Maurer (2009), I call these normative expectations, which animate resource redistribution at the state and family levels, 'economic moralities' a concept I locate at the intersection of scholarship on Maussian 'gift' exchange and linguistic anthropologists' examinations of the 'ordinary ethics' (Lambek 2010) that individuals enact in everyday interaction.

In both French state discourses and Parisian Senegalese household discussions, social actors communicate moral stances regarding economic practices (economic moralities) that trace boundaries of inclusion in French society and Senegalese kinship networks, shaping the right to the resources that belonging affords. Speakers draw on economic moralities in interaction to position themselves relative to others, drawing and redrawing lines of inclusion and exclusion. Republican ideologies provide a legal foundation for discussions in which Senegalese recursively categorize minority groups, creating nested hierarchies of belonging in France.

By 'nested hierarchies', I mean asymmetrical relationships that recur in a repeating pattern as a single axis of contrast is applied at various scales. For instance, I will show how

Catholic Senegalese perform integration in France by criticizing Muslims, while Senegalese Muslims denounce members of Islamic associations and others who are more pious in public than themselves. These embedded structures are the result of a semiotic process that Irvine and Gal refer to as '(fractal) recursivity', namely, 'the projection of an opposition, salient at one level of relationship, onto some other level' (2000: 38). Analysis of the nested hierarchies that result from processes of recursivity draws attention to social work carried out at each iteration, or 'nesting', of a dichotomy. By strategically drawing attention to a given level of contrast, individuals manage social meanings in ways that have political and economic consequences (Cohen and Comaroff 1976, Comaroff and Roberts 1977, Murphy and Bledsoe 1987, Newell 2012). The 'nested hierarchies' I describe here among Senegalese result from individuals' efforts to claim belonging in France. The people, places, and practices that speakers frame as indexing integration (or failure to integrate) varies with context according to broader political-economic stakes.

II.   Fieldwork and methods

This article is based on eighteen months (January 2014–June 2015) of participant observation in the households of French-educated[2] Senegalese in Paris, accompanying families on summer trips to Senegal. It also draws on a total of fifteen non-consecutive months of fieldwork in Dakar, the capital of Senegal and the colonial capital of former French West Africa. Semi-structured interviews with members of transnational Senegalese families complement audio- and video-recordings of household interactions after school and work, at meals, at weekends and at Senegalese gatherings. Transcript analysis of families' everyday discussions sheds light on the ways speakers voice morally charged positions on integration and on religious and economic practices, thus allowing the examination of individuals' shifting moral stances across contexts.

My research focused on the households of French-educated Dakarois and their children born in France. Travelling between Dakar and Paris since 2005, I made contact with branches of transnational families in both countries. My research participants in Dakar's middle- and upper-class neighbourhoods put me in contact with their family members in Paris. These Dakarois arrived in France with the language skills and financial means necessary to attend

---

[2] Individuals who received formal, francophone schooling at a secondary school or university in Senegal or France.

French universities and access skilled employment. Most parents had both French and Senegalese citizenship, whereas their chidlren often were exclusively French nationals. Those adults who were not French citizens had residency permits and were working towards naturalization. These families were not concentrated in one neighbourhood in Paris but were scattered throughout the city and its nearby suburbs. Many explicitly described distancing themselves from Paris's African neighbourhoods and immigrant enclaves in France's impoverished *banlieues* (suburbs).

My ethnographic research also examined state discourses on citizenship and integration communicated by representatives of the French Office of Immigration and Integration (*Office français d'immigration et d'integration,* or OFII). Like many of my research participants, as the foreign (non-EU) spouse of a French national, I engaged in the process of obtaining a residence permit through family connections. This permitted me to carry out participant observation at OFII-led sessions of 'citizenship education', termed 'civic training' on the OFII English website (OFII 2016c), which are now mandatory for foreigners who wish to obtain a long-term residence permit. During my fieldwork in Paris, I also documented the rise of political debates surrounding immigration and secularism in the French media, which have acquired new urgency since the terrorist attacks in 2015.

III.   A Republican pact: state discourses of integration

Immigrant 'integration' is the explicit goal of France's official immigration policy, as declared and carried out by the French Office of Immigration and Integration (OFII). The OFII is the organization that grants long-stay visas and residence permits to foreigners from outside the European Union and manages the 'integration' of those who are eligible to settle in France permanently (OFII 2016a). The institution's website states that its aim is to carry out an immigration policy that promotes French republican values and is faithful to France's 'tradition of reception and integration' (OFII 2016b).

French republicanism is underpinned by Enlightenment ideals of universal inclusion, demanded by the revolutionaries of 1789 in the phrase 'liberty, equality, and fraternity'. The republican approach to immigration treats 'integration' as a civic duty on the part of foreign residents in the form of a social contract between French residents and the state. This republican logic implies that, because the state provides immigrants with the pedagogical tools to integrate (language classes, citizenship education sessions, employment counselling, etc.), the failure to integrate is the fault of those individual immigrants who choose to break

their pact with the state. Framing belonging as a question of *willingness* places the onus of integration on the individual and obscures the significance of class, race, and religion in shaping immigrants' capacity to integrate.

Foreigners formally employed in France or who are the spouse, parent or child of a French citizen or resident have the right to settle in France on a long-term basis. To obtain their first residence permit, since 2007 such foreigners have been required to take part in an OFII-led citizen integration program. At an initial half-day reception session, they receive information on immigration and life in France. At an individual meeting with an OFII representative, they are required to sign a 'Reception and Integration Contract' (*Contrat d'Acceuil et d'Intégration*, see illustration below) and are subject to an evaluation of their French language skills. When deemed necessary, the OFII representative can organize language lessons or professional training sessions to facilitate integration. This initial session is followed by a full-day of citizenship education aimed at familiarizing immigrants with French law and their rights as residents.

The OFII draws directly on the language of French republicanism to describe the relationship between the state and individual immigrants. It obliges foreigners to enter, quite literally, into a social contract with the state. This 'Republican contract' purports to establish a relationship of 'reciprocal obligation' between a foreigner and the French state (OFII 2016a). The contract explicitly states, 'To choose to live in France is to have the will to integrate into French society and to accept the fundamental values of the Republic' (see illustration). At citizenship education sessions, OFII representatives and a pedagogic video titled 'Living together in France' explained that the French state welcomes foreigners by providing public education, health care and linguistic training and citizenship education (ANAEM 2004). They declared that immigrants must, in turn, respect the fundamental values of the French Republic, obey the law and strive to integrate into the secular French nation.

The OFII categorizes *laïcité* ('secularism') alongside 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' as a fourth fundamental French value by which all French residents must abide. At a citizenship education session I attended, an OFII representative specified that secularism was as important as the other three values, though it happened to have been 'annexed later'. The representative guided participants through an OFII PowerPoint on French history, which described secularism as a legal requirement in France since the 1905 law on the separation of church and state, asserting further that *laïcité* has been a French priority since King Henry IV signed the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

Bienvenue en France

Vous avez été admis à résider sur le territoire de la République française, Etat membre de l'Union européenne.

Chaque année, plus de 100 000 étrangers s'installent en France venant de pays, de cultures différents. Comme vous, depuis plus de cent ans, d'autres y sont venus et y ont construit leur vie.

Ils ont participé à son développement et à sa modernisation. Certains, parfois au prix de leur liberté ou de leur vie, ont défendu son sol par les armes.

La France et les Français sont attachés à une histoire, à une culture et à certaines valeurs fondamentales. Pour vivre ensemble, il est nécessaire de les connaître et de les respecter. C'est pourquoi, dans le cadre d'un contrat d'accueil et d'intégration, nous vous demandons de suivre une journée de formation civique pour mieux comprendre le pays dans lequel vous allez vivre.

La France, une démocratie

La France est une république indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale.

Le pouvoir repose sur la souveraineté du peuple, exprimée par le suffrage universel ouvert à tous les citoyens français âgés de plus de 18 ans.

Sur de nombreux bâtiments publics, vous verrez gravée l'inscription «Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité». Cette devise est celle de la République française.

La France, un pays de droits et de devoirs

La Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen de 1789 proclame que tous les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits, quelles que soient leur origine, leur condition et leur fortune.

La France garantit le respect des droits fondamentaux, qui sont notamment :

• la liberté, qui s'exprime sous plusieurs formes : liberté d'opinion, liberté d'expression, liberté de réunion, liberté de circulation... ,

• la sûreté, qui garantit la protection par les pouvoirs publics des personnes et des biens,

• le droit personnel à la propriété.

Les étrangers en situation régulière ont les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs que les Français, sauf le droit de vote qui reste attaché à la nationalité, et doivent respecter les lois et principes de la République française.

Qu'elle sanctionne ou qu'elle protège, la loi est la même pour tous, sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion.

La France, un pays laïque

En France, la religion relève du domaine privé.

Chacun peut avoir les croyances religieuses de son choix ou ne pas en avoir. Tant qu'elles ne troublent pas l'ordre public, l'État respecte toutes les croyances et la liberté de culte.

L'État est indépendant des religions et veille à l'application des principes de tolérance et de liberté.

La France, un pays d'égalité

L'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes est un principe fondamental de la société française. Les femmes ont les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs que les hommes. Les parents sont conjointement responsables de leurs enfants. Ce principe s'applique à tous, Français et étrangers. Les femmes ne sont soumises ni à l'autorité du mari, ni à celle du père ou du frère pour, par exemple, travailler, sortir ou ouvrir un compte bancaire. Les mariages forcés et la polygamie sont interdits, tandis que l'intégrité du corps est protégée par la loi.

Connaître le français, une nécessité

La langue française est un des fondements de l'unité nationale. La connaissance du français est donc indispensable à votre intégration et favorisera le contact avec l'ensemble de la population.

C'est pourquoi vous devez avoir un niveau de connaissance de la langue française qui vous permette, par exemple, d'entreprendre des démarches administratives, d'inscrire vos enfants à l'école, de trouver un travail et de participer à part entière à la vie de la cité. Si vous n'avez pas ce niveau à votre arrivée en France, vous devez l'acquérir en suivant une formation sanctionnée par un diplôme reconnu par l'Etat. L'inscription à cette formation gratuite est faite par l'Office français de l'immigration et de l'intégration.

L'école est la base de la réussite professionnelle de vos enfants. En France, l'école publique est gratuite. La scolarité est obligatoire de 6 à 16 ans. Garçons et filles étudient ensemble dans toutes les classes.

Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration

LIBERTÉ - ÉGALITÉ - FRATERNITÉ

Préambule

L'intégration de populations différentes exige une tolérance mutuelle et le respect par tous, Français comme étrangers, des règles, des lois et des usages.

Choisir de vivre en France, c'est avoir la volonté de s'intégrer à la société française et d'accepter les valeurs fondamentales de la République.

C'est pourquoi vous devez préparer votre intégration républicaine dans la société française en signant, à cette fin, le contrat d'accueil et d'intégration prévu par l'article L-311-9 du code de l'entrée et du séjour des étrangers et du droit d'asile.

Le présent contrat est conclu entre l'État, représenté par le préfet du département

Article 1 : Engagements de l'État

L'État assure l'ensemble des prestations suivantes :
- une réunion d'accueil collectif ;
- une visite médicale permettant la délivrance du titre de séjour ;
- un entretien individuel permettant notamment d'apprécier le niveau de connaissance en français du signataire du contrat ;
- en tant que de besoin :
  - un bilan linguistique ;
  - un entretien avec un travailleur social, donnant lieu, si nécessaire, à l'établissement d'un diagnostic social et à la mise en œuvre d'un appui social individualisé ;
- une journée de formation civique présentant les droits fondamentaux et les grands principes et valeurs de la République, ainsi que les institutions de la France ;
- si nécessaire, une formation linguistique dont la durée est fixée en fonction des besoins et capacités d'apprentissage de la personne. Cette formation est destinée à permettre d'atteindre un niveau de langue correspondant à celui exigé pour le diplôme initial de langue française (DILF) ;
- une session d'information sur la vie en France qui a pour objet de faciliter la compréhension de la société française et l'accès aux services publics ;
- un bilan de compétences professionnelles, sur une demi-journée, permettant de faire un point sur les compétences professionnelles et le projet professionnel des signataires et de les orienter en conséquence. Ce bilan vise à encourager les signataires du CAI à trouver un emploi.

Article 2 : Engagements du signataire du contrat

- à participer à la journée de formation civique, à la session d'information sur la vie en France s'il a souhaité en bénéficier, et au bilan de compétences professionnelles ;
- à suivre avec assiduité, lorsqu'elle lui a été prescrite, la formation linguistique destinée à lui permettre d'atteindre un niveau satisfaisant en français, ainsi qu'à se présenter à l'examen organisé à l'issue de la formation pour l'obtention du diplôme initial de langue française (DILF) ;
- à se rendre aux entretiens fixés pour le suivi du contrat.

L'assiduité de l'étranger à chacune des formations prescrites est sanctionnée par une attestation nominative remise par l'OFII.

Article 3 : Durée du contrat

Le présent contrat est conclu pour une durée d'un an. Il peut exceptionnellement être prolongé par le préfet dans la limite d'une année supplémentaire, pour engager ou terminer une formation prescrite. Dans ce cas, la clôture du contrat intervient à l'échéance de cette formation, dans des conditions précisées au signataire par l'OFII.

Article 4 : Suivi du contrat

La réalisation du contrat fait l'objet d'un suivi administratif et d'une évaluation par l'OFII. Au terme du contrat, l'Office vérifie que les actions de formation ou d'information inscrites au contrat ont été effectivement suivies et délivre au signataire une attestation nominative récapitulative qui précise les modalités de leur validation. Cette attestation est transmise au préfet qui peut tenir compte, lors du premier renouvellement de la carte de séjour, du non respect des engagements pris dans le cadre du contrat.

Article 5 : Respect du contrat

Le signataire est informé que le préfet :
- peut résilier le contrat en cas de non participation à une formation prescrite ou en cas d'abandon en cours de formation, sans motif légitime ;
- tient compte de la signature du contrat et de son respect pour l'appréciation de la condition d'intégration républicaine de l'étranger dans la société française prévue pour la délivrance de la carte de résident.

N° de contrat :	N° AGDREF :
Fait à	Le
Le préfet du département	
	Pour les mineurs, le représentant légal

Ministère de l'intérieur

La loi n°78-17 du 6 janvier 1978 relative à l'informatique, aux fichiers et aux libertés s'applique à ce contrat. Elle garantit un droit d'accès et de rectification pour les données vous concernant auprès de l'Office français de l'immigration et de l'intégration

The single sheet (printed front and back) Reception and Integration Contract includes a section titled in bold, 'France, a secular nation' (see illustration) located between segments that characterize France as a country of 'rights and responsibilities' and a country of 'equality'. The section on secularism proceeds to explain, first, that in France religion belongs to the private domain. Citizens and residents, it then specifies, have the right to their own religious beliefs as long as they do not disturb the public order. Finally, the contract states that government is independent of religion while being committed to ensuring the principles of tolerance and freedom.

Throughout Europe, secularism has won increased attention in recent years (Asad 2003). In France, debates over the requirements of *laïcité* flare up anew after each political event that draws public attention back to questions of Islam and immigration. Following the success of the far-right National Front party in municipal elections in March 2014, for instance, party leader Marine Le Pen expressed support for mayors who removed the pork-less 'substitution meal' in school cafeterias. Le Pen declared that her party will 'accept no religious demands on school menus' (Laurent 2014). The French policy of *laïcité* has increasingly become the burden of individual citizens (Fernando 2014). The OFII's educational citizenship video made explicit individuals' responsibility to adhere to secularism, explaining that residents are asked to limit religious expression to the private sphere and that it is forbidden to wear 'conspicuous religious symbols' in French public schools and state institutions.

The terrorist attacks in Paris in January and November 2015 sparked new questions about how the state might safeguard secularism and minimize the risk of 'homegrown terrorism'. During this time, the state's commitment to ensuring the principles of tolerance and freedom entailed deploying 'Vigipirate' (the national security alert system) soldiers equipped with assault rifles to secure access to religious spaces. A few months following the January attacks, a Muslim girl was sent home from secondary school for wearing a black ankle-length skirt that her teachers deemed insufficiently secular (*Le Monde* 2015). This highly publicized event inspired debate over what constitutes a conspicuous sign of religion and what individual citizens (children included) are expected to do to demonstrate secularism. The following autumn, the French Ministry of Education introduced educational reforms that required teachers and parents to attend informational sessions on the expectations of secularism (Piquemal 2015).

As scrutiny of Muslims and migrants has intensified, the social expectations of secularism have swelled and been written into government policy, placing pressure on minorities in France to regulate their behaviour ever more carefully in order to communicate their integration constantly. 'Secularism', and thus 'integration' more generally, function as what Urciuoli (1996) calls 'strategically deployable shifters', summarized by Dick and Wirtz as 'purposefully nebulous terms whose semantic ambiguity serves the pragmatic function of constructing particular social spaces and speaker alignments, rather than specifying a fixed referent' (2011: E2). Regardless of their citizenship status, French residents from North and West Africa are racially marked as 'foreign' outsiders until they demonstrate integration. For these non-white French residents, 'integration' must be constantly achieved and demonstrated anew, according to the ever-shifting demands of French secularism.

When OFII representatives enumerate the behaviours expected of French residents, they laminate – likening or fusing together – diverse practices (and people) construed as problematic to or unaligned with French goals of integration. In outlining the requirements of secularism, OFII representatives communicate the expectation that, in the public sphere at least, minorities should detach themselves from their ethnic and religious backgrounds, avoiding speaking, dressing or eating in ways that are associated with Islam in order to be treated as integrated, secular citizens.

French state discourses also define integration in educational and economic terms. The OFII frames education as an index of integration, a transformative process that both makes integration possible and provides evidence of belonging. French-educated foreigners[3] are treated as distinct from the immigrant masses to whom citizenship education sessions are addressed, and are exempt from citizenship education sessions and from signing the Reception and Integration Contract. Uneducated immigrants, in contrast, must endure more extensive state intervention in their lives (e.g., professional and linguistic training) to demonstrate their willingness to integrate.

The OFII describes formal employment as part of immigrants' pact with the state, highlighting residents' legal obligation to pay taxes. They describe this responsibility as fundamental to France's system of economic 'solidarity', according to which disadvantaged residents are entitled to welfare benefits and state subsidies. OFII representatives characterize

---

[3] Individuals who have completed at least one year of higher education in France or three years of secondary schooling in a French establishment abroad may be exempted from citizenship education sessions.

employment as 'an essential pillar' of integration in France and offer information on obtaining training from *Pôle Emploi*, the state employment centre. French integration policy thus requires foreigners to align with the economic moralities of the French state, at a minimum by avoiding the black market, by refraining from excessive reliance on the welfare system, and ideally by active participation in the formal economy, which contributes to the public fund.

Republican ideologies that distinguish 'integrated' foreigners from problematic 'immigrants' simultaneously create indexical links among economic, educational and religious practices. Value-laden integration guidelines draw diverse practices into relation, grouping them together under what Asif Agha calls 'a metasemiotic typification'. This typification – here the notion of 'integration'– 'motivates a likeness among objects within its semiotic range' (2007: 22). Bundling diverse practices as evidence of 'integration' (or its absence), this semiotic process makes possible a 'slippage' (Fernando 2014: 43) in state discourses of secularism, likening Muslims in France (even naturalized or French-born citizens) to foreigners and delinquents.

The following section examines interdiscursive links between state discourses and talk in Senegalese households to demonstrate how Senegalese in Paris reproduce republican axes of contrast in their efforts to demonstrate their own belonging in France. Fitting person 'types' salient in Senegal into French categories of 'immigrant' versus 'integrated,' they laminate hierarchies significant in Africa on to those relevant in France, taking part in discourses that racialize France's foreign populations. Examination of the normative stances of Senegalese in Paris regarding other immigrants' economic practices sheds light on the ways educated Dakarois manage slippage between their own ethnic and religious backgrounds and racialized stereotypes of African immigrants.

IV.   Nested hierarchies of belonging among Senegalese in Paris

French-educated immigrants from Dakar arrive in France with a mastery of many skills necessary to demonstrate integration. The semiotic practices that index privilege in Senegal are often the same as those that are thought to point to 'integration' in France. Fluency in French is a skill that marks members of an educated elite in Senegal, for whom the language provides access to employment and facilitates migration abroad. Senegal is officially a francophone nation, and scholars estimate that 10 to 14 percent of Senegalese speak French (Cissé 2005). Wolof serves as a common language for the vast majority of Senegalese,

particularly in urban areas (Versluys 2010). Formal French schooling, like the language skills it teaches and necessitates, also indexes wealth. A francophone higher education indicates that one's family had the means to pay school fees and to live in an urban area with a school.

Senegalese in Paris speak about education as if it marked a particular type of African abroad. They use the word *intello*, an abbreviation of 'intellectual', to refer to educated individuals who initially immigrated on a student visa, as opposed to workers.

One young woman who had arrived in France from Dakar five years previously described to me how her family members from rural Senegal came to recognize her as an *intello*. When she first arrived, her cousins who had been living in Paris for many years used to tease her by calling her *bledard*. Derived from the Arabic word *bled*, meaning village or homeland, in France the slang term *bledard* is used to refer to immigrants from North and West Africa who display and perform elements of the culture and customs of their country of origin. Associated with 'tradition' and a lack of integration into French culture, the label has negative connotations similar to those associated with the term 'fresh off the boat' (FOB) as used by the Desi teens Shankar describes (2008a, 2008b).

When her cousins saw that she was serious about her studies, however, they began to call her *intello* instead, acknowledging that she was not the naïve *bledard* they had originally thought. In her story, education allowed her to transform herself in her cousins' eyes from a not-yet integrated *bledard* into an *intello*. These categories map on to republican dichotomies of 'immigrant' versus 'integrated' foreigners, illustrating how Senegalese in France take up French republican ideologies of integration to distinguish themselves from other (Senegalese) immigrants.

Geographical hierarchies in Senegal are also crucial to the processes of distinction through which Dakarois in France highlight their own integration. Like Parisian ideologies that frame France as divided into Paris and *la province*, a disparaging term lumping together all regions outside the capital, Dakarois speak of the Senegalese capital as distinct from (and superior to) the rest of the country, particularly the rural 'bush' (*la brousse*). In a sense, the distance between Dakar and the Senegalese bush is perhaps even more exaggerated than that which separates Paris from French *provinces*. In Parisian narratives, the French countryside may also be described as an escape from city life, a vacation site prized for regional food specialities, fresh air and a slower pace of life. Travel from Dakar to the countryside is time-consuming, difficult and sometimes dangerous. Urbanites' trips into the interior of the country are most often visits to their (or their parents') native village, which involves

substantial economic obligations. Villagers often expect significant gifts and monetary support from their presumably well-off family members visiting from the big city.

Socioeconomic relations between urbanites and villagers in Senegal (like elsewhere Africa; see Newell 2012) are predicated on presupposed inequalities of status and wealth. Economic moralities of rank-based redistribution, commonly glossed as patron-client relations, link these two groups through moral expectations of material rights and responsibilities. According to this moral framework, urbanites are expected to act as benefactors, providing rural beneficiaries with material support. Like education, geographical movements from 'the bush' to the city (or from Africa to Europe) are framed as transformative processes, perceived as directly linked to wealth and status. Senegalese depict migration according to a nested hierarchy similar to that described by Sasha Newell among urbanites in Côte d'Ivoire (2012), in which villagers are thought to move up in status when they come to the capital, and urbanites climb in this same hierarchy when they travel to Europe.

Three young women who had migrated from Dakar to continue their studies in Paris described to me one ethnic group whose behaviour in France they found particularly problematic: Soninké villagers from the Senegal River Valley. The Soninké were among the first Senegalese to migrate *en masse* in the 1960s and 1970s to work as labourers in France (Tall 2002: 551). The women's frustration was palpable as they explained that these villagers, who appear to be among the least 'integrated', are actually full French citizens; they, meanwhile, were still obliged to wait in line at the *préfecture* each year to renew their residence permits. The women made it clear, that despite having legal citizenship, in their eyes the Soninké remained 'immigrants' in France: identifiable outsiders and thus problematic.

One of the women complained that Soninké were 'embarrassing' because they have been in France the longest but have 'done nothing' to adapt. 'You've seen them', she assured me; 'They're the ones in the metro with a stroller full of groceries and their baby on their back!' This description – of a Soninké women who would *choose* to carry her baby on her back in the public space of the Parisian metro – frames these villagers as foreigners in France who have yet to detach themselves sufficiently from African cultural practices in order to integrate. Focusing on the example of a mother with a young child, she highlighted Soninké villagers' reproductive, rather than economically productive, activities, alluding to French tropes of immigrant families with many children. These large families are often perceived as

55

placing an unfair burden on the welfare system by contributing little while receiving substantial state support. The three women from Dakar voiced a critical portrayal of other Africans in France, aligning themselves with French state discourses that emphasize the importance of 'professional integration' by obtaining formal employment and taking part in the French system of national economic 'solidarity', and by paying taxes to support French schools, hospitals, and other state institutions.

The problem with Soninké villagers in France, the three women explained, was that they had come directly 'from the bush to the *banlieue*', impoverished French suburbs often perceived to be ethnic enclaves. In the *banlieue*, they suggested, these Senegalese villagers were neither obligated nor motivated to integrate into majority French society. The three women framed their criticisms in terms that closely resembled French objections to *communautarisme*, 'the practice of enclosing oneself in one's community and privileging ethnic, racial, or religious affiliations over national ones' (Fernando 2014: 36). *Communautarisme* is widely perceived to be directly opposed to 'integration' and is often associated with *banlieues* notorious for illegal activities such as drug trafficking, the riots in 2005 and increasingly terrorism (Iteanu 2013).

One of the women argued that forms of behaviour associated with immigrants in the *banlieues* would be unacceptable in Senegal as well, saying, 'They are "*ni ni*"', that is, neither Senegalese nor French.[4] Her criticism suggested that one might achieve a 'both and' status by adapting one's behaviour to fit social expectations in each country. 'Both and' here could refer not only to both Senegalese and French but, moreover, to both middle or upper class and 'integrated'. Indeed, in Dakar, francophone Senegalese learn to 'code switch' from a young age, alternating between the French and Wolof languages, as well as adopting social practices associated with Europe and Africa. While French is required in public schools and international businesses in Dakar, Wolof demonstrates belonging in one's neighbourhood and family, as well as when haggling over prices at the market. Educated elites learn to eat with cutlery on plates at European-style restaurants in Dakar, but many also eat regularly with their hands around a communal platter at family meals. Mastery of these diverse skill sets, and demonstrating an awareness of the contexts in which each is appropriate, are critical to achieving the social position of an educated Senegalese urbanite. The capacity to adapt one's

---

[4] See Fernando (2014: 59) for a discussion of the term *ni ni* as used among individuals of North African descent in France.

semiotic practices distinguishes elite Dakarois from rural Soninké, in Senegal and France alike.

As Senegalese geographical hierarchies are carried into the French context, the material inequalities that are so salient in Dakarois' relations with their rural kin are erased. Instead, Senegalese urbanites frame these distinctions as questions of one's willingness to integrate into France. Echoing republican discourses, the women highlighted their own belonging in France by criticizing other Senegalese who, in their eyes, fail to demonstrate the will to integrate. In the context of migration, the educational and geographical hierarchies that distinguish groups of people in Senegal are reinforced. Class, meanwhile, is erased, whereas religion – or rather secularism – becomes a key axis of contrast according to which Senegalese position themselves relative to others.

V.   Recursive religious racialization

In Senegal, a country that is 94% Muslim, piety is valued and construed as a mark of high status (Buggenhagen 2011, 2012; Irvine 1974). In France, however, public piety is suspect, treated as evidence of immigrants' rejection of secularism and of the separation between the public sphere of politics and the private sphere of religion upon which it is premised (Scott 2007; Iteanu 2013). In Paris, religious expression takes on new meaning for Senegalese, aware of the marked status of religion, especially Islam. To demonstrate their own belonging, educated Senegalese in Paris distance themselves from immigrants who are more visibly religious or Muslim than they are. Educated Dakarois often expressed a preference for 'discreetly' practising their religion. Certain families drew my attention to the fact that veiling is uncommon in Senegal.[5] Others described religiousness as a sign of 'traditional' African immigrants. Religion was often implicated in normative discussions about economic practices. By voicing criticisms of others' practices in the form of economic moralities, educated Senegalese positioned themselves relative to other immigrants in religious terms without explicitly criticizing piousness.

Marie Sene, a Catholic mother of two, voiced economic moralities that distanced her from the practices of Muslim Senegalese through implicit criticisms of Muslim women's ever-escalating gift exchanges. When I asked Marie about the ritual gifts Senegalese women

---

[5] Salafi women in Senegal are a notable exception.

offer their in-laws, she quickly gave up attempts to explain how kinship ties organize these exchanges and told me she would call a Muslim friend of hers for clarification. Marie commented that her friend 'always fulfils her duties (*devoirs*)' as she dialled the call.

While their mother repeated aloud her Muslim friend's explanations of which members of her husband's female kin a woman is expected to offer food and gifts to at which event, Marie's daughters Emilie and Rosalie rolled their eyes at the complex relations. 'Couldn't they have just made it simple?' Emilie teased. After hanging up, Marie described how obligations toward one's in-laws at baby naming ceremonies and weddings escalate over time. 'For them', she specified, 'when you return the gift, you have to bring double the amount you received. That's just how it is'. Marie further stated that, 'for Catholics it's not like that. I give when I want to give'. Unlike Muslims, who are morally expected to manage escalating economic obligations to maintain far-flung kinship networks, Marie reported having the freedom to choose when and what she gives.

As Marie described Muslim women's compounding obligations, her daughters reacted incredulously. 'That's how you end up with nothing at the end!' Emilie scoffed. Her sister joked, 'You could always sell your gifts'. Their mother confirmed that, after fulfilling these economic obligations, participants are often left with little. In distancing herself from the obligations of Muslim women, Marie presented herself as successfully integrated into the modern, secular French nation. Unlike Muslims with obligations to their extended family through rigid tradition, Marie framed herself as autonomous in economic terms. She ratified her daughters' dismissal of these practices, treating knowledge of these ritual gifts, already inconsequential for her as a Catholic, as completely irrelevant for the girls.

Muslim Senegalese also draw on religion as an axis of contrast to distinguish themselves from other Muslims in France who are more publicly religious than they. Aboulaye Diop, a Senegalese father of four who came to France in 1979 to study accounting, complained to me about Muslims who 'talk about [their] religion all the time'. He highlighted one group he found particularly obtrusive: members of Murid Islamic brotherhood. In France, Abdoulaye explained, Murids' bombastic pronouncements of faith were paired with illegal economic activities aimed at generating funds for their *marabouts* and the ongoing construction of the Murid mosque in Tuba, Senegal. Since the 1980s, Murids have developed extensive transnational networks centred on selling souvenirs and counterfeit goods on the informal market (Ebin 1993, Diouf 2000, Riccio 2001).

Abdoulaye criticized the informal systems of international money transfer the brotherhood is said to use, complaining that Murids who had not studied international banking were unfairly encroaching on the businesses of those who had. In emphasizing the importance that those who practice a trade possess the proper degree, Malik aligned himself with the French educational and bureaucratic systems, distancing himself from migrants who flout these legal requirements. He traced out an axis of contrast between himself and members of the Islamic brotherhood based on their divergent religious and economic practices. Framing Murids in opposition to French law and values, Abdoulaye tacitly communicated his own alignment with French priorities of immigrant integration, positioning Murids as marked 'immigrants' within a republican framework that demands that residents limit their religious expression to the private domain in order to avoid disturbing public order.

By voicing economic moralities, both Marie and Abdoulaye drew on religion as an axis of contrast to perform, without explicitly naming, their own belonging in French society. These examples illustrate the constant shifts in republican categories of 'immigrant' and 'integrated'. The sorts of people, places and practices that are described as indexing integration vary with one's interactional aims, as speakers strategically draw on this axis of contrast to demonstrate their own integration and to distance themselves from other 'types' of immigrants in France.

VI.   Conclusion

Not everyone who immigrates is treated as an immigrant. This article has outlined some of the 'types' of people and practices that circulate in discussions of integration in French state discourses and talk in Senegalese households. State discourses and Senegalese narratives both presuppose and reify an axis of contrast between marked 'immigrants' and 'integrated' foreigners. Interdiscursive links between republican discourses and Senegalese discussions show how these value-laden categories are reproduced and transformed, semiotically laminated on to types of people, practices and places that are relevant in Senegal.

In Senegal, education and urban origins are construed as evidence of middle- or upper-class status, while in the French context these same signs are treated as indexical of one's integration. Educational and geographical hierarchies that are salient in Senegal are reinforced in Paris through discourses that frame formal schooling and migration as transformative processes, whereas hierarchies of class and religion are transformed

substantially. On the one hand, economic inequalities that motivate Dakarois to support relatives in rural Senegal are downplayed in France. In the context of migration, one's willingness to integrate is highlighted as key, obfuscating the uneven ways in which class differences shape one's capacity to index integration. Religion, on the other hand, takes on heightened significance in France. In narratives that are critical of others' exchange practices, Senegalese indirectly index their own secularism relative to others who are more publicly pious than they are. By carefully choosing how they take up republican axes of contrast that distinguish integrated foreigners from the immigrant masses, Senegalese in France strategically manage the 'slippage' between their own practices and those associated with potentially problematic 'immigrants'.

References

Agha, Asif 2007. *Language and social relations* (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, No. 24), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

ANAEM (L'Agence Nationale de l'Accueil des Etrangers et des Migrations [National Agency for the Reception of Foreigners and Migrations]) 2004. *Vivre ensemble, en France* [Living together, in France] (film), Paris: Janbon, Antoine and Quentin Wallon-Leducq.

Asad, Talal 2003. *Formations of the secular: Christianity, Islam, modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Briggs, Charles L., and Richard Bauman 1992. Genre, intertextuality, and social power, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 2/2, 131-172.

Buggenhagen, Beth 2011. Are births just 'women's business'? Gift exchange, value, and global volatility in Muslim Senegal, *American Ethnologist* 38/4, 714-732.

— 2012. *Muslim families in global Senegal: money takes care of shame*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cissé, Mamadou 2005. Langues, état et société au Sénégal [Languages, the state and society in Senegal], *Revue électronique internationale de sciences du langage sudlangues* 13, 99-133.

Cohen, Anthony P., and John L. Comaroff 1976. The management of meaning: on the phenomenology of political transactions, in Bruce Kapferer (ed.), *Transaction and meaning: directions in the anthropology of exchange and symbolic behavior*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 87-107.

Comaroff, John L., and Simon Roberts 1977. Marriage and extra-marital sexuality: the dialectics of legal change among the Kgatla, *Journal of African Law* 21/01, 97-123.

Dick, Hilary, and Kristina Wirtz 2011. Racializing discourses, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21/s1, pp. E2-E10.

Diouf, M. 2000. The Senegalese Murid trade diaspora and the making of a vernacular cosmopolitanism, *Public Culture* 12, 679-702.

Ebin, V. 1993. Les commerçants mourides à Marseille et à New York, [Mourid traders in Marseille and New York]in Emmanuel Grégoire and Pascal Labazée (eds), *Grands commerçants d'Afrique de l'Ouest[The Great Traders of West Africa]*, Paris: Karthala.

Fassin, Didier 2005. Compassion and repression: the moral economy of immigration policies in France, *Cultural Anthropology* 20/3, 362-387.

Fernando, Mayanthi 2014. *The republic unsettled: Muslim French and the contradictions of secularism*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hargreaves, Alec 2007. *Multi-ethnic France: immigration, politics, culture and society*, New York: Routledge.

Irvine, Judith 1974. Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting, in Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 167-91.

— 1996. Shadow conversations: the indeterminacy of participant roles, in Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (eds.), *Natural histories of discourse*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 131-159.

— 2005. Knots and tears in the interdiscursive fabric, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15/1, 72–80.

— and Susan Gal 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation, in P.V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: ideologies, polities, and identities*, Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series, pp. 35-83.

Iteanu, A. 2013. The two conceptions of value, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3/1, 155-171.

Lambek, Michael 2010. *Ordinary ethics: anthropology, language, and action*. New York: Fordham University Press.

Lamont, Michèle 2004. Immigration and the salience of racial boundaries among French workers, in Herrick Chapman and Laura Levine Frader (eds.), *Race in France: interdisciplinary perspectives on the politics of difference*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 141-155.

Le Monde Editorial 2015. Nouvelle polémique sur une jupe longue au lycée [New polemics on a long skirt at secondary school], *Le Monde*, http://perma.cc/9ZNP-MZAU (published 6 May 2015).

Laurent, Samuel 2014. Laïcité à l'école : l'arnaque de Marine Le Pen sur les cantines [Secularism at school: Marine Le Pen's school dinner scam], *Le Monde: Les Décodeurs*. 7 April.

Maurer, Bill 2009. Moral economies, economic moralities: consider the possibilities! In Katherine Browne and Lynne Milgram (eds.), *Economics and morality: anthropological*

approaches (Society for Economic Anthropology, USA), New York: AltaMira Press, pp. 257-269.

Murphy, William, and Caroline Bledsoe 1987. Kinship and territory in the history of a Kpelle chiefdom (Liberia), in Igor Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 123-147.

Ndiaye, Pap 2008. *La condition noire: essai sur une minorité française [The black condition: An essay on a French minority]*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy.

Newell, Sasha 2012. *The modernity bluff: crime, consumption, and citizenship in Côte d'Ivoire*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

OFII 2016a. La signature du Contrat d'Intégration Républicaine. [The signing of the Contract of Republican Integration], http://perma.cc/66FW-NZ3G (accessed 14 September 2016).

— 2016b. L'Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Integration: Qui sommes nous? [The French Office of Immigration and Integration: About us] http://perma.cc/5FLK-AYGZ, (accessed 14 September 2016).

— 2016c. Presentation: What is the CAI? http://perma.cc/NPE2-SRVG (accessed 3 October 2016).

Piquemal, M. 2015. Pourquoi intervenir ici? On s'en sort plutôt bien [Why intervene here? We're doing quite well as is]. *La Libération*. http://perma.cc/BCM3-ZXKV (published 8 October 2015).

Raissiguier, Catherine 2010. *Reinventing the Republic: gender, migration, and citizenship in France*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Riccio, Bruno 2001. From 'ethnic group' to 'transnational community'? Senegalese migrants, ambivalent experiences, and multiple trajectories, *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures* 27, 583-599.

Scott, Joan W. 2007. *The politics of the veil*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Shankar, Shalini 2008a. 'Speaking like a model minority': FOB styles, gender, and racial meanings among Desi teens in Silicon Valley, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 18/2, 268-289.

Shankar, Shalini 2008b. *Desi land: teen culture, class, and success in Silicon Valley*, Durham NC: Duke University Press.

—, and Jillian R. Cavanaugh 2012. Language and materiality in global capitalism, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41, 355-369.

Silverstein, Michael 2005. Axes of evals,, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15/1, 6-22.

—, and Greg Urban (eds) (1996). Natural histories of discourse, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Silverstein, Paul 2005. Immigrant racialization and the new savage slot: race, migration, and immigration in the new Europe, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34, 363-384.

Tall, S. 2002. L'émigration internationale sénégalaise [The international Senegalese emigration], in Momar-Coumba Diop (ed.), *La société sénégalaise entre le local et le global [Senegalese society between the local and the global]*, Paris: Karthala.

Urciuoli, Bonnie 1996. *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class*, Boulder CO: Westview Press.

Versluys, Eline 2010. *Langues et identités au Sénégal[Languages and identities in Senegal]*, Paris: l'Harmattan.

BELONGING AND BELONGINGS:

KINSHIP NARRATIVES AND MATERIAL ANCHORS
AT A SECOND HOME IN KAZAKHSTAN

MEGHANNE BARKER[1]

Abstract

This article examines the way narratives of kinship come to constitute and sustain kin ties for children growing up apart from their families. At a temporary, state-run group home for children under seven years old in Kazakhstan, teachers and children construct narratives that include parents whom the children may not have seen for months, but who have promised to resume care of them by school age. In contrast to dominant characterizations of orphanages as sites of material and social poverty, I show how materials – from playground equipment to gifts, real and imagined – play an important role in narratives of belonging. Through their own narratives of giving, receiving and losing, moreover, children creatively incorporate into their stories other relationships of belonging between individuals that are never explicitly identified as kin.

I.   Introduction: presupposing the first home

Out in the playground, Aigul Apai, a teacher and carer, is giving an impromptu maths lesson: 'Altogether on the tree, how many apples are growing?' One boy sits beside Aigul on the bench, another stands next to her, and a girl hangs on the bars of the playground equipment, their attention fixed not on a tree, but on two metal bars, horizontal and parallel, each with ten colourful plastic rings. Askhat stands before this playground abacus, using the top bar and sliding the rings back and forth, according to the story his teacher is telling. Askhat counts: there are seven rings altogether, and thus seven apples on the tree his teacher has described.

Aigul Apai tells Askhat to clear the rings by pushing them back to his right. She launches into another problem, this time about the leaves on a tree — five of them. Askhat moves five rings over to the left. Three leaves get blown away, and Askhat moves three of the five rings back to the right. This leaves two rings and thus two leaves on the imaginary tree.

---

[1] Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology, University of Michigan. Email: mmbarker@umich.edu
Postal address: 101 West Hall, 1085 S. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1107, USA.

Aigul begins another '*Aghashta*'[2] – 'on a tree' – but then adds '*oy*,' a hesitation before presenting another tree-based word problem. She changes course: 'My mama gave me four balloons,' she begins instead. 'Two of the balloons got popped. How many balloons did I have left?' Thereafter, Aigul Apai's word problems vary: foxes in the forest run away, flowers in a vase wither and die, a grandmother brings Aigul Apai balloons for her birthday.

This day in the playground and the video footage I captured that day, which I analyse in this article, stood out because a number of issues surrounding the social and material relations of my research site, Hope House, seemed to crystallize around this playground object. It was a day that stood out for Aigul Apai as well: a year later, she asked me to make a DVD copy of the footage for her to keep, as she saw it as exemplary of her creativity as a teacher.

Aigul was one of the two main teachers and carers responsible for the care, upbringing and education of a group of eight children I followed at Hope House, a state-run, temporary home for children from six months to seven years old. The children's parents had placed them there voluntarily, for a minimum of one year. Children could stay until they were old enough to start school, at which time they were expected to go home to their parents. .

Apai could be glossed as 'aunt,' but it is also a more general Kazakh term used by children and adults for respected or older women, including teachers and senior workplace colleagues. Aigul's formal job title is *vospitatel'* in Russian, *tarbieshi* in Kazakh, both of which come from verbs that mean 'to care for' or 'to rear'. Both words are used for teachers and carers at orphanages and other types of group homes for children, and more broadly for most preschool or kindergarten teachers. Their aides, whom the children also called 'Apai,' rotated 24-hour shifts, every three days, arriving in the morning and sleeping overnight with them. Aigul Apai spent twelve hours every other day with them.

Usually, Aigul and her assistant were busy taking care of the play area assigned to their group — sweeping dead leaves, clearing snow from the paths, or pulling weeds from the flower beds, depending on the weather. The children in her charge, between five and six years old, were left to play by themselves or allowed to help out with the work in the yard. On this day in early

---

[2] The majority of the children at my field site spoke Kazakh, despite the fact that Russian was the more dominant language in the city of Almaty, where Hope House was located. The directors explained to me that Kazakh was prioritized here over Russian because Kazakh was the state language, and this was a state-sponsored home, whereas Russian was only an official language.

spring, Aigul Apai had time, for a change, to sit with some of the children from her group of eight and lead them in word problems.

Aigul Apai used the equipment to index relationships of quantity and changes in number through addition or subtraction, the rings on the bar moving in diagrammatic relationship to the objects they represent, the rings sliding across the bar to show gains and losses (Peirce 2011). The relationship between the playground's colourful rings and the objects they represent during this activity helped the children to imagine the coming and going of corresponding numbers of objects. At the same time, Aigul Apai and other teachers and carers at Hope House guided the children in imagining interactions with mothers and other family members. When Aigul Apai shifted the topic from leaves on a tree to gifts from her mother, she invoked a social framework that drew the children's attention to familial interactions and gift exchanges. Her narrative treated the playground abacus as a node bringing together a complex set of social and material relations. By describing material transactions between mothers and children, Aigul Apai's seemingly simple story presupposed and entailed certain ties between parent and child (Silverstein 2003).

In this article, I argue that the dual directionality of indexicality — presupposing and entailing — enables talk and other semiotic interactions, including moving rings across a bar on the playground, to create and maintain kin ties (Parmentier 1997, Silverstein 1993). Though the narratives are set in the past and thus referentially index a past event, Aigul Apai and the students in her charge are mostly imagining these past events, and as such, they imagine relationships with their parents, to whom they anticipate returning in the future. As children are socialized through such lessons to talk about particular relationships between people and things in a way that presupposes their importance, they not only replicate the forms their teachers model for them, but also creatively imagine interactions with mothers, along with other children and adults.

I begin by contextualizing Hope House as a particular kind of home for children that serves as a temporary placeholder for them in contemporary Kazakhstan. Drawing on the anthropological literature on kinship and language, I highlight the importance of co-constructed fantasy in creating and preserving kin ties. Hope House takes charge of the children's total care while maintaining the position that their rightful place is back in their first home, the family home. Thus, Hope House socializes children by cultivating their imagining of this first home. This analysis of the complex relationships between narratives, objects and people offers an

overdue counter-narrative on orphanages and similar institutions for children by moving away from narratives of lack. I argue, rather, that as scholars we should attend to the unique social and material relationships that emerge in such exceptional sites. Finally, the material examined in this article illustrates the ways in which children creatively index relationships with other children and the adults around them during these lessons, both in their incorporation of these individuals into their narratives and through the interactional dynamics that unfold during the telling. These acts of telling move children's socialization of kinship beyond defining relationships as kin or not-kin or as temporary or permanent, instead emphasizing the centrality of exchange and movement, and of giving and loss, in their lives.

II.   Fieldwork and methods

I conducted 24 months of fieldwork in Kazakhstan, most extensively between fall 2012 and spring 2014, when I visited Hope House several times per week. In addition, I conducted shorter visits to more traditional orphanages and to government and private preschools in order to gain a comparative perspective. My second main site for long-term fieldwork in Almaty was a state puppet theatre, which offered insights into the ideologies surrounding childhood, materiality and fantasy in contemporary Kazakhstan.

At Hope House, after observing the children's daily play activities for the first three months, I began to videotape their daily activities – their play, lessons, rehearsals for performances, and their performances for the frequent visitors they received. Indoors, I often set up the camera in a stationary location beside the children and adults so that it would interfere less with everyday activities. Outside, because the children moved around more, I held the camera and followed particular children (which inevitably meant leaving out other interactions). This video was recorded in March 2013. The children lived in same-age cohorts; my group was the second oldest when I arrived (the children were all between four and five years old). During my second year of fieldwork, some were beginning to 'age out' and go home to live with their families and begin school. Throughout this article, I use the present tense when examining specific scenes from my video footage, but otherwise use the past tense to refer to Hope House's activities and mission more generally.

III. Narrating the First Home from within the Second: learning to take family for granted

Hope House offers a unique site for studying the role of talk and other semiotic processes in the creation and maintenance of kin ties with absent others because the institution is charged with teaching children about families and family life when the children have little direct knowledge about such concepts. When sociologist Erving Goffman wrote about 'total institutions', from prisons to mental institutions, in which an enclosed space encompassed the entirety of inmates' lives, he questioned the appropriateness of including orphanages because he held that a key characteristic of total institutions was that their activities stand in tension with the outside world (Goffman 1961: 13). This was not a tension that children could be expected to understand if they had no outside experience from which to draw (ibid.: 12). At Hope House, however, an important part of the children's education was creating this tension – or contrast – between the inside of the institution and the outside world of the family through talk and fantastic play that invoked relationships with mothers, grandparents and others, as this episode demonstrates. Carers worked to maintain relationships between parents and children while offering temporary care to the latter. Because Hope House's mission was to offer a temporary home for children so that they would eventually return to their parents, this institution was charged with socializing children to understand their first and primary home as that of their parent(s).

Aigul Apai uses discussions of mothers to presuppose their existence and their affective relationships with their children as evidenced in material gifts. This gives rise to children's own creative imaginings of stories about their mothers and the gifts they give. Most of the children I observed in the group had been placed in the home when they were one or two years old. By the time I was observing them, three or four years later, their autobiographical memories of home would have faded considerably, based on psychologists' understandings of 'infantile amnesia' (Howe 2008). Parents were allowed to visit during select hours of the day and for special events, but children were not allowed to make short visits to their families' homes while living at Hope House.

While adults at Hope House sometimes spoke explicitly to the children about the temporary nature of their situation at Hope House, teachers also frequently incorporated talk about parents into their daily lessons. When discussing professions, for example, they asked the children what their parents did for work. When teaching a new vocabulary word, teachers invited the children

to repeat example sentences that described mothers or other family members. For holidays and other special events, the children prepared special performances. Hope House often invited the children's families to attend these, along with representatives from overseeing governmental bodies and from local business organizations or other groups that regularly donated clothes or toys to Hope House. At these performances, the children often sang songs about mothers or recited poems about grandmothers. Mothers and children also abounded in games initiated by both teachers and children.

IIIa. Tales of kinship: how narratives make relationships

The kinship terminology used at Hope House is not as interesting as what it does and the ways that relationships of family belonging are created through these linguistic performances. Language plays an important role in how people come to understand their relationships with one another, though the role of language in kinship studies has often been focused on the specific terms that are considered to constitute a 'kinship terminology' and to whom they should be applied. David Zeitlyn has argued that anthropologists need to shift from an approach to kinship terminology that begins with *langue* to one that begins with *parole*; that is, he advocates looking at the pragmatics of kinship terminology by examining how people talk about their relationships with one another (1993: 199; also 2005). Doing this, he argues, compels an examination of non-kin terms and of the social conditions in which social relations and their categorizations unfold.

Robert McKinley has argued for considering kinship as a philosophy of 'what completes a person socially, psychologically, and how that completeness comes about through a responsible sense of attachment and obligation to others' (2001: 143). Such an approach attempts to move away from debates about the biological versus cultural aspects of kinship in order to investigate how this philosophy organizes social relationships and how 'persons of different generations feel mutually implicated in each other's lives' as one another's predecessors and successors (ibid.). Thus, self is deeply shaped by the set of social relations held and actively cultivated. Kinship is not a set of terminologies but a way of moving through the world.

As the children take turns on the abacus, they move around on the bench and on the equipment. They are quick to correct one another while awaiting their turn, and will push others away when it is. When Askhat sits next to his teacher, he leans his head on her arm. A woman

visiting the home interrupts them to ask if they are the group known as the 'Starlings.' 'We are the Chicks,' one of the children informs her.

Children were grouped with other children of their age group, all speaking Kazakh except for a mixed-age group of Russian-speakers. Each group had its own set of rooms — a classroom/playroom, a bathroom, a cubby room, a room where their bunk beds lined the walls and a room with little tables and chairs where they ate. Each section also had its own outdoor play area, with its own little playhouse where the children kept their outdoor toys, and their own designated Apais, though these sometimes substituted for one another.

No one ever elaborated on the pedagogical philosophy that motivated the division of the children into age-segregated groups in this way, and it might seem to differ little from the structuring principles behind preschools in Kazakhstan and other parts of the world. Nonetheless, the intimacy and consistency with which this structure provided the children at Hope House was one of many ways the home fostered a sense of belonging to the group and the home – a sense of 'mutual implication', as McKinley describes it – but without seeking to replace the family home. Hope House was a new and rather experimental kind of state home for children, but it was also part of a wider network of relations between states and families that was in the process of being reworked during the time of my fieldwork. Looking at family situations that are in some ways exceptional can offer insights into ideologies of family that are otherwise taken for granted (Frekko et al. 2015: 712). At Hope House, where children were socialized outside the families the institution was working to protect, children and adults cultivated discursive strategies for talking about the children's families and their future place in them.

IIIb. Ambivalent orphanage: institutions to end institutionalization

Hope House was the first institution of its kind in post-Soviet Kazakhstan. It serves as a unique lens on to shifting relations between the state and families in the decades following the end of the Soviet Union. Scholars have rightly objected to discourses of 'transition' that oversimplify social, political and economic changes in the region as occurring along a straightforward and uniform trajectory from socialism to capitalism (Abramson 2001, Berdahl et al. 2000, Verdery 1996). Kazakhstan, the last to break off from the USSR in 1991, has been described by regional scholars as an 'accidental' state (Dave 2007, Olcott 2010). An American who had been doing development work there for years described it to me as 'the most Soviet' of post-Soviet states.

Representatives of international organizations I met in Kazakhstan beginning in 2010 expressed a commitment to moving Kazakhstan away from reliance on the permanent institutionalization of children who lacked parental care, whether their carers had voluntarily relinquished custody or had had their rights taken away due to neglect or abuse. They also complained that both the government and citizens were reluctant to embrace systems of foster care and adoption that these organizations saw as clearly preferable to state orphanages.

Despite this seeming reluctance to transform institutional systems for providing care to children, the decades following the Soviet Union's collapse did bring about profound changes to the country's social welfare, childcare and educational systems, including the closing of many state-funded preschools and work-site day-care programs. The loss of such support for struggling parents made it increasingly difficult to care for a child (Heyneman and DeYoung 2004). During my fieldwork, the state was also working to develop foster care, both within extended kin networks and outside them, as well as domestic adoption.[3] International adoption to countries such as the US peaked in the early 2000s but has since dropped, with a ban on adoption specifically to the US beginning in 2012 (Lillis 2013).

Hope House was founded in the late 1990s in Almaty, at the same time as the city was losing its status as the nation's capital, although it remains Kazakhstan's largest city and a major centre for business in Central Asia. As the city underwent significant transitions, Hope House introduced a type of care that was innovative in Kazakhstan at that time. It was structured in many ways like more traditional orphanages for children, with the children grouped according to age cohorts, and rarely leaving the grounds of the home, surrounded by fences and a guarded gate at the front. Its goal, however, was to prevent children's long-term institutionalization by giving parents time to find better working or living conditions for a promise to resume the care of their children later. It existed alongside other alternative forms of care for children, including permanent institutionalization in 'baby houses' (*dom rebenok*) for infants and preschool-age children, followed by children's homes (*detskii dom*) for children approximately four to eighteen years old.

---

[3] For official numbers of types of institutions and children being served by them, see the Official Site of the Committee for the Protection of Children's Rights (2015), part of the Republic of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Education and Science (in Russian).

IV. The materiality of orphanages: from narratives of lack to objects indexing relationships

McKinley cites Kluckhohn and Leighton's description of Navajo kinship in which the most damning aspersion one could cast would be to describe a person's behaviour as acting *as if* they had no relatives (1946: 100, cited in McKinley 2001: 143). The term 'orphan' often indexes a breakdown or loss of kin ties. However, anthropologists have noted that children thus designated often find themselves not devoid of ties, but rather in complicated relationships with family members, the state and non-governmental organizations (Dahl 2014, Freidus 2010). Scholars of child development and paediatrics have long framed pleas to end the institutionalization of children in a language of lack, deprivation, or poverty of all sorts. In the 1990s, psychologists and paediatricians from the West responded to reports of atrocious conditions in post-socialist east European orphanages with large-scale, long-term studies of the effects of institutionalization. As they catalogued the symptoms and quantified the damage in comparison to never-institutionalized peers, doctors reported their findings, again, as resulting from deprivation — social, emotional, sensory, nutritional deprivation that led to developmental delays or impairment. There is a widespread discourse on orphans and orphanages that frames these children and places in terms of deprivation and loss, of social and material poverty (Bakwin 1949, Goldfarb 1955, Nelson et al. 2014, Rutter et al. 2007).

In contrast, children at Hope House lived in a rich social, material and sensory world: indeed, the traditional orphanages I visited in Kazakhstan, though varying in their access to material and human resources, were nonetheless all better than the appalling conditions described by so many Western journalists visiting east European orphanages in the 1990s. Part of the work of the teachers at Hope House was to cultivate children's anticipations of life outside Hope House; just as crucially, they had to come to understand the differences between the different categories of objects and of people they encountered in their everyday lives inside the institution.

Whenever I would visit Hope House and find a child had a new toy, they would immediately tell me if they had received it from a family member. At Hope House, most toys belonged to a particular group, and children needed to obtain adult permission before playing with them. Receiving a toy from a family meant that the child possessing it could play with it during times when other toys were supposed to be put away. It also meant that these toys were the children's

responsibility and that teachers would not be upset if they got broken. Such toys thus served to index relationships between parents and children at Hope House under the circumstances of the former's absence, but they tended to get broken more quickly than the other toys and often disappeared after only a few weeks, both because they got played with more frequently and because sometimes other children got jealous and played roughly with them.[4]

While Aigul Apai uses the abacus to make numeric abstraction more concrete for her young learners, what emerges from this interaction is a complex semiotic lamination of fantasy and materiality. She invites the children to imagine similar interactions (and transactions) with their own family members, their stories not necessarily referring back to an actual incident in which these interactions took place, but encouraging the children to imagine them.

In addition to gifts from parents, there were gifts from private donors – from volunteer organizations, local business groups and multinational corporate sponsors. While the state covered basic expenses, such as the grounds and building, food and staff salaries, the home received a large number of donations from various private sponsors, including not only clothes and toys but also larger items, such as flat-screen televisions provided by a multinational corporation. Around the home, Kazakhstani flags, seals and photographs of President Nazarbayev could be found alongside these private donations. In addition to photographs of the children with their mothers or other family members, which could be found in the children's classrooms or in the cubby rooms where they kept their outdoor gear, the hallways of the home were lined with photographs of the directors and children greeting prestigious political or business representatives.

A complex field of actors – state and private, families and sponsors – thus provided objects that comprised the semiotic landscape of Hope House. These were often handed out to individual children by visitors representing these groups, but were later collected by the teachers, who would sometimes put certain gifts away, placing them on a shelf for display rather than play if they were large presents such as stuffed animals. For smaller items, such as candies, teachers would redistribute them later as rewards for the children's good behaviour. Thus, the semiotic landscape of the home included not only indices pointing back to absent parents who had given gifts to their individual children, but also offered visible traces of these past visitors. The

---

[4] Evans (2006) highlights the ways in which researchers can engage in the exchange of meaningful objects (such as Pokémon cards) with children in order to learn about what matters to them.

televisions bore the logo of the corporation that had donated them. On the other hand, teachers and children usually referred to such visitors simply as 'sponsors' (*sponzory*), without trying to find out which organizations they represented. The objects donated to the home by sponsors lasted longer than those that came from the parents, but the identities of the sponsors went unremarked. There were no stories or games about sponsors' visits or gifts. Nonetheless, the rich material landscape – and directors' and teachers' discourses about the home – positioned Hope House as a counterpoint to narratives of institutional lack and orphans' deprivation.

IVa. Story problems: accounting for presents, mothers, and others

Out in the playground, Aigul Apai has offered the children several problems that all follow a basic formula:

1. There were X things.

2. Y things were added to or subtracted from this.

3. How many things are there altogether, or how many are left?

Without offering such a description of the formula he is to follow, Aigul Apai invites Omar to try telling one such story problem. Askhat, standing again in front of the bars and rings, is to listen and follow along, to move the rings according to the story and to give the final answer at the end.

Omar can do the maths, and he eagerly incorporates his mother into the story, but he has trouble recreating the formula correctly. His first try is, 'My mom gave me three balloons. One of my balloons popped.' Aigul Apai tells Omar to ask Askhat how many balloons were left. Instead of posing the question to Askhat, however, Omar answers the question himself. 'I had two balloons left.' His teacher tells him he needs to give the question. Instead, he starts over. 'My mom brought me five balloons. My mom gave me six balloons.'

There are only ten rings per bar, so the teacher instructs Askhat to ignore Omar's first comment about having five balloons and to keep the part about the six balloons. Then she instructs Omar to tell Askhat that two balloons popped. Again, he skips the part where he poses the question to Askhat and solves the problem, 'I have four balloons left.'

Aigul Apai lets Nurlan try next, but she coaches him to make sure he follows the formula. After he offers a couple of problems, he sits down, and Askhat gets a turn. He presents a problem about bicycles and a popped tyre, following the formula without a problem. When he hesitates

regarding what kind of story to tell next, Omar offers a prompt, '*Mening mamam…*' 'My mother.' Askhat takes the suggestion and tells another one about his mother. The children seem uninterested in the problems about trees.

Askhat tells a story in which he gets ten cakes for his birthday. 'Then,' he continues, smiling, 'Then Aigul Apai and Dina Apai ate two of them. How many cakes were left?' When he tries to tell a third story, Nurlan protests: 'Apai, isn't he saying a lot?' Apai, perhaps not thrilled at Askhat's (imagined) accusation of eating a child's cakes, agrees. Askhat's turn is over.

Though Aigul Apai has offered them a range of different topics they could employ in telling their stories about objects, they almost exclusively imagine stories of gifts given to them by their mothers. By focusing on such problems, the children engage in constructing imagined narratives about their mothers without breaking that frame to engage in discussions about the frequency with which each of their mothers actually visited, or whose mothers had actually brought them such toys or cakes in the past. While the abacus acts as a visual anchor for the abstraction of numeracy brought together with imagined stories of objects coming and going, the objects featured in the stories — gifts brought to the children by their mothers — acted as indices of the children's relationships to their absent parents.

As the children engage with the abacus, moving the rings or recounting story problems, they follow the semiotic logic that the rings stand for objects without much problem. However, the interactional formulas of telling a story and posing a question to which they already know the answer trip them up. They also have trouble at times remembering that only one addition or subtraction should be made. Instead, they sometimes try to add, and then add more, which then requires arithmetic beyond their level. Or the children describe a mother who brings two different kinds of objects, which don't easily translate into the rings on the abacus. Aigul Apai continues to work with them to simplify their stories to fit the model she provided. The narratives are designed to make the abstraction of numbers more concrete by offering 'real world' examples, but both the abacus and their own maths skills limit the possibilities that can be imagined and translated into a maths problem. Their 'real life' experiences with objects and people, of course, are more complex. Objects, real and imagined, from playground equipment to birthday cakes, work in different ways to make and maintain ties between children, teachers and absent family members.

IVb. Kinship and other ways of belonging

At Hope House, teachers spoke frequently with children about their mothers, and these were the family members who most frequently visited the children.[5] This is not to suggest that ideal families were 'nuclear' families: mothers were important in Kazakhstan, ideologically and in actual family life, but so too were extended kin and non-kin networks (Werner 1997, 1998). During my fieldwork, Kazakh families stressed traditional Kazakh reliance on extended kin networks for support during a child's first years. It was quite common for grandchildren to go to live with their grandparents for the first few years of their life, even when their mother and father were married and had work. The new grandparents sometimes requested this arrangement, as they felt they could enjoy taking care of a grandchild in a way that had been unavailable to them when they had been young parents, and it provided the young couple time to experience their first years of marriage without children. This was part of a longer tradition of adoption from within kin networks that signalled the strengthening of kin ties, as when brothers would sometimes adopt one another's children, a tradition reported to me by Kazakhs who also asserted this was declining.

In contrast to this, Kazakhs often lamented that children's residence in state-run orphanages indexed the breakdown of such networks. Some stigma surrounded unmarried women becoming mothers, and they would sometimes move back in with their parents for some time. While some government and NGO workers believed that the key to ending Kazakhstan's reliance on children's homes lay in creating more positive attitudes toward domestic adoption, others held that they should work to offer state assistance to extended family members who were willing to foster their relatives' children. Thus, even projected 'transitions' away from state institutions such as traditional orphanages did not move in a straightforward fashion toward 'the kinning of foreigners,' as adoption has been described by scholars (Howell 2006).

While McKinley's emphasis on these intergenerational relationships as ones of predecessors and successors thus prioritizes systems of lineage, in thinking about how philosophies of kinship unfold at Hope House, we might note the special position of teachers and carers such as Aigul Apai. They are intimately implicated in the children's lives, but without any sense that the

---

[5] One boy in my group was regularly visited by a single father. Lacking permission from the home's overseeing government bodies to extend my study to the children's families, and not wishing to impinge on their time with their children when they were visiting, I met the children's mothers or fathers briefly during their visits but didn't ask for interviews.

children will succeed them. Rather, an important aspect of their responsibility to the children in their care is to socialize them to talk about their families in ways that may not reference the real memories the children have of them, but which rather work to naturalize and treat as self-evident relationships that children do not experience on a daily basis. While teachers stressed the importance of families and family homes, other relationships received less attention, including the teachers' own ties to the children. Less than a month before this episode with the abacus, the children's other teacher had gone on maternity leave, with plans to return after two years, by which time these children would all have gone home. No announcements were made beforehand, and I never heard anyone discuss the teacher to the children afterwards.

Children were charged with keeping track of a complicated, always unfolding equation of people and objects coming and going. As they constructed their own word problems in the playground, their mothers were not the only actors included in these equations. Nurlan described his mother giving him three motorcycles, but then Omar drove one away. Tamilya had two dolls but gave one to her twin sister. Hope House differentiated itself from the 'first home' of the family in the name of preserving this first home, but the teachers brought themselves into equations through their work with the children, even if they spent less time constructing narratives about their relationships with the children.

Askhat gets his turn back eventually. Marlin, who joined the lesson late, is moving the rings. Askhat tells one in which his mother brings two different categories of objects — hats and balls — which confuses Marlin and unnerves Aigul Apai. She takes over telling the story. Askhat, his narrative authority usurped, steps in to direct Marlin in how to move the rings. When the turn ends, Askhat tries again, despite Nurlan's repeated protest that Askhat is saying a lot. 'I'm doing the telling,' Askhat asserts. 'My mother gave Aigul Apai three clothes, mmm, four clothes then, and then Aigul Apai ripped one dress'. Nurlan's high-pitched laugh can be heard off-screen, followed by '*Zhaghyn kharyssyn*,' which could be translated as, 'May your jowls fall off.' Aigul Apai looks at me and into the camera, giving a half smile, and then, in her soft voice, asks the question to Marlin directly, rather than prompting Askhat: 'How many dresses were left for Aigul Apai?' Marlin answers Aigul Apai directly, while Askhat balances his torso on the soccer ball, on the bench beside Aigul Apai. He lets Aigul Apai take over.

Throughout this exercise, Aigul Apai is seated on the bench behind the equipment, while the other children are moving around. When Askhat tells his first cheeky story problem about Aigul

Apai and Dina Apai eating two of his cakes, he is seated down on the bench away from her, with Omar between them. He looks over to her and smiles, a look she doesn't seem to return. After this turn finishes and Omar gets up, Askhat slides down to sit closer to his teacher.

V.   Conclusion: anchoring the absent, the imagined and the unspoken

The abacus not only offers a visual, tactile representation of imagined stories, it also serves as an interactional anchor around which teacher and children focus, despite their constant movement. As Askhat moves around the abacus, the bench and his teacher, he incorporates Aigul Apai into the stories about his mother and the objects. But then he teases her by imagining her doing comical things. This potentially distances him from her if it is taken as an insult. He seeks rapprochement by moving physically closer to her, albeit tentatively.

Askhat and the other children understand the coming and going of objects and people, the delicacy of balloons and cakes, as more complex than three-step word problems or descriptions of lack and deprivation. The children's stories and the interactions surrounding their telling also suggest that the first and second homes, the family and the institution, are not so easily separated. In the last instance Askhat takes himself out of the equation entirely, imagining an exchange between his mother and his teacher. As Marlin clears the rings for the next problem, Askhat hugs his teacher from behind. Patting her on the back, he smiles and says, 'That's how you say it, right?' Aigul Apai doesn't look back at him, but she says to Marlin, 'Now I'll say one.' She doesn't return his hug or praise his ability to follow the formula for the story problems she has been modelling for them, nor does she reprimand him for telling stories that depict her as a person prone to eating other people's cakes and ripping dresses. When she takes over, she resumes talking about trees and the leaves on them.

References

Abramson, David. 2001. Putting Central Asia on the anthropological map, *Anthropology News* 42/5, 8–8. doi:10.1111/an.2001.42.5.8.1.

Bakwin, H. 1949. Emotional deprivation of infants, *Journal of Pediatrics* 35, 512-521.

Berdahl, Daphne, Matti Bunzl and Martha Lampland 2000. *Altering states: ethnographies of transition in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Dahl, Bianca 2014. 'Too fat to be an orphan': the moral semiotics of food aid in Botswana, *Cultural Anthropology* 29/4, 626–47. doi:10.14506/ca29.4.03.

Dave, Bhavna 2007. *Kazakhstan: ethnicity, language and power* (Central Asian Studies Series 8), London and New York: Routledge.

Evans, Gillian 2006. *Educational failure and working class white children in Britain*, Basingstoke and New York: AIAA.

Freidus, Andrea 2010. 'Saving' Malawi: faithful responses to orphans and vulnerable children, *NAPA Bulletin - Wiley Online Library*. https://perma.cc/X9YR-U5NL (accessed 21 February 2016).

Frekko, Susan E., Jessaca B. Leinaweaver and Diana Marre 2015. How (not) to talk about adoption: on communicative vigilance in Spain, *American Ethnologist* 42/4, 703–19. doi:10.1111/amet.12165.

Goffman, Erving 2007 [1961]. *Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*, New Brunswick NJ and London: Aldine Transaction.

Goldfarb, W. 1955. Emotional and intellectual consequences of psychologic deprivation in infancy: a revaluation, in P.H. Hoch and J. Zubin (eds.), *Psychopathology of childhood*, New York: Grune & Stratton, 105-119.

Heyneman, Stephen, and Alan DeYoung (eds.) 2004. *The challenges of education in Central Asia,* Greenwich CT: Information Age Publishing.

Howe, M. L. 2008. The nature of infantile amnesia, in John Byrne (ed.), *Learning and memory: a comprehensive reference*, Oxford: Academic Press, 287–97.

Howell, Signe 2006. *The kinning of foreigners: transnational adoption in a global perspective*, New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Dorothea Cross Leighton 1946. *The Navaho*, Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press; G. Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.

Lillis, Joanna 2013. Kazakhstan reiterates American adoption ban, *EurasiaNet*, June 12. https://perma.cc/YSL6-QYMG (accessed 11 July 2016).

McKinley, Robert 2001. The philosophy of kinship: a reply to Schneider's critique of the study of kinship, in Richard Feinberg and Martin Ottenheimer (eds.), *The cultural analysis of kinship: the legacy of David M. Schneider*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 131-167.

Nelson, Charles A., Nathan A. Fox and Charles H. Zeanah 2014. *Romania's abandoned children: deprivation, brain development, and the struggle for recovery*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Official Site of the Committee for the Protection of Children's Rights 2015. Состав совета директоров организаций образования для детей-сирот и детей, оставшихся без попечения родителей [The report of the Board of Directors of educational institutions for orphans and children left without parental care], http://perma.cc/MJA2-89CC (accessed 15 September 2016).

Olcott, Martha Brill, 2010. *Kazakhstan: unfulfilled promise*, Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Parmentier, Richard 1997. The pragmatic semiotics of cultures, *Semiotica* 116/1, 1-114.

Peirce, Charles S. 2011. *Philosophical writings of Peirce* (ed. Justus Buchler), New York: Dover Publications.

Rutter, Michael, Celia Beckett, Jenny Castle, Emma Colvert, Jana Kreppner, Mitul Mehta, Suzanne Stevens and Edmund Sonuga-Barke 2007. Effects of profound early institutional deprivation: an overview of findings from a UK longitudinal study of Romanian adoptees, *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 4/3, 332–50. doi:10.1080/17405620701401846.

Silverstein, Michael 1993. Metapragmatic discourse and metapragmatic function, in John Lucy (ed.), *Reflexive language: reported speech and metapragmatics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 33-58.

— 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life, *Language and Communication* 23, 193-229.

Verdery, Katherine 1996. *What was socialism, and what comes next* (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History), Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Werner, Cynthia 1997. Women and the art of household networking in rural Kazakhstan, *Islamic Quarterly* 41/1, 52.

— 1998. Household networks and the security of mutual indebtedness in rural Kazakhstan, *Central Asian Survey* 17/4, 597-612.

Zeitlyn, David 1993. Reconstructing kinship, or, the pragmatics of kin talk, *Man* 28/2, 199–224. doi:10.2307/2803410.

Zeitlyn, David 2005. *Words and processes in Mambila kinship: the theoretical importance of the complexity of everyday life, Vol. 1.*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

BELONGING TO THE OLD AND UNSUCCESSFULLY AGED:

LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN A NURSING HOME IN MAASTRICHT,

THE NETHERLANDS

JOLIEN MAKKINGA[1]

Abstract

Older people who live in a nursing home do not take the experience of belonging for granted. Until now little research has been done on the role that language practices can play in the experience of belonging in a nursing home. During conversations between nursing staff and residents, the former often adjust their language practices, producing cultural narratives on ageing to which residents in nursing homes are often exposed in the process of achieving belonging. However, older people do not necessarily identify with these narratives, which affect whether residents experience belonging. This article explores the adjustments in language practices made by nursing staff and shows how they reinforce the cultural narratives on ageing. The results demonstrate that these altered language practices reinforce cultural narratives on ageing, and that adjustments are made towards what is perceived to be a homogenous group of older people, thereby overlooking the individuality and capacities of residents.

I. Introduction

For older people who make the transition to a nursing home, creating a place where they belong is not taken for granted (Boelsma et al. 2014: 48). The changes associated with their transition to a nursing home are often overwhelming for older people, who moreover may encounter many difficulties in creating a place where they belong after they move to the nursing home.

For the majority of nursing home residents, one of the main activities of the day is interaction with nursing staff or other residents. Language practices are therefore a critical factor which will affect the experience of belonging. Feelings associated with language pervade everyday life (Jørgensen et al. 2011: 35). Residents perceive that they are surrounded by 'others' (residents, staff, visitors) who speak the same

[1] PhD candidate in Variationist Linguistics, Meertens Institut. Postal address: Oudezijds Achterburgwal 185, 1012 DK Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Tel.: +31 (0) 20 4628 500. Email: jolien.makkinga@meertens.knaw.nl

language or dialect and therefore not only understand what they say but also what they mean, thus creating feelings of belonging in the nursing home (Antonsich 2010: 646). Simultaneously, language practices demarcate 'us' from 'them'. Language practices can therefore not only contribute to feelings of belonging but also to feelings of not belonging.

During everyday conversations, people adjust their language practices depending on their interlocutors. Looking at the adjustments of language practices made by the nursing staff in interaction with the residents of a nursing home, they are not made for the interlocutor so much as for older people as a homogenous group. Cultural narratives of ageing, whereby older people are seen as a homogenous group, are reinforced through the language practices of the nursing staff. This article discusses how this happens and how it contributes to the residents' experience of belonging. When residents' individual capacities are overlooked during their interactions with nursing staff, some residents perceive it as undermining their personal dignity.

II.   Cultural narratives on ageing

The demographic trends that are resulting in the proportion of older people in the population increasing (Swinnen and Port 2012: 9) have caused 'global ageing' to become an important topic (Sokolovsky 2009: xix), resulting in the emergence of university centres, NGOs, international research networks and venture capital companies (ibid.), who are all focusing on ageing-related phenomena and how to deal with growing proportions of older people. However, ageing also takes place locally within specific cultural contexts (Laceulle and Baars 2014: 34). Moreover, people are aged by culture (Gullette 2004: 12). In studies of the ways in which people grow old, various cultural narratives are encountered (Sokolovsky 2009: xxiii). In countries with a Westernized culture, two prevailing cultural narratives on ageing exist. The first is the cultural narrative of 'ageism', which holds stigmatized assumptions about older people, such that they are incompetent, dependent, passive, powerless, inferior, weak, depressed and frail (Cruikshank 2008: 149-150; Lagacé et al. 2012: 336; McHugh 2003: 180). The second cultural narrative that is perpetuated in Westernized cultures and societies is the 'successful ageing' narrative, according to which individuals are personally responsible for their health, physical and cognitive function, and sustained engagement in social and productive activities (Lamb 2014: 44; Rubinstein & De

Medeiros 2015: 38). The two narratives contradict each other, making it, in the perceptions of older people themselves, a complicated task to age successfully.

As a consequence of the successful ageing narrative, older people are expected to age healthily, avoid decline and stay active, while the same people are simultaneously influenced by the ageism narrative that assumes that older people will show some decline and are incompetent and frail. The contrast between the two narratives suggests that not everyone ages successfully. This means that the cultural narrative on successful ageing is always a double-edged sword: ageing successfully automatically implies that people can also age *un*successfully. Although there is no clear view on what 'unsuccessful ageing' includes, it is clear that, if people age unsuccessfully, they themselves bear responsibility for doing so (Rubinstein and De Medeiros 2015: 38).

II.   Elderspeak

One common denominator that both cultural narratives in Westernized cultures share is that they both perceive older people as a homogenous group. According to Lagacé et al. (2012: 336), one way in which representations of ageing are communicated is through language practices. This is especially relevant to narratives of ageism. The cultural narrative of ageism shows that stereotyped perceptions of older people exist and that they influence the ways in which communication takes place with them. During conversations, people adjust their ways of speaking depending on their interlocutor (Samuelsson et al. 2013: 617). The negative stereotypes of older people that are communicated through the ageism cultural narrative affect the assumptions people have about their language skills and speech and therefore the ways in which people adjust their speech towards older people. Negative expectations regarding the language capacity of older people include the 'inevitable' decline in their language skills, incompetence, dependency, decline in hearing, and the loss of one or more languages for people who were formerly bilingual or multilingual (De Bot and Makoni 2005: 58; Coupland et al. 1991: 11; Lagacé et al. 2012: 336). All the negative expectations regarding the language capacity of older people may result in adjusted language practices towards them as a homogenous group in the form of 'elderspeak'. Elderspeak is an intergenerational speech style that people often adopt when they talk to older people, based on subconscious stereotypes that originate from cultural narratives of ageing. Elderspeak comprises various linguistic domains: prosodic features, semantics and syntax. The prosodic features are particularly prominent,

namely a slower rate of speech, exaggerated intonation, elevated pitch and volume, changes in emotional overtones and a patronizing voice (Samuelsson et al. 2013: 638, Williams et al. 2003: 243, Balsis and Carpenter 2006: 80). Semantic features often become apparent through situationally inadequate address terms and shorter words (Samuelsson et al. 2013: 638, Williams et al. 2003: 243). Finally, adjustments in elderspeak syntax manifest themselves as greater repetition, use of tag questions, simpler vocabulary and grammar, and shortened sentences (Samuelsson et al. 2013: 638; Williams et al. 2003: 243; Balsis and Carpenter 2006: 80-81). All the adjusted language practices in elderspeak are motivated by a desire to adjust to the presupposed lack of capacity of older people. However, elderspeak may in fact involve over-adjusting rather than just adjusting, since most of the adjusted features implicitly seem to question the competence of older people (Williams et al. 2003: 243).

Previous studies have shown that nursing staff often use elderspeak in speaking to nursing home residents (De Bot and Makoni 2005: 58; Lagacé et al. 2012: 336). By discussing a case study, I will show which features of elderspeak are used in this specific nursing home and how this influences the experience of belonging for its residents.

III.   Methodology

After consulting the relevant theories on elderspeak, on the assumed decline in the language competence of the older people and on the cultural narratives of ageing, I chose to adopt an inductive approach so as not to pre-empt what the collection of field data would find (Padgett 1998). Therefore, no hypothesis was formulated initially. The qualitative methodology was based on grounded theory (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007, Bernard 2002, Glaser and Strauss 1967) in order to understand the social meaning of language practices within a certain context, in this case a nursing home. Understanding the process of social meaning-making requires qualitative methodologies, which include ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation, informal and follow-up interviews and conversations, and audio recordings. Participant observation took place at different times and in different areas of the nursing home. Conversations between the researcher and the study's participants, as well as between the residents and with staff, were audio recorded in diverse contexts in which the researcher was also a participant observer. This provided insight into the

everyday language practices within the nursing home and made it possible to identify the adjustments that the nursing staff made to their speech in talking with the residents.

IIIa. Participants

Data were collected at a relatively large nursing home with 124 residents in downtown Maastricht, in the Netherlands. Maastricht is located in the province of Limburg and is only a few kilometres away from both the German and Belgian borders.

The data collected between August and November 2015 came from a sizable number of participants, including 28 residents and six nursing staff. Of the 28 residents who participated, eight were men and twenty were women. Residents were asked to participate after a short explanation of the research. If they were willing to participate, written consent was requested and collected every four months. Of the nursing staff, two were men and four were women. Nursing staff were asked to participate after a short explanation of the research during breaks and staff meetings. When they were willing to participate, written consent was obtained.

The majority of the residents had lived their entire lives in Maastricht or another town in the province of Limburg, and therefore mainly spoke the Maastricht dialect or another local dialect in addition to Standard Dutch. Other residents had lived in other provinces of the Netherlands and had moved to Maastricht in order to be closer to their children. For those residents the main language was Dutch. Based on the parameters of this study, none of the participants presented symptoms of dementia or cognitive decline.

IIIb. Data collection

Ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken for the duration of the researcher's presence in the nursing home. Everyday practices such as cleaning the beds, handing out meals, dining in the common area and engaging in communal and individual activities were observed in the course of the fieldwork.

In addition to the audio recordings, field notes from participant observation documented non-verbal communications, the layout of the nursing home and the identity of participants in interactions. Although other types of interaction will also be

taken into consideration for the wider research project, this article focuses on the interactions between nursing staff and the residents of the nursing home.

IIIc. Data Analysis

The first stage of data analysis involved the transcription of collected audio recordings between nursing staff and residents, according to a specifically adapted convention, detailed below. The transcription itself forms a crucial part of the linguistic analysis, since the transcript is not neutral, but rather reflects representational decisions (choice of data fragments) and interpretive decisions (choice of conventions; see Bucholtz 2000). In order to provide a clear analysis of the transcript, the representational decision was made to show the entire conversation between the nurses and Mr Sigar (see Appendix), and also to reproduce separate parts for further analysis. The choice of the convention was made in order to focus on the language practices of the nursing staff in relation to the nursing home's residents. The convention that is followed can be found in a footnote under the first page of the transcript (in the Appendix) and below. Although the researcher consulted all the conventions that could be of interest, one critical note can be made with respect to them. Despite the fact that the researcher does not consider bilingual talk as talking in two separate languages (Auer 2007), a distinction was made between standard Dutch and the Limburgian dialect, as it is important to understand that some words occur in both standard Dutch and the dialect but have different social meanings. Therefore the choice was made to indicate the use of dialect in the transcript. The transcriptions relate the content of what was said in the recordings, complemented by field notes that related the context, including the emotional context, and non-verbal communication. In order to analyse the transcriptions and field notes together, NVivo 10.2.2 was used. Within this qualitative data analysis program, words, phrases or sentences from both the transcriptions and the field notes were assigned open codes. As the process of the collection and analysis of data evolved, the codes could be corrected when new features were identified and overarching patterns became apparent. The patterns, thus arrived at inductively, revealed adjustments in the speech of nurses towards residents.

IV. Case study

At the end of October 2015 Mr Sigar invited me to have a chat. On the 29th of October I met with him in his room. The audio recording that is transcribed below was made during this meeting. Mr Sigar is 94 years old and has lived in Maastricht his entire life. Before moving to this nursing home he had lived in another nursing home in Maastricht, which closed down as a result of the government's financial cuts. Mr Sigar has lived in this nursing home for the past eighteen months.

The transcript below is part of a longer conversation that took place at around 4.30 pm. Fifteen minutes prior to the moment when the nurse walked into the room, Mr Sigar had called a nurse through the intercom to ask when one of the nurses would come to make his bed and empty the bin. At that moment his bed had not been made and used incontinence equipment was clearly visible on it. Through the intercom the nurse made it clear that somebody would come shortly and that he should wait. After the exchange through the intercom, Mr Sigar and I resumed our conversation. Moments before the nurse walked into his room, Mr Sigar had told me that every night when he goes to bed he hopes he will not wake up anymore. During the entire conversation between Nurse 1 and Mr Sigar, the nurse kept a distance of about three metres between herself and him.

IVa. Adjustments in elderspeak

IVa.i. Prosody

Although adjustments in language practices towards older people involve various linguistic domains, adjustments in prosodic features are most prominent. The transcription notations capture the following elements:

WORD = loud voice, relatively to surrounding talk

ºwordº = quiet voice, relatively to surrounding talk

=word= = simultaneous speech

word = in dialect

{word} = words articulated slowly

word = stress on (part of) the word

wo:rd = prolonged vowels

wor/ = interruption

(.1) = pause in seconds

() = inaudible

The first prosodic adjustment becomes apparent at the beginning of the conversation.

6.NUR1: MENEER**?**
　　MISTER.?
7.SIG: *Jao*.
　　Yes.
8.NUR1: BOUILLON**?**
　　　BROTH?

Right after the nurse and Mr Sigar exchange their greetings, the nurse starts to talk in a loud voice: 'MENEER' (MISTER), especially considering the volume of Mr Sigar's '*Jao*' (*Yes*). The adjustment in speech volume not only takes place in this part of the conversation, but rather informs the whole conversation. There is, however, some variation.

22. NUR1: {IK *HÖB GEIN HÖLP NOE}*.
　　　　{I *HAVE NO HELP NOW}*.

In sentence 22 above, Nurse 1 maintains a loud voice for the entire sentence. This happens five times during this conversation. Partial adjustment occurs in sentence 12.

12. NUR1: {*IECH NEET*} in ieder geval, *ich {bin D'N PILLEN} aon 't doen.*
　　{*I'M NOT*} anyway, I {*am} doing {THE PILLS}.*

In contrast with sentence 22, Nurse 1 raises her voice in parts of sentence 12, namely when she says '*IECH NEET*' (*I AM NOT*) and '*D'N PILLEN*' (*THE PILLS*). During the entire conversation, Nurse 1 raises her voice in parts of sentences, or in just one word of a sentence, six times. Such adjustments were often accompanied by a slower speaking speed.

12. NUR1: {*IECH NEET*} in ieder geval, *ich {bin D'N PILLEN} aon 't doen.*
　　{*I'M NOT*} anyway, I {*am} doing {THE PILLS}.*

In sentence 12 the words pronounced in a loud voice, {*IECH NEET*} and {*D'N PILLEN*} are also spoken slowly. The adjustment to a slower speaking speed happened seven times during the entire conversation.

In addition to the slower speed, the louder voice was also often accompanied by an alteration in emotional overtones. The manner in which the emotional expression is adjusted varies from what is perceived as patronizing to controlling. The perceived patronizing voice is regularly used in this conversation.

12.NUR1: {*IECH NEET*} in ieder geval, *ich* {*bin <u>D'N</u> PILLEN*} *aon 't doen.*
     {*I'M NOT*} anyway, I {*am*} doing {<u>*THE PILLS*</u>}
13.SIG: *Wa blief?*
     What do you say?
14.NUR1: °Ik zeg° {IK *BIN D'N* PILLEN *AON 'T* DOEN} <u>HE</u>?
     °I say° {I *AM* DOING *THE* PILLS} <u>HUH?</u>
15.SIG: Oh
     Oh
16.NUR1: {*DAAN* KOM *ICH* STRAKS *eve}* tr*ö*k, {*MER NOE NEET, NOE RED ICH DA NEE:T}.*
     {*THEN I* COME SOON *shortly}* back {*BUT NOT NOW, NOW I CANNOT MAKE IT}* .

Above, we see an example of the use of the patronizing voice directed at Mr Sigar. During this part of the conversation, Nurse 1 explains in a condescending way that she will not make Mr Sigar's bed because she is handing out pills to residents and does not have time to do it. The patronizing voice of Nurse 1 continues until sentence 28.

28. NUR1: En *NOG ME:R KLAOGE* he, <u>*ZEEN'S IEMAND*</u> he?
  NUR1: And *YET BU:T COMPLAINING* huh, <u>*SEE ONCE SOMEBODY*</u>, huh?
29. RES: =Lacht=
  RES: =Laughs=
30. SIG: =Ja= (.1)
  SIG: =Yes= (.1)
31. SIG: *Klaoge* dat ze /
  SIG: *Complaining* that they /
32. NUR1: {JA JA}
  NUR1: {YES YES}

33. SIG: Ja ( ) *vemurge*, wee *weetsje* hoe laat ze me *woue koume wasse, tien eur. Woue* ze me *koume wasse.* (.1) Heb 'k ze *weggesjikt.*

  SIG: Yes ( ) *this morning,* kno *do you know* what time they *wanted to wash* me, *ten o clock* they *wanted to wash* me. (.1) I have them *arranged away.*

After sentence 28 Mr Sigar indeed does elaborate on his complaint, but this is not, as Nurse 1 maintains, a complaint about a lack of visitors; rather, his complaint is about the quality of the nursing care he is receiving.

Later on in the conversation, the emotional voice of Nurse 1 gains different overtones.

40.NUR1: <u>Maar</u> dat *hub* ik al *gedoon wienie kriege veer* de waterkoker *joong?*
    <u>But</u> I *have* already *done that when do we get* the kettle *honey*?
41.SIG: *Wa blief*?
    What do you say?
42.NUR1: *Wienie kriege veer* de waterkoker?
    When do we get the kettle?
43.SIG: Nee, ik *hub gein* cent *joong* ( )
    No, I *do not have* pennies *honey* ( )
44.NUR1: *Blijf <u>GIJ</u>* dat *ZOE <u>DA:ON</u>*?
    Keep <u>YOU</u> it <u>DO:ING</u> it *THIS WAY*?

In the transcript above, we see an excerpt from the conversation where the nurse exchanges her emotional voice for a controlling voice. This corresponds with what the nurse is trying to say: a new kettle is needed since at the moment they are making the broth with hot water out of the water dispenser. When, in sentence 43, Mr Sigar's response makes clear that he has no intention of buying a new kettle, Nurse 1 again uses a controlling voice by saying:

44.NUR1: *Blijf <u>GIJ</u>* dat *ZOE <u>DA:ON</u>*?
    Keep <u>YOU</u> it <u>DO:ING</u> it *THIS WAY*?

Through the controlling voice in sentence 44, Nurse 1 implies that it is not usual to make broth in this way and that he should buy a new kettle. In contrast with the patronizing voice, the controlling voice is not always accompanied by a shift to a louder speech volume.

40.NUR1: <u>Maar</u> dat *hub* ik al *gedoon wienie kriege veer* de waterkoker *joong?*
     <u>But</u> I *have* already *done that when do we get* the kettle *honey*?

In sentence 40, Nurse 1 adjusts to a controlling voice while her speech volume remains the same, while later in sentence 44 she raises her speech volume.

IVa.ii. Semantics

There is also an adjustment at the level of semantics. In this short conversation between the nurse(s) and Mr Sigar, Nurse 1 frequently uses the address term *joong* ('honey').

10.NUR1: *Weet* 'k *neet joong.*
     I *do not know*, *honey*.

Sentence 10 serves as an example here. In literal translation it means 'boy', but is used like the English 'honey'. *Joong* is a word that is often used in the Maastricht dialect to address or refer to a younger male person. The word *Joong* in this conversation is therefore inappropriately used because Nurse 1 is addressing Mr Sigar, who is more than forty years her elder. This leads to a reversed age hierarchy and, conjointly, an inversed power relation. Although the address term *joong* is inappropriately used in this conversation, Nurse 1 uses this expression four times within one and a half minutes.

IVa.iii. Syntax

A few adjustments in syntactic features are apparent in the conversation between the nurses and Mr Sigar. The first adjustment occurs at the beginning of the conversation:

6. NUR1: MENEER?
  NUR1: MISTER?
7. SIG: *Jao.*
  SIG: *Yes.*
8. NUR1: BOUILLON?
  NUR1: BROTH?

After the greetings, the conversation continues with a shortened sentence in (6). According to the nursing home's language norms, it would have been more appropriate to say 'Mister Sigar'. In earlier conversations with the nursing staff it was established that staff would call residents Mister or Mrs together their last name (while in other nursing homes the norm was to call residents by their first name). According to the manager of this nursing home, they chose to call residents by their last name to show them more respect. Nurse 1's 'Mister' is therefore inappropriate and a sign of disrespect.

Nurse 1's next sentence is also shortened. Instead of asking Mr Sigar if he would like to have some broth, Nurse 1 only says 'Broth?' in line 8. The fact that this could be uttered with a longer sentence becomes clear when Nurse 2 walks in and says:

39. NUR2: {*IECH* KOM U BOUILLON *MAKE MER*}/
39. NUR2: {*I* COME TO *MAKE* YOUR BROTH *BUT*}/

Another adjustment in the syntactic features is the regular use of tag questions:

14.NUR1: °Ik zeg° {IK *BIN D'N* PILLEN *AON 'T* DOEN} <u>HE</u>?
    °I say° {I *AM* DOING *THE* PILLS} <u>HUH?</u>

Line 14 provides an example of the tag question 'HE?'(HUH?). The nurse uses the tag question 'He?' (huh?) four times during the conversation.

IVb. Reinforcing the cultural narrative of ageism

The categories of belonging experienced as senses of 'us' and 'them' are not static, but rather denote shifting social identities which are themselves negotiated and achieved through language practices (Sebba and Wooton 1998: 282). Language practices reveal how people position themselves and others in alliance with, or in opposition to, people whom they see as (not) belonging to their own group(s) (Meinhof and Galasiński 2005: 102). The language used in everyday practices serves to achieve and confirm (multiple) belongings (ibid.: 13).

The adjustments in the speech of Nurse 1 towards Mr Sigar contribute to how she frames Mr Sigar's belonging. So far, I have discussed the observable adjustments in the nurse's speech. However, to understand how the nurse constructs belonging, it is

important to understand the meaning of her adjustments and the assumptions that are related to them.

It is likely that Nurse 1 adjusted her speech volume to be certain that Mr Sigar could hear her. It might therefore be thought that this adjustment in speech volume is in Mr Sigar's best interests. However, although Mr Sigar's hearing might show some decline, during the one and a half hour conversation that I held with him, during which I did not raise my voice, he seemed perfectly capable of hearing what I said and actively took part in our conversation. During the conversation with Nurse 1, Mr Sigar indicated twice that he did not hear what the nurse was saying. In one such situation, Nurse 1's turn had already been spoken in a loud voice. It is therefore a moot point whether the reason for Mr Sigar's interjection was auditory or something else. If it was indeed an auditory problem, Mr Sigar thus demonstrated his ability to let people know that he had not heard what had been said. At those junctures it would be appropriate to adjust the speech volume for his benefit. However, doing so throughout the conversation, as Nurse 1 does, implies that his hearing is seriously impaired. Instead of adjusting her language practices towards Mr Sigar's individual capacities, Nurse 1 adjusts her language practices towards a preconceived idea about 'the elderly' as a homogenous group. The adjustment is therefore rather a reinforcement of the ageism narrative whereby all older people are assumed to be frail and deaf.

In addition to the louder speech volume, the nurse's slower speaking rate also reinforces the ageism narrative. As discussed above, during the conversation Nurse 1 often speaks at a slower speaking speed. This adjustment is not the result of Mr Sigar signalling that he could not follow the conversation at a normal speed. The adjustment in Nurse 1's speech rate was therefore not an adjustment to Mr Sigar's needs, but rather a part of the ageism narrative according to which the competence of older people is questioned. In slowing her speaking rate, Nurse 1 reinforces the assumptions about the incompetence of older people with regard to language skills in general, and in this case more specifically Mr Sigar's incompetence.

During this conversation, the slower speaking speed and louder speech volume are often accompanied by a patronizing voice. A good example of this is when Nurse 1 says, 'Then I [will] come soon shortly back, but not now, now I cannot make it' in line 16, when rebuffing his request for bed-cleaning and waste removal. The patronizing voice in this sentence is apparent not only to the researcher and Mr Sigar,

but also to a test audience that listened to the audio recordings. By exchanging the emotional voice for a patronizing voice, Nurse 1 reinforces the perspective that older people are inferior and powerless. In using a patronizing voice, she performed a superior identity towards Mr Sigar. Moreover, she also mentioned that she was not going to make Mr Sigar's bed at the time of the conversation but later when she comes back. It was made clear that Mr Sigar had no control over when his bed was made and thus was dependent on Nurse 1.

But this power positioning does not go unchallenged by Mr Sigar. In the conversation, Nurse 1 uses the address term *joong*, which, as we have seen, is inappropriate. However, Mr Sigar's behaviour suggests that he tries to re-negotiate his position. As a man who has lived his entire life in Maastricht, he must know that the word *joong* is not used to address women. However, in line 43 he uses the word *joong* to address Nurse 1 in an ironic mimicry of her condescension. His knowing (mis-)use of the word *joong* indicates that he opposes it as a term of address, simultaneously showing that he is not passive and inferior and that he does not appreciate her patronizing voice.

Finally, by implying that Mr Sigar is depressed because he rarely has visitors, in line 28, Nurse 1 also reinforces the ageism narrative:

28. NUR1: En *NOG ME:R KLAOGE* he, <u>*ZEEN'S IEMAND*</u> he?

   NUR1: And *YET BU:T COMPLAINING* huh, <u>*SEE ONCE SOMEBODY*</u>, huh?

By saying this, Nurse 1 constructs a view of Mr Sigar as being depressed because he does not receive visitors. She also depicts him as passive, resorting to complaining about his supposed loneliness, rather than taking action by meeting some of the other residents in the common area. In fact, his complaints are about the quality of the care in the nursing home, which he is seeking to improve especially with respect to cleaning his bed.

V.   Conclusion: belonging to the old and unsuccessfully aged

Belonging is always a continuous process, and its discursive processes construct, claim or resist the formation of borders of inclusion and exclusion (Antonsich 2010: 646). Belonging to one group simultaneously indicates not belonging to another

group, but this can misfire. One can claim to belong to a certain group, but this might not be recognised externally.

By using elderspeak, the nurse in the nursing home indexed her attribution of the ageist narrative to Mr Sigar. From the nurse's language practices, it is evident that she sees Mr Sigar as belonging to a group of 'the elderly' who are incompetent, dependent, passive, powerless, inferior, weak, depressed and frail (Cruikshank 2008: 149-150; Lagacé et al. 2012: 336; McHugh 2003: 180). Mr Sigar, however, does not identify with the belonging that the nurse tries to impose on him and therefore negotiates it, for instance, through his ironic misuse of the word *joong*.

In order to achieve belonging to the standard of people who age successfully, those people must be responsible for their health, physical and cognitive functions, and sustained engagement in social and productive activities (Lamb 2014: 44; Rubinstein and De Medeiros 2015: 38). People who show any decline physically or cognitively and who are not active in social and/or productive activities are ageing unsuccessfully, and it is implied that this is their own fault. In the excerpts presented in this article, the nurse uses elderspeak to attribute the characteristics of deafness, incompetence, inferiority, powerlessness, dependence, depression and passivity to Mr Sigar. Therefore, elderspeak used in talking to residents not only reinforces older people's place in the ageism narrative, but also their belonging to the group of people who age unsuccessfully.

As shown above, elderspeak is not an adjustment in language practices that is made for Mr Sigar as an individual, but rather for a prejudiced projection of Mr Sigar in the ageist narrative, whereby all older people belong to a homogenous group. Here, all the adjustments in the language practices of the nurse were unnecessary and were not based on Mr Sigar's capabilities. Obviously the capabilities of residents vary, and for some, one or more of the adjustments in language practices that are related to elderspeak may be necessary and appropriate. As the transcript shows, adjustments in the nurse's speech framed Mr Sigar as belonging to the unsuccessfully aged. This, however, was not Mr Sigar's perception, and he succeeded in making that known.

References

Antonsich, M. 2010. Searching for belonging: an analytical framework, *Geography Compass* 4/6, 644-659.

Auer, Peter 2007. The monolingual bias in bilingualism research, or: why bilingual talk is (still) a challenge for linguistics, in Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: a social approach*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Balsis, S., and B.D. Carpenter 2006. Evaluations of elderspeak in a caregiving context, *Clinical Gerontologist* 29/1, 79-96.

Bernard, H. Russel 2002. *Research methods in anthropology: qualitative and quantitative approaches*, Walnut Creek CA: Altamira Press.

Boelsma, F., V.E. Baur, S. Woelders and T.A. Abma 2014. 'Small' things matter: residents' involvement in practice improvements in long-term care facilities, *Journal of Ageing Studies* 31, 45-53.

Bucholtz, M. 2000. The politics of transcription, *Journal of Pragmatics* 32, 1454-1465.

Coupland, Nikolas, Justine Coupland and Howard Gilles 1991. *Language, society, and the elderly: discourse, identity and ageing,* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cruikshank, M. 2008. Aging and identity politics, *Journal of Aging Studies* 22, 147-151.

De Bot, Kees, and Sinfree Makoni 2005. *Language and aging in a multilingual context,* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Glaser, Barney G. and Anselm L. Strauss 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research,* Chicago: Aldine.

Gullette, Margaret Morganroth 2004. *Aged by culture,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Hammersley, Martyn, and Paul Atkinson 2007. *Ethnography: principles in practice,* New York: Routledge.

Jørgensen, J.N., M.S. Karrebaek, L.M. Madsen, and J.S. Møller2011. Polylanguaging in superdiversity, *Diversities* 13/2, 23-36.

Laceulle, H., and J. Baars 2014. Self-realization and cultural narratives about later life, *Journal of Ageing Studies* 31, 34-44.

Lagacé, M., A. Tanguay, M.L. Lavallee, J. Laplante and S. Robichaud 2012. The silent impact of ageist communication in long term care facilities: elders' perspective on quality of life and coping strategies, *Journal of Ageing Studies* 26, 335-342.

Lamb, S. 2014. Permanent personhood or meaningful decline? Toward a critical anthropology of successful ageing, *Journal of Ageing Studies* 29, 41-52.

McHugh, K.E. 2003. Three faces of ageism: society, image and place, *Ageing and Society* 23, 165-185.

Meinhof, Ulrike Hanna, and Dariusz Galasiński 2005. *The language of belonging,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Padgett, Deborah K. 1998. *Qualitative methods in social work research: challenges and rewards,* Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications.

Rubinstein, R.L., and K. De Medeiros 2015. 'Successful ageing'. Gerontological theory and neoliberalism: a qualitative finding, *The Gerontologist* 55, 34-42.

Samuelsson, C., E. Adolfsson and H. Persson 2013. The use and characteristics of elderspeak in Swedish geriatric institutions, *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics* 27/8, 616-631.

Sebba, Mark, and Tony Wootton 1998. We, they and identity: sequential versus identity related explanation in code-switching, In P. Auer (eds.), *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity,* New York: Routledge.

Sokolovsky, Jay 2009. *The cultural context of ageing: worldwide perspectives,* Westport: Praeger Publishers

Swinnen, A., and C. Port 2012. Ageing, narrative, and performance: essays from the humanities, *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life* 7/2, 9-15.

.

Williams, K., S. Kemper and M.L. Hummert 2003. Improving nursing home communication: an intervention to reduce elderspeak, *The Gerontologist* 43/2, 242-247.

Appendix

Context: 29 October 2015, 4.30 PM. Audio recording (1m.28s) with Mr. Sigar [SIG],
1st nurse [NUR1], 2nd nurse [NUR2] and researcher [RES]. [1]

1. NUR1: (Deur gaat open)
2. SIG: Daar komen ze, daar komen ze.
3. RES: HALL::O
4. SIG: =°Hallo °=
5. NUR1: =°Hallo °=
6. NUR1: MENEER?
7. SIG: *Jao*
8. NUR1: BOUILLON?
9. SIG: Ja. (.1) *Wee `kump* m'n *bèd opmaken?*
10. NUR1: *Weet `k neet joong.*
11. SIG: ( )
12. NUR1: {*IECH NEET*} in ieder geval, *ich {bin D'N PILLEN} aon 't doen.*
13. SIG: *Wa blief?*
14. NUR1: ° Ik zeg° {IK *BIN D'N* PILLEN *AON 'T DOEN*} *HE?*
15. SIG: Oh
16. NUR1: {*DAAN* KOM *ICH* STRAKS *eve*} *trök, {MER NOE NEET, NOE RED ICH DA NEE:T*}
17. SIG: Oh
18. NUR1: Ja:aa?
19. SIG: *Höbste zoe drök, joh?*
20. NUR1: {*JAO*, IK *BIN ALLEIN* HE *MÈT D'N PILLEN* HE}.
21. SIG: Oh
22. NUR1: {IK *HÖB GEIN HÖLP NOE*}.
23. SIG: O, jee
24. SIG: (.3) Ik *höb bezeuk.*
25. NUR1: *Jao, DAT ZEEN 'K, GEZÈLLEG*
26. SIG: =*Jao*=
27. RES: =Lacht=
28. NUR1: En *NOG ME:R KIAOGE* he, *ZEEN 'S IEMAND* he?

1. NUR1: (Door opens)
2. SIG: Here they come, here they come.
3. RES: HELL::O
4. SIG: =°Hello °=
5. NUR1: =°Hello °=
6. NUR1: MISTER?
7. SIG: *Yes*
8. NUR1: BROTH?
9. SIG: Yes. (.1) *Who will* make my bed?
10. NUR1: *I do not know, honey.*
11. SIG: ( )
12. NUR1: {*I'M NOT*} anyway, I {*am*} doing {*THE* PILLS}.
13. SIG: *What do you say?*
14. NUR1: °I say° {I *AM DOING THE* PILLS} HUH?
15. SIG: Oh
16. NUR1: {*THEN I* COME SOON *shortly*}, back {*BUT NOT NOW, NOW I CAN NOO:T MAKE IT*}.
17. SIG: Oh
18. NUR1: Ye:es?
19. SIG: *Are you busy,* huh?
20. NUR1: {*YES, I AM ALONE* HUH *WITH THE* PILLS, HUH}
21. SIG: Oh
22. NUR1: { I *HAVE NO HELP NOW*}
23. SIG: O, yeah
24. SIG: (.3) I *have a visitor*
25. NUR1: *Yes, I SEE THAT, COZY.*
26. SIG: =*Yes*=
27. RES: =Laughs=
28. NUR1: And *YET BU:T COMPLAINING* huh, *SEE ONCE SOMEBODY*, huh?

---

[1] Transcription conventions are as follows:
WORD: Loud voice, relative to surrounding
°word°: soft voice, relative to surrounding talk
=word=: simultaneous speech
word: in dialect
{word}: words for which decelerated slower speech applies
word: stress on (part of) word
wo:rd: prolonged vowels
wor': interruption
(.1) pause in seconds
( ): transcriber could not hear what was said

29. RES: =Lacht=
30. SIG: =Ja= (.1)
31. SIG: *Klaoge* dat ze /
32. NUR1: {JA JA}
33. SIG: Ja ( ) *vemurge*, wee *weetsje* hoe laat ze me *woue koume wasse* ,*tien eur*. *Woue* ze me *koume wasse* (.1) Heb 'k ze *weggesjikt*.

34. NUR1: (.1) Ja:a
35. SIG: Ja
36. NUR2: (2e verzorgende loopt binnen) Hall:o
37. SIG: Hallo
38. NUR2: Hai
39. NUR2: {*IECH* KOM U BOUILLON *MAKE MER}* /
40. NUR1: Maar dat *hub* ik al *gedoon wienie kriege veer*de waterkoker *joong?*
41. SIG: *Wa blief?*
42. NUR1: *Wienie kriege veer*de waterkoker?
43. SIG: Nee, ik *hub gein* cent *joong.*
44. NUR1: *Blijf GIJ* dat *ZOE DA:ON?*

45. SIG: 'T is toch *werm genög* 'k *moot da* toch *laote afkeule.*
46. NUR1: (.2) °Ja°. Tot straks he, *joong.*
47. SIG: Oke, he.
48. NUR1: HAI.
49. SIG: Hai.

29. RES: =Laughs=
30. SIG: =Yes= (.1)
31. SIG: *Complaining* that they /
32. NUR1: {YES YES}
33. SIG: Yes ( ) *this morning* kno *do you know*what time they *wanted to wash* me, *ten o clock*they *wanted to wash* me. (.1) I have them *arranged away.*

34. NUR1: (.1) Ye:es
35. SIG: Yes
36. NUR2: (2nd nurse walks in) Hell:o
37. SIG: Hello
38. NUR2: Hi
39. NUR2: {*I* COME TO *MAKE* YOUR BROTH *BUT}* /
40. NUR1: But i *have* already *done that when do we get* the kettle *honey?*
41. SIG: *What do you say?*
42. NUR1: *When do we get* the kettle?
43. SIG: No, I *do not have* pennies *honey*
44. NUR1: Keep YOU it DO:ING it THIS WAY?

45. SIG: It is *hot enough I have to cool it* anyway.
46. NUR1: (.2) °Yes°. See you later huh, *honey.*
47. SIG: Okay, huh.
48. NUR1: HI.
49. SIG: Hi.

CHOICES IN LANGUAGE ACCOMMODATION AT THE CROSSROADS:

CONVERGENCE, DIVERGENCE, AND MIXING[1]

ABBIE HANTGAN[2]

Abstract

This article seeks to explain a community's unique collective pronunciation of an otherwise shared word form through the lens of indexical field (Silverstein 2003). Three groups of speakers physically converge at an area in south-western Senegal dubbed 'the crossroads'. Those familiar with the area regard each group as speaking a separate language, two of which are closely related genetically. Although there are areas of overlap and clear borrowings, despite close proximity and long-term language contact among the speakers, the languages remain grammatically and phonetically distinct. Specifically, one community pronounces all (corresponding and otherwise) words with initial velar plosives as voiced [g], whereas one other uses [k], and the third uses [g] in some instances and [k] in others. An example of this potential for phonetic convergence or divergence across the three languages occurs in the word for 'peace', [kə- ~ gə-ssumay]. Unexpectedly, if viewed through the lens of ethnic identity, the community that is of a more distantly related grouping, the Baïnounk of Djibonker, more often aligns itself with the pronunciation of the Jóola of Brin, while that of the closer genetically (but geographically remoter) group uses the uncommon [gə-] form heard among the Jóola of Essil. It is postulated here that the groupings of Djibonker and Brin are indexing an identity that is mutually aligned with a broader, pan-Jóola identity, whereas those from Essil are distancing themselves from this identity, which, ironically, they interpret as being indexical of the Baïnounk identity.

I. Introduction

Many factors contribute to the projection of an external identity, one of them being language. Specifically, pronunciation may become indexical of a particular identity. In the area of Senegal that is the focus of this study, people who have been categorized as belonging to the same ethnic and linguistic grouping have been heard using variable, indexically relevant pronunciations, showing that ethnolinguistic grouping does not always match identity.

[2] Ph.D. Crossroads Project Postdoctoral Fellow, SOAS, University of London. Postal address: Russell Square, London, WC1H 0XG, United Kingdom. Email: ah104@soas.ac.uk Tel.: +44 (0)20 7898 4592
Web: https://www.soas.ac.uk/staff/staff93799.php

Witnessed at the crossroads where members of three such groupings meet are two types of phonetic convergence and divergence. Residents of Brin or Djibonker may converge their speech patterns with those of Essil by using an initial [g] rather than [k], particularly in greetings. However, another type of accommodation has become pervasive throughout the language, and it is that which is explored in detail here.

Ia. The crossroads

A group of villages in south-western Senegal, each with its own linguistic identity, converge geographically at a crossroads. An aerial view of the crossroads area is shown on the map in Figure 1. The three villages at the crossroads which are the focus of this discussion, Essil, Brin and Djibonker, and their inhabitants, are genealogically and geographically distinct to varying degrees: Brin is directly to the north-west of Djibonker along a paved highway and six kilometres east on an unpaved road from Essil, the third village at the crossroads, situated in a larger Jóola region encompassing ten villages in an area known as The Kingdom. Focusing for the moment only on the languages associated with Essil, Brin and Djibonker, namely Banjal, Kujireray and Gubëeher respectively, it is important to understand that the first two are linguistically classified as Jóola languages, while the language of Djibonker, Gubëeher, belongs to the distantly related Baïnounk grouping (Pozdniakov and Segerer, in preparation).

Upon first encountering the crossroads area, I was surprised to discover that speakers did not regard their linguistic practices as matching the borders between their villages, as I have found in other areas of West Africa. Instead, as Eckert has suggested (2008: 464), '…speakers use variables not simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves'.

Figure 1. The crossroads area

Residents of the crossroads villages do not necessarily adhere to any one fixed ethnic identity, and the fluidity of their identity is projected through their linguistic practices. Through an exploratory study of greetings at this crossroads, this article seeks to examine the ways in which residents of the crossroads area identify through accommodation strategies of pronunciation. Specifically, the article seeks to answer the following research question: Is it possible that the prototypical pronunciation of the inhabitants of Essil has diverged from those of Brin and Djibonker as a way of distancing themselves from what they interpret as a Baïnounk identity?

To answer this question, we examine the identities that are indexed by each pronunciation. As Irvine (2001: 28) states, 'A speech community might split, its offshoots migrating in opposite directions and entirely losing touch with one another; their forms of speech could drift apart without anyone's being aware that other dialects even existed'.

Ib. Integration and opposition

Observed by the researcher, and discussed in detail by Cobbinah et al. (in press), at the local level, although to a lesser degree than in previous times, tensions exist between those who identify as Jóola and those who consider themselves to be of Baïnounk origin. The languages of Essil and Brin are classified as being Jóola, yet Brin village is not geographically encompassed within The Kingdom where Essil is located. Jóola residents of The Kingdom refer to those in both Brin and neighbouring Djibonker collectively as [fu-lun], 'Baïnounk'

while, as Cobbinah et al. (in press) also mention, those of Brin commonly refer to themselves as being part of a mixed Jóola-Baïnounk identity and as speaking a hybrid language.

II.   Greetings at the crossroads

Residents of the crossroads area often physically converge while travelling southeast to the regional capital city Ziguinchor or northwest towards the coast. Each encounter at the crossroads necessitates a greeting. In Casamance, as in other parts of Senegal, greetings are an obligatory commencement to the communicative process. Among Wolof speakers in the north of Senegal, greetings establish one's place in a hierarchical social structure (Irvine 1974). The crossroads area differs culturally from the north of Senegal in its non-hierarchical social structure and linguistically by speakers' frequent and nearly simultaneous use of multiple, locally bound languages. Because the greeting sequence introduces a speech encounter, I argue here that it serves to index a speaker's identity in the mind of the listener (cf. Eckert 1989, Silverstein 2003). Because identities in the area are not static, speakers project different identities through language. The greeting is the perfect opportunity to introduce a new identity, and the pronunciation of the initial consonant of the first word of the greeting does just that.

IIa.   Expressions of peace

The term 'peace' in greetings is commonly used both cross-culturally and cross-linguistically in Senegal and beyond. In the area in which the crossroads is located, Casamance, the word for peace, is widely used by those wishing to index themselves with the region's dominant ethnicity, Jóola, and has a similar form in all Jóola languages. At the crossroads, not only do the Jóola Kujireray speakers of Brin employ the form [kəssumay], the Baïnounk Gubëeher speakers of Djibonker also often use the term, even when speaking in what can otherwise be considered prototypical Baïnounk for the village. Pronunciation varies among Jóola varieties with respect to vowel quality and quantity, but, to the researcher's knowledge, The Kingdom is the only locality in which pronunciation presents an initial [g].

IIb.   Theoretical underpinning and organization

Foundational work on Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) by Giles (2008) and Giles, Coupland, and Coupland (1991) provides the basis for the analysis in this study, namely

of multilingual speakers' phonetic variation at the crossroads. While diachronically divergent phonological processes have brought about synchronically distinct systems, as described in detail in section III, it is suggested here that intraspeaker variation is due to convergence and divergence patterns at the crossroads. Silverstein's (2003) Indexical Order Principle is employed to show how the variable use of a phoneme from one language becomes emblematic of situated identity (see Lüpke in press-a, in press-b, for overviews of concepts of identity at the crossroads area).

Data provided in sub-section IIId are drawn from a combination of participant observation, elicitation and information collected at the crossroads by the entirety of the researchers in the project. Examples of a multi-party conversation are looked at through the lens of Giles et al.'s (1991) Speech Accommodation Theory to view the ebbs and flows of the waves of convergence and divergence that run through a sequence of greetings. Following the exposition and detailed examination of the given examples, arguments are given in favour of an indexical interpretation of the speakers' intentions. The situation at the crossroads is located in the wider context of the Casamance region in which the villages themselves are located, and the relationship and overlap that the speakers have with others in the area are briefly noted. The conclusion suggests avenues for future research.

IIIa.   *Language landscape*

The boundaries that separate the three crossroads villages, Brin, Djibonker and Essil, are no more visible than those that separate the villages' ideological three languages, Jóola Kujireray, Baïnounk Gubëeher and Jóola Banjal respectively. Many other Jóola and Baïnounk languages are spoken beyond the crossroads, throughout the Casamance region. Each village at the crossroads is referred to as having a language, an inheritance from the fathers who established the original village settlements. The languages associated with the three crossroads villages are therefore better described as 'father' rather than 'mother tongues', or as patrimonial languages (Lüpke, in press-a). Mothers, then, contribute to the multilingual scenery of the language landscape when they migrate into the village, often through marriage, with their own inherited ways of speaking. Children too, who are frequently fostered from faraway villages and towns, bring their own linguistic background along with them. Migration to and from the area by both men and women also adds to the variety of spoken repertoires.

IIIb.   Multiplicity of languages

The linguistic combinations that emerge within one crossroads village multiply exponentially each time speakers from any of the three villages meet. The linguistic reality that emerges encompasses the three named patrimonial languages, but also all those that are brought in with the immigration of diverse populations, including their similarly amalgamated existence. In many situations, rather than to choose to speak the creole of the wider area, Casamance Creole, or one of the dominant languages such as French or Wolof which have been superimposed upon the more locally associated (patrimonial) linguistic varieties, members of the crossroads community are able to extract and distinguish features of their speech to fulfil specific requirements, diverging or converging their speech with that of their interlocutor. That the crossroads area is multilingual is not surprising given the multitude of ethnicities that have migrated into the area and that interact with those who live there. What is either rare or has been overlooked until recently is speakers' maintenance of their proportionally small, yet numerous languages. Recent research by Lüpke (in press-b) indicates that the situation at the crossroads is not as unique as it may appear to the outside eye, and the same author (in press-a) provides crucial historical and ethnographic framing to help us picture the motivations for this maintenance.

IIIc.   Convergence and divergence

Despite long-standing contact among the residents of the crossroads and (at some level) genetic relatedness, the three main languages spoken at the crossroads are not mutually intelligible, and not all crossroads residents report speaking all the three languages proficiently. As Cobbinah (2013) notes, descendants of the settlers of Djibonker claim that they were the first to arrive in the area. Thus, as Lüpke shows (in press-a), in line with Brooks' (1993) 'landlords and strangers' hospitality pattern, residents of Djibonker illustrate their claimed first-comer ancestry in their language accommodation to both communities of Brin and Essil. Most residents of Djibonker speak Jóola Kujireray and Jóola Banjal to some degree, whereas the reverse situation does not hold. Unless someone from one of the Jóola-speaking communities has resided in Djibonker for a substantial period of time, s/he will not claim to speak Baïnounk Gubëeher. Furthermore, despite living in close contact, the two Jóola communities do not necessarily understand each other; residents of Brin then tend to accommodate to those from Essil. Because of the infrastructure of the highway at the

crossroads (see Fig. 1), those from Essil visit those in Brin more often than the other way around. Again referencing the crossroads hospitality pattern that offers respect automatically to the guest, we expect residents of Brin to have a higher proficiency in Jóola Banjal. The commutative diagram in Figure 2 illustrates the overall directionality of language accommodation.

DJIBONKER   *BRIN*

ESSIL
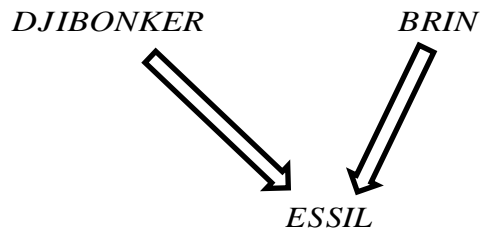
Figure 2. Commutative Diagram of Language Accommodation

The reason residents of the crossroads do not have full communicative access to the others' repertoires is because there are differences among all the languages' grammars which begin at the most basic level, that of the phonetic representation of sounds. Some words that are structurally the same or similar (composed of the same class prefix and root) have differences in their prototypical pronunciation (cf. Watson 2014). A prototypical use of a word is one that is determined by the speakers themselves as being emblematic of their language in terms of sound and form. Particularly salient in pronunciation for speakers at the crossroads is the difference between word-initial consonants' voicing specifications, [k] and [g]. Besides the prominent position of these consonants within a word, the sounds [k g] play different, and in the cases of the Jóola languages, opposing roles.

In prototypical Jóola Kujireray, the voiceless velar plosive /k/ is a phoneme that does not contrast with the voiced variant [g] word-initially. The voiced counterpart /g/ is phonemic in Jóola Banjal. In the former, [g] can appear word-medially as an allophone of /k/ due to a process of postvocalic lenition. In the latter, [k] only emerges as a simplified geminate word-finally. Therefore, the lack of contrast between /k/ and /g/ in the Jóola languages Kujireray and Banjal makes the velar plosive, in Labovian terms, an indicator (Labov 1972, 2001), or a first order index of identity (Silverstein 2003). Words that begin with [k] are associated with

Kujireray speakers from Brin, and words that begin with [g] with those who speak Banjal and are from Essil. Whereas there is a lack of contrast between the velar plosives in the two Jóola languages, in the phonemic inventory of Baïnounk Gubëeher, both velar plosives /k g/ may appear word-initially. Despite the map shown in Figure 1, there are no visible borders between the villages at the crossroads. However, an auditory boundary exists between the prototypical pronunciations of words that begin with velar plosives in the crossroads languages.

Whether through borrowing, contact, or a common ancestor, there are overlaps among the crossroads languages. A shared word that begins with a velar plosive is that which can be translated as 'peace'. Most likely of Jóola origin, since the word is found among most Jóola languages in Casamance, the prototypical pronunciation of 'peace' in Kujireray is [kasuumay], and in Banjal is [gəssumay]. Other differences illustrated in this word between the two Jóola languages' phonemic inventories and phonological patterns emerge here as a productive system of tense/lax vowel harmony in the latter but not in the former, and the presence of long vowels in the former with corresponding geminates in the latter. It is hypothesized here that these features are less salient than the initial segments' voicing specifications. Even though the form attested for 'peace' in Gubëeher is [ba-li], which matches that in Gujaher, another Baïnounk language not spoken at the crossroads (Friederike Lüpke, p.c.), speakers from Djibonker also are observed using [kəssumay], a form which resembles aspects of the pronunciation of both Jóola languages.

Because the genetic distance that separates Jóola Kujireray and Baïnounk Gubëeher puts them in different branches of the Atlantic grouping (Pozdniakov and Segerer in preparation), the geographical proximity and social coherence between Brin and Djibonker must be considered a factor in their convergence and divergence patterns. Heggarty (2010: 305) makes a comment with respect to lexicostatistics that is relevant to this generalisation: '...any measures of language divergence – lexicostatistics included – can reflect differences not in time-depth but in the degree of coherence of speaker communities (especially across a continuum)'. Watson (2014) and (Lüpke, in press-a) discuss the linguistic and cultural links between Brin and Djibonker. As stated above, the language of Brin is sometimes referred to by crossroads community members as being Baïnounk-Jóola (this mixed identity further discussed in section V).

The word 'peace' specifically is important to this study not only because a velar plosive is the first segment of this word, but because it appears in the first sequences of utterances of a communicative event: the greeting.

IIId. *Language soundscape*

Greetings are the perfect communicative context in which to examine true convergences and divergences, as the sequences are formulaic or involve stereotyped sequences, as Green and Abutalebi (2013) note. Even if a speaker lacks proficiency in one of the languages, s/he can easily perform greeting sequences, which are understood, and therefore communicative reasons for language changes can, for the most part, be ruled out.

Whether used by those who identify themselves as Jóola or Baïnounk, a common greeting formula witnessed through observation or among the data gathered at the crossroads goes as follows (using Irvine's (1974) terminology for participants):[3]

(1) Initiator-Questioner: *nisaafi/nisaaful* 'I greet you/you.pl'
'Hello.'
Respondent: *məsuume* 'all is peaceful' 'Hello.'

The root [-suum] (or [-ssum]) forms the response 'all is peaceful' with the addition of the adverbial noun class prefix [ma-] in Banjal. The tense vowel of the root triggers harmony with the prefix. Variations are attested in the length and quality of the vowels and consonants. The words listed here are prototypical pronunciations for both Jóola languages of the crossroads. However, use of these terms in the greeting sequence is not limited to residents of Essil and Brin. Irrespective of this introductory sequence, the portion can be omitted, in which case the greeting simply consists of:

(2) Initiator-Questioner: *kəsuumay?* 'goodness?/peace?' 'Is everything well?'
Respondent: *kəsuumay barɛ.* 'There is peace only.' 'All is well.'

---

[3] In cases where more than one language is used in the clause, the abbreviations GUB (Gubëeher), KUJ (Kujireray), BAN (Banjal), WOL (Wolof), or FR (French) are subscripted.

Whereas the word 'only' [barɛ] is also associated with prototypical Jóola (Kujireray or Banjal), even when a prototypical Baïnounk Gubëeher question is posed as a greeting, the response can be the crossroaders' shared form for 'peace':

(3) Initiator-Questioner: *ugunaa?GUB* 'goodness?/peace?' 'Is
everything well?'
Respondent: *kəsuumay.* 'There is peace.' 'All is well.'

The form which corresponds to 'peace' is also witnessed at the crossroads as [kasuumay], [gəsuumay] or [gəssumay], depending, as claimed in this discussion, on the identity the speaker wishes to project. For example, (4 - 5) illustrate the pronunciation of the prototypical form of the word 'peace' for Jóola Kujireray and Jóola Banjal respectively:

(4) Initiator-Questioner: *bu, kasuumay?* 'is there peace?' 'Hello, how
are you?'
Respondent: *kasuumay.* 'there is peace' 'I am fine.'
(Source MSRWNOP41: two speakers who are both are from Brin and have been asked to speak Kujireray for the purpose of the recording.)

(5) Initiator-Questioner: *gəssumay?* 'is there peace?' 'Hello, how
are you?'
Respondent: *gəssumay barɛ.* 'there is peace only' 'I am fine.'

(Source ESS22032015KMD: two speakers who are both from Essil and have been asked to speak Banjal for the purpose of the recording.)

Both of the examples shown here were recorded in contexts in which the speakers were addressing a person or people from their respective villages. Further, in comparing their pronunciations with those collected during elicitation, these utterances can be taken to be prototypical. Illustrated in the examples, a prototypical Jóola Kujireray pronunciation of the word for 'peace' is that which begins with [k], whereas in the case of Jóola Banjal it starts with [g].

In Baïnounk Gubëeher, the feature [voice] is contrastive among plosives in word-initial position. Further, recall that residents of Djibonker tend to accommodate to those of both Essil and Brin. These two factors begin to explain why the manner in which 'peace' is usually pronounced in Baïnounk Gubëeher, [kəssumay], can be viewed as an 'interlingual' (Ju and Luce 2004:314) pronunciation: the initial [k] is emblematic of Jóola Kujireray, while the tense vowel and geminate consonant are associated with the phonemic inventory of Jóola Banjal (compare the prefix [ka-] and long vowel in the root [-suum] in 4 with those of 5, [gə-] and [-ssum], respectively. In fact, as Ju and Luce point out, the idea that speakers 'switch' languages or codes is something of a misnomer; the actual cerebral activity may correspond better if viewed as a type of co-phonology (Orgun 1996) rather than as separate, discrete entities (also see Garcia and Wei 2014).

IIIe.   *Social landscape*

Giles states, 'CAT proposes that speech convergence reflects, in the unmarked case, a speakers' or a group's need (often unconscious) for social integration or identification with another' (2008:15). In this section, an example of greetings that occurred in a natural conversational context is examined in order to explore the social motivations to accommodate speech patterns to that of an interlocutor.

An aspect of greetings at the crossroads that is similar to that of other parts of Senegal is that the initiator is most commonly the person who is entering the home (Irvine 1974: 69). In (6) the initiator-questioners are CD4 and DB2, who have entered into the conversation that was taking place between JTD, a former resident of Brin who now lives in Djibonker, and his interviewers (not included in this portion of the greeting sequence, which was transcribed and translated by a researcher of the crossroads project with assistance from a resident of Djibonker. The language labels are those that were assigned by the transcribers):

(6)   Initiator-Questioner-CD4: *mon frère!*$_{FR}$ 'my brother' 'My brother!'
      Respondent-JTD: *mon frère!*$_{FR}$ 'my brother' 'My brother!'

      Respondent-JTD: *bunulobe? bu?*$_{KUJ}$ 'what are you saying? how?' 'What's new? How are you?'
      Initiator-Questioner-CD4: *mon frère!*$_{FR}$ 'my brother' 'My brother!'

Although the interview was taking place in Djibonker, the participants were conversing in French and Jóola Kujireray at the time the two new participants entered JTD's home. The initiator, CD4, a resident of Djibonker since birth, begins with French, to which the respondent, JTD, replies. Then JTD uses what is a prototypical greeting for Jóola Kujireray. This portion of the greeting sequence concludes with a return to the original use of French by CD4, who essentially repeats his initial statement.

The conversation continues from here (not included), and at one point the visitors ask if the others are having a meeting. The person who is holding the interview explains that they are working. Another round of salutations ensues, a common practice not only at the crossroads but elsewhere in Senegal. In the sequence above JTD assumed the role of respondent, as was appropriate, since two newcomers to the conversation approached him. In (7), we will see that JTD becomes the Initiator-Questioner.

The other incoming participant, DB2, is a resident of Djibonker. With his entrance into the conversation we encounter the use of Wolof, a language which all the participants report speaking, but which has no local identity, or patrimonial deixis (Lüpke, in press-a) with which it is associated.

> (7) Initiator-Questioner-DB2: *goro.WOL* 'in-law' 'in-law!'
> Respondent-JTD: *goro.WOL* 'in-law' 'in-law!'
>
> Initiator-Questioner-DB2: *ne gulobi?GUB* 'what is the talk?' 'What's new?'
> Respondent-JTD: *honjahonj.GUB* 'nothing' 'Not much.'
>
> Initiator-Questioner-JTD: *goro,WOL* bu?*KUJ* 'in-law, how?' 'in-law,
> how are you?'
> Respondent-DB2: *honjahonj.GUB* 'nothing' 'I am fine.'

DB2 follows his introductory Wolof interjection with a prototypical Baïnounk Gubëeher greeting to which JTD responds, but when JTD initiates his own greeting, he commences with a mixture of Wolof and Jóola Kujireray. It is from here that we see in the next example the use of the 'peace' expression.

113

(8)　Initiator-Questioner-JTD: *kəssumay?GUJ* 'peace?' 'How are you?'

　　　Respondent-DB2: *kəssumay.GUJ* 'there is peace' 'I am fine.'

　　　Initiator-Questioner-JTD: *koona?GUB* 'house' 'How is your family?'

　　　Respondent-DB2: *hani honjahonj, koona honjahonj.GUB* 'nothing the house is nothing'

　　　'Not much, not much is new with the family.'

(Source DJI070316JS: House Interview Djibonker)

IIIf.　*Speech styles*

The instantiations of 'peace' uttered here are labelled GUJ to represent Gujireray (a term coined by one of the crossroads transcribers as a slip of the tongue), a language, or rather a 'style' (Eckert 2008, Irvine 2001), of speaking at the crossroads. As explained in the preceding sections, the use of [kəssumay] by a speaker of Baïnounk Gubëeher uses prototypical aspects of both Jóola languages, and yet is in and of itself an unprototypical form for the language.

The greeting sequence presents us with a perfect window through which to view naturally occurring accommodation patterns among crossroads individuals. The participants in the conversation use a style that is emblematic of the crossroads; the languages they use are blended in a way that is at the same time one and many (Lüpke 2016, referencing Auer 1999). As with the map of the crossroads area shown in Figure 1, from an aerial view of the word forms, the transcribed text appears to be divided into distinguishable, bounded languages with lines that can be switched between them yet not crossed.

On the other hand, at the level of pronunciation, we hear, rather than see, a fusion. What is not represented in the transcription is JTD's 'accent', as it were; he in fact simplifies the initial consonant cluster of [fr] in 'frère' to [ɸ], matching a more prototypical Jóola Kujireray syllable structure and consonant inventory, whereas his pronunciation of the Wolof and Baïnounk Gubëeher match that of his interlocutor. Giles (2008) differentiates between receiver-centred and sender-oriented speech communities. JTD, in his role as host (recall the implications of 'host' in sub-section 2.4), accommodates to receiving his guests with his sender-oriented approach to greeting. He expresses respect through his use of honorific familial terms and through his style of speaking, mirroring that of his interlocutor.

Giles et al. (1991) discuss at length the complexity of the strategies of converging and diverging towards and away from reference points. In many cases, a divergence from an exterior category signifies an in-group commonality. They suggest that ''...divergence can be a tactic of intergroup distinctiveness of individuals in search of a positive social identity' (ibid. 28), and that 'some divergent acts can occur for seemingly convergent motives and even some convergent acts accomplished toward divergent ends...'. These intertwined goals are explored in the next section about the indexicality of identity and belonging to a group.

IIIg.   *Indexical field*

Eckert (1989) was among the first sociolinguists to study linguistic variation in a community in which the differences among speakers were, in comparison with previously referenced categories of race or class, self-imposed. She found that speakers sought to assert their distinctiveness from each other through their linguistic practices. Irvine (2001) echoes her findings in her discussion of speakers who use style as a way to oppose their identity to that of another group.

The effect of ideology on language is a central tenet in the fields of socio-linguistics and anthropological linguistics. As Lesley Milroy stated in a recent lecture, 'there is no ideology-free way to look at language' (2016). She references the later work of Judith Irvine (2001) as noting the efforts of speakers to distinguish themselves from a stylistic norm.

Seen through an African lens (Di Carlo & Good 2014, Kopytoff 1987, and specifically for the crossroads area Lüpke 2010, also Lüpke in press-a), the concept of an immutable identity is foreign. Rather than adhering to the features and habits of one's forefathers, members of the crossroads community express themselves through continuous restructuring and realignment, depending on the situation they find themselves in and the speaker's motivations.

When a visitor from Essil travels to visit Brin, s/he expresses a first-order indexical difference between the phonologies of the two Jóola languages with the utterance of an initial voiced velar plosive. When a shopkeeper in Brin converges with, or imitates, his Essil client's clear [g-] leading [gëssumay] greeting, the variable has become a second-order index. The mixed or fused version that is commonly witnessed among those from Djibonker is an nth order index that speaks to a complex, yet at the same time deviating identity of belonging. At the crossroads, velars serve as an indexical field (Eckert 2008).

IV. Conclusion

Since Labov (1963) linguists have shown how diachronic distinctions among geographically distinct dialects have assumed ideological significance as emblematic features of a community. This study seeks to replicate those results in a multilingual community.

In this brief examination of the use of a shared vocabulary item and its variants at the crossroads area of south-western Senegal, I have tried to show that the impetus to converge or diverge is based on an outward expression of one's identity through the manipulation of language. The results of this study will be incorporated into a larger look at the Crossroads project's corpus to quantify the variable usage of velars within the contextualization of conversation.

As Eckert (2008) cautions, style encompasses more than one variable. As a result, the accompanying differences between these languages will have to be accounted for, rather than focusing exclusively on the primary consonant, however salient this distinction may be.

References

Auer, P. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech, *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3/4, 309-332.

Brooks, G. E. 1993. *Landlords and strangers: ecology, society and trade in western Africa, 1000–1630* ('African states and societies in history'), Boulder CO: Westview.

Cobbinah, A. 2013. Nominal classification and verbal nouns in Baïnounk Gubëeher, SOAS, London: D.Phil. thesis.

—, Abbie Hantgan and R. Watson (in press). Carrefour des langues, carrefour des paradigmes. In M. Auzeanneau (ed.), *Pratiques plurilingues, mobilités et éducation.* Paris: Edition des Archives Contemporaines.

Di Carlo, P., and J. Good 2014. What are we trying to preserve? Diversity, change, and ideology at the edge of the Cameroonian grassfields, in P. K. Austin and J. Sallabank (eds.), *Endangered languages: beliefs and ideologies in language documentation and revitalization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eckert, P. 1989. *Jocks and burnouts: social categories and identity in the high school*, New York: Teachers College Press.

— 2008. Variation and the indexical field, *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12/4, 453-476.

Garcia, O., and L. Wei 2014. *Translanguaging: language, bilingualism and education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Giles, Howard 2008. Communication Accommodation Theory, in Leslie Baxter and Dawn Braithwaite (eds.), *Engaging theories in interpersonal communication: multiple perspectives*, Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, pp.161-174.

—, Justine Coupland, and Nikolas Coupland 1991. Accommodation theory: communication, context, and consequences, in Howard Giles, Justine Coupland, and Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of accommodation: developments in applied sociolinguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-68.

Green, D.W., and J. Abutalebi 2013. Language control in bilinguals: the adaptive control hypothesis, *Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 25/5, 515-530.

Heggarty, P. 2010. Beyond lexicostatistics: how to get more out of 'word list' comparisons, *Diachronica* 27/2, 301-324.

Irvine, J.T. 1974. Strategies of status manipulation in the Wolof greeting, in R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— 2001. 'Style' as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation, in P. Eckert and J. Rickford (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ju, M., and P.A. Luce 2004. Falling on sensitive ears: constraints on bilingual lexical activation, *Psychological Science* 15/5, 314-318.

Kopytoff, I. 1987. The internal African frontier: the making of African political culture, in I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Labov, W. 1963. The social motivation of a sound change, *Word* 18, 1-42.

— 1972. *Sociolinguistic patterns*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

— 2001. *Principles of linguistic change: social factors*, London: Blackwell.

Lüpke, Friederike 2010. Language and identity in flux: in search of Baïnouk, *Journal of Language Contact* THEMA series 3, 155-174.

— in press-a. Creole languages and postcolonial diversity, in J. Knörr and W. T. Filho (eds.), *Multiple choice: language use and cultural practice in rural Casamance between convergence and divergence*, Oxford and New York: Berghahn.

— in press-b. Towards a typology of small-scale multilingualism, *Critical Multilingualism Studies*.

— 8-9 April 2016. Contested words: challenges, limits and models of language reification in dictionary creation. Paper presented at the University of Leipzig.

 and Mary Chambers (eds) 2010. Multilingualism and language contact in West Africa: towards a holistic perspective, *Journal of Language Contact* THEMA series 3.

Milroy, L. 2016. 'She twanged a piercing r': some effects of national ideologies and local attitudes on trajectories of language change. Jenny Cheshire Lecture presented at the QMUL.

Orgun, O. 1996. Sign-based morphology and phonology: with special attention to optimality theory, University of California at Berkeley: PhD dissertation.

Pozdniakov, K., and G. Segerer (in preparation). The Oxford guide to the Atlantic languages of West Africa, in F. Lüpke (ed.), *A new classification of Atlantic languages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silverstein, M. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life, *Language and Communication* 23, 193-229.

Watson, R. 2014. Verbal nouns in Joola Kujirerai, SOAS, London: D.Phil. thesis.

THE POWER OF LANGUAGE: INDEXICALITY

AND THE SOCIOCULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

REBECCA WOOD[1]

Abstract

Language choice plays a central role in the expression of individual and group identity, but it is also heavily influenced by the larger sociocultural environment. This article explores the interface between language ideology and indexicality as a means to understand the complexities of identity, belonging and power dynamics on the Flathead Indian Reservation of western Montana. Analysing the semiotic processes of indexicality frames an understanding of the circumstances and contexts in which the traditional Salish language continues to embody and perpetuate important cultural practices and beliefs of the group. Further, I argue that the interpretation of community ideologies helps to address the issue of struggles with language revitalization.

I.   Introduction

The Salish-Pend d'Oreille live in a multiethnic and multilingual environment, which greatly impacts the belonging and intersubjectivities of its community members. The Salish-Pend d'Oreille of western Montana in the United States are a minority population on their own reservation, comprising only 18 percent of the total population (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2013a; U.S. Census Bureau 2010). The dominant non-Native population has significantly influenced historical and current sociolinguistic practices of the Native community.

The traditional language of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community is highly endangered, with fewer than thirty fluent speakers remaining, and would be classified as moribund (Grenoble and Whaley 2006) or as 'nearly extinct' or '8b' in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Ethnologue 2005). The majority of fluent speakers are elders over the age of 65. There are several individuals in the community who are semi-fluent speakers, who can be described as capable of understanding most of the spoken language, yet have some problems readily

---

[1] PhD. Adjunct Faculty, Applied Arts and Sciences, Missoula College, University of Montana. Postal address: 909 South Avenue West, Missoula MT 59801-7910, USA. Email: rebecca.wood@mso.umt.edu
Web: http://mc.umt.edu/Faculty_Staff_Directory/AAS_Directory/default.php?ID=3817

conveying their thoughts in it. However, despite the massive shift to English, the Salish language continues to convey important epistemological perspectives and serves as a powerful index of cultural identity for many Salish individuals. There is also a strong desire among many community members to maintain and revitalize the traditional language for the sake of younger generations. Many of the semi-fluent speakers, the youngest 24 years old, are directly involved in language revitalization programs and have themselves learned the language through study.

'Language shift occurs in stark inequality' according to Garrett (2012: 515), and the Flathead Indian Reservation is no exception. I therefore focus my analysis of the sociocultural environment on the power dynamics within it. Despite the sovereignty enjoyed by the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, in many social situations power is controlled by the dominant, non-Native, English-speaking population. While there is continued pressure from the dominant society, language choice by Native individuals in positions of authority can also index the ideological (non-)valuing of the language and further contribute to the shift away from the Salish language. Furthermore, because Salish language use is limited, community members who have some degree of fluency gain contextual prestige and authority, which in turn can be alienating for those without this cultural capital.

This article explores identity, belonging and power dynamics on the Flathead Indian Reservation through the interface between language ideology and indexicality. I first define the ways in which the language is viewed as iconic of Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture and identity following Irvine and Gal (2000). I explore Native power dynamics and the larger influences of non-Native society on Salish language use and identity. I close by examining how the interpretation of these semiotic processes helps to address the community's struggles with language revitalization.

II.   Methodology

The data for this article are drawn from ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork conducted with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille tribe between 2011 and 2013, in addition to my ongoing research in the community. The focus of data collection was on understanding and documenting the contexts in which Salish language use continues to convey sociocultural information, particularly in the socialization of Native youth.

I approach the issue of language shift, ideologies and cultural change through a theoretical and methodological approach to language socialization. Language socialization studies are necessarily anthropological in nature, as they seek to gain insight into the wider social structures and issues that shape and inform belief systems and practices. Examining the ways in which children are socialized into language and culture reveals these larger ideologies of the community, as well as highlighting the various social structures and power dynamics within a particular community (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004). The study of power in discourse can demonstrate the ways in which the individuals and groups within a community achieve and understand control through language and action in their everyday routines. According to Kulick and Schieffelin (2004: 362), once the structures of power and ideology have been defined and understood, they can be 'challenged, resisted, changed, or entrenched'. As the field of anthropology is concerned with how sociocultural groups deal with modernity in the context of shifts in language and culture, it is useful to consider how the structures of power and ideology can be adapted to meet the growing concerns of language and cultural revitalization. To fully understand the changing ideologies of a particular cultural group, one must consider and examine how children or novices are being socialized to become successful participants within the community.

The research consisted of semi-formal interviews that focused primarily on documenting and understanding the language contexts and sociocultural ideological factors that contribute to the continued language shift from Salish to English. Initially, I conducted semi-formal interviews with individuals whom I knew were involved in language revitalization efforts in the community. Through these contacts, I used a snowball approach to set up additional interviews. The pool of participants was then expanded to include language-learners, teachers, planners, elders, parents and other adult community members. Interviewees came from a variety of backgrounds and represented a range of ages, genders and levels of involvement in language and cultural activities. Male and female respondents were nearly equally represented, ranged from 18 to 84 years old, and lived in towns throughout the Flathead Indian Reservation. Interviewees were directly asked about their involvement in current cultural practices, which ranged from limited activity to daily practice. Interviewees' exposure to the Salish language also varied. Some individuals had been exposed to it since childhood, while others began to be socialized into it only later in life. Throughout the article I identify interviewees by gender and age, but keep their

names confidential. These variables were chosen to demonstrate that the ideologies and practices I analyse are reflective of my overall sample of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille and are not confined to a specific social identity (i.e. gender or age).

Through participant observation, I documented the primary contexts of Salish language use and how Salish language use then socializes children into (i) sociocultural information and (ii) traditional Salish-Pend d'Oreille cultural values and practices. I conducted observations of cultural practices, culture committee meetings, camps, traditional seasonal activities, immersion school classrooms and language courses, and participated in them. I also observed family interactions at community events, family gatherings and in the home setting. Mundane, private interactions within the home were compared to those interactions in the community, formal education settings and traditional practices. That is, I chose these contexts to examine and link micro-level socialization practices to the macro-level practices of the wider community.

As Salish language use is the primary focus of this research, the community is defined not as a speech community but as a 'community of practice', following Lave and Wenger (1991). The field can then be approached as a series of situated practices (as listed in the paragraph above) that bring together communities and trigger varying uses of the Salish language. This approach allows the boundaries of individual interactions to be fluid and dynamic, changing depending upon the relationship between or shared practices of the speakers (Ahearn 2011, Bucholtz and Hall 2006, Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez 2002, Lave and Wenger 1991). It is important to adopt this flexible definition of community, as there are a broad array of sociocultural dynamics and factors that influence language use among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille, including non-Native English speakers.

III.   Salish language iconicity

The Salish language is regularly viewed as representative or iconic of the culture (Bunte 2009, Field 2009, Irvine and Gal 2000, Meek 2010), despite the decline in fluent speakers. For many individuals, the Salish language and being able to speak any form of Salish are indexes of their Salish identity and cultural upbringing, particularly in an environment where English is the norm for both the Native and non-Native communities. For instance, in the following excerpt a father is recounting his daughter's first day at kindergarten with a non-Native teacher.

> I remember she said, 'Oh, my teacher's not Salish.' I said, 'What do you mean, your teacher's not Salish. How do you know that?' And she said 'cos I said *x̣est sk^wek^wst* ('Good morning') and she didn't answer me, so I knew she wasn't Salish.' (male, 37 years old)

Her father had also had similar experiences himself, recalling, '[y]ou say things, and you're like, "Oh", they don't know that. Guess they're not one of us'. For many individuals, the language is not only iconic of the culture, it also grounds them in their identity and expresses what it means to be Salish-Pend d'Oreille. The following quotes represent the most commonly held ideological perspectives regarding the relationship between language and culture, extracted from interviewees' responses.

> If you know the language, it's a different world from [the] white world. And you identify yourself as an Indian. You go up there and say, 'Hey are you Indian?' And then you talk your language...then they'll say you are an Indian. But if you don't do that, then, you're kind of weak on the Indian side, you know... (male, 73 years old)

> Absolutely it is the foundation of culture. Without language the culture is dead. (male, 41 years old)

> Think about having Kool-Aid [a powdered drink mixed with water] without sugar. You can have red Kool-Aid, but it just doesn't taste right. You add the sugar, your language, and it just, it makes it perfect, you know. Our language, we believe that it was given to us from the Creator and to help express who we are. To help explain and understand the world we live in from that perspective, and if you look at from the Creator['s] point of view, there was a reason. (male, 35 years old)

Although the language can serve as a strong marker of identity and pride for many individuals, iconically linking Salish with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture can essentialize the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community and create standards of 'authenticity' that trigger feelings of inferiority for those individuals who appear not to meet the standards. When a language is viewed as symbolic of the culture, there is an alienating effect for those individuals who cannot speak their traditional language. Field (2009) describes the 'linguistic insecurity and embarrassment' among Navajo youth that has fostered their resistance to learning or continuing to learn their traditional Navajo language. Among the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community, similar anxieties were expressed by the young, adults and older speakers alike. As one interviewee expressed it, 'There's a shame aspect, I think, that is involved, and we have to not only learn the language but learn how to get rid of that shame aspect. You know, I'm Indian and I look Indian, but I don't speak my own language'

(female, 39 years old). O'Nell (1996) noted similar anxieties about language proficiency and identity in her own fieldwork with the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community more than 25 years ago:

> In some of these settings, especially in the presence of 'real Indians', Cathy mutes her claims to an Indian identity, often by positioning herself as a 'student' of Flathead ways, expressing, for example, a desire to correct her shameful ignorance of the Salish language but confessing a complete inability to learn it. (O'Nell 1996: 63).

For language revitalization programmes, it can be beneficial to emphasize the relationship between language and culture. That is, encouraging individuals to learn the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture through Salish language use is a productive means of promoting language revitalization. However, ideologically valuing the Salish language as iconic of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille can oversimplify or essentialize the culture and further alienate individuals who are trying to define their own identity. It is a challenge for language revitalization efforts to find a balance and to overcome the notions of shame and inferiority for the majority of the community that cannot speak their traditional language. I now turn to those individuals who do have access to the traditional language and culture to explore how these language ideologies are formed, justified, and realized in practice (Irvine and Gal 2000, Ochs 1992, Silverstein 1998, 2003).

IV.   Salish language as cultural capital

Conversational use of the traditional language in the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community occurs in a limited number of contexts and is reserved for communication amongst elders, with few exceptions. Therefore, when I discuss Salish language use in the community, I am referring to instances when the traditional language is spoken in any capacity, from individual lexical terms to stretches of conversation. Language use in any given interaction is dependent upon several factors, including the historical and contemporary power struggles that are inherently involved in social interactions. According Bourdieu (1977a, 1977b, 1991) and Philips (2006), power, or more specifically symbolic power, is enacted by those individuals with a higher status (economically, socially and culturally), which allows them to dictate the discourse and the specific code used. In this section, I examine the ways in which Salish language use indexes power relations and types of authority.

The ability to speak Salish fluently or semi-fluently tends to be confined to a select few individuals and family groups, who also continue to maintain their traditional beliefs and

practices to a greater extent. A larger portion of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille community can speak a handful of Salishan words, including greetings, commands and basic phrases. Individuals also utilize kinship and nature terminologies to index their traditional epistemological perspectives and socialization into their culture. Salish language use provides evidence that those individuals who speak Salish have been socialized into the cultural norms and ideologies of traditional language use. Therefore, speaking Salish indexes the individual's connection, in whatever capacity, to the Salish-Pend d'Oreille culture. Ahlers (2006: 60) explains that '...any language use is a form of cultural capital, and serves to mark a language user as a member of a certain community...and as a person who engages actively with traditional culture and with their heritage language'.

However, Native individuals in positions of authority and power do not need cultural capital (in the form of Salish language fluency) to denote their belonging in the community or obtain their political positions, which can lead to the devaluing of revitalization efforts. For instance, the Tribal Council is the governing body that makes decisions on behalf of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT). The elected officials who serve on the Tribal Council typically have a higher social, political and economic status within the community, yet few of them are regularly active in traditional cultural and language practices or concerns. Several community members discussed, in formal and informal interviews, the lack of concern they felt Tribal Council members showed with regard to language and cultural revitalization efforts:

> People in the community are trying to tell them [the Tribal Council], 'Well, it's important to save our language 'cos it makes them better and more successful people. Well, you're talking to this crowd who don't know Salish, but they're in a position of power, so somehow you know the internal message to them is, 'Well, I never learned it. Look at me, I've been successful.' But then they also have their own internal struggle, probably. (male, 37 years old)

> I also think it's important, like, for people on the Tribal Council, you should be able to speak your language, or part of it anyway. As a leader, you should be able to understand, when someone was, is speaking to you in the Native tongue, you should be able to understand that. I think that should be a priority to them. (male, 52 years old)

As elected officials, men and women on the Tribal Council have authority and legitimacy, giving them the power to define social norms for the community. This also means that their actions are highly publicized and criticized, as demonstrated by the quotes above. The Tribal Council manages a number of projects and issues on the Flathead Indian Reservation, of which language

and cultural revitalization is only one, yet many community members expressed a desire to see more overt support of these programmes. Also, these elected officials may not choose to speak English over Salish – rather, they may simply not have been socialized to use the traditional language. However, as leaders in the community, they may be contributing to the continued shift away from Salish.

IVa. Expanded cultural capital

Individuals who command a Salish vocabulary beyond basic lexical terms also index their cultural and linguistic capital through Salish language use. To account for this, the concept of 'cultural capital' needs to be understood, in accordance with Bourdieu's definition (1977a, 1977b, 1991), as the 'sociocultural attributes, both acquired and achieved, that are highly valued in society, bring prestige to the individual, and can be converted into material capital' (Philips 2006: 475).

Individuals with this expanded cultural or linguistic capital (i.e. fluent or semi-fluent Salish speakers) are highly respected individuals in the community, frequently being asked to offer prayers and make speeches at cultural events, requests that accord these individuals more respect, status and prestige in these contexts. According to Bourdieu (1991: 55),

> speakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence...which depending on social inheritance, re-translates social distinctions into the specifically symbolic logic of differential deviations, or, in short, distinction.

While non-Salish speaking individuals are typically not excluded from these domains, a distinction id created between those with the expanded cultural capital and those without. Perhaps this is why most Tribal Council members do not attend traditional cultural events, as these contexts undermine or call into question their legitimacy to represent the Native community. However, as with the Tribal Council, individuals with cultural capital can also contribute to the continued shift towards English; this is an element of the power struggles over models of identity formation, as will be seen.

Many of the remaining fluent and semi-fluent speakers serve on the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee (SPCC), which serves the community through its guidance, documentation, and education of the language and culture (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2014). The

SPCC is composed of a group of selected elders who regularly meet to manage matters of cultural significance. Individuals in the community working on language and cultural revitalization efforts typically seek approval from the SPCC before creating language programmes and culturally sensitive language curricula. The SPCC aims to promote the language and culture, yet individuals in the community feel there is a deficiency in the sharing of the resources the committee controls, such as audio recordings of traditional songs and stories.

> I would like things to be more accessible and to have that responsibility of passing, openly passing on knowledge for anyone that's looking... [T]here's so many, being enrolled or not, I think there's so many people in our community who don't know, who don't have that real, real deep understanding of their own identity. (female, 38 years old)

> Culture Committee is preserving the language, I know, but I think they are kind of more self-centred 'cos they want to hang onto it. They shouldn't hang on to it if they want the people to learn. They should be willing to, 'cos I know when I was asking questions to the Culture Committee, they kind of give you the run-around. You should never get a run-around when you ask a question, to try to learn something about your culture. That happened to me a lot of times when I used to ask questions. So if you send a young person to go down there to the Culture Committee, they might get a run-around and never get the right answer. And that's not right either. (male, 63 years old)

Through the management of matters concerning the language and culture, the SPCC controls the flow and access of information. Also, as individuals with authority, particularly in cultural domains, committee members have the ability to dictate the language of choice, yet they frequently use English. There are several possible reasons why the SPCC elders do not use Salish. First elders speak English simply to be understood by wider larger public. Secondly, the elders on the SPCC have been socialized for decades to use English and now do so out of habit. However, by not speaking Salish more frequently, they continue to validate the social norm of speaking English.

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT) Council and the SPCC are two powerful Native institutions with different privileges and authorities, and both contribute in contradictory ways to the social norms of Salish language use and (non-)use. That is, through their practices and ideological valuing, these governing bodies shape the sociocultural norms of the Salish language.

IVb. Non-Native influences

Language choice is heavily influenced by context, especially in those situations which are influenced by the dominant population. History, economics and bureaucracy dictate that English is the everyday vernacular (Ngai 2004, O'Nell 1996). Historically, external forces have generated the language shift to English through various means, such as boarding schools, assimilatory policies and social practices. Economically, the tribal government, the CSKT, '...employs approximately 1,200 people and ... makes considerable efforts to support a diversified economy by providing training and resources for tribal members' (Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes 2013b). However, the non-Native English-speaking population, both on and off the reservation, continue to control the majority of the employment opportunities and economic resources. English also dominates in the education system, from primary to tertiary levels. The power dynamics of the reservation establishes English as the language of daily interaction and education (Ngai 2004, O'Nell 1996).

As argued above, many Native individuals believe that the Salish language is important, if not vital, to their cultural identity, and therefore believe that it is important to learn the language. However, as is often the case among minority groups, these individuals also feel that English is the language of success. Consequently, they feel that they must know this language to succeed or fit into the modern world (Field 2009, Messing 2002). Younger generations of women even acknowledged that English is the language of power and therefore a means by which they can achieve greater social and power equality. Language ideologies that are dominant in non-Native society, where Salish is depreciated, are projected recursively (Irvine and Gal 2000) within Native communities, leading to internal ideological contradictions 'existing at the intraindividual level rather than defining oppositions between stable groups' (Field 2009: 42). For instance, Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals who are struggling to define their identity in contemporary society may be further disoriented by the claim that the Salish language is necessary for participation in Salish-Pend d'Oreille practices. During a conversation about her desire to learn the Salish language, one woman said, 'Language is really important to me'. After a brief pause, she looked at me and said, 'Or is it? Or do I like the concept of Salish more than [its] reality?'

The dominance of the non-Native population and of English significantly influences both the younger and elder generations, as can be demonstrated in the following observation during a tour of Nk̓ʷusm, the Salish language immersion school. As part of the tour, two young female

128

students gave a brief presentation, partially in the Salish language, describing how happy they were to be attending the school. At Nk̓ʷusm, the girls felt they could express themselves and be proud of being Native, which was very different from their experience at a public elementary school, where they were often treated poorly for being Native. The girls also spoke of their excitement to be learning more about their language and culture at the school. One elderly Salish woman who was part of the tour expressed her joy at hearing the language spoken by young people again. She also recalled going through similar situations of mistreatment while at school during her childhood. However, she expressed a concern that these children were not learning the 'White way' and the English language, which were both necessary for participation in wider society.

Associated with the control over resources, socially and economically, is the element of racism and depreciation of Native heritage (Ngai 2004, O'Nell 1996), also noted in the previous example. In addition to observations in this study, several Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals I interviewed related instances of prejudice that they themselves or their children had experienced. These instances can have lasting effects on the identity formation of Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals and may even challenge their own desire to acquire the cultural or linguistic knowledge of their ancestors. The following quote is taken from an interview with a mother expressing her concern about racism:

> I definitely think we need to figure out a way to make being an Indian, you know, I don't want to say 'cool', 'cos that sounds, like fleeting...but to make it to where they're proud again to be Indian. You know, to make it to where they don't feel like they have to fight and be in defence of 'Yeah, I'm Indian'. I think there are some...racial tensions in our community that definitely come into play, but I think that's up to us as a community to teach our kids how to deal with that. What to tolerate and what isn't, what you can't tolerate, or shouldn't tolerate. This belief that, in our country it, you know, racism towards Native peoples is just accepted. (female, 39 years old)

It is the non-Native residents that continue to have the dominant power throughout the reservation, due to their population size, economic holdings and control over the mass media. This power heavily influences the ideologies of Native and non-Native children in their identity formation.

V. Conclusion

Analysing Salish language use as indexical of sociocultural dimensions, particularly power dynamics, helps us achieve an understanding of the larger identity complexities of Salish-Pend d'Oreille individuals. Language as a sign can index a wide array of features about the speaker, community and society, including how power is expressed (Ochs 1992). In turn, children are socialized to use a particular language for each specific practice their community engages in (Ochs and Schieffelin 2012). Children draw upon these salient, indexical features to determine their own language preferences in opposition to these power relationships. That is, children themselves have agency and therefore the ability to change the power dynamics. As Garrett states (2012: 487), 'children's participation in language socialization practices that discursively elaborate code choice both indexes the symbolic capital of particular forms and creates subjectivities that can explain processes of change'.

It is important to not only examine the way language embodies power (both politically and socioculturally), but also how language use and ideologies are shaped by the very nature of these power dynamics. Historically, the language shift from Salish to English was primarily a result of colonial forces. While there is continued pressure from the dominant society, language use by individuals with power, authority and cultural capital within the Native community can (perhaps unwittingly) undermine the value and use of the Salish language. However, those individuals who possess cultural capital can also index their commitment to the revitalization of the language and culture through Salish language use. By possessing cultural capital or specific knowledge related to cultural events and practices, these individuals enjoy prestige in traditional contexts.

Expanding this capital into everyday mundane contexts and providing additional economic capital is key to revitalization efforts and changing the ideological values of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille. Adding economic value to cultural capital is discussed by Bourdieu (1991: 57), who states, 'one cannot save the value of a competence unless one saves the market, in other words, the whole set of political and social conditions of production of the producers/consumers'. This point is further reiterated by Friedman (2012: 491), who states that '...factors that promote or discourage the successful revitalization of minority languages' may include '...cultural capital, associations with cultural identity, and increased economics and revaluation of local cultural practices'. Economically valuing individuals with knowledge of the Salish language through teaching or other paid positions, for instance, could prove invaluable to language revitalization.

Salish language use is only one form of belonging in this community, yet it could serve as a powerful tool to combat racism and the subjugated positions of Salishan community members if it is carried out in an inclusive manner.

References

Ahearn, Laura M. 2011. *Living languages*, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Ahlers, Jocelyn C. 2006. Framing discourse: creating community through native language use, *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 16(1), 58-75.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1977a. The economics of linguistic exchanges, *Social Science Information* 16(6), 645-668.

— 1977b. *Outline of a theory of practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— 1991. *Language and symbolic power*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall 2006. Language and identity, in Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, pp. 369-394, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Bunte, Pamela A. 2009. 'You keep not listening with your ears!' Language ideologies, language socialization, and Paiute identity, in Paul V. Kroskrity and Margaret C. Field (eds.), *Native American language ideologies*, pp. 172-189, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes 2013a. 2012-2013 Annual report. http://www.csktribes.org http://perma.cc/QVK9-XJUN (accessed July 17, 2013).

— 2013b. Flathead Reservation demographic and economic information. https://lmi.mt.gov https://perma.cc/9YQV-YJAR (accessed January 19, 2014).

— 2014. Salish-Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee. http://www.salishaudio.org http://perma.cc/Q6KN-6WAJ (accessed January 10, 2014).

Ethnologue 2005. Kalispel-Pend d'Oreille. https://www.ethnologue.com http://perma.cc/4ECG-ET5W (accessed April 5, 2014).

Field, Margaret 2009. Changing Navajo language ideologies and changing language use, in Paul Kroskrity and Margaret C. Field (eds.), *Native American language ideologies*, pp. 31-47, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Friedman, Debra A. 2012. Language socialization and language revitalization, in Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (eds.), *Handbook of language socialization*, pp. 631-647, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Garrett, Paul B. 2012. Language socialization and language shift, in Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs and Bambi Schieffelin (eds.), *Handbook of language socialization*, pp. 515-535, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

— and Patricia Baquedano-Lopez 2002. Language socialization: reproduction and continuity, transformation and change, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, 339-361.

Grenoble, Lenora A., and Lindsay J. Whaley 2006. *Saving languages: an introduction to language revitalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation, in Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: ideologies, polities, and identities*, pp. 35-83, Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Kulick, Don, and Bambi Schieffelin 2004. Language socialisation, in Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, pp. 349-368, Malden: Blackwell.

Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger 1991. *Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meek, Barbra A. 2010. *We are our language: an ethnography of language revitalization in a northern Athabascan community*, Tucson: University of Arizona.

Messing, Jacqueline 2002. Fractal recursivity in ideologies of language, identity and modernity in Tlaxcala, Mexico. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 45, 95-105.

Ngai, Phyllis Bo-yuen 2004. Reservation public-school programs for Indian-language revitalization: building on grassroots voices from rural districts with mixed Indian and white student populations. University of Montana, Ph.D. dissertation.

Ochs, Elinor 1992. Indexing gender, in Alessandro Duranti and Charles Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking context: languages as an interactive phenomenon*, pp. 335-358, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— and Bambi Schieffelin 2012. The theory of language socialization, in Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs and Bambi B. Schieffelin (eds.), *Handbook of language socialization*, pp. 1-21, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

O'Nell, Theresa DeLeane 1996. *Disciplined hearts: history, identity, and depression in an American Indian community*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Philips, Susan U. 2006. Language and social inequality, in Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, pp. 474-495, Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Silverstein, Michael 1998. The uses and utility of ideology: a commentary, in Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard and Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: practice and theory*, pp. 123-145, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

__ 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication* 23, 193-229.

United States Census Bureau 2010. *The American Indian and Alaska Native population: 2010*. http://www.census.gov https://perma.cc/XX4J-V925 (accessed January 23, 2013).

STANDARDS, STYLES, AND SIGNS OF THE SOCIAL SELF

MICHAEL SILVERSTEIN[1]

Abstract

Language standardization policies, usually enacted by state-designed national education systems, have an impact on the folk understanding of registers. The delimitation of registers and their social meaning are tested and assessed by the use of register shibboleths, which change over time. Registers are recognized metapragmatically and play a key role in group formation processes within a given political economy and its structures of power. This analysis, applied to US English, can also distinguish a barista register created, enacted and assessed by consumerist promoters of specialist coffees.

I.   Standardization

There's always that cringe-worthy moment, that can't-I-find-a-rock-to-crawl-under feeling for those of us whose work centers on language when we are out-and-about being social. Inevitably, someone will ask, 'What do you do for a living,' and, when offered the reply that one is a professor, and of matters linguistic at that, with a high degree of predictability comes the response, 'Oh, I better watch what I say then!' or 'I better watch the way I talk to **you**!' Language scientists, linguists, are inevitably confused with the diction enforcer, the grammar police, the alphabet soup Nazi. No amount of explanation will do that our deep – and, I can assure you, non-judgmental! – interest is in the variety of language in its socio-cultural context, and in culturally significant **difference** arising from the way language is used to social purpose. Nope. Laypersons in our kind of language community associate anyone interested in language – even in language as socio-culturally contextualized – with what is, in their experience, perhaps the most salient characteristic of their own – of our – language: the fact of standardization. Standardization is a very particular condition of language: while every language, like every culture, is a value system with underlying norms of how to do things, however in flux, only some languages have undergone standardization. English, like all its European counterparts, has indeed undergone standardization – in fact, multiple standardizations as it has spread globally.

---

[1] Professor. Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago. Postal address: Haskell 313 office, 1126 East 59th Street Chicago, Il 60637, USA. Email: m-silverstein@uchicago.edu Tel.: +1 (773) 702-7713
Web: http://anthropology.uchicago.edu/people/faculty_member/michael_silverstein/

Standardization as a cultural condition pervades and transforms people's consciousness of their own language. It becomes a lens through which they perceive, process, and evaluate the ubiquitous and inevitable situational variability of how language is actually used. To those within the language community, the standard seems like a fixed and **non**-situational way of using language to communicate about, to represent the universe of experience and imagination, a form of language spoken or written 'from nowhere' – that is, from anywhere and everywhere within the sociological envelope of the language community. Standard is what one **should** be using. Period. Although we all know that for some folks – like all of us? – and for some situations – like most! – dat ain' də way we talk. My nervous conversational partners know this, and are somewhat embarrassed to think they will be using non-standard to a language maven. Here, then, is a depiction of how the culture of standard construes it as 'the voice from nowhere':
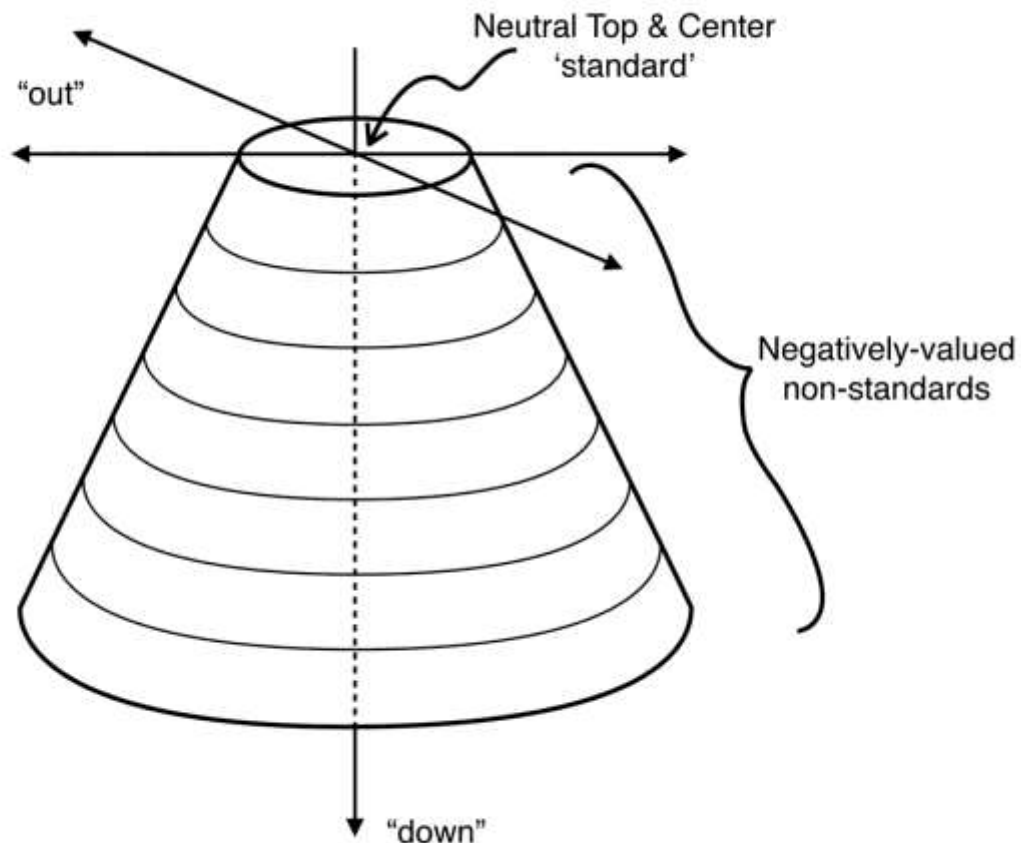
Fig. 1. Conic standardization model

Remember, this is a cultural model, the natives' point of view. It is a conic, multi-dimensional radial topology of variation of verbal behaviors in the language community, in which any noticeable deviation from standard points to – INDEXES is the technical term – some identifiable ascribed social characteristics of speakers, of their addressees, or, in short, of anything characterizing the situation in which forms of the non-standard occur. Such deviations from standard are, in general, thought of in negative terms – what I label as degrees of 'down-and-out'-ness (for comic, as well as conic, effect). And when the conical model of standardization and divergence from it is concretized as a representation of a political economy of social stratification, speakers inevitably locate themselves in class fractions by the degree to which their language use approximates or fails to approximate to standard usage. You may recall the old saying, 'Speak so that I may know who [that is, of course, sociologically speaking, **what** social kind] you are!' And you may recall George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* (first staged in 1913, published in 1934), transduced into Lerner & Lowe's Broadway musical, *My Fair Lady*, in which the flower-seller Eliza Doolittle is passed off as a countess by the linguistics Professor Henry Higgins by changing her London Cockney phonetics into the phonetics of British Standard, called 'RP' (Received Pronunciation), and by substituting standard syntax and phraseology for vernacular forms. Plus the sartorial make-over, of course, to which we will return. Shaw and the upwardly (and inwardly) mobile acutely understand the stakes of the cultural cone of standardization. (I love the way the Broadway production has the angelic Shaw ultimately pulling the strings on Julie Andrews's Eliza; the film poster, replacing Andrews with the visually stunning Audrey Hepburn fronting for the musically impressive Marnie Nixon, is much less sophisticated. But, in keeping with my theme in this article, note the unmistakable stylistic transformation in going from Broadway to Hollywood in both graphic and **icono**graphic styles.)

Fig. 2. My Fair Lady posters (Broadway and Hollywood). See Copyright notice at end.

II.   Cultural ideology and allegiance to the standard

The cone of standardization, as I said, is a **cultural** model of variation in a language community like ours – an *ethno-metapragmatic* or *ideological* model, we like to say, that makes sense to the natives. And its strength, its force as an effective cultural standard influencing people, has, like all ideological formations, a characteristic social distribution within the population. People who use language within a standardized language community reveal differential allegiance to the standard and to the whole conical model to which those most in its thrall are anxiously oriented. This was elegantly demonstrated a half-century ago by William Labov's studies of urban American English, principally in New York City and in Philadelphia (1966), where statistical curves plotted of rates of observed standard and non-standard usage tell an interesting story about cultural ideology more generally (see ibid.: Fig. 3, reproduced below).
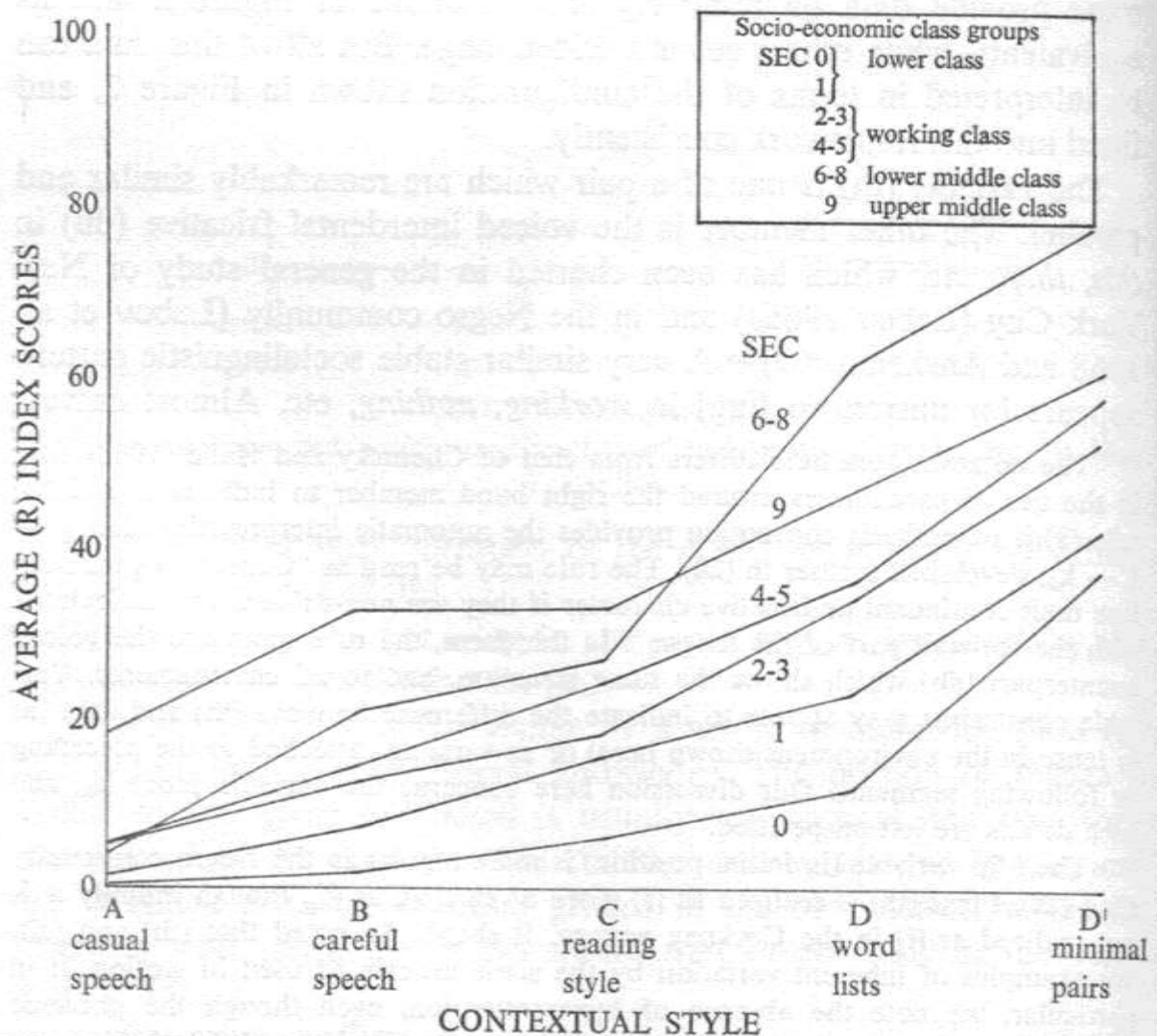
Figure 3. Class stratification of (r) in *guard, car, beer, beard*, etc. for native New York City adults

Fig. 3. Post-vocalic (r) curves from Labov's NYC survey. 1971: 196. Used with permission.

Shown here are the results for speakers of New York City English on Manhattan's Lower East Side, the long-ago immigrant neighborhood of tenements and ethnicity. These data come from surveys and in-depth interviews of the early 1960s, when that area in Manhattan was just beginning to gentrify in earnest. The scale on the ordinate, the *y*-axis, derives from the percentage of standard-like performance of syllables with an /r/ following a vowel in standard pronunciation – note the examples of such forms at the bottom, guard, car, beer, beard – where the local NYC vernacular notoriously lacks it (thus rhyming, in effect, with god, cod [without the

final –d], <u>be</u> <u>a</u>, <u>be</u> <u>a</u> followed by a word with initial [d-]…). The post-World War II standard 'He [sɒ′rd] high above the [fɒrθ flɔɾ′]' vs. vernacular non-standard 'He [sɔːd] high above the [fɔːθ flɔ:].' The curves in the plot of rates of production separate the speakers in Labov's sample by an independent demographic measure of socio-economic class level, from what Labov terms the 'Lower Working Class' at the visual bottom to the 'Upper Middle Class,' number 9, at the top. Running horizontally along the abscissa, the x-axis, are contexts of speaking, producing articulate language, arranged in increasing order of the way that the task demands of producing speech seem to call speakers' reflexive attention – mid-way through the series, at C – to reading aloud and at the extreme right, at D-prime, the task of having phonetically to differentiate two isolated words spelled with minimal difference, like <sawed>, the past tense of <u>saw</u>-, and <soared>, the past tense of <u>soar</u>-, visually differentiable only in the middle letters. Plotted on the extreme left, at A, are measures of people's usage when they were recorded unawares and unbeknownst to them in intimate, in-group conversation – something our human subjects Institutional Review Board will probably no longer let us do. Next, at B, is the context defined by a one-on-one interview inquiring about language and about the interviewee's perception of his or her linguistic usage, as well as the usage of others. The next position on the abscissa, at C, is when the speaker is asked to read a passage from a page of print (a passage with lots of words where standard would require post-vocalic [r]-pronunciation in fact, though the speaker is not informed of this). Then, in context D, the interviewee is asked to read aloud slowly lists of printed words, with target words interspersed among them to test particular pronunciations of this variably standardized sort. And finally, at D′, the so-called minimal graphic pairs test: look at the two words, and then pronounce them aloud.

The results are plotted separately by socio-economic class demographics of speakers. First, note that the most horizontal curves, the ones with low slopes of change across these tasks, occur at the bottom and at the top of the scales. The folks at the bottom are comparatively unaffected by the different task demands of speaking, maintaining, with a slight but indeed noticeable increase, a fairly non-standard pronunciation throughout. They are not, as we can see, very much mobilized to or apparently behaviorally motivated by cultural concepts of standard speech. (In fact, in subsequent work in comparably urban locations in the British Isles and elsewhere, it was demonstrated that working-class speakers have allegiance to, and are behaviorally motivated in their usage, to speak distinctive and local working-class non-standard, misinterpreted by

sociolinguists as 'negative prestige.' Culturally, of course, the 'prestige' of being a non-cosmopolitan local is anything but 'negative!' It is being *genuine*.) The Upper Middle Class folks in category 9 at the top produce relatively standard speech in all of these contexts of performance, perhaps a bit more carefully standard in usage when graphic minimal pairs are given to them. The interest lies in the middle groups, all of whom, as we can see, are relatively speaking as non-standard as the lowermost group in their spontaneous in-group conversational usage. However, as soon as the folks that Labov terms the aspiring, upwardly mobile Lower Middle Class are presented with something to read aloud, their standard-cone-anxiety manifests itself in the sudden jump in their standard-like pronunciation. When we look at this group's performance in the word-list and graphic minimal pair conditions, D and D′, their attempts at standardization far exceed those of the Upper Middle Class, which sets a kind of benchmark of usage for the whole population in such regimes of standardization. The anxious Lower Middle Class speakers – as Labov terms it – 'hypercorrect' by producing too much of what is culturally evaluated as 'a good thing,' that is, standard-like postvocalic [r]s, so much so that they put them in, as it turns out, where they don't even belong according to the rules by which one converts visual into spoken, when one looks at print and pronounces its forms aloud. I see this as standard anxiety of a hair-trigger acuity, and Labov confirmed this with numerous correlated attitudinal measures of what he terms 'linguistic insecurity' before standard register. His Lower Middle Class interviewees were maximally influenced by or maximally adherent to the ideological culture of standardization, maximally anxious about fulfilling its dictates, and acute in monitoring and criticizing the performance of others. (Many could not even recognize themselves when listening to recordings of their own spontaneous usage in contexts A and B played back for them to review!)

All this exemplifies a classic fact about ideologically permeated cultural forms, language included. At any given socio-historical moment, there is a collection of salient linguistic prescriptions and proscriptions, of 'do's and 'don't's, in other words, that serve as what we term 'standard shibboleths' to which adherence is demanded as one is, or aspires to be, at the conic top-and-center in local ideological perspective. Yet we know that the actual contents of the collection of shibboleths changes over time, an inevitable conclusion we arrive at from studying the printed record of long-term standardized communities – or, as we know even from interacting with our grandparents and other elders, who deplore our inattention to former

shibboleths no longer salient! ('I shall go to school' but 'You will go to school,' in the 1920s; 'With whom do you wish to speak?' of that time versus our acceptable 'Who do you want to talk to?') As well, the institutions and organizational sites that inculcate, monitor and police people's adherence to standard sometimes shift as well, as the social organization of standardizing authority and its paraphernalia transform over time. Fierce standardization achieves a truly pervasive and ubiquitous orientation of large percentages of language users to the correctness of standard register and the gradient – if sociologically colorful and indicative – incorrectness of any linguistic production that falls short, thus marking its user as someone coming from a disprivileged – or at least identity-laden – 'somewhere.' Fiercely achieving standardization of a state language has been a major project of the modernist nation state, thus projecting a language community into a maximal polity in the Enlightenment order of things, what I've termed, after the writer Washington Irving (1977 [1807]), the project of 'logocracy' such as we live under in the United States and other nation states of the Euro-American 'North.' And the fiercer that identifiability of language community and maximal polity, the more under siege are vernaculars within a nation state's borders as well as other language communities, whether indigenous or immigrant, whether their languages have been standardized elsewhere or not – as has long been the case in the United States. (Think of the Spanish within the U.S. borders, standardized for most speakers in either Mexico City or San Juan, but devalued nonetheless in our fiercely monoglot logocracy.)

So standards are cultural forms, configurations of linguistic culture, locatable in time: indeed, they are organized around ever-changing and socio-historically specific prescriptions for one among a range of variants and proscriptions of certain others that nevertheless generally persist within overall community usage. They are used by those who do not speak well or – as we say – who speak not up to standard. Yet, at all times the standard forms have ever been ideologically justified or rationalized by interests that support them in terms of myriad ascribed virtues – essential properties such as truthfulness, transparency to 'reality,' beauty, cognitive and expressive power, communicative efficiency, etc. – that come to be identified as the virtues of the very forms of standard themselves as well, in a certain logic of iconic consubstantiality. The technical term from Peirce is 'rhematized' (1977 [1904]), identified as the virtues of the very people who can display them properly. By contrast, the opposite vices, needless to say, come to be identified with non-standard forms and, by similar indexically based association, with the

141

users of non-standard linguistic forms, who, on the basis of language, are understood by those anxiously oriented to the top-and-center to be, by contrast, stupid, muddled vis-à-vis 'reality,' brutish, unaesthetic, uneducable, and so forth. I'm sure that you have seen such ideologically driven pronouncements in print, and have heard them in broadcast and web media – and perhaps even in various face-to-face situations such as the social gatherings with which I began. A person's deficiency in or – heaven forfend! – total lack of standard English bespeaks and is an index of that individual's lack of something essential for success, for citizenship, for being, in short, right with the modern world. And, in a regime of standardization, that may indeed at least be the outcome, if not the cause.

## III.   Registers, register shibboleths and emblems of identity

Now standardization and its resulting standard shibboleths, salient by degree to language users, constitute what we term a standard REGISTER of language. The term 'register' itself metaphorically alludes to the pipe-organ, where different registers provide distinct timbral envelopes or shapes for what is otherwise precisely the same melodic sequence of pitch-over-time, a chunk of musical text. A linguistic register is an evaluative measure of a stretch of discourse – a verbal 'text', as it were – one intuitively understood dimension of coherence of which rests precisely on its being appropriate to and indicative of the particular interactional contexts in which it has occurred or, normatively, could occur. We feel this coherence of appropriateness-to and effectiveness-in context, and we react to its violation, whether such appropriateness to/effectiveness in context is defined by who is doing the communicating, to whom the communication is directed or before whom it occurs, or any other way we can characterize a context as a social site for use of the language code. The register concept corresponds to the empirical fact that everywhere that variations in usage have been investigated, the users of language conceptualize how language varies by context as different context-indicating ways of denotationally saying the same thing' or illocutionarily performing 'the same kind' of social act by speaking, where the forms used can differ at whatever plane and level of analysis – pronunciation, vocabulary, turn-of-phrase.

> He went to the eye-doctor vs. He consulted his ophthalmologist.
> Sit down! vs. Might I ask that you please be seated?
> [fɔːˤθ flɔː] vs. [fɒɾθ flɔɾʲ] (like we [sɔˤ bɪfɔːˤ] – oops! I mean to say, in register appropriate to my role at this occasion, 'as we have already encountered.')

Such isolable differences of usable linguistic form constitute for the users a (sometimes gradient) set of alternative indexical signs, signs pointing to normatively distinct contextual conditions; in short, the differences of form along this dimension of cultural meaning constituting an indexically loaded or 'pragmatic paradigm'. Speakers have intuitions, and sometimes even explicit normative stipulations, of how elements of several such paradigmatically differentiated indexes can appropriately – congruently and coherently – co-occur across textual stretches, and this congruence of indexicality – recall, pointing to similar or at least non-incoherent social characteristics of the context – lands them in the same register. Such principles of textual compatibility define for the users a DENOTATIONAL-TEXTUAL REGISTER of their language, an intuition (and, in the cases of standardization resulting, for example, in style manuals and explicit teaching, a **stipulation**) of which textual elements go together with which others, and which ought to be excluded from textual co-occurrence or occurrence altogether, save for producing (bringing about or entailing) special effects by sudden violation that calls attention to itself (and inevitably to the social dynamics of the communicative situation). You may recall the gently sexist old joke about the debutante arriving to be presented at a cotillion who, getting out of the limousine arranged for the evening – compare the plot of Cinderella – yells out, 'Oh, Shit! I just stepped in some doggie-do!' Expletives tend to be register- if not also gender- benders. Registers are in essence languages – ways to say what you want to say about the world – that are indexically particular to context because they are diagnostic of such a context, whether in positive or negative stipulation. So, if one adds up all the registers in a language community, that is, as simplistically represented in the Venn diagram, if one performs the set-theoretic union of
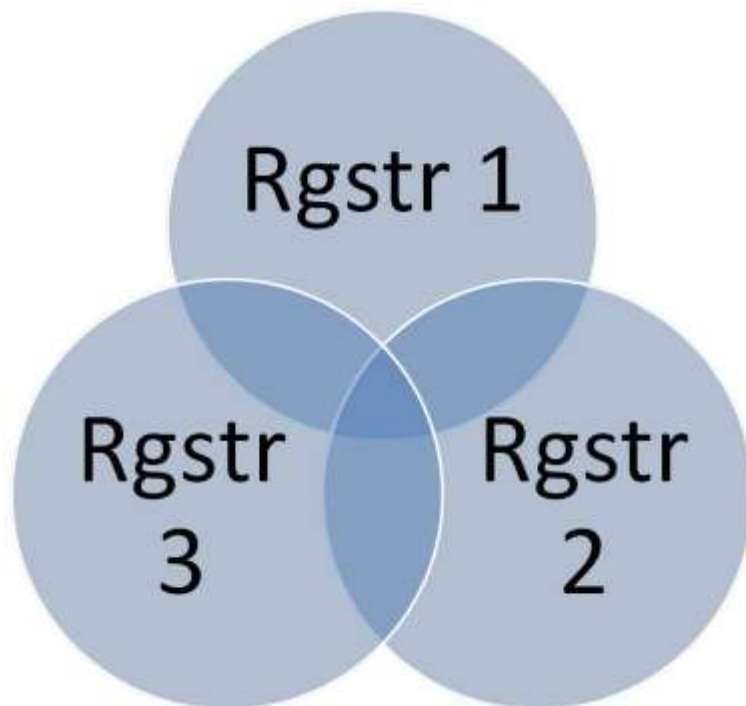
Fig. 4. Venn diagram of intersecting registers.

all the elements of all the registers in a community, sociolinguistically viewed, this constitutes the inclusive envelope of the community's 'language'. Not everyone in the language community controls all the registers that intersect in the population. We frequently recognize many registers and can even decode an indexical value – what's this usage revealing about social context? – for many of them: think of technical registers like this one! even if we cannot produce enregistered text ourselves that passes muster as register-coherent. (Recall here Labov's Lower East Side folks, whose own everyday usage was very far from standard, but who were hai -trigger-sensitive to the shibboleths of standard register: aspirational identity among the socially mobile to make it to the Upper Middle Class, as he analyzed it. Educational institutions – the University of Oxford or the University of Chicago, for example – try to inculcate in the young reverence for various disciplinary technical registers too, with varying degrees of success in creating comparable anxiety.)

All registers, not just standard ones, emerge from folk models, projections of linguistic variation organized in people's consciousness around 'register shibboleths', the most salient anchors of being 'in register,' that provide anchoring cues to unconscious intuitions of indexical – context-indicating – coherence in discourse. For language, the idea is that there is a mode of

folk-consciousness (an ethno-metapragmatics) of linguistic variability that organizes such variability by presuming the existence of distinct, indexically contrastive ways of saying what counts as 'the same thing,' i.e., communicating the same denotational content over intervals of text that differ as to their appropriateness to and effectiveness in conceptualized contexts of use (recall our examples in American English above). These contexts may be defined along any of the usual sociolinguistic dimensions describing who communicates with what forms to whom about whom/what where and under what institutional conditions. Register shibboleths serve as stipulative anchors as salient pillars of co-occurrence in specific contexts for other, less salient areas of denotational textual form. Language users may pay less explicit attention to non-shibboleths, but all the while they systematically use them in regular contextualizing ways we can study from corpora of language sorted on the basis of context of usage. We can even study regularities of enregisterment cross-culturally and cross-linguistically. Everywhere, registers of 'honorification', for example, ways of communicating so as to perform an act of deference to the Receiver of the message, to the message's Audience, and/or to the Referent being communicated about in the message – all these kinds of systems and their overlaps are attested – tend to focus ideological attention on, and thus make register shibboleths of, subtle distinctions among deictics of ('second' or 'third') person (in French shall I say *tu* or *vous*?), on personal proper names, as in American English (Professor Silverstein or Mikey?) and other address terms derived from status nominal (pop vs. father; doc vs. Dr Smith), and verbs predicating 'transfers' of things, including messages (hence, metapragmatic verbs like 'promise' and 'request,' as well as 'donatory' [Martin 1964: 408] ones like 'give to'/'transfer to'/'proffer'/'bestow upon'), though much more is involved in using what people evaluate as well-formed honorific discourse. (How many people use, but couldn't put their finger on, the distinction I cited earlier, 'Sit down!' in what we term the zero-inflection or 'bald' imperative vs. 'Might you please be seated?' with reverently modalized agentless passive form?) In European languages, indexes of 'honorification' have indeed been saliently enregistered around second-person personal deictic usage, form of terms of address, and certain formulae for mands/requests/orders, but many other indexically loaded variants within pragmatic paradigms concurrently operate at many different planes of language so long as they compatibly co-occur with the more salient shibboleths. In languages like Japanese, Javanese, Tibetan, etc., honorification is enregistered around the density of special lexical items, usage of which constitutes a performance of deference-to-addressee and/or

deference-to-referent. The number of such indexically special lexical items within contrastive paradigms of indexical value differs as a function of the particular area of denotation one is communicating about in-and-by the use of a member of that set. Many Javanese sets, for example, have only two members; second-person deixis seems to include at least five, and perhaps more contrastive forms, so such registers are gradient affairs, the co-occurrence of some shibboleths of which, rising to consciousness and explicit normativity, have as well conventionally led to ethno-metapragmatic names (see Errington 1988; Silverstein 1979, 2003).

The key point about enregistered forms, especially certain register shibboleths, such as those of standard registers and their negations, and many others, is that they become EMBLEMS OF IDENTITY of their characteristic users within differentiated social orders (that is, within the conventions of a language community, **naturalized** icons as well as indexicals pointing to their use by stereotypical categories of persons; see Agha 2007: 190-232). We fashion – or, if you will, we 'style' – ourselves as identifiable social types through the control of a repertoire of registers, and especially of their emblematic shibboleths. Such emblems of identity, deployable as such in deliberate self-fashioning usage and endowed with all this naturalizing ideological infusion, are the indexical foci of now intentionally performable identities – the Judith Butler kind of identities (1988) – that is, identities *indexically entailed* in-and-by the use of certain language forms. 'Oh! This person speaks like a …' – fill in whatever identity you want. When, some 25 years back, I spoke to the guy in charge of the fish counter at my local supermarket in basic academic standard, he immediately asked me, 'You a professor or sometin'?' (And, until his unforeseen death a couple of years ago, he always introduced me to other personnel as 'the professor' and addressed me as such, an identity I have not been able to escape halfway across town from campus.) Language use creates the image, as Shaw and then Lerner & Lowe so wonderfully illustrated. This is the very paragon of performativity, the performativity of identities in-and-by the use of particular enregistered forms, where the effect requires only that certain salient shibboleths of identity-conferring register be displayed by someone to someone's interpreting consciousness for the rest to be interpreted in conformity with the salient.

IV.   Enregisterment as the institutional power to give meaning

I hope that you are beginning to see that the register perspective – the universal perspective of users of language on the contextual variability of their language as denotational code – is a social

fact composed of three interlocked factors. One is the existence of pragmatic or indexical paradigms, forms that contrast by the particular context they index or point to. A second is the notion of congruent co-occurrence in discourse, where certain paradigmatic forms seem to set expectations about the discourse unfolding over a stretch of (in this case) verbal behaviour, in short, over a text the indexical coherence of which we automatically search for in interaction. And the third is the folk understanding of the social meaning or value of the register shibboleths and thence of the register itself within a language community (see diagram below).

> The existence of *pragmatic* or indexical *paradigms*, forms that contrast by the particular context they index or point to:

$$
\begin{aligned}
&(\text{form}_1) \\
&(\text{form}_2) \\
&(\quad . \quad) \\
&(\quad . \quad) \\
&(\quad . \quad) \\
&(\text{form}_n)
\end{aligned}
$$

> The intuition of *congruent co-occurrence in discourse*, where certain paradigmatic forms seem to set expectations about the discourse unfolding over a stretch of verbal (in this case) behavior, in short over an indexically cohesive text:

$$
\text{Paradigm}_A \quad \text{Paradigm}_B \quad \text{Paradigm}_C \quad \text{Paradigm}_D \; \ldots
$$

$$
(\text{form}_i) \quad \approx \quad (\text{form}_k) \quad \approx \quad (\text{form}_m) \quad \approx \quad (\text{form}_p) \; \ldots
$$

> The folk understanding [= "ethno-metapragmatics"] of *the social meaning or value of the register shibboleths* and thence of the register itself within a language community:

$$
\text{Register shibboleth } (\text{form}_p) \; \rightarrow \; \text{Speaker has social characteristic X}
$$

People are differently invested in the way register shibboleths and hence registers ought to inform their usage and the usage of others. As we saw in Labov's example of standard American English in New York City, the distribution of people's investment in a register can itself frequently be sociologically characterized. (You will recall that he found a distribution roughly by socioeconomic class and aspiration for upward mobility within a class structure.) And people's ideas of what are, in fact, the registers with respect to which they produce and interpret

usage may themselves differ as a function of where people are located in social structures; people of different social condition are differently mobilized to structures of enregisterment – sometimes not at all. Think, then, of the power of educational organizations in this regard, as agents of nation-state projects, to draw the young, who are already perfectly fluent speakers of one or more vernaculars, into anxieties of enregisterment before a state-sponsored standard register of one language, declaring this to be the entrance ticket to the socioeconomic and social mobility suggested by the conical model. Before and after pictures: before the state's intervention, we see a happy-go-lucky, perhaps even polyglot kid; after a 'successful' intervention, an anxiety-riven asymmetric bilingual, who intuitively understands the lessons of the cone of stratification around the state's language standard.

As this example demonstrates, 'enregisterment,' the spread of a register structure in a population, is a matter of the power of institutional agents to give meaning – indexical meaning – and value to in this instance language signs, transforming people's intuitions and perceptions both of language and of its users by organizing how cultural texts – cohesively arrayed material signs – are produced and interpreted. You don't have to be a government or para-state organization to exercise the power to enregister elements of what people come to think of as their personal – even individual – style. And, importantly, what is reflexively true of language in this way is also true of every other meaningful code of culture. The cultural meaning of everything in its social context emerges in this way via enregisterment: in-and-by being able to 'do things' – engage in consequential social action – with words or with any other kind of meaningful cultural stuff. The fact that cultural stuff is shot through with meanings infused in it by register structures defines what the social context is, and who – recall: what social kind of person – is acting in that context. And language is, in fact, the leading medium through which all the **other** cultural codes come to be enregistered; language – discourse – always has the potential to give ideologically conforming shape to the enregistered configuration of meaning and value of every other cultural code.

V.   Fashion as indexically meaningful

Think of fashion, focused on indexically meaningful as well as wearable sartorial objects: here, a way of *talking about* clothes – what Roland Barthes called the 'rhetoric' of fashion (2013) – in

148

every form of media, comprises the structuring verbal and pictorial glosses that make sense of good and bad examples as instances of fashion come to our attention.

Fig. 5. Presenters of TV show, Queer Eye for the Straight Guy. *See Copyright notice at end.*

Fig. 6. Presenters of TV show Queer Eye for the Straight Guy. *See Copyright notice at end.*

Do you recall the personal makeover program, *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*? In food and wine; in home decoration; in clothing and accessories; in hip cultural activities; in coiffure. So a makeover picture:

Fig. 7. Stills from TV show Queer Eye for the Straight Guy. *See Copyright notice at end.*

On the left, ['Oh, this is problematic!'] and on the right ['Wow! What a change!'] makeover pictures? (Note that the two sartorial texts are equivalent piece-by-piece as coverings for bodily regions, but differ dramatically as to the coherent overall text they comprise. Best-Dressed Awards ['Here's how to do it'] and Worst-Dressed Awards ['Here's how not to do it']?). These folks specialize in how to fashion indexically coherent enregistered texts of the self. The discourse emanates from a sometimes self-authorizing social location, but one, if successful, that is increasingly legitimate because it declares its authoritative status in broadcast mode to a willing public of interlocutory others, the viewers. The evaluative descriptions of such fashion discourse make salient to those increasingly under the sway of their enregistering potential the visible elements of contrast of silhouette, color, drape, weave, etc., in a composite outfit or ensemble – 'Don't wear brown shoes with a black belt!' – just the same way that norms of 'correct' and 'incorrect' apply to how one reads aloud those minimal graphic pairs that Labov presented to people in his interviews, <S-O-A-R-E-D> vs. <S-A-W-E-D>. The contrastive elements of non-verbal culture are enregistered with distinct values along particular dimensions

by the way discourse about them calls attention to significant difference, thus making it all the more salient as enregistered stuff.

VI.   Enregisterment and the recognition of groups

Think as well of identity groups in a politics of recognition. We frequently do not understand the degree to which the circulation of discourse and the enregisterment of discourse constitute the central facts on which is based society's recognition of the groupness of a part of the population, along with the group's asserting to the outside certain conditions-of-life. For in a politics of recognition, it is the right of a category of people to stipulate their own distinctively shared identity-project within a political economy and its structures of power. 'Power' in this sense is the autonomous power of enregisterment. Think of discourse about a category of people that has the potential to be racially or ethnically or religiously or otherwise offensive. In a politics of recognition, one asserts the right of a so denoted group to stipulate the nature and limits in discursive usage of those outside giving offense and of those inside taking offense. The so-called 'sexist' language of Second-Wave Feminism's decade or more of 'consciousness raising' comes to mind, which created a whole register effect in English and similar European languages, inoculating all exposed language users with a sense of care not to give offense by denoting sex or gender when it is stipulatively deemed to be irrelevant, especially when denoting those who monitor an emerging lexical register for **not** denoting sex as always indexically relevant: 'Say server, not waiter vs. waitress.' 'There's no need for the expressions lady plumber or male nurse; plumber and nurse will do.' So thorough have been the lexical changes in at least educated vernacular that the very descriptor sex, as, for example, on government forms to fill out or online airplane reservation forms, has been replaced by what we have come to see as the socially constructed category of 'gender' – which is precisely what government forms, ironically enough, are **not** asking for in their traditional heteronormative descriptive binary! And the innovative form Ms., intended to replace the earlier women-only distinction by marital status, unmarried Miss vs. married Mrs., is now used in such publications as the *Chicago Tribune* to replace Miss, still in contrast to Mrs.: innovation with persistent gender chauvinism, I daresay! Observe that the reform of so-called sexist language had an enregistering effect for a whole generation, re-ordering in effect the social relations between Speakers and Addressees (or Writers and Readers) as pre- and post-consciousness-raised – eventually differentiating the old from the young – and,

in so far as sexist and non-sexist usages belong to two registers, indexing consciousness of the very groupness of gendered claimants to political self-awareness, and perhaps even power within a political economy of recognition. (As a student of political communication, I can hardly wait for the next presidential round to begin in earnest, presuming it will include the candidacy of Mrs. – did you catch that usage in the media? – Clinton, or is it Ms. Rodham Clinton, or perhaps just the celebrity identity, Hillary? 'Hil-lah-ry—Hil-lah-ry—Hil-lah-ry!' we can foresee at the 2016 nominating convention, like Op-rah! Op-rah! Op-rah! Note also a recent *Huffington Post* headline in this connection; see illustration below.)

6-Year-Old Asks Hillary Clinton If She Wants To Be Called 'Madame' Or 'Mrs. President'

The Huffington Post | by Paige Lavender
Posted: 04/10/2014 8:33 am EDT Updated: 04/10/2014 8:59 am EDT

VII.   The barista register

So: 'indexical inoculation' is the process of summoning members of a cultural community to understand and even to use new register effects, and indexical inoculation is all around us. Enregisterment is central to the work of all culture, we should think as well in our state of existence under late – super-ripe – capitalism of organizations or networks of organizations directed at this or that aspect of consumerist consumption, what goes under the vernacular term 'lifestyle' (where we cannot but note the form style lurking). Think, in other words, of myriad social formations with inoculating claims upon our reflexive sense of the enregisterment of our very life's style through our relations to commodities. Think Starbucks™ and its imitators and successors.

> **Extract from a Starbucks Corporate Flyer from 1990s**
> While many "in the know" customers have discovered the wonders of Mocha Sanani as a by-the-pot coffee, fewer know its virtues as an espresso. Properly brewed, it yields a cup that combines unrivalled intensity of aroma with thick, creamy body and bittersweet chocolate finish.
> **Ethiopia Sidamo**: This is a delicate yet sprightly new crop coffer from the high plateau country of south-central Ethiopia. Flowery bouquet (with a hint of eucalyptus), light and

elegant body, and a honeyed natural sweetness make this coffee one of the most seductive of all African varietals.

I would be remiss ill didn't mention that this washed Ethiopian coffee, together with its near-relation Ethiopia Yergacheffe, is in extremely short supply this year. This is due to a combination of short crop, over-zealous pre-selling of same, strong demand and (last not least) ongoing civil war. Enjoy it while it's here, for we expect to be out of both coffees for most of the year.

Kenya: Kenya's relentless focus on quality in all stages of coffee production has made it the world leader in coffee quality. Even everyday coffees from this country offer clean, satisfying *arabica* flavor. At the very top of the mountain (literally and figuratively) lie coffees like our current offering, a superb "AA" (largest bean size) purchased directly at auction in Nairobi. This coffee, like a fine Bordeaux, balances heft and heartiness with bell-like clarity of flavor and blackcurrant fruitiness.

Other African varietals:

Our current varietal offerings are classic "self-drinkers:" coffees whose balance of body, flavor and acidity makes them ideal for straight, unblended enjoyment.

Another famous coffee in this category is **Ethiopia Harrar**, a carefully cultivated coffee with a flavor that's usually anything but cultivated! The Chianti-esque, slightly gamy aroma gives Harrar a certain rustic charm that has family tics to Mocha Sanani (though it usually lacks that coffee's complexity, balance and breed . It is, in the words of Kenneth Davids (in his book *Coffee: A Guide to Buying, Brewing and Enjoying*), "a coffee for people who like excitement at the cost of subtlety."

Harrar's traditional role at Starbucks is as a substitute for authentic Yemen Mocha during those all-too-frequent instances where the latter is either of mediocre quality or simply unobtainable. Occasionally lots of Harrar of exceptional quality become available; we're always on the look-out, and offer them when circumstances permit.

Other African coffees include **Tanzania** and **Zimbabwe**, both of which are reminiscent of a softer, somewhat toned-down Kenya, and **Malawi**, which is a nice and very typical African blending coffee. In fact, all these coffees are arguably better used in blends than as varietals, since their flavors, while pleasant, arc much less clearly delineated than those of better Kcnyas and washed Ethiopians. The same comments apply to a lesser Ethiopian coffee, such as Djimmah (or Ghimbi), which tastes like a coarser version of Harrar.

Used with Permission

This extract from an early 1990s corporate flyer from Starbucks, for example, in which the connoisseur of prose can discern the distinctive register usually used for the connoisseurship of wine, what I have termed, jokingly, *oinoglossia*, 'wine talk'. The point is, a verbal register used for the cultural texts – here, material texts in one area of life, wine consumption – becomes the stipulative and directive register for re-structuring the very dimensions of encounter with, and appreciation of, cultural texts in another area of life, coffee consumption. Since enregistering cultural consciousness creeps on little cat's feet from one area of life to another, analogy, you can see, is destiny. Observe first off the way the tasting note genre that proceeds from visuals to

aromas to tongue-tastes to aftertastes to vaporous after-effects is used just the same way one does for wine-tasting.

> Mocha Sanani: 'Properly brewed [as espresso] … combines unrivalled intensity of aroma with thick, creamy body and bittersweet chocolate finish.'
>
> Ethiopia Sidamo: '…a delicate yet sprightly new crop coffee…Flowery bouquet (with a hint of eucalyptus), light and elegant body, and a honeyed natural sweetness…one of the most seductive of all African varietals.'
>
> Kenya 'AA': 'At the very top of the mountain (literally and figuratively) [t]his coffee, like a fine Bordeaux, balances heft and heartiness with bell-like clarity of flavor and blackcurrant fruitiness.'
>
> Ethiopia Harar: '…a carefully cultivated coffee with a flavor that's usually anything but cultivated! The Chianti-esque, slightly gamy aroma gives Harar a certain rustic charm that has family ties to Mocha Sanani (though it usually lacks that coffee's complexity, balance and breed). It is…'a coffee for people who like excitement at the cost of subtlety'.'
>
> Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Malawi: '…better used in blends than as varietals, since their flavors, while pleasant, are much less clearly delineated…'

Compare professional tasting notes of wine, and their structural analysis according to phases of the tasting encounter:

> 2007 Puligny Montrachet, Folatieres (Girardin, Vincent) (750ml) - $49.50 per bottle
>
> '93 out of 100...Girardin's 2007 Puligny-Montrachet Les Folatieres mingle aromas of malt and toasted brioche with sea breeze, fresh citrus, ripe white peach, and myriad floral perfumes. Vivaciously and brightly brimming with primary fruit, yet silken in texture and suffused with salinity and notes of toasted grain, this finishes with almost startling grip and tenacity. Anything it might lack in complexity today vis-à-vis the very best of the vintage it compensates for in sheer energy and in promise. Expect more excitement over the next 7-10 years.' – Wine Advocate
>
> '93 out of 100…Perfumed nose offers lovely lift to the aromas of flowers, violet and saline minerality. Juicy, stony and high-pitched, combining a strong impression of saline minerality with obvious chewy extract. Seriously sexy, precise wine, finishing vibrant and long.' – Stephen Tanzer

and as diagrammed:

Wine Advocate on 2007 **Puligny Montrachet**, **Folatieres** (Girardin, Vincent) (750ml)

Overall Point Evaluation		93 out of 100...Girardin's 2007 Puligny-Montrachet Les Folatieres
II. Olfaction	mingles...with...and myriad...	*aromas* of malt and toasted brioche ...sea breeze, fresh citrus, ripe white peach, ...floral perfumes
III. Taste and Tongue-Feel	Vivaciously and brightly brimming with... and suffused with...	...primary fruit, yet silken in *texture* ...salinity and *notes* of toasted grain
IV. Finish	...almost startling grip and tenacity	this *finishes* with...
Overall Comparison & Futurity	in sheer energy...more excitement...	Anything it might lack in *complexity* today vis-à-vis the very best of the vintage it compensates for...and in *promise*. Expect...over the next 7-10 years.

Stephen Tanzer on 2007 **Puligny Montrachet**, **Folatieres** (Girardin, Vincent) (750ml)

Overall Point Evaluation		93 out of 100
II. Olfaction	...offers lovely lift to...	Perfumed *nose*...the *aromas* of flowers, violet and saline minerality.
III. Taste & Tongue-Feel	...high-pitched...combining a strong impression of...obvious	Juicy, stony and...saline minerality with...chewy *extract*
(2) IV. Finish	…vibrant and...	*finish*ing...long.'
(1) Overall Impression	Seriously sexy, precise...	...wine, ...

The text genre so used to describe what one is purchasing has become a way implicitly to make the argument that at least Starbucks™ coffee – if not all those McDonald's and Dunkin' Donuts-'n'-whatever cheapo kinds – is not only a consumable commodity to be drunk, but an aesthetic object of olfactory and gustatory richness to the coffee connoisseur, comparably complex of dimensionality in a quality-space like the one in which wine has long been considered to exist. **This** coffee is a prestige consumable that has a kind of aesthetic structure as a drinkable text. The explicit comparisons in the notes to Bordeaux (west-central France) and Chianti (Tuscany in

Italy) should be carefully noted here. But more importantly, these tasting notes put the consumer on notice that, in learning to experience coffee-as-drunk in this fashion, he or she will become defined as a consumer by refined tastes, by an aesthetic perceptual encounter, that will have learned to discern and thus knowingly to favor this or that among the offered possibilities; the Starbucks™ coffee drinker is thus invited to take on an identity of an aesthetically enriched consumer. Note how the Bordeaux comparison goes with the highest-end coffee varietal, while the comparison with Chianti explains that it is 'coffee for people who like excitement at the cost of subtlety.' Ouch! You can purchase it, but you'll get the old fish-eye from the barista serving it to you.

The important point for us to see is that the inoculated enregistered discourse **about** Starbucks™ coffees [1] emanates from the very source, the company that is the purveyor of the potable, [2] summoning the customer to think of the experience of drinking Starbucks™ coffee as akin to drinking fine wine, and therefore [3] structuring the consumable comestible as an aesthetically dimensionalized one, for which one's sensorium should strive for subtle discernment, the very index of the true connoisseur fit to drink and appreciate the aesthetic object. Starbucks™ coffee has, in effect, been 'vinified,' metaphorically turned into wine. Speaking of the 'vinification,' as it were, of coffee, note one of the most extraordinary visuals in this editorializing tenor – a picture in a full-page glossy advertisement truly worth a thousand words – from the importers of Colombian coffee.
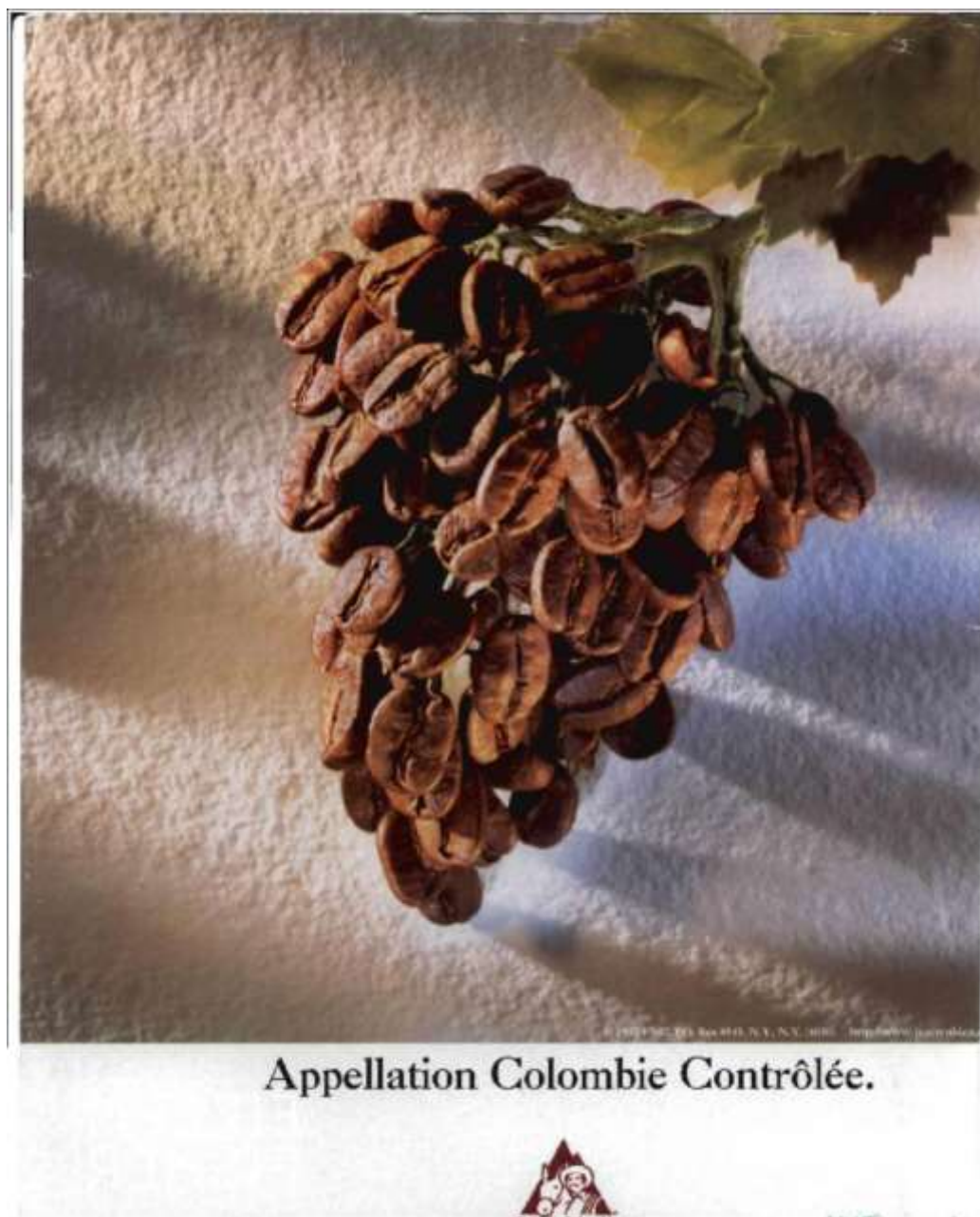
Fig. 8. Colombian Coffee Growers Publicity material. See Copyright notice at end.

So concerned have the corporate folk at Starbucks Co. been about the total contextualization of their products in relation to those who drink them that they have corporately licensed a certain persnickety attitude on the part of the retail vendors, the baristas and other endpoint faces of the corporation, who, like missionaries recruiting adherents to religious experience, insist on having would-be customers use the corporate-specific formulaic genres in ordering their drinks when they belly up to the coffee bar. Paul Manning has written brilliantly about Starbucks barista

register expectations and the realization of the register in the stylized genre of the drink order (2008). On the one hand, note in this material excerpted from the corporation's own guide to ordering (see text below) that **of course** there is no '*right*' and '*wrong*' way to order; it's just that 'barista talk,' i.e., the actually preferred and normative register and constructional genre, seems to impose itself as the verbal currency in such establishments because of its denotational efficiency.

> How to Order
> If you're nervous about ordering, don't be.
> There's no 'right' way to order at Starbucks. Just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you.
> But if we call your drink in a way that's different from what you told us, we're not correcting you. We're just translating your order into 'barista-speak'—a standard way our baristas call out orders. This language gives the baristas the info they need in the order they need it, so they can make your drink as quickly and efficiently as possible.
> 'Barista speak' is easy to learn. It's all about the order of information. There are five steps to the process…
> (1) cup (a cup for hot, cold, or 'for here' drinks), (2) shots and size, (3) syrup, (4) milk and other modifiers, to (5) the (kind of) drink itself.

Startbucks ordering guide, 2003 (no page numbers):

In principle, then, the descriptors for each of those categories are to be formulated in the same order as they are needed in the production process itself, so that the 'correct' order mirrors, or serves as an icon of, the process of production. The Starbucks' guide illustrates the Starbucks syntax using the following example of a maximally complex coffee order (also from Starbucks 2003, quoted in Manning 2008):

I'd like to have an

ICED,	DECAF, TRIPLE, GRANDE,	CINNAMON,	NONFAT, NOWHIP	MOCHA
CUP	*SHOTS AND SIZE*	*SYRUP*	*MILK AND OTHER MODIFIERS*	*THE DRINK ITSELF*
1	2	3	4	5

In other words: Don't use it at your peril! And this verbal currency is again one that constructs the coffee-based commodities for purchase at a Starbucks location as a whole paradigm of

complexly textualized objects for purchase, made up of substances primary and secondary, shapes, sizes, etc. in what purports to be the most accurate description, i.e., construal, of them – and hence the quasi-standardized mode of thinking about this item of culture. Thus customers' violations of bellying up to the coffee bar with the proper formula articulated trippingly from their thirsty tongues stimulate 'barista rants,' as Manning terms them (2008), on the corporate website. Here are a couple of my favorites:

Example 1:
 Me: Hi, what can I get for you today, sir?
 Man: A small
 Me: You would like a tall what sir?
 Man: I said I want a small.
 Me: Would that be a tall coffee sir?
 Man: No I want a small regular, I don't want to supersize my drink.
 Me: No sir, tall is small. Here at Starbucks small is tall, medium is grande and large is
 venti.
 Man: Well, what I want is a small.
 Me: Okay, tall traditional it is *grinding teeth* *get him the drink and give it to him*
 Man: *Takes off the lid* I thought I told you I wanted a small regular. This is just black.
 Me: Sir, you can find milk and sugar for your coffee over at the condiment bar. We have
 various types of dairy for your coffee and also many different types of sweeteners.
 Man: What I want is a regular small coffee. Why can't you do this for me? Is that too hard for you?
 At what I am paying for a cup of coffee, you should be able to put the milk and two spoonfuls of
 sugar in for me.
 Me: Well, sir, here at Starbucks we feel that you are better served by arranging your coffee
 however you like. That will be $1.52.
 Man: Are you sure? I can't get this for free, being that it has taken over five minutes just to
 get me a small coffee and ring me up?
 Me: I am sorry that took so long. That will be a dollar and 52 cents for your TALL TRADITIONAL
 cup of coffee.

 Why Oh why do we have to go through this EVERY FREAKING DAY!!! Why!!!!

Example 2:
 SCOWS (Stupid Customer of the Week stories)
 Yesterday I had an annoying customer experience I'd like to share. I'll try to remember the details as
 best as I can.
 Stupid lady walks in.
 Me: Hi, how are you?
 Stupid: Yeah. . . can I get an. . .. *mumbles inaudibly*
 Me: Excuse me, I didn't catch that?
 Stupid: *Looks at me like I'm an idiot* I'll have a no-fat coffee.

Me: I'm not quite sure what you mean.

Stupid: What do you mean? All you coffee places have no-fat coffee drinks now, with all the new drinks you're coming out with all the time!

Me: Well, if you want regular coffee, that doesn't have fat to begin with. Is that what you want?

Stupid: No! That has fat in it once you add the sugar and the whip' cream and the fatty milk.

Me: That doesn't sound like you want a regular coffee, it sounds like you're talking about a latte.

Stupid: No! Once you add the latte or cappuccino it's fatty.

Me: Ma'am, lattes and cappuccinos are drinks we offer. We can make those nonfat if you'd like.

Stupid: Well, what would you give to someone who came in and asked for a no-fat coffee?

Me: I wouldn't give them anything until I figured out what a nonfat coffee was. If you came in here and just asked for a regular coffee, I would've given you a regular black coffee.

Stupid: No, I don't want it black. *makes a face of disgust* I don't know how anyone could drink that stuff, it's disgusting.

Me: Did you want us to add milk?

Stupid: No, that makes it fatty.

Me: Ma'am, we could make almost any drink on that half of the menu with nonfat milk.

Stupid: What about her, *points to my coworker, Kristie* can she get me a nonfat coffee?

Kristie: *notices Stupid is pointing to her* Excuse me, what can I get for you?

Stupid: I want a nonfat coffee, and he doesn't know what I'm talking about, and I know all you coffee places have those nonfat drinks now.

Kristie: Coffee is nonfat to begin with, I guess I don't understand what you're asking for.

Stupid: *sighs loudly* I guess I'll have to ask the manager about this. Who's the manager?

These rants demonstrate the venomous condescension of the servers toward those who apparently have pretensions to the value of the Starbucks drinking experience, but are thought by the service personnel to be distinctly unfit to consume Starbucks liquids, since they have not yet learned or – can you imagine? – they resist learning the rarefied uniqueness of genre and register for ordering them. There is, once more, a conical sociological model of distance-from-the-authorizing-top-and-center involved that is no different from the distance indexed by the inability to experience and notate wine's distinctively dimensionalized aesthetics in the act of drinking wine. The caption to a 1937 cartoon of James Thurber's offers only the indexical snootiness of characterological anthropomorphism, but none of the usable descriptive terminology of the wine-

tasting note! 'It's a naïve domestic Burgundy without any breeding, but I think you'll be amused by its presumption' (not reproduced here, but see Thurber 1945).

I should imagine that the idea is that, as goes wine connoisseurship, so – analogy being destiny – goes the connoisseurship of fine coffee: the two stipulatively go together as just two aspects of knowing about and enjoying 'the finer things in life,' as I believe is the cover expression. Two realms of a consistent or coherent individual's, as one says, 'life-style' – which, of course, existing at the intersection of myriad such register-creating regimes, each striving to inoculate us with register-anxiety, is anything but 'individual!' This what we might term the Starbucks™-type of sociology of style distinctly reinforces what we call a generational effect in fractionated consumptive class, the key kind of class distinction in the project of late capitalism, always looking to the horizon of the next market boom in the 18-to-24 demographic. The reflexive sensing of one's consumptive class membership by one's comfort with properly enregistered textual commodities of various kinds – consumables, wearables, drivables, live-in-ables, collectibles, etc. – drives people's anxieties of personal identity; the success of verbally driven enregisterment – discourses that set values in all these various realms that emanate from corporate interests – in the instance, bespeaks the centrality of consumption style in contemporary First World cultural conceptualization. We are located in social space by all the ways we believe there are authoritative formulations in what is to be said about and thus experienced through what we use and consume. It looks very much like the standardization register effect, doesn't it, centered on aggressively inculcated conical structures of inoculation at every turn?

Well, I hope you see that semiotic analysis is very far from thinking about language as an inert representation of true-or-false states-of-affairs in the experienced or imagined world – and indeed it is! For it becomes clear that the cultural processes resulting in enregistered language are precisely of the same general semiotic type as the cultural processes in every other medium through which, by deployment in sign-using social contexts, we continuously make – but mostly come to be subjectivities made by – our cultural universes: our cultural universes of sign systems, the only kind there are.

References

Agha, Asif 2007. *Language and social relations* (Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language, No. 24), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barthes, Roland 2013. *The language of fashion*, London: A&C Black.

Butler, Judith 1988. Performative acts and gender constitution: an essay in phenomenology and feminist theory, *Theatre Journal* 40/4, 519-531.

Errington, James Joseph 1988. *Structure and style in Javanese: a semiotic view of linguistic etiquette*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Irving, Washington 1807 (1977). Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.; Salmagundi: Or, The Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq. & Others, in Bruce Ingham Granger (ed.), *The Complete Works of Washington Irving, Volume 6*, Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Labov, William 1971 Study of language in its social context, in J. A. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in the Sociology of Language, vol. 1.* Berlin: Mouton & Co..

Labov, William 1966 (2006). *The social stratification of English in New York City*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. Second edition: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Manning, Paul 2008. Barista rants about stupid customers at Starbucks: what imaginary conversations can teach us about real ones, *Language & Communication* 28/2, 101-126.

Martin, Samuel E. 1964. Speech levels in Japan and Korea, in Dell Hymes (ed.), *Language in culture and society*, New York: Harper & Row, 407-415.

Peirce, Charles Sanders 1977 [1904]. *Semiotics and significs*, ed. Charles Hardwick, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Shaw, Bernard 1934. *The complete plays of Bernard Shaw*, London: Odhams.

Silverstein, Michael 1979. Language structure and linguistic ideology, in Paul Clyne, William F. Hanks and Carol L. Hofbauer (eds.), *The elements: a parasession on linguistic units and levels*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 193-247.

— 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life, *Language & Communication*, 23/3, 193-229.

Thurber, James 1945. *The Thurber carnival*, New York: Harper & Brothers.

Copyright

BOOK REVIEWS[1]

CHRISTOPH ANTWEILER, *Our common denominator: human universals revisited*
(transl. Diane Kerns), New York and Oxford: Berghahn 2016, xii, 350 pp. ISBN 978-1-
785-33093-3.

In *Our common denominator*, Antweiler argues that, in the wake of legitimate criticisms
directed against problematic generalizations that are prevalent in the discipline,
anthropology has overcorrected by coming to place too great an emphasis on the
differences between cultures, obscuring their many important commonalities. Still, he
maintains, the affirmation of such commonalities is implicit in most anthropological work
(having once been explicit in ethnology, for instance), the use of such concepts as
'kinship' or 'ritual' from one ethnography to the next being an acknowledgment of their
cross-cultural validity. Commonalities of particular interest Antweiler dubs 'universals',
though the choice of word is somewhat misleading; while, according to his terminology,
'absolute' or 'true' universals occur in all known human cultures, 'near' universals
(occurring in almost all cultures), 'conditional' universals (where the presence of attribute
A in a given culture implies the presence of attribute B in that same culture) and even
'statistical' universals (where a certain attribute appears with greater frequency than
expected across many cultures) also fall under this category. Among academic
disciplines, anthropology is held to be particularly well positioned to conduct a reliable
analysis of universals in so far as it consistently casts the widest nest with regard to its
objects of analysis, and is especially vigilant against hasty simplifications.

Antweiler conceives his book as merely a preliminary exercise, setting the stage for
the future heavy lifting of direct and substantive research into universals themselves.
Such research is not what Antweiler himself has to offer; instead he provides a synthesis
of existing work on universals, whether implicit or explicit, not only from anthropology
but also from evolutionary biology, cross-cultural psychology, sociology, and so on. To
that end, the bibliography of more than seventy pages (one-fifth of the total page count) is

---

a valuable resource for those interested in further exploration of the subject. Antweiler repeatedly reminds us that his universals are operative not at the level of individuals but at the level of entire cultures or societies – thus, for the sake of argument, to say that religion is universal is not to say that every individual human being is religious, but that every culture has a religious component. He carefully challenges the notion that such universals must have a biological or genetic basis, with differences arising only from cultures 'superimposed' on a shared natural substrate. Rather, in a rejection of the extremes of both biological determinism and social constructivism, universals may be the product of cultural diffusion, adaptation, or acculturation, biological or genetic factors, as well as a mixture of both biological and cultural causes. Antweiler identifies universals in the realms of art, narrative, literature, visual culture, music, social structure, kinship, social stratification, conflict, ethnicity, world views, spatiotemporal concepts, ritual, religion, classification, language, emotion, violence, gender, sex, love and life stages, among others. These universals can be further organized using various taxonomies (distinguishing between etic/emic, micro/macro, substantive/classificatory) or different temporalities (continuous, periodic, episodic or temporary).

Antweiler is keen to assure us that universality is not the same as uniformity and therefore that the identification of universals is compatible with the recognition of both intercultural and intracultural difference. The latter raises questions for the universal project itself: what level of prevalence must a given attribute have within a culture for it to count as a universal? More fundamentally, how are different cultures or societies to be delimited for the purposes of finding such universals? The very existence of universals fitting his definition is dependent on the possibility of rigorously performing such delimitation, a non-trivial claim.

The ultimate justification for Antweiler's programme rests on its supposed scientificity. Whereas many past attempts to identify universals may in fact have been ethnocentric projections of cultural particularities on to others, as Antweiler grants, he assures us that a truly scientific approach to universals would not suffer from such problems. We are left wondering as to the universality, or lack thereof, of his conception of science itself. If science is not universal, then any claims to identify the universals it may reveal would themselves be cultural particularities. Yet the alternative, namely the

prospect of science universally verifying its own universality, seems to be trapped in a form of circular reasoning. Preempting the charge that the absence of a word for 'art', for example, from the vocabulary of many cultures implies that those cultures do not possess anything that could rightly be called art, and that any attempt to force the category of 'art' on those cultures would therefore be ethnocentric, Antweiler retorts that the limits of languages are not coextensive with the limits of corresponding worlds. Once more it is an appeal to science that legitimizes the application of etic categories – yet we might wonder why science so regularly has recourse to Western categories above all others. Notwithstanding these reservations, as a clarion call to expand our anthropological minds to include more cultural commonalities, as well as for greater intellectual exchange between not only anthropologists working in disparate areas but also anthropologists and practitioners of other disciplines, Antweiler's endeavour succeeds skillfully.

Reviewed by DYLAN SHAUL

Holder of an MSc in Social Anthropology from the University of Oxford (St. Antony's College 2016). Currently a candidate for the MA in Philosophy at the New School for Social Research.
dylan.shaul@newschool.edu; (347) 400-3121.

JEANNE FAVRET-SAADA, *The anti-witch* (transl. Matthew Carey), Chicago: HAU Books 2015, xv, 115 pp.

The anti-witch, the English version of Jeanne Favret-Saada's third book on witchcraft, *Désorceler* (2009), builds on her notable previous publications, *Les mots, la mort, les sorts* (1977) and *Corps pour corps* (Favret-Saada and Contreras 1981). It does not fundamentally revise or clarify the underlying theory of witchcraft she produced from her fieldwork in a region of rural north-west France she called the Bocage from 1969 to 1972. It does, however, expand her earlier accounts by asserting the link between witchcraft and psychotherapy more forcefully.

 The anti-witch serves as a helpful précis of numerous intersecting methodological debates and does a particularly good job of laying bare the tension between observation and participation, affect and epistemology, in a format that seasoned readers of

ethnography will appreciate for its evocative prose and broad coverage of numerous areas of thematic interest.

Readers should note that Favret-Saada's primary focus is the family. Her investigation of more particularly individualistic concerns and personalities, as with her attention to broader socio-economic factors, works best to extend that analysis. She writes, 'the data collected during my stay led us to conclude that the de-witcher's work is primarily one of collective family therapy for the labor force of a farm' (p. 10). As such, *The Anti-Witch* works across various registers, without dwelling on any one sphere of power relations, psychological processes, semiotics, or social functionalism. Favret-Saada thus covers a significant amount of theoretical ground despite the 'thinness' of the explicitly theoretical discussion.

The idea that witchcraft functions as a kind of multivalent therapy is not new to the *The anti-witch*; a more systematic presentation of the theory appeared previously in Favret-Saada's *Corps pour corps* (1981), co-authored with Josée Contreras. The idea has deeper roots in anthropology, too – robust discussion of witchcraft and its 'therapeutic effects' appears, as Favret-Saada points out, as far back as Lévi-Strauss's famous text on symbolic efficacy (1949). In *The anti-witch*, Favret-Saada maintains that her work is less concerned with developing a cogent theory of witchcraft as therapy, insisting rather that future analyses will benefit from addressing the parallels with talk or psychotherapy more explicitly.

Indeed, part of what makes *The anti-witch* so appealing is its presentation of ethnographic content as told through the experience of being both complicit and personally affected, or, as she writes, '"caught up" (*prise*) in the chains of bewitchment, variously occupying different positions within the system' (p. 30), in and by the de-witching itself. This approach forms the basis of Favret-Saada's insistence on the impossible mutuality inherent in 'participant observation', evoking numerous methodological debates. For instance, she writes:

> The entire period I had worked alongside Madame Flora, I had been under a sort of spell, a combination of fascination and naïveté, concerning her activities … I had failed to develop the slightest understanding of her practice or cover any intellectual ground over the course of the de-witching. (p. 4)

The disjuncture between high-minded theory and more immediate, enrapturing emotional experiences will be familiar to any ethnographer. Favret-Saada's resolution to reflect on her own experience in the Bocage through the lens of psychotherapy enables her to demonstrate the productive incomprehensibility of the ethnographic encounter without becoming unmanageably esoteric.

Her assertion that spiritual practices cannot satisfactorily be examined through epistemological inquiry is not new. However, by narrating this negotiated positionality through the explicit language of psychotherapy, Favret-Saada effectively brings her own transformation to light in a way that at once acknowledges the self-work she must do to make sense of de-witching without shifting the focus of the narrative away from its rightful subjects. As she writes, 'for several weeks, I tried to avoid doing so, until I accepted that de-witching required the same commitment as psychoanalysis'(p. 2). Her personal and emotional investment in de-witching is a welcome departure from the well-trodden path of 'discovery and acceptance narratives'. Offering a more affecting – and thus more effective – presentation of the parallel, mutually constituting processes of de-witching, Favret-Saada offers a model for both fieldwork ethos and post-fieldwork analysis. As a result, *The anti-witch* retains not only theoretical but also methodological salience, despite the age of the source material.

At the level of pertinent detail, Favret-Saada's use of textual analysis in tarot reading allows her to produce a set of exhortatory narratives that not only reappear, but spontaneously reconfigure central symbols and figures. Methodologically speaking, this has two advantages: it enables her to see patterns (and aberrations) in the responses of her key interlocutor Madame Flora, but also allows her to ground her more experimental, phenomenological analysis in the more familiar semiotics developed by precedent ethnographies of witchcraft from around the world.

Chapter V contains a fascinating overview of the domestic labour of de-witching:

> many of the recommendations are strangely reminiscent of housework, with its host of minor tasks that must constantly begin anew: cutting out little pieces of red cloth and sewing them into protective sachets for the entire family; collecting the ingredients to fill the sachets; removing and reattaching the sachets each time one changes undergarments; filling one's pockets with holy salts; placing planks full of nails and bowls of holy water

> with charcoal in them under the beds to protect the family while it sleeps (as well as changing the water when it evaporates); fetching supplies of holy water from outside the parish to avoid the priest's mockery; and getting medals of Saint Benedict without rousing the monks' suspicions.(p. 85)

The domestic nature of the tasks, Favret-Saada acknowledges, often present opportunities for the otherwise less powerful, perhaps even somewhat marginalized women of the household to participate and even take the lead. The gender analysis of this labour in *The anti-witch*, its forms, those particular tasks that are more often completed by women and its impacts are intriguing, if not somewhat less robust than gender theorists might hope.

Finally, the embrace of evil, anger and violence, explored in Chapter IV, might be pushed further as a means of reconciling contemporary discourses on ethics and morality with the problems of violence. For instance, Favret-Saada presents 'violence shifting', wherein the de-witcher works to 'drive' the bewitched 'from their position of passive victimhood' (p. 27), as equating the use of violence not only with power and strength, but also, within Favret-Saada's psychotherapeutic lens, with being 'treated' or even healed. This framework thus encourages a more nuanced exploration of the moral rationalities that underline the use of physical or symbolic violence in projects of self-making and in the social cultivation of certainty – what Favret-Saada calls 'Neutralizing the anxiety-inducing field' (p. 60). Once again, the centrality of women as both de-witchers (in the case of Madame Flora) and labourers in the domestic acts of de-witching suggests a fruitful area of future inquiry.

Favret-Saada synthesizes the blend of theoretical and methodological considerations clearly in saying, 'My work on Bocage witchcraft gradually led me to reconsider the notion of affect and the importance of exploring it, both as a way of addressing a critical dimension of fieldwork (the state of being affected) and as a starting point for developing an anthropology of therapy (be it "primitive" and exotic or learned and Western)' (p. 97). Indeed, Chapter VI, in total, offers a final and convincing salvo of *The anti-witch's* primary proposition – that methods and theory cannot be easily or effectively separated. One cannot help but think that the turn toward psychotherapy in *The anti-witch* is not merely a reflection of Favret-Saada's own intellectual predilections, but also an

acknowledgement of the fraught relationship between anthropologists and the subjects (human and otherwise) of their fieldwork – the ways in which we must subject ourselves to a constant denaturalization of our own ideas and beliefs, of defamiliarizing the familiar, in order to understand, empathize and allow ourselves to be 'caught up' or affected by the words and worlds of our key interlocutors. In reconstituting our own identities and realities, we engage in a form of mutual creation and construction that can be both deeply unsettling and therapeutic in equal measure. It is this parallel consideration of the theoretical and methodological that makes *The anti-witch* both an enjoyable and an enduringly useful text.

REFERENCES

Favret-Saada, Jeanne 1977. *Les mots, la mort, les sorts*, Paris: Gallimard.

— 2009. *Désorceler*, Paris: Editions de l'Olivier.

— and Josée Contreras 1981. *Corps pour corps: enquête sur la sorcellerie dans le Bocage*, Paris: Gallimard.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1963 [1949]. The effectiveness of symbols, in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural anthropology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Reviewed by MELYN MCKAY

DPhil Candidate at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology and Exeter College, University of Oxford. Email: melyn.mckay@exeter.ox.ac.uk

CURTIS M. HINSLEY and DAVID R. WILCOX (eds.), *Coming of age in Chicago: the 1893 World's Fair and the coalescence of American anthropology*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 2016, xliii, 574 pp.

Coming of age in Chicago: the 1893 World's Fair and the coalescence of American anthropology is an exploration of a key event in the history of American anthropology. In seven essays, numerous original documents, images and an introduction and afterword, the authors explore how various people and discourses met to redefine the nature of

anthropological inquiry while exposing the American public to the global word of otherness.

Coming of age in Chicago effectively links the early phase of anthropology associated with amateurs, evolutionism and human displays with its modern descendant, rather than relegating the latter to a 'proto phase'. The essays paint a complex picture of the state of anthropology at the end of the nineteenth century in the USA, with the Chicago Fair forming a nexus from which to elaborate on particular themes that were prevalent at the time. The first three essays by Curtis Hinsley and David Wilcox focus on three figures in American anthropology – Frederik Putnam, David Brinton and Frank Hamilton Cushing – each revealing something about the wider state of anthropology at the time. The longest essay about Putnam expands on the direction of academic anthropology, the role of human exhibits and the various agencies at play in them, as well as commenting on the role of museums, education and commerce on the development of anthropology. Essays on Brinton and Cushing comment on the dominant discussions of anthropology at the time and the electrification of anthropology through networking, familial links and showmanship respectively.

An essay of particular interest for those concerned with visual anthropology, representation and museum anthropology is Ira Jacknis's commentary on the multiple visual representations found at the Fair, in which she focuses particularly on the negative-positive process in cast-making, photographs and mannequins and relates these to subsequent museum practices. Jacknis also situates the representational practices of the Fair among the wider changes in photographic and film technologies, thus offering a synthesis of how popular and academic practices shaped each other.

While the title of the book speaks of 'coalescence' and the dust jacket alleges that it describes a moment that 'set the foundation of anthropological inquiry', *Coming of age in Chicago* in fact tells a story of how particular networks and connections made at the Fair paved a way forward for some discourses and practitioners, while others got left behind. In his first essay, Curtis Hinsley relays how Frederik Putnam, head of the Department of Ethnology at the Fair, failed to complete his vision of anthropology. Issues with the organization of the Fair, commercial competition and financial problems all meant that the fully educational ethnographic displays did not represent the Fair's reality, and he was

unable to steer the future of the museum that was to grow out of the ethnological displays. His chief assistant, Franz Boas, described the year of the Fair as one of 'A rushing rat-race, great uneasiness, and unsatisfactory work' (p. 47). Furthermore, no doors were opened to Boas in Chicago as the result of the Fair. The two chief architects of modern American anthropology were thus not propelled to disciplinary heights by the Fair, although it certainly affected the course of the anthropology they decided to pursue.

The book, although lengthy, is compelling for its historical style, which allows the reader to become enmeshed in the events of 1893 while the authors' analyses do justice to the complex event that was the Chicago Fair. By expanding on topics such as the relationships between patrons, professionals and popularisers (Ch. 6) and the divergent paths of 'relic hunters' (Ch. 5), the book reveals the nuances and heterogeneity of the anthropological landscape in the USA at the end of the nineteenth century. A rich use of images and original documents augments the sense of a particular time and space and offers opportunities to question and challenge the analysis offered by the authors.

Overall, it is evident that the authors have worked on the topic for over a decade and have a thorough knowledge of the issues surrounding it. However, editorially, the essays could be more consistent in their annotation. The first and longest essay by Hinsley offers unprecedented analysis of the Fair and serves as a good introduction, but it lacks notes to explain some of the characters who may be unknown to a lay reader. In contrast, later essays by David Wilcox are richly annotated, offering guidance to those less familiar with the history of anthropology. Further, while the book is richly illustrated, the images are not always sufficiently integrated with the text, with essays referring to images far removed from the text and sometimes lacking references to their location in the book.

Coming of age in Chicago is an excellent addition to the field of the history of anthropology, reflecting the trend which traces the development of anthropology from earlier forms dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Sera-Shriar 2013, Vermeulen 2015). Through its close focus on one event, the authors are able to demonstrate levels of complexity, heterogeneity and multiple agencies that would be impossible in narratives of anthropology that portray a linear progression from one stage to another. The 'dialogue between the immediate voices of the 1983 Fair and the voices

of contemporary scholars' (p. xxxv) offers a refreshing perspective which enlivens and complicates the Fair's history.

REFERENCES

Sera-Shriar, E. 2013. *The making of British anthropology, 1813-1871*, London: Routledge.

Vermeulen, H.F. 2015. *Before Boas: the genesis of ethnography and ethnology in the German Enlightenment*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Reviewed by JAANIKA VIDER

D.Phil. candidate at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford. Address: St Cross College, St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LZ, UK. E-mail: jaanika.vider@stx.ox.ac.uk

MICHAEL LAMBEK, *The ethical condition: essays on action, person, and value*, London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 2015, xxv, 361 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-29224-3 (paper).

Michael Lambek's *The ethical condition* is an immeasurably valuable collection of thirteen of his previously published articles spanning a period of thirty years. Taken together, they demonstrate the centrality and ubiquity of ethics in human social life. The first chapter is the only one written specifically for this publication and serve both as the introduction and as an overview of the central concepts that organize his current take on ethics. Along with the preface, it also functions to establish ethics as a concern in his work before it became an explicit field of engagement for him (xiii).

Throughout the book, but particularly in Chapter 1, Lambek consciously (7) uses the term ethics in multiple ways and provides a number of definitions of the ethical (7-9, 38, 215, 307). Essentially, ethics denotes evaluation pertaining to the self. This is a conceptualization alternative to that found in the Foucauldian tradition (e.g., Mahmood 2005, Faubion 2011, Laidlaw 2014), from which it is largely independent (but see 9). While the latter defines the ethical as a self-self relation and traces it through shifts of the self from one state to the other (as self-fashioning or self-cultivation), Lambek conceives

174

of the ethical as lying at the crossroads between evaluation and personhood (or selfhood, see below). Curiously, none of his direct definitions of ethics make this relation to personhood explicit. Instead, it is variously defined as practices of evaluating and being subject to evaluation with reference to the good, living up to the judgements this entails, as well as a wider range of related phenomena which are not at the centre of his work but which he nonetheless acknowledges as important domains (see 7f.).

At a conceptual level, this would leave the question open of what precisely makes an evaluation *ethical* as opposed to any other subtype of normativity such as aesthetic or epistemological judgements. However, his ethnographic analyses of the ethical (Chapters 2, 3, 4, 6, 7), as well as later theoretical contributions (Chapters 10, 14), strongly demonstrate that personhood – or, more accurately, selfhood (58) – is the second defining criterion of ethics. Chapters 3 and 4, for instance, are in part enquiries into the construction of selfhood, which is further theorized in later essays (especially Chapter 14). As such, his understanding of the ethical is not as far from that of those writing in a more Foucauldian tradition as his emphasis on speech act theory might otherwise suggest.

More generally, what each and every chapter demonstrates is that ethics is inherent in social life, rather than being an isolable, discrete domain of it. While attention to rules and other codified normative entities are accounted for in his catalogue definition of the ethical (9), his emphasis lies squarely on the analysis of activity itself. This prioritization is established through a change in register from facts to acts, that is, from objects (such as values, states, relations, etc.) to doing (and making) (cf. 63). He distinguishes practice and performance as two modalities of (or analytic perspectives on) action. Interrelating these two integrates Aristotle's (1976) writings on practice (as *praxis*) and Austin's (1962) and Rappaport's (1999) work on performative acts, which also draws on Austin as well as Cavell's (1976, 1999) interpretation of Wittgenstein's (1973) speech act theory.

Practice, then, is 'the relatively unmarked flow of action, […] the doing rather than the done' (10). It is in this 'flow' that the kind of continuous evaluation takes place that he refers to as (practical) judgement or, with Aristotle, *phronesis*. Contrary to the concept of choice, judgement is an exercise in balancing (220) between incommensurable options (10; Chapter 10) and denotes virtue as much as it does a class of activity. In the absence

of hard-and-fast rules for reaching decisions in any context, the ability to judge in accordance with an undefined good (say, justice) is a question of character (cf. Aristotle). Importantly, practical judgement occurs at any level, from the most habitual to the most reflected (13). For this reason, Lambek refuses a distinction between the moral as conventional and the ethical as reflective (14) and instead insists on the identity of the terms 'ethics' and 'morality' (including for other reasons; see x, 5-7, 306).

Performance, on the other hand, denotes discontinuous and discrete acts carrying illocutionary power (10, 34). More specifically, they establish 'criteria' (Chapter 11; cf. Austin 1962, Cavell 1999: 3-36, Rappaport 1999; also Lambek 2015: 308) that put social life 'under description' (xix, 21) and thus enable actions, acts, and characters to be judged with regard to whether or not they correspond to these criteria (264f.). Criteria, then, do not determine human behaviour but provide the moral context within which social life is evaluated (35, 265). For this reason, judgement is also always a situated exercise (xix, 111f.). Examples of performative acts abound, the most prominent of which (in this work) is ritual. Drawing on Rappaport (1999), Lambek states that rituals may be 'public enactments of commitment' to certain criteria and thus reinforce a normative context; or, conversely, they may transform it by instantiating a new set of criteria (22f.). This process becomes particularly evident in the construction of personhood, which Lambek tends to in his ethnographies from Madagascar and Mayotte in the form of marriage (Chapter 2), food taboos (Chapter 3), remembering (Chapter 4), spirit possession (Chapters 6 and 7) and (self-)sacrifice (Chapter 9). Chapter 14 is perhaps the most elaborate interrogation of personhood in light of his theory of practice, interrelating what he asserts to be two universal dimensions of personhood with the two modalities of action.

In having this outline of his theory of ethics precede the other chapters, which are listed in chronological order from 1983 to 2013, Lambek also weaves a *marked* concern with ethics retroactively into the works published before the early 2000s. As such, the first chapter itself may (to a degree) be read as a performative act placing the earlier essays under a certain description and thus raising the question of whether or not they live up to the conceptual configurations of his current theory of ethics. Given the fact that over thirty years have passed between the publication of the first essay included here in

1983 and that of the introductory chapter in 2015, as well as the broad spectrum of their ethnographic and topical foci represented here, it is remarkable that they do indeed do so.

Chapter 2 is an ethnographic exploration of the nexus between female agency and virgin marriage in Mayotte. The original article (1983) anticipated some of the political and methodological contributions made by Mahmood (2001, 2005) and others to feminist anthropology with respect to 'taking seriously' one's hosts by taking care not to impose external, moral-political criteria in describing indigenous gender relations (40f.). In Mayotte, socially significant marriages are premised on bridal virginity and effect a transformation of the self (of both the bride and the groom). A number of socially, morally and economically important exchanges are organized around virgin marriages and thus impact not only on the construction of personhood, but also on relations within and between families (46ff.). Lambek holds that it is in fact the woman who is the central actor in her (virgin) marriage, and he highlights the relative irrelevance of the identity of the groom in this process (54). Since her sexual state establishes her as a social and economic subject rather than the object (58), and because she transitions from being a child to being a woman (48), bridal virginity is an ethical or moral condition that is indigenously linked to female autonomy (see also Chapter 11, especially 247).

While this essay attends more to subject transformation within a social context, Chapter 3 [1992] focuses on the ways in which personhood is demarcated through the use of the body, and highlights the productive effects of negation. Lambek analyses food taboos in the context of Malagasy spirit possession not as structural relations (*pace* Douglas 1966) but as rituals, illocutionary acts (59) through which individuals can, among other things, position themselves in relation to their genealogical edifice (76f.) and thus performatively fashion their own selfhood (72).

Chapter 4 [1996] is also concerned with the construction of personhood through memory, but again changes the register (cf. 63) from objects (memories) to action (remembering). He treats remembering as a *moral* act, i.e. one that is evaluative while relating to the self. This is because memories and remembering are central to the construction, cultivation and acknowledgment of the self (cf. 91). Furthermore, remembering (as well as forgetting) is premised on the evaluation, selection and rejection of contents and is thus located in a 'moral space' (Taylor 1989: 28, cited in Lambek

2015: 102). Rather than being a technical, intellectual or instrumental practice (87), memory is thus a form of practical judgement in which we constantly assess our changing relationship(s) to the past (104).

Chapter 5 [2000] is a purely theoretical elaboration on the contextual performativity of morality. This is where Lambek brings together Aristotle's concept of practice with Rappaport's investigation of the performative (105, 116) to analyse the moral in a way that escapes what he suggests is an unacknowledged and faulty Platonic dichotomization of objective and mimetic 'relations to the world'. The former is the province of rational contemplation and thus 'philosophy', the latter that of 'sensuous engagement' exemplified in 'poetry' (106). He sees this as underlying a number of flaws in the anthropology of religion, among other fields (106-9). Lambek further enriches Rappaport's understanding of rituals as mostly discrete, performative interventions into the stream of practice by drawing attention to the continuous space between such acts (116). To do so, he draws on Aristotle's theory of practice. *Poiesis*, here understood as 'making', merges the material and the ideal (111), while *phronesis* as 'situated thought' (112) or 'situated reflection' (114) has a strongly contextualizing effect on the respective object of deliberation (a thought further developed in Chapter 10).

Chapter 6, originally co-authored with Jacqueline Solway [2001], explores the ethical or moral dimension of emotion in the form of ancestral anger in Botswana (135-40) and possession by angry spirits in Madagascar (140-5). Emotions, far from being 'natural' expressions, are located within a moral landscape and are highly inflected by social relations and hierarchies. Where anger is located (e.g., within or without the self) reveals in part how the self is delineated, while attention to who may voice (and, in the first place, experience) and who may receive anger – and who may not – is indicative of the social and genealogical positions of those involved. In this sense, anger and guilt always also relate to the self (both one's own and others'). In their respective ethnographic sections, Lambek and Solway elucidate the interface between the evaluative dimensions of anger and the ways in which persons are constructed and delineated through the allocation and assumption of responsibility (e.g., in the form of guilt). These two ethnographic illustrations offer one of the best empirical applications of Lambek's evolving position on ethics.

Chapter 7 [2003] presents a biographically based discussion of the question of agency in relation to spirit possession, and thus advances an empirical case for the underdeterminacy of human actors and of social life. Its critique of the ways in which the concept of agency has been used in much of social theory, as well as the general direction of its thrust, coincides intellectually and temporally with other critiques published independently (Mahmood 2001; Faubion 2001; Laidlaw 2002; Keane 2003). It therefore deserves greater acknowledgment and should in fact be counted as belonging to this 'turn' of the early 2000s.

While Chapter 8 [2007] expands on the actual *performers* of performative acts, as it were, and the ways in which they themselves relate to the illocutionary dimension of their acts, Chapter 9 [2007] devotes closer attention to performativity itself or, more precisely, to the question of how precisely new criteria come into being. He interrogates this 'problem of beginning' through the lens of ritual and sacrifice, arguing that sacrifice and especially self-sacrifice are illocutionary acts that are not just transitive (in that they effect a transition of states), but also bring about a new state, a *beginning* in the sense of a radical cut.

Chapter 10 [2008] is one of the most ambitious and complex essays in this volume. Where in the preceding chapters Lambek's approach to value (the good) had drawn attention from facts ('having') to acts ('doing'), his concern with virtue in this chapter shifts our focus beyond performative acts to character ('being') (215; cf. Chapter 8). As such, he is mainly drafting a theory of ethics here that foregrounds practice rather than performance and defines ethics as 'the relationship of value to virtue' (215). To elucidate the nature of ethics and value, he defines ethical value by contrasting it with economic value. While economic value describes commensurable options and is therefore exemplified by the notion of choice, ethical value is often treated as an absolute, and consequentially pertains to incommensurable options. Ethical work is thus exemplified by judgement (215-17), although this does not exclude performative interventions. The difference between ethical and economic value, then, is not just that between relative and absolute values, but, more accurately, between commensurability and incommensurability. More importantly, however, since ethical practice essentially takes the form of judgement, it is a matter of character and hence virtue. Virtue is thus the

ability to render action appropriate to circumstance; in other words, ethics is the contextualization of value (cf. 220).

Lambek then deploys this thought to develop his analysis of the performativity of self-sacrifice. By transforming value into metavalue, self-sacrifice turns relative value into absolute value. As such, its destructive force brings into being a new set of criteria (238f.).

Chapter 11 is a reproduction of the first chapter from *Ordinary ethics*, the volume Lambek co-edited with Veena Das (Das and Lambek, 2010). It continues his reflections on virtue and value, this time privileging virtue over value as the unit of analysis in an anthropology of ethics that is concerned with acts and practice (judgement), rather than with objects and the description of 'cultures' (264). In a similar fashion, attention to judgement then also offers an alternative to the reading of ethical life as being in relation to rules, because it is criteria and not rules that generate the context of *phronesis* (even though rules are often necessary for ethical cultivation, see 6). If performative acts set these criteria, ritual is what changes them and thus the 'moral condition' that is the reference frame of judgement (247). Rappaport's (1999) theory of performance may have neglected practice, but Lambek is able to harness it in his development of a theory of practice that can both avoid the drawbacks of Bourdieu's (1977) propositions and account for the two modalities of action simultaneously, namely practice (continuous situated judgement) and performance (discontinuous illocutionary interventions) (cf. 258).

Chapter 12 [2012] deals with the ethics of research in anthropology and is an interruption in the otherwise coherent argumentative flow from Chapters 10 to 13 (its 'insertion' is most likely a chronological coincidence). It offers a critique of what Lambek asserts is the inadequacy and in fact unethical (as well as an-ethical) state of the current ethics regime, and as such is also the only chapter in which he assumes a morally prescriptive position (although he qualifies his stance in the course of the argument). He also outlines what the anthropology of ethics can contribute to our understanding and practice of the ethics of research (268-73).

Chapter 13 interrelates action and value and, proceeding from the previous discussion on the transvaluating effects of self-sacrifice, explores how certain kinds of activity in general generate value. Lambek has recourse here to Aristotle to distinguish

doing (as *praxis*) and making (as *poiesis*) as two types of activity (or two perspectives thereon) that generate value (286f.). Regarding the acts in question, he emphasises that he is mostly concerned with ordinary acts, by which he means everyday illocutionary occurrences such as acts of appellation, promises, apologies, and so forth (288). Explicitly excluded from his particular scope are thus 'extraordinary' ones such as those that take the form of political violence (288). As for value, he elaborates on the fact that value generated performatively may gain a degree of independence from the original act and thus become objectified (290).

The final chapter distinguishes between two complementary (320, 327) 'universal and intrinsic dimensions of the person' (304), which Lambek calls the mimetic and the forensic (cf. Locke 1975). Lambek characterizes the mimetic construct as a synchronic dimension (322 n. 37) since it refers to the culturally available repertoire (cf. *personnage*) on which one may draw, aspire to become, etc. (305). Discernible, performative acts (usually of the most ordinary sort, such as the use of names, clothing choices, etc.) are what lie at the heart of the mimetic (305). Spirit possession and other phenomena are listed as examples of what he refers to as 'mimetic vehicles' (316-20). The mimetic is often sensuous or embodied, and is neither conscious nor reflected (321). He contrasts this with the forensic construct, which posits the person as unique, single and diachronically continuous (304), '[coding] identity in the sense of self-sameness and unfolding over time' (321). This dimension is one that mostly operates at the conscious level of practice (305).

In this sense, Lambek's account of ethics also runs contrary to those currents within the study of ethics that juxtapose ethics and morality, with ethics denoting an eventful discontinuation of (or from) morality, and the latter being a continuous entity or dimension (e.g., Zigon 2007). Instead, ethical life as judgement consists in 'balancing' these two dimensions: committing to something is premised on one's forensic identity at a future point in time, while the exercise of performative acts is always also grounded in a mimetic repertoire (306). Moreover, this understanding of practice presents an important addition to the current work on ethical agency.

Since each of these chapters represents a self-contained contribution to often different fields of enquiry, Lambek presents us with a series of excellent entry points into

a wide range of phenomena, while providing a cross-section of his own particular current in the anthropology of ethics. The set of conceptual tools developed over the course of this collection invites the reader to discover the ethical in other domains and dimensions of human social life. Among these are some which he explicitly did not elaborate, such as 'extraordinary' acts (however defined), as well as the 'effects of capitalism, of technologies, human rights and animal rights, radical inequities and injustices, bioethics, humanitarianism' (xx) and so forth. Yet another important application, in keeping with the spirit of the chapter on research ethics, would be a further engagement with anthropological writing itself, such as an analysis of the judgements and criteria at work in the theory and practice of engaged anthropology (e.g., Scheper-Hughes 1995). As for the anthropology of ethics itself, I would argue that a stronger dialogue with and integration of the Foucauldian strands of ethical theory may be one of the most promising future endeavours. For instance, Foucault's analytics of ethics can be read as focusing, in a different and yet sufficiently similar manner, on acts (in the form of techniques of the self) and the establishment of criteria (albeit with an emphasis on their injunctive aspects, e.g. as moral codes) in relation to which individuals position themselves (Foucault 1987, 1990). These and other aspects forcefully lend themselves to being interrogated at the level of performative practice. Conversely, Lambek's analyses are compatible with an analysis of the role of moral experts and authorities, the organization of ethical knowledge, and so forth. In sum, *The ethical condition* lives up to the high standards it sets for itself, and has gifted us with an elaborate set of very fine criteria for future work.

REFERENCES

Aristotle 1976. *Nicomachean ethics*, transl. by J.A.K. Thomson, ed. H. Tredennick, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Austin, J.L. 1962 [1955]. *How to do things with words*, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*, transl. R. Nice, Cambridge: University Press.

Cavell, S. 1976. *Must we mean what we say?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— 1999. *The claim of reason: Wittgenstein, skepticism, morality, and tragedy*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Das, V., and M. Lambek (eds.) 2010. *Ordinary ethics: anthropology, language, and action*, New

York: Fordham University Press.

Faubion, J.D. 2001. Toward an anthropology of ethics: Foucault and the pedagogies of autopoiesis, *Representations* 74, 83-104.

— 2011. *An anthropology of ethics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foucault, M. 1987. The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom: an interview with Michel Foucault on January 20, 1984, in R. Fornet-Betancourt, H. Becker, A. Gomez-Müller and J. D. Gauthier, *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 12, 112-31.

— 1990 [1984]. *The use of pleasure: the history of sexuality, Volume 2,* London: Viking.

Keane, W. 2003. Self-interpretation, agency, and the objects of anthropology: reflections on a genealogy, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, 222-48.

Laidlaw, J. 2002. For an anthropology of ethics and freedom, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 8, 311-32.

— 2014. *The subject of virtue: an anthropology of ethics and freedom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Locke, J. 1975 [1689]. *An essay concerning human understanding*, P.H. Nidditch (ed.), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mahmood, S. 2001. Feminist theory, embodiment, and the docile agent: some reflections on the Egyptian Islamic revival', *Cultural Anthropology* 16, 2002-35.

— 2005. *Politics of piety: the Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rappaport, R. 1999. *Ritual and religion in the making of humanity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scheper-Hughes, N. 1995. The primacy of the ethical: propositions for a militant anthropology, *Current Anthropology* 36(3), 409–20.

Taylor, Ch. 1989. *The sources of the self: the making of the modern identity*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Wittgenstein, L. 1973 [1958]. *Philosophical investigations*, transl. G.E.M. Anscombe. Oxford: Blackwell.

Zigon, J. 2007. Moral breakdown and ethical demand: a theoretical framework for an anthropology of moralities, *Anthropological Theory* 7(2), 131-50.

Reviewed by RICCARDO JAEDE

Holder of MPhil in Social Anthropology, University of Oxford 2016.

Contact: riccardo.jaede@oxfordalumni.org

SALLY FALK MOORE, *Comparing impossibilities: selected essays of Sally Falk Moore*, with a foreword by John Borneman, Chicago: HAU Books 2016, xl, 345 pp. ISBN 978-0-986-13255-1.

Lawyer-turned-anthropologist, Sally Falk Moore has had one of the most diverse careers in anthropology. Originally trained in law at Columbia University, she worked on Wall Street and attended the Nuremberg Trials as an attorney before returning to Columbia and joining the department of anthropology for what was supposed to be a one-year stint. She would go on to complete a PhD, earning an award for her thesis – an analysis of the legal system of the Inca Empire (Moore, 1958). Inspired by Max Gluckman's *Politics, law and ritual in tribal society* (1965), and drawn by her interest in the importance of descent rules in African legal systems, she then conducted several years of fieldwork among the Chagga of Mount Kilimanjaro, in Tanzania, becoming an authority in the field of East African legal anthropology. *Comparing Impossibilities* – a collection of Moore's most famous essays on law, anthropology, and Africa – celebrates the breadth and diversity of her career through two different themes: those of processual anthropology and comparative methods.

The book is judiciously divided into four parts. The first, *The anthropologist and anthropology*, serves as an introduction to Moore's life and experience in the field, as well as to the recurring themes in her work. In a first essay, 'Part of the story: a memoir', Moore recalls her path towards anthropology, her encounter with and subsequent marriage to the historian Cresap Moore, her first foray into African anthropology following her participation to the Wenner-Gren conference, and her successive academic positions up until now. A second essay, 'Comparisons: possible and impossible', highlights uncertainty as a recurring theme in her work, notably through her study of the unexpected side developments of particular 'cultures of control' (36). Here, indeed, it is processes that are compared, and not situations fixed in time: temporality is highlighted as a key issue in her work. A third essay, 'Encountering suspicion in Tanzania', closes the first part with a collection of anecdotes depicting the increasingly tense atmosphere and suspicion that Moore encountered in Tanzania, from 1968 to 1993. These also serve as a brief historical overview of the developments of this period and as a coda to the

theme of uncertainty, with which the anthropologist finds herself confronted whilst in the field.

The second and largest part, *Perspectives on Africa*, gathers some of Moore's most famous essays on customary law in Tanzania. 'From giving and lending to selling' is a reconstitution of the evolution of 'customary law' through an array of property transaction cases among the Chagga. Focusing on the external acquisition of land, as opposed to its patrilineal transmission, Moore highlights the evolution from the Chagga's initial interest in gaining power over persons and cattle through giving and lending to their preoccupation with gaining land and cash through selling – a change reflecting the land shortages and population increases of the 1930s. The illusory immutability of custom and the resulting instrumentality of 'customary law' are further demonstrated in 'History and the redefinition of custom on Kilimanjaro', where Moore compares two legal cases, moving away from a Tylorian definition of customary law as an anachronistic fragment of the past. In both cases, she underlines the strategic use of the notion of the 'traditional' or 'customary' by Chagga individuals in order to acquire land; in doing so, she goes further than Bourdieu (1977) in arguing that these strategies not only reproduce the distinction between two parallel legal theories – customary law on one side, colonial/government law on the other – but also that their existence reveals which parts of 'the old [customary law]' (117) have been chosen for preservation by the colonial authorities. 'Treating law as knowledge' continues along this trajectory, addressing the interaction between the colonial British legal system imposed in courts and the forms of 'community justice' outside the courts that continued to prevail on Mount Kilimanjaro through a 1957 *Local Government Memorandum*. Moore's analysis of this document reveals an inherently contradictory agenda at the heart of local courts: run by Tanzanians and applying 'customary law', they also followed British legal principles and colonial directives. Echoing the previous chapter, two kinds of legal knowledge find themselves juxtaposed in courts once again, allowing the anthropologist to examine their premises. Temporality emerges as a central theme in this setting, where the contemporary application of 'customary' law is revealed to be intricately linked to anterior, British colonial influences. Moving away from observations on the duality of Chagga courts, 'Individual interests and organisational structures' is a detailed analysis of a 1968 dispute

between two WaChagga, heard twice – once at the level of neighbourhood aggregation and once at court – as a case-study for the implications of differences in the organisational structure and the kinds of rules and interests brought into play at two separate hearings. Finally, 'Explaining the present: theoretical dilemmas in processual ethnography' goes back to the themes of process and temporality by offering broader insights on the significance of fieldwork when accounting for both the progressive formation of a post-colonial state and the existence of local resistance to it. Through two anecdotes, Moore demonstrates the manifestation of state power, before confirming its limits in a discussion of the strategy employed by a politician to circumvent the Tanzanian national ban on landlords by using a poor, landless man as a proxy landholder.

The third part, *Excursions into mythology*, briefly touches upon the theme of contradictions in myths, which Moore turned to following the 'symbolic turn' of the mid-1970s (influenced notably by Lévi-Strauss' *The savage mind*, 1966, and Needham's *Right & left*, 1973). 'Descent and symbolic filiation' is a short chapter that serves as an overview of the association between descent systems and incest myths amongst dozens of societies. Observing the prevalence of brother–sister incest in myths, Moore articulates its structural importance in symbolic filiation in kin-based societies. She pursues a similar task in 'The secret of the men', where she argues that the Chagga myth of the 'stitched anus' – a male-only initiation rite – lies at the heart of Chagga dual symbolic classification, where an open body is associated with femaleness (women give birth and menstruate), a closed one with maleness. A stitched anus is not only a ritualistic, bounding secret turning boys into men; as it prevents the impregnation of a male by another male – a situation intrinsically linked to death (as men have no 'opening', they cannot give birth) – it is also a symbol of life. In Chagga society, then, virility and life are intrinsically linked and located in men being figuratively 'closed' to other men. The dichotomies of male/female and life/death are thus reflected upon as fundamental dualities in cosmological systems.

The final part of the book, *Social fields and their politics*, links together law, politics and social change, thus offering broader insights into the contributions of legal anthropology to policy-making, as well as into Moore's position on legal reforms in East Africa. 'Law and social change: the semi-autonomous social field as an appropriate

186

Book reviews

subject of study' introduces the concept of the 'semi-autonomous social field' as the small field of a complex society which both generates rules and coerces or induces compliance with them, as well as being vulnerable to other forces emanating from the world that surrounds it (252). Comparing the dress industry in New York City and the lineage-neighbourhood nexus of the Chagga on Mount Kilimanjaro, she argues that the processes that make internally generated rules effective are the same forces that dictate one social field's attitude to state-generated law. In 'Political meetings and the simulation of unanimity', Moore turns to collective ceremonies, analysing a citizens' political meeting in Tanzania in 1973 as a 'secular ritual'. Echoing Turner's discussion of liminality (Turner 1967: 93-110), Moore highlights the non-negotiability, unquestionability and sacredness of certain official interpretations of social life – such as the authority of Party officials or public understandings of religion – whilst also making it clear that certain social contexts, such as dissent among local Chagga farmers, introduce an element of indeterminacy and unease in otherwise clearly-defined, ritualistic assemblies. Finally, 'Changing African land tenure: reflections on the incapacities of the state' is a sceptical commentary on the idea of legal change as a strategy to improve societies in Africa and on its implied proposition that laws are easily put into place and implemented. By offering an overview of the history of property relations in East Africa, as well as a reflection on the proposed land policies for West Africa in the late 1990s, this chapter provides insights into the possible applications of social anthropology to society at large, thus bringing together Moore's scholarship, her knowledge of East Africa and the discipline of anthropology in a welcome epilogue for this collection of essays.

Overall, *Comparing impossibilities* is a remarkable overview of Sally Falk Moore's career and contribution to the field of anthropology at large, with a specific focus on her work in Tanzania and in legal anthropology – and especially regarding the transfer of land rights. The importance of accounting for temporality and change through processual anthropology, as well as the instrumentality and evolution of 'customary law', both serve as conducting threads throughout all these various essays. However, the book suffers at times from a lack of focus: although its third part, on symbolism, gives a glimpse of the versatility and adaptability of Moore as an academic, it also strays away from the guiding themes of time, change and law that are present throughout the rest of the book.

Nonetheless, *Comparing impossibilities* remains a brilliant demonstration of the ways in which anthropologists can mediate the tension between the ambition to account for situations in process, and the temporal 'impossibilities' that arise from the need to do so through their comparison.

REFERENCES

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Gluckman, Max 1965. *Politics, law and ritual in tribal society*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1966 [1962]. *The savage mind*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Moore, Sally Falk 1958. *Power and property in Inca Peru*. New York: Columbia UP.

Needham, Rodney (ed.) 1973. *Right & left: essays on dual symbolic classification*,
    Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Turner, Victor 1967. *The forest of symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca, NY:
    Cornell University Press.

Reviewed by EMILIA ANTIGLIO

MPhil Candidate in Social Anthropology at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. Email: emilia.antiglio@sant.ox.ac.uk

LIDIA DINA SCIAMA (ed.), *Humour, comedy and laughter: obscenities, paradoxes, insights and the renewal of life*, Oxford & New York: Berghahn 2016, viii, 209 pp. ISBN 978-0-857-45074-6.

There is no doubt that Lidia Dina Sciama's edited volume, *Humour, comedy and laughter*, is an impressive, ambitious and timely volume. The subheading, *Obscenities, paradoxes, insights and the renewal of life* seems a tall order for two hundred pages, but in their own ways, the editor and contributors have responded admirably to the challenge. While grounded in the field of social anthropology, this volume is also notable for its interdisciplinarity. Several chapters could be equally comfortable in the fields of psychology, child development, literary criticism, history and film studies, demonstrating how engagement with these disciplines can profit anthropology.

Sciama's introduction to the topic is a clear, readable and concise overview of the subject at hand. She nicely synthesizes previous literature, from Radcliffe-Brown (1968) on joking

relationships to Bateson (1952) on humour as paradoxical communication that requires interdisciplinary study (the source of this volume's approach). Overall, humour can be narrowed down to an experience of the familiar juxtaposed with the impossible or unfamiliar, often connected to 'keen social realities' (8). Sciama skilfully links the performance of carnival and similar comic festivities in Europe to the tensions inherent in both the annual cycle and the human life-cycle. Yet on the negative side, humour and laughter are also a source of ridicule and expression of divisions, for instance, in ethnic jokes.

Based more in the realm of psychology, Ian Wilkie and Matthew Saxton's contribution is well-placed as the first chapter in arguing that 'many of the elements of adult humour are witnessed from the very start in adult-child interaction' (36), thus implying that humour is innate in human interactions since early life. Following Sciama's introduction, this provides an excellent foundation from which to approach the following chapters.

As expected in a volume dealing with humour, there are moments to make the reader smile. One is Evans-Pritchard's experience of 'Nuerosis' on arrival in Nuerland. This anecdote forms part of an interesting discussion in Sciama's introduction, where the essence of a joke (to invert the familiar) is paralleled with the experience of a new anthropologist in the field. In agreement with Maybury Lewis (1974), Sciama makes the salient point that anthropologists should give more detailed descriptions of their fieldwork experiences. This may illuminate the role of humour in the societies that anthropologists study and their own role within it. In her chapter, Judith Okely demonstrates the variety of contexts in which the anthropologist-host culture relationship can be a source of amusement, from both her own experiences and those of others. There are moments when these very personal insights, in particular from Okely's own ethnographic experience and private life, can seem too personal. However, this disclosure is exactly what is needed today in anthropology to allow better understanding of the conditions of data collection, and to teach students ethnography (such is the concern with this matter that it was the subject of a special issue in JASO in March 2015).

There are three further chapters of a clearly anthropological bent. Fiona Moore's chapter on humour in a German bank in the City of London is an excellent and well-written contribution to the burgeoning anthropology of financial institutions. It also demonstrates how humour renegotiates areas of potential tension (office power relations) and ethnic conflict (the world wars). She also makes some useful suggestions for future research (the only contributor to do so),

such as viewing jokes as 'cultural objects' that 'indicate long-term developments in society' (109). Shirley Ardener's chapter on the English Christmas Pantomime brought the reader back to the role of carnival and the topsy-turvy in English society. Gender and identity take on central roles here, as male pantomime dames and female principal boys bend the nature of what it means to be 'male' or 'female'. Yet the panto also has a social justification: like Bakhtin's Rabelaisian carnival, 'when we laugh at panto's ludicrous distortions…perhaps we more clearly perceive, and become more contented with, the charms of our daily lives' (155).

Sciama's own chapter on humour amongst Venetian islanders is an admirable blend of ethnography and literary criticism. She demonstrates how the street life and inhabitants of Venice's smaller islanders were a source of humour in Venetian drama due to their behaviour, dialect and isolation. Innovatively returning these works to context, she analyses how islanders have navigated these unflattering depictions in light of social change, from ignoring them out of shame to embracing them as a symbol of a past that has lost its negative associations. Continuing with a focus on literary analysis, Elizabeth Hsu's chapter is a masterful review of medieval, modernist and anthropological attitudes to humour, combined with her analysis of an ancient Chinese medical text. Through formulaic structures, this text has the potential to poke fun at power structures, while also hinting at deeper issues such as royal fecundity, responsibility and regeneration. Moving onto more modern media, Dolores P. Martinez's analysis of science fiction films shows similar preoccupations with social stresses. Through comedy in these films, 'very modern fears and myths are burlesqued for all they are worth' (129), thus providing an outlet for viewers to laugh at unspoken tensions in their society. Like Ardener's chapter, as well as Ian Rakoff's (below), these concern notions of gender, masculinities and technology.

It must be said that, despite the high standard of this volume, I was dissatisfied with the chapters by Ian Rakoff and Flauco Sanga. Rakoff's chapter starts off well, but is confused and confusing. The author rarely takes the time to fully explain his statements, or the contexts of his assertions. For instance, he states that the essential motivation behind a comic strip from 1910 was a boxing champion coming out of retirement, which apparently explained why 'ethnicity entered and left the frame often puzzling and questioning racism' (79). What are examples of this, and where does boxing come in? It is only in the course of the next few paragraphs that the reader gleans that this was a bi-racial boxing match. In his summing up, he also claims that Little Orphan Annie, a comic strip he has not mentioned previously, could be 'the great American

novel' (95), with no further reasoning being offered as to why. Simply put, Rakoff expects too much knowledge from the reader.

Likewise, in Sanga's chapter on the function of satire in Italian popular song, more guidance would have been helpful. There is not much introduction to speak of, and no conclusion. After a cursory explanation of these songs' purpose as critique of difference and social tensions, he jumps straight into brief explanations of several pages of quotes. Like Rakoff's chapter, there is much of interest here, but there needs to be more context. What part of Italy do these songs come from? Which era(s) do they do describe? Who writes them? These are questions that need to be answered to make a really worthwhile discussion of these songs. Also disappointing is the fact that the book itself has no concluding chapter or epilogue. This does not deflect from the overall enjoyment of the book or the excellence of most of its contributions. Still, a synthesis of oft-recurring themes like gender, power, social tension and identity would not have gone amiss.

REFERENCES

Bateson, G. 1952. The position of humor in human communications, *Macy* Conference. Pcp.vub.ac.ne/books/Bateson/humour.pdf

Clark, Imogen, and Andrea Grant (eds.) 2015. Special Issue on Sexual Harassment in the Field. JASOonline VII/1. Available from: https://www.isca.ox.ac.uk/publications/jaso/previous-issues/jasoonline-2011/

Maybury Lewis, David 1974 [1967]. *The savage and the innocent: Akwe Shavante society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1968. *Structure and function in primitive society*, London: Allen Tate.

Reviewed by VENETIA CONGDON

Postdoctoral Associate at the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford. E-mail: venetia.congdon@anthro.ox.ac.uk