Adrian Blackledge
Angela Creese *Editors*

Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy

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Springer

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Foreword

Eva, my granddaughter, aged 5, moved from Washington DC to Mexico City last Fall and with her growing interest in reading and her mother's able assistance as a scribe, we took up emailing (in addition to skyping) to keep in touch—mostly in English, still her dominant language, though she is rapidly gaining fluency in Spanish. At one point, in April, I wrote a note to Eva and another to her little sister Vivica, aged 2, both in English; and after receiving Eva's response to her own note, was delighted to also get the following email (font colour, size, and formatting removed). My daughter introduces it and comments once within (*in italics*):

> *Eva read almost the whole note that Nainee sent to Eva!:) Now Eva is writing a note to Nainee as if she were Vivi*:
> Dear Nainee, Este dia vamonos a la Feria! hehehehe. Pero, yo no va a la Feria. Hmm! No es fair**.** Si yo voy a la Feria cuando soy grande lo voy a gustar mucho. Y si yo voy a la Feria otra vez voy a gustar la mucho mucho mucho. Y quiero palomitas. Pero yo si fue a una fiesta y me pintaron como Spiderman!!! (*Vivi insisted and was the only girl that was not a princess.*) Y me gusta todo en el mundo y el mundo es bien. Abrazos!! Vivi
> Dear Nainee, This day we will go to the Amusement Park! hehehehe. But, I **doesn't** go to the Amusement Park. Hmm! That's not **fair**. If I go to the Amusement Park when I'm big, I will **like it** a lot. And if I go to the Amusement Park again I will **like it** very much, much, much. And I want popcorn. But I did **go** to a party and they painted me like Spiderman (*Vivi insisted and was the only girl that was not a princess.*) And I like everything in the world and the world is **well**. Hugs!! Vivi

Among the features that charmed me in this message were Eva's use of Spanish in recognition of Vivi's dominance in and preference for that language, her topic and word choice that so aptly capture her little sister's views and experience of the world, and her whole idea of explicitly voicing her sister in the first place; hence her email came readily to mind as I pondered Bakhtinian themes of indexicality, stylization, and multivoicedness that run through this volume. Also of note is that although from a code-based perspective, Eva's (or is she representing Vivi's?) Spanish has grammatical mistakes and the occasional English word (bolded in the translation), she draws quite effectively on her available linguistic resources to communicate information, emotion, and even social evaluation.

This small and personally meaningful bit of Eva's heteroglossia gives but a hint of the creative heteroglossic practices readers will encounter in the pages of this

volume. You will be introduced to a wealth of multilingual texts and discourses constructed in sometimes contested spaces in and out of schools. Among these spaces are a multigrade primary classroom in Vienna, a bilingual teacher education program in Alsace, a massively multilingual high school ESL classroom in Philadelphia, 7th–9th grade classes in a Copenhagen public school serving linguistic minority children, a New Latino diaspora elementary school in the U.S., trilingual education classrooms in the Basque country, a 9th–10th grade Latino newcomer English language arts classroom in New York City, an inner London multiethnic secondary school, and a Panjabi language classroom in Birmingham, UK; but also a multi-ethnic working class neighbourhood in the UK; rap performances by Inari Sámi schoolchildren in Finland, by a new and boldly eclectic hip hop group in Hong Kong, and by a whole generation of fluidly multilingual Quebecois hip hop artists and poets; Ghanaian taxi drivers' decorative inscriptions on their vehicles; and desktop videoconferencing between American learners of French and their French tutors in France, a website design class for adult Latino immigrants in the US borderlands, and a mobile phone texting code used in Wesbank township in South Africa.

Introducing this rich and deeply insightful collection of essays, Blackledge and Creese propose heteroglossia as 'an analytic perspective that takes linguistic diversity to be constitutive of, and constituted by, social diversity' and go on to frame the volume and its unifying analytical perspective in relation to Bakhtin's thinking on heteroglossia as ideologically-infused indexicality, tension-filled interaction–especially stylization and hidden dialogicality, and hierarchically-layered multivoicedness. Acknowledging and building on several decades of research on multilingualism and multilingual education, they foreground translanguaging as heteroglossic practice and pedagogy, illustrating this with an example from their own classroom research, and arguing that for scholars and educators to adopt a heteroglossic lens is 'to ensure that we bring into play, both in practice and in pedagogy, voices which index students' localities, social histories, circumstances, and identities.' These are claims that resonate deeply for me with key lessons I took from the continua of biliteracy, namely that the more we allow and enable language minoritized learners to draw on all points of the media, context, development, and content continua of their multilingual repertoires the greater the possibilities for activation of their voices; and that inclusion of learners' voice and agency is the only ethically acceptable solution when it comes to educating a linguistically and culturally diverse learner population which, in today's world, means every learner in every classroom (Hornberger 1989; Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000; Hornberger 2006).

Indeed, I find resonance in all the chapters that follow, along with new insights and formulations. The authors draw deeply and authoritatively on Bakhtin's evocative conceptual lexicon–chronotope, voice, dialogism, double-voicing, centrifugal/centripetal forces, genre, ideological becoming, and, centrally, *raznojazyčie* 'linguistic diversity,' *raznogolosie* 'multidiscursivity' and *raznorečie* 'multivoicedness.' Beyond this, though, they utilize an exceptionally rich analytical repertoire to bring their examples of heteroglossic practice and pedagogy to life, including: enregisterment, metacommentary, repertoire, autopoiesis, integrationism, *transculturación*, border crossing, language crossing, interaction ritual, performance, poet-

ics of creolization, *langage, oraliture*, rhizomatic analysis, nexus analysis, structure of feeling, multimodality, scaffolding, and of course languaging and translanguaging. The effect is an invigorating theoretical and empirical portrait of transgressive and creative heteroglossic practices increasingly finding their way into informal and formal learning spaces across the globe. Even more importantly, in my estimation, the examples and analyses herein give unmistakeable evidence of the emancipatory possibilities and transformative promise of heteroglossic practices and pedagogies for the many language minoritized groups who have heretofore been so relentlessly ill-served by our educational systems.

Nancy H. Hornberger
June 2013

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Chapter 1
Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy

Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese

Abstract This chapter introduces the notion of 'heteroglossia' as a means of expanding theoretical orientations to, and understandings of, linguistic diversity. The discussion responds to contemporary debates about multilingualism and proposes that Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia offers a lens through which to view the social, political, and historical implications of language in practice. The chapter refers to the rich theoretical and empirical contributions of the authors of the volume.

In recent times, scholars in sociolinguistics have found that language use in late modern societies is changing. Rather than assuming that homogeneity and stability represent the norm, mobility, mixing, political dynamics, and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups, and communication (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). As large numbers of people migrate across myriad borders, and as advances in digital technology make available a multitude of linguistic resources at the touch of a button or a screen, so communication is in flux and in development. In these conditions, multilingualism is the norm. At the same time, the notion of separate languages as bounded systems of specific linguistic features may be insufficient for analysis of language in use and in action (Jørgensen et al. 2011). The idea of 'a language' therefore may be important as a social construct, but it is not suited as an analytical lens through which to view language practices. This volume responds to the limitations of an approach to understanding linguistic diversity which relies on the naming and separation of languages—that is, an approach which relies on the concept of 'multilingualism' to describe the language competence of speakers in the context of language diversity and language contact. We propose a return to Mikhail Bakhtin's theoretical and practical notion of 'heteroglossia' as a lens through which to view the social, political, and historical implications of language in practice. First, however, we briefly review some recent developments in the study of multilingualism.

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1.1   Multilingualism

Sociolinguistic study of multilingualism has moved away from a view of languages as separate, bounded entities to a view of communication in which language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can (Jørgensen et al. 2011). Blommaert and Rampton (2011) argue that languages are ideological constructions historically tied to the emergence of the nation state in the nineteenth century. Bakhtin (1981) also critically examined the notion of a unitary and unified national language, and its role in nation-building in Europe. Bakhtin recognized that the development of the idea of a unified language was ideologically and politically motivated (Lähteenmäki 2010, p. 26). The construction and standardization of national languages was a central plank in the wider project of the consolidation of nation states in Europe.

Rather than taking the named language as the unit of analysis, Blommaert and Rampton propose that "it is far more productive *analytically* to focus on the very variable ways in which linguistic features with identifiable social and cultural associations get clustered together whenever people communicate" (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, p. 1). Makoni and Pennycook argue for an understanding of the relationships between what people believe about their language (or other people's languages), the situated forms of talk they deploy, and the material effects—social, economic, and environmental—of such views and use (Makoni and Pennycook 2007, p. 22). Recently, a number of terms have emerged, as scholars have sought to describe and analyse linguistic practices in which meaning is made using signs flexibly. These include, among others, flexible bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2010); codemeshing (Canagarajah 2011); polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2010; Madsen 2011); contemporary urban vernaculars (Rampton 2011); metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2011); translingual practice (Canagarajah 2013); and translanguaging (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2011). The shared perspective represented in these terms considers that meaning-making is not confined to the use of 'languages' as discrete, enumerable, bounded sets of linguistic resources. Rather, signs are available for meaning-making in communicative repertoires (Rymes 2010) which extend across 'languages' and varieties which have hitherto been associated with particular national, territorial, and social groups. These terms, different from each other yet in many ways similar, represent a view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction. Several of the authors of this volume elaborate on, and exemplify, the term 'translanguaging'. In her chapter, Ofelia García defines translanguaging both as an act of bilingual performance and as a bilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning. Coined initially in the 1980s (Williams 1994, 1996), and subsequently developed in response to changing linguistic phenomena in schools and communities (Baker

2001, 2006), the term has recently gained currency in discussions of multilingualism, especially in educational contexts (Baker 2011, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Creese and Blackledge 2011, García 2009, Li Wei 2011).

Blommaert (2012) argues that the contemporary semiotics of culture and identity need to be captured in terms of *complexity* rather than in terms of *multiplicity* or *plurality*. Indeed, he argues that "a vocabulary including 'multi-lingual', 'multi-cultural', or 'pluri-', 'inter-', 'cross-', and 'trans-' notions all suggest an a priori existence of separable units (language, culture, identity), and they suggest that the encounter of such separable units produces peculiar new units such as 'multilingual' repertoires, and 'mixed' or 'hybrid' identities". Blommaert argues that a perspective which focuses on 'code-switching' is emblematic of this view. Bailey (2012) engages with the limitations of an approach to linguistic analysis which emphasizes code-switching, arguing that a focus on linguistic features that are officially authorized codes or languages, e.g. 'English' or 'Spanish', can contribute to neglect of the diversity of socially indexical resources *within* languages. Bailey points out that if the starting point is social meanings, rather than the code or language in use, it is not central whether a speaker is switching languages, alternating between a dialect and a national standard, register shifting, or speaking monolingually in a variety that highlights language contact. Language, whether monolingual or multilingual, carries social meanings through phonological, lexical, grammatical, and discourse-level forms: "these forms index various aspects of individuals' and communities' social histories, circumstances, and identities" (Bailey 2012, p. 506). Canagarajah and Liyanage (2012) have noted that even so-called monolinguals shuttle between codes, registers, and discourses, and can therefore hardly be described as monolingual. Just as the traditional distinction between languages is no longer sustainable, so the distinction between 'monolingual', 'bilingual', and 'multilingual' speakers may no longer obtain.

1.2   Heteroglossia

Recently sociolinguists have turned to Bakhtin's term 'heteroglossia' to better understand the diversity of linguistic practice in late modern societies. However, the meaning of 'heteroglossia' in not universally or straightforwardly agreed. In their chapter in this volume, David Malinowski and Claire Kramsch point out that heteroglossia, as conceived by Bakhtin (1981), was a multifaceted concept that strove to counteract the single-voiced official discourse of the 1920s in the Soviet Union. Brigitta Busch (this volume) notes that Bakhtin did not use the singular term 'heteroglossia' to set out his thinking about the stratified diversity of language and points out that a heteroglossic approach "not only implies acknowledgement of the presence of different languages and codes (*raznojazyčie*) as a resource, but also entails a commitment to multidiscursivity (*raznogolosie*) and multivoicedness (*raznorečie*)". Lian Malai Madsen similarly argues, in her chapter, that heteroglossia is a concept created by the translators of Bakthin's work to cover the three concepts of 'diversity

in speechness', 'diversity in languageness', and 'diversity in voicedness'. Madsen notes that as a cover term for these aspects of linguistic diversity, heteroglossia "describes how language use involves various socio-ideological languages, codes, and voices". In their contribution Sari Pietikäinen and Hannele Dufva also view heteroglossia as a term chosen for the English translation, rather than a term used by Bakhtin himself. They point out that in the original Russian texts Bakhtin speaks of 'intralingual diversity', the internal stratification present in one national language which also testifies to different ideological positions, a usage that has been rendered in English as 'heteroglossia'. However, Bakhtin was interested in the coexistence of different language forms and acknowledges the presence of various languages and dialects, that is, 'language plurality', referring to linguistic-level phenomena. Bailey (2012, p. 499) similarly notes that Bakhtin coined the term *raznorečie* specifically to refer to intra-language variation within Russian, "varieties with competing social and political implications, and the term is translated as 'the social diversity of speech types' rather than 'heteroglossia'". As Silvia Noguerón-Liu and Doris Warriner point out in their chapter, Bakhtin was concerned to explain how language varieties and nonstandard dialects are shaped by social, historical, and political influences, and he developed the notion of 'heteroglossia' to describe and theorize the existence of and relationship between different language varieties.

Heteroglossia as a theoretical term, then, is by definition heteroglossic. As such, it reflects the mobility and flux which is often said to be characteristic of the late modern age. However, if heteroglossia is to be a useful heuristic in illuminating understandings of language in use and in action in our societies, it may be necessary to pin it down a little, while still incorporating the diversity of its meanings. In order to more precisely address Bakhtin's theoretical development of (what we now call) heteroglossia, we can group together his writings where consistent and repeated themes emerge. We therefore discuss Bakhtin's thinking about heteroglossia in relation to *indexicality*, *tension-filled interaction,* and *multivoicedness*.

1.2.1   Indexicality

Bakhtin argued that language in use and in action represents "specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualising the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 291). That is, language points to or 'indexes' a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position. Bakhtin saw that "language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strictest sense of the word, but also—and for us this is the essential point—into languages that are socio-ideological: languages of social groups, 'professional' and 'generic' languages, languages of generations and so forth" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 271). Lähteenmaki (2010, p. 26) notes that Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia accounts for "the social, functional, generic, and dialectological variation within a language". For Bakhtin, stratification and diversity within a language derive from its social nature, reflecting the social and

ideological differentiation in society. Bakhtin is less interested in how different language forms vary according to their linguistic features than in the stratification of a common language (Lähteenmaki 2010). Language cannot be viewed as a neutral medium or as a mirror to reflect the structure of extra-verbal reality, but as "a conglomerate of specific and concrete conceptualisations of the world" (Lähteenmaki 2010, p. 28). Heteroglossia is, therefore, not only—in fact not principally—about the simultaneous use of 'languages', but rather refers to the coexistence of different competing ideological points of view, whether constituted in a single national 'language' (as Bakhtin proposed) or within the complex communicative repertoires in play in late modern societies.

Bailey points out that Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia overlaps with the semiotic and linguistic anthropological notion of 'non-referential indexicality' developed by Peirce (1955) and Silverstein (1976, 2003). Both heteroglossia and indexicality rely on notions of intertextuality, in which "meanings of forms depend on past usages and associations of those forms rather than on arbitrary referential meaning inherent in the form" (Bailey 2012, p. 500). The relationship between the indexical form and meaning is brought into being through historical association. Agha (2007, p. 80) summarises this point: "behavioural signs (including features of discursive behaviour) acquire recognizable pragmatic values that come to be viewed as perduring 'social facts' about signs, and which, by virtue of such recognition, become effective ways of indexing roles and relationships among sign-users in performance". In their chapter in this volume, Jan Blommaert and Fie Velghe demonstrate that the 'textspeak' of a young woman in a South African township is not so much *linguistic* as *indexical:* her messages are viewed by her friends not as carriers of intricate denotational meanings but as phatic messages that support her role as a group member and define her relations with her peers as agreeable and friendly. Her deployment of voice opens channels of peer-group communication and conviviality, and establishes and confirms her place in her network of friends. It is only when viewed etically that her messages become *linguistic*, measured not by the standards of the indexical order of (emic) conviviality, but by the standards of language and orthography.

We think we know what people are like by listening to them speak. This is because, over time, certain speech repertoires come to be linked to, or point to, or 'index', certain social practices. Speech repertoires incorporate 'registers', "historical formations caught up in group-relative processes of valorization and countervalorization, exhibiting change in both form and value over time" (Agha 2004, p. 25). Registers are not fixed, but are liable to change; they also overlap. Formation of a register, and change to the register, involves the identification of recurrent, or typical, speech forms as linked to recurrent, or typical, social practices. Agha points out that registers are reproduced and transmitted in a diverse range of settings, including within the family unit, and in certain professions: "one cannot become a doctor or lawyer, for example, without acquiring the forms of speech appropriate to the practices of medicine or law, or without an understanding of the values linked to their use" (Agha 2007, p. 156). Speakers use labels to describe sets of linguistic resources which are associated with certain social practices and types of persons.

However, evaluations of people based on the way they speak are far more nuanced than merely ascribing them to broad social categories. A speaker's linguistic repertoire may be the basis on which they are described as, for example, a 'social climber', 'politically aware', or 'conservative' (Gal 2009, p. 327). Evaluation of speakers based on their linguistic repertoires consists of metapragmatic discourse, "accounts which *describe* the pragmatics of speech forms" (Agha 2004, p. 26). Labelling of speech registers, descriptions of 'typical' speakers, correction of speakers' language use, and positive or negative assessments of the social worth of the register are common metapragmatic discourses. Such discourses are only effective as evaluations because the register (or features of resources common to the register) observably recurs. We can only say 'he's such a social climber' based on how someone speaks because a certain type of speech has come to be associated with certain social practices. Agha further argues that in the process of indexicality a semiotic register, a repertoire of performable signs, is "linked to stereotypic pragmatic effects by a socio-historical process of 'enregisterment', which makes usable facts of semiotic value associated with signs" (Agha 2007, p. 81). The register becomes 'enregistered' (Silverstein 1996) because it recurs over time, repeatedly, and comes to index certain social practices, and social positions. In the process of enregisterment, performable signs are recognized as belonging to distinct semiotic registers differentially valorized by a population. Encounters with registers are not merely encounters with voices, but "encounters in which individuals establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be" (Agha 2005, p. 38). In practice, linguistic repertoires comprise only a part of a register's semiotic range, as linguistic repertoires are routinely deployed in conjunction with non-linguistic signs (Agha 2007, p. 279). Registers are not neutral. Rather, they (or at least evaluation of them) create and reproduce social boundaries, "partitioning off language users into groups distinguished by differential access to particular registers and the social practices they mediate, and by asymmetries of power, privilege and rank that depend on access to such registers and practices" (Agha 2007, p. 157). Attitudes to, and beliefs about, certain registers play an important role in creating systems of distinction between categories of persons.

Bailey (2012, p. 501) offers as an example of an index a regional accent. The relationship between an accent and a region is established through the historical fact of speakers from that region speaking in a particular way, and "there is no inherent relationship between the indexical form and meaning, simply one of historical association". Thus the word may point to, belong to, or be recognized as representing a certain set of values, an ideology, a social group, a nationality, and so on. That is, "different language-forms are connected with particular ideological positions and express particular world-views conceptualising extra-discursive reality in their own unique way" (Lähteenmaki 2010, p. 28). However, Bakhtin demonstrates that the word does not relate to its object in a singular way, but rather "there exists an elastic environment of other, alien words about the same object, the same theme" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 276). When we look carefully at the "complex play of light and shadow" into which the word enters we can "determine within it the boundaries of its own

semantic and stylistic contours" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 277). That is, we need to pay attention not only to the word but to the social tensions within it.

1.2.2 Tension-filled Interaction

Bakhtin consistently pointed out that language is characterized by social tensions: "on all its various routes toward the object, in all its directions, the word encounters an alien word and cannot help encountering it in a living, tension-filled interaction" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 279). Bakhtin argued that within a single (national) language exist "a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems; within these various systems (identical in the abstract) are elements of language filled with various semantic and axiological content and each with its own different sound" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 288). Indeed, Bailey (2012, p. 508) argues that what is distinctive about heteroglossia "is not its reference to different kinds of linguistic signs and forms, but rather its focus on social tensions inherent in language".

A central trope for Bakhtin in his description of the social tensions in language is that of the opposing pull of 'centrifugal' and 'centripetal' forces. Whereas the centripetal force constitutes the pull towards the 'unitary language', homogeneity, standardization, and correctness, the centrifugal force pulls towards heteroglossic disunification and decentralization. These forces are rarely free of each other, however, as the centripetal forces of language operate in the midst of heteroglossia and coexist with centrifugal forces which carry on their uninterrupted work: "Every utterance participates in the 'unitary language' (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 272). This point is elaborated by Pietikäinen and Dufva, who argue in their chapter in this volume that in order to understand the dynamics and dialectics of heteroglossia, we need to note that normativity and pressure towards uniformity are also part of language use. Pietikäinen and Dufva suggest that characterizing language as heteroglossic is to say that there are also in play practices that aim at homogenizing language. In Bakhtin's analysis, a unitary language is constantly opposed to the realities of heteroglossia and "makes its real presence felt as a force for overcoming this heteroglossia, imposing specific limits to it, guaranteeing a certain maximum of mutual understanding and crystallizing into a real, though relative, unity—the unity of the reigning conversational (everyday) and literary language, 'correct language'" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 270).

What, then, does language look (or sound) like when it is filled with social tension? In their chapter in this volume, Holly Link, Sara Lipinoga, and Stanton Wortham point out that utterances 'echo' with the voices of others. The use of certain words in a certain way indexes some social position(s) because these words are characteristically used by members of a certain group: "A voice is a social position from the stratified world, as presupposed by stratified language" (Wortham 2001, p. 50). In this way, speakers inevitably position themselves with respect to

others, making indexical associations and meta-level evaluations. Bakhtin noticed that whole utterances and individual words may repeat the words of others in a way that re-accents and changes them, "ironically, indignantly, reverently, and so forth", and in particular "intonation is especially sensitive and always points beyond the context" (Bakhtin 1986, p. 91). Bakhtin elaborated on this notion, arguing that metalinguistics has a role to play in providing a full and exhaustive classification of 'dialogic' discourses, which "incorporate a relationship to someone else's utterance as an indispensable element" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 186). Examples of dialogic discourse in Bakhtin's typology include stylization, parody, irony, hidden polemic, internal polemic, and hidden dialogicality—all varieties of discourse shaped by the word of the other. By re-accenting others' voices, narrators and ordinary speakers establish positions for themselves (Wortham 2001). In this way, "the unmergedness of individual voices is expressed…in which two meaning-positions come into dialogical contact within one utterance" (Lähteenmaki 2010, p. 24). Each type of dialogic speech has an analytical role in understanding language in use and in action in late modern societies.

Bakhtin defined stylization as "an artistic representation of another's linguistic style, an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 362). In stylization, two individual linguistic consciousnesses must be present: the one that represents (the stylizer) and the one that is represented (the stylized). In his contribution to this volume, Ben Rampton focuses on stylization and language crossing, two concepts that draw on Bakhtin's discussions of heteroglossa and double voicing. In particular, Rampton discusses the role stylization and language crossing play in what Bakhtin calls 'ideological becoming' (Rampton 2006, pp. 346–7), the dialogical processes by which people come to align with some voices, discourses, and ways of being, and to distance themselves from others. Rampton persuasively proposes that if we want to understand how young people interact and make meanings in complex, mobile late modern environments, we need to 'dissect' the notion of heteroglossia and argue over our analyses and interpretations of the dynamics of social interaction. In her chapter, Lian Malai Madsen describes stylizations as linguistic activities that put on display the simultaneously unique and socio-structural qualities of language. Rampton and Charalambous (2012, p. 483) suggest that, in stylization, speakers shift into varieties or exaggerated styles that are seen as lying outside of their normal range, "and this disjunction of speaker and voice draws attention to the speaker herself/himself, temporarily positioning the recipient(s) as spectator(s)". Rampton (2006) adopted the notion of 'stylization' to analyse the accent shifts of young people moving between exaggerated 'posh' and 'Cockney' in moments of critical reflection on aspects of educational domination and constraint. Rampton summarises the stylized utterance as "a small, fleeting, but foregrounded analysis, suggesting that the person, event, or act that occasions the switch-of-voice can be classified and understood as the instance of the more general social type that the different voice evokes" (Rampton 2006, p. 225). The stylized voice necessarily relies on a kind of 'common knowledge' shared by the stylizer and the interlocutor or recipient of the utterance. That is, the style of the stylized voice should be recognizable; moreover, the social, political, and historical ideologies associated

with, or represented by, the stylized word should be recognizable and shared, as the recipients identify what image of another's language the stylized word is supposed to be (Rampton 2006).

Another common feature of dialogic speech is parody. Bakhtin argues that in parodic talk, the speaker reiterates someone else's discourse, but "in contrast to stylization, parody introduces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 193). Now discourse becomes an arena of battle between two voices, as they serve opposing points of view. Irony, too, uses someone else's words to convey aspirations that are hostile to them. Bakhtin notes that "in the ordinary speech of our everyday life such a use of another's words is extremely widespread" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 194). The words of another introduced into our own speech inevitably become subject to our evaluation. A further example of the ways in which the words of others shape our own speech is in what Bakhtin called 'hidden polemic'. Here the other's discourse is not reproduced, but is merely implied, and the entire speech is a reaction to another person's words: "The polemical colouration of the discourse appears in other purely language features as well: in intonation and syntactic construction" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 195). A further category of dialogic discourse, internally polemical discourse, is also widespread in practical everyday speech and "has enormous style-shaping significance" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 197). Included here is any speech which makes a dig at others with barbed words; speech which is self-deprecating and overblown; speech full of reservations, concessions and loopholes; and speech which cringes in anticipation of someone else's reply. Analogous to internal polemic is a rejoinder which reacts to someone else's word. Bakhtin argues that "Especially important is the phenomenon of hidden dialogicality" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 197), speech which appears to be a dialogue but from which one of the speakers is absent. The second speaker is present invisibly; his/her words are not there, "but deep traces left by these words have a determining influence on all the present and visible words of the first speaker". Although the second speaker is not present, "each present, uttered word responds and reacts with its every fibre to the invisible speaker" (1984, p. 197). This diversity of speech type is a key feature of linguistic diversity, whether within or between 'languages'. A focus on the interrelationship between our own word and the word of the other—in discourse which is 'dialogic'—leads us towards a third aspect of heteroglossia: 'multivoicedness'.

1.2.3 Multivoicedness

For Bakhtin, language is historically real, "a process teeming with future and former languages, with prim but moribund aristocrat-languages, with parvenu-languages and with countless pretenders to the status of language—which are all more or less successful, depending on their degree of social scope and on the ideological area in which they are employed" (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 356–357). Not the least of the historical context of languages and varieties is their hierarchization and indexical/

ideological associations. Bakhtin pointed to the dialogic nature of the word, which is "shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 279). The word is shaped not only by other words in the past and present, but also by the anticipated word of the other. Therefore, language "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 293). Hall et al. (2005, p. 2) argue that for Bakhtin the utterance is always a two-sided act: "In the moment of its use, at one and the same time, it responds to what precedes it and anticipates what is to come". Bakhtin referred to dialogic discourse as the meaning-making process by which the historical, the present, and the future come together in an utterance. In their chapter in this volume, David Malinowski and Claire Kramsch describe dialogism as both a philosophy and an epistemology, which posits that knowledge of self can only occur from the perspective of the other and vice versa. They argue that Bakhtin's view of heteroglossia is a healthy reminder that today's diversity and multiplicity are no guarantee of existential dialogue and ideological change.

All utterances, then, have a history and an anticipated future. Bakhtin saw that what we talk about most are the words of others, such that our speech is overflowing with other people's words. In doing so, we weigh, evaluate, refute, repudiate, celebrate, affirm, and so on not only the words of others but also the political/ideological position represented by those words. Bakhtin argued that the object has already been articulated, disputed, elucidated, and evaluated in various ways, and various views and trends cross, converge, and diverge within it. Any utterance, in addition to its own themes, always responds in one form or another to others' utterances that precede it, and speech inevitably becomes the arena where viewpoints, world views, trends, and theories encounter each other.

While Bakhtin's notion of the multivoiced nature of heteroglossia offers a valuable and elegant tool to understand the dynamic nature of the construction of linguistic identities, Lähteenmäki suggests that its explanatory potential may nonetheless be limited. In his enthusiasm to describe linguistic diversity as the normal state of a 'language', Bakhtin tends to "ignore the fact that within heteroglossia linguistic resources are not equally distributed between individuals and different social groups" (Lähteenmäki 2010, p. 30). Celebrating diversity does not account for the ways in which linguistic difference often constitutes social inequality. Bakhtin's theoretical apparatus, developed in the context of analysis of the novels of Dostoevsky, has great potential in moving us from identification of the 'code' to an analysis of the coexistence of competing ideological points of view. However, such an apparatus, subject to the contingencies of the time and space of its own production, cannot be imported wholesale as a means to interpret linguistic and social phenomena in the twenty-first century. Instead, we take heteroglossia as a point of departure, a powerful lens with which to bring into focus the complexity and mobility of contemporary societies.

In summary, Bakhtin views the word not as a material thing but rather as "the eternally mobile, eternally fickle medium of dialogic interaction" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 197). For Bakhtin, the life of the word is contained in its transfer "from one mouth to another, from one context to another context, from one social collective

to another, from one generation to another generation" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 202). Bailey (2012, p. 504) summarises 'heteroglossia' as "the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and the tensions and conflicts among those signs, on the socio-historical associations they carry with them". What we propose, then, is an analytic gaze that explicitly joins the linguistic utterance in the present with the socio-historical relationships that give meanings to those utterances; a gaze that takes as its focus speakers as social actors using heteroglossic resources to negotiate the social world. Such an analytic gaze "encourages us to interpret the meanings of talk in terms of the social worlds, past and present, of which words are part-and-parcel, rather than in terms of formal systems, such as 'languages', that can veil actual speakers, uses, and contexts" (Bailey 2012, p. 502). We propose an analytic perspective which takes linguistic diversity to be constitutive of, and constituted by, social diversity.

1.3   Translanguaging

The scholarly contributions to this volume present original examples from research in contexts of teaching and learning, in popular cultural forms such as hip hop and rap, and in the use of digital communication, including computers and mobile phones. What unites them is that in each context more than one identifiable set of linguistic resources is in use and in play simultaneously. As such, they are examples of bilingual/multilingual performance, and in some instances include bilingual/multilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning. What we see in looking across the research presented here is a reorientation of perspective in investigations of complex linguistic repertoires, to view language use as heteroglossic practice. A number of the contributors to the volume take as the focus of discussion 'translanguaging': the flexible use of linguistic resources by multilingual speakers.

Ofelia García proposes that translanguaging as pedagogy has the potential to liberate the voices of language-minoritized students. For García (2009), a translanguaging approach to teaching and learning is not about code-switching, but rather about an arrangement that normalizes bilingualism without diglossic functional separation. Baker (2011, p. 288) defines translanguaging as the process of "making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages". In the classroom, translanguaging approaches draw on all the linguistic resources of the child to maximise understanding and achievement. Thus, both or all languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organise and mediate understanding, speaking, literacy, and learning (Lewis et al. 2012). García argues that bilingual families and communities must translanguage in order to construct meaning. She further proposes that what makes translanguaging different from other fluid languaging practices is that it is transformative, with the potential to remove the hierarchy of languaging practices that deem some more valuable than others. Translanguaging, she argues in this volume, is about a new languaging reality, a new way of being, acting, and languaging in a different social,

cultural, and political context, allowing fluid discourses to flow, and giving voice to new social realities. Li Wei (2011, p. 1223) makes a similar argument that the act of translanguaging "is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment". Hornberger and Link (2012), following Hornberger (2004), further conceptualise translanguaging in educational contexts, proposing that educators should recognize, value, and build on the multiple, mobile communicative repertoires of students and their families. Translanguaging leads us away from a focus on 'languages' as distinct codes to a focus on the agency of individuals engaged in using, creating, and interpreting signs for communication. Lewis et al. (2012, p. 665) argue that the distinction between code-switching and translanguaging is ideological, in that code-switching has associations with language separation, while translanguaging approves the flexibility of learning through two or more languages: "Particularly in the bilingual classroom, translanguaging as a concept tries to move acceptable practice away from language separation, and thus has ideological—even political—associations".

Translanguaging as pedagogy offers immense potential for teaching and learning. Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter, in their contribution to this volume, argue for an approach to the study of multilingualism in education which places the emphasis on spontaneous multilingual speech in its social context. They recommend a pedagogy which considers language as a social resource and highlights individual agency when using different languages and other semiotic resources. Christine Hélot's chapter also explores the learning potential of translanguaging, as she describes the deployment of texts by translingual authors to make bilingual trainee teachers aware of new ways of understanding bilinguals' experiences and engagement with the world. Aware of the constraints inherent in restrictive language policy, Hélot argues for translanguaging as a means to counteract linguistic insecurity in the classroom, to ensure teachers understand that balanced bilingualism is a myth, and that translanguaging is a linguistic resource available to bilinguals to communicate in a creative and meaningful way. Silvia Noguerón-Liu and Doris Warriner, in their chapter, suggest that the notion of translanguaging expands existing theories of multilingualism by focusing on the social practices of individuals. They adopt this term to move away from a focus on abstract, idealized notions of 'a language' as a set of skills, and to emphasize the fact that multilingual users deploy a variety of resources while engaging in everyday practice.

In their chapter in this volume, Bronwyn Low and Mela Sarkar argue that the politics of language is part of everyday interaction in downtown Montreal, and is evidenced in the boundary crossing implied by translanguaging, and in the diversity of voices encapsulated in the term heteroglossia. Betsy Rymes (this volume) warns that teachers and students of language can spend a lot of time focusing on linguistic elements that have little relevance to everyday communication, potentially wasting the brilliance of communication that heteroglossia affords. She proposes that not only are notions of 'pure' languages fictions, they are also not very expressive. In order to shift our focus from code to repertoire we need to develop an analytic gaze which incorporates recent scholarship on multilingualism, but which includes the socio-historical and ideological bases of language meaning and use.

Translanguaging refers to linguistic practice and, in classrooms, pedagogy which gives *voice* to speakers in ways which allow them to activate the full range of their linguistic repertoires. Heteroglossia provides a theoretical lens which enables us to understand *voice* as filled with social diversity. Translanguaging and heteroglossia refer to social practices and actions that enact a political process of transformation. In educational contexts translanguaging offers an approach to pedagogy which values, includes, and incorporates the full linguistic repertoires of students. Translanguaging and heteroglossia engage with the ways in which different linguistic forms, either within or between what we typically call 'languages', are connected with particular ideological positions and express particular world views.

The authors of this volume present research from a wide range of contexts. Some of these are contexts of teaching and learning; others are contexts of social life outside of education. The studies do not share a common design, nor do they adopt similar research methods. However, they are united by a concern with investigating the ways in language in use is shot through with multiple voices which constitute and are constitutive of social, political, and historical positions. Implicitly or explicitly, the authors of this volume subject linguistic material to analysis which asks how different language forms are connected with particular ideological positions and world views, how the word is filled with tension as values and beliefs collide within it, and how the word is shaped not only by other words in the past and present, but also by the anticipated word of the other. Implicitly or explicitly each chapter interrogates language in use in relation to its social, political, and historical context. In this volume we do not propose a common methodology in the study of language and social diversity. We propose, however, that an analytical gaze which takes as its focus indexicality, social tension, and multiplicity of voice offers potential for an understanding of language in use which incorporates but supersedes a focus on code.

To illustrate this point, we will consider the voices of a group of young people engaged in the kind of everyday conversation we frequently recorded during 2011 when we were engaged in an ethnographic research project in which we studied the language practices and identities of young people in four European countries.[1] The example was recorded during a break in a lesson in a Panjabi language classroom in a school in Birmingham, UK. During the lesson, one member of the research team, Jaspreet Kaur Takhi, was present, observing and writing field notes. In the classroom were 20 students, and a teaching assistant (Prabhjot, female, 19 years). Two of the students, Komal (female, 17 years) and Sahib (male, 17 years), and the teaching assistant, Prabhjot, wore digital voice recorders during the lesson. In addition, the

researcher wrote field notes as she observed the class. A third student, Gopinder (female, 15 years), is also prominent in the audio recording. Other students are occasionally audible. Our selection of this lesson as an example does not suggest that it is taken in isolation, but that it typifies the kind of interactions observed in and out of the school over the course of 10 months. This particular interaction occurs during a scheduled break in the lesson, during which the students eat snacks and have drinks, while remaining in the classroom. The students are talking with the teaching assistant, Prabhjot, about popular musical entertainer Justin Bieber.

'You don't do that in front of the Queen'

1 Gopinder: Selena Gomez got punched, like, she was coming out of (xxx)
2 Prabhjot: they aren't a good influence on kids
3 Komal: I'm sorry, but they are such a cute couple, their babies are going to be so fit
4 Gopinder: yeah, and they got in the car and she like broke down crying in his arms
5 Prabhjot: they're all gunday *<dirty>*. Hannah Montana, I would never let my kid watch that
6 Gopinder: why?
7 Prabhjot: have you seen how rude that girl is? [Sahib laughs] what was she doing at that awards ceremony?
8 Komal: in front of the Queen, in front of the Queen she was wearing hot pants and pole dancing, sorry but no, you don't do that in front of the Queen
9 Gopinder: yeah, Demi Lovato was like self-harming and erm
10 Prabhjot: and she takes drugs, that woman does
11 Guvraj: Demi Lovato had to go to rehab
12 Prabhjot: there you go
13 Komal: I don't like Demi Lovato. [stylised African American accent:] she ugly
14 Gopinder: they're all pretty
15 Komal: I don't think Demi's pretty
16 Sahib: Disney Channel's racist as well, only goray *<white people>* on there, and a few kaalay *<black people>*
17 Gopinder: have you seen 'How to be Indie'?
18 Sahib: yeah they act goray *<like white people>* as well. Actually there's an episode when they made jalebi *<sweet snack>* at home, the mum's funny, and the baba *<grandfather>*, he's got this remedy or something
19 Prabhjot: and they take, and they take the mick out of us Indians there
20 Sahib: in America
21 Komal: Americans
22 Gopinder: it's not very Indian at all, they don't do anything Indian, it's just her name is Indie
23 Sahib: no, the mum's Indian, when like, when she has to do that dance
24 Guvraj: it's not actually Indian

Although this is break time, the students are still in the classroom with the teaching assistant, Prabhjot. In the first of several interventions which we might describe as informally pedagogical, Prabhjot argues that Justin Bieber and his girlfriend Selena Gomez 'aren't a good influence on kids'. However, Komal appears to position herself differently in relation to the celebrity couple, with the words 'cute' and

'fit'. Prabhjot, just 2 years older than Komal, describes the musical artists as 'all gunday', and similarly evaluates the television show 'Hannah Montana', in which Gomez was featuring at the time. Prabhjot imagines a future with a child of her own, and firmly states that she would 'never let my kid watch that'. Prabhjot refers (line 7) not to the programme itself, but to a much-publicised incident in which the star of 'Hannah Montana', Miley Cyrus, had performed a dance at a 'Teen' awards ceremony deemed by some to be age inappropriate. Here Prabhjot defines what she means by 'gunday' and 'rude'. Komal picks up Prabhjot's cue, protesting that the actress was 'wearing hot pants and pole dancing', and that 'you don't do that in front of the Queen'. Komal's earlier enthusiasm for celebrity entertainers dissipates now, as her discourse is shaped by that of the teaching assistant, and she repeats three times the phrase 'in front of the Queen'. Komal's discourse appears to index a moral stance which views pole dancing and hot pants as the antithesis of what the British monarchy represents.

The discussion moves on to comment on young American actress Demi Lovato, who, like Cyrus, was a star of The Disney Channel. The two actresses were often associated in media stories in 2011. Gopinder takes up the gossip—'Demi Lovato was, like, self-harming'. Prabhjot supports this theme, as does Guvraj: 'Demi Lovato had to go to rehab'. Prabhjot believes this clinches her point, as she responds, 'there you go'. Link, Lipinoga, and Wortham (this volume) argue that utterances are filled with the voices of others. The terms 'self-harming' and 'rehab' were in wide circulation in media stories about Lovato, Cyrus, Gomez, and other Disney Channel actors in 2010 and 2011. Gopinder and Guvraj are recontextualising these media voices and, in doing so, positioning themselves socially in relation to (1) the media reporting about the actors, (2) the actors and their celebrity culture, and (3) the other members of the classroom discussion. Such recontextualised discourse may "denote the characteristics of *other* social interactions in ways which contribute to the shape of the *current* interaction" (Agha 2007, p. 30). In speaking words which are "half someone else's" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 293), the students reveal their 'here and now' relationship, attitudes, and identifications with both their interlocutors and with the characters and events in the story of the troubled celebrities (Koven 2002).

Komal introduces a new voice now, saying 'I don't like Demi Lovato, she ugly'. Here 'she ugly' is spoken in a stylized African-American accent, or 'African-American Vernacular English' (AAVE). Stylization involves reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (Ben Rampton, this volume). During many hours of audio recording and classroom observation of Komal, researchers rarely saw instances of AAVE in her speech. However, they very frequently saw examples of stylization, as Komal represented exaggerated versions of voices in local and global circulation, including 'posh' and 'Asian' voices (Blackledge, Creese, and Takhi, 2012, 2013). Here Komal seems to make an artistic representation of a voice (lexically, grammatically, and phonologically) associated with a version of American popular culture, and perhaps with the young American stars of The Disney Channel. The stylization of the voice enables a portrayal and evaluation in "a safe and ordinary environment in which a speaker can

try to slip into their speech an other-ethnic form as if it were their own" (Rampton and Charalambous 2012, p. 490).

In line 16, Sahib takes the discussion to another level, arguing that The Disney Channel is 'racist', as it represents 'only goray <*white people*> on there, and a few kaalay <*black people*>'. Here, and elsewhere in the wider corpus of material we collected, 'goray' and 'kaalay' are classifications which represent the 'other'. That is, people of Panjabi or 'Asian' heritage are not 'goray' or 'kaalay'. Gopinder refers to 'How to be Indie', a programme also aired on The Disney Channel in the UK, in which the main character is a 13-year-old Indian-heritage Canadian teenager. Sahib's evaluation of the characters in this show is that 'they act goray'. Here, Sahib appears to raise questions about authenticity in relation to the Asian characters in the show. Prabhjot, Sahib, and Komal all agree that 'in America' 'they take the mick out of us Indians'. Here 'us Indians' appears to index an in-group which (they all understand) includes the participants in the discussion. Gopinder concurs, citing evidence in relation to the behaviour of the characters, who 'don't do anything Indian'. Sahib, who had already said that the family in the show 'made jalebi', a traditional Indian snack, argues that 'the mum's Indian'. Again, however, the evidence cited is in relation to the character's behaviour, 'when she has to do that dance'. Guvraj, referring either to the dance or to the programme more broadly, disagrees, saying 'it's not actually Indian'.

What can we say about this ordinary stretch of talk involving young people engaged in (amongst other things) teaching and learning Panjabi in a weekend community language school? Nothing unusual occurs in this typical interaction. But if we adopt a heteroglossic lens, we can see that a great deal is going on, as the students and teachers find discursive means of indexing roles and relationships to position themselves in the social world (Agha 2007). The words of the protagonists point to, belong to, and are recognized as representing certain sets of values, ideologies, social groups, and so on, as "different language-forms are connected with particular ideological positions and express particular world-views conceptualising extra-discursive reality in their own unique way" (Lähteenmaki 2010, p. 28). In the discourse of the social actors, questions of identities and belonging and questions of authenticity (Shankar 2008; Blommaert and Varis 2011) routinely surface. These authenticities and identities are far from straightforward. They are, indeed, characterized by complexity, as we catch a glimpse of the "perpetual semiotic reorientations of identity work" (Blommaert 2012, p. 6) in process. They are not fixed; rather, they are fast-moving, "organised as a patchwork of different specific objects and directions of action" (Blommaert and Varis 2011, p. 1), and inclined to shift their position in the blink of an eye. Bailey (2012, p. 501) reminds us that none of the emblems, identities, authenticities, orientations, and subjectivities in play mean anything to anyone except through historical association, without which "there is no inherent relationship between the indexical form and meaning" (Bailey 2012, p. 501). In Bakhtin's (1981) terms, the word is historically real.

In the break time, the names (and at times the unspoken names) of celebrity actors and musicians (Demi Lovato, Justin Bieber, Miley Cyrus, Selena Gomez) become emblematic of a particular set of values, a specific world view, which meets

with the disapproval of the teaching assistant and her model students. Disapproval is not uncontested, however. When Prabhjot uses the descriptor 'gunday' to negatively evaluate the young celebrities, Gopinder asks 'why?' Komal initially describes Bieber and Gomez as a 'cute couple'. However, she responds to Prabhjot by expressing her horror that Cyrus had danced in a 'rude' way at an awards ceremony: 'sorry but no, you don't do that in front of the Queen'. This defence of the sensibilities of the British monarch appears to orient towards an expression of 'Britishness', or 'Englishness', as well as picking up and agreeing with Prabhjot's evaluation. Blommaert and Varis point out that discourses in which people identify themselves and others include "a bewildering range of objects towards which people express affinity, attachment, belonging; or rejection, disgust, disapproval" (Blommaert and Varis 2011, p. 4).

Komal's apparent defence of the sensibilities of the Queen does not appear to jar with subsequent assumed understandings of 'Indianness'. The first reference to 'Indianness' is implied, and therefore presupposed. When Sahib argues that The Disney Channel is racist, he claims that only 'goray' and 'a few kaalay' are represented in the channel's programming. In using these racialised categories, he assumes that his interlocutors will understand that the missing group is 'Indians' (or possibly 'Asians', but only 'Indians' is stated as a category here). Similarly, Prabhjot's discourse assumes that the interlocutors are 'Indians' ('they take the mick out of us Indians'), despite the fact that they are all British-born, and British citizens who have lived all their lives in the UK. However, these categories are not as fixed as they first appear. Although the inclusive phrase 'us Indians' accords authenticity to each member of the group, it is possible to *be* Indian and '*act* goray'. At some moments, though, acting 'goray' recedes in favour of making 'jalebi'. It is also possible to be Indian and at the same time 'not very Indian'—as the characters in 'How to be Indie' 'don't do anything Indian'. Even then, 'the mum's Indian', as she 'has to do that dance'. 'Indianness', whether we define it as a racial, ethnic, or national category of belonging, is negotiable, shifting from a fixed, authentic classification ('us Indians') to a debate which moves between the relative 'Indianness' of certain behaviours to Guvraj's final 'it's not actually Indian'. Here what counts as Indian is both agreed upon and disagreed about, as discourse revolves around "a complex and unpredictable notion of authenticity" (Blommaert and Varis 2011, p. 12). The discourse of the students and their young teacher points to, belongs to, and represents certain sets of values, ideologies, and social positions. These are values and beliefs which are shaped in interaction, as the slippery stuff of identity work plays out in quick-fire dialogue. The words of the young people index social and political positions, as they establish their own sense of belonging through evaluation of others.

What are the implications of this for understanding language and social diversity? In adopting a heteroglossic lens to examine the discourse of the young people, it becomes clear that the most important question is not about which language is mainly in use, but rather about what signs are in use and action, and what these signs point to. A heteroglossic analysis enables us to better understand the tensions and conflicts within, among, and between those signs. Furthermore, such an analysis asks how multiple voices are represented in heteroglossia. The linguistic diversity

of these signs, and of these voices, indexes social diversity. There may be much to learn from adopting a heteroglossic lens through which to examine language practices, to ensure that we bring into play, both in practice and in pedagogy, voices which index students' localities, social histories, circumstances, and identities. The chapters in this book extend our knowledge of how a heteroglossic lens on linguistic practice expands our understanding of social diversity.

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Chapter 2
Building on Heteroglossia and Heterogeneity: The Experience of a Multilingual Classroom

Brigitta Busch

Abstract This chapter draws on empirical research carried out in a primary school located in a multilingual neighbourhood in Vienna where learning has been taking place in pilot multigrade classrooms for more than 10 years. The multigrade approach follows an open learning strategy inspired by Freinet pedagogics understanding heterogeneity as a resource and not as a drawback. The chapter will present examples from a research project which focusses on how learners perceive their heteroglossic linguistic repertoires and how they draw on multiple resources—modes, codes, discourses—to produce creative and meaningful texts. These texts, a multimodal classroom diary and a classroom library consisting of single as well as co-authored printed 'mini-books', form a core element in the open learning environment of the school.

Keywords Linguistic repertoires · Pedagogy · Multidiscursivity · Multivoicedness

2.1   Introduction

Empirical studies in the past two decades have focussed attention on linguistic practices—especially among young people in urban spaces—that have been designated by terms such as language crossing (Rampton 1995), translanguaging (e.g. Garcia 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Li 2011), polylingual languaging (Jørgensen 2008), metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010) or described from a perspective of heteroglossia (e.g. Busch 2004; Bailey 2007). The interest in such practices is linked to phenomena of globally expanding mobility, which entail new and increasingly complex social formations and networking practices beyond traditional affiliations, for which Steve Vertovec (2007) has coined the term 'super-diversity'. This has brought back into debate the notion of linguistic repertoire. The refer-

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ence to a linguistic repertoire results from the fact that these linguistic practices are not seen as arbitrary, nor as playful language use devoid of social context, but are instead described in relation to grounded local practices. The linguistic repertoire is not seen as stable and geographically fixed, but as fluid and flexible, as related to different social spaces and moments in time. Seen from the speakers' perspective, the repertoire evolves drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses and codes, and forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imaginations and desires (Busch 2012).

In the context of school and education, speakers with a complex translocal repertoire encounter an institution which is traditionally rooted in a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1994) and usually deploys a highly formalized language regime that prioritizes standardized language. Historically, school has been considered as a key institution to implement language policies aimed at enforcing a unitary (state) language and homogenizing linguistically diverse populations. Today, school is in many countries under pressure from ideologies that claim an exclusive position for the state language to counter the 'threat' of growing linguistic diversity linked to mobility and migration. An underlying monolingual homogenizing logic has shaped curricula, school manuals, communicative practices and classroom settings, such as teaching and learning in age groups. The same logic often also governs models of bilingual schools in which linguistic diversity takes the form of two added monolingualisms (Busch 2011).

In a pedagogic concept which recognizes translocal communicative repertoires and appreciates translanguaging as a legitimate way of expression and meaning making, formal teaching and learning situations must also be reconceptionalized as open spaces of potentialities, where polyphonic voices, discourses and ways of speaking are seen as a resource and an asset. In this chapter, I will therefore first discuss Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, encompassing the three dimensions of social discourse, individual voice and linguistic code. In the empirical part, I will draw on research in a primary school where a pedagogy which understands heteroglossia and heterogeneity as resource is implemented. Taking Bakhtin's triadic concept of heteroglossia as an analytical framework, a particular focus will be on a close reading of texts produced by learners in the course of free and creative writing activities.

2.2   A Triadic Understanding of Bakhtin's Notion of Heteroglossia

The international or rather the western reception of Mikhail Bakhtin's writings is mainly linked on the one hand to the work of Tsvetan Todorov and Julia Kristeva (2002, p. 9), who introduced his thinking in the 1960s into French philosophical discourse, and on the other to English translations of his works that began to appear from the late 1970s onwards. Bakhtin's thinking has been influential in various fields such as literary studies, postcolonial and cultural studies, media studies, translation studies, semiotics and also in applied linguistics. Whereas in the beginning

Bakhtin's thoughts on the carnivalesque, and especially his notion of dialogism, received attention, more recently the Bakhtinian notions of 'heteroglossia' and 'multivoicedness' are being foregrounded in connection with linguistic diversity.

In the field of language learning and second language acquisition (SLA), it is particularly Bakhtin's notion of dialogism that provided theoretical grounding for new approaches. Swain and Deters (2007) in their overview on "'New' Mainstream in Second Language Acquisition Theory" show that in the past decade Bakhtin's work has increasingly captured the attention of SLA researchers, whereby some of them integrate Bakhtinian and Vygotskian theories of language and learning (e.g. contributions in Hall et al. 2005). Bakhtin's notions of heteroglossia and multivoicedness receive increasing attention in connection with speech practices developing under conditions of super-diversity: Rampton (1995) introduced the Bakhtinian notion of double voicing to analyse moments when speakers use someone else's discourse or language for their own purposes. Bailey (2007) stresses particularly that the notion of heteroglossia allows us to connect linguistic forms and historical social relations. Whereas from the perspective of interactional linguistics the concept of heteroglossia is mainly referred to in analysis of multilingual practices, in post-structuralist approaches heteroglossia receives particular attention when exploring the role of language in the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity, of multiple identifications and subject positions. Authors refer particularly to Bakhtin's understanding of a Self not as determined by socially and ideologically constructed worlds, but as developing in dialogical response to them (Pietikäinen and Dufva 2006; Kramsch 2009; Lähteenmäki 2010; Busch forthcoming).

Studies exploring heteroglossic practices often rely on empirical data from educational contexts and school environments and focus on practices among children or adolescents challenging monolingual institutional norms (e.g. Rampton 1995; Jørgensen 2008; Creese and Blackledge 2010; special issue of 'Pragmatics' 2010[1]). Some authors include teaching and learning strategies allowing for and making use of heteroglossic practices to encourage student participation, to link classroom life to the social environment and to build on students' resources to enhance metalinguistic awareness (e.g. Busch 2006a; Blackledge and Creese 2010). Nevertheless, the documentation of pedagogical concepts building explicitly on translanguaging or on heteroglossic practices is still scarce in scholarly publications and mainly concentrate on specific areas such as educational materials development (Busch 2006b; Busch and Schick 2007), language learning (Canagarajah 2007), creative multimodal classroom activities (Stein 2008) and complementary schools (Creese and Blackledge 2010). In this chapter, I will focus on the example of a classroom in which students with diverse translocal linguistic repertoires learn together, where heteroglossic practices are not only present in informal settings or tolerated in formal contexts but also consciously taken up as resources, where heterogeneity and heteroglossia are recognized as pedagogical principles. In exploring these class-

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[1] See different contributions in the special issue 20/4 (2010) which focusses on "how children, in naturally occurring school and neighborhood peer and sibling-kin groups across a variety of cultures and societies, socialize one another to do heteroglossia" (Kyratzis et al. 2010, p. 457).

room practices, I will rely on Bakhtin's understanding of heteroglossia which is based on the notion of dialogism, the presence of others' words in one's own utterances.

I use the term heteroglossia in a large sense, embracing the multifaceted and multilayered plurality which in Bakhtin's view is inherent to living language. Analytically, it is useful to distinguish between the notions of *raznorečie,* meaning the multiplicity of (social–ideological) speech types or discourses, *raznogolosie*, meaning the diversity of (individual) voices, and *raznojazyčie*, meaning linguistic variation or the diversity of languages[2] (Todorov 1984, p. 56):

- Multidiscursivity [*raznorečie*] refers to the co-presence of specific speech types or discourses that are related to time (particular epochs, periods, days, etc.) and to social worlds or spaces (nations, professions, age groups, families, circles, etc.)—to a "multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 288). Following Bakhtin (1999, p. 121), each of these spheres develops relatively stable types of speech genres and topics.
- Multivoicedness [*raznogolosie*] specifies that multidiscursivity is "expressed […] by the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 263). For the individual speaker the word "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 293).
- Linguistic diversity [*raznojazyčie*] finally points to the traces that are left behind in language as a result of social differentiation (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 293). The intentional diversity of speech [*raznorečivost*] "is transformed into diversity of language [*raznojazyčie*]; what results is not a single language but a dialogue of languages" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 294). Thereby, Bakhtin (1981a, p. 295) makes no fundamental distinction between linguistic diversity within what he calls a 'national' language or among "several 'languages' that have established contact and mutual recognition with each other."

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[2] In today's reception, the term 'heteroglossia' is generally used to designate Bakhtin's concept of linguistic and discursive plurality as a whole. This corresponds to Emerson's and Holquist's terminology who translate the Russian word *raznorečie* as 'heteroglossia' (Holquist 1981, p. 428). Todorov (1984, p. 56), however, insists on a more differentiated understanding. He translates *raznorečie* as 'heterology', meaning the multiplicity of (social–ideological) discourses. In contrast, he reserves the term 'heteroglossia' to translate *raznojazyčie,* meaning linguistic variation or diversity, and the term 'heterophony' for *raznogolosie,* meaning the diversity of (individual) voices. Bakhtin himself admitted a certain penchant for variation and plurality of terms to name the same phenomenon examined from different perspectives (Todorov 1984, p. xii), but in some places there is a clear distinction between the three notions as in the following quote when he speaks about "a diversity of social speech types (sometimes even diversity of languages) and a diversity of individual voices" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 262). Another source of possible confusion is related to the diverging use of the English term 'discourse' which in Emerson's and Holquist's translation stands for the Russian *slovo* [word, talk], in Todorov's translation for the Russian *reč'* [speech].

The idea of unitary language in the triple sense of monodiscursivity, homophony and monolingualism is intimately linked to hegemonic, centripetal socio-ideological forces "that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 270). It is expressed through the "authoritarian" or "sacred" word that "with its indisputability, unconditionality, and unequivocality" is removed from dialogue and "retards and freezes thought" ignoring "live experience of life" (Bakhtin 1986, p. 133). In the context of linguistic–ideological centralisation and unification, heteroglossia becomes a counter-strategy that functions as a "parodic antibody" which challenges and profanes the authoritarian word and brings it back into dialogue (Bakhtin 1986, p. 133). Heteroglossia as a pedagogy thus would have to adopt this critical gesture and aim at developing among all participants involved in the process of teaching and learning a high degree of linguistic awareness.

2.2.1   M2:Exploring the Potential of Creative Multimodal Text Production

The empirical research which this chapter draws on was carried out in a state primary school located in the neighbourhood of Vienna, which according to the current population census has the highest percentage of inhabitants of migrant backgrounds. The school statistics show that 87 % of the learners in this primary school currently use another family language than German or in addition to German. Since some 20 years ago, besides German, mainly two further languages—Serbocroat and Turkish—figured in the school register, today under conditions of super-diversity the range of languages listed has become much broader. Also children from a nearby refugee centre attend this primary school, which results in a high fluctuation and a considerable number of so-called lateral entrants, who after having started their schooling in another medium of instruction join the Vienna classes directly in upper grades.

Within this school, our research focusses on a multigrade class named M2[3], in which children from the first to the fourth year of schooling learn together in one single classroom. This class is one of the almost a hundred multigrade classrooms in Vienna where learners of different grades, ages, abilities, levels of attainment and linguistic backgrounds work together in a vertical grouping. The Viennese multigrade classes began in 1997 as experimental classes and have developed in the past decade into an important movement which understands itself as an alternative to the age grade form of teaching.[4] Inspired by open learning approaches and progressive pedagogy models (Reformpädagogik) as developed by Maria Montessori, Célestin Freinet and others, the Vienna multigrade movement has insisted on a non-elitist orientation and has developed within the state school system. Today approximately

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[3] M2 classroom web site: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/.

[4] Arbeitsgemeinschaft Wiener reformpädagogische Mehrstufenklassen (2008); http://www.mehrstufenklassen.info/.

2,000 children between the age of 6 and 11 years attend such multigrade classes, but the growing demand cannot be met. The multigrade classrooms are allocated a number of additional teaching hours for which a second teacher comes in, and parents are invited for particular activities and considered as valuable experts and helpers. Within 3–5 years, learners can complete the primary cycle which usually encompasses 4 years. Every year approximately a quarter of the learners leave the multigrade class, while a corresponding number of newcomers join in. This flux of continuity and change facilitates the integration of newcomers into the classroom routines. The classroom remains an open social space with its own ongoing history, and heterogeneity is not seen as a disturbing factor but as a core learning principle.

The M2 follows a learning approach based on the concepts developed by the French pedagogue Célestin Freinet (1896–1966): learning takes place in co-operative processes following as much as possible an inquiry-based method; children are encouraged to bring in their own interests and curiosity. A core aspect is the so-called pedagogy of work (pédagogie du travail), meaning that children learn by making useful products or providing useful services (Freinet 1969). The Freinet approach is particularly associated with the creation of meaningful texts such as school newsletters, working libraries and self-correcting files produced in every classroom, originally with lead typesetting and printing press. In the M2, free and creative writing and desktop publishing are an essential pedagogical concept and ongoing activity. Computer, camera, scanner, recording devices and other multimedia equipment act as a modernized version of the Freinet printshop and as tools to implement the principle of processing a text from the idea to the distribution of the final product (Schreger 2008). For their innovative, multimodal and multilingual materials, the M2 has gained a number of Austrian and European awards. One of the creative writing activities is the digital classroom diary which has been a daily activity for more than 10 years. Through this kind of blog or chronicle, the multigrade classroom becomes a site with its own particular history. The content of the record of the day is negotiated among the learners and produced by one or several of them. Every record consists of a photograph and a short written text which is also read and audio recorded. The diary is available on the M2 web site[5] and is printed out in two copies, one for the classroom library and one for the author to take home. The printed diary collection is a popular reading material among the learners, and the on-line version allows parents to have a glimpse of everyday life in school. Another permanent activity is the World-ABC[6], an open Internet platform which invites learners to navigate through language(s) and pictures associated with particular terms. It is a kind of multilingual on-line dictionary with written and audio-recorded translations into a number of different languages represented in the classroom (Turkish, Kurdish, Chinese, English, Serbian). Each lexical item is accompanied by a series of different pictures chosen by the learners to represent their visual concepts of the term. Associative links lead to other terms. The World-ABC is an open platform which grows organically by adding new items, comments and pictures to the associative chains. The M2 administers the query database and edits

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[5] Classroom diary: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/index1.html.

[6] World ABC: http://weltabc.at.

contributions coming from Internet users. The Welt-ABC-version with German as source language today comprises more than 700 terms, the kurdi.weltabc.at with Kurdish as source language 300 (Schreger 2008).

Our research focussed on a further activity, the 'Little Books Library'[7], a collection of booklets in A6 landscape format written and illustrated by the learners. The booklets are easy to produce, and the equipment is always available and accessible in a special corner of the classroom. The Little Books Library, a wooden box containing the more than 400 little books that were produced since 2005, is also readily available. Learners are free to choose if and when they want to create a booklet; they are also free to choose topics and means of composition and design. The only specification is the common format. Every book consists of ten pages plus a cardboard cover and has all the visual and haptic qualities of a 'real' book. The bibliographic data on the cover pages contain title, name of the author and the imprint which identifies the booklet as belonging to the M2 Little Books Library. In this sense, every book is at the same time an individual creation and part of a collective work. It is printed in at least two copies, one for the author(s) and one for the classroom library. Occasionally, further copies are produced for exchange with other schools. The following section takes a closer look at one of the little books to show how learners access multimodal and heteroglossic means to tell their stories.

2.2.1.1 The Elephant and the Mouse: A Story of Displacement and of Friendship

Nemanja wrote his book "Slon i miš/Der Elefant und die Maus" [The elephant and the mouse] shortly after his arrival in Vienna. He was 8 years old when he came from a village in Serbia where he had attended 2 years of primary school. His story consists of five scenes, each of them encompassing a short text and a drawing. The text is not simply a caption for the drawings, nor are the drawings just illustrating the text; meaning is created in an interplay of both modes. Translated into English, the text reads:

> One morning the elephant went for a walk (1). On his way he met a mouse (2). They became friends and decided to go to the seaside (3). When they arrived, the elephant immediately went for a swim and the mouse sunbathed (4). Then also the mouse went for a swim (5).

On the first level, the narrative tells about becoming friends. However, the analysis of the visuals reveals other, parallel storylines. In the analysis of the visuals, I follow the segment analysis approach developed by Roswitha Breckner (2007, 2010)[8]: The key element of this method is an analysis of segments which are identified by a description of the perceptual process, and of the formal elements of the construction of a picture. The interpretation focusses on thematic references deriving from specifically pictorial phenomena such as lines, light, colour, forms, foreground, back-

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[7] Some of the little books can be viewed at: http://ortnergasse.webonaut.com/m2/kb/.

[8] I would like to thank Roswitha Breckner for analysing together with me this and other booklets and for her important input for a fuller understanding of the process of multimodal meaning making.
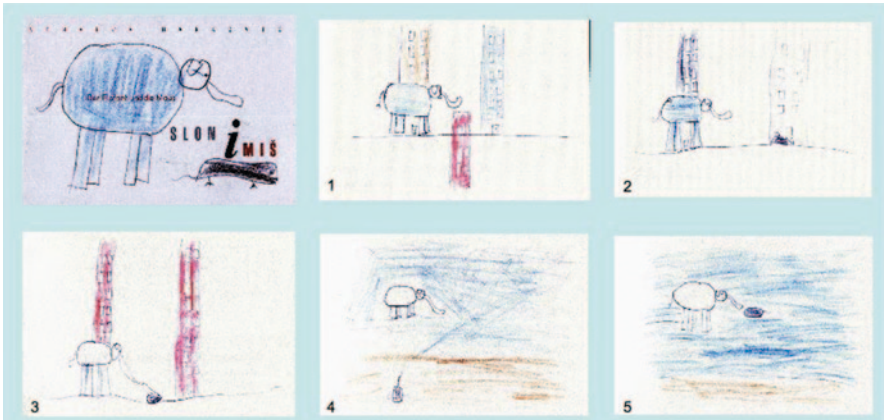
Fig. 2.1 The elephant and the mouse

ground, etc. in a relational way. The segment analysis is based on theoretical considerations about the relationship of picture and language as well as of the relationship of picture and reality. Foregrounding the perception process, the addressivity of the visual and a "responsive understanding" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 280), segment analysis can be considered as a dialogic method which attributes an active role to the reader or beholder. In this method, elements that attract specific attention are first isolated, described in detail and then submitted to hypothetical readings of their symbolic and iconic meanings. After having traced the pragmatic context of the picture, the synthesis elaborates how meaning is made visible by and within the picture.

In the book about the elephant and the mouse (Fig. 2.1), the synthesis of different pictorial elements identified in the course of the analysis allows an additional reading of the story: The elephant is out of place, lost in the urban canyon of a big city. He is too big to enter the doors of the houses, but small compared to the skyscrapers that reach beyond the rim of the page (1). He perceives (from a safe distance) the town mouse, who is the right size for the cityscape and just comes out of a door (2). Elephant and mouse join trunk and tail—they become friends (3). At the seaside, the elephant is in the water, while the mouse rests on the beach (4). Then, both are in the water; the elephant has brought the mouse into 'his' element (5).

Figure 2.2 focusses on one of the isolated segments, the elephant's head: At first the elephant looks straight ahead; his tusks are visible (1). When he meets the mouse (2) he bows down and shows readiness for interaction, the tusks disappear (3), the trunk gains in importance and the mouth becomes more and more visible and smiles (4, 5).

The analysis of the visuals and their contextualisation suggest that the author invests the elephant as the main character with emotional expression and that he narrates a story of displacement related to his own experience. To tell his story, the author borrows from known genres and topics and modifies them for his purposes: He adopts the genre of fairy tales with a happy ending in which animals represent the main acting characters. In his story, the characters are borrowed from the mouse and elephant jokes popular among children in the German speaking as well as in
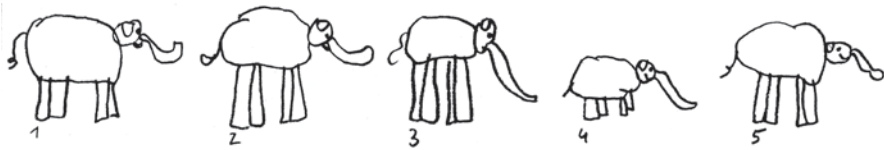
Fig. 2.2 The elephant's head

Fig. 2.3 One page of Nemanja's booklet

the Balkan space[9]. These jokes play with the difference in size between the two un-equal friends. Usually, the witty mouse plays the leading part. In Nemanja's story, however, the elephant is the main character—lost in the city, which is the mouse's environment.

A closer reading of the written text reveals the co-presence of multiple voices that contributed to its production. Figure 2.3 shows one text page of Nemanja's booklet. As on this page, the text appears throughout the book in four versions. The original text is handwritten in pencil in Serbian language and the Latin script Nemanja learnt in the village school he attended in Serbia before he came to Vienna:

> Kada su stigli na more slon je odma otišao da se kupa, a miš da se sunča.

The next text layer, which is in blue ballpen handwriting, gives a first translation into German:

> Wann ankommen Meer, Elefant gleich fortgehen boden, Maus ist sonnen.
> [When arrive sea, elephant immediately go out swim, mouse is sun herself.]

The text gives clues as to how it was composed: In several cases, words are not taken from a daily colloquial register but from a more sophisticated one usually used in written texts (e.g. "übereinkommen", "Freundschaft schließen") and many verbs appear in their indicative form (e.g. "ankommen"), without the appropriate auxiliary verbs. This implies that a dictionary was consulted to work out this first translation. On the other hand, certain words indicate in their almost phonological transliteration that they were available for the translation in their vernacular

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[9] See e.g. Maus-und-Elefant-Witze: http://www.kidsville.de/tiergarten/witze/.

Viennese form (e.g. "boden" versus "baden"). Apparently, Nemanja had some help
from outside the classroom, possibly from his parents or other family members. The
third text layer, the typewritten lines on the bottom of the page, were written by the
teacher who reframed the above quoted translation in a more conventional German:

> Als sie dort ankamen, ging der Elefant gleich baden und die Maus legte sich in die Sonne.
> [When they arrived there, the elephant immediately went swimming and the mouse
> sunbathed.]

As the teacher does not understand Serbian himself, his German version is built on
the first translation into German, the translation 'with an accent'. The fourth text
layer, the typewriting on the top of the page, was also done by the teacher who im-
mersed himself in the 'alien word' of (for him) a foreign language. Typing the text
in Serbian implies that he trusts the learner and is prepared to give up control. He
exchanges his position of the one who knows with the part of the one who learns.
The co-presence of the two typewritten versions, the Serbian and the German, sig-
nals that both are considered to be of equal value. The visibility of the four text lay-
ers in the printed version of the little book stresses the importance of the production
process and the multiple actors involved in it. A chain of intertextual transforma-
tions and inter- and intralingual translations (Jakobson 1971 [1959]) remains visible
and affirms the dialogic character of the creative process and the resulting work.
The little book is a heteroglossic text in the Bakhtinian sense as it displays, drawing
on different modes of symbolization (written, oral, visual), the interaction of differ-
ent codes, discourses and voices.

   Nemanja's book 'The elephant and the mouse' was presented here as an example
for the little books that constitute the Little Books Library. Each of these books as
well as the library as a whole are an expression of the heterogeneity of the learners'
backgrounds and of the neighbourhood in which the school is located. In the follow-
ing section, I will explore with reference to the Little Books Library why all three
dimensions of heteroglossia—multivoicedness, multidiscursivity and multiplicity
of codes—are significant when heteroglossia is implemented as a pedagogy.

2.2.1.2   Multivoicedness [raznogolosie]

Nemanja's book is the result of cooperation between different persons. The traces
of other voices are not 'evened out', but remain visible: Nemanja, as every author
of a text, has (absent) addressees in mind whose responses he anticipates and who
therefore are implicitly also present in the text—in his case probably his teacher,
his family and his peers. Ostensibly visible are the traces of unsigned helpers or
co-authors, for example, the voice of the translator in the blue handwriting. The
teacher[10] defines his role in the production of the little books as that of a first read-
er and an assistant. As a helper, he supports layout and technical production. The
amount and kind of help depend mainly on the authors' request. Sometimes authors

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[10] Interview with Christian Schreger, June 2010.

ask for ample support and prefer to dictate their text to the teacher who types it on the computer; sometimes they only demand help for the search of illustrations or the choice of fonts. As a first reader, the teacher encourages, asks clarifying questions, and sometimes makes suggestions which can be adopted or rejected. His role is that of "responding understanding […], one that participates in the formulation of discourse" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 280–281).

The authors are also readers of the little books. To produce a book means to involve oneself in a dialogue with previous books and with books to come. Some learners hesitate a long time before publishing their first little book, while others quickly become prolific writers. Nemanja, for instance, after having published his first book, the elephant story, authored six further books, four of which elaborate on the topic of displacement focussing on his village in central Serbia, the idealized site of his longing. The two others are co-authored books on completely different topics. Several of the books within the library are signed by two or more authors: sometimes text and visuals are the result of a negotiation, the synthesis of different voices, sometimes the individual voices remain visible (different handwriting, different linguistic codes) and sometimes there is a division of tasks, one author being responsible for the text, another for the visuals. There are periods when only a few little books are added to the classroom library, as well as periods of intensive book writing, triggered by a specific event (such as an excursion) or by the publication of a little book that attracts particular attention. There are many ways of responding to a previous book: follow-up books within a thematic chain can be agreeing, commenting, rejecting or elaborating. The single book can be seen as a particular moment in an intertextual chain.

In many little books, the different voices which contributed to the production process are manifest for the reader, as is the case in Nemanja's book. It is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Little Books Library that neither the multivoicedness of the text is reduced to a 'validated' single version nor is the original voice of the author exhibited in a paternalistic way as a genuine and 'unspoilt' effort of naïve creativity. The different voices are recognized as legitimate and complementary in the production of meaning, as opposed to the imposition of a unitarian language. The multivoicedness of the Little Books Library as pedagogic material is also opposed to the authoritative singlevoicedness of a traditional school manual. This is where the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia links with Freinet's pedagogic concept of free and creative writing. In a manifesto, Freinet (1928) formulates: "Every school manual which is distributed in number that equals the number of the learners is a yoke and a totalitarian tool. If a manual is good it may enter the library as any other book, it will lose its monopoly and the noxiousness of manuals."[11]

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[11] Translation B.B.
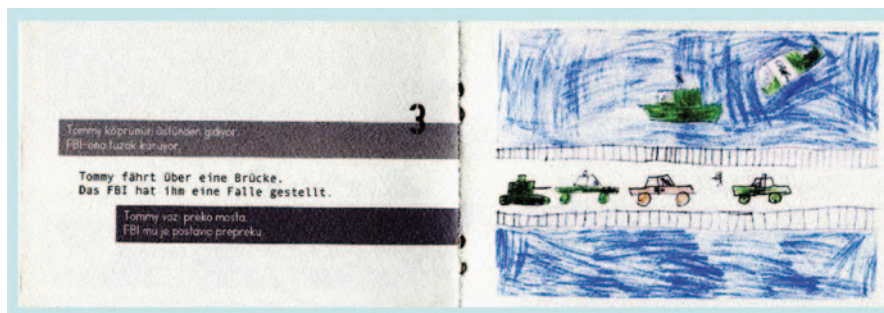
Fig. 2.4 Chechens against Russians

2.2.1.3 Multidiscursivity [raznorečie]

In the Little Books Library, there are no constraints as far as topics and genres are concerned. Authors appropriate different genre models to tell their stories. Among the non-fiction type, genres figure, for example, the photo reportage, the documentary, the specialized magazine, the travel report or the autobiographic episode. In the realm of fiction, authors draw on genre models such as fairy tales (in classical or 'Disneyfied' versions), fantasy literature, cartoons, science fiction, photo novels or computer games. One of the most popular series among the boys in the M2 is the series of "GTA Vice City" (Fig. 2.4), booklets named after the bestselling action–adventure video game which revolves around drugs, weapons, vehicles and criminals. The computer game genre is not banned from school, nor is the violent content which is often linked to it. Allowing such books in the collective classroom library means that questions children are preoccupied with can be negotiated in the public space of the classroom instead of being pushed into secret corners. It means also that fears and desires can be expressed, especially as in some families traumatizing experiences of war and displacement are present. Such experiences are addressed implicitly as in "GTA Vice City" or more explicitly as for instance in the book entitled "Chechens against Russians". This book written by Ramzan and Naib transposes the war into a phantasy world with monsters and ends with the victory of the Chechens. Discussing a project carried out in South Africa, Pippa Stein (2008, p. 75) stresses that the creation of multimodal texts makes it possible for children to tell about "the unsayable" by borrowing from other genres and discourses.

Personal fears like nightmares or sleepwalking, competition among peers, satirical representation of the teacher or other authorities, as well as allusions to body parts placed under a taboo ("the botty museum"), figure in the list of topics. The "book about little books" written by Nori and Lara gives a meta-comment about "the power of the little books": in their story the little books are depicted as the place where fears and anxieties can be expressed, but they also have the magic power to chase away threatening black clouds. What is important is that authors can raise any topic they are interested in. School environment, family life and media production (films, books, magazines, TV series) function as incentives. This open-

ness to the 'outside world' brings different discourses linked to various lifeworlds and social spheres that are relevant for the children in the classroom. Following up on topics introduced via creative writing can be seen as a first step from a monodiscursively oriented curriculum towards a dynamic curriculum that acknowledges a multiplicity of competing discourses.

2.2.1.4   Diversity of Codes [raznojazyčie]

In the school year 2010/2011, in the M2 classroom there were 25 learners between 6 and 11 years of age. The school register listed nine different family languages: Arabic, Azerbaijani, Cantonese/Vietnamese, Farsi, German, Punjabi, Serbian, Urdu and Turkish. This kind of categorization that assigns every child to one single language category (and thereby also to a national or ethnic category) does not correspond to the complex and diverse linguistic repertoires that co-constitute the communicative space of the M2. During a workshop on language awareness carried out in May 2011, learners were asked to produce multimodal language portraits as a self-perception of their linguistic repertoires (see Fig. 2.5). In this creative approach, participants are asked to think about the codes, languages and the means of expression and communication that play a role in their lives, and to map them with multicoloured felt pens in a body-shaped drawing according to the importance they attach to them. In the group discussion that follows, participants present and explain their visualizations. In our research, we consider the metalinguistic commentaries of speakers, the visual and verbal representations of their repertoires which emerge during the research process, as a representation that is produced in this specific interactional situation. We do not consider them as an image of the linguistic repertoire 'the way it really is', nor as an 'objective' reconstruction of the history of language acquisition. Selection, interpretation and evaluation do not occur independently of social discourses (Busch 2010). The picture mainly serves as a means of eliciting explanations regarding language practices, resources and attitudes and serves as a point of reference. Body or colour metaphors frequently structure the following narrative. As the visual mode steers one's vision towards the whole (the *Gestalt*) and towards the relationality of the parts, the following narration is usually less structured in the linear and sequential way of a language acquisition biography. Whereas the verbal mode favours diachronic continuity and synchronic coherence, in the visual mode contradiction, fractures, overlappings and ambiguities can also remain unresolved (Breckner 2007).[12]

In the language-friendly atmosphere of the M2, it was not surprising that the learners demonstrated a high level of language awareness. None of the children represented herself or himself as monolingual. The learners employed different ways of characterizing or categorizing languages, registers and codes. Of course, learners also referred to terms that figure as denominations for languages recognized as national, ethnic or official languages (Hindi, Turkish, German, French, Cantonese,

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[12] For more details about this multimodal approach to language biographies and linguistic repertoires, see Busch (forthcoming).
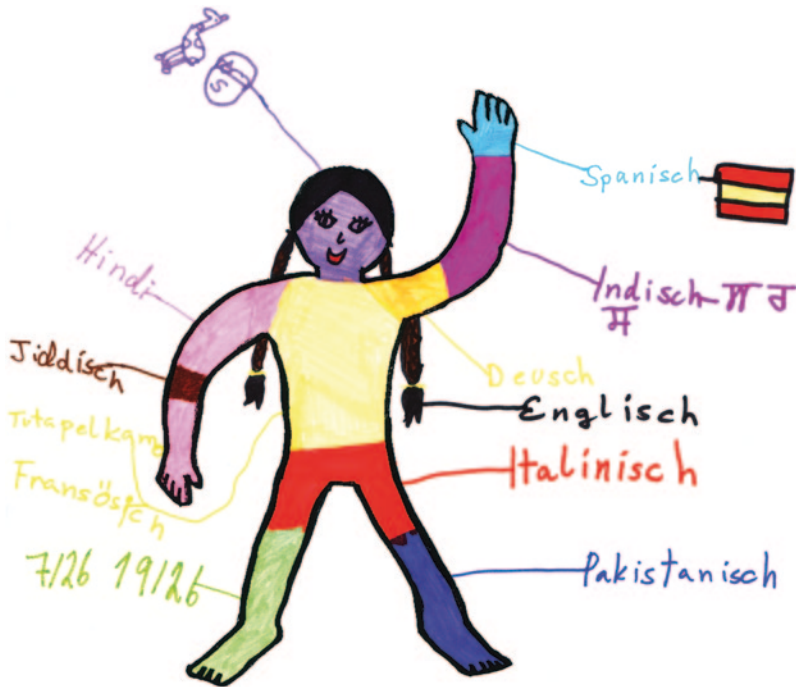
Fig. 2.5 Language portrait

etc.), sometimes symbolized in the portraits with the corresponding flags, national symbols or colours (the four S for Serbia, the Japanese flag, yellow and red for Spanish, etc.). Equally, language denominations figure those that refer to geographic spaces ("Indisch" ["Indian"]), specific dialects or vernaculars (Tyrolean, the German from Germany, etc.) as well as particular 'mix languages' ("Misch"). Different ways of speaking linked to particular interlocutors (sister language, father's language, etc.) serve as classifying grids as well as ways of speaking linked to different spaces (Indish at home, Hindi in the temple, house language, etc.) or linked to time. Some learners mentioned 'lost' inherited languages (Czech of the grandparents, the grandfather's Chinese, etc.), most of them also languages they want to learn or to know in the future (French when grown up, Latin, Japanese, etc.). Even those learners that are classified in the school statistics as monolingual German speaking mentioned different varieties such as Swiss German, local dialects or languages they hear in school or in the neighbourhood. In almost all portraits one can find English as the first foreign language learnt in class, in many of them also Kurdish, spoken by the team teacher, and Yiddish which was introduced through songs and rhymes in the framework of a project. Just as often figure phantasy or secret languages (U-language) and secret scripts (icon language, numeral language, etc.), specific codes for communication with pets or cuddly toy animals. One learner reserved a

space in his head for the inner monologue to which he referred as "head speech, a language that I sometimes have in my head but that I cannot pronounce"; another mentioned the language of silent reading.

This short summary of comments made by learners in the group discussion that followed the drawing of the language portraits suggests that the linguistic repertoire, rather than as a tool box, should be conceived as a complex space of resonance encompassing different voices, codes and discourses which are related to different biographically relevant spaces and periods of time. Bakhtin (1981b, p. 84) coined the term chronotope (literally, "timespace") to underline the co-presence of different timespaces in a text or in language. In this sense, the linguistic repertoire not only reflects the synchronic juxtaposition of language practices associated with different social spaces (home, school, place of origin, temple, etc.) but also reflects a diachronic dimension: it points backwards to past language experience and forwards to expectations and desires linked to the future. It encompasses not only what a speaker 'has' but also what can be felt as an absence, a blank (e.g. the grandparents' Czech, the grandfather's Chinese). The learners' heteroglossic repertoires with their multiple languages, varieties, registers and codes are represented in the more than 400 booklets that constitute the Little Books Library. When learners enter the M2 they are likely to find ways of speaking or writing similar to their own represented in one or another story. Through the little books, these ways of speaking are presented in a meaningful way and recognized as fully legitimate in the context of formal teaching and learning. However, no pressure is put on the authors to write in their mother tongue as a performance of "authenticity" or a celebration of ethnicity.

Many of the little books are multilingual, including those written originally in another language than German; a translation into the classroom lingua franca, German, is included as a sort of subtext. The motives for bringing in other languages than German are varied: Sometimes it is simply because learners can express themselves more easily in their family language (as Nemanja when he wrote his first book in Serbian). Often learners who are fluent in German are proud to show their other languages, especially when this involves a script other than Latin. This is, for instance, the case in Jaspreet's reportage about the Sikh temple in Vienna, which, although composed in German, contains some sentences written in the Gurmukhi script. Adding one or more languages can also be seen as an indication of how audiences are imagined. In the above-cited book series "GTA Vice City" (Fig. 2.4), for instance, the authors Bekir and Igor chose a trilingual design encompassing the main languages of the neighbourhood, German, Serbian and Turkish, with the idea of guaranteeing a maximum outreach for their texts. Sometimes small chunks in other languages are inserted into a German text to signal the presence of other voices or as a means of stylization (frequently in English as in "Happy burtey!!!"). Translations into other languages can also indicate the wish to imagine oneself as a speaker of a target language or to identify with speakers of this language. This is the case for Nori and Anouk who speak German in their families, and who started to learn Kurdish with the team teacher of the M2. They asked her to add a Kurdish translation to a series of 'princess stories' which they co-authored. On the whole,

Fig. 2.6 The Girl and the Apple Tree

linguistic plurality is considered as an added value which can enhance the appeal of a little book.

Emergent writing and secret languages are also seen as appropriate for being published in the Little Books Library. Bertan produced his first book before he had learnt how to read and write in school. His story about "The Girl and the Apple Tree" is written in a self-confident, idiosyncratic transliteration of spoken German as shown in Fig. 2.6.

In the print version of the book, the unsegmented handwritten text is reproduced to acknowledge Bertan's languaging effort (1). What within a regular school context would most likely be considered nonsensical becomes perfectly understandable when segmented (2). The teacher as a first reader contributes through an active understanding (Bakhtin 1999, p. 132) to reformulate the text (3):

1. DANHAZIAINEZAIZANE HOSEGEHABT.
2. DAN HA ZI AINE ZAIZANE HOSE GEHABT.
3. DANN HAT SIE EINE ZERRISSENE HOSE GEHABT. [Then she had torn pants.]

Another little book, entitled "5 Magic Spells", consists of the five words POSEISMA, IZILATUS, TOROTOLES, TIRAKULES and MINEKRIS which are accompanied by drawings showing how a magician pronounces the five different spells. It was Ilja's first book and it took him 3 months to accomplish it. Clearly, these words are not simply an arbitrary agglomeration of letters, but a thoughtful arrangement of possible letter strings. Though obviously inspired by Harry Potter, every single spell is an original creation which in a Bakhtinian sense responds to others' words by echoing. Chunks of words are de-propriated from their original context and transposed in an actual magical context; they are deformed and retransformed to become Ilja's own words allusively explained by the illustrations.

2.3   Towards a Culture of Heteroglossia

State school systems with their monolingual tradition struggle with the linguistic needs resulting from super-diversity. In Austria, the so-called additional mother tongue teaching is provided within the mainstream system for a certain number of languages[13] if the threshold number of 12 learners per course can be attained. Obviously, it is impossible to offer courses in all necessary languages and school locations. For the learners in the M2, for instance, mother tongue lessons are provided in Turkish, Kurdish and in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. Most of the mother tongue courses take place outside the mainstream teaching hours and classrooms. Mother tongue courses are an important recognition of the learners' linguistic backgrounds and needs but cannot replace the valorization of the learners' entire linguistic repertoires during regular teaching and learning hours. A repertoire approach avoids the categorization of learners into different language groups, opening a space for the speakers to bring into dialogue their individual repertoires, to engage in metalinguistic discussion and negotiation and thereby to transform the language regime in the classroom.

Within the pedagogic approach taken in the M2, learners are encouraged to bring in their linguistic resources—when necessary with the help of other persons close to them: the presence of different languages, codes, registers, discourses and voices is mainstreamed. Foregrounding free and creative writing as an ongoing activity opens up a space in which a multiplicity of codes is acknowledged as a resource. Creative writing is not practised as an end in itself, but encourages learners to create their own materials, to engage in a process that reaches from the initial idea to the distribution of a finalized product. Every text produced by the learners is part of a dialogically constituted intertextual chain and is inscribed into an open-ended larger project, be it the classroom diary or the World-ABC or the Little Books Library which was discussed in this contribution.

The M2 multigrade classroom is part of the state school system with its specific requirements and constraints, but at the same time the heteroglossic approach taken in this school challenges some of the basic assumptions on which teaching and learning practices within this system are built. This has often led to tensions with the school authorities concerning questions such as the number of allocated teaching hours or the right of learners to participate in additional language courses. The popularity and success of the M2 as well as of other multigrade classrooms in Vienna have so far guaranteed the continuation of these experimental classes.

A heteroglossic approach not only implies acknowledgement of the presence of different languages and codes (*raznojazyčie*) as a resource, but also entails a commitment to multidiscursivity (*raznogolosie*) and multivoicedness (*raznorečie*). Multidiscursivity means that learners can bring into the classroom their concerns and topics of interest, thereby participating in the making of a dynamic curriculum.

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[13] Overall, 21 languages in the school year 2009/2010 (Informationsblätter des Referats für Migration und Schule Nr. 5/2011. BMUKK Wien).

Multivoicedness means that learning and teaching take place in a dialogic multi-directional way, roles are not fixed but situationally negotiated, the teacher takes the positions of a learner and learners assume a teaching role. This opens up the possibility to experiment with different voices and to develop one's own particular voices and styles. Multiplicity of codes means rejection of a monolingually oriented and standard-centred perspective which labels 'deviant' language practices as deficiencies; it means recognizing and appreciating all kinds of multimodal languaging practices as legitimate means of meaning making, to accept situations of not-understanding and of limited control, and to promote language awareness or consciousness, i.e. the capacity "to regard one language (and the verbal world corresponding to it) through the eyes of another language" (Bakhtin 1981a, p. 296).

A culture of heteroglossia is based on the principle of dialogism in which words constitute subjectivity by generating a social space that is fundamentally interpersonal and facilitates a constant appropriation and transformation of the voice of the other. Based on Bakhtin, Mörtenböck and Mooshammer (2011, p. 127) develop a concept of social space in which as a result of dialogue emerges "a complex map of intensities whose distribution develops out of reciprocal points of contact" and which is not structured according to "an overarching plan" or "the grammar of a common project". Heteroglossia as a pedagogy can contribute to constituting such open spaces of potentialities, where the polyphony of voices, discourses and ways of speaking—all linked to different social–ideological worlds—is not kept out, but seen as a constitutive feature. Such schools would bring together in a single real place several spaces, several sites, that are in themselves incompatible; they would thus correspond to what Foucault (1967) sketched out as heterotopias, "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted". The move of bringing the world into the classroom has its counterpart in the effort of seeking to establish links with the world, with other responding spaces. In this sense, many of the materials produced in the M2 are available on the school website and the idea of the little books was taken up by other schools and reading clubs not only in Austria but also in Scandinavia and South Africa.

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Chapter 3
Heteroglossia, Voicing and Social Categorisation

Lian Malai Madsen

Abstract Observations of heteroglossic practices have led to questioning of the usefulness of the concepts of "language" or "variety" in research as well as pedagogy, and it has been argued that such concepts are representations of particular language ideologies rather than of linguistic practice. This chapter examines details of what voices are performed with what local purposes in interactions among adolescents in Copenhagen. How are particular stylised voices achieved? How salient are they? And how do they relate to larger scale processes of social categorisation in society?

Keywords Language ideologies · Polylingualism · Stylisation · Stereotypes

Transcription Key

[overlap]	Overlapping speech
LOUD	Louder volume than surrounding utterances
xxx	Uintelligible speech
(questionable)	Parts I am uncertain about
((comment))	My comments
:	Prolongation of preceding sound
↑	Local pitch raise
(.)	Short pause
(0.6)	Timed pause
Stress	Stress
hhh	Laughter breathe

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3.1   Introduction

It is well documented in recent research on linguistic and cultural diversity that speakers in practice draw on their collective linguistic repertoires of resources to achieve their communicative aims in a given situation. We can observe how speakers use whatever linguistic resources are available to them when they communicate. Thereby their language use is not restricted by common associations of certain linguistic resources belonging to certain varieties or languages. Observations of speakers' combination of various linguistic resources in polylingual (Jørgensen et al. 2011) or heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981; Bailey 2007) practices have led to a recent re-examination of the restrictions and the ideological implications of traditional conceptions of "language" or "variety" in research as well as pedagogy (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Wei 2011), and it has been convincingly argued that such concepts are representations of particular language ideologies rather than of linguistic practice (Jørgensen 2010; Heller 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Pennycook 2010).

Concurrently, with the increasing diversification of diversity (Vertovec 2010) in today's globalised societies, an interest in stylised self-conscious, non-routine, double-voiced linguistic practices (Bakhtin 1981, 1984; Coupland 2007; Rampton 2006) has grown within sociolinguistics (Jaspers 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2011). The study of interactional stylisations appears particularly well tuned for attending to the sociolinguistic complexities of late modern settings, and stylised speech (and crossing) has played a significant part in the documentation of polylanguaging and heteroglossia (Jørgensen 2010; Rampton 1995, 2011; Møller 2009). Rampton (2009, p. 149) defines stylisations as instances of speech where speakers produce "specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation at hand)". The fact that these marked linguistic contributions build on relatively fragmented use of linguistic resources has been a key argument for the deconstruction of a view of languages as whole and bounded systems. Stylisations, however, are also examples of linguistic behaviour highlighting sociolinguistic reflexivity, and thereby the evaluation of linguistic forms and their association with voices and values. Stylisations potentially contribute to breaking down imagined linguistic borders and imagined fixed relationships between signs, voices and speaker personae, but stylisations are achieved and recognised exactly because they build on some level of shared understanding of linguistic signs' (potential) indexical values based in the signs' historical and social relationships. So, on the one hand, stylisation as a speech practice complicates the relationship between language, speaker and category belongings, and this is an important dimension for current ideological and theoretical discussions within sociolinguistic research. On the other hand, stylisations enhance speakers' language ideological constructions by flagging metapragmatic stereotypes and possibly forging new ones. Thereby the study of stylised strategically inauthentic language use (Coupland 2007) teaches us a great deal about how speakers still employ and bring about the constructs of "styles", "languages" or "varieties" through heteroglossic languaging. In addition, the study of stylisations illuminates speakers' understandings and positionings in

relation to sociolinguistic economies. As Jaspers (2010, p. 14) notes, stylised language use serves as:

> an extremely fruitful starting point for investigating how utterances comment on the situation in which they are produced, how they are illustrative of participants' perceptions, and how these perceptions can be reconciled with, or rather challenge, inflect and/or reconfigure ideologized representations of language and social behaviour, and with what results

In this way, studying stylisations allows us to see the situated manufacturing of norms and to discover potential changes of sociolinguistic norms in the communities we study. In Blommaert and Rampton's (2011, p. 7) words, stylisations can make visible *"the emergence of structure out of agency"*.

In this chapter, I discuss such an emergence (and change) of sociolinguistic structure through the study of interactional stylisations among Copenhagen adolescents. The data I discuss are from a collaborative linguistic ethnographic project. Rather than looking at stylisations as merely characteristic of contemporary urban heteroglossia with the aim of pointing out that the languaging of the young speakers is, indeed, complex, polylingual and multi-voiced, I instead look into some of the specific stylisations among the adolescents in our study, their ideological implications and their relation to larger scale sociolinguistic developments. After a brief theoretical account of stylisation and enregisterment (Agha 2003) and an introduction to my data, I discuss some general aspects of the stylisations in our data, how particular stylised voices are achieved and what sociolinguistic building blocks are used as stylisation resources. Finally, I consider in more detail stylisations of speech corresponding to what the participants refer to as an "integrated" way of speaking and their situated voicing of this way of speaking. I argue that these interactional stylisations contribute to our understanding of the ongoing enregisterment and to the interconnections between cultural and ethnic diversity and dimensions of hierarchical stratification in contemporary sociolinguistic order(ing) among Copenhagen youth.

3.2 Enregisterment, Heteroglossia and Stylisation

Agha's theory of enregisterment (2003, 2005, 2007) has been widely employed and discussed within the past years of sociolinguistic research (Johnstone et al. 2006; Johnstone 2009; Rampton 2011; Cambell-Kibler 2012; Eckert 2008; Madsen et al. 2010; Frekko 2009). The concept of enregisterment appeals to contemporary sociolinguistics with its emphasis on "processes and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population"(Agha 2007, p 81). The theory of enregisterment accounts for the processes through which linguistic styles (or in Agha's terms registers) are constructed and take into consideration metapragmatic activities on various levels ranging from widely circulating media stereotypes to local speaker practices. The focus on styles as created through repeated semiotic activities combines well with the view of linguistic codes as sociocultural and ideological constructs as well as with an interest in the relation between wider sociolinguistic processes and situated agency.

From an enregisterment perspective, speakers' interactional use of different linguistic forms (re)creates the stereotypic indexical values of the used forms. The ascription of values to linguistic forms can be more or less explicit. In our study conducted in Copenhagen, for instance, discussions of "ways of speaking" in interviews are examples of explicit evaluative linguistic data. Stylisations occurring during these metalinguistic discussions tend to serve as (often exaggerated) demonstrations of enregistered styles and emphasise associated stereotypic indexical values. Stylisations occurring in peer interactions can, of course, serve a variety of local communicative purposes. Still, they are examples of linguistic behaviour highlighting the evaluation of linguistic forms and their associated values. In this sense, all stylisations are relatively explicit metalinguistic activities. Agha (2005, p. 38) notes that encounters with registers are:

> encounters in which individuals establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be

In situated performances of stylisations, speakers align in various ways with the voices taken to be indexed by the registers they use. These alignments are part and parcel of social categorisation. Stylisations are linguistic activities that put on display the simultaneously unique and sociostructural qualities of language forms. Bakhtin describes language in use as entailing two forces operating at once: a centripetal force drawing features, structures and norms towards a central unified point, and a centrifugal force working in the opposite direction drawing away from the central unified point towards variation in all directions (Bakhtin 1981, p 667–668). This is to be understood at the level of linguistic processes at large, centripetal forces resulting in language standardisation (and register formation in Agha's sense) and centrifugal forces resulting in language variation, but the forces also work within every single utterance: "Every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear" (Bakhtin 1981, p 668).

The notion of heteroglossia emphasises the centrifugal forces. Heteroglossia is, according to Andersen (2010, p 17), a concept created by the translators of Bakhtin's work to cover the three concepts of rasnoretjije (diversity in "speechness"), rasnojasytjije (diversity in "languageness") and rasnogolositsa (diversity in "voicedness"). As a cover term for these aspects of linguistic diversity, heteroglossia describes how language use involves various socioideological languages, codes and voices. The presence of different speech and speaking positions within the utterance is what Bakhtin refers to as double voicing. While most linguistic practice should be considered double voiced, some employments of others' voices are hardly distinguishable from the speaker's own voice (towards unidirectional, Bakhtin 1984, p. 199), and other usages of others' voices are more clearly separable from the speaker's own, as the use involves intentions different from the intention of the original voice (towards vari-directional, Bakhtin 1984, p 193). Hence, a stylisation can be described as noticeable double voicing. According to Bakhtin, a stylisation involves "an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin 1981, p 362). Two basic elements are crucial, then, to the identification of stylisations: 1) they are artistically marked linguistic productions and 2) they involve associations with languages or voices of another (different from the speaker) (Rampton 2006, p. 225; Bakhtin 1981, p 362).

We notice a linguistic production as stylised in a given situation because it, in one way or another, stands out compared to a speaker's general linguistic behaviour as it is known to us as linguistic ethnographers or interlocutors in a given interaction. Stylisations are perceived in relation to assumed expectations of regular speaker behaviour, regular range of features, regular voices and regular users of voices. Yet, it is worth noting that stylisation as such is not an exceptional practice in interactions among (perhaps in particular, contemporary young) speakers. Consequently, stylisations sometimes do not at all result in any observable reactions among other participants although the analyst might notice a stylised voice (as also Rampton 2006, p. 225 notes). In addition, as we shall see, the stylised performance of the participants in our study suggests that not all stylisations can be described as representations of widely enregistered "sets of features". Some stylisations are representations of another's voice and a particular ideological speaking position, but not necessarily another's "language", "dialect" or "style". Whether or not I consider a stretch of talk a stylisation is informed by my familiarity with the participants in our study. My knowledge of available linguistic resources and their social connotations in particular contexts in Copenhagen further helps determine whether an utterance should be considered stylised or not. Finally, considerations of the situated interactional context, the co-participants' responses and the co-occurring linguistic features in an utterance have informed my analysis of stylised speech.

3.3   Empirical Basis

The stylisations I discuss are from data collected as part of a linguistic ethnographic project in Copenhagen (The "Amager Project", Madsen et. al 2010; Madsen 2011; Møller and Jørgensen 2011; Ag 2010; Stæhr 2010). The overall focus of our research is to understand how language patterns and language norms are acquired, developed and used in various everyday contexts. Most of the participants in our study have a linguistic minority background and they live in a highly diverse area of the Danish capital. Since 2009, we have been following two grade school classes in a Copenhagen public school from the seventh to the ninth grade (the students are 13–15 years old). We have carried out team ethnography and collected a wide range of linguistic data in various contexts. The data include field diaries, audio recordings during classes and breaks in school, written essays, Facebook activities and various school-related documents. We have collected self-initiated recordings in school and leisure settings such as the youth club, sports clubs, in the local neighbourhood, at concerts and in the participants' homes. In addition, we have interviewed all participants in groups and individually (as well as teachers, parents and club workers). The present discussion builds on 31 h of the audio recordings in various contexts and includes group interviews as well as recordings in and out of school.

3.3.1   Sociolinguistic Context and Metalinguistic Accounts

Before we turn to the data, some contextual information on the sociolinguistics of
Danish as well as the sociolinguistic awareness of the participants should provide
a useful entry point for looking at the stylisation practices of the Copenhagen ado-
lescents. Briefly described, the overall sociolinguistic development in Denmark is
characterised by strong linguistic homogenisation and a dominating standard ideol-
ogy (Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2003; Pedersen 2009). Kristiansen (2009, p. 168)
suggests that Danish today is possibly more homogeneous than any other language
with millions of speakers. Currently, there is very little grammatical variation within
speech observed around the country. Local "accents" are signified primarily by
prosodic colouring, and the existing nationwide variation in segmental phonetics
is strongly dominated by developments and spread from Copenhagen speech (Kris-
tensen 2003; Kristiansen 2009). However, as recent studies of interaction, language
attitudes and language ideologies show (Madsen 2011; Jørgensen 2010; Møller
2009; Maegaard 2007; Quist 2005), this does not mean that young speakers in the
Copenhagen area grow up without ideas about linguistic differences and their related
social values. The dialectal and the traditional sociolectal differences might be close
to extinct judging by the number of varying linguistic features, but only a few lin-
guistic signs are necessary to bring out the wider social connotations of particular
ways of speaking. Subtle features like prosodic colouring can still have the strong
effects of signalling, for instance, a rural or an urban persona. However, the question
is whether traditional sociolectal and dialectal features might not be as readily avail-
able and relevant resources of social distinction to contemporary Copenhagen youth.

   Our study of explicit metalinguistic accounts from our participants hints at a
sociolinguistic transformation taking place among contemporary youth (Mad-
sen et al. 2010; Madsen 2011; Møller and Jørgensen 2011). During interviews
with the participants in our study in the first year of our collection period, they
introduced labels for two ways of speaking that differ from what they refer to as
"normal". One was "integreret" (integrated) and the other was referred to with
varying labels: predominantly "gadesprog" (street language), but also "perker-
sprog" (equivalent to paki language) or "slang" (slang). "Perker" is originally a
derogatory term used about immigrants, equivalent to "Paki" or "nigger". In in-
group use, however, the term refers to a social category defined by ethnic minor-
ity status (in relation to the Danish majority society) across various ethnicities.
Moreover, in local in-group use "perker" also invokes values of toughness and
street credibility (Madsen 2008, p. 214). In spite of the different naming practices,
there was a general agreement in the reports on the characteristic features of this
way of speaking. The characteristic features of "street language", according to
the participants, include slang, swearing, affricated and palatalised t-pronuncia-
tion, polylingual "mixing" practices, what they refer to as a "strange accent", and
linguistic creativity (linguistic innovations). This way of speaking is associated
with the stereotypic indexical values of toughness, masculinity, youth, panethnic
minority "street" culture and academic non-prestige. In contrast, the participants
characterise "integrated" speech by features of distinct pronunciation, abstract

and academic vocabulary, high pitch, quiet and calm attitude and ritual politeness phrases. This way of speaking is associated with upscale culture, sophistication, authority, emotional control and aversion to rudeness, academic skills, politeness and respect. Thus, in the values and privileges it evokes, "integrated" seems to be undergoing enregisterment as a conservative standard code, and street language is enregistered partly in opposition to this (see detailed analysis in Madsen 2011, 2013). Yet, the label for the more conservative speech style of "integrated" (in Danish public predominantly used to refer to satisfactorily adapted immigrants) as well as its oppositional relation to the contemporary urban vernacular speech (containing features indexing cultural and linguistic diversity) also bring about a dimension of minority/majority relations that has not previously been included in the stereotypical associations related to a conservative standard register. In addition, the sociohierarchical dimension of contemporary youth speech has perhaps been overlooked by recent sociolinguistics.

Of course, there can be significant differences between speakers' reports about language use and their actual linguistic practice. The accounts summarised here provide important insights into the speakers' ideas about linguistic stereotypes, but the study of how linguistic stereotypes are brought into use for situated pragmatic functions in particular interactional contexts may add to and possibly alter the picture (Rampton 2006 and Jaspers 2011 are good examples of this). We shall now have a look at how stylisation practices, overall, as well as a specific type of stylisation relate to these sociolinguistic tendencies.

3.3.2 Stylisations, Sociolinguistic Features and Enregisterment

An overview of stylisations, based on the 31 h of recordings, teaches us that the participants during these recordings produce utterances containing stylised speech 253 times. On average, the adolescents use stylisations approximately every 7–8 min, and stylisation is clearly a regular linguistic practice among our participants. Of course, the stylisations do not occur as evenly spread in the data, rather they appear to come in clusters and one stylisation is often followed by others.
There are no striking differences in the frequency of stylisations as such between different communicative contexts. Stylisations occur in interviews, during classes as well during breaks and leisure activities, and they are directed at researchers and teachers as well as peers. However, during focussed teacher-led educational activities, stylised utterances are rare (and some teachers practise and regularly achieve this kind of focussed interaction).

The participants' more unmarked speech is characterised by frequent use of the new phonetic features associated with a contemporary urban youth style (described in Maegaard 2007; see also Madsen 2012; Madsen et al. 2010) as well as a characteristic prosody of this style (Pharao and Hansen 2006; Madsen 2012). In general, they employ the features they describe as associated with "street language" in their regular peer interactions (slang, mixing etc.), and they also routinely produce stretches of speech containing mostly young Copenhagen features where features of

slang and mixing, for instance, are left out and the use of non-standard pronunciation features is reduced.

In their marked and stylised linguistic practices, the participants bring about a diverse range of speaker personae from "elderly lady" to "tough black rapper" or "adult immigrant", and they employ a variety of linguistic resources. Some of the linguistic resources they use are widely enregistered as indexical of specific speech styles. Examples of these kinds of widely recognisable resources from our data are pronunciation features associated with stylised Asian English, such as combinations of even stress on every syllable, shortening of long vowels and change of diphthongs to monophthongs (see Rampton 1995, p. 68). Other features achieve their indexicality only in the particular interactional context because of their co-occurrence with certain other linguistic resources and certain pragmatic functions. A particular feature might potentially relate to various metapragmatic stereotypes, but the contextual use suggests emphasis on one (or some) over others. In our data, we find, for instance, exaggerated high pitch and "shrieky" voice used for different stylisations. Combined with ritual politeness phrases, these features contribute in some interactional contexts to stylising an "integrated" and "posh" persona. Yet, in other cases the exaggerated high pitch and the shrieky voice are, for example, combined with ridiculing repetitions of a girl's call for help or someone's scream of fear (in reaction to a horror movie clip). In these contexts, similar linguistic features contribute to indexing weakness and hyperfemininity rather than poshness. We also see examples of different potential indexicalities of a specific pronunciation feature that the participants are highly metalinguistically aware of. Affricated and palatalised t-pronunciation ([tj] instead of standard [t]), one of the new pronunciations (see Maegaard 2007, p. 68), is a feature commonly used in the adolescents' routine speech, but also a feature explicitly flagged in exaggerated verbal stylisations or in spelling practices, for instance, on Facebook ("tj" for standard "t"). This t-pronunciation is, however, in some cases employed as indexical of specific ethnically Turkish-marked pronunciation of Danish and in other cases as a marker of cross-ethnic "street language" (Madsen et al. 2010; Madsen 2011).

Hence, the stylisations in our data draw on linguistic resources enregistered to different degrees. Some involve wide-ranging enregistered styles (Agha 2005, 2007) recognised by a relatively large population; others are locally bound and involve linguistic features of more ambiguous indexicality. We can describe the stylisations as working on different scale levels between more locally context bound at one end and more widely enregistered at the other. In fact, the most common type of stylisation in our data is specific parodying stylisations of other participants' or teachers' speech. These stylisations are, of course, closely tied to the local communicative context in which they occur, and their situational effect is less dependent on the specific linguistic features employed. Yet, the choice of the linguistic features used in these locally situated parodies is not completely arbitrary, but consistent with the indexical field (Eckert 2008) of the features used. For instance, stylisations in our data involving "girlish" or "childish" qualities involve pitch raise, whereas a lower pitch is used, for instance, to signal "adult authoritative" and "dull" voices.

The different types of stylisations are not considered equally significant to wider sociolinguistic processes. Naturally, the more broadly enregistered kind of

stylisation is of more interest to studies of general processes of sociolinguistic categorisation. In our data, the next most common type of stylisation involves widely enregistered sets of features, namely those related to ethnolinguistic stereotypes. Out of the 253 cases of stylisations I have identified in this material, 53 bring about associations of ethnicity or nationality (admittedly very different ones). The adolescents employ exaggerations of features associated with Danish spoken with Pakistani accent (2), English spoken with Pakistani accent (4), stylised Urdu (2), Danish as spoken by Turks (2), American-accented English and English spoken by Africans (3), and they play with linguistic fragments associated with Icelandic (2), Filipino (1), Chinese (1), Russian (3), Arabic (16), French (5), German (4) and Spanish (8), and in addition they stylise cross-ethnic "immigrant/ learner" Danish and English. In comparison to the varied range of ethnolinguistic stereotypes employed in their stylisation practices, the participants rarely stylise dialectal, place-related speech. There are three cases of a broad use of Jutlandic-coloured prosody and pronunciation. In addition, there are no stylisations that can be characterised as traditional low or high Copenhagen speech (though the examples I discuss in Sect. 6 include a few vowel pronunciations traditionally involving "high" connotations). This overall picture of stylisation practices, in fact, corresponds well with the sociolinguistic tendencies described in recent Danish research of dialectal and sociolectal differences diminishing (Kristiansen and Jørgensen 2003), and ethnic differences becoming increasingly significant (Quist 2005; Maegaard 2007). This seems to suggest that sociocultural differences are not marked by linguistic resources among the adolescents. However, the metalinguistic reports of the participants in our study did point to the relevance of social stratification in their understanding of stylistic differences, and, of course, there is a leap between the linguistic material used and the social categories indexed by (stylised) speech. These adolescents clearly do not bring about societal hierarchical relations through the traditional linguistic means of distinction of traditional high and low features, but the third most common type of stylisations in these recordings shows that they did bring about such relations in a different way, and now I turn to some detailed examples of that.

3.3.3 Relations of Authority and "Integrated" Stylisations

I discuss four examples of similar stylisations involving three different speakers in three different interactional sequences. I argue that these stylisations can be characterised as "integrated" speech (in the participants' understanding). Yet, "integrated" speech is not an example of a widely enregistered and well-documented style; it could be placed somewhere between the locally bound and widely enregistered. Therefore, I stay close to the level of local practice in these interactional sequences before I compare the examples to the metalinguistic descriptions of our participants.

The excerpts 1.a and 1.b are from one of Bashaar's (Bas) recordings during a Danish lesson in grade 8. In the beginning of the lesson, the teacher attends to some practical issues regarding a school party and to some changes in the usual weekly plan. She informs the class that the school staff has decided to cancel the party

because of too few responses from the students' families, and Bashaar has loudly expressed his disapproval of this decision (not without awareness of his classmates being entertained by this). During this recording period, the class participated in a rap workshop. The aim of the workshop was to learn about poetry through practising rap music with young professional rappers and producers. The class had to stay longer than usual one day because of this workshop (it involved performance and recording of their own rap song). Just prior to this sequence, the teacher, Susanne (Sus), has complained about the students not passing on information about school activities at home and not returning acceptance forms from their parents (in this case a signed form allowing their child to be recorded during the rap workshop). Bashaar has been mentioned as one of those who still has not returned the form and the teacher has claimed that students who have not handed in the form will not be allowed to participate in the recording. To this warning, Bashaar has replied "jo selvfølgelig" (yes of course). Therefore, aspects of criticism from the teacher as well as the teacher's power to sanction unsatisfactory behaviour (by cancelling parties and not allowing pupils to participate in certain activities) are at play in this stretch of conversation. At the same time, Bashaar's behaviour in the class (in general) as an entertainer and provocateur plays a significant part. In the beginning of this sequence, the teacher explains that they will get to leave earlier another day because they are asked to stay longer on the day of the recordings. The stylised utterances in focus are marked by arrows on the right side of the translation column, and pronunciations noticeably differing from Bashaar's usual contemporary urban speech style are highlighted in bold.

3.3.3.1   Excerpt 1.a: "Of Course"

Wireless recording by Bashaar during Danish lesson. Speakers: Teacher, Susanne (Sus), Bashaar (Bas), Jamil (Jam) as well as an unidentifiable boy (Boy) and girl (Girl) from the class.

```
1 Sus:    og øh vi kan jo ikke         1 Sus:    and eh well we can't
2         forlange at I skal blive     2         demand that you stay
3         i tre timer og så ikke       3         for three hours and
4         få noget goodwill            4         not get any goodwill
5         [på den måde at I får]        5         [in a way that you]
6 Bas:    [ne:j selvfølgelig ikke]      6 Bas:    [no: of course not]    ←
7 Sus:    en anden dag tidligere        7 Sus:    another day get to leave
8         fri så I får tidligt fri      8         earlier so you get to
9         om [fredagen i næste uge]     9         [leave early next Friday]
10 Bas:     [ej hvor flot mand]         10 Bas:    [oh how splendid man]   ←
            ((clap and cheering))                  ((clap and cheering))
11 Boy:   tre timer                     11 Boy:   three hours
12 Girl:  der er stadig IT ikke         12 Girl:  there's still IT right
13 Sus:   [ja og xxx xxx Ole han        13 Sus:   [yes and xxx xxx Ole he
14        nok dropper der]              14        probably skip that]
15 Bas:   [det er fandeme flot          15 Bas:   [that's damned nice    ←
16        altså Susanne og Inger I      16        really Susanne and Inger
17        kan sutte min (xxx)]          17        you can suck my (xxx)]
18 Jam:   e:h                           18 Jam:   e:h
19 Sus:   [det bliver han så lige       19 Sus:   [well he'll just
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```
20        nødt til]                    20        have to]
21 Boy:   [(så er der to timer)]       21 Boy:   [(then it's two lessons)]
22 Girl:  [han dropper også denne      22 Girl:  [he skips this weeks as
23        her uge så] er der to af      23        well so] then it's two
24        dem                           24        of them
25 Sus:   har han også droppet         25 Sus:   has he skipped this
26        denne her uge                 26        week too
          ((several 'yes'))                      ((several 'yes'))
```

Bashaar's contributions in lines 6, 10 and 15–17 are interesting as stylisations that are double voiced in more than one sense. They combine linguistic and communicative resources that point in the direction of different speaker personae. Partly because of this, they leave the impression of a vari-directional (Bakhtin 1981) voicing of enthusiasm (lines 6 and 10) as well as complaint (lines 15–17). The utterances function as comments on the information and explanations given by the teacher, but they are not direct contributions to the official classroom discourse. Rather they are directed at the classmates in the immediate surroundings. They are spoken in overlap with the teacher's speech and not in a loud voice. On the surface, the utterances in lines 6 and 10 are expressions of agreement and approval. In line 6, the initial prolongation and a relatively more fronted and unrounded pronunciation of the vowel in "nej" (no) (compared to Bashaar's more frequent pronunciation of "no") signals inauthenticity. This vowel pronunciation is stereotypically associated with conservative standard speech. Here, it is combined with the expression "of course" which Bashaar has used in a similar utterance four minutes earlier and, as we shall see in the next excerpt, he repeats twice more within one minute. This recycling and repeating of the expression of agreement contributes to the impression of exaggerated obedience. The utterance in line 6 can be considered a vari-directional stylisation of an obedient and enthusiastic student voice indexed by relatively subtle linguistic features of a conservative standard pronunciation combined with a polite expression of agreement. The utterance in line 10 is partly a similar stylisation. It expresses enthusiastic approval and achieves its marked character predominantly through the choice of vocabulary: "ej hvor flot" (oh how splendid). Yet, this expression of approval with rather conservative and upscale cultural connotations is combined with a slang expression "mand" (man) frequently used in the adolescents' casual speech. In this way, the utterance is not only double voiced in the sense that it is another's voice the speaker uses, but also on a linguistic level a combination of several voices. The combination as such further contributes to the inauthentic impression. This is neither an authentic conservative voice nor an authentic contemporary youth voice. The same kinds of voices appear in the last utterance (lines 15–17). Here, the features of the swearing "fandeme" (damned) and the "I kan sutte min xxx" (you can suck my xxx), whatever it is he suggests they can suck (unclear from the recording), signals casual youth speech. Yet, the "flot" (splendid) is pronounced with slightly fronted and unrounded vowel connoting conservative standard speech. Therefore, through this combination of linguistic and pragmatic features, Bashaar manages to express the opposite of agreement and approval in

reaction to a teacher's criticism and sanctioning to the entertainment of the class-mates in his immediate surroundings.

The next excerpt is the immediate continuation of 1.a. Here, Bashaar brings his performance to the front stage of the classroom and to the teacher's attention. Towards the end of sequence 1.a, the teacher, in cooperation with some of the other students, has established that the changes to the usual educational schedule involve cancellation of the IT (information technology) class the following week. This led a girl (line 22) to remark that the IT teacher (Ole) has cancelled the IT class the current week too.

3.3.3.2 Excerpt 1.b: "Sorry Sorry Sorry"

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Wireless recording by Bashaar during Danish lesson. Speakers: Teacher,
Susanne (Sus), Bashaar (Bas), Jamil (Jam) as well as an unidentifiable
boy (Boy) and girl (Girl) from the class.
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1	Sus:	ja men det er der ikke	1	Sus:	well but there's nothing
2		noget at gøre ved altså	2		to do about it then
3		så må han jo sige at	3		he'll have to say that
4		hvis dem der meget gerne	4		if those who really
5		vil have IT så må jeg jo	5		want to have IT then
6		komme tilbage der hvis	6		I'll have to come back
7		man vil det	7		if one wants to
8	Bas:	HAR HAN OGSÅ DROPPET DET	8	Bas:	HAS HE SKIPPED IT THIS
9		DENNE HER UGE?	9		WEEK AS WELL?
10	Girl:	denne her uge [ja]	10	Girl:	this week [yes]
11	Boy:	[ja] xxx	11	Boy:	[yes] xxx
12	Bas:	ej det er KRAFTEDEME	12	Bas:	no that's FUCKING
13		også ham der mand ((bangs the table, several laugh))	13		him again man ((bangs the table, several laugh))
14	Bas:	UNDSKYLD UNDSKYLD UNDSKYLD	14	Bas:	SORRY SORRY SORRY ←
15		UNDSKYLD UN UNDSKYLD	15		SORRY SO SORRY
16		[UNDSKYLD UNDSKYLD]	16		[SORRY SORRY]
17	Sus:	[tal lige ordentligt]	17	Sus:	[speak properly]
18	Girl:	[(så siger du kraftedeme)]	18	Girl:	[(then you say fucking)]
19	Bas:	[UNDSKYLD UNDSKYLD] (.)	19	Bas:	[SORRY SORRY] (.) ←
20		undskyld undskyld ((laughter))	20		sorry sorry ((laughter))
21	Sus:	der er en grund til at Ole	21	Sus:	there's a reason why Ole
22		han har droppet det han er	22		he has skipped it he is
23		på noget uddannelse det	23		on some education there
24		kan være der er en bestemt	24		might be a certain
25		grund til at han skal	25		reason why he has to do
26		noget med den uddannelse i	26		something with the
27		dag så han ikke kan komme	27		education today so he
28		han var der	28		can't come he wasn't here
29		[heller ikke i går]	29		[yesterday either]
30	Bas:	[jo selvfølgelig]	30	Bas:	[yes of course] ←
31		det tænkte	31		I didn't think
32		[jeg ikke over]	32		[about that]
33	Jam:	[(det var det)]	33	Jam:	[(that was it)]
34	Sus:	[det er jo ikke fordi han	34	sus:	[and it's not like he
35		plejer at droppe det]	35		usually skips it]
36	Jam:	[hvis du var der sidste	36	Jam:	[if you had been there
37		gang Bashaar så vidste du	37		last time Bashaar
38		det]	38		you'd know]
39	Bas:	n**ej** n**e**j selvfølgelig ikke	39	Bas:	n**o** n**o** of course not ←

After Susanne's explanation of the cancellation of the IT class (lines 1–7), Bashaar loudly asks a clarifying question and receives confirmation from some of the other students that the class is cancelled both weeks. The teacher has stopped talking and Bashaar has the attention of the class when he, in lines 12–13, reacts to this information with a clear expression of dissatisfaction. The complaint about the IT teacher is marked by a strong swear word spoken louder than the surrounding words and thereby emphasised. In addition, the utterance is accompanied with a bang on the table which contributes an element of aggression. The utterance is reacted to with laughter from the other students. Immediately after the complaint, not leaving room for the teacher to respond, Bashaar continues with an apology that consists of no less than 11.5 repetitions of "sorry" ("undskyld", lines 14–20), without pauses and in a high volume. The teacher's corrective reaction to the loud swearing "speak properly" (line 17) is nearly drowned in repetitions of "sorry". In this sequence, we see how Bashaar first claims the classroom floor with norm-breaking linguistic and social behaviour, in aggressive language he complains about a teacher in front of another teacher and then he performs a highly exaggerated excuse (in volume and quantity). The exaggeration leaves the impression of insincerity and a voice of an obedient student is, again, vari-directionally stylised. Bashaar continues this stylisation in lines 30 and 31 in response to the teacher's further explanation of her colleagues' reasons for cancelling the IT class. These utterances are marked by the repetitions of "of course" and by the more fronted and unrounded pronunciation of the vowel in "nej" (no).

In excerpt 2, we see a short similar example of an inauthentic expression of agreement with the teacher in response to criticism. Again, this stylisation is achieved through the use of few and subtle linguistic recourses. The teacher complains that they spend a lot of time on non-curriculum issues and practicalities in the beginning of the class, and she requests that they leave their coats outside (which they were supposed to do before the class started).

3.3.3.3 Excerpt 2: "Yes Inger"

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Wireless recording by Mahmoud during a Danish lesson. Speakers:teacher,
Inger (Ing) and Mahmoud (Mah)
1 Ing:   nu er der gået et kvarter    1 Ing:     no it's been 15 minutes
2        af undervisningen            2          of class
3 Mah:   ja Inger                     3 Mah:     yes Inger ←
4 Ing:   ud med jakkerne              4 Ing:     out with the coats
5 Mah:   ud med jakkerne skifter      5 Mah:     out with the coats over
```

Inger remarks that they have now wasted 15 min of the class, and Mahmoud responds to this with a noticeably emphatic stress and distinct pronunciation of "yes" followed by the teacher's name. These simple features are enough to leave the impression of a stylised voice and inauthentic agreement. In line 5, Mahmoud repeats the request of the teacher to take their coats out, as if supporting her, but then he adds "skifter" (over), as if communicating to someone through a handheld trans-

ceiver. This last addition contextualises the contribution as non-serious and playful. In addition, it brings into focus the recording device and thereby the issue of being researched. Thus, this example in fact combines the two types of interactional contexts where we find this kind of stylisation used, namely, in situations where issues of being corrected by teachers or other adults or issues of being investigated by researchers are at stake.

In the final example, the dimension of being researched is brought about playfully through a staged interview. A member of our research team, Andreas, has asked Isaam if he can record some freestyle rap with him. So, an academic from the university has talked him into performing some freestyle in the schoolyard. Isaam, though, is the one in control of the recorder. In this sequence, he records a pretend interview. Musad acts as the interviewer asking about Isaam's thoughts about rap.

3.3.3.4   Excerpt 3: "Rap is Life"

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Self-recording during freestyle rap activity (with ethnographer,
Andreas).Speakers: Musad (Mus), Isaam (Isa) and an unidentifiable boy
in the school yard.
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1 Mus:	hvad synes du rappen er	1 Mus:	what do you think rap is
2 Isa:	men jeg synes det er	2 Isa:	but I think it's ve:ry ←
3	me:get koncentreret og	3	concentrated and ve:ry
4	me:get (.) velfungeret	4	(.) well functioning
5	socialt sikkerhedsnet	5	social security web
6	fordi [rappen]	6	because [the rap]
7 Mus:	[pas på] (du ikke	7 Mus:	[watch out] (you
8	sutter min finger af)	8	don't suck my finger off)
9 Isa:	fordi fordi rappen	9 Isa:	because because rap ←
10	(0.2) rappen	10	(0.2) rap
11 Mus:	ja rappen [xxx]	11 Mus:	yes rap [xxx]
12 Isa:	[rappen] det	12 Isa:	[rap] i:t's ←
13	e:r li**vet** og li**vet** det	13	li**fe** and li**fe**
14	er tærte	14	is pie
15 Boy:	hold nu kæft (idiot)	15 Boy:	shut up (idiot)
16 Mus:	hvad siger du der er	16 Mus:	what do you say there's
17	nogle der siger at de	17	who say that they
18	har ikke noget liv dem	18	haven't got a life
19	der rapper hvad siger	19	those who rap
20	du til det	20	what do you to that
21 Isa:	jeg siger de skal hjem	21 Isa:	I say they should go home
22	og kneppe deres mor så	22	and fuck their mum then
23	kan de se hvad et liv er	23	they can see what life is

Isaam's response to Musad's question (lines 2–6, 9–10 and 12–14) is predominantly marked by the choice of vocabulary in his description of rap. The expressions "concentrated", "well functioning", and "social security web" are not regularly used by Isaam and here they are combined with prolongation of the vowels in "meget" (very) as well as pauses and repetitions (lines 6, 9, 10 and 12). This combination of features leaves the impression of a thoughtful, sophisticated and academic voice presenting the meaning of rap to the interviewer. In lines 12–14, Isaam becomes

almost philosophical when he describes rap as "livet" (life) and the continuation "livet er tærte" (life is pie) of course emphasises the playfulness of the sequence. In this utterance, "life" is pronounced with marked exaggerated distinct pronunciation with a final aspirated plosive (more distinct than a conservative standard near pronunciation). The reference to "well-functioning social security web" also seems to connote sociopolitical discourses of societal integration that are not unfamiliar to participants, like Isaam, in the local youth club and in council-supported integration initiatives through rap music, but it would extend the scope of this chapter to discuss this aspect in detail. Isaam's performance here is, indeed, reacted to as inauthentic and he is asked to "shut up" (line 15), but Musad teasingly continues to play along with the interview role play and asks Isaam to comment on the opinion of rappers not having a life. Issam in his response to this, switches to a more vernacular voice, as he tells those of that opinion to "go home and fuck their mum" (lines 21 and 22).

3.4 Conclusion

The stylisations I have discussed on the basis of these four data excerpts have in common that they are achieved through:

1. A lack of features associated with the contemporary urban speech style sometimes described by the speakers as "street language" and instead a use of relatively unmarked young Copenhagen pronunciations
2. A combination of selected extra distinct or marked conservative pronunciations with exaggerated expressions of agreement, enthusiasm or politeness and vocabulary indexing sophistication/academic reflection

In other interactional examples from our data (that I have not treated in detail here), similar features were occasionally also combined with a pronunciation characterised by exaggerated high pitch and a shrieky voice. The stylisations involve often rather subtly signalled, but still noticeable, inauthenticity, and it is achieved as much through semantic and pragmatic features as through altered pronunciation. These combinations of linguistic resources, in fact, correspond quite closely to the features described and demonstrated in the participant's metalinguistic reflections on the "integrated" register (see Madsen 2011; 2013) and they are used to bring about similar values of hierarchical relations connected to institutional and educational aspects. The exaggerated polite, sophisticated and enthusiastic stylisations occur in our data in communicative contexts where norm transgressions and/or relations of authority of some kind are at play, and these situations involve either, directly or indirectly, teacher authorities or interviewers/researchers (we also find examples of these stylisations being used in narratives about prior experiences where norms were broken and verbal sanctions followed by authorities). A clear picture appears from the stylisation practices in the interactional sequences discussed here; a voice bringing about associations of conservative standard upscale cultural values is inauthentically put on, and put on display in contexts where institutional inequalities are

spotlighted. In this way, these interactional stylisations and their situated functions emphasise the dimension of symbolic power relations.

In this chapter, I have aimed to look beyond heteroglossia as such as the point of interest. Instead, I have taken on board the notion of heteroglossia with its reference to diversity on the level of voicing as well as the levels of speech and language. Looking at contemporary sociolinguistic heteroglossia from a perspective of enregisterment enables us to relate situated stylisations as discussed above to current sociolinguistic processes on a larger scale. Recent Danish sociolinguistics has suggested that social class relations have relatively little contemporary sociolinguistic significance, and instead the discovery of new linguistic practices among youth in culturally and linguistically diverse environments has led to ethnicity being foregrounded. However if, in line with a linguistic ethnographic approach to sociolinguistics, we understand social class, ethnicity and other social categories as sociocultural (and political) interpretations signified by certain cultural and linguistic practices rather than as existing bounded groups reflecting biological, place-related or socioeconomic facts (see also Rampton 2006, 2011; Brubaker 2004), interactional stylisations such as the ones I have discussed here can alter this picture.

As an interpretive framework, social class includes various aspects of unequal lived relationships involving occupation and employment hierarchies, income and wealth, lifestyle and finally cultural practices (including linguistic) arising from these (Bradley 1996, p. 45–46), whereas ethnicity involves the idea of territorial groups, nation states and processes of migration and conquests (Bradley 1996, p. 19–20). Class, then, can be seen as an awareness of a "high" and "low" societal stratification, and ethnicity as an awareness of territorial belonging involving "inside" and "outside" relations. The stylisation data I have discussed in this chapter support the insights we have gained from our interview and essay data and show that a sense of high/low stratification is indeed still relevant to contemporary Danish youth, but it is expressed and understood differently from traditional social class-correlated speech styles.

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Chapter 4
Heteroglossia in Action: Sámi Children, Textbooks and Rap

Sari Pietikäinen and Hannele Dufva

Abstract This chapter examines heteroglossia in the complex, continuously evolving multilingual context of Sámiland, the historically and culturally central area for indigenous Sámi culture and languages. The analytical discussion is of a rap about textbooks, created and performed by a group of Sámi children with the help of their teachers and parents that they presented as their petition for more Sámi language teaching materials. The rap is viewed as an example of heteroglossic practices, a strategic mobilization, mixture and recycling of multiple meaning making resources that result in a polyphonic performance.

Keywords Rhizome · Nexus · Languaging · Chronotope · Rap

4.1 Rapping About Textbooks: Inari Sámi Children's Petition

Figure 4.1 is of a rap that was authored by young Sámi children with the help of their teachers and parents, and originally performed in the capital city of Helsinki as a petition to acquire more textbooks in Inari Sámi. This indigenous Sámi language is one of the three Sámi languages spoken in Finland and has approximately 350 speakers, practically all of whom speak both Finnish and Inari Sámi and many additional languages. As a response to the lack of teaching materials in their own language, a group of parents, teachers and pupils collaborated in organising a petition to attract attention to the situation. The key element of the petition was a rap performance, to be presented to certain key politicians, including the President of Finland, and intended to attract extensive media coverage. The process involved many actors and entailed several steps to come to fruition: not only were the lyrics written and the performance practised but the group also collected funds for covering the

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Ko lâim kielâpiervâlist	*When we were in our language nest*
te oppijm sämikielâ	*we learned the Sámi language*
tom mij peesâim kuldâliđ	*we could listen people using it*
já šoodâi sárnummielâ	*and this made us want to speak it*
Tääl ko mij lep škoovlâst	*Now that we're at school*
mij kal kielâ vala kuullâp	*we can speak the language*
mut mist iä lah kirjeh	*but the problem is with reading*
nuuvtbâ maid mij tijmijn luuhâp	*since we have no books*
Mij poođ ijm tondiet Helsigân	*That's why we came to Helsinki*
ko iä lah kirjeh mist	*'cause we don't have any books*
iše toos mij tarbâšep	*we need your help in it*
já tom mij pivdep tist	*that's what we are asking*
Jis kielâ láppoo Anarist	*If the language will be lost in Inari*
tot láppoo ollâsávt	*it means its death*
já talle imâštâlloč č ij	*How could it happen?*
et maht te keevâi návt	*That's what people will be thinking*
Tárkká kuldâliđ tääl mii	*Please listen to us carefully*
täät tuođ âi tehâlâš äšši lii	*it's important what we are saying*
Ep haalijd tuše muč is saanijd	*Friendly words are not what we need*
Mij tarbâšep škoovlân oppâkirjijd	*we need more textbooks*
Mij tarbâšep oppâkirjijd	*We want textbooks*
Mij halidep oppâkirjijd	*we need textbooks*

Fig. 4.1 The Inari Sámi lyrics for the school book rap from the Fur Shoe Petition Facebook page. (Accessed 1.2.2012; the (literal) translation from the Finnish version into English by the second author)

travel costs for the parents', teachers' and children's trip of over 1,000 km from Inari, the Finnish Sámiland, to the capital Helsinki in the South. The work of the group involved setting up a Facebook account, organising meetings with key Finnish politicians in the capital, contacting people for media coverage and organising a demonstration in Helsinki. The group named itself as *karvakenkälähetystö* (Finnish for "Fur Shoe Delegation"). The name embeds two kinds of allusions. First, it refers to a traditional Sámi winter shoe made of reindeer fur. At the same time, the name is a word play that recycles the expression *karvahattulähetystö* ("fur hat delegation"), a term that is used in Finnish political discourse to refer to a delegation of "provincial" people, with their "provincial" fur hats, coming to the capital to present a petition to the decision-makers.

The rap performance about textbooks as such is a combination of many elements and threads. First, as a petition it is not the most conventional one in the sense that it would be planned and executed by official Sámi politicians but, rather, a display of grass-roots activity. This is shown also in the fact that the funds for this effort were mainly collected from the community and sponsors, not from the authorities. As such, the case and its chosen form—rap—seem to be authorized by the community

and speak with the authenticity of the "vernacular voice" of the people. However, like all petitions, the textbook rap was meant to attract as wide media coverage as possible. For this, social media was a central means, particularly the Facebook account that was opened and the page that was continually updated and used to rally for support both before and during the trip to Helsinki. After the event, the updates gave information about the success of the trip and results gained.

This series of events, and the rap performance we analyse in this chapter[1], can be seen as a *nexus* at which different participants meet, different *chronotopes* (Bakhtin 1981) intertwine and different language resources, or, more broadly, semiotic resources, are brought together (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004; Pietikäinen 2010). Hence, the rap as a nexus embeds a wealth of dimensions to be analysed and a wealth of everyday and institutional practices and processes that speak of different times and places to be examined. There are contradictions habitually addressed in the context of indigenous and minority languages (peripheral vs. central), different languages involved (Sámi, Finnish), different discourses that intertwine (endangered language discourse, language as commodification discourse) and genres that meet (rap genre vs. written petition; for further details, see Pietikäinen 2013b). In this chapter, we will trace some of the threads and trajectories, focussing particularly on those that centre around language education and revitalisation.

In our analysis, we draw on nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2003, 2004; Pietikäinen 2010), connecting it to theorization on heteroglossic languaging. Nexus analysis is a multidisciplinary discourse analytical approach that aims at understanding the complexity of situated language practices by examining the simultaneous coming together of participants, discourses and interactional normativities in any moment of language use. Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 159) use the term 'nexus' to refer to "a point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, practices, experiences and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action". Here, the rap performance is a nexus where a variety of spaces meet, such as new economies, globalisation, minority and indigenous language rights and revitalisation, social media, popular culture and language education. Each of these areas—and the discourses circulating across them—has a potential impact on how language resources are used and how the practices are organised. Using the metaphor of nexus, we aim to unpack the rap: to display the trajectories of resources that meet in its production and performance, to understand how different resources interact and what types of creativity may follow and finally to reflect upon the consequences of such transgressive semiotic practices and their impact on minority language activism and minority language education and pedagogy.

What we attempt to do below is also an example of *rhizomatic* discourse analysis inspired by the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987, for application cf. Pietikäinen 2013a). By using the concept of *rhizome*, a construct that sees the processes and events to be observed in terms of *flow* and *connections* that do not have a beginning or an end, we aim at illustrating some threads and aspects that we see present in the rap without aiming at dissecting it into its formal or genre elements. The analysis is not reduced to either "experiences" or "objectified reality", but aims at capturing the historicity and becoming of phenomena in time and space. In our analysis, we first give some background information of the Sámiland, its language situation and language education, then explicate the concept of heteroglossia and finally analyse the rap performance in more detail. Our aim is both to contribute to the theoretical reconceptualisation of language and to develop empirical means that illustrate our chosen theoretical starting points in a dialogue between theory and analysis that attempts at foregrounding the "doing" or "eventing" nature of the phenomena we discuss.

4.2 The Contexts: Multilingual Sámiland and Sámi Language Education

While Sámiland, also known as *Sápmi, Lapland, Lapponia* or *North Calotte*, is often regarded as a "periphery" from the perspective of the southern, urban "heart-lands" of the nation states concerned (i.e. Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia), it has a long history of mobility, multilingualism and mixed ways of making a living, all now intensified by globalisation and tourism. Today, only about half of the Sámi people (approx. 60,000–80,000 in number) speak one of the nine different Sámi languages, and there are no monolingual Sámi-only speakers left. Now Sámi languages are part of multilingual repertoires of speakers and multilingual practices in the communities. The role of the Sámi language in the people's lives varies as do their language skills. The language with the highest number of speakers is Northern Sámi (c. 30,000 speakers), whereas others have as few as 250–400 speakers each (Aikio-Puoskari 2005; Kulonen et al. 2005). Inari Sámi, the language at the focus in this chapter, has c. 350 speakers.

A look at the history of learning and teaching Sámi languages—regarded below mostly from the point of view of the Finnish context (see also Dufva and Pietikäinen 2006)—shows that there have been many shifts and changes in language practices. Before World War II, while Sámi languages were regularly learned as a mother tongue and widely used as a primary means of daily interaction in the community, Finnish was the official language used in education and administration also in Sápmi. After 1945, the worldwide modernization process had a deep impact on Finnish society and also influenced the education of the Sámi. With minor exceptions, education was now given in Finnish only, and the period also marked the beginning of a large-scale language shift from Sámi languages to Finnish (Aikio 1988). At the same time that the domains of Sámi language use were narrowing

down, the largely negative attitudes of the majority population had their own impact on Sámi culture—and languages became increasingly marginalised.

With its monolingual policy of "Finnish only", education came to be a double-edged sword: while offering an opportunity, it gave it in Finnish only, and thus disrupted the mother tongue skills of the children (see, e.g. Aikio 1988). This also made them choose careers that required majority language skills only. Consequently, many Sámi people started to use Finnish with their own children for the purpose of doing them a favour (Lindgren 2000; Pietikäinen et al. 2011). Nevertheless, during these years of stigma and language shift, Sámi activism started to strengthen. By the 1970s, it was evident that the language issue had to be reconsidered, and the community was now working actively for its civil rights and linguistic rights. However, although some teachers had taught Sámi, or in Sámi, "in secrecy", it was not until the comprehensive school reform in the 1970s that the languages were given official recognition, but even then only at the Sámi domicile area (Aikio-Puoskari 2000). From then on, young people started to demand a right to be educated *in* Sámi.

Today, the Sámi languages have a regional official status in three northern municipalities of Finland. The Sámi Language Act (1991), along with certain constitutional amendments, acts and laws, has made it possible to use Sámi languages not only in everyday life, but also in political life (e.g. Sámi Parliament) and education. Since 1997 language nests, i.e. preschool immersion programs, have been active. Language nests that originated as part of the Maori language revival in New Zealand and that aim at a transmission of both linguistic and cultural heritage have also resulted in an upsurge of both interest and skills in Sámi in Sámiland (Olthuis 2003; Olthuis et al. 2013; Pasanen 2004). At school, the right to study in any of the Sámi languages is ensured by the Sámi Language Act and Basic Education Act (1999) which entitles children living in the Sámi domicile area to have the main part of their education in Sámi. However, many problems remain. The scarcity of proper teaching materials is one, as our case shows.

In sum, Sámiland is not only a site with a long history of indigenous languages and cultures but also a site where hierarchies, categories and boundaries related to language and speakerhood are constantly under construction and often also contested. Although now Sámi languages have a recognised position, language endangerment and revitalisation continue to be burning issues, and the role of language education—a perspective that we address in this chapter—is highly relevant in it. Further, one should not forget that other factors, such as globalisation and the economy, have their impact on what kinds of language practices are evolving. To take an example, a shift that has been seen in several minority language communities (Heller 2011; Jaffe 2007; Pujolar 2006) from a mainly primary sector-based economy to tertiary sector economy, with tourism being one of the main sources of revenue, is now seen also in the Sámi context (Pietikäinen 2013a). The new markets will potentially influence—and have actually already done so—the value and use of Sámi languages. Similarly, the new visibility of languages in the media and diverse areas of popular culture such as Sámi language rock, tango and rap have had an influence (for an analysis of rap, see Pietikäinen 2010). Still, it remains to be seen whether the new markets and new media have an influence—and what kind of influence—on educational practices.

4.3   Heteroglossia and Languaging: Reconceptualising Language and Multilingualism

Today, most researchers within (critical) applied linguistics, discourse studies and sociolinguistics understand multilingual practices—whether in communities or in classrooms—in terms of contesting the traditional, often monolingual and monological, conceptualisations of language, languages and language users (see, e.g. Heller 2006; Jaffe 2007; Pennycook 2010). Similarly, there is a growing understanding that the era of monolingual ideology in language education needs to be replaced by the recognition and acceptance of multilingual practices and their use as a means of fostering students' agency and language awareness (García and Beardsmore 2008; Blackledge and Creese 2010; Dufva and Salo 2009; Dufva et al. 2011; Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013). Recognising the wide spectrum of novel formulations (e.g. translanguaging, García 2009; plurilingualism, Canagarajah 2009; metrolingualism, Otsuji and Pennycook 2010), one central inspiration for us is the Bakhtinian (1981, p. 294) notion of *heteroglossia*. Further, the notion of 'languaging' is used here to replace essentialist, monological and monolithical conceptualisations of language and to advance the understanding of issues that explicitly involve multilingualism, language education and pedagogy (Dufva et al. 2011; Pietikäinen 2012).

Drawing on the Bakhtinian notion of *heteroglossia*, we not only indicate and highlight diversity but also point out that language practices are characterised by centrifugal and centripetal forces, with one working towards unification and standardization and the other towards diversity, change and creativity. Choosing *languaging* over the essentialist notion of unitary monolithic "language", we highlight the notion of language as "doing", "action" or "activity" and describe language in terms of a dynamic set of interconnecting and shifting, essentially multilingual, *language practices* (for related views, see the notions of language as *practice*, Fairclough 1992; Pennycook 2010; language as *activity*, Lantolf and Thorne 2007; language as *action*, Scollon and Scollon 2004). Heteroglossic languaging is also a formulation that avoids seeing "language" in terms of *one*, and multilingualism in terms of enumeration of languages. The rap performance we discuss is an example of heteroglossia in action *par excellence* in its combination of different trajectories that speak about language(s), ethnicity, authenticity and minority/majority issues and an example of "languaging" in its nature as "doing".

Heteroglossia is a concept that highlights the essential variability present in all human languaging, not only in contexts traditionally seen as multilingual. Taking heteroglossia as a default assumption embeds not only a redefinition of "language" itself but also such notions as "speaker", "language learning", "native speaker" and the like. These issues are highly relevant from the point of view of (critical) applied linguistics in particular. As pointed out by Pennycook (2001, 2010), it is particularly in applied linguistics that the conceptualisations of language *do matter* and have consequences for people's lived actualities: the definitions play a role in defining who can use one's own language, who is legitimized as a speaker of any chosen

language, whose language skills are "good"—who is allowed an education in one's own language as in our case—and who are outsiders in all respects. These are particularly important—and often also debated—concepts in multilingual minority and indigenous language communities.

Sometimes Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia (for a closer discussion on dialogism and the work of the Bakhtin Circle, see Brandist 2002) is used rather superficially to signify variation and fluidity, but it has a more complex meaning. First, the much-quoted passage of Bakhtin formulates heteroglossia as follows:

> Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth, all given a bodily form. These "languages" of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying languages. (Bakhtin 1981, p. 291)

It also needs to be remembered that heteroglossia is a term chosen for the English translation, not used by Bakhtin himself. As the original Russian texts show, Bakhtin speaks of "intralingual diversity" (Russian raznorechie), internal stratification present in one national language which also testifies to different ideological positions, a usage that can be rendered in English as heteroglossia. On the other hand, there is also a presence of various languages and dialects in the community, that is, "language plurality" (raznoiazychie) that refers to linguistic-level phenomena (for a closer discussion, see Lähteenmäki 2010).

What a heteroglossic view suggests is that not only are communities multilingual but also "language" is. Because language is always reciprocally associated with its contexts and the "ideologies" therein (Voloshinov 1973), a decontextual "language system" does not exist—outside the artefacts of linguistics. Instead, language use, or "languaging", consists of language practices that are carried out in different spaces and in different times by language users, that is, agents who are capable of moving across various temporal and spatial boundaries with different semiotic resources. Thus already in their mother tongue, language users are "multilingual", able to draw upon different linguistic and semiotic resources and to participate in varying language practices.

Although the fundamentally variable nature of language is clearly what Bakhtin highlights, the omnipresent process of change and development is not uncontrollable. Ongoing heteroglossic languaging is moved by two opposing forces, the centripetal and the centrifugal:

> Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward. (Bakhtin 1981, p. 272)

Thus, to understand the dynamics and dialectics of heteroglossia, we also need to note that normativity and pressure towards uniformity are part of languaging. Heteroglossia does not indicate fluidity and creativity only, but also pressure towards fixity and normativity. Thus, the Bakhtinian view emphasises the dynamic and variable nature of language, but at the same time it observes that language is characterised by a force that aims at control and unification.

To say that languaging is heteroglossic is also to say that there are practices that aim at homogenizing languaging. These practices and tendencies may be singularly obvious in institutional contexts of (language) education where they may be presented by highly authoritative voices and explicit, articulated constraints. In educational contexts, prescriptivity, purism, monolingual bias (Cummins 2005; Hinnenkamp 2005; Jaffe 2007) and linguistic imperialism (Canagarajah 1999) are all examples of this.

However, it is clear that there are less explicit tendencies for conformity by, e.g. repetition and recycling of language practices. Genres are one example of how centripetal forces allow certain practices and conventions to be reproduced from one source or generation to another and why, for example, the rap genre is identifiable as such. Still, the other force—the centrifugal one—allows interaction between language practices and genres: the processes are not only those of repetition and recycling but also those of recontextualisation, relocalisation and remodification. This is something that is clearly seen in our case where the Fur Hat Delegation is "redressed" as a Fur Shoe Delegation and the petition is transgressed from the world of official documents into the world of rap.

To continue, the rap genre can be seen as an example of the tension and creativity related to centripetal and centrifugal forces. Rap can be regarded as a transgressive genre (see, e.g. Pietikäinen 2010; Pennycook 2007, 2010), but here the word "trans" does not refer to "crossing over" only. Rather, it is used in the sense of displaying a potential to dislocate and problematize existing, often fixed, ontologies about language and languages and about how speakers are positioned (Pennycook 2007). Also, as rap (genre) is regarded as something that people *do* rather than a product or a thing, its analysis means examining the actions of agents working with different resources and involved in different semiotic practices. Consequently, the analysis aims at examining globally and locally available resources of various types and of different modalities that people draw on and bring together in situated encounters.

Drawing upon the notion of "chronotope" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 84), our analysis of the rap genre—and the Sámi children's performance—argues for the importance of time and space. Originally used for analysing how the inseparable complex of time–space is represented in a narrative, chronotope here suggests that all forms of meaning making, or all semiotic resources, are not only bound by the constraints of time and space, in the sense of spatially and temporally emerging languaging, but also that languaging has a capacity for referring across time–space and bringing in discourses and practices not only to copy and represent them but also to renew them. With our focus on genre, we suggest that the discursive approach of nexus analysis can be connected to the dialogical perspective and to critical views on language. As Bakhtin (1981, p. 84) argued, chronotope "defines genre and generic distinctions". From this perspective, genre can be seen as a "master category" that structures and stratifies language practices and hierarchies (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2009). Thus, genres can be seen as different ways to codify the rules assumed to govern time–space relations; they embody a historically specific idea of language practices and function as a norm to individual text or sign. Our analysis of how the rap genre is here recycled and applied is one way to examine centrifugal and

centripetal forces in spatial and temporal structuration. We seek to understand this particular transgressive semiotic practice both critically and in its complexity—in terms of emerging, recycled and moulded forms of appropriations, activism and commodification. For our analysis, this view suggests that we should not focus only on what people do but also consider the conditions and consequences of that action, that is, to regard heteroglossia in practice in a manner that extends the current spatial and temporal circumstances.

To sum up, in saying that heteroglossia embeds both centrifugal and centripetal forces that are part of all languaging, we are also saying that it is a highly appropriate concept for examining the multilingual dynamics present in our case. This includes not only the performance itself but also the accompanying and underlying trajectories of the highly complex and rapidly shifting situations of the Sámi languages and Sámi language education. At the interface of official and vernacular, new and old, different modalities and means, languaging keeps on varying, but is pressed into new patterns of conformity. In our case, the contemporary rap genre meets age-old Sámi language practices, the classroom context seeks inspiration from contemporary popular culture, the adult world of language activism meets the young people's perspective and the informal becomes political.

4.4   Heteroglossia in Action: A School Book Rap Performance

The rap we examine is a polyphonic performance that appropriates and recycles various semiotic resources across various time–spaces/contexts. The performance is characterised by a strategic use of various media spaces, notably Facebook, as well as the "carnivalesque" characteristics of the rap performance itself (Bakhtin 1981; see also Blackledge and Creese 2010; Pietikäinen 2013a). The carnivalesque is achieved, as we shall show below, by a playful combination of diverse resources of different languages and discourses that coincide to produce heteroglossic languaging, both transgressive and mobile in nature, all packed in a rap genre.

The primary data used in this chapter come from an open Facebook page that was created in 2009 by The Fur Shoe Petition Group. Additional data include follow-ups of the media coverage and informal discussions with individuals involved in making the rap. These were carried out by the first author as a part of her ongoing research on multilingualism in the Sámi community.

To rally support and attention, the first messages were posted on the Facebook wall prior to the delegation's visit to Helsinki. Both during and after the visit, several updates were made to provide information about the latest developments. Many comments—typically highly positive ones—were made about the rap and also a number of "likes" ("thumbs up") appeared. The petition activity was also commented upon and expressions of support for language revitalisation activities were given. Several photos and a video clip of the performance were also attached to the page. The language most frequently used was Finnish, but occasional comments in Inari Sámi were made.

If we turn to look at the performance itself, the decision of the group to use the rap genre is the first choice to be observed. The features of rap are recognisable in the stylized rhythmic music that accompanies rapping, the rhythmic and rhyming speech that is chanted. In this particular rap, the familiar rap beat and the rhyming lyrics are combined with a fairly simple melody. The rhythm is also embodied in the movement of some of the performers, clearly visible in the video clip.

A particular musical characteristic of this rap is a sampled tune from a computer game, well known to the children, called *Super Mario*. While sampling is a means often used in the rap genre, the humour and playfulness of the Super Mario tune as well as the imaginary world of the computer game character seems to add to the carnivalesque nature of this performance. To use rap and to connect it to the world of computer games is a performative choice that both relocalises globally circulated resources but also makes a connection across several contexts. In a way, the globally spread hip-hop culture is connected with these children's everyday practices of playing computer games. This nexus brings together different lifeworlds and associated practices.

Further, the children's performance also recapitalizes a particular local chronotope, intertwined with the meanings and values of the rap genre to the Inari Sámi community. A young, local rap artist called Amoc—who the performing children may also personally know—has published his own compact disc (CD), developed a career with both local and international tours and stirred a huge media buzz. Amoc's trajectory that we are also reminded of in the children's performance is often perceived not only as a personal success story but also as a positive signal for Inari Sámi revitalisation (Pietikäinen 2010; also Moriarty and Pietikäinen 2011). In his combination of the rap genre with Inari Sámi lyrics, Amoc has exported a local, endangered language through a global genre into the niche global market of rap music, thereby *upscaling* Inari Sámi (cf. Pietikäinen 2010). The language that was formerly seen as a stigmatised resource, belonging to the tradition and heritage of the grandparents' generation, is now seen as a valuable resource in popular and youth culture. The lyrics of Amoc have a twofold function: at the local and national level, they work as an important political and cultural index of the new value attached to the endangered Inari Sámi, while globally they are an index of the originality and authenticity of a rap musician. Rapping in Inari Sámi is both a politicised action and a commodified product. Hence, the children's petition rap rather skilfully draws on a network of global resources, and Amoc's relocalisation of these, and at the same time transgresses both by relocalising them. Here, one can sense a rhizomatic presence of various traditions, threads and influences; although repeated and re-enacted, it would be hard to find one particular point of origin for a practice, and similarly, senseless to imagine its closure.

Following Amoc's lead, the lyrics of the schoolbook rap are mostly in Inari Sámi, despite the fact that most listeners—especially in the context of the capital city—would not actually understand the language. However, the choice of the language clearly lends authenticity and "grass-roots taste" to the petition: although Sámi has only emblematic value for the majority of the audience, it is here used to communicate that there are indeed young children who actually speak Inari Sámi,

and that they need books in their own language. So what the audience is made to listen to is a Sámi voice from the margins, in a very literal sense. For those who understand the language, the lyrics are a narrative describing the path of Inari Sámi education: the children have started learning the language in an Inari Sámi language nest (Pasanen 2004). After that, at school, although they can use Sámi, they do not have an adequate number of books. To ensure that their message gets through, however, they repeat the chorus (*I want a biology/maths,* etc. book) in Finnish as each child in turn performs it individually. A powerful discourse structuring the simple narrative is the discourse of language endangerment (see, e.g. Heller and Duchêne 2007; McEvan-Fujita 2011) that foregrounds the predicament of a language and underlines various revitalisation activities needed to "save" it. This discourse is also evident in the ways the language boundaries are here kept intact: rather than mixing Sámi and Finnish more freely—an opportunity the rap genre might invite—Finnish is used only in the separate chorus lines. Again, the local and global are connected in a rhizomatic manner to argue the cause of language revitalisation and linguistic activism.

Another transgressive element is to be found in the habitus and appearance of the children. In their performance, the children were not stylized as iconic rappers with baggy pants, a cap and some additional "bling". Instead, they were wearing traditional Inari Sámi costumes in a gesture that can be viewed as visual consumption of conventional Sámi indexes. That is, strategic choices for visual communication were central to the *experience economy,* such as tourism, marketing and media (for a closer discussion of visual consumption, see, e.g. Schroeder 2002). Thus, Sámi culture was here displayed and also visually consumed by the watchers of the performance, with the Sámi index that is perhaps the most obvious and authenticating of all: Sámi dress. The dress with its different colours and ornaments involves multiple meanings: while to locals its visual elements index a particular region of origin and the particular Sámi language of the wearer, to outsiders it speaks of authenticity (Pietikäinen 2013a). It is only members of the Sámi community who are entitled to wear the dress, traditionally worn in daily use but now typically used on festive occasions only (Lehtola 1997). However, in tourism work some exceptions are made. In the rap performance, the dress marks the children as Sámi, and at the same time it differentiates them from the Finns present. Their bodies—and performance—become authenticated as *genuinely* Sámi: the dress lends centripetal, authoritative authenticity to the young rappers. To use the dress as a part of the performance is no accident, but a very conscious and strategic decision that brings together resources that at first seem oppositional: the popular urban rap genre, the endangered Sámi language frequently experienced as rural or peripheral and the ethnic dress used as a display of cultural authentication. Together, they create a polyphonic performance—an ensemble of voices that are circulated across categories of ethnicity and language.

Finally, another social category that is present and circulated in this performance is age: the performers are young schoolchildren, potential users of the books themselves. Rather than having teachers or parents write and present a formal petition, the decision to give voice to the children and let them perform it in the rap genre

links it with two different spaces, again rhizomatically. On one hand, the performance is linked to the institutional discourses of the school, its everyday practices and the issues of Inari Sámi education at large, but on the other hand the performance is also linked to the children's lifeworlds and community life, something highly typical of grass-roots language political activities (Moriarty 2011; Moriarty and Pietikäinen 2011). The choices present in the performance take this particular action of language policy from the "official" and institutional contexts and place it more directly within the practices stemming from everyday life experience. Here, as we argue, the particular vernacular of the children is taken seriously—or used as a conscious tool. The voices of the children, the genre of rap and the sampled examples of Super Mario tunes mix with the voices of the adults and their experiences of the institutional and political means and limits in their language activism campaigns.

4.5   Discussion

For us, the performative choices we have aimed at describing suggest a high awareness of how different language resources and semiotic resources can be used for the benefit of language activism that involves new types of genres and actors. Theoretically, we have regarded the rap as an example of heteroglossia in practice. Methodologically, we aim at rejecting those approaches that would analyse the performance as a finished product; rather, we see it as doing about doing. There are several processes and forces working in this particular nexus of time–space: when they are brought together in a transgressive manner, they produce new forms of localisation, novel spaces for identification and new kinds of language political action.

   We have introduced, rather tentatively, the concepts of rhizome and chronotope in our analysis. In the performance, we can see how resources are strategically mobilized, relocated and recycled and how popular culture, Sámi resources, style and age all are on display. The rhizomatic approach, adopted and developed in this chapter, has been helpful in tapping the circulation and networks of the various elements and their strategic mix. The rap genre—perhaps like all genres—is mobile: it has a capacity of crossing various spaces and circulating practices from politics and media to education and research. The rap is also an example of what Pennycook (2010) calls paradoxes of creativity and repetition: repetition never means repeating the same, but it is always an act of difference and renewal. In the analysis of the rap performance, we are also reminded of Coupland's (2007) work on style: what we have here is a multivoiced and stylized performance, something that is made one's own through elements of repetition, sameness and humour.

   Aiming at understanding and interpreting the activity we described, we gave up acontextual and atemporal approaches and aimed at foregrounding embedded time–space configurations. In this, we found the Bakhtinian idea of chronotope useful. Genres, as well as discourses or language practices, or, simply, language use, are repeated and recycled in nature. While as researchers we have a particular observa-

tion point, or nexus that we focus on, languaging itself keeps moving on. Languaging is mobile and dynamic: it has a past, it will be recirculated and it keeps orienting towards the future.

What is the rap performance like when regarded as an example of linguistic activism for pedagogical contexts? Pennycook (2007) talks about hip-hop pedagogies and their transformative potential: by this he means centring the experiences, voices and practices of the vernacular, of those who usually are on the margins. The case we discussed provides one example of how transgressive and creative semiotic practices increasingly find their way to the school, where their emancipatory and transformative potential may be utilised to increase the number of reflexive pedagogical practices that reject monolingual ideologies (for other examples see, e.g. Hélot, this volume, Hélot and Ó Laoire 2011; Pietikäinen 2012; Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013). The rap case we have analysed shows that consciously planned but still "semi-official" efforts that have their roots in the community itself may work well: the event was designed by the people themselves, it drew upon their community experience, and in its own heteroglossic complexity it seemed to display underlying complexities as well. It might also suggest that pedagogy should embrace heteroglossia as its starting point: that is, the aim would be to understand and recognise the complexity and flexibility of language practices, to take into account social dynamics and the needs that underlie revitalisation and to allow creativity in practice.

4.6 Resonances and Reverberations

To come back to Scollon and Scollon's (2004, p. 159) observation that the social action observed in the nexus may alter the historical trajectories emerging from the event in question, we can look at some of the consequences of this particular social action—a viewpoint also expressed in critical applied linguistics (see, e.g. Pennycook 2001; Dufva and Pietikäinen, forthcoming). The impact of the rap petition can be characterised as huge, considering the size of the community of Inari Sámi speakers, the number of people involved in making it, and the various, long-standing problems with both the position of the Sámi languages and Sámi language education in particular. The community actually succeeded in raising funds for the textbooks and Sámi language education on an unprecedented scale. In the few years that have passed since the children's petition, they now have, e.g. an Inari Sámi ABC book and a multilingual Inari Sámi–English story book about a "forgetful squirrel"[2]. There are more books to come and innovations in Sámi language education are being developed in, e.g. social media. Today, Inari Sámi children have at least some textbooks in their own language—textbooks being a mediational means that occupies such a central position in the Finnish school context (Pitkänen-Huhta 2003).

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[2] 1 The bilingual story book with Inari Sámi and English texts, called "The Forgetful Squirrel"

A connected enterprise—similar in spirit to the rap—is a book project where Sámi-speaking children were engaged in authoring and illustrating their own stories which, with the help of the Sámi Parliament as well as the research project by the first author, were printed and circulated to all Sámi classrooms in Finland (for a closer discussion, see Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta 2013). There may be repercussions that still remain to be seen: although the Sámi language books and practices clearly are a step forward, there are still two roads to be taken: the one of monolingual ideologies and multilingual language use as "two solitudes" (Cummins 2005), or, the practices and activities that bridge the classroom environment with the children's multilingual everyday life that enhance their language awareness by reflective, multilingual practices (Blackledge and Creese 2010; García 2009). Whatever the case, the rap performance turned out to be one springboard that not only drew attention to the language situation and created a space for vernacular and marginal voices but also allowed—by combining humour with reflection—the bringing together of everyday experiences and classroom worlds.

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Chapter 5
'The Lord Is My Shock Absorber': A Sociohistorical Integrationist Approach to Mid-Twentieth-Century Literacy Practices in Ghana

Sinfree Makoni

Abstract Taking a sociohistorical perspective, this chapter analyses the language practices of taxi inscriptions in Ghana during the mid-twentieth century. Through the lens of Integrationism, the chapter explores whether recent scholarship in sociolinguistics has advanced African linguistic scholarship beyond existing ideologies of named, countable African languages.

Keywords Integrationism · Code ideology · Poetic ethnography · Intertextuality

5.1 Objectives

I have three main objectives in this chapter. First, I develop a historical perspective of African sociolinguistics through an analysis of mid-twentieth-century inscriptions by taxi drivers in Ghana who possess little education. The analysis enables me to view the nature of mid-twentieth-century Ghanaian life at a specific historical juncture of Ghanaian history from the grassroots up. A theory of language is necessary for a study of mid-twentieth-century history because research into history in Africa presupposes a particular view of language. Debates and contestations of philosophies about language, particularly emerging new materms, therefore, not only are pertinent to sociolinguistics but also clearly have pedagogical implications for the teaching of and research into cognate disciplines, such as history in Africa.

Second, I evaluate whether substantial success has been achieved in challenging a code ideology, with a particular focus on African scholarship. I use the term *code ideology* to refer to ontologies about language encapsulated in constructs, such as code-switching, code-mixing, truncated codes, and other closely allied terms. The idea of a code ideology is apparent in the naming of languages, for example, Arabic, English, Twi, Ga, Swahili, and Shona. Notions about language founded on ideas

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about codes may have to be rethought if they are to be germane in dealing with complex communicative practices in precolonial and postmodern societies. Perhaps, one way of making further progress is to produce a new set of meta-terminology that more effectively describes the sociolinguistic practices of the precolonial, colonial, postcolonial, and postmodern worlds. Examples of relatively new meta-terms used to address the aforementioned problems include *superdiversity*, *supervernaculars*, *languaging*, and *polylanguaging*.

Third, using Integrationism as a specific prism, I explore the extent to which some of the aforementioned terms have advanced African linguistic scholarship substantially beyond code ideologies of named, countable African languages. Even though Integrationism can serve as a critique of a code ideology, it is itself open to critique because it lacks a methodology and an empirical basis. Therefore, it cannot substantially enhance our understanding of how people in mid-twentieth century 'de facto manage to communicate' (Duncker 2011, p. 533). In order to address the empirical problem, I draw upon research methods in archaeology and history, such as (retro) contextualization (Duncker 2010), to formulate an empirical basis for an Integrationist enterprise, which clearly has implications for framing of language and, hence, ways of practising and researching history.

In the light of these objectives, the chapter is divided into the following sections:

1. A rationale for the selection of mid-twentieth-century taxi inscriptions as epistemological research sites.
2. A historical and linguistic biography of 'wheeled transport' in West Africa.
3. A summary of the key principles of Integrationism.
4. An Integrationistic perspective on metaterms such as *languaging*, *supervernaculars*, and *polylanguaging*.
5. Discussion of the use of 'poetic ethnography', (retro) contextualization, and recontextualization as methods of data collection and analysis.
6. An evaluation of Integrationism as a way of framing mid-twentieth-century taxi inscriptions and its educational implications for the teaching and research of history in Africa.

5.2 Rationale for the Selection of Mid-Twentieth-Century Taxi Inscriptions

The study is situated in mid-twentieth-century West African taxi inscriptions in order to develop a historical perspective of African sociolinguistics. Locating the study in the mid-twentieth century fills a gap in the development of ways of framing literacy practices in Africa. Inscriptions have been used as forms of decoration for a long time in Ghana, just as gold weights were used as a form of decoration in precolonial Ghana. In addition, inscriptions are found in many different places, such as beauty salons, and on many different items, including canoes, beer bottles,

wheelbarrows, bicycles, umbrellas, and, recently, wax prints. The presence of inscriptions on many different artefacts reflects the degrees to which literacy practices have a long history and have always permeated different facets of African sociopolitics. An analysis of the inscriptions, therefore, provides a unique lens into African literacy practices and the role of theories of language therein.

5.3   A Biography and Linguistics of Taxis and Cars

Ghanaians, like many Africans and other people across the globe, have a strong affection for cars. In Ghana during the mid-twentieth century, cars were symbols of wealth and status, which is intriguing since 'wheeled transport' did not exist in the precolonial era (Law 1980). The culture of cars has created avenues for prominent scholarly research, including linguistic analysis of taxi inscriptions, 'automobilization' (Klaeger 2009 in Gewald) of religion, trade, and the mechanization of Africa. Biographies of 'wheeled transport' constitute a rich source of linguistic and cultural data. According to Kopytoff (1986 in van der Geest):

> The biography of cars in Africa would reveal a wealth of cultural data: the way it was acquired, how and from whom the money was assembled to pay for it, the relationship of the seller to the buyer, the uses to which it is regularly put, the identity of its most frequent passengers, and those who borrow it. The frequency of borrowing, the garages to which it is taken and the owner's relationship to the mechanic, the movement of the car from hand to hand over the years and in the end, when the car collapses, the final disposition of its remains.

5.4   Key Principles of Integrationism

5.4.1   Background

Integrationism, as an analytical framework, was introduced and developed over a number of decades by Harris (1981, 1987, 2009, 2010); however, no single analytical philosopher can be characterized as the sole originator of Integrationism. A number of philosophical orientations had substantial influence on Harris, including Gilbert Ryle (1990–1976) of the ordinary movement, J. R. Firth (1890–1976), Malinowski (1884–1942), and Saussure's Course in General Linguistics (1916). However, Integrationism claims neither that its philosophy is completely new nor that it provides definitive solutions to contemporary sociolinguistic issues in Africa. Nonetheless, it provides an important lens through which some of the emerging metaterms may be viewed, together with implications of such framing on the teaching of, and research into, history in Africa.

5.4.2   Semiotics

Integrationism is construed as a project in semiology, in which communication is central and language a 'variable extra' (Harris 2009, p. 44) that is framed as dense, fluid, and transient. Language in colonial and postcolonial contexts is a product of social, elite, and political intervention and a consequence of intervention into language contexts. From such a perspective, language is a 'distillation of the linguistic practices of the literary elite' (Love and Ansaldo 2010, p. 592). Hence, as Love and Ansaldo (2010, p. 593) rightly point out, 'Languages can be constructed in as many different ways as the constructors—including linguists'.

5.4.3   Repetition

Harris (1998, pp. 82–83) is emphatic on the point that 'repetition is not an option, not even for one of the original participants'. Each communicative event is unique in terms of both time and space. The uniqueness of each event should not, however, be pressed too far because prior events leave 'traces' of the past in the present; hence, the present is largely interlocked with the past. These sociolinguistic traces are useful as they can be utilized in the future; thus, each interaction does not necessarily begin de novo. A degree of repetition is necessary, if not inevitable, in a framing of language. The degree of acceptable repetition in Integrationism is radically different from orientations in which (all) potential languages can be generated from an invariant set of linguistic rules. Integrationism as a philosophy is incompatible with code-ideology theoretical frameworks, which seek to reduce human communication and language to an analysis founded on a postulation of the ontological existence of rules as autonomous, nameable, and countable African linguistic entities.

5.4.4   Segregationism

Contrary to an Integrationist perspective, Segregationism alludes to the notion that linguistic and non-linguistic phenomena constitute two academically separate domains of inquiry, and that language may be autonomous, and segregated from other areas of social experience, geography, and history. Thus, the study of languages has autonomy within scholarship, and has its own methodology and programme(s) of research. It is supposedly independent of neighbouring cognate domains. Segregationism differs from Integrationism because the former seeks to distinguish languages from each other; language from non-language, context, and action; language use from language learning; and internal from external aspects of language (Makoni 2011a, b). Conversely, from an Integrationistic perspective, language and critical African sociolinguistics challenge the idea of language as 'well defined', discrete, and hermetically sealed units that are countable and nameable (Blommaert 2008; Makoni 2011a).

5.4.5 Creativity

Individuals are active sign makers, and they interpret the nature of signs in many, and, at times, contradictory ways. Nevertheless, language makers, sign makers, meaning makers, sign creation, and interpretation remain important aspects of the human experience. In fact, sign making entails producing signs and interpreting them as hearers or readers. Each individual's experience of signs is idiosyncratic at a specific moment of its production and creation. Each interactional event is also unique because 'the only way of understanding the heterogeneity characteristic of cities is to focus the analysis on the subjective trajectories of each speaker' (Canut 2009, p. 89).

Another powerful construct that plays a central role in Integrationism is the idea of a layperson, which captures the social–linguistic experiences of ordinary language users and does not depend exclusively on determinations made by professional linguists (Harris 2009). The notion of a layperson includes investigating why we understand language the way we do and what the consequences are of such a way of framing languages in our individual and social lives. Language experience is critically important in Harris' layperson perspectives. Because of the nature of language, it is impossible to analyse language without experiencing it. From Integrationist thinking, 'regularities are bound to the experiencer, and to contexts, and therefore vary from individual to individual, and from one context to another, one person sees the regularity, while another doesn't' (Pablé n.d.). Furthermore, Integrationism is sceptical of bi-planar relations (form/meaning relations), fixed code, and the fallacy of telementation, in which language serves as a conduit through which messages are transmitted.

5.5 From Language to Languaging

In an attempt to overcome the structuralist mindset regarding language, a growing body of literature accepts that language does not break down neatly into autonomous, clearly defined units; this observation, which is increasingly becoming a mantra of sociolinguistics, is not new at all, despite claims to the contrary. Noam Chomsky (2000) in *Knowledge of Language* and Donald Davidson (1986) in an aptly titled chapter 'A Nice Derangement of Epitaphs' were quite sceptical of the existence of languages. The mythical status of language is concealed by the fact that we have names for languages. Language names, such as Hausa, Arabic, Wolof, Berber, and Tarjumo, form the basis of linguistic description in sociolinguistics in Africa.

Two main observations need to be made. First, in the sociolinguistic literature, each language is attributed a single name (e.g. English, Twi, Ga, and Fante). Rarely do languages cited in the literature have more than one name. Yet Berber, for instance, can also be referred to as Amazigh. The idea of one language, one name is

pervasive in Western monolingual-oriented linguistic metalanguage and makes it difficult to capture the sharp ideological positions that are possible in the use of multiple names for the so-called same language, as the Berber/Amazigh example shows. These names are not interchangeable, however, as El Aissati reminds us. The use of the name *Berber* is an endorsement of official state ideologies, while *Amazigh* is part of the political apparatus associated with rebel movements.

Second, the controversy about whether languages have names is only significant insofar as it is assumed that something called *language* even exists. Languages are not natural objects. Rather,

> a language is a metalinguistic extrapolation that has become attached to a particular language name, it does not matter whether the name is English, French or not. It does not matter whether it has an army or a navy. But there has to be a name. No name no language. That is the higher order metamyth. (Harris 2009, p. 430)

Integrationists drew attention to a philosophical approach to handling the claim that language does not break down into neatly bound units when they suggested that first-order categories do not neatly break into second-order categories. *First order* refers to here-and-now activities, ongoing communicational activity, or contextually meaningful behaviour that is situated in real time and real space and unfolding in unplanned ways. *Second order* refers to metalinguistic categories that include names of languages, societies, communities, etc. Using these terms indicates that first-order categories cannot neatly break down into second-order categories. As such, communication does not neatly break down into languages, an idea that has radical implications for the nature of analysis since language does not present itself for study as a neatly disengaged range of homogeneous phenomena, patiently awaiting description by an impartial observer, as suggested by the misleading expression *linguistic data*. On the contrary, language offers a paradigm case of interference by investigation, which is construed to mean language is both a medium and object of analysis.

A relatively large number of scholars have addressed this issue using the notion of *languaging* (Swain 2006, 2009, 2010; Garcia 2007, 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Jacquemert 2005; Maturana and Varela 1998; Becker 1994,1995; Khubchandani 1997; Ramanathan 2009). Swain (2006), with their focus on second language acquisition, construed *languaging* as a tool to mediate cognition, an activity, a form of producing a visible and audible product. From this perspective, languaging is everything. Swain and Lantolf adopted a totalistic interpretation of languaging, leaving very little room for ways of framing alternatives. Languaging in Swain and Lantolf's orientation is too powerful, making it weak as an explanatory construct.

On the other hand, Maturana and Varela (1998), scholars from Chile, approached the idea of languaging from a philosophical position. They construed language as an *autopoeisi*, a self-organization, and self-production system in which human actions occur. The striking aspect of Maturana and Varela's view is that the term *languaging* indeed occurs for the first time in the Spanish translation. The term *languaging* as defined by Maturana and Varela preceded many variations in Western sociolinguistics.

Ramanathan's (2009) framing is closely aligned with that of Mignolo (1996, 2000), and both are explicitly political. Ramanathan regarded languaging as a form of and a resistance to being silenced. From that approach, languaging is a rebellious act, a form of resistance at one point in a historical moment. However, Mignolo adopted a political position and a longer historical perspective. He construed languaging as a product of colonial or elite interruption of communication in precolonial or, as I would like to put it, outside elitedom. *Languaging* is, therefore, a process, a product of communication disruption. Languaging cannot exist outside communication, but the converse applies as well: Communication may occur without language because language is a 'variable extra'. Mignolo's framework has a sharp sense of history and can explain the complex relationship between macro, meso, and micro forces. This sense of temporal history and construction of time is clearly appropriate and might serve postcolonial linguistic scholarship.

5.6   An Integrationist Account of Supervernaculars

The notion of *supervernacular* is increasingly popular and may become 'the key concept for an emerging sociolinguistics framework'. Because the term is widely used, at least in African contexts, it merits close analysis. I see this chapter as part of efforts to make sense of the meanings of the metaterms allied to supervernacular. *Supervernacular* is modelled after Vertovec's (2007) notion of *superdiversity*, which he defined as 'multiplication of diversity'. *Super* in *superdiversity* denotes *hyper*, while *super* in *supervernacular* may be construed to mean *trans*. The latter can be construed to refer to movements across regions and semiotic boundaries. In short, the *super* in *superdiversity* does not have the same meaning as the *super* in *supervernacular*. The *super* in *supervernacular* resonates with notions such as *polylanguaging* and its closely related term *polylinguistic*.

Although what *languaging* means in *polylanguaging* is unclear, if *supervernacular* is based on *superdiversity*, the differences in the meanings of *super* in *superdiversity* and *supervernacular* have to be addressed; otherwise, *supervernacular* might be misleading. This is not to say that *supervernacular* cannot be used to refer to both *hyper* and *trans*. I am, however, extremely uncomfortable with the notion of diversity when used to refer to 'mass movements' for three main reasons. First, the romantic notion of diversity in Vertovec, Blommaert, Rampton, and their associates is a version of a description of reality that can only be advocated by those who are part of the powerful elite, such as researchers. Second, those of us who have spent most of our professional lives outside our countries of origin find the celebration of diversity extremely uncomfortable. It is the powerful who celebrate the notion of diversity; those from other parts of the world feel the idea of diversity is a careful concealment of power differences. When we celebrate mass movements, we need to distinguish between those who are compelled by circumstances to travel and those who do so willingly. *Superdiversity* contains a powerful sense of social

romanticism, creating an illusion of equality in a highly asymmetrical world. Third, I find it disconcerting, to say the least, to have an open celebration of diversity in societies marked by violent xenophobia, such as South Africa. Furthermore, diversity stresses the differences between individuals, languages, groups, etc. Whether we are diverse or not depends on the power of the social microscope being used. It is ironic that while sociolinguistics is celebrating diversity, super or not, other strands of research that also address issues surrounding migration, real or imagined, seem to be returning to a notion of assimilation running contrary to what supervernacular and superdiversity might mean:

> Examining public discourse in France, public policy in Germany, and scholarly research in the United States, I find evidence of a modest 'return of assimilation' in recent years. Yet what has returned, I emphasize, is not the old, analytically discredited and politically disreputable 'assimilationist' understanding of assimilation, but a more analytically complex and normatively defensible understanding (Brubaker 2004, p. 5).

Mass movement of populations is not new to Africa, so if diversity is accentuated by migration, then prior to colonialism considerable migration occurred; however, it is framed as nomadism. The differences lies in the terminology: people moved—they simply did not need passports: 'African history, like that of any other continent, reveals plenty of population movements linked to multiple factors such as nomadism, rural exodus, economic migrations and conflicts' (Canut 2009, p. 92).

Ultimately, it is worthwhile to stress that notions about diversity are extremely powerful when used as metaphors to describe species. The danger to guard against in this case is one in which we unintentionally biologize a social phenomenon. If a social phenomenon is biologized, then social intervention is likely to be construed negatively because it will interfere with a natural ecology.

5.7   Much Ado About Nothing

I strongly support Blommaert and Rampton's (2011, 2012) project of creating new metadiscursive terms as a strategic way of facilitating understanding and visualizing sociolinguistic patterns, which cannot be easily captured in the diversity made salient in postcolonial and postmodern Africa with new, relatively cheap technology. This includes cell phone sociolinguistic resources whose mobility is not constrained by 'territorial fixedness, physical proximity, socio-cultural sharedness and common background' (Blommaert 2011, p. 3).

Blommaert and Rampton (2011) challenge us to frame *supervernaculars* in a wide range of ways. The term *supervernaculars* may be understood to refer to 'semiotic codes, chat codes, gaming codes, standard codes, mobile texting, mini-languages, or as a global medialect of condensed abbreviated English' (Mcintosch 2010, in Orman 2012a), and many others. From an Integrationist perspective, Blommaert and Rampton's proposition that a *supervernacular* can be construed from an Integrationist perspective entails a combination of Segregationist and Integrationist metaphors. By describing texting, e-mail messaging, and codes, *supervernaculars*

are considered on the basis of a code ideology, reinforcing exactly the conventional ideology the notion of *supervernaculars* seeks to challenge. On the other hand, the idea of sociolinguistic resources affirms an Integrationist orientation. An example of the problematic nature of moving beyond code-based framing of language is elegantly captured in the following quotation: 'A hybrid combination of linguistic forms ("multi-racial"/"multi-ethnic"…straightforwardly identifiable lexically, phonologically and grammatically/syntactical) elements of language' (Rampton 2011, p. 289).

On the one hand, the impulse to move beyond the notion of codes is strong. On the other hand, a powerful counterforce restates characteristics of codes—lexical, phonological, grammatical, and syntax elements. Perhaps the notion of a *supervernacular* may not be as radical as we are led to believe because it is based on conventional notions of language, a position reinforced when Blommaert (2011, p. 4) stated that '*supervernaculars* have all the attributes of a language'. This is based on what Harris refers to as Segregationist linguistics (Pablé and Hutton 2012 Makoni 2011a, b).

The search for invariant rules in supervernaculars reflects the extremely powerful nature of the ideologies of code-based views of language. These views lead to a search for invariant rules, efforts to establish fixed meanings, and efforts to consolidate form-meaning relationships. This quest seems counterintuitive in a framework that seeks to describe wide circulations of semiotics. The trans-movements and circulations of 'semiotic codes' should render it difficult, if not impossible, to predict the meanings that the discourse practices. The challenge in *supervernacular*-inspired research is how to introduce and sustain notions of indeterminacy and unpredictability consistent with the ideological impulse towards mass movements, while still distancing it from code-based views of language.

If *superdiversity* is taken seriously at an epistemological level, then a diversity or multiplicity of interpretations of signs must be accepted, if not encouraged. It is conceptually self-contradictory to argue for the importance of *superdiversity* in theory but fail in practice to take into account inconsistency and contradictory interpretations that are consistent with common functioning of anthropolinguistic communication. Communication involves vagueness, contradictory meanings, and inconsistency between form and meaning that demand frequent reinterpretation in the light of pragmatic cues that bring into focus and stabilize forms in context.

I find the notion of a *supervernacular* extremely complicated not only because of the relationship it has with traditional notions of codes and orthodox ways of framing language but also because I am not certain how the notion of *vernacular* is comprehended in supervernaculars, a situation rendered extremely difficult because of the many different interpretations of the term *vernacular* in sociolinguistics. The following are at least five different ways in which the idea of *vernacular* can be defined:

1. Primary
2. Native
3. Indigenous language variety

4. Non-standard language varieties
5. A continuum ranging from basilectal to colloquial varieties

Regardless of whether this list is exhaustive (which is unlikely), the critical issue for me is exploring the implications for sociolinguistics if *super* is added to *vernaculars* and if *vernaculars* are defined with more than one meaning. If *super* in *supervernacular* means *trans,* and vernaculars are understood as non-standard, then a *supervernacular* may be construed as a manifestation of non-standard language, either spoken or written language varieties. If *super* means *trans*, the term *supervernacular* might be equivalent to *transidiomatic expressions*. If *super* in *supervernacular* is understood in the way it is understood in *superdiversity* as 'hyper', then *supervernacular* may mean a hypervernacular whose intensity of variation may be characterized and situated along multiple continua, analogous to the meaning of *vernacular*. The complexity of the term *supervernacular* is apparent in the many ways Blommaert (2011) defines *supervernaculars*, as demonstrated in the following cases:

(1) Supervernaculars 'have all the features we commonly attribute to "languages"'
(2) Supervernaculars only occur as dialects

In (1), *supervernaculars* are languages plus something else. I am not clear what constitutes (all) the features 'we commonly attribute to language'. In addition, (1) does not clarify the issue for me because what I regard as attributes of language may be based on what I understand to be a theory of language and communication. From an Integrationist perspective, the following might be regarded as attributes of language: indeterminacy in the relationship between form and meaning, language as a myth, communication as central, and language as an extra variable (Makoni 2011a). The challenge for me is whether I can integrate the idea of a *supervernacular* within Integrationism, and if so, how? (2) is difficult to read. If *supervernacular* can only occur as dialects, then this undermines the very essence of the rationale for creating a term such as *supervernacular* and its intellectual apparatus.

5.8   From Supervernaculars to Polylanguaging in Superdiversity

The complexity in having a grasp of *supervernaculars* is that in some cases, a subtle shift occurs from *supervernaculars* to *superdiversity*, and the idea of polylanguaging is introduced, as in 'Polylanguaging in Superdiversity' and 'Superdiversity on the Internet: A Case of China' (Varis and Wang 2011). It is critically important to observe that the shift here is from vernacular to superdiversity, conflating distinctions between diversity and vernaculars. The argument that *polylanguaging,* interchangeably also referred to as *polylinguistic*, can be situated in superdiversity begs the question: What is the postulated relationship between polylanguaging and supervernaculars? To address this issue, one must make sense of what *languaging* means in a wide range of terms. *Polylanguaging, translanguaging*, and others may

be taken as equivalents. *Polylanguaging* does not resolve the issue because the term *languaging* is in itself ambiguous and has been used in many different and, at times, conflicting ways, as I argued previously.

I bring this section to a close by citing some of the categories in a paper by Rampton (2011) that may demand a sophisticated reading and whose distinction may be difficult to sustain, both in theory and practice:

1. From 'multi-ethnic adolescent heteroglossia' to 'contemporary urban vernaculars'
2. Møller finds that 'polylingual languaging continues among young men in their mid-twenties'
3. The linguistic features ascribed to Turkish and Danish get more and more integrated over the years
4. Youth language
5. Heteroglossic speech stylization
6. 'Community English'
7. Multiracial vernacular
8. This de-ethnicized, racially mixed local language (operates as) a constraining, taken-for-granted medium subsisting through all interactions

5.9 Empirical Challenges in Integrationism

Because language is so deeply embedded in context, history, geography, language classrooms, and the absence of distinctions between language and non-language, an extreme position in Integrationism argues that there is no such thing as linguistic data. The idea that 'linguistic data' do not exist has been a source of controversy within Integrationism (see Duncker 2011), in which scholars argue for the importance of data and empirical analysis if Integrationism is to advance knowledge regarding how people experience language, both throughout history and in contemporary times.

The methodology proposed in eliciting and analysing empirical data capitalizes on the concept of *(retro) contextualization* drawn from history and archaeology. By (retro) contextualization, language is situated in the spatio-historical context within which it was initially produced. (Retro) contextualization is always partial because reconstructing the original setting is extremely difficult, and it is also always difficult to determine and establish what the language meant in its original setting.

5.10 A Brief Statement on the History of Taxis in Ghana

Taxis first appeared in Ghana in 1945, and the passenger fare was two and one-half pennies (*tro-tro*). The importation of *tro-tro* taxis was discontinued in 1959, when a company called the Bedford Assembly began importing the *tro-tros* in a process

referred to in the Ghanaian context as 'complete knock out (C.K.O)', which means the parts, seats, engines, roofs, etc., were imported separately and assembled by Ghanaians. In 1966, the importation C.K.O of the *tro-tros* was banned, and a new type of lorry—a 'passenger bus'—appeared on the scene. The assembly plant was named *Motoway (sic)* and was intended to replace the old truck. When the new buses were sold in another town, the person who got the contract called his bus *Soccer* since he used it to transport a soccer team. The 'old' buses were subsequently replaced by new passenger buses called *'V.C.10'* or 'RINGO *STAR*' (see *In No Time to Die: A Book of Poems, Depicting Slogans of Ghana's Mammy Lorries*).

5.11   Mode of Data Collection: 'Poetic Ethnography' and (Retro) Contextualization

The data I use were collected by two architects. Schreckenbach (Kyei and Schreckenbach 1975) interviewed the drivers to make sense of the inscriptions, while Kyei (Kyei and Schreckenbach 1975) photographed the inscriptions and, whenever necessary, drew illustrations as part of a general interest in the environment in Accra in Ghana. The innovative aspect of the research involves converting what the driver said into another genre, in this case poetry. The combination of inscriptions and poetry was called 'poetic ethnography' (van der Geest, http://www.sjaakvandergeest.sosci.uva.nl/pdf, accessed March 20, 2013). Data analysed in this chapter are largely drawn from Kyei and Schreckenbach's (1975) book *No Time to Die: A Book of Poems, Depicting Slogans of Ghana's Mammy Lorries*. Pages from the book are reproduced in the Appendix (Fig. 5.1).

One of the main advantages of 'poetic ethnography' is that, through an analysis of the poems, I am able to gain insight into the original meanings the taxi drivers intended to articulate in the inscriptions on the taxis. In poetic ethnography, the problem of gaining insights into the intended meanings of authors and painters is partially resolved because the poems are recorded. The poems, therefore, provide opportunities to situate the inscriptions within their original context, a form of (retro) contextualization. van der Geest, (http://www.sjaakvandergeest.socsci.uva.nl/pdf/highlife, accessed March 20, 2013), unlike Kyei and Schreckenbach (1975), reports actual narratives by taxi drivers when commenting on the meanings of the inscriptions.

The inscription FEAR BEAUTIFUL WOMAN, written on a taxi, stimulated the following poem by Kyei. The original poem is on the left, while the version on the right includes translation of certain words:

Fear beautiful woman	Fear beautiful woman
The same way she attracted you	The same way she attracted you
The same way she attracts other men.	The same way she attracts other men.
The same way she tricks you	The same way she tricks you
For your kudi,	For your money,

The same way she tricks other men for their kudi.	The same way she tricks other men for their money.
The same way your eyes hot for her,	The same way your eyes hot for her,
The same way other men's	The same way other men's
Hot for her	Hot for her
The same way you lobby stiff for her	The same way you lobby stiff for her
The same way other men chase am	The same way other men court her
So some time all you men go clash over her.	So some time all you men go clash over her.
And fight come	And fight come
And blows pi-pe pi-pe pi-pe	And blows pi-pe pi-pe pi-pe
And blood spill botwoo!	And blood spill from you both!
And mean die.	And mean die.
Like I say fear beautiful woman	Like I say fear beautiful woman

The inscriptions adopt a male-centred perspective, whereby women generally are treated as deceitful and unfaithful and cheat men, as illustrated in the following lines: 'Fear beautiful woman, the same way she attracted you the same way she attracts other men.' Women are portrayed as adept at cheating and deceiving men. The discourse can be read as a dialogue with other men based on the personal histories of the driver. The narrative is male-centred because rarely in the inscriptions are women given an opportunity to articulate their own position in self-defence.

The following poem was stimulated by the inscription 'Still HOME HARD':

HOME HARD	HOME HARD
Thus struggle I struggle.	Thus struggle I struggle.
I go on empty stomach sometimes	I go on empty stomach sometimes
At times, too.	At times, too.
My wife and children and I we chop only ken-key[a] and shito	My wife and children and I we eat only maize and hot sauce
And tatare for a whole week, like that	And struggle for a whole week, like that
Then we grow lanka-lanka	Then we grow thin
Like bamboo stick,	Like bamboo stick,
Chief, home hard.[b]	Chief, life at home is difficult.
When gradually inside good,	When gradually inside good,
I return home	I return home
With money for every busuni	With money for everybody
Then they glad	Then they glad
Thanking me say:	Thanking me say:
Oh Koo, you've done well.	Oh Koo, you've done well.
Oh, Koo, hold us like that	Oh, Koo, hold us like that
But in actual fact,	But in actual fact,
It is the same abusuafo	It is the same people
Who follow me everywhere?	Who follow me everywhere?
With their forking juju	With their forking witchcraft
Chief, hmm.	Chief, hmm.
I say home hard.	I say life at home is difficult.

[a] Fermented maize meal. See www.bing.com/search?q (accessed March 20, 2013)
[b] *Chief* is a term used with endearment and does not always refer to an individual with traditional authority.

In the poem based on the inscription 'Still HOME HARD' the driver is expressing his frustration with the burden of discharging responsibilities for his family. He construes it as so difficult that he refers to it as 'struggle, struggle'. The repetition of the word *struggle* is for rhetorical effect and highlights the responsibilities he has to discharge. Similarly, the repetition of *lanka* is also a way of capturing the intensity of the challenge with which he is confronted. The poem shares with the previous one the narrative of the hypocrisy of women. The hypocrisy is evident in that the people who welcome him when he gets back home are the same people who bewitch him: 'It is the same people/ Who follow me everywhere?/And spoil my work/ with their forking juju'. The driver seems to be in dialogue with others because of the continuous reference to 'Chief, hmm./ I say home hard'.

The third example is of a further poem which responds to the taxi inscription NO BUSINESS NO WIFE (not reproduced in the Appendix). The poem is an explication of the inscription:

Marriage be	Marriage be
No monkey business	serious business
I hard proper	It is difficult
You may supply	You may supply
Buy shoes, dresses,	Buy shoes, dresses,
Hand-bags, cloth, wig	Hand-bags, cloth, wig
Every time, supply supply	Every time, supply supply
Wife's bogus things	Wife's bogus things
Pickni too	young children, too
Ibi business go bring am	It's your responsibility to bring them

Unlike Kyei and Schreckenbach (1975), van der Geest collected actual narratives by taxi drivers (http://www.sjaakvandergeest.socsci.uva.nl/pdf, accessed March 20, 2013). The narratives offer insights into what the inscriptions may have meant in what was thought to be the original settings in which the inscriptions were found, a form of (retro) contextualization. For example, the inscription 'I shall return' found on a taxi originated from the experience of a politician, according to the taxi driver: 'A prominent politician has a number of tro-tros in Accra. When Rawlings came to power in 1979, the man went into exile. Later, his vehicles had the following inscription: "I shall return"'.

A taxi driver who had the inscription 'The Lord is my shepherd' explained its history: 'Some time ago, my uncle in the US came home and bought a taxi for one of my cousins who had been suffering from grinding poverty. "The Lord is my shepherd" meaning that the Lord guides him, he will not lose hope no matter the difficulty'.

5.11.1   Interpretation of Inscriptions

Some of the meanings of the taxi inscriptions were vague and enigmatic. In fact, some meanings were nearly impossible to determine unless one read the accompanying

poem that captured the narratives of the driver. Asking the drivers the meanings of some of the inscriptions did not necessarily provide a comprehensive solution, indicating the limitations of (retro) contextualization. In fact, asking the drivers for the inscriptions' meanings was often the beginning of a complex attempt at interpretation. For example, in some cases, the same driver gave conflicting interpretations of the same inscriptions on his taxi. In other cases, the interpretations were challenged by other drivers who may have felt that the biographical narrative given by the first driver was not accurate. Conflicting interpretations of the same inscription suggest that no individual possessed an exclusive monopoly of the meanings, a position effectively captured by Nicolai (2008, p. 321):

> The inconsistency and contradictory interpretations by some drivers is consistent with ordinary functioning of anthropolinguistic communication, but nevertheless shows that in practice, communication involves vagueness of meaning and formal variation which require constant reinterpretation in view of cues which bring into focus and stabilize forms in context.

The veracity of some of the drivers' biographical details was also contested by other drivers familiar with the driver and the circumstances surrounding the specific inscriptions. The issue from an Integrationist perspective is not so much whether the 'recollections' were true or false, because the biographical details provided by the driver(s) could not be verified independently. In such cases, the degree to which the driver was able to infuse the inscriptions with meaning was the crucial factor. The inscriptions made sense when they were contextualized. Contextualization must encompass both immediate situations and the speaker's knowledge, regardless of whether the knowledge is correct.

5.11.2 Interpretation of the Inscriptions/Creative Incomprehensibility

The importance of the driver's creative imagination for making sense of the inscriptions reflects the powerful impulse to establish meaning, even if the inscriptions are meaningless. Given the centrality of how the driver's imagination and creative construal of the inscriptions made it feasible to understand the meanings of some of the inscriptions, establishing the biographical details that formed the basis of the contextualization entailed determining the nature of the relationships among the taxi owner, taxi driver, and passengers. As a result, I make two propositions. First, there is 'no sponsorless language'. By 'no sponsorless language', Pablé (forthcoming) means that everyone is responsible for what they say, regardless of where it is said and the objectives it finally serves. The notion of sponsored language adds a very powerful issue about responsibilities, even though it may be too idealistic and perhaps impossible to hold everyone responsible for what they say and its effects. Nevertheless, the proposition is still defensible.

Second, as Harris (Haas 2008) also argues, a layperson's expertise is as valid as that of professional linguists. I am aware that I am vulnerable to the charge of inconsistency by saying one thing and doing the exact opposite, a charge that most

Integrationists face (Pablé and Hutton 2012). For example, saying, on the one hand, that a layperson's expertise is as valid as that of professional linguists, while, on the other hand, articulating a professional linguist's position.

5.12   Form and Meaning, Bi-Planar Relations

The relationship between form and meaning in some African contexts is extremely variable, perhaps more so in oral history than in other communicative practices. The indeterminacy captures well the arbitrariness of the form/meaning relationship. van der Geest (1996) illustrated this arbitrariness when, during his research on ageing, he asked eight elderly persons to explain the meaning of the same proverb. Because of the frequency with which the elderly use proverbs, one would assume they would have a shared understanding of a proverb's meaning. However, the 12 meanings elicited from these 8 people reflect the arbitrariness of the relationship between form and meaning, at least in African contexts, and even in formulaic constructions that the elderly use widely in local communities.

     These varying interpretations raise two important issues: First is the importance of reflecting upon what one is saying, and the effects of the discourses. The issue is not whether one interpretation is closer to the 'original meaning' because it is extremely hard to determine with any degree of certainty the original meaning of a proverb or stretch of discourse. In Integrationism, human beings are actively engaged in communication; they create and recreate meanings. Second, speaker perspectives are likely to be different from those of the researcher. The researchers in van der Geest's (http://www.sjaakvandergeest.soc.uva.nl/pdf) study and the interviewer in the taxi project may have different positions from those of the informants because, as researchers, they are exposed to many more inscriptions and have been part of more discussions about inscriptions than each individual elderly informant or taxi driver. As a result, the interpretations, perspectives, and contextualizations made by the interviewers in both the proverb study and the taxi study may be different from those of the informants. In such cases, multiple points of view exist—those of the taxi drivers, the elderly, and the researchers—and all of which are equally valid.

5.13   Intertextuality, Discourse Mobility, and 'Automobilization' of Language

Some of the taxi inscriptions are amalgams taken from proverbs, religious verses, names of popular people or admired places (*Uncle Sam, Chicago boy*), and statements or admonitions. In some cases, the drivers combined verses from the Bible and terms associated with cars, a creative juxtaposition that produces a humorous metaphor, such as 'The Lord is my shock absorber'. The 'automobilization' of

religion refers to the ways in which verses from the Bible or religious statements, such as '*Rock of Ages*', '*I thank God*', '*Many are called*', '*Help me oh God*', and '*In God we trust*', are written and integrated with illustrations on taxis. Automobilization gave rise to language mobility because the taxis 'shuttled' between different regions (e.g. urban and rural areas). The 'automobilization' of religion and the mobility of language (i.e. the 'mixing' of communicative practices) creates opportunities to experience 'bits and pieces' of language from different parts of the country.

5.14   Integrating Taxi Inscriptions with the (Age) State of the Taxi

In addition, the meaning of a single inscription may change with time. For example, the meaning of 'LUFTHANSA' written on a new taxi will be radically different when the taxi is old. When the taxi is new, 'LUFTHANSA' can be construed as a prestigious, fast, world-class air carrier. But 'LUFTHANSA' may be ironic when found on the same taxi when it is old and dysfunctional. Similarly, the inscription 'OLYMPICS' may refer to speed and elegance when the taxi is new but becomes extremely ironic on the same taxi when it is old, moves slowly, and is dysfunctional.

In other cases, inscriptions have to be read as part of an ongoing dialogue. The dialogue in this case is the one (re)constructed between the inscriptions at the front and those at the back of the taxi. An interpretation of taxis in particular must begin from the assumption that the inscriptions are meant to be meaningful. This search for meaning makes it necessary to read the inscriptions at the front and those at the back together to construe them as meaningful. For example:

> Who de (is) free? (Front of the taxi)
> Only Jesus. (Back of the taxi)

From an Integrationist perspective, meanings cannot be simply 'read off' structures (a position that echoes a Segregationist perspective or code-driven interpretations). The interpretations have to take into account other fragments of discourse that either precede them or are juxtaposed with them. In Integrationism, no texts stand in isolation because the semiotic practices carry with them social and historical associations. The critical issue here, whether the texts are read jointly or against the status of the taxi, is not a feature of the inscriptions but a result of the ways in which individuals read the inscriptions, because it is individuals who attribute meanings to the texts.

5.15   Inscriptions and Metadiscourses

Most drivers explained that the meanings of the inscriptions on their taxis reflected their fears of being bewitched by close family members who might be jealous of their perceived success. It is striking that the drivers did not define themselves in

terms of their ethnicity or the language they believed they spoke, making it important to note that constructs frequently deployed in some African sociolinguistics are not present in the discourses of laypeople framing languages and history as local practices.

I can, therefore, argue that some of the powerful constructs in African sociolinguistics (e.g. heteroglossia) may share some features with Integrationism insofar as both construct human beings as agents that are actively creating meaning and treat meaning as contextual and time-bound. Integrationism, and to some extent heteroglossia, stresses the social and historical embeddedness of human communication. Context and time boundedness within Integrationism refer to both the communication and the analysis by the researcher or layperson. The analyst, therefore, cannot escape context.

5.16   Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the main features of Integrationism, using it as a prism through which some of the major metaterms such as *languaging* and *supervernacular* can be viewed. I have argued that even though Integrationism might be a productive mode of analysis and may complement some of the current metaterms that are gradually being used in Africa, it still needs to confront some of its empirical challenges if it is to capture communicative practices in different domains. I have proposed that research methods, such as (retro) contextualization, widely used in history and archaeology, might serve as a basis for an empirical project of Integrationism. My primary objective has been to move discussions about perspectives on language in Africa beyond sociolinguistics into other cognate disciplines, such as history, because the practice and writing of history is founded on an assumption of a particular view of language, hence the relevance of current controversies of language beyond sociolinguistics in Africa.

Appendix

HOME HARD

This strugggle I struggle,
I go on empty stomach sometimes.
At times, too,
My wife and children and I,
We chop only **kenkey** and shito
and **tatare** for
a whole week, like that.
Then we grow **lanka-lanka**
like bamboo stick.
Chief, **home hard.**

When gradually inside good,
I return home
with money for
every **busuani.**
Then they glad
thanking me say:
Oh, Koo, you've done well.
Oh, Koo, hold us like that!
But in actual fact,
It is the same **abusuafo**
Who follow me everywhere
and spoil my work
with their forking ju-ju.
Chief, hmmm,
I say, **home hard.**

BLACKMAN PALAVER

Every place Blackman dey,
ibi trouble trouble **trouble**
sonn-n-n-n-n-n-n-n-n-n-n-n!
He get for hin ear.
South Africa the same,
America the same,
England the same,
Every place too
small small dey.
Ah-ah!
Wey thing at all
Blackman do?
This Blackman thing
I dey talk so,
Boo, ihard oo!
ihard proper!
But what man
go do self?
This earth here God give,
He give for Blackman too.
So I say me Blackman
I no go mind
for anybody at all.
I go live for this earth
live live live aa-a-a-a-a!
Till I go die self.
Ibi God Hinself plan
put me for here,
True.
For this Blackman palaver thing,
I no mind at all.
True.
Me I say
the people wuu do so,
All need heart talk,
heart change proper;
True!

Fig. 5.1 Taxi inscriptions and poems

THEY ACT AS IF LOVERS

They act as if lovers,
Some people I know.
Heaven knows that
Deep in the bottom of their hearts,
There is only malice
        and hate
        and cursing
        and death
They wish upon my head;
But the moment
They see my **monkyimonka** face,
They put cloth on the ground
        for me to walk on
Praise me
Pamper me
Fondle me
And even carry me shoulder high.
And act
As if
Lovers — which is all **lie-lie**.
They act as if lovers,
Some people I know.

FEAR BEAUTIFUL WOMAN

Fear beautiful woman.
The same way she attracted you,
The same way she attracts other men.
The same way she tricks you
        for your **kudi**,
The same way she tricks other men
        for their kudi.
The same way your eyes hot for her,
The same way other men's eyes
        hot for her
The same way you lobby stiff
        for her,
The same way
        other men chase am.
So some time all you men
        go clash over her.
And fight come
        and blows **pi-pe pi-pe pi-pe!**
        and blood spill **botwoo!**
        And men die.
Like I say,
        fear beautiful woman.

NHYIRA NKA BOAFO

Nhyira nka boafo
Ɔno na ɔwɔ ahumɔbrɔ
                nteasee
                akokoduru
                ɔdɔ
Ɔno na ɔnye pesemenkomenya.
Nhyira nka boafo
(Blessed Be The Helper;
He is the man of sympathy
        of understanding
        of selflessness
        of magnanimity
        of courage
        of love
Blessed be the helper.)

Like you want **alomo**
        with tough **baya** self,
Money talk.
You want go movie,
Money talk.
You want hire room,
Money talk.
You want become **been-to**,
Money talk.
You want buy singlet,
Money talk.
You want buy okro soup
        In passion week,
Money talk.
You want send
        your child to school,
Money talk.
You want buy sandals
        to comfort your A.D. One One feet small,
Money talk
You want go to Star Hotel,
Money talk.
You want wear **kente**,
Money talk.
Anybody want ride
        in my tro-tro self, too,
Money talk.
Oh, this world,
Everything be money money **sonnn!**
Money rules all.

Fig. 5.1 (continued)

A DAY WILL COME

A day will come
When this **tro-tro** truck you see
Will help install me
A V. I. P.

A day will come
When I, riff-raff
As I may look,
Will put on the finest clothes.

A day will come
When I, small man
As I look,
Will rise up
To tower above giants.

A day will come
When I, a nincompoop
As you think I am,
Will out-shine
Even the toughest lot.

A day will come
When I, the moa as I look
Will stretch up my wings
And fly beyond myself.

AUNTY NANA

Aunty Nana:
Obiara wɔ ne dɔfo.
Bia biara a wowɔ mu no,
Nnipa bi sere wo
ebi kyiri wo
ebi nso dɔ wo.
Ewiase yi,
Se wodu bun mu a,
Na wohu
Wɔn a ekyiri wo
Ne wɔn a wotaa wakyi.

(Aunty Nana:
We each have our loved ones.
In whatever situation
You find yourself,
Some people laugh at you
Some hate you
While others simply love you.
In life
When you find yourself
In really deep waters,
That is the time
You truly discover
Those that hate you
And those that are with you.)

Fig. 5.1 (continued)

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Chapter 6
Translanguaging in the Multilingual Montreal Hip-Hop Community: Everyday Poetics as Counter to the Myths of the Monolingual Classroom

Bronwen Low and Mela Sarkar

Abstract This chapter explores the possibilities multilingual hip-hop offers for language instruction within multiethnic classrooms in Montreal shaped by multiple discursive practices. The authors review current research on multilingualism and teaching and propose strategies for overcoming the French prescriptivist monolingual mindset in education in Quebec. They also turn to poetics, and in particular the literary theory of Edouard Glissant (Caribbean discourse, 1989; Poetics of relation, 1997) and the Martinican school of *Créolité,* offering possibilities for rethinking relationships between oral and written, vernacular and standard language forms and for igniting language teachers' pedagogic imaginations.

Keywords Hip-hop · Creolization · Oraliture · Popular culture

6.1 Montreal and Parler Multilingue/Parler Hip-Hop

> Lou Piensa: Si le langage Hip Hop Québecois existe, il est composé de quoi?
> Ken-Lo: Y'est composé de part de l'immigration pêle-mêle man, des voyages, des témoignages de voyages…
> [Lou Piensa: If a Quebec Hip Hop language exists, what is it made up of?
> Ken-Lo: It's made up in part by the jumble of immigration, man, trips, travel tales]
> (Ken-Lo interview by Lou Piensa, April 2010)
> My *language* attempts to take shape at the edge of writing and speech. (Glissant 1989, p. 147)

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Since its French colonial origins in the seventeenth century, Montreal has been a site of complex, often contested relationships among speakers of different linguistic origins.[1] Since 2012, Montreal has been the hub of an urban area of about four million people and the largest metropolis in the Canadian province of Quebec. Two centuries of historical jockeying for position, from about 1760 to 1960, between speakers of French (always numerically stronger[2]) and the previously economically dominant English and Scots, has in recent decades been augmented by new waves of immigrants from all over the world. Added to older waves of mostly southern and eastern Europeans, their far-flung languages and cultures of origin have made present-day Montreal an exciting, if far from simple, place to experience "languaging" of many kinds. The perpetual otherness and diversity of tongues or voices encapsulated in the term "heteroglossia"; the boundary crossing implied by "translanguaging"—these are part and parcel of daily living and speaking in downtown Montreal. It is commonplace to hear locals declare that "you can't open your mouth to speak in public in Montreal without making a political statement"—that is, by virtue of the language(s) you choose to speak.

   Hip-hop, as a youth social movement and cultural/linguistic phenomenon, came into this fertile ground for heteroglossic mixing in the 1970s. The geographic proximity of New York City, only a day's drive away, and the coming and going of immigrants from many parts of the Caribbean across the Canadian-American border as they looked for better economic opportunities, meant the early incursion of hip-hop-identified uses of language into Montreal youth communities, which at first looked only southward for rap models. With the advent of 1990s, European French rappers began to have an influence on Quebec rappers. Constant immigration from former French colonies in sub-Saharan West Africa and the Northern African Maghreb, from Haiti, and from France itself meant that local hip-hop in Quebec soon took on a multilingual character (Laabidi 2006). Our research team is based at the McGill University in Montreal, itself an English-speaking enclave within an officially French city, which is nevertheless actually a diverse multilingual conurbation within a resolutely French-dominant province. We began to look

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[1] The physical location of Montreal has been inhabited for many thousands of years. Until the arrival of European settlers in the sixteenth century, the inhabitants of this area were mostly speakers of Iroquoian languages. To this day, there is linguistic and political tension between Kanien'keha (Mohawk) communities and the municipalities they are contiguous within the *Région métropolitaine de Montréal* (RMR). A full discussion of the pertinent Indigenous language issues lies outside the scope of this chapter (but see Drapeau 2011).

[2] Historically, Quebec has always been the only majority-French-speaking province in Canada. The population claiming French as their mother tongue has never been less than 80 % (of roughly seven and a half million as of the 2006 census, the most recent one for which language figures are available (Statistics Canada 2012)). However, the city of Montreal is much more linguistically diverse than the still largely French-monolingual, much less cosmopolitan "regions" of Quebec. Recent demographic trends show the historical French-speaking majority gradually being encroached upon by speakers, not only of English, but of many other languages of more recent arrival such as Arabic, Haitian Creole, and Spanish as well as the older Italian or Greek (Ville de Montréal 2010).

at the nature of multilingual mixing in Montreal rap in 2001, focussing first on what we were then calling code-switching in the groundbreaking linguistically mixed rap lyrics produced from 1999 on (Sarkar et al. 2007; Sarkar and Winer 2006). This mixing is not only a maker of a Montreal rap style but also found elsewhere in the province. We recognize that the multilingual mixing we have been documenting in Quebec rap lyrics per se is a mirror, or a particularly strong distillation, of the kind of heteroglossic mixing common in wider Quebec and especially Montreal society. This wider scale phenomenon has been termed by the Université de Montréal researcher Patricia Lamarre *parler bilingue* or *parler multilingue* (2012), an appropriately local French stylistic device that enables us to now avoid the baggage of a term like "codeswitching," with its implications of separate, hived-off languages and speech communities.

In the latest phase of our research on the Montreal and Quebec multilingual hip-hop communities, two rappers from a Montreal-based hip-hop collective entitled Nomadic Massive joined our team, analyzing lyrics and conducting interviews with hip-hop artists and fans (Winer et al. 2010). We have also been investigating, through interviews, the rap group Muzion member J-Kyll's claim that "en général, on chante, on rap comme on parle" ("in general, we sing, we rap like we speak"). With 11 members of multiple ethnicities and nationalities, Nomadic Massive regularly mixes five languages in their lyrics. The recent interviews conducted for us by Louis Dufieux (MC Lou Piensa) and Nantali Indongo (MC I am Black Girl) explore more deeply some of the dynamics and contexts for code-switching in Quebec hip-hop, all the while enacting their themes as form mirrors content. For instance, Lou Piensa's questions switch seamlessly back and forth between French and English, as do the responses from the rappers he interviewed. So natural is this way of speaking to these hip-hop artists that even when being interviewed (mostly in French) by an English-dominant academic researcher, our teammate Lise Winer, rapper Webster describes how he first came to know about hip-hop (and relatedly, to learn English) in a fluidly mixed idiom:

> J'avais mon cousin Frankie qui ['I had my cousin Frankie who'], regularly, he would go to the States and he would bring back some tapes pis une des çassettes qui m'a vraiment marqué, c'était EPMD, leur premier album. Dans le temps c'était des singles qui sortaient, je me rappelle plus c'était quel single ['and one of the tapes that really impressed me was EPMD, their first album. Back then it was singles coming out, I don't remember any more which one'] but anyways…it really struck me. (Webster interview by Lise Winer, December 2009)

All of the artists interviewed describe learning English in part through US rap music (and in some instances of having to unlearn some US English colloquialisms when attending an English class in Montreal), as family members and mixtapes acted as conduits to the US scene. The language of US rap, which blends African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) and Hip-Hop Nation Language (HHNL) (Alim 2009), as well as that of European French rap, with its specialized *argot* and *verlan*, are the earliest influences on what MC Webster calls the "parler hip-hop" in Quebec. Haitian Creole, Spanish, Arabic, and other languages of immigrant populations then get folded into the mix. In these interviews, one artist to another, as they speak

about their creative histories and presents, Lou and his interviewees theorize the multilingual poetics of contemporary Quebec both explicitly in the content of their exchanges and implicitly in the translanguaging practices that characterize their conversations.

In the field of education where we work, most scholarship attentive to popular culture tries to build bridges between the popular cultural capital of young people and the school curriculum, in the interests of student engagement and learning (Hull and Schultz 2002; Alvermann et al. 1999). In contrast, our studies to date of the multilingual Montreal hip-hop community (Low et al. 2009; Sarkar 2009) have investigated what we can learn from hip-hop more generally. The possibility of classroom applications has only recently entered our work. We assume that distinctions between the popular and mainstream are fluid and transitional and that youth can be the vanguard of both cultural and linguistic change, which means that youth popular culture both drives and reflects changes to the larger culture and language. Through our studies of Quebec hip-hop, we seek to better understand changing forms of language, sets of communicative conditions and relations, and in turn, models of political action and community.

Along with the pleasures of studying the language practices of young Montrealers in all of their subversive playfulness, we also recognize that these can come crashing into the French-only language regimes of schooling in Quebec. In a radio feature on CBC's *All in a Weekend* called "Beyond Franglais" about code-switching in Montreal, Nantali Indongo (MC I am Black Girl) describes walking into a classroom in which two students, one whose family was from Haiti and the other from St. Vincent, were having a dispute about how you pronounce an Arabic word for "let's go"—*yalla* (a term now included in http://www.urbandictionary.com). In the segment, she speaks with youth at a local multilingual French public school about language mixing. The students said that they feel their love of switching, including language crossing, "shows that we have a lot of culture and that we're accepting of other nationalities." However, they also describe how their parents and teachers see this switching as worrisome, something to critique and correct, and a real impediment to mastery of French. As one young woman put it, "our teachers think, if we keep talking the way we talk, *on s'améliore pas* (we won't improve ourselves)." Particularly worrisome, it seems, to teachers is code-shifting in writing.[3]

In response, we explore in this chapter some of the tensions between these very different philosophies of language and learning, proposing what we feel would be more pedagogically productive relationships. Our vision is shaped by conversations between Quebec rap artists, as well as by the poetics of creolization of poet-critic *Martiniquais* Edouard Glissant. We draw upon Glissant's poetic and cultural theory to bring new vocabulary and frameworks into the conversation about multilingual identities, practices, and possibilities.

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[3] This finding from our interviews resonates in interesting ways with the recent work on translanguaging in academic writing by Canagarajah (2011).

6.2   (Hip-Hop) Language Studies, Popular Culture, and Education

Our specific interest in the multilingual rap lyrics and the speech practices of hip-hop-identified youth in Quebec has been in conversation with the work of other hip-hop sociolinguists around the globe. As we argue elsewhere (Sarkar and Low 2012), the field of hip-hop and language studies has been the site of the richest reflection on multilingualism in popular culture, a point also noted by Pennycook (2010), who posits a complex and non-obvious relation between popular culture and national identity, particularly striking in the case of hip-hop popular culture. Scholars outside the hip-hop and applied linguistics field do not seem to have noticed the potential for theorizing the inherent culture in the heteroglossic nature of so much current popular culture production worldwide.[4] The reasons for this academic neglect are manifold, but seem to us to be driven mainly by the monolingual mind-set shaping a good deal of scholarship on both language and popular culture produced in disproportionally influential English-speaking North America (Sarkar and Low 2012). The international community of hip-hop language scholars takes multilingualism as a normal, while complex, state of affairs and object of inquiry, interested in, for example, the localization of English attendant upon hip-hop's global spread (Pennycook 2003, 2007, 2010) as well as the ways in which local language practices—such as tonally based Cantonese rhyming patterns (Lin 2009) or pre-existing language mingling among African languages (Higgins 2009)—transmute hip-hop from the (local) ground up. The 2009 edited volume, in which these two examples appear (Alim et al. 2009), and another edited volume that appeared the following year (Terkourafi 2010) are rich compendia of research-grounded information showing the potential of hip-hop to transform educational praxis "glocally" both implicitly and explicitly.

6.2.1   From Code-Switching to Heteroglossia/Translanguaging (etc.): Terminological Profusion

Barely 20 years have gone by since the beginning of the rapid rise of hip-hop studies, starting with Tricia Rose's groundbreaking *Black Noise* (1994), and the subsequent spillover into applied linguistics "proper" (in several senses) and then, as discussed above, into critical sociolinguistics and critical pedagogy, where we situate ourselves—along with, for example, H. Samy Alim, who advocates the use of "Critical Hip-Hop Language Pedagogies" in US schools (2009). Perhaps not coincidentally, this period has also seen a groundswell in academic dissension over the term "code-switching" as a useful label for what happens when speakers do not restrict themselves to one (as defined by the dictionary) "language." Disagreements

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[4] The runaway nature of globalized English certainly is heavily implicated in this phenomenon, but it's only part of the story (Pennycook 2007).

about the nature of the object of study within the ranks of well-known older established researchers on code-switching (Gardner-Chloros and Edwards 2004; Myers-Scotton 2006; Poplack 2004) have, for some time, been eclipsed, in our opinion, by even more fundamental shake-ups questioning the very existence of language boundaries at all (Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

Researchers who formerly would have talked confidently about "code-switching" now may feel obliged to enclose the term in scare quotes, as we do here; to apologize for it; to eschew it altogether; and, most exciting of all, to devote entire volumes (such as the present one) to proposals for alternate ways of looking at this age-old, universally attested human phenomenon. A profusion of terms now exists to, first, simply describe, and, second, use as aids to theorizing non-monolingual language use[5] by one or several speakers, or by a community of speakers, as the norm. From the "multicompetence" put forward by Cook in the 1990s, through various language-policy-derived attempts to deal with increasingly diverse populations—multilingualism, plurilingualism (the official government term here in Quebec)—to more experimental and less widely known, but theoretically exciting terms such as "polylingual languaging" (Jørgensen 2008), "translingual activism" (Pennycook 2006), and, of course, "translanguaging," as adopted by García et al. 2007 (from Cen Williams' Welsh *trawysieithu*) or the current reworking of Bakhtinian "heteroglossia" (Bailey 2012; Creese and Blackledge, this volume), there is ample evidence of a deeply felt need to go beyond the code-switched binary. In the welter of Classical glosses—multi, pluri (Latin), poly, hetero (Greek)—it is a relief to find researchers who prefer locally grounded labels (Canagarajah's code-*meshing* 2006); Rampton's UK English *crossing* 1995; Rampton and Charalambous 2012); Lamarre's Quebec French *parler multilingue* (2011). But even these more reader-friendly concepts are, upon analysis, as theoretically complex as the competition. As Canagarajah and Liyanage say with perhaps a hint of despairing irony, "we have to develop a better articulation between theorizations…" (2012, p. 62). We agree but will not attempt to do it here. Rather, we will turn to the words of Quebec rappers, as used by them in interviews and lyrics, to try to get a sense of the depth and breadth of linguistic creativity that lies beneath this academic astonishment at how complex it all is. And to further complicate matters, we will throw even more conceptual vocabulary into the mix of theorizations, as we are convinced that Glissant's writing on creolization, "language," and oraliture has important implications for understanding multilingual possibilities and futures, mostly overlooked by language and literacy theorists (an important exception is Pennycook (2010), who, in his discussion of the "circles of linguistic flow" (French as well as English), draws on Glissant's theorizing about the ways French is rapidly evolving as a result of creolization and *métissage*).[6]

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[5] It is of course very difficult, when attempting to reverse an established habit of reference in speech, to refer to the thing being discussed at all. An analogy could be made in the unrelated area of studies of sexual orientation; if queer theorists were to insist on referring to a certain kind of sexual preference as "non-monosexual," we would know what they meant, but we would likely find the wording awkward. An interesting and courageous attempt in a similar direction was made by Hofstadter (1990).

[6] "…there are several French languages today…French can no longer be monolingual…If language is given in advance…it misses out on the adventure" (Glissant 1997, cited in Pennycook 2010, pp. 69–70).

6.2.2   Language Mixing in Quebec: "It's Made Up in Part by the Jumble of Immigration, Man, Trips, Travel Tales"

6.2.2.1   Playing with a Well-Established Local Tradition

Why is linguistic mixing such a feature of rap in Montreal, and, to a lesser degree, other parts of the province? Such mixing has been documented in other kinds of Quebec musical production since the 1970s, but not before (Grenier and Guilbault 1997; Ransom 2011) and is very much frowned upon in ordinary non-musical language by the French language purists who make up so notable a feature of the Quebec linguistic landscape (Bertrand 1999, 2006; Bouchard 2012; Gervais 2012). There are, arguably, more trilinguals in Montreal than anywhere else in North America, due to language-in-education policies which have, since the late 1970s, made French the mandatory language of instruction for all children, irrespective of ethnic or linguistic background, whose parents were not schooled in English in Canada at primary level (Oakes and Warren 2007). Surprisingly, as we found in our data collection, in the even more multiculturally diverse Canadian city of Toronto wherein there are as many or more bilingual (if perhaps not *tri*lingual) speakers, there is much less code-switching in rap lyrics (Tan et al. 2009). While some Toronto rappers with ties to the Caribbean, such as Kardinall Offishall, JDiggz, and Rochester, make creole references, these are not nearly as common as in Montreal. There are a number of possible explanations. First, the rap scene in Toronto is English based, which means that Toronto rappers can hope to get signed by a prominent US music label serving English-speaking audiences. Quebec rappers whose base language is French tend to seek out more local as well as international audiences, shut out from the major scene to the south. As well, because of the historical, and uneasy, relationship between French and English in Quebec, mixing between the two languages has long been a significant and controversial feature of popular discourse, as has the relationship between Quebec standard and non-standard French, including *joual* (a heavily loaded label covering much non-standard French use in Quebec).

The highly charged sociolinguistic context of Quebec, in which the promotion and maintenance of French as the language of public life is the central tenet of the Quebec nationalist project, brings with it a heightened interest in and awareness of linguistic questions and politics. Take, for instance, these lyrics from Montreal rapper Sans Pression:

> Mon *beef* avec les **fakes**, c'est comme l'FLQ pis l'Canada, *Yo*, 5–1–4, joual en partant,
> Dans mon son, dans mon accent, j'ai ça dans l'sang,
> *Dat's right*, j'parle **franglais** même quand j'ai pas l'*mic*
> Le côté sombre de Montréal, *yo* sors ta *flashlight*.[7]
> (Sans Pression 2003,
> « Cimetière des CDs », *Réplique aux offusqués*)

[7] ("My beef with fakes is like the FLQ's with Canada, yo, 5–1–4, *joual* from the start/ In my sound, in my accent, I've got it in my blood/ Dat's right, I speak franglais even without a mic/ The dark side of Montreal, yo get out your flashlight").

Here Sans Pression, through his overt use of the term "Franglais" (used in Quebec for many decades, but usually to disparage local language use characterized by heavy borrowing and mixing of English into French), claims ownership and pride in its use. He also makes a cultural reference that grounds the text in Quebec politics and historical French-English, separatist-federalist tensions (FLQ = *Front de libération du Québec*, famous for violent protests throughout the 1960s, including terrorist attacks, bombings, and, culminating in 1970, a murder (Haque 2012)) and uses the word *joual*.

In our analyses of lyrics, our initial data set made up of the complete lyrics from two 1999 CD releases (Sarkar and Winer 2006) led us to make certain coding decisions from the outset. We began by coding for Standard Quebec French, Non-standard Quebec French, European French, Standard North American English, AAVE, HHNL, Haitian Creole, Jamaican Creole, and Spanish. As our data set expanded, so did our codes, to include French hip-hop language (including verlan—French "backward" or inverse slang—and argot, see Calvet 1994), Arabic, Wolof, and Swahili. However, as we have moved toward a more heteroglossically oriented, "translanguaging" position in our interpretation of mixed language use, the rather rigidly defined categories we started out with have come to seem less appropriate. In one typical example, "Zacts Slicks," Haitian-Montreal crew Rainmen moves between English, Quebec French and *joual*, Haitian Creole, Franglais, AAVE, HHNL, Jamaican Creole, verlan, and their own lexical inventions which we now code simply as "Rainmen." This rap crew, one of the first to go public with mixed-language lyrics in the mid-1990s, and still active on the Montreal scene over 10 years later, are known for their unique linguistic identity, which comes through clearly here in a typical "gangsta" lyric, although it is not about language at all. For instance, Rainmen calls girls "grels," reworking a French (slightly archaic) derogatory term for a stupid woman, "greluche." In this verse from "Zacts Slicks" (a verlan-inspired play on Slick Acts), they move between French, Haitian Creole, *joual*, and English:

> Garde ton kob sâle stash kek part
> Les flics sâles essaient d'nous lock kekpart
> Y a un U-C qui s'cache kekpart
> Ou un snitch avec un cable su'l'chest
> Zacts slicks.[8]
> (Rainmen 2006, "Zacts Slicks", *Bi'ne$$ Legal*)

Interviews conducted for this project by Nomadic Massive rapper/project researcher Lou Piensa, with Quebec rappers Beyondah and Cotola from Metazon, Ken-Lo, and Webster, make clear that in their lyrics the artists are exploring aspects of their sociolinguistic realities. Part French-Canadian and part Senegalese, Webster raps principally in French and English, but has started introducing some Wolof words into his lyrics. He describes the ways he and his friends usually mix languages:

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[8] ("Keep your dirty money stashed away somewhere/ The dirty cops are trying to lock us up somewhere/ There's an underground cop hiding somewhere/ Or a snitch with a wire on his chest/ Slick acts").

Avec mes amis c'est vraiment du n'importe quoi. On pige partout, anglais, français, même verlan des fois. T'sé, on déconne beaucoup aussi et je dirais on a une manière de parler qui est un peu différente du reste des gens du fait qu'on coupe beaucoup les mots.[9]
(Webster interview by Lise Winer, December 2009)

As Webster notes at the end, he and his friends not only grab words from different languages but also have developed their own speech style, where they clip the ends of their words in phrases, saying: "Au lieu de ['Instead of'] 'What's the deal,' on dit ['we say'] 'Wha'the'd,' 'Hey yo, wha'the'd? Ah trank! 'trank, c'est 'tranquille.'"

Cotola, who raps principally in French, Spanish, and English, also cites the way he speaks as the basis for his artistic choices. When Lou asks: "When are you like: 'I'm'a put some English in here'…what is the reasoning behind your whole structure?", Cotola responds:

The reasoning is the realness. How I would speak it. How I speak naturally with my friends…. When you live in Montreal and you've been around people that I've been in contact with, it always used to be, like, French, English, Spanish and Creole…it's like having a gumbo soup of different elements in it and at the end it tastes different, you know?…It's 'cause of the city we live in. We speak like that.
(Cotola interview by Lou Piensa, March, 2010)

This feeling of "naturalness" is confirmed by Cotola's partner Beyondah, who claims:

C'est naturel parce que constamment, quand on parle le slang à Montreal, on mélange couramment dans une phrase le français, en anglais et pis woop, tsé y a un slang, un créole qui va slide, tu comprends?[10]
(Beyondah interview by Lou Piensa, February, 2010)

This swooping and sliding of words from different languages or registers into the "slang" in Montreal suggests the movement and energy of the ways language is lived in urban Quebec neighborhoods.

Recent sociological and sociolinguistic work on Montreal's *nouvelle francophonie*, whose identities and language practices are shaped by local immigration and language policies as well as global processes, also supports the rappers' sense that their dynamic code-shifting is part of a larger generational shift in attitudes toward multilingualism (see, for example, the special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 34, p. 3, (2002), on "the new French fact in Montreal: francization, diversity, globalization," as well as Meintel 1992). Lamarre et al. (2002) describe the "appreciable linguistic adaptability of many young Montrealers and their extremely varied language practices," which include, for instance, "trilingual codeswitching, not so much for negotiating language use, but rather to express plural identities and ties to many social networks" as well as "changing attitudes toward the maintenance of a minority language among young Allophones related to transnationalism

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[9] ("With my friends really anything goes. We dip in anywhere, English, French, even verlan sometimes. You know, we goof around a lot, too, and I'd say that we have a way of talking that's a bit different from other people's because we clip words a lot.").

[10] ("It's natural, because constantly, when you talk slang in Montreal, you mix English and French fluently in one sentence, and woops, there's a bit of slang, of Creole that slides in, you get it?").

and globalization" (n.p). However, Lamarre (2012) also notes that in the contexts she has studied, this code-switching is less frequent, more closely tied to specific contexts, than in the rap lyrics we have been studying.

In this sense, we might think of these rap lyrics as performative and poetic extensions and expansions of everyday speech practices. J-Kyll reminds us of this when she describes the verbal artistry and play which also shape her writing process:

> Mais si tu veux t'amuser après avec le slang, t'amuser avec les mots avec le flow, même t'amuser avec l'accent…ça peut très bien arriver que j'arrive pis que je fasse un verse en joual. Pourtant moi quand je parle, je parle pas tellement joual. Mais je peux vouloir artistiquement dans ma musique faire un verse en joual. Tout comme je peux faire un verse totalement en anglais alors que je parle pas vraiment totalement en anglais tout le temps. ["But after that if you want to have fun with slang, have fun with the words and the flow, even have fun with the accent…it can quite easily happen that I happen to do a verse in joual. However, when I talk, I don't really use much joual. But artistically in my music I may want to do a verse in joual. Just as I may do a verse totally in English although I don't really speak totally in English all the time."] (Muzion interview by Mela Sarkar and Kobir Sarkar, June, 2004)

Here we see an example of hip-hop's inventive, playful approach to language, in which whether one speaks a language or not is less important than what one *wants to do* with that language. J-Kyll draws upon all the languages that are available to her in her current context as raw materials for creative production. Although this kind of "borrowing" (or "crossing"—Rampton 1995) of words from languages one does not otherwise speak characterizes youth talk in many Montreal and Quebec neighborhoods, the rap lyrics exaggerate the practice. This artistic choice can also be a consciously political one, as in the case of fellow Muzion member Dramatik who describes the hybrid language of Montreal rap as "des artistes qui se décident à mettre la langue du peuple dans les textes" ("artists who decide to put the people's language into their texts").

6.2.2.2 Conflict Between These Practices and Education in QC

While this switching might seem natural to the rappers, it collides head-on with French language-in-education policies and French language pedagogical traditions and practices. Official Quebec Ministry of Education policy is heavily prescriptive (Lefrançois 2005), pushing for "good" French and the eradication from students' (and teachers') speech of *anglicismes, archaïsmes,* and *barbarismes*, all typical of local vernacular French (Bouchard 2012), a practice which does little to promote a sense of linguistic security. This prescriptive policy creates teacher anxiety and an atmosphere of hypercorrection, as many teachers become uncomfortable and anxious about their own local varieties of French. Nevertheless, *la norme orale*, despite the general brouhaha surrounding the need to improve it, remains elusive and undefined (Papen 2006).

The largest school board in Quebec, the Commission Scolaire de Montreal, which stretches across much of the island of Montreal, recently issued a policy statement solidifying what had until now been a widely accepted practice of insisting that French be the only language spoken at school, including between classes, in school

yards, and lunch rooms. In an article in *Le Devoir*, considered the most intellectual of Quebec's French-language daily newspapers, Université de Montréal professor Francoise Armand critiques this policy as supporting a reductive theory of language learning in which other languages are seen as impediments; in contrast, she argues for the cognitive and affective benefits of bilingualism and language transfer, citing the influential early work of Peal and Lambert (1962) on additive rather than subtractive bilingualism (Gervais 2012, retrieved on January 6, 2012, at http://www.ledevoir.com/societe/education/339523/l-ecole-100-francophone-un-raccourci-dangereux). The comments from readers, many of them heated in the extreme, are evidence of deep anxieties about the spread of English (rather than of multilingualism per se, even though the article describes how, although over 50 % of students are in fact francophone, 47 % of the students enrolled at board schools have a home language that is neither English nor French, so essentially students are being told to keep Cantonese or Arabic or Farsi out of school, not English). These concerns about the dominance of English shape worries about code-switching more generally.

6.3   Pedagogical Possibilities

The conflict between how one speaks inside and outside of school shapes many sociolinguistic contexts, aggravated by cultural disconnects between school and home cultures, including racial, class, ethnic, and linguistic ones. Studies show that students are more likely to succeed in school if they are able to draw upon their social capital, including their communicative repertoires (Gee 2008). The challenge we face as researchers and educators concerned about high drop-out rates in the province, especially among racialized minority youth (many of whom make up the *nouvelle francophonie* generation we have been discussing), is how to build bridges between school and out-of-school practices. The students in Montreal schools are being taught to think of their speech practices, and in particular their exuberant code-switching, as at odds with effective French learning and written communication. And yet if these practices are considered as part of an exciting, and inevitable, explosion of languages and cultures in changing times, how might they be considered as pedagogic resources rather than impediments?

6.3.1   Teacher Education (Professional Development and Preservice Teacher Education) About Language

A key strategy involves teacher education at both the pre- and in-service levels. The popular position, evidenced in the angry responses to Armand's position discussed above, in which full immersion in the target language with no access to other languages is seen as the only way to learn language, seems widely held by French teachers in the province. As a result, it would be important to incorporate learning about the cognitive benefits of multilingualism (Grosjean 2010; Miller 1983) and the

important role played by home languages in the second and third language instructions (Cummins 2000; Sarkar 2005). In order to expand teachers' understanding and interest in language more generally, interrogating tacit and "common-sense" models of language learning and use, teacher education should include *éveil aux langues* or language awareness (Hélot and de Mejia 2008) and critical language awareness (Fairclough 1992) pedagogies. These can help combat deficit models of bi- and multilingual students who are learning the language of instruction. As well, explorations of sociolinguistic issues such as the ties between language, identity, and power can foster teachers' interest in how and why youth mobilize the linguistic codes at their disposal. Arming teachers with sociolinguistic insight might enable them to see the translanguaging found in hip-hop lyrics and youth speech as a unique and interesting feature of their students' linguistic repertoires rather than an affront.

We would also encourage teachers to teach language awareness to their students, as in Alim's work on critical hip-hop language awareness pedagogies (2009) in which he equips AAVE speakers with socio-linguistic and critical literacy knowledge, enabling them, for instance, to act as street lexicographers of "hip-hop nation language" and to understand processes of "linguistic profiling." Relevant to bi- and multilingualism, as with a number of the Quebec rappers we have interviewed, Ken-Lo describes how rap lyrics (as well as playing and watching basketball) were the basis of his learning English. In junior high, he realized that the colloquial English he had learned was not correct in a school context, prompting him to read in French and English in a spirit of discovery, which became the basis for his awareness that there are many versions of French and English:

> Ken-Lo: …ça m'a fait voir qu'il y a seulement différentes façons d'exprimer l'anglais, différentes façons d'exprimer le français pis éventuellement, j'ai commencé à apprendre la langue de mon père aussi, fait que ça m'a fait ouvrir encore cette notion de langage qui peut être perçue comme fermée mais qui en fait est comme…
> Lou Piensa: …t'ouvre sur d'autres choses…
> Ken-Lo: Ouais c'est ça.[11]
> (Ken-Lo interview by Lou Piensa, April 2010)

Ken-Lo's growing language awareness led to his interest in learning Swahili, the language of his father's home country. To those who are worried about the influence of English, Ken-Lo says he would tell them that:

> la langue est un accessoire, un instrument d'échange. Elle a un esprit aussi en tant que tel mais, cet esprit-là il est à notre guise là, tsé…je pense qu'apprendre une langue ça fait évoluer le cerveau…[12]
> (Ken-Lo interview by Lou Piensa, April 2010)

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[11] ("Ken-Lo: It makes me see that there are merely different ways of using English, different ways of using French, and eventually, I started learning my father's language too, so that this made me open up to this notion of language which can be perceived as closed but which actually is…

Lou Piensa: opens you up to other things.

Ken-Lo : Yup, that's it.").

[12] (language is an accessory, an instrument of exchange. It has a spirit in and of itself, but that spirit can be to our liking, you know…I think that learning a language makes the brain evolve…).

Teachers as well as youths in Quebec and elsewhere might very well learn ways of thinking about language from poets such as Ken-Lo, embracing an awareness of some of the multiple purposes of language as something to be used, made to suit our purposes, and which makes one smarter by opening one up to new things. Ken-Lo's attitude toward language also embodies what Dyson (2005) is naming the "new language arts basics."

Given the multiple languages and discourses that shape the worlds of most children, as well as the growing importance of respect and awareness of the politics and aesthetics of (multi)language use, Dyson (2005) calls for a literacy pedagogy which works to equip students with an ability to recognize and respond to the particulars of situation and event. She argues that children's writing processes in our multilingual times and contexts are naturally heteroglossic, and that we should think of children's writing development as a process of listening to, appropriating, and then revoicing the world around them. These new language arts basics should include "an ear for the diversity of everyday voices, a playful manipulation of—a flexibility with—those voices, and an alertness to opportunities for performance" (2005, p. 150). Such skills are very well embodied in the multilingual wordplay of Montreal rappers and youth. Fostering a "new language arts basics" in Montreal classrooms, with its emphasis on the ability to recognize and mobilize elements of the heteroglossia of everyday life, could encourage students to explore the ethnolinguistic diversity of their neighborhoods, and then try to capture some of the rich multilingualism (in standard and non-standard forms) of their discourse communities in speech and writing.

6.3.2   The Poetics of Creolization

These new basics make clear that grammatical correctness is not the only value in language education, and that schools might have something to learn from the quotidian literacy practices of street poets (e.g. Ken-Lo) such as how to develop an ear for and flexibility with language. Language awareness is only one piece of our pedagogic vision for new language arts basics in Quebec. The second is to think more poetically about literacy, inspired not only by the multilingual poetics of hip-hop but also of theorist and poet *Martiniquais* Glissant. His work, grounded in the French-speaking Caribbean, is particularly helpful in the context of Quebec, where at stake in language debates and policies is the use of the French language.

Glissant's major works, *Caribbean Discourse* (1989) and *Poetics of Relation* (1990), are so lyrical that they resist easy application, but offer a rich metaphorical vocabulary for thinking about the poetics of language in contemporary times. Glissant defines poetics broadly as "the implicit or explicit manipulation of *language,*" differentiating (and opposing) *langage* (which Dash translates as "self expression") from *langue* ("language"). Important *langues* in Glissant's Martinican context are French (the imposed colonial language) and creole (the dominated language), the raw materials for his idiomatic *langage.* Poetics is the art of self-expression in

language, and one of its central tenets is *creolization*, a key concept-metaphor for Glissant.

Glissant defines *creolization* in relation to *métissage*, also often used to describe hybrid cultural conditions:

> If we posit *métissage* as, generally speaking, the meeting and synthesis of two differences, creolization seems to be a limitless *métissage*, its elements diffracted and its consequences unforeseeable. Creolization diffracts, whereas certain forms of *métissage* can concentrate one more time. Here [creolization] is devoted to what has burst from lands that are no longer islands. Its most obvious symbol is in the Creole language, whose genius consists in always being open, that is, perhaps, never becoming fixed except according to systems of variables that we have to imagine as much as define. Creolization carries along then into the adventure of multilingualism and into the incredible explosion of cultures. (1990, p. 34)

Creolization embodies one of its etymological roots, the Latin *creare* or to create. The Caribbean acts as one instance, perhaps even a paradigm, of advanced processes of creolization from which one can better understand the cultural mixes taking place elsewhere. This move from the specificities of the Caribbean to global processes is an important vector of Glissant's cultural model. Glissant's vision of creolization as a cultural process of meeting and diffraction, consequences unknown, aptly describes some of the vitality of youth scenes in multilingual environments such as Montreal; what if contemporary educational discourses were also drawing on this language of adventure and genius in their observations of vernacular linguistic changes?

One strategy of Glissant's that is particularly apt in a discussion of translanguaging is his linguistic *bricolage*. While Martinican Creole embodies the open-ended processes of creolization for Glissant, his *langage* draws on Creole but is not confined to it, since neither French nor Martinican Creole are adequate tools for self-expression—the former is the colonial tongue and the latter was forged through and in response to slavery. Glissant does not reject French, the language he speaks and writes so beautifully, nor Creole, but rather he insists:

> Our aim is to forge for ourselves…based on the defective grasp of two languages whose control was never collectively mastered, a form of expression through which we could consciously face our ambiguities and fix ourselves firmly in the uncertain possibilities of the world made ours. (1989, p. 168)

While both *langues* are used in Martinique, they need to be consciously mobilized into a vital *langage*, an expression which creatively engages the context of its writing. One of his strategies is to forge French neologisms, compound words like *totalité-monde* and *chaos monde* or *agents d'éclats*. This resembles the lexical invention of Rainmen or of Webster and his friends. Glissant as well as other poets of creolization from the French-speaking Caribbean (Chamoiseau et al. 1990) take a radical stance toward language by claiming European languages as well as creoles as the raw materials for self-expression. They disregard the authority of the "standard" and instead borrow in the name of cultural production, national (or inter-Caribbean) self-determination, and the regeneration of language. This stance defies previously colonized peoples' continuing alienation from the official European languages by insisting on their right to all tongues. While many of the young people

in Montreal's "nouvelle francophonie" do not have a relationship to French and/or English that can neatly be described as colonized (although some might identify it this way), many of the lyrics we have been studying do embody a spirit of linguistic subversion, as rappers flatten and reorder dominant language hierarchies (Low et al. 2009). Their work might be productively studied in classrooms in relation to the literatures of peoples creatively grappling with the weight of languages that have been imposed and inherited.

Montreal rapper Ken-Lo speaks to the poetic and pragmatic functions (Sarkar and Winer 2006) of writing rap in several languages, noting, for instance, that "Du work dans plusieurs langues, ça ouvre les rimes infiniment."[13] He also, however, describes the process in more spiritual terms, first invoking the image of "speaking in tongues" or spirit possession in the Pentecostal Church in order to explain what it is like to "grab un genre de [kind of] vibe" and then switch language or rhythm when rapping. He adds that this constitutes a kind of twisting and opening:

> …tu vas juste comme…twist pis à c't'e moment-là tu peux t'ouvrir tsé, que ce soit mettons changer de langue ou changer de flow ou changer de beat ou changer de whatever, tsé, c'est juste ouvrir cet aspect-là; c'est sur que à la base, le fait de work dans plusieurs langues, ça ouvre les possibilités de connecter avec ces instants-là d'expression-là plus brute un peu… ['You just kind of… twist, and it's at that moment that you can open up, you know, whether by, say, changing the language or flow or beat or whatever, you know, it's just opening up that aspect; it's true that basically, the fact of working in multiple languages opens up the possibilities of connecting with these instances of raw expression a bit…']
> (Ken-Lo interview by Lou Piensa, April 2010)

This description of artistic process suggests that Ken-Lo moves into a kind of creative zone or psychological "flow" (Csíkszentmihályi 1990) in which drawing upon some of the many languages heard in some Montreal and Quebec communities is instinctive and natural, as much a part of artistic inspiration as the choice to switch beats or verbal rhythmic delivery (which in hip-hop is also called "flow"). Such twisting and opening seems deeply pleasurable, a key element in the popularity of translanguaging.

Also relevant to understanding translanguaging in the Montreal hip-hop community is Glissant's thinking about orality, for as he tells it, "My language attempts to take shape at the edge of writing and speech" (1989, p. 147). "Code-switching" is foremost an oral practice, and while most creole languages now have official orthographies, these are less widely known and used than those of languages taught in schools. It is also used in art, in literary dialogue, and in songs, as people explore issues of identity and aesthetics (Androtsopoulos 2007; Bentahila and Davies 2002; Picone 2002). Glissant's embrace of the oral tradition exceeds a novelist's experiments at putting colloquial dialogue in written form. Instead, it requires a:

> synthesis of written syntax and spoken rhythms, of 'acquired' writing and oral 'reflex,' of the solitude of writing and the solidarity of the collective voice—a synthesis that I find interesting to attempt. (1989, p. 147)

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[13] ("Work in several languages opens up the rhyming infinitely.").

This synthesis forms what Glissant calls *oraliture*, which is writing infused with the characteristics of oral expression and traditions. Within this vision the oral and the written enrich, contest, subvert, and repeat the other—always in relationship. Drawing from Glissant, fellow Martinicans Chamoiseau et al. (1990) describe some of the textures of the oral tradition, including:

> sudden changes of tone, the continuous breaking of the narration and its "slidings"…The art of meandering. Excessiveness…The art of repetition is rich and new. To keep rehearsing the text is a pleasure. Onomatopoeia, or more deeply, threnody [wailing song] turn in the drunkenness of reality… (Chamoiseau et al. 1990, p. 906, fn 17)

An important implication of Glissant's poetics is that language changes are to be celebrated as expressions of linguistic vitality and renewal, rather than dismissed as degradations. He stresses the *creare* of creole and of language in general and in so doing challenges utilitarian attitudes to language education. Within this vision the oral and the written enrich, contest, and subvert each other—always in relationship.

Glissant's *oraliture* asks us to consider language modes as having potentially transferable qualities. Students might be encouraged to move between performance and writing if shown the intimate relationship between the spoken and the written word, including the possibility of infusing written texts with the oral tradition's "art of meandering," "art of repetition," and "onomatopoeia." In so doing they could be developing an "oraliture" which has the textures of speech and the permanence of writing. As well, some of the movements, rhythms, and ways of using language in Haitian Creole, for instance, could shape a student's writing in French without the student actually switching into Creole.

6.4   The Sublimity of Word-Work

Taken together, Glissant's *langage* and *oraliture* ask educators to take seriously the poetics of everyday life as raw materials for the learning of French and other languages. Given the congruencies between the work of multilingual rappers and these Francophone poets of creolization, they might be studied together in a French language arts curriculum that sees creativity as central to motivation and learning. Glissant's emphasis on the value of linguistic change and diversity is echoed by Toni Morrison (1995) who writes that "[w]ord-work is sublime…Because it is generative; it makes meaning that secures our difference, our human difference—the way in which we are like no other life" (p. 321). In linguistic creativity and generation lies the promise of some sort of cultural autonomy in an increasingly interdependent global economy. The linguistic innovations of youth and rappers are some examples of generative word-work, instances of diversity resisting the deadening of standardizing tendencies in language.

A truism about learning to read is that its most important element is a desire to read. We think the same should be said for learning a language. If the excitement Glissant and the Montreal rappers interviewed convey about language could infuse

a language and literature curriculum, more students might embrace the possibilities of literacy. This means recognizing that everyday translanguaging practices can be evidence of a love of language, rhetorical skills in which youth are adapting language choice to context and purpose, and performative ability. If teachers as well as multilingual students could imagine an active, kinetic relationship between the poetry in their lives and the language taught in schools, youth might be better able to see themselves as authors and linguistic agents inside as well as outside school.

6.5 Shout Outs

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Chapter 7
Hip-Hop Heteroglossia as Practice, Pleasure, and Public Pedagogy: Translanguaging in the lyrical poetics of *"24 Herbs"* in Hong Kong

Angel Lin

Abstract The focus of this chapter is the highly heteroglossic musical and lyrical practice of a hip-hop group in Hong Kong. Through analysis of the ways in which they mix, switch, double code, and intertwine English- and Cantonese-style lyrics, the chapter engages with trans-local and local identities in uniquely postcolonial Hong Kong performance modes. The group's reception, as indicated in their fans' postings on their YouTube music videos, indicates a highly heteroglossic listening public alive with diverse and at times contradictory interpretations of entangled cultural and linguistic identities.

Keywords Cantopop · Carnival · Verbal art · Teaching

Kids out there, can be whatever they want to be…do whatever they want to do… just do it; it's not like… 'Can we do this??'… As long as it's positive, just do it!… That's the spirit of *24 Herbs*, just do it!… If it does nobody harm, and you're just doing something creative, just do it! Jiu jouh! Just do it! That's our spirit. (JBS of *24 Herbs*)

想你 feel 到　想你哋知道
24 喺呢度　香港哋製造
唔會教壞細路　不過唔會跟住制度
鍾意嘈冤巴閉　愈反叛愈'哥制'
唔識跟你嘅規矩　又唔係同你一齊過人世
態度照舊照舊你唔鍾意就擺就
投入我地節奏　郁下郁下咁就夠
有人歡喜咁就一定會有人愁
你唔 likey 嘅話埋嚟　我地有十二個拳頭

(A stanza rapped by K.I.T., from the song: "Turn it up", by *24 Herbs*)

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English translation:

(I) want you to feel it; (I) want you to know it
24 here, is made in Hong Kong
(We) won't teach kids to be bad; but (we) won't follow the establishment
(We) like to make noise; the more rebellious the more joyous!
(We) don't know how to follow your rules, (as) we're not partnering up with you!
Our own attitude we keep; if you don't like it that's your own business!
Join in our rhythm; move it, move it, and just that's enough!
Some people might like it; some people might not like it!
If you don't like it, come on, here we have twelve fists!
(A stanza rapped by K.I.T., from the song: "Turn it up", by *24 Herbs*)

7.1   Background: The Evolving Hong Kong Music Scene and Hong Kong Identity

The mainstream music scene in Hong Kong has traditionally centred around Cantopop (Cantonese popular songs) since the mid-1970s, when early prominent Cantopop lyricists and singers such as Sam Hui were legendary in laying the foundation of the genre and tradition of the lyrical mass-appeal styles through the rise of local Cantonese cinema and television. With easy-listening melodies and simple lyrics about the plight of the common people, Sam Hui's music and lyrical style marked the genesis of a new popular music form in Hong Kong known as Cantopop (Erni 2007). Although it has been influenced by both Japanese and Western pop music, Cantopop has arisen as a local popular music genre with which the majority of Hong Kong Cantonese people identify. It has served as 'a strategic cultural form to delineate a local identity, vis-à-vis the old British colonial and mainland Chinese identities' (McIntyre, Cheng and Zhang 2002: 217). Even after the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, and the rising importance of Mandarin Chinese in official domains and spoken Putonghua in service domains of Hong Kong (Luke 2003), Cantonese remains an important local Hong Kong identity marker and a lingua franca among the majority of Cantonese-speaking Hong Kong people.

However, since the 1990s, Cantopop has become increasingly about idol making, churning out songs about love affairs and losing much of the thematic versatility of its early days, when songs were about working-class life, friendship and family relationships, life philosophy, and so on (Chu 2007). Hip-hop music, with its trans-local defiant symbols and attitude, thus became an attractive alternative to the tired Cantopop melodies and themes in the mainstream music scene in Hong Kong towards the end of the 1990s.

It was in this climate that the band LMF (LazyMuthaFuckaz) emerged in the mid-1990s to attract urban youth with its indignant, socially relevant lyrics (e.g. their first hit song, "uk-chyun-jai" ("housing-project boys"—referring to grassroots youths)). Although LMF is generally seen as a hip-hop group, the band's music

style was actually a fusion of rock, hip-hop, and pop rap. LMF received its hip-hop influences through DJ Tommy and MC Yan. DJ Tommy was the first Hong Kong DJ to win prizes in International DJ contests. MC Yan is both a rapper and a hip-hop graffitist. While DJ Tommy is focused on music, MC Yan is socially and politically conscious and has been heavily influenced by other socially conscious artists such as Rage Against the Machine, Dead Prez, and Saul Williams.

LMF was disbanded in 2003 largely due to loss of advertising sponsors and increasingly negative coverage of LMF in the media, given their open use of Cantonese "chou-hau" ("vulgar speech"). If LMF was largely a rock-rap group capitalizing on grassroots youth identities, LMF rocked the local music and media scene by being the first local popular band to put Cantonese "chou-hau" into their lyrics in publicly released albums and live performances, and by putting up a strong local, resistant, defiant, and media-critique stance (Ma 2001, 2002a, b). LMF's lyrics were largely Cantonese, and when English was used, it was mainly English slang; for instance: "Do you know what the fuck I'm saying?! Hahm-gaa-ling!" ("Hahm-gaa-ling" is a Cantonese "chou-hau" expression literally meaning: "To hell with your whole family!"). LMF's sociolinguistic positioning can be said to be that of Hong Kong Cantonese grassroots youth—the speaking style projects a powerful, defiant, angry, Cantonese, working-class, masculine image, with lots of "rage"—called "fo", which literally means "fire", in Cantonese.

Ma's (2001, 2002a, b) ethnographic studies represent the first academic attempt to bring under a cultural studies lens the emotional energies and cultural practices of alternative bands, and he concluded that the diverse social and political discontents in the late 1990s had fuelled the emotional energies of LMF, who had projected a more or less angry young Cantonese working-class male identity. In contrast, *24 Herbs*, emerging from the post-LMF era in the late 2000s, seems to be engaged in a much more heteroglossic, multi-voiced musical, and lyrical practice than its predecessor, and it is much more difficult to pigeonhole it into any single identity category. Before introducing their heteroglossic practice, let us first look at the theoretical notions of "heteroglossia", "translanguaging", and "structure of feeling" for the analytical lenses that these notions can offer for this study. Then we shall analyse the heteroglossic lyrical practice of *24 Herbs*, drawing on examples from their two songs: "Do you know me" and "Respect tou PK" (RTPK).

7.2 Heteroglossia

A unitary language is not something given but is always in essence posited—and at every moment of its linguistic life it is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1935/1981, p. 270).

It is possible to give a concrete and detailed analysis of any utterance, once having exposed it as a contradiction-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies in the life of language (Bakhtin 1935/1981, p. 272).

> Heteroglossia encourages us to interpret the meanings of talk in terms of the social worlds, past and present, of which words are part-and-parcel, rather than in terms of formal systems, such as "languages," that can veil actual speakers, uses, and contexts (Bailey 2012, p. 506).

Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia ("hetero" means "different"; "gloss": tongue/voice) refers to more than a combination of different signs and voices. It also focuses on the social tensions and conflicts between these different signs and voices (Bailey 2012; Ivanov 2001). To understand this notion it is important to understand the historical context of M. M. Bakhtin and why his insights on language and social life are still, or especially, relevant today.

7.2.1 Freedom of Consciousness Through Heteroglossia and Carnival Laughter

The contemporary reader of Bakhtin may be surprised at his optimism about the possibility of freedom of consciousness, and the possibility of liberation from ideological hegemony of dominant languages and discourses, especially when one realizes that Bakhtin was writing, theorizing, and living under one of the most authoritarian regimes in Russian history. At that time both the everyday world and the intellectual world were dominated by an absolute discourse ("unitary language") of social and political ideologies; Bakhtin's conception of heteroglossia seemed most unlikely to happen in his contemporary social, academic, and political scenes, and his own doctoral thesis and writings were prevented from free public circulation by political/ideological censorship. One can perhaps only conclude that it was the extreme material and ideological condition of monoglossia (of centralizing thought) and public intellectual closure that infused this writer, thinker, and researcher of human language, folk literature, and literary genres with hope and belief in the invincible human potential to achieve freedom of consciousness, creativity, and cultural and ideological change through what he believed to be the inherent dialogic open-endedness of human language (or utterances, or consciousness, as Bakhtin often equates language with consciousness). Bakhtin was convinced that within the boundaries of the same utterance, there can be the free juxtaposition and fruitful dialogic interaction and inter-illumination of diverse voices or points of views on the world (or social languages, styles, ideologies, and different consciousnesses):

> At the time when poetry was accomplishing the task of cultural, national and political centralization of the verbal-ideological world in the higher official socio-ideological levels, on the lower levels, on the stages of local fairs and at buffoon spectacles, the heteroglossia of the clown sounded forth, ridiculing all "languages" and dialects; there developed the literature of the *fabliaux* and *Schwanke* of street songs, folksayings, anecdotes, where there was no language-centre at all, where there was to be found a lively play with the "languages" of poets, scholars, monks, knights and others, where all "languages" were masks and where no language could claim to be an authentic, incontestable face.... Heteroglossia, as organized in these low genres,... was parodic, and aimed sharply and polemically against the official languages of its given time. (Bakhtin 1935/1981, p. 273)

Bakhtin's detailed research on Medieval satirical literature and Russian novels, his exposition of folk humour and carnival laughter as not merely individual reaction to some isolated "comic" event but public, collective practices of social and ideological critique, and his theory of language as dialogic interaction all point to his immense passion for, and belief in, the potential liberatory power of human agency and local creativity even in the face of absolute ideological domination and official closure. Bakhtin's insights cannot be fully appreciated without reading him in the light of his historical and sociopolitical context, and in the light of how his theories and analyses provide the greatest hope and insights for others who find themselves in contexts where ideological and linguistic closure (both explicit and implicit) is an everyday reality. As we shall discuss later in this essay, *24 Herbs* seems to be breaking the homogenizing ideologies about languages and cultural identities in Hong Kong with their groundbreaking heteroglossic lyrical practice that has never happened in Hong Kong before.

7.3 Translanguaging

Closely related to, and in many ways inspired by, Bakhtin's heteroglossia is the notion of translanguaging (García 2005; Creese and Blackledge 2010). Translanguaging, like heteroglossia, focuses on breaking through the ideology of discrete, unitary languages, and cutting through the pedagogical closure imposed by monolingualism and linguistic purism dominant in the literature of language education and government language education policies (Lin 1996, 2006). Creese and Blackledge draw on Lemke's (2002) insight:

> It is not at all obvious that if they were not politically prevented from doing so, "languages" would not mix and dissolve into one another, but we understand almost nothing of such processes…. Could it be that all our current pedagogical methods in fact make multilingual development more difficult than it need be, simply because we bow to dominant political and ideological pressures to keep "languages" pure and separate? (Lemke 2002, p. 85, in Creese and Blackledge 2010, p. 106)

This echoes Bakhtin's observation on the absurd ideology of monoglossia of his day (and very much of today too):

> … it is as if these languages were in different chambers. They do not collide with each other in his consciousness, there is no attempt to coordinate them, to look at one of these languages through the eyes of another language. (Bakhtin 1935/1981, p. 295)

Creese and Blackledge (2010) analyse the interaction of students and their teacher in a Gujarati community language school in the UK and observe that "heteroglossic terms" are used creatively and productively:

> A final point to note from these extracts is the use of heteroglossic terms such as *sharema* and *Englishma*. These are common in this teacher's discourse. In the same lesson, the teacher uses the following terms: *junglema* 'in the jungle,' *bookma* 'in the book,' *yearma* 'in the last year,' *schoole* 'to school,' and *daddyne* 'to daddy.' Rather than describing these as either Gujarati or English or as English with a Gujarati suffix, we would describe them

as heteroglossic. They are usually coined by the teacher but taken up and used by the students, too, as a seemingly acceptable form. These heteroglossic phrases appear to serve as a linguistic resource that the teacher uses to keep the task moving forward. They are also likely to reflect the linguistic practices of the teacher beyond the classroom, indexing other language ecologies. (Creese and Blackledge 2010, p. 110)

It is within the limits of the same utterance/word (e.g. "sharema") that different languages intersect, juxtapose, and inter-illuminate each other. As we shall see in the lyrical practice of *24 Herbs* (in excerpts from two of their songs), such heteroglossic utterances serve to inter-animate and inter-illuminate different points of view on the world within the boundaries of the same utterance (e.g. "Do you know me" and "Respect tou PK").

7.4   Structure of Feeling

British cultural theorist Raymond Williams first came up with the notion of "structure of feeling" (1977) to remedy the abstract nature of Eric Fromm's notion of "social character" (Fromm & Maccoby 1970) and Ruth Benedict's notion of "pattern of culture" (Benedict 1934). Williams used the term to refer to the actually experienced culture of a particular period of time and place. The term highlights the *experienced quality of life* of a particular social milieu and the social experiences of a particular class or group of people. It refers to a common set of lived experiences, perceptions, and values shared by a particular generation, and these experiences, perceptions, and values are usually articulated in particular artistic forms and conventions of popular cultural texts and products of this generation. Williams thus talked about the "popular structure of feeling" of the 1840s as reflected in the novels of that period. Williams saw the term as important in the analysis of culture and literary works. For instance, his analysis of the popular British novels of the 1840s led him to conclude that some of the writers of that period could take their works outside of "the ordinary structure of feeling" of that era and "teach a new feeling" (Williams 1977, p. 85). As we shall discuss later in this chapter, *24 Herbs* seems to be teaching a new feeling with their heteroglossic practice. Before going into that, let us first see who they are.

7.5   *24 Herbs*–Who Are They?

In January 2008, a new hip-hop group in Hong Kong was born—*24 Herbs*. "*24 Herbs*" is the English translation of a popular Chinese street herbal drink, "yaah-sei mei" (literally meaning: "24 tastes"), an inexpensive herbal drink made from 24 kinds of herbs. Thus, it is a metaphor that hinges on the image of mixing in different elements to brew a common people's drink. The choice of name and image is reflected in their free alternation between English and Cantonese rap lyrics, and in the group's diverse line-up: *24 Herbs* features Australian-, Canadian-,

and Indonesian-Chinese returnees as well as local members (Ah Phat and Ah Kit, both former LMF vocalists). The group orients its image around a mix of linguistic, socioeconomic, and cultural eclecticism. The mixed nature of the group also manifests itself in the nine tracks of *24 Herbs'* first album, released in January 2008, and in the 15 tracks of their second album released in 2011. The musical styles of *24 Herbs'* include a mixture of overseas and Hong Kong hip-hop styles. Their music influences are eclectic and the group aims to bring up-to-date hip-hop styles from overseas into the Hong Kong scene. The group feels free to try out different music styles and in the words of DJ Dor-yuk (Eddie Chung), "We Hong Kongers don't have any baggage; we can play with many different styles and we won't be seen as faking." What Eddie means seems to be that as a group situated in Hong Kong doing hip-hop music they are free to absorb and experiment with different music styles and influences and they do not need to stick to any single geographic hip-hop identity (e.g. East Coast or West Coast, North or South). The artists seem to be deliberately juxtaposing a whole range of different music styles from different geo-social groups and different eras (which can be conflicting with each other: e.g. the tension between East Coast and West Coast hip-hop music styles). In their heteroglossic musical practice, the group does not seem to be concerned with stylizing "enough" musical features to claim authenticity in any single music style (see Blommaert and Varis 2011). Rather, they seem to be actively experimenting with different (potentially conflicting) styles by juxtaposing them, intersecting them, and bringing them into an inter-animating and inter-illuminating dialogue within the limits of the same album.

7.5.1   *24 Herbs' Heteroglossic Lyrical Practice*

If *24 Herbs* can be said to be heteroglossic in their musical practice, they seem to be equally heteroglossic in their composition and lyrical practice. The fact that the six members of the group who have come from very different linguistic backgrounds can come together to form an organic group doing music together using their own different voices is something quite remarkable and not found in Hong Kong before. While LMF and Fama, the only two other hip-hop groups that have ever emerged in the Hong Kong music scene with some visibility, are both rather homogeneous in their composition, lyrical styles, and sociolinguistic positioning (with LMF representing more or less the Hong Kong grassroots Cantonese male youth voice, and Fama possibly the Hong Kong high school adolescent voice—see Lin 2011), *24 Herbs* truly lives up to its name and is the only heteroglossic, multi-voiced hip-hop group formed in Hong Kong which aspires to reach audiences both in and beyond Hong Kong. In an interview, JBS (Julius Brian Siswojo) mentioned the word "organic". To him, the group is an organic group as the six members were not picked or designed by a manager to form a group. They are friends and are passionate about hip-hop music and have come together to form an organic group doing music; i.e. it is not an artificial group. While this is also true of LMF and Fama, the interesting research question about *24 Herbs* is: What are the conditions under which these six members who are from very diverse sociocultural and linguistic

backgrounds can come together and form an organic, heteroglossic whole in their lyrical practice, what kind of tensions (social, linguistic, or lyrical, if any) have they experienced, and how are these resolved or tackled?

To answer this research question, let us look at how the group was formed in the first place. In 2006, I interviewed Brandon Ho (a.k.a. Ghost Style, GS) for his hip-hop music influences. Ghost Style at that time was an indie hip-hop artist doing music from his home studio. I learnt then that he was just beginning to talk with some friends to form a hip-hop music group. GS was a Canadian-born Chinese who grew up in the USA and had developed a passion for hip-hop music and honed his English rapping skills in his US years. As people call him "gwai jai" (literally, "ghost boy", meaning he is like an English-speaking Western boy), he has adopted "Ghost Style" or GS as his art name. He returned to Hong Kong many years ago; while continuing to do indie hip-hop music, he has also written music scores for some Hong Kong movies. He is most comfortable speaking English and doing his rap in English, although he can also understand some spoken Cantonese. At that time he told me that Conroy Chan (a.k.a. Drunk) had invited him to join in starting a new group for hip-hop music. Conroy was born in Hong Kong but migrated to Australia at a young age and returned to Hong Kong in his 30s. He was a model and then a movie actor, but in his spare time he has always loved doing music, including rock and hip hop, with his friends.

As I learnt from JBS, the idea of forming a music group first started in a conversation between Conroy and JBS, when one day Conroy visited JBS in his skateboard shop. They talked about skateboarding and surfing and then they hit upon the topic of music. JBS is an Indonesian Chinese who migrated to Hong Kong at the age of 11 and went to an international school in Hong Kong. He has picked up fluency in all three languages: Indonesian, English, and Cantonese, and has been a skateboarder for 26 years. As the mainstream music scene in Hong Kong is dominated by Cantopop and lacking in other genres, the two of them thought that instead of just complaining about the music industry in Hong Kong, they should offer something different to the Hong Kong audience. They then talked with their friend, DJ Dor-yuk (Eddie Chung), who is also passionate about hip-hop music. Eddie is a music producer and has composed music scores for movies, commercials, and other projects. However, as someone passionate about music, he also wants to do music for doing music's sake (i.e. not just for commercial activities).

Eddie is a Hong Kong Chinese who migrated with his family to Australia when he was a child and returned to Hong Kong in 1989. He started his own music studio and has been successful as a music composer and producer for movies and commercials. He told me that as a youngster in Australia he had always loved making music (composing both music and lyrics) and doing all genres and styles (including rock and hip-hop) with his friends. This informal musical training has laid the foundation for his later work in Hong Kong as a music composer and producer. Conroy, JBS, Eddie, and GS then invited Ah Phat and Ah Kit, two former rappers of LMF to start *24 Herbs* together. JBS told me that Phat and Kit have been in their circle of friends for some time and so it is natural that they should think of them in starting up a new group for hip-hop music, as they are the best local rappers.

With the final line-up of six members, all in their 30s or early 40s, and all passionate for music and hip hop, it can be said that it is an organic group not conceived in commercial calculations. The single factor pulling together these artists with diverse backgrounds seems to be their shared passion for making good hip-hop music and offering something different to the Hong Kong music scene, while not limiting their music to Hong Kong audiences only (as JBS told me, they also aim at reaching out to young people all over the world, e.g. "kids on the street in Australia, in New York"). Their motto "just do it" (in Cantonese: "Jiujouh"), as both JBS and Eddie told me, is the spirit of their group—just do it, despite possible jeers that no one will listen to or buy their music.

While many Cantopop and Canto-rap lyrics have mixed in some English words or sometimes even English sentences (e.g. Fama; see analysis in Lin 2011), it is groundbreaking in the music scene of Hong Kong to have a group that dares to alternate between whole stanzas of English lyrics and whole stanzas of Cantonese lyrics. The fact that *24 Herbs* dares to adopt a multi-languaged lyrical style is revolutionary in Hong Kong, even though this has been seen as commercially unwise. As Eddie shared with me in an interview, if they had put market considerations first, they would not have done this at all. However, for them, they just want to present their most comfortable selves as they are: they are free to rap the way they feel most true to their feelings. It seems that there is no self-imposed/ market-driven artificial language policy regulating their lyrical practice. If market preference is their concern then they should have rapped purely in one language (Cantonese, as most Hong Kong artists do) or even better, targeted it at an even bigger market, e.g. to rap in Mandarin Chinese, and go for the China market. In JBS's words, "With music and hip hop, we can't rap something not close to our heart; we cannot fake it; it might happen one day, who knows, we might be doing some Mandarin songs, but it'll come naturally and we can only rap what we feel can most represent ourselves and our feelings."

Indeed, it is this open, uncontrived attitude of *24 Herbs* artists that makes this "organic" hip-hop group such a good window on to spontaneous, evolving, hip-hop heteroglossic lyrical practice. The *24 Herbs* artists seem to be engaged in spontaneous meaning-making drawing on whatever linguistic resources they find best suited to expressing their ideas and feelings, uninhibited by conventional language boundaries (e.g. Cantonese, English). This bold lyrical practice in translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Canagarajah 2011) seems to be rooted in their strong (implicit) heteroglossic sense of community: they are *24 Herbs*—diverse in their voices and yet organically cohesive as a community banding together to make good hip-hop music for audiences in Hong Kong and beyond, just like the local Hong Kong street herbal drink ("*24 herbs*"—made of diverse elements but all conspiring to make a good relaxing drink) from which they have drawn inspiration for their group name.

This attitude is well expressed in their song, "Jiu Jouh" (Just do it!). As forcefully expressed in the chorus of this song:

照做　我有我地自己既路
[Just do it! We have our own way!]

照做　我有我地自己態度
[Just do it! We have our own attitude!]

Or in Drunk's rap in the song:
Jiu Jouh is the way to go!
Jiu Jouh is the only road!

Or in GS' rap in the song:

You got to do it day by day, everyday *JIU JOUH!*

What kind of attitude is this? I would argue that this is nothing short of a revolutionary attitude among existing music groups in Hong Kong. It seems that despite jeers about their lack of commercial calculation, despite non-comprehension from some bystanders about their "unwise" lyrical practice, they insist on their "togetherness in difference"—they are *24 Herbs*, both diverse and together as a community.

This attitude speaks volumes about their (largely implicit and uncalculated) artistic project of creating a Cantonese and English (and both local and trans-local) heteroglossic lyrical, discursive, and social space. This has never happened before in Hong Kong. This space, born of the artists' unspoken idealistic/utopian vision and mission, flowing from their hearts/feelings, rather than from their brains/planning, also implicitly both models and projects the possible lyrical and social spaces that audiences in Hong Kong and beyond can aspire to create: togetherness in difference, respect in diversity, and making music and making fun in multi-voicedness—each speaking in their own voice/language and each respecting one another despite their difference. A group that performs music and lyrics with such heteroglossic boldness must also believe in a(n) (imagined) listening public that can be as heteroglossic as themselves.

7.5.2   24 Herbs' Public Pedagogy: Modelling and Teaching a New Attitude—Heteroglossic Translanguaging

In their straight up, uncompromising attitude in speaking from their selves in different tongues/voices as a group, *24 Herbs* are both modelling and teaching a new attitude and a new feeling. In this connection, it is useful to turn to Raymond Williams' notion of "structure of feeling" and his observation that some writers can be ahead of their times and taking their work outside of the ordinary structure of feeling of their era to teach a new attitude.

If many of Hong Kong's popular music practices have been critiqued as largely repeating tired themes in their lyrical content (see Chu's critique of Cantopop 2007), this monotony underscores not only its content but also its lyrical form: more or less Cantonese-based lyrics. However, *24 Herbs* seem to be taking their artistic works outside of this ordinary structure of feeling and teaching a new attitude and a new feeling. What is this new attitude and new feeling about? It seems that *24 Herbs* might be anticipating and teaching a new heteroglossic attitude and feeling that Hong Kong is just evolving to embrace, despite recurrent social and

linguistic tensions among different groups, e.g. Mandarin-speaking Mainlanders, Cantonese-speaking local Hong Kongers, English-fluent Chinese returnees from Canada, Australia, Indonesia, and so on. This new attitude and new feeling can be seen in their song "Do You Know Me" in their 2011 album, *Bring it On*:

Phat:

想知道我哋點解 popular
[(You) want to know why we're popular?]

就等我話你知
[So, let me tell you]

廿四喺乜嚟架
[what 24 means]

由06 年開始到到依家
[From (20)06 to now]

Arrr 廿四味玩最地道嘻哈
[Arrr…*24 herbs* plays the most authentic hip hop]

證據確鑿
[The evidence is clear]

香港Hip Hop唔只一隊農夫
[(In the) Hong Kong Hip Hop scene (there) isn't only one group—Fama]

佢哋咁紅要多得志雲大師照顧
[They're so popular because they've earned favours with Master Stephen {Stephen Chan, a former high-level manager of Hong Kong Television Broadcasting Company (TVB)}]

我硬頸唔認命唔肯睇佢哋台戲
[I'm stubborn; (I) don't accept my fate; (and I) don't want to play along with them]

"喂衰仔米缸就嚟無米喇阿肥"
["Hey, poor boy, your rice bowl is going empty now, Ah Phat!"]

牛皮燈籠點極唔明俗稱一條懵炳
[(A) leather lantern can never light up; in slang they call (me) a dim bulb]

…

…

狂人一號唔扮深奧用呢個速度繼續 flow
[Crazy man number one, (I) don't fake deep, (I'll) use this speed, continue to flow]

越rap越燥呢一種態度我唔想 let it go
[the more I rap the more I get hot, this attitude, I don't want to let it go]

一係唔做一做就係要做到最好
[If we do it, we'll do it to the best]

一係唔玩一玩梗係要玩到最 pro
[If we play it we play it to the most pro(fessional)]

從來冇諗過喺音樂身上面攞著數
[(I) have never wanted to profit from music]

音樂為我帶嚟嘅快樂係用錢買唔到
[The satisfaction music has brought me happiness that money can never buy]

你照做我照做大家行自己條路
[You just do it, I just do it, we just all go our own ways]

Hip Hop 帶領我遊遍世界每一個國度
[Hip Hop has taken me to every corner of the world]

從 east side 直落 dirty south
[from east side to dirty south]
…
…
Ghost Style:
We're right up here in God we trust
We're big this year like D-size cups
I see supply and demand and link them up
We keep you on your feet like kids with guns
We're in love with the process
The Music
That keeps you in the mood man
To lose it
We got 2 words that's "do it"
Classic rap tracks is my influence
People in the crowd they do it like us
Put your finger in the air ain't givin' a fuck
…
…
We know You
You know Me
GeeStyles on the mic
Feelin' the buzz
deliver angry on the beat
'cause we got Mad Love

K.I.T.:
要你知道我哋就係叫做廿四
[(I) want you to know that we are 24]

我哋唔會放棄你嘅冷嘲我當係放屁
[We won't give up; your jeers I take as farts!]

講到香港 hip hop 就會講到我哋
[(When people) speak of Hong Kong hip hop (they) will speak about us!]

你唔抵得只可以埋怨自己唔爭氣
[(If) you don't like it you can only blame yourself!]

講respect 我一直尊重別人
[Speaking of respect, I've always respected others.]

你越踩我哋呢班人越行
[The more you criticize us the more we're popular]
…
…
我叫 K-I-T do you know me
[I'm called K-I-T; do you know me?]

你仲未知等我再講大聲 d
[If you still don't know let me say it louder once more]

踏著拍子利用手中呢支 MIC
[Stepping the beats, using the Mic in my hand]

要你班 hater 收聲請你慳 d
[(I) want you haters to get back!]

我想點唔洗你講我自己有分數
[What I want I know, no need for you to tell me!]

有太多人講一套做著另一套
[Too many people just speaking one thing and doing another thing!]

我知道你無料到又唔夠膽去表露
[I know you are shallow but lack the guts to say so]

我哋廿四味堅持自己一貫態度
[We are 24 we've always kept our attitude]

Drunk:
We destroying the past; Yo bringing it fast!!
The future the development!! The market to the masses!!
24 Herbs of mice and men yeah,
We're just a collective, a cartel to the end!!
Snake eyes like rolling the dice
You take a chance…big city…bright lights!
Be water my friend, do you know me?
Worldwide tribe, blessed and peace!

Ghost Style:
I'm an alien, check out the bloodline.
Rappers wanna step, step on me I'm a Landmine.
I blast minds to particles.
Got you like a bomb vest.
Use hit men skill sets.
I'm the mind terrorist.
Call the Exorcist, 'cause I'm possessed by the Ghost
and you can't do shit.
Oh!
To the most
Suicidal MC on the MIC
24 Herbs Yo!
Do You Know Me?

Chorus:
We are 24
We are 24
We are 24
We are 24
We are 24
We are 24
24 Herbs

Ghost Style:
People in the crowd they do it like us.
Put your fingers in the air ain't givin' a fuck.
…
…
We know You!
You know Me!
GeeStyles on the mic
Feelin' the buzz
deliver angry on the beat
'cause we got Mad Love.

The translanguaging poetics of *24 Herbs* can be well illustrated in the name of this song: "Do you know me"? At one level, this utterance indexes the artist's question about recognition—the artist demanding recognition from the audience. However, "Do you know me" also subtly indexes the familiar Cantonese "vulgar-speech" expression, "Diu neih louh mei" (literally meaning: "Fuck your mother"). As one speaks "do you know me" faster and faster, there is little audible difference between "Doyouknowme" and "diuneihlouhmei," with the vocalic values of the vowels of the different syllables all reduced to that of the unstressed vowel, the schwa, and the sounds coalescing into a phonologically unified but semantically double-voiced form (something like: "Djunalami"). As JBS unpacked this double voicing for me, he spat out this string faster and faster, "Do you know me? Do YOU KNOW ME?? DIU NEIH LOUH MEI! Do you know me?! Djunalami?!" The meanings of the two strings are thus seamlessly co-voiced in the flow of the same rap line, all in the pragmatic act of the artists demanding "recognition" from the audience, in terms of both recognition of the artists' identity and simultaneously recognition of the wordplay and fun that the artists invoke with this double-voiced poetic line.

This clever double voicing simultaneously evokes structures of feelings of glossy metropolitan English-speaking subjects ("Do you know me?!") and grassroots local Hong Kong Cantonese-speaking subjects ("Diu neih louh mei?!). If we compare the different design possibilities for expressing similar propositional content, we shall see what heteroglossic translanguaging might look like. For instance, let us compare the following three possible variants of this expression:

Variant 1:   Do you know me? DO YOU KNOW ME? Fuck your mother DO YOU KNOW ME?!
Variant 2:   Do you know me? DO YOU KNOW ME? Diu neih louh mei DO YOU KNOW ME?!
Variant 3:   Neihsik-mh-sik-dakngoh? NEIH SIK-MH-SIK-DAK NGOH? Diu neih louh mei NEIH SIK-MH-SIK-DAK NGOH?!

Variant 1 could well have been said by a streetwise youngster in any part of the English-speaking world, such as New York, and it does not give a characteristic Hong Kong "feel". If the artists use Variant 2, it somehow does not feel characteristically Hong Kong, either, as a local Hong Kong youngster usually would not use so many English words and might do just straight up Cantonese swearing (i.e. Variant 3).

Thus, Variant 1 seems to be communicating more of a Western street-talk feel and Variant 3 communicating more of a Hong Kong local street-talk feel. Variant 2 is theoretically possible and an example of code switching, but it is not heteroglossic (see discussion below). What the artists are doing in uttering the name of this song seems to be heteroglossic translanguaging to the highest degree. Without ostensibly "switching codes" (in the sense of "switching off" one language momentarily and "switching on" another language momentarily, as in Variant 2), they successfully destabilize the conventional boundaries between Cantonese and English—it is simultaneously both English and Cantonese *within the boundaries of the same utterance*.

For Bakhtin, an utterance is heteroglossic when there are two different (potentially conflicting) points of views on the world juxtaposed within the limits of the same utterance or same word (i.e. no formal boundary, unlike the usual case in code mixing or code switching). These two potentially conflicting points of view on the world (or styles, social languages, voices, accents, sociopolitical ideologies, worldviews, and consciousnesses—Bakhtin uses these terms interchangeably) are "brought into dialogue" and "inter-animate" and "inter-illuminate" each other (Bakhtin 1935/1981, pp. 304–308). Bakhtin calls this utterance or word a "double-accented, double-styled hybrid construction" (ibid, p. 304) which is artistically created by the writer/artist.

In Hong Kong, Cantonese "chou-hau" (vulgar speech) is a distinctive social language seen as representing the speech style of the local Cantonese grassroots people. It is a speaking style generally stigmatized in mainstream public discourse (e.g. no songs or movies can be aired on radio/TV with "chou-hau" speech uncensored or intact). LMF, precisely because of their uncompromising attitude (maintaining this social language and style in their lyrics), had gone into a battle with mainstream media institutions, and this had partially led to their disbanding in 2003. *24 Herbs*, with a much more hybrid, heteroglossic lyrical practice than LMF, cannot be pigeonholed as "chou-hau singers", an identity that was given to their LMF predecessors by the public media. In contrast, English has always occupied a high position in the linguistic hierarchy in Hong Kong (Lin 1996; Lin and Luk 2005). Even English slang or vulgar words (e.g. "fuck") can come across as relatively less provocative or stigmatized than Cantonese "chou-hau" in Hong Kong mainstream society.

The heteroglossic translanguaging practice of *24 Herbs* in the utterance "do you know me" thus seems to also serve a good purpose here: it does not come across as explicitly "vulgar" and yet the utterance is "accented" in Bakhtin's heteroglossic sense: as it is spat out, it is "accented" by "low" Cantonese "vulgar speech". Conversely, if their English sounds too "high", foreign, or remote from local feelings, this "accenting" works in the other direction too: these rappers are not seen as remote from street folks; they also want to claim that they are from the streets (after all, *24 herbs* is a street drink), and speak the grassroots people's social language: Cantonese "chou-hau". This is what Bakhtin calls a new voice, a new style, a new multi-languaged consciousness (and I would add: a new identity) which is born of the "dialogizing" (bringing into dialogue) of two conflicting languages,

voices, styles, accents, worldviews, or consciousnesses into mutual inter-animation and inter-illumination.

Heteroglossic and translanguaging analytical lenses thus can help us appreciate the lyrical practice of *24 Herbs*. More important, perhaps, is the artists' conscious effort to create new multi-languaged voices, styles, and identities. They simply refuse to be typecast as a descendent of LMF (although inheriting elements/former members of LMF) or alternatively a group of foreign rappers. In their stylization practice (Blommaert and Varis 2011), they seem to be creating new hybrid styles for themselves, without fitting into any existing styles. This conscious (and risky) effort in creating new "neither just English nor just Cantonese" and "neither just foreign nor just local" voices also seem to be modelling a new attitude and teaching a new structure of feeling: a "feel" of both local and trans-local, both Cantonese and English-speaking, both suave educated cosmopolitan middle-class, and street-wise vulgar grassroots Cantonese Hong Kong. This new structure of feeling can be taught not only to Hong Kongers in Hong Kong but also to Hong Kongers outside of Hong Kong. As JBS said, "Kids in Hong Kong can relate to this; kids in New York, Chinatown, Australia, Canada, they can relate to this."

After all, as JBS asserted, "Everybody speaks English in Hong Kong, right?" What JBS means, to me, is that every Hong Konger speaks "some English", and this some English already qualifies us as "English speakers", just as every Hong Konger speaks some Cantonese, and this some Cantonese already qualifies us as Cantonese speakers. Indeed, in heteroglossic translanguaging, the conventional boundaries between Cantonese and English are destabilized, if not completely dissolved. If we can visualize Cantonese and English not as two separate languages (as we conventionally do), but as design resources or linguistic yarns available to the artists to weave a story, then we can appreciate JBS's recognition that everybody speaks (some) English (and also some Cantonese) in Hong Kong.

When *24 Herbs* artists rap in whole stanzas of English and whole stanzas of Cantonese, they also seem to believe in the possibility of reaching out to a listening public that can appreciate their music and lyrics no matter how much/little English/Cantonese they master. This means knowing how much/little English/Cantonese does not really matter—one does not need to understand whole stanzas of Cantonese or whole stanzas of English in order to enjoy and appreciate the song, as long as one can recognize, grasp, and enjoy this heteroglossic multi-voiced and multi-languaged "feel". This imagination of such a heteroglossic listening public is in itself revolutionary (and risky): it projects a new vision and teaches a new local-and-trans-local, cosmopolitan-and-streetwise feeling.

7.5.3   *The Medium is the Attitude! 24 Herbs' (Implicit) Public Pedagogy*

Why are *24 Herbs* doing this? It seems that it is first and foremost for fun. There is a lot of pleasure in this multi-voiced translanguaging hip-hop practice. The artists

obviously derive a lot of pleasure designing these heteroglossic raps and playing with their multi-voiced, multi-styled poetics—the art of designing witty, pleasurable verbal art forms. However, amidst all this heteroglossic practice, are there tensions and conflicts, and what kind of "glue" holds these diverse members together? It seems that the glue might be a shared passion for the music and the fun of doing these witty, artful raps. The glue might also be their shared values in hip-hop communities; for instance, respect—respect for diverse voices, languages, and styles; respect for different histories, (social) languages, ethnicities and cultures. One of the songs in their 2008 debut album has the title, "Respect tou PK!" (RTPK, which also is similar to "RTHK"—Radio Television Hong Kong, a mainstream media institution in Hong Kong). It means "Respect to the fullest!" PK is a shortened form of the Cantonese "chou-hau" expression, "pouk gaai!" meaning "drop dead!" However, the expression can also be used as an intensifier (in "low" Cantonese speech style); one can say, "leng tou pouk gaai!" ("fucking beautiful"). In designing the name of the song as "Respect tou PK!" the artists seem to be both modelling and teaching a new attitude, not just the attitude of respect (as this is not new in hip-hop communities and culture) but more importantly, and implicitly perhaps, the attitude of multiple voices and diverse (potentially conflicting) (social) languages/groups expressing themselves all at the same time, and yet respecting each other, illuminating and animating each other. This attitude is communicated both at the level of content and at the level of lyrical form: heteroglossic translanguaging—in designing the multi-voiced/multi-styled/multi-languaged hybrid verbal form that the song takes: "Respect tou PK!" It is an example where we can borrow Marshall McLuhan's famous saying: the medium *is* the message. We can add that the medium *is* the attitude. It can also be seen as a form of public pedagogy which is carried out outside of traditional education institutions (Carrington and Luke 1997), as it implicitly teaches to the public a new point of view on the world, a new feeling, a new value, a new consciousness, and models new ways of speaking and being in the world—new identities.

In writing this analysis, I do not mean that the artists are actually thinking of these reflexively. Their lyrical practice/text is also open to alternative interpretations/readings, and indeed, it will be important to analyse how *24 Herbs* is received by their fans and "haters" alike. Their reception, I believe, will be equally diverse and full of tensions and conflicts. By providing one possible reading of their lyrical poetic practice, it is my hope that this chapter will recognize *24 Herbs* as hip-hop music makers and vision makers—teaching a new attitude and a new vision about how we can live together in respect and in diversity amidst all the social tensions and conflicts that characterize so much of contemporary life and society.

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Chapter 8
Learning a Supervernacular: Textspeak in a South African Township

Jan Blommaert and Fie Velghe

Abstract This chapter engages with an ethnography of learning, i.e., a moment in which ethnography becomes an active learning process of a particular linguistic and literacy instrument, 'textspeak' in a local variety of the supervernacular of mobile phone texting code in a township around Cape Town. In the context of research on the use of mobile phones, the ethnographer found herself frequently in the role of apprentice vis-à-vis the informants, and this chapter documents one such instance in which the researcher is being taught the rules and features of locally relevant and valid 'textspeak'.

Keywords Textspeak · Supervernacular · Enregisterment · Voice

8.1   Introduction: Learning Voice

In spite of strong and widespread beliefs to the contrary, people never learn 'a language'. They always learn specific and specialized bits of language, sufficient to grant them voice—"the capacity to make oneself understood" by others (Blommaert 2005a, p. 255). They learn voice by processes of enregistering semiotic forms—putting forms in a kind of order that generates conventionalized indexical meanings—and such processes of enregisterment involve complex and delicate orientations to existing or perceived norms (Agha 2007; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Jörgensen et al 2011; Juffermans and Van der Aa 2011 provide an overview and discussion). We encounter the 'glossic' elements here that are central in Bakhtin's work: specific and specialized resources that are formed by the social history of its users and can, when deployed, articulate social positions in interaction with other such 'glossic'

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resources. People's repertoires, therefore, can be seen as an organized ('ordered') complex of semiotic traces of power: the semiotic resources they gathered in the course of their life are *things they needed* in order to be seen by others as a 'normal', understandable social being (Blommaert and Backus 2011).

Such learning processes, as we know, develop in a variety of learning environments and through a variety of learning modes, ranging from the tightly regimented and uniform learning modes that characterize schools and other formal learning environments, to fleeting and ephemeral 'encounters' with language in informal learning environments—as when a tourist learns the local word for beer in a foreign country, returning home with a microscopic amount of foreign language along with the other souvenirs of the trip. Increasingly of course, the intensive use of online and mobile communication technologies opens a vast space of opportunities for such forms of informal learning, offering users access to vocabularies, registers, genres and styles, as well as cultural templates for practices (see e.g., Gee 2003; Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh 2009; Varis and Wang 2011).

The latter kinds of informal learning will be central to our concern here and there are several reasons for this. The first has already been announced: we see a tremendous expansion of informal learning environments and practices and an increasing number of researchers are directing their attention towards it. The second, the very nature of these modes of learning, prompts us to revisit learning as an activity; the Vygotskian framework in which learning is both socioculturally and historically contextualized and mediated through instruments, objects and worlds of reference, appears to have a second wind. And the third, there is the reflexive dimension, in which our own scholarly modes of learning become more relevant as themes for inquiry than perhaps before. Our own knowledge procedures are, in effect, mostly grounded in informal learning practices, especially when we engage directly with informants in the field (cf Blommaert and Dong 2010; Velghe 2011), but similarly when we engage with people and their messages in the virtual world. So here is a case for taking informal learning seriously in an attempt to provide a more solid grounding for our own knowledge, and ultimately, our own voice.

In this chapter, we will focus on the way in which a woman we call Linda acquires, maintains and deploys a 'supervernacular' (Blommaert 2011), and how she does this in conditions of extreme marginalization. The supervernacular in question is a variety of 'textspeak', a mobile phone texting code used in the Wesbank township near Cape Town, South Africa. As a variety of textspeak, the code used by Linda bears the usual characteristics of abbreviations, homophonic writing, emoticons and so forth; it is one of these extremely dynamic codes that characterize today's new communicative environments. Linda, however, faces major problems: the macro-contextual circumstances of poverty, unemployment and social marginalization turn various forms of literacy into rare commodities; and to complicate things, her capacity for writing and reading is minimal; she is in all likelihood dyslexic. Notwithstanding these tremendous constraints, Linda uses textspeak intensively, drawing on an intricate scaffolding system for literacy usage she developed herself. In discussing the case of Linda's use of textspeak, we will also have to

consider the way in which the ethnographer's own learning practices encountered Linda's, and how this led to a new understanding of what textspeak is, and what it means in communities such as the one we investigate. Linda's case, thus, compelled us towards reflexivity.

Let us start by preparing the canvas and provide some background about the research on which we draw here and on some of our conceptual tools. We will first look into the contextual factors that define Linda's life: the township where she lives, her own background and the importance of mobile phones in her community. After that, we will turn to Linda's own practices of learning and using textspeak.

8.2 Texting in the Township

8.2.1 The Field

Wesbank is situated on the dry and sandy *Cape Flats*, the so-called dumping grounds of apartheid, 27 kilometres out of the centre of Cape Town and surrounded by many other apartheid townships such as Khayelitsha, Nyanga, Crossroads and Delft. Wesbank is by all standards a very peripheral community (Blommaert et al. 2005; Newton 2008), secluded and bordered by a highway, two very busy municipal roads and a wetland nature reserve, and located 12 kilometres away from the closest job opportunities. Although officially recognized and named as *Wesbank*, the name of the community is nowhere to be found, neither in local roadmaps, on traffic signs nor on the World Wide Web.

Wesbank was built in 1999 as part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a South African socio-economic policy framework which the first democratic government in South Africa designed and implemented after the abolition of apartheid in 1994 in order to tackle the economic, spatial and racial legacy of the apartheid era and to improve government services and basic living conditions for the poor. The housing of the RDP aimed to provide 1 million subsidized houses before the year 2000, as a response to an ever-growing crisis in housing due to internal migrations from rural areas and *homelands* into the cities. The building of the Wesbank community was the first post-apartheid housing project in the area of Cape Town that was not segregated along racial lines but was intended to give home to deprived people, irrespective of colour and descent. This first so-called rainbow community had to give a home to 29,000 residents in 5,149 fully subsidized houses, reallocating people who had never owned a house before or who had been living in informal settlements for most of their lives. The actual number of residents in Wesbank is estimated to be much higher, as extended families live together on one plot, and people have built shacks in the backyards of the houses. Due to the socio-economic instead of racial criteria in the selection of the inhabitants, the population in Wesbank is very diverse (Blommaert et al. 2005). An estimated 73 % of the population is "coloured" and Afrikaans speaking, 25 % is Xhosa and the remaining

2 % are Whites, Asians and foreigners coming from other African countries such as Zimbabwe, Congo and Somalia (Dyers 2008). The houses have an average size of 25 square metres, are built with brick walls and corrugated iron roofs and are not insulated. Every house has a living room, a very small bathroom with a toilet and a washing table and one bedroom.

Recent unemployment rates for Wesbank are not available. The latest report dates from 2001 and mentions 60 % of unemployment amongst the economically active population. This figure even increases when considering women (70.4 %) and Black people (76 %) (Nina and Lomofsky 2001). Although more and more people have found their way into informal sector employment and welfare systems, such as child support, disability support, support for the elderly, etc., one estimates that nowadays the unemployment rates are even higher. According to Newton, 77 % of those living in Wesbank have to survive on a monthly income of R400 (approximately € 40) or less (Newton 2008).

Basic service delivery is minimal. Although two were planned, there is only one high school in Wesbank, insufficient for the number of teenagers in the area. There are three primary schools, although according to the official South African norm there should be five. For 3 years, Wesbank has had its own day clinic, but the clinic is only open for babies, children and patients with tuberculosis (TB) and human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS). For the last 2 years, Wesbank has had its own taxi (private minibus) rank and a multi-purpose centre. Apart from *shebeens* (illegal bars) and many informal small shops, there is only one (relatively expensive) supermarket in the community. Gangsterism and crime rates are very high. Nevertheless, the police station responsible for the area is about 8 km away.

8.2.2   Methodology and Data

The data for this chapter have been collected during two separate ethnographic fieldwork periods in the community of Wesbank, from January to May 2011 and November 2011 to March 2012, with a special focus on cell phone use and cell phone literacy amongst middle-aged women[1]. The study included face-to-face interviews with 20 different women, all lasting more than an hour and held in the houses of the people interviewed. Other data were collected by handing out questionnaires in the high school and one primary school in Wesbank. The questionnaire consisted of two parts, one part to be filled in by the learners and the other part by the (grand)mothers. Eighty out of 160 questionnaires were returned. Six interviewees kept a mobile phone diary, in which they noted all the text message and phone calls they made and received during the course of one week. Text and chat

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[1] The term 'middle aged' in Wesbank is difficult to define or outline, as many 40-year-old women have grandchildren and are effectively 'retired' due to chronic unemployment. Most of the women questioned were between the age of 24 and 60 years, with an average age of 47.8.

messages from residents, daily observations, informal conversations and fieldwork notes form the rest of the data used for this chapter.

Most of the data used here however, are instant chat messages between the second author and Linda, a 25-year-old female inhabitant of Wesbank, complemented by written words and sentences, collected during two writing and reading sessions the second author held with Linda. All chat conversations were held on MXIT, a very popular mobile phone instant messaging programme (for more information on MXIT, see Chigona et al. 2009; Chigona and Chigona 2008; also Deumert and Masinyana 2008). A long interview with her mother and with Linda herself and observation of her texting behaviour also form part of the data.

8.2.3 Introducing Linda

Linda is a 25-year-old coloured and Afrikaans-speaking resident of Wesbank. She lives together with her 3-year-old daughter, her mother and her brother and little sister. Linda went to the high school in Wesbank, as she was 12 years old when her family moved to their RDP house in the community. As early as the first year of primary school, teachers expressed their concerns about Linda's writing and reading skills. Those concerns, however, never caused specialized and individual follow-up, either at home or at school. Once in high school, Linda's literacy level started causing serious problems. Linda could not absorb the graphic word images she was taught, and she could not read written texts. She did give evidence of having memorized certain word images and thus getting it right occasionally. If tested, there is little doubt that Linda would be diagnosed with a severe form of dyslexia.

During our fieldwork interaction with Linda, we got evidence of this. Linda's literacy practices outside textspeak seemed to be even more restricted than her scaffolded textspeak repertoire. Asked if she could write down the days of the week, she could only, very laboriously, spell three of the 7 days 'correctly'. During a job interview, she did not manage to simply copy words with pen and paper from a blackboard, and consequently missed out on the job opportunity. During the dictation exercise we did with Linda we observed several times that words that she could not get 'right' with pen and paper were typed out correctly in textspeak on her mobile phone. Textspeak offered Linda a way to circumvent her struggle with the sequence of vowels in a word, since textspeak abbreviations tend to mainly leave out the vowels. *Môre* (tomorrow) was spelled as *mroe* on paper and as *mre* with the keypad for example. *Warm* was written down as *wram* but typed out as *wrm*.

Linda's spoken repertoire was, by contrast, relatively well developed. She could display multi-generic fluency in the local variety of Afrikaans—her 'native' language—and local vernacular English was also attested in her speech. We did note, however, that Linda's fluency in spoken 'monoglot' English, was remarkably low, compared to other subjects in Linda's age category in the township. Linda had problems sustaining an 'English-only' conversation, for instance, and felt compelled to switch back and forth between her variety of Afrikaans and vernacular English in

such events. Linda's mother, at that time involved in the organization of adult education in the community, forced her daughter to follow extra literacy classes after school hours. For 4 months, Linda did follow the extra classes, and both she and her mother had the feeling that she was benefiting from the extra attention. Her marks at school improved and she struggled less with reading and writing. When her mother had to stay at home because of pregnancy, however, Linda lost interest and stopped attending the courses.

At school, Linda tried to manage and keep up with the help of her friends, who would read things out for her and correct her writing as much as possible. Frustrations and a loss of motivation, however, made her drop out of high school before reaching the final matriculation year. Linda has not had a real job since then. She sometimes gets interim jobs for a couple of days, but she never manages to keep these jobs for a long time. Lately she decided to follow her mother's example, applying for a home caring course, and she is now waiting for an answer to her application. Currently she sometimes replaces her mother in her home caring duties, taking care of patients her mother used to take care of.

8.2.4 Mobile Phones in Wesbank

Now that Linda has been introduced, let us have a look at the general patterns of use of mobile phones in an area such as Wesbank. Mobile phone penetration in South Africa is the highest on the African continent, standing well over 100 mobile phones per 100 inhabitants (ITU 2010). This high uptake rate has been confirmed during fieldwork in Wesbank. Of the people who filled in the questionnaires, 83 % possessed a mobile phone; only a small 3.4 % of those questioned had never possessed a mobile phone. The remaining 13.6 % had had a mobile phone before, but it had got lost, stolen or broken, while financial circumstances precluded buying a new phone. Only one out of the 20 interviewees still had a (prepaid) landline connection in the house, and was using it in combination with a mobile phone. Others had never had a landline or had cancelled the connection as soon as they got a cell phone.

The high uptake of cell phones is an example of how even in impoverished areas like Wesbank, people with modest means manage to take part in the new communication environment. Thanks to the marketing of very basic but cheap mobile phones, the introduction of prepaid non-subscription plans, the *caller party pays* system (Minges 1999) and the possibility of purchasing airtime in very small amounts, nowadays even the people at the bottom of the income pyramid have and use mobile phones. For the first time in history, they can take part in the telecommunications society, which, according to Castells, Fernandez-Ardevol, Linchuan Qiu and Sey (2006), dramatically changes the ways people communicate.

The general impoverishment of Wesbank seems not to be an obstacle to having and using a phone. Asked for negative consequences of having a cell phone, only 10 % of the interviewees and people who filled in the questionnaires mentioned the extra financial burden a cell phone generates. Impoverishment and financial

constraints do, however, very clearly influence the use of the phone. People try to limit and control their cell phone costs in all kinds of ways. Many residents have more than one subscriber identity module (SIM) card from different providers; depending on whom they are calling and what time of the day or the week it is, they switch SIM cards to cut costs. 'Please call me' messages, a free service offered by all mobile phone carriers, allows sending a short message service (SMS) text message when you run out of airtime to any other cell phone number, with a request to call back. Those free messages, often a daily limited amount of them, read 'please call me' and feature the cell phone number of the sender. For many interviewees, sending a 'please call me' message was the only thing they could do on their phones.

People top up for very small amounts of money. Top-up cards for R5 and R10 (€ 0.5 and € 1, respectively) are the most commonly purchased vouchers. Airtime is only purchased when there is money available and often lasts for only one or two short calls. Between two top-ups, residents seek recourse to the 'please call me' messages and the free messages or call minutes that mobile phone carriers sometimes offer. Exploration of features on the phone that are not free of charge is very limited. Voicemail is hardly used, as no one wants to run the risk of calling someone in vain and having to pay for it. Mobile Internet is hardly explored, out of both financial constraints and Internet illiteracy. Although most of the interviewees have never 'seen' the Internet, mobile or not, or have even never used a computer, they all have high but very unspecific expectations about what the Internet can bring them with regard to information, help, job and other opportunities.

Mere device illiteracy among the middle-aged women interviewed and questioned is very high. Eight out of the 20 interviewees did not know how to send a text message and one-third of the youngsters questioned said they would like to teach their parents how to send a text message. The interest in 'cell phone courses' to learn to work with basic features such as sending text messages was high among most of the residents interviewed.

8.3   Learning a Supervernacular as a 'Substitute' Language

Now that we know the setting and the scenery, we can take a closer look at the ways in which Linda acquired textspeak, and how she uses it with her friends.

8.3.1   Linda 'can't read and write'

Sitting bored and jobless at home, Linda spends most of her time on MXIT, chatting with friends from inside and outside the community. Friends of hers introduced her to the instant messaging programme in 2011, after a friend gave her a mobile phone as a present. Her mother complains that Linda is literally day and night on MXIT,

ignoring the domestic tasks that she is in charge of and forgetting about the fact that she is supposed to look for a job.

Due to negative press coverage over the years and to the urban legends spawned by this, MXIT has a bad reputation, especially among parents. People stigmatizing MXIT connect the programme to potential substance addiction, abuse, antisocial behaviour, adultery and exuberant sexual behaviour. They regard it as a free zone for unsafe behaviour, rudeness and pornography, and express fears that the text-speak used on these communication platforms will 'pollute' the youngsters' capabilities to read and write in 'standard' varieties of their language. As MXIT is the cheapest way of communicating over the phone (chatting on MXIT is significantly cheaper than SMS messaging, respectively 0.01 ZAR and 0.80 ZAR per message), the instant messaging service has become the most important means of digital communication for most youngsters (and adults as well) in South Africa and one of the most important and time-consuming leisure activities. By October 2011, there were more than 10 million active MXIT users in the country (World Wide Worx and Fuseware 2011).

Linda's friends introduced her to MXIT; they assisted her in downloading the application on her phone and are still assisting Linda when it comes to her reading and writing on the instant messaging programme. We observed that Linda's textspeak is done in a local vernacular variety of Afrikaans with frequent shifts into English and an abundant use of emoticons. During the first weeks of chatting on MXIT, Linda constantly carried a piece of paper with her on which her cousin wrote down the most common abbreviations, emoticons, contractions and number homophones used in textspeak.

Linda's use of literacy on MXIT is obviously scaffolded, and we will return to this in greater detail below. At this point, we can observe that Linda was not an 'autonomous learner' of textspeak. Her learning trajectory was *collective* and proceeded with the vigorous support and intervention of several friends. Other people 'gave' knowledge and skills to Linda, for her to use in specific ways. We are observing here a Bakhtinian phenomenon in its purest form: the development of a 'glottic' resource through social and collective forces. The process of learning we observe here is also a Vygotskian phenomenon in its purest form. Textspeak itself is not an isolated object of learning, but in Linda's case, its acquisition went hand in hand with the further development of pen-and-paper writing and reading. This point will be developed further below, and it is interesting for several reasons.

Linda grew up in circumstances and areas that are hardly stimulating for literacy practices. In areas such as Wesbank, it is very rare to find reading material in the house or for people to read in their free time. Asked if they read or write in their leisure time, 66 % of the women who returned the questionnaires claimed to read sometimes, but more than half of those only read the Bible every now and then, mostly in Afrikaans. Newspapers and magazines were not commonly read, and 'Die Son', a sensational tabloid with a lot of pictures, was the most popular newspaper among the middle-aged women interviewed. Of the youngsters who filled in the questionnaires, 70 % said they "sometimes read in their free time" but only 10 % of them claimed to have read something the day before they filled in the questionnaire.

Compared to reading and writing on paper, a lot more reading and writing is done on the mobile phone, especially amongst youngsters. In spite of the moral panics and public anxieties (see Vosloo 2007 for a critical approach on the effects of texting on literacy), people in the new communicative environment shaped by information and communications technology (ICT) are reading and writing more than ever before. Text messages, instant messaging, chatting, blogging, tweeting, Facebook, etc. all form platforms of literacy and literacy acquisition, although research has shown that most do not think of their electronic or digital communications as 'real' writing or reading (see Lenhart et al. 2008). The answer in one of the questionnaires "I don't read or write, I'm always on MXIT" demonstrates this traditional printed and pen-and-paper-centred view of literacy practices. If one spends the whole day on MXIT, one is actually reading and writing non-stop, immersing oneself in a literacy environment that probably would have been much more limited without the existence of the mobile phone. According to Banda (cited in Deumert and Masinyana 2008), SMS writing constitutes an important form of everyday literacy in South Africa, especially in the metropolitan areas.

This is the local world of language, knowledge and meaning in which Linda's practices develop and make sense. We now begin to see her as a special case. In Linda's practices, we see that textspeak is *not* separated from pen-and-paper writing, but that both forms of literacy development proceed in parallel. Since she started being active on MXIT, her pen-and-paper writing *also* increased and acquired specific functions, thus creating a more complex, intertwined and layered literacy learning environment in which pen-and-paper literacy is a critical support infrastructure for textspeak. Textspeak, consequently, is not something that is *harmful* to her 'ordinary' writing skills; it actually stimulates and expands them within the limits of her capacity. For someone who was qualified as near illiterate due to her disability, textspeak proved to be an instrument for considerable progress and self-development. Whatever she possessed in the way of reading and writing skills was mobilized for it, and it was developed and made more specialized in it and through the collective efforts of a group of peers. The informal learning environment provided by MXIT, thus, appeared to provide motivation to learn and relearn, as well as an efficacy of learning practices, which Linda had never encountered at school.

8.3.2 Linda's Learning and Scaffolding Practices

We noted above that what we observe here is a purely Bakhtinian and a purely Vygotskian phenomenon. Let us dig somewhat deeper into this issue. Linda claims to never read or write in her free time and to never having done it, except for the things she currently writes down in relation to her MXIT activities. Since the first day she was on MXIT she started to write with pen and paper as well, copying words and sentences from her chat partners and when asking writing advice from her friends. All over the house, papers and notebooks can be found, on and in which Linda has taken 'textspeak notes', writing down status names and sentences she

might use in the future. In this way, Linda has collected a 'corpus', so to speak, of copied words, expressions and phrases both drawn from MXIT and prepared for use on MXIT. Given the important place of MXIT in her social life, this corpus is the main instrument by means of which she is capable of sustaining relationships with people in her network—it is crucial social capital for her; lacking it would result in a strongly reduced social life for Linda.

Observe what happens here. Linda *copies* the visual images of words and expressions on MXIT, and later *copies* these visual images back onto MXIT. The copying is a *graphic* enterprise, in which Linda attempts to provide a precise visual replica of the forms she intends to copy. The meaning of those forms was very often explained by her friends who read them out to her. Having established the sense of these forms, Linda applies herself to copying them *as visual signs* into her 'corpus' of usable MXIT signs. She has to remember what these signs stand for, because the usage of the signs in MXIT interaction has to obey pragmatic rules of appropriateness. Linda has thus managed to construct some level of communicative competence, enregistering certain forms as meaning this-or-that and using them more or less appropriately in interactions.

More or less, we say, because Linda does not always get it right. As we will see below, she sometimes scrambles the visual image of MXIT expressions from her corpus, and she adopts particular tactics of pragmatic deployment when she runs into communicative trouble. The literacy skills she has developed through and around the use of MXIT are therefore fragile and elementary, and they compensate her constraints on reading and writing only to a certain extent.

This became clear when we did a dictation exercise with Linda. Asked to write the word 'week', she wrote 'weender'; this happened three consecutive times. She then read what she had written as 'week'. When asked where the 'k' sound was in 'weender', she could not answer and was in fact surprised to see that what she pronounced ('week') did not at all correspond to what she had written ('weender'). Other tasks included writing down 'unknown' language bits (from French); there too we observed severe problems in converting sounds into symbols, and in converting the symbols into sounds afterwards. Figure 8.1 shows a page from the dictation notes.

Linda's literacy skills are thus *not generative*. She has no control over the logic of orthography and over the functions of literacy in relation to spoken language; she cannot improvise and innovate in writing. Her writing resources form a tightly closed package of copied forms, the meaning and function of which have been memorized.

When Linda engages in MXIT interactions, consequently, she copies standard "*passe partout*" phrases and expressions and sends them off. She asks standard questions such as "wat maak jij?" ('what are you doing?') and is able to reply to such predictable and 'phatic' questions by means of routine answers. This can go on for quite a while, and it satisfies the requirements of interaction in many instances. Her illiteracy is *masked* rather than compensated by her scaffolding practices, but by masking it, she can and does appear to be a competent user of MXIT.

Fig. 8.1 Linda's dictation
notes
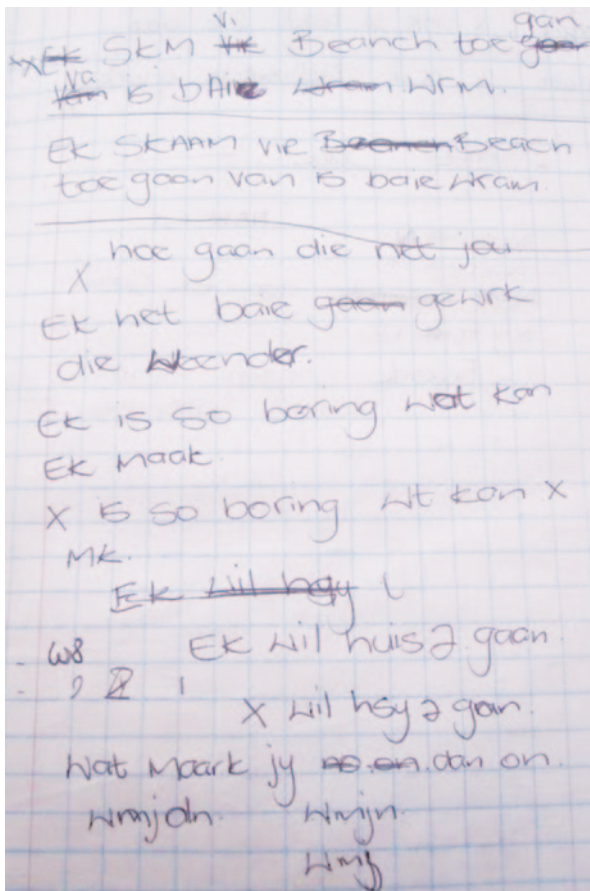
8.3.3   G2G ('Got to go')

The possibilities and limitations of Linda's literacy repertoire became clear during an episode in which she chatted with Fie Velghe. On MXIT, like on other social media platforms, members make a status profile, often a slogan or motto. Linda changed her status profile daily (another sign of her desire to be perceived as a competent user). That day, her status update read:

WU RUN THE WORLD GALZ... WU FOK THE GALZ BOYZ... LMJ NW HOE
NOW::op=csclol=@

We see that Linda has clearly, and accurately, copied part of this phrase, using vernacular and heterographic English code: "wu run the world galz … wu fok the galz boyz" ('who runs the world? Girls … who fucks the girls? Boys'). What follows after that, however, is considerably less clear and looks rather like a random compilation of signs: "LMJ NW HOE NOW::op=csclol=@". An ethnographer is

always a learner of the practices s/he observes, and Fie has been deeply immersed in informal learning processes of Wesbank textspeak (see Velghe 2011). Here as well, Fie inquires into the meaning of what she received. Let us have a look at the MXIT interaction of that day. The exchange is in the local Afrikaans-based code; English translations are provided between brackets; untranslatable and erratic items are italicized.

> STATUS: "WU RUN THE WORLD GALZ... WU FOK THE GALZ BOYZ ... LMJ NW HOE NOW::op=csclol=@".
> 10:46 Fie: Dag Linda! Hoe gaanit? (Hi Linda, how are things?)
> 10:47 Linda: Leka en mt jo (all right and you?)
> 10:47 Fie: Wat is *lmj nw hoe nw op csclol*? (what is lmj nw hoe nw op csclol?)
> 10:47 Fie: alles goed? (everything allright?)
> 10:49 Fie: *wmj*? (what are you doing?)
> 10:50 Linda: *siu* ma hier kijk tv nj (siu but here watch tv and you)
> 10:51 Fie: Ek es bij die huis (I'm at home)
> 10:51 Fie: Ek lees vir die universiteit (I'm reading for the university)
> 10:52 Fie: wat is *siu*? (what is siu?)
> 10:52 Linda: ohk (oh, ok)
> 10:52 Linda: wt (what?)
> 10:53 Fie: jy skryf *siu* mar ek weetnie wat dat beteken'ie (you write siu but I don't know what that means)
> 10:54 Linda: ok (ok)
> 10:54 Linda: wat gan jy vandag mk (what are you going to do today?)
> 10:55 Fie: wat is *csclol* in jou status? (what is csclol in your status?)
> 10:55 Fie: Ek bly by die huis om te werk op my computer (I'm staying at home to work on my computer)
> 10:56 Linda: x *wieti* (I don't know)
> 10:57 Fie: ohk (oh, ok)
> 10:57 Fie: jy skryf dit in jou status (you write it in your status)
> 10:59 Linda: ja (yes)
> 10:59 Fie: En wa beteken dit? Ek es nieusgierig (and what does it mean? I'm curious)
> 11:00 "Linda is now busy" (status message)
> 11:02: Linda: g2g (got to go)
> "LINDA X MISS MY BABY MWAH" (status message, includes emoticon)
> 11:02 "Linda is now offline "(status message)

Several intriguing things happen in this short interaction. Fie opens with a general question (how are you?) and receives a standard answer. Her next question, however, probes into the cryptic meaning of the status message, followed by a repeated routine question (everything all right?). After 2 minutes have passed (a marked pause in an instant messaging environment), Fie repeats her probing question (*wmj?*). The reply she receives, however, answers her previous routine question, and it contains a cryptic form *siu* (probably 'sure'). Fie spends two turns providing information about her whereabouts and the day's programme, and then inquires about the meaning of *siu*. Linda eventually responds with *wt*, 'what?'. Fie reiterates the nature of her inquiry and gets an 'oh, ok' back, but this is followed by another standard question from Linda: 'what are you going to do today?'. Fie questions

another expression (*csclol*) and answers the question from Linda, upon which Linda finally replies to the probing questions: "x *wieti*" (I don't know). This prompts Fie to again clarify the nature of her questions—'I am curious'—but this provokes a status message 'Linda is now busy', followed by Linda writing 'g2g' and effectively going offline.

The general pattern is clear. Linda is quite fluent in asking and answering routine questions (how are you? Where are you? What are you doing?), but quickly reaches the limits of her literacy resources when different questions are being asked, requiring creative and non-routine answers. In this case, the questions were directed at features of Linda's MXIT writing, and they were asked *in a fieldwork mode*, in an attempt by Fie to learn what might be new features of the cryptic Wesbank textspeak. Linda's responses express no comprehension either of the object of the questions (her own erratic writing samples) or of their purpose. Answers are bland and superficial: 'ohk', 'ja'—the sort of answers that can be given to almost any question. Fie's insistence, however, causes her to withdraw from the interaction. These questions extend far beyond the limits of Linda's resources, and withdrawal is the only available instrument to avoid exposure of her limited skills.

8.3.4   Two Modes of Learning and Usage

There is a clear dimension of inequality in the interaction between Fie and Linda—the first one having the fully developed and generative literacy skills that are missing from the latter's repertoire. It is, consequently, easy to overlook an important dimension of the exchange: the fact that it is an exchange between *two* 'non-fluent' users of the textspeak code. The nature of these two forms of non-fluency is, however, fundamentally different.

Fie's non-fluency is an effect of her learning trajectory as an ethnographer (cf. Blommaert and Dong 2010). She has been involved in learning processes in the field, of skills and resources that must enable her to conduct fieldwork on language and through language in Wesbank. This learning trajectory involves learning the local vernacular varieties of Afrikaans and building a degree of spoken and written fluency in it. It also involves acquiring a degree of fluency in the more specialized textspeak vernacular derived from this variety of Afrikaans—a matter of learning a highly peculiar form of literacy, in other words. This complex learning trajectory is made easier because of the similarities between Fie's native language—Dutch—and Afrikaans. Fie can 'mask' her apprentice status in Afrikaans by drawing on vernacularized forms of Dutch, and we see traces of that in Fie's turns in the MXIT exchange. The use of 'universiteit', for instance, is understandable to interlocutors but would, in their register, more likely become 'varsity'. Fie's competence in Dutch, thus, provides a degree of elasticity in the levels of understandability of what she produces. Even if her expressions are Dutch rather than Afrikaans (and thus locally dispreferred or marked), they would still be understandable to most interlocutors.

We also see a degree of elasticity in Linda's writing. Some of her writing errors pass as understandable because their visual image is close enough to the correct form to be understandable and occurs in a preferred interactional slot (as when 'x wieti' is understood as 'I don't know'). The difference is of course in Linda's repertoire, which does not contain the generative skills that would enable her to construct a potentially infinite range of new forms producing new meanings, and to decode and understand a potentially infinite range of incoming utterances by others. The elasticity in her writing, consequently, operates on an infinitely smaller range of signs and forms than in the case of Fie. Her repertoire, thus, enables her to perform a *restricted set of communicative practices* both productively and receptively, and within that narrow bandwidth she can appear as a fully fluent user. It is on the basis of this restricted set of practices and the perceived fluency she enacts in them that Linda is capable of building and sustaining a large network of friends, and to engage in intensive forms of interaction with them. The very small repertoire she possesses, thus, offers her *voice*.

However, note that the learning trajectories of *both* Linda and Fie are collectively scaffolded ones—Bakhtinian and Vygotskian, as we noted earlier. Linda's scaffolding practices have been discussed above. As an ethnographer, Fie equally had to rely on informal collective modes of acquiring and sharing the knowledge and skills she put into her MXIT communications (see Velghe 2011 for an elaborate case study). We see how an ethnographer gradually builds ethnographic knowledge through situated activities in which others point things out for her, in which she tries to apply them, is corrected or rejected, tries again and so forth—a very Vygotskian epistemic trajectory of deeply situated and mediated learning in which perpetual adjustments need to be performed to the local economy and ecology of meaning. And this learning process is, like that of Linda, targeted at voice, at making oneself understood as an ethnographer in relation to other people; as someone who, step by step, is able to translate, so to speak, the differences between social positions, backgrounds of knowledge and repertoires. We see the practical epistemology of ethnography in full detail here, the sometimes conflicting meeting of different habituses (cf Bourdieu 2000; Wacquant 2004; cf Blommaert 2005b for a discussion); and this practical epistemology is, of course, in its very nature heteroglossic.

8.4   Learning Voice

In a superb and moving paper, Charles Goodwin (2004) described the case of a man who due to a stroke had lost almost all of his capacity to speak. Chil—the name of Goodwin's subject in this study—had a repertoire reduced to just a handful of crude signs: sounds and groans. These signs he would, however, deploy actively and (as Goodwin showed) masterfully in interactions with others, so that this extremely restricted repertoire made him understandable to people accustomed to interacting with him, and turned him into a 'competent speaker'. Chil had 'ordered' his small set of resources in such a way that they made sense to others. Thereby he defied a

strong cultural assumption used in everyday life as well as research, described by Goodwin as that of

> an actor, such as the prototypical competent speaker, fully endowed with all abilities required to engage in the processes under study. Such assumptions both marginalize the theoretical relevance of any actors who enter the scene with profound disabilities and reaffirm the basic Western prejudice toward locating theoretically interesting linguistic, cultural and moral phenomena within a framework that has the cognitive life of the individual as its primary focus (Goodwin 2004, p. 151)

Goodwin (following Bakhtin, Voloshinov and Vygotsky) makes the powerful point that language and interaction are often *collaborative*, with people drawing on others' linguistic and cultural repertoires to make sense. Chil is just an extreme case of a general category, that of

> a speaker and (…) a human social actor whose competence does not reside within himself alone but is deeply embedded within the actions of others as they build lives together" (Goodwin 2004, p. 167).

The case of Linda, a young woman who lives in a marginalized community and manifestly suffers from a severe case of dyslexia, supports Goodwin's crucial observation. Linda depends on a very small range of signs in a 'truncated' repertoire; this enables her to perform a limited set of interactional practices, in which she tries to be perceived as a competent user by copying standard phrases, interspersed with often erratic and non-routinized writing. The fact that this works well for her—MXIT chatting is one of the most important activities in her life—testifies to the fundamentally collaborative nature of social interaction. As we have seen, many of her friends are fully aware of the grave literacy limitations experienced by Linda—they effectively scaffold her interactional work by providing her with texts to copy, read them for her and grant her writing the degree of elasticity in understandability we discussed earlier. Linda thus draws on the repertoires of others to achieve her social goals, and what is usually called 'communication' may better be called 'conviviality' here.

Within her network of friends, Linda is accepted as a 'fully competent' member. The reason is that her messages are less seen as *linguistic* objects than as *indexical* ones, not as carriers of intricate denotational meanings but as phatic messages that support Linda's role as a group member and define her relations with her peers as agreeable and friendly. It is only when an outsider comes across—an ethnographer inquiring into the nature of Linda's textspeak here—that Linda's messages become *linguistic* again: they are now suddenly measured not by the standards of the indexical order of conviviality, but by the standards of language and orthography. We have seen how rapidly this *volte-face* meets the limits of Linda's competence, and how quickly it triggers silence.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this. The first one is about the nature of the sign system that Linda deploys. As said, it is best not to see this sign system in terms of linguistic structure and functions, but in terms of indexical ones. Linda's use of textspeak is not primarily a use of 'language', it is a *deployment of voice* —of a sign system that opens channels of peer-group communication and conviviality, and

establishes and confirms Linda's place in her network of friends (see Blommaert 2008 for elaborate examples of grassroots writing having similar functions). Linda invests tremendous amounts of time and effort in learning and using these signs, not because these signs enable her to express denotational meaning (we have seen the limits of her generative writing and reading skills) but because they are a crucial and essential social instrument for her, one of the few very valuable instruments she possesses to make herself recognized and respected as a human being, a "human social actor" in Goodwin's words. Linda's voice is shaped, both in its affordances and its constraints, by the social conditions for voice to which she is exposed, at all levels—from the extreme poverty in her community to the severe dyslexia she has to cope with individually.

The second conclusion is one of methodology. It would be good if researchers would pay attention to the indexical functions of sign systems such as the ones discussed here, and approach them primarily as instruments for voice rather than as phenomena of language and literacy. Fie's apprentice habitus in the field directed her towards the linguistic and orthographic features of textspeak, as we have seen. The failure of this line of inquiry was a case of fieldwork serendipity which provoked a sudden clash of habituses and hence a change of perspective, forcing Fie to reflect on entirely different dimensions and functions of Linda's textspeak. A 'mistake', so to speak, in ethnographic inquiry proved to be a very productive line of inquiry in its own right (for a similar and inspiring case, see Fabian 1990). Encountering the limits of Linda's linguistic and literacy skills raised issues of what this restricted code represented for Linda. The answer was voice.

This line of inquiry may be of critical importance for understanding the vast (and expanding) array of new sign systems that emerge in the field of literacy in the context of globalization and the use of new media, including the supervernaculars of textspeak and chat codes (Blommaert 2011), and in affluent and technology-saturated environments as well as in marginal and technology-poor environments such as Wesbank. People often enter the new social arenas of today's world of communication with very limited resources—in fact, it is safe to see this as a rule. These resources may or may not develop into full-fledged normative code varieties; various specific factors will determine such processes, and their development needs in any event to be seen and understood in relation to the local sociolinguistic economy. The resources are 'glossic' in the purest Bakhtinian sense. However, in every stage of their existence, they will be deployed in attempts to provide voice to their users, to make their users identifiable and recognizable as such-and-such a person, and so establish them as members of communities and networks. Sign systems are always emerging and rarely ever fully stable; their function as instruments for voice, however, remains a constant throughout the rapid processes of change and development in their repertoires.

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Chapter 9
The Ambiguous World of Heteroglossic Computer-Mediated Language Learning

David Malinowski and Claire Kramsch

Abstract Computer-mediated communication (CMC) has been seen as offering a way to sensitize language learners to heteroglossia in all its forms: varieties of linguistic codes and styles, varieties of opinions and ideological points of view, diversity of semiotic meaning-making modalities—all of which are difficult to instantiate through one single teacher in a classroom. Thus, CMC has been touted as an ideal pedagogic solution to an age-old problem: How to put foreign language learners in dialogue with genuine native speakers to experience this heteroglossia? CMC, however, does not always deliver what it promises. Drawing upon an ethnographic analysis of in-classroom observations, online discourse, and learner reflections, this chapter attempts to conceptualize and describe a manner of online language that is neither the multivoicedness that Bakhtin called heteroglossia nor the authoritative discourse he presented as its antithesis, but echoings and mirrorings that turn learners back on themselves.

Keywords Computer-mediated communication · Foreign language education · Dialogism · Representation

9.1 Introduction

There have been in the last 10 years several calls to rethink foreign language education to better suit the needs of language users in an era of global exchanges, multilingual interactions, long-distance communication, and electronic social networks. The goal is no longer to emulate monolingual native speakers, attached to stable territorialized cultures, bound together by collective national memories and traditions,

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but to teach strategies to 'operate between languages' (MLA 2007), to code-switch and read contextualization cues (Canagarajah 2007; Cenoz and Gorter 2011), to reframe symbolic reality (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008), and in general to teach an awareness of language (MLA 2007) that goes far beyond the knowledge required to use linguistic structures accurately and appropriately. The popularity of Bakhtin among language educators reflects an enthusiasm for embracing heteroglossia as the imperative of our times (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Bailey 2007; Cenoz and Gorter 2011).

Heteroglossia, as conceived by Bakhtin (1981), was a multifaceted concept that strove to counteract the single-voiced official discourse of the 1920s in the Soviet Union and remind readers of the fundamentally multivoiced nature of literary texts, and, by extension, of all language use in everyday life. Language educators have embraced the four major tenets of Bakhtin's heteroglossia as discussed, for example, in Holquist (1990), Schultz (1990), and Ball and Freedman (2004). The first is the embodied nature of cognition. Knowledge is not something that people acquire and carry in their heads, but is governed by the place we occupy in the physical and social world and in history. "The human subject," writes Holquist, "before it is anything else, is a body. The implication…is that each subject is a body occupying a unique site in time and space" (p. 165). Cognition is embodied, that is, it is governed by our place in space (e.g., our point of view) and in time (e.g., our memories and our projections). The second tenet is the constitutive nature of language. Language not only refers to a reality that is external to it but also helps constitute and shape this reality through what Bakhtin calls the chronotope—a category of thought and narration that frames experience in terms of time/space (Holquist 1990, p. 109 ff). Language is thus constitutive of social reality. The third is the concept of ideological becoming, which suggests that as learners acquire new knowledge they also acquire a set of attitudes and beliefs (ideology) that will govern their lives (Ball and Freedman 2004, p. 4). This ideology will be a combination of the 'authoritative' discourses of the school, the marketing industry, the media and the political establishment, and the 'internally persuasive' discourses of individuals based on their own experiences and convictions. Ideological becoming is always a struggle between these two kinds of discourses. The fourth tenet is the notion of dialogism (Holquist 1990), as both a philosophy and an epistemology. It posits that knowledge of self can only occur from the perspective of the other and vice versa. As a principle of existence and a dimension of language (Holquist 1990), dialogue can take place only between two irreducible entities, the Self and the Other, each seen in their fundamental wholeness both from their own and from the other's perspective. This notion, of which Bakhtin reminded his compatriots at a time when communist ideology imposed its authoritative discourse on all Soviet citizens (Schultz 1990), is also urgently needed today, when capitalistic ideology is imposing its cultural hegemony on a global world. Bakhtin's view of heteroglossia is a healthy reminder that today's diversity and multiplicity are no guarantee of existential dialogue and ideological change.

In foreign language education, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has been seen as offering a way to sensitize language learners to heteroglossia in all its forms: varieties of linguistic codes and styles, varieties of opinions and ideological

points of view, diversity of semiotic meaning-making modalities—all of which are difficult to instantiate through one single teacher in a classroom and within large classrooms full of shy students. For example, CMC has been used to rehearse the L2 online before using it face to face (Mendelson 2010), to practice authentic synchronous or asynchronous conversations online (Ware 2005, Belz 2003, Kramsch and Thorne, 2002), to learn from authentic foreign language tutors (Malinowski 2011), and to give a voice to the more silent students. Thus, CMC has been touted as an ideal pedagogic solution to an age-old problem: How to put foreign language learners in dialogue with native and nonnative speakers (NNSs) to experience the heteroglossia of language (cf. Hanna and de Nooy 2009; Warschauer and Kern 2000, Belz and Thorne 2006)? However, recent caveats are making themselves heard. Some foreign language educators have shown that heteroglossia in Bakhtin's sense might not be as readily achievable online as once thought (Kramsch and Thorne 2002; Ware and Kramsch 2005), that a multiplicity of voices might not equate to multivoicedness, and that the very concept of heteroglossia needs redefining when applied to online communication. In particular, it seems that the advances made in networked communications technologies have enabled the computer to usurp a heteroglossia that was, in Bakhtin's times, based on a human scale of time, space, and reality and that has been transformed by its application to CMC.

Drawing upon an ethnographic analysis of in-classroom observations, online discourse, and learner reflections, this chapter explores the nature of heteroglossia in foreign language communication online. After a review of the characteristics of desktop videoconferencing technology, we report on a case study of online videoconferencing exchanges between American learners of French in the USA and their French tutors in France. We discuss the findings relative to the three dimensions of representation, space, and time that are transformed in CMC, and consider how they affect the underlying tenets of Bakhtin's heteroglossia.

9.2   Desktop Videoconferencing and Language Learning

Like other online intercultural language learning projects that utilize desktop videoconferencing (e.g., Hampel and Baber 2003; Jauregi and Bañados 2008; Lee 2007), the *Français en (première) ligne* project (introduced fully below) is premised upon tutors' and language learners' ability not only to read each other's written words and exchange media asynchronously—or even just to engage in synchronous voice interactions (as in Hampel and Hauck 2004)—but also to *see* each other's expressions, gestures, and other movement in interactions that are both online and face to face. Similar to other desktop video chat clients freely available over the internet today (e.g., ICQ, MSN Messenger, Yahoo Messenger; see Eröz-Tuga and Sadler 2009), the Skype platform in use during the period of data collection for this chapter (2008–2009) seems to have offered language learners in the USA a solution to the conundrum of language teachers endeavoring to use rich, audiovisual media to create "authentic communicative situations with the learner responding to input

both emotionally and cognitively" (Tschirner 2001, p. 317).[1] Indeed, a main benefit of real-time audio and video communication between partners in telecollaborative projects (e.g., Belz and Thorne 2006; Guth and Helm 2010; O'Dowd 2007) would appear to be the ability of this medium to mime the very reality of face-to-face, co-present, and embodied interaction. As Robert O'Dowd remarks, "The contribution of visual images to online communication and the immediacy of 'live' face-to-face interaction seem to offer a much more authentic and personal side to long-distance telecollaboration" (O'Dowd 2006, p. 92–3).

However, the *authenticity* of interaction is precisely what may be called into question online. Walther's (1996) long-standing assertion that written, asynchronous communication via the computer can become "hyperpersonal"[2] finds its parallel in claims regarding synchronous CMC (SCMC) such as those by Chen and Wang: "cyber face-to-face" interaction, they argue, "resembles most closely but is significantly different from face-to-face interaction in the traditional classroom" (Chen and Wang 2008, p. 97). Our investigation into the possibilities of heteroglossic language learning online[3] is informed by numerous studies of SCMC, and video-conferencing especially, that have called into question the ability of these technologies to replicate offline, embodied interaction (see, for example, Coverdale-Jones 2000; Kinginger 1999; O'Malley et al. 1996; Yamada and Akahori 2007; Zähner et al. 2000). In keeping with Bakhtin's interest in understanding dialogue as a principle of existence as well as a dimension of language, we elaborate briefly on three traits of online reality that, we suggest, bear crucially upon the ability of language learners to occupy a unique site in time and space, to engage the diversity of voices of the Other, and to struggle with authoritative and internally persuasive discourses in their own processes of ideological becoming.

9.2.1 Representation

In terms of representations of intercultural others as they are experienced by language learners online—prototypically using computers equipped with high-resolution screens and stereo headphones—we identify two salient traits of SCMC: *framing* and *segmentation*. Recognizing that, in video conferencing as in other moving image media, "three dimensions of constructed space are translated into the two dimensions of a screen" (Virilio 1991, p. 73), Friedberg (2006) suggests at least

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[1] For other examples of Skype in language learning settings, see Levy 2009; O'Dowd 2007; Sykes et al. 2008.

[2] Walther defines hyperpersonal communication as communication that is "more socially desirable than we tend to experience in parallel FtF [face-to-face] interaction" (Walther 1996, p. 17).

[3] Throughout this chapter, we use the term "heteroglossic learning" in order to refer to intercultural language learning that substantially benefits from the conditions of Bakhtin's heteroglossia as outlined in Sect. 1: learners' L2 knowledge gained through conscious practice and reflexive awareness of (1) cognition as embodied, (2) language as constitutive of reality, (3) learners themselves as maturing in a context of competing ideologies, and (4) the irreducibility of differences between Self and Other in dialogue.

three methods by which computer screens define and delimit one's view of a visual object: as *window*, the computer screen fixes the user in disembodied, spectatorial relation to a removed 'scene' on the other side; as *frame*, it bounds action and movement within its own limits, and in so doing virtualizes the movement of the viewer; as *film screen*, borrowing from the "sensual isolation" of the plate glass window, it "removes our experience of space, time, and the real to the plane of representation" (Friedberg 2006, p. 138). In effect, the movement of the viewed *and* the viewer are both fixed in place (on screens and in chairs) and 'virtualized' in motion relative to each other; in fact, the isolation and mobilization of the visual sense is paralleled by the *segmentation* of the sense of hearing through the earphones as well—a fact with profound ramifications for the subjective possibilities of computer users (C. Jones 2006).

Compounding these twin phenomena of framing and segmentation of sensory experience online is what has long been recognized as the "lossy" nature of the analog signal upon its conversion to digital format. Commenting on the digitization of image and sound for recording, storage, transportation, and replay via screen and speakers, Manovich (2001) notes that with the move to a common, numerical code for the representation of originally continuous data, degradation and loss of information are par for the course, and increase with each transmission. Such "signal losses," evident in pixilation ("jaggy images"), freezing video, static, and halting or echoing sound, are frequently observed in Skype and other desktop videoconferencing clients (e.g., Li, Zhang et al. 2007; Wang 2004).

9.2.2   Space and Time

As suggested in the discussion above—and of great importance to the function of the "chronotope" in heteroglossia (see Sect. 9.1)—the basic ontological categories of space and time, and the particular ways in which they interrelate, are to a significant extent called into question in CMC. Writing to the practical interests of language learners and educators, R. Jones (2005, 2010) has posited the existence of "at least five kinds of space towards which users can orient their attention" (p. 144). These include "physical spaces" (material surroundings of the computer user), "virtual spaces" (created by software and online tools), "relational space" (created by a state of talk between participants), "screen space" (the computer screen as a display space), and "other places" (geographical sites removed from the participants' physical location; R. Jones 2005). Such typologies are of assistance in understanding how, for instance, expressions, gestures, and other body language performed by learners in desktop videoconferencing are difficult to disambiguate in the flow of online conversation, even when such moves occur within the limited field of view of the video camera (Goodfellow et al. 1996, p. 12). And, critically in the case studies presented below, they illuminate how making eye contact becomes a highly problematic endeavor, as interlocutors must choose to look either at the partner's on-screen representation or at the camera (Goodfellow et al. 1996; McAndrew et al. 1996).

As is amply evident in writings on the digitized and networked currency of symbols that, in part, have enabled the postmodern present (e.g., Castells 1996; Harvey 1989; Virilio 1991), computer users' experiences of the layering and transformation of space is inseparable from compressions and disjunctures of time. While *latency*—the lag in time between the real-world performance of some communicative event and its representation to a distally located interlocutor—is a pervasive phenomenon in Skype and other SCMC clients (Wang 2004), perceptible gaps *between* sound and image, as well as perceived dissociations of communicative events from their representations in the on-screen and virtual spaces outlined above, appear to be particularly disruptive for language learners online (e.g., Goodfellow et al. 1996; Kinginger 1999). To this point, we find of interest contentions such as anthropologist Tom Boellstorff's that, in virtual environments such as Second Life, "time resists compression in a way that place does not" (Boellstorff 2008, p. 102): language learners online, much like the distally located operators of avatars in shared virtual rooms, experience "a breakdown of time made possible by the gap between virtual and actual" (Boellstorff 2008, p. 102) as their partners' faces freeze or fail to "rez" into view. In synchronous, multichannel telecollaborations, we suggest that such disjunctures in the flow of space and time profoundly affect the possibilities for heteroglossic language learning.

9.3 Heteroglossia in Telecollaborative Interaction Via Skype

The data to be discussed below derive from a telecollaborative partnership between graduate student teacher trainees in French as a foreign language (*Français langue étrangère*) at two universities in France and undergraduate students of French at a US university. Termed *Le français en (première) ligne*, this funded research project has, since 2006, facilitated training in pedagogical and technological competences for classes of Master's students at the Université de Lyon 2 and the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon, while providing opportunities for students in a class of intermediate (second year) French at the University of California (UC) at Berkeley to develop motivation, fluency, and knowledge of a foreign culture with age peers (Develotte 2008; Guichon 2009).[4]

Once a week for approximately 2 months in the spring term, UC Berkeley students and their tutors in Lyon were paired randomly (two students in Berkeley, and one or two tutors in Lyon) in computer laboratories in their respective campuses for a 50-min lesson conducted via desktop videoconferencing (Fig. 9.1). As part of their training in pedagogical and technological competences for a seminar on teaching French online, tutors prepared lesson plans a week in advance and submitted them to the Berkeley classroom teacher for approval. Lessons generally consisted of four

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[4] For more on *Le français en (première) ligne*, see the project website: http://w3.u-grenoble3.fr/fle-1-ligne/index.html (in French).

Fig. 9.1 The UC Berkeley
French language class online
with tutors in Lyon

communicative activities following the themes of the corresponding chapters in the
Berkeley students' textbook, such as education, youth culture, modes of transporta-
tion, immigration, national identity, and television and cinema.

   Data taken up in this chapter were collected in Berkeley by a small team of
researchers in the spring term of 2008 and include laboratory and classroom field
notes and analytic memos, transcripts from semi-structured interviews with student
participants, video and audio captures of the online tutorials, and student draw-
ings of personal and affective responses to the online learning experience.[5] Analysis
follows a qualitative case study approach in the ethnographic tradition (e.g., Dy-
son and Genishi 2005), with particular attention given to questions of space, time,
and representation as raised in ethnography online (e.g., Hine 2000, 2005; S. Jones
1999; Markham and Baym 2009; Silver and Massanari 2006).

   In the following subsections, we narrate events in the online experiences of two
Berkeley students that we consider to be revelatory of the potentials and limitations
of the desktop videoconferencing medium with respect to heteroglossic learning.
Above all, these are *ambiguous* moments in the data, as recorded, verbalized, and
drawn by the student participants—moments that "[open] up possibilities of em-
bracing the paradoxes, contradictions, and conflicts inherent in any situation involv-
ing semiotic activity, rather than rushing to solve them" (Kramsch 2002, p. 22). On

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[5] Since 2002, a number of affiliated researchers from French, Australian, Spanish, Japanese, and
American institutional contexts have participated in the collection and analysis of data for various
aims. Publications include a study of the mixed role of tutor/teachers in telecollaborative lessons
(Dejean-Thircuir and Mangenot 2006), an examination of the micro- and meso-level constraints
and degrees of freedom available to learners and tutors (Develotte 2008), an analysis of the parti-
cipatory structures influencing the character of online verbal interaction (Mangenot 2008), and the
conceptual development of the suite of socio-affective, pedagogical, and multimedia competences
required of tutors online (Guichon 2009). Data appearing in this chapter were collected in Berke-
ley by the lead author (Malinowski) as well as the project's principal investigator at the Berkeley
site, the French class instructor, and four undergraduate research apprentices; analysis derives
significantly from Malinowski (2011).

one hand, the language students seem to make significant strides with their online tutors in the learning and contextualized use of a new French word (in the case of Kelly, Sect. 9.3.1), and in exploring a risky boundary of gender and culture (in the case of Ann, Sect. 9.3.2), aided by the networked communications technology that joins them. On the other hand, the re-creation of interactional time, space, and reality via the medium of Skype leads to fundamental questions about these students' abilities to address, and be addressed by, the wholeness of the Other.

9.3.1   Kelly's (Audio) Moment: Learning the Meaning of "Place" Online

Kelly, a native speaker of English, reported having had little speaking experience in French before her lessons with her online tutor, Amandine. She had taken 1 year of French in middle school and another 3 years in high school before placing into second-semester French at UC Berkeley. She, like her student partner Eduardo, had not spent time in a francophone country as of her online interactions, and had stated in an initial survey that the idea of webcasting to learn French was "intimidating." In this light, that Kelly successfully learned the French word "lieu" (*place*) within the first 5 min of the first online *F1 L* lesson, and then immediately used the Skype video chat interface to introduce two iconic locations on the Berkeley campus to her French interlocutor, appeared to be a significant success.

While this event was delayed by several interruptions in the video feed between tutor and students, it may not have seemed related in substance to the audio mediations of technology. It occurred in the context of what Amandine and the other online tutors had planned to be an information guessing game, entitled "Quel est son lieu préféré sur le campus de Berkeley?" (*What's his/her favorite place on the Berkeley campus?*). The students were each to think of a favorite place and keep it secret from their partners; they would then take turns asking each other questions in order to discover their places. The tutor's first task, then, was to convey these instructions to the students.

Amandine introduced the activity by asking Kelly and Eduardo whether or not they liked their university's campus, a question which led to statements by the students about the contrast between the generally pleasant atmosphere in Berkeley and the poor January weather they were experiencing at the time. Amandine then directed each of them for the first time to secretly think of a place they liked on campus, telling Kelly that she would be the first to try to guess Eduardo's favorite place:

Amandine: Alors en attendant (1) en attendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (1) (*Okay, in the meantime in the meantime we'll start. Kelly?*)
Kelly: Oui? (*Yes?*)
Amandine: Kelly? (*Kelly?*)
Kelly: Oui? (*Yes?*)
Amandine: Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus. Mais tu ne dis pas. (*You need to think about a place on campus that you like. But don't say it.*)

Kelly, at this point in the exchange, did not give verbal or visual acknowledgment of Amandine's instructions. Amandine then immediately rephrased the instructions, with a 2-s pause before she explicitly checked Kelly's understanding:

Amandine: Tu penses dans ta tête (.5) à un lieu que tu aimes. (2) Tu comprends? Alors. (*Think to yourself (.5) about a place that you like. (2) Do you understand? Okay.*)

The long pauses in this turn and the previous sequence bear noticing; we interpret their significance in Sect. 9.3.3. Kelly, at this point, responded in the negative:

Kelly: Uh, je ne sais pas quoi lieu (.5) est. (*Uh, I don't know what 'lieu' (.5) is.*)

At the level of discourse audible to Kelly's interlocutors, then, she appeared to have stated plainly that she did not understand the French word "lieu"—a problem that Amandine immediately endeavored to remedy with an explanation:

Amandine: "Ah—a—un lieu c'est une place (.5) euh:: un bâtiment:: ou euh (.5) un lieu c'est une place dans le campus, un espace dans le campus." (*Ah—a—a "lieu" is a place (.5) a:: a building:: or uhh (.5) a "lieu" is a place on campus, a space on the campus*).

Upon then being asked by Amandine if she understood, Kelly indicated that she did. Still, Amandine appeared not to be sure—alternatingly addressing the students and speaking to a laboratory technician in Lyon about her faulty video feed, she explained the rules of the game for an additional 90 s, while Eduardo made sure with her that he was in fact to ask Kelly a series of yes/no questions about her secret place. Upon Amandine's confirmation, he then asked:

Eduardo: Est-ce que tu::: vas à cette lieu pour étudier? (*Do you::: go to this place to study?*)

This question was followed by yet another series of negotiations among students and tutor of both the activity's instructions and the activation of the Skype video channel; eventually, though, when Eduardo repeated his question, Kelly indicated that, yes, she did go to this place to study, and followed up by stating:

Kelly: Um. Oui. OK. Um j'aime étudier à Memorial Glade, où [c'est um]… (*Um. Yes. OK. I like to study at Memorial Glade, where* [*it is um*]…)

Kelly, by this point, had clearly understood that the French "lieu" is a manner of "place," as she gave the proper name for a large grassy expanse behind the central library on her university's campus. Indeed, as the activity progressed, she continued to take the lead in introducing locales on campus to Amandine—attempting to fulfill the dialogic function of perspective-taking from the view of the other, Amandine, a French tutor who had never visited California. This was, perhaps ironically, also a position-taking that she had to perform later with Eduardo when she correctly guessed his secret place—the same Memorial Glade, whose name he did not know until she described it to him and Amandine again.

   Yet, we ask, in light of our concern with heteroglossia and CMC, what beginnings of evidence does Kelly's learning of "lieu" in French (and other learning

moments like this) provide about "the inseparability of space and time" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 84) in the *genre* of the Skype-mediated language lesson? Online, what becomes of the ideological power of places like Berkeley and Lyon, as students and tutors navigate spaces that are physical, virtual, and on-screen (see Sect. 9.2.2) all at once? Although Kelly learned (or relearned) the referential meaning of this French word in this online activity, place seemed to *matter* less and less as the activity progressed. Indeed, Amandine's (and Eduardo's) response to Kelly's statement that "j'aime étudier à Memorial Glade" (*I like to study at Memorial Glade*) was not to address the content of her utterance but to attempt to re-invoke the frame of the *guessing game* that Kelly had still, apparently, not understood: Amandine repeated that "Il doit, il doit, il doit deviner" (*He has to, he has to, he has to guess*), and Eduardo immediately turned to her, seated next to him in front of the computer terminal, and resorted to explaining in English: "I have to guess…the place."

Throughout, Amandine's vision of Berkeley (to the degree it was conveyed in audible and visible discourse) was to remain within the confines of the game: that is, places were *places* inasmuch as they fulfilled their function to be guessable, and to be guessed. This readiness of the real-world settings for a telecollaborative exchange to become myths in Barthes' (1972) sense was, in miniature, echoed in Kelly's retrospective depiction of Lyon, drawn after her 2 months' experience of online French learning.[6] Her drawing (Fig. 9.2) showed the Berkeley students traveling along a highway with tutors at a gas station ready "to fill us up with French" in the seaside city of Lyon, or, what she termed "Frenchland" in the interview—a vision that was playful and even poetic, perhaps, but not (able to be) built upon multivoiced dialogue with her partners. After 7 h of lessons with Amandine and a half semester of daily French classes in Berkeley, Kelly had asked in her interview of the inland city of Lyon, "[It's] near the beach, right? I don't know. That's my picture of it."

In Sect. 9.3.3, we return to the moment, described above, of Kelly's learning of "lieu" online, paying particular attention to how *sound* may have interrupted the heteroglossic meaning-bearing potential of this single word—and, we suggest, helped to keep Kelly 'out of the game' with Amandine and Eduardo. Before this, however, we introduce the ambiguities attendant to her classmate Ann's *visual* moment of learning to see in French.

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[6] As a short homework assignment near the end of their online tutorials, students were required to respond to the following prompt: "Draw 'Tuesdays' with your tutors. The drawing should be a depiction of your personal experience of these interactions. What do you see? Who's there in the computer lab (your partner, your tutors)? What's the lab like? How do you feel? What do you think about? This is an assignment that's personal, subjective, affective. You can include images or words in order to talk about your associations, your emotions. You're not obliged to be artists! Have fun with it!" Our analysis of these drawings is informed in a general sense by the tradition of visual analysis in the ethnographic tradition (e.g., Berger 1973; Collier and Collier 1986; Pink 2007) and specifically during final project interviews with respect to the notion of "transduction" of meaning across communicative modes (Kress 2003; Nelson 2006), as students in pairs verbally narrated their own visual representations.

Fig. 9.2 Kelly's drawing

9.3.2   Ann's (Visual) Moment: Learning "To Look Twice" at the Intercultural Other

In contrast to Kelly, Ann had studied abroad for 4 months in Paris—a fact that was decisively important in constituting the significant learning moment presented below. Originally, from Southern California, Ann was acknowledged by many of her peers to be among the most fluent speakers of French in her third-semester class, although she pointed out in interviews that she frequently had difficulty expressing herself accurately and completely. Just as Kelly had been paired with Eduardo, Ann participated in the online lessons alongside her classmate Lynn for the duration of the semester; the two were tutored by a male graduate student in Lyon named Jean.

As may be surmised from Ann's drawing (Fig. 9.3), looking—and being looked at by a French man in particular—was a highly salient aspect of her online experience:

As Ann had recounted in her interview, she had been instructed in her Parisian study abroad orientation session that women should not engage men with direct eye contact, since it would be taken as a physical come-on or sign of availability. As she had said, "looking twice" at a man was "socially not like something you're supposed to do unless you're trying to hook up with someone." Yet, online in the

Fig. 9.3 Ann's drawing

Skype-mediated videoconferencing interaction with Jean, with students and tutors in front of webcams, watching each other's representations on-screen, Ann had no choice but to look at "a French guy," as she described Jean. "He was always looking back at us," she told her interviewers, "so it was really like, the interaction, especially with a French male, was so foreign to me, even though I had been there for four months."

Ann's collage, of seven pairs of male eyes looking back at the camera/viewer of the drawing, depicted Jean's eyes, or, as she had said, "It represents just, that representation of 'the look', and how eyes communicate things." The "revelation" (*une révélation*, as labeled in her drawing) she narrated was her newfound ability to engage in the otherwise forbidden (*défendu*) activity of "looking twice" (*y regarder à deux fois*) at a French man, online—an awareness of the Self before the Other that would seem to exemplify Holquist's (1990, p. 165) reading of Bakhtinian thought to the effect that, even through the medium of desktop videoconferencing, "before it is anything else…each subject is a body occupying a unique site in time and space." And, significantly, Ann's apparent awareness of herself in Jean's eyes, and her use of a French expression (*y regarder à deux fois*) indicating the speaker's hesitation or sense of caution, suggests a position-taking between two competing ideologies, realized *visually*—a sort of ideological becoming illustrative of Bakhtin's heteroglossia. However, we argue that Ann's ability to *regard* the Other via the desktop videoconferencing interface, and to see herself in the eyes of the Other, was to remain elusive.
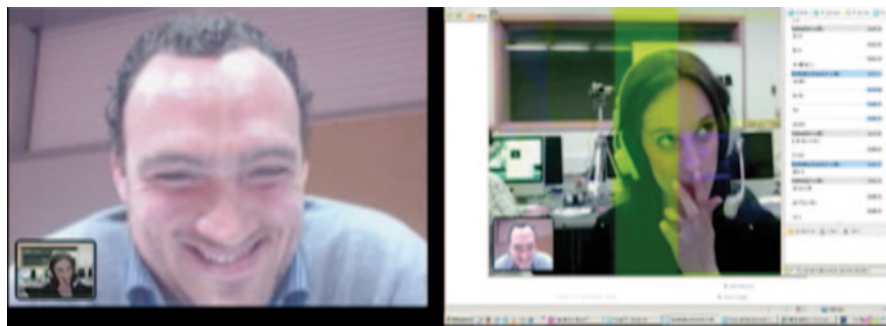
Fig. 9.4 Jean: "Tu ne regardes pas les hommes?"

As she told the story of her drawing in her interview, Ann associated her "revelation" with a particular moment in online lesson entitled "Les Identités Nationales" (*National Identities*). This, the fourth of seven lessons, took place after the Berkeley students and Lyon tutors had become accustomed to the flow of semi-scripted, communicative activities and had learned to solve some of the more common technological problems that had sidelined (for example) Kelly, Eduardo, and Amandine on their first day. Ann's partner Lynn was absent as well, so she and Jean were able to engage in a relatively interruption-free audio and video exchange.

After they had completed two activities discussing national holidays and general stereotypes of French and US identities, Ann recounted being at a loss when Jean asked her to describe the "average Frenchman." As she explained in her interview,

Ann: And it came up, he was like, "So what does the average French guy look like?" And I'm like, "I honestly have no idea." And he's like, "How do you have no idea? Like, [laughing] you were in Paris, you know what the French woman looks like…" And I was like, "Well, I didn't really look at French guys," because for me it was such, like, it was like, well, "I'm not gonna look, 'cause I don't want to provoke anyone."

While Ann described her inability to look directly at French men in Paris to Jean, however, screen captures of the video exchange between the two reveal Ann's "success" in becoming able to do just that. Glancing and then fixing her eyes on his eyes looking back at her on the computer screen, Ann made eye contact with a French man, and continued to look at him as he looked away.

In this sequence, approximately 25 min into the lesson, Jean first leaned forward to ask Ann after she had dropped the obligatory negative verb marker "pas" in her statement, "peut-être je ne regarde les hommes" (*maybe I don't look at men*). He leaned forward, looking at her and smiling, and asked (Fig. 9.4),

Jean: Tu ne regardes pas les hommes? (*You don't look at the men?*)

Ann appeared to have understood Jean to be asking her to confirm this fact, and not to be modeling the correct grammatical form for her question. The video recording of her response shows her looking first up, then to the side, and finally back at his eyes in the course of her response:
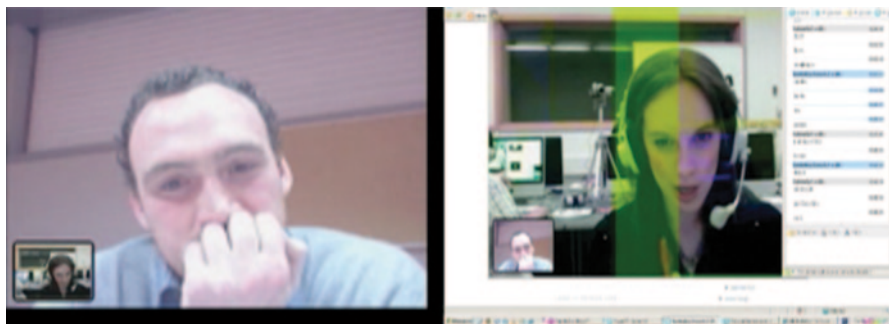
Fig. 9.5 Ann: "il me…il me faché que je ne peux pas uh regarder les autres, les yeux, à les yeux"
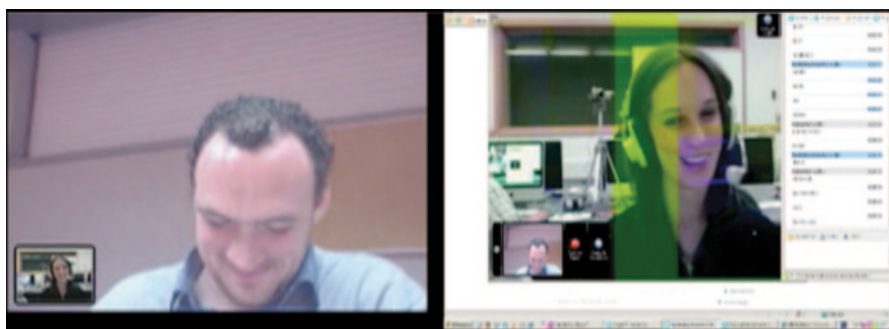
Fig. 9.6 Ann: "…mais les hommes je ne les regarde, je ne les regarde"

Ann: Oui. Parce que je suis…Je…il me…il me faché que je ne peux pas uh regarder les autres les yeux, à les yeux (*Yeah. Because I am…I…It…it made me mad that I can't uh look at others the eyes, in the eyes*)

Here, at the point that she repeated "les yeux, à les yeux" (*the eyes, in the eyes*), Ann appeared to have raised her eyes to meet Jean's (Fig. 9.5):

As she continued to explain to Jean the fact that looking at a French man would be seen as a "provocation," her eyes frequently returned to meet Jean's gaze, and even continued to look at him as he looked down at his printed lesson plan that sat on his desk next to his computer (Fig. 9.6):

Ann: …parce que c'est un…il provoque les autres quand on regarde. Et je suis très (*laughs*)…je déteste ça mais pour les femmes je peux regarder un peu plus parce que c'est pas très…oui mais les hommes je ne les regarde, je ne les regarde. (*…because it's a…it provokes others when you look at them. And I am very* (laughs)*…I hate that but for women I can look a little more because it's not so…yes, but men I don't look at them, I don't look at them.*)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Ann did not mention in her interview weeks after this lesson that she remembered looking 'directly' at Jean precisely in these moments of the

lesson on national identities. Looking back on this and other interactions, and in her final drawing, she simply repeated the personal and emotional significance of being able to "look twice" at a French man.

Yet, in considering what seems to be Ann's success in learning French online—learning not just to look, but "to look twice" at a French man[7]—we attach central importance to the *mediated directness* of Ann's and Jean's gazes in these conversational turns. For, just as Kelly heard and repeated the word "lieu" without realizing its place in the tutor's guessing game (and the "place" of Lyon remained in her imagination unpopulated by the heteroglossic voices of others), Ann was in fact seeing more on her screen but less of Jean than she knew.

9.3.3   The Technological Layer: Echoes and Mirrors of Self and Other Online

Data in the previous two sections focus on two particular moments in the online experiences of Kelly and Ann in which the potential for heteroglossic learning appears to have been facilitated by the multichannel interactive medium of desktop videoconferencing. Kelly has learned the denotative value of the French word "lieu" (place) in the context of an interactive guessing game, while Ann attests to having experienced an "emotional journey" with respect to gender relations and practices of embodied communication in the French language.

Yet, crucially, Ann's interview statements to the effect that after experiencing the "revelation" of looking at Jean, his location in France and *his own Frenchness* became less salient (like Kelly's imagining of a 'Lyon-by-the-beach' in Sect. 9.3.1) raise questions about the nature of the reality experienced by these language students online.[8] The places and people of these French lessons, mediated as they were by a form of synchronous CMC designed to enable *direct* audio and video connection, appear nevertheless to have become decoupled from the times and places of their origin. How might this have happened?

Here we re-present portions of the data from Sects. 9.3.1 and 9.3.2, focusing explicitly on the role of the technological layer between the Berkeley students and their tutors in Lyon. We attempt to show that the *echoes* and *mirrorings* that are, to varying degrees, pervasive artifacts of Skype and other desktop videoconferencing environments may, in effect, flatten the body of heteroglossic communication.

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[7] In her interview, Ann recounted, "it was just really cool to be able to talk to someone and communicate with someone and have someone, like, (1.5) look you in the eye (*laughing*) … it was just impossible for me in France to even (1) think about that so it was really cool."

[8] Ann had said, "I think a lotta times, like, just because I'm kind of ingrained ingrained with the whole idea of, like, (1) how the French male is (.5), like, kinda removed, not talking that much, and not looking that much. (.5) Like it—sometimes I did kinda forget that I was talking to a French male. 'Cause it was just so, like it's so foreign to me, to do that (.5) that…I did kind of have to remember, like, this person is in another country; it's not just another French student that I'm talking to, who's in like Chicago or something."

As we suggested in Sect. 9.3.1, from Amandine's perspective, the long pauses and Kelly's own admission that she did not understand the word "lieu" in the context of the place guessing game called for an extended definition ("Ah—a—un lieu c'est une place…" *Ah—a—a "lieu" is a place…*) and comprehension check ("Tu comprends?" *Do you understand?*). However, the audio recording of the interaction between Kelly, Amandine, and Kelly's partner Eduardo indicates the presence of a *third* voice as well—the sound of Amandine's and Kelly's voices echoed back into their own ears through their headsets, with a delay time of approximately 0.5 s. These echoes, we suggest, may not have just disrupted Kelly's ability to understand a single word (lieu), but may have had a disorienting effect to the extent that *to ask the meaning of a single word was all Kelly could do* to respond to Amandine's attempts to explain the place-guessing game.

Here (Fig. 9.7), we have attempted to represent this latency effect visually, repeating and displacing each utterance in a lighter shade of gray to indicate a delayed, overlapping echo in Kelly's ears at a slightly lower volume than the original utterance:

For her part, Kelly was quite conscious of the interruptive nature of these extra voices in her headset—in her final interview, she described this phenomenon as "trying to speak French with echoes going on," and she said that it was more disruptive than the occasional freezing and pixilation of the Skype video feed.[9] To be sure, the degree to which echoing interfered with her ability not just to comprehend the denotative value of words but also to apprehend the dialogic resonances of her tutor is difficult to validate empirically. Yet their salience in interactions like this—and the fact of Kelly's ongoing confrontation with the echoes of her own voice and the *two* voices of her tutor (one 'live' and one echoed)—is clear.

Of course, while latency and echoes are both unavoidable traits of Skype and other mediums of networked videoconferencing, some observers may consider them purely logistical problems, the effects of which stand to be reduced with improvements in software and network technologies. Visual mirroring, however—the use of small inset windows that show a live video feed of one's own face within or near the window with one's interlocutor's face—is a built-in, intentional feature of most desktop videoconferencing technology (Mitchell et al. 2010) and was frequently commented on by the Berkeley students. Ann, reflecting on her interactions with Jean, pointed to its salience when she seconded her partner Lynn's observation on the ease of making eye contact online:

Lynn: I think it wasn't a problem. 'Cause you're kinda like looking at the screen and that (.5) makes you look at him indirectly, 'cause like (.5), like (1) but you have to look at the screen, and then that's—he's perceiving that you're looking at him, so (.5) which you are, kind of =

Ann: = That's kinda deep. You're like =

Dave: = That is deep

---

[9] Corroborating this, her partner Eduardo pointed to the fact that he had included the phrase "interférence du bruit" (noise interference) among the eight summative phrases he wrote on his drawing.

Amandine:	Alor[s en attendant (1)
Amandine₂:	[Alors en attendant (.5)
	en at[tendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (1)
	[en attendant on va commencer. Alors Kelly? (.5)
Kelly:	Oui?
Kelly₂:	Oui?=
Amandine:	=Kelly?
Amandine₂:	Kelly?
Kelly:	Oui?
Kelly₂:	Oui?
Amandine:	Tu pe[nses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus.
Amandine₂:	[Tu penses à un lieu que tu aimes sur le campus=
	=Mais [tu ne dis pas.
	[Mais tu ne dis [pas
	Tu] pe[nses dans ta tête (.5)
	[Tu penses dans ta tête=
	=à un [lieu que tu aimes. (2)
	[à un lieu que tu aimes. (1.5)
	Tu co[mprends? Alors.
	[Tu comprends? [Alors.
Kelly:	Uh], [je ne sais pas quoi lieu (.5)
Kelly₂:	[Uh, je ne sais pas quoi lieu=
	=est.
	est.

Fig. 9.7 Kelly speaking with her tutor Amandine while hearing the echoes of both voices (Kelly₂ and Amandine₂) at a delay of approximately 0.5 s

Ann: I'm looking at the screen, and then you're looking at him, and I could also see myself, it's like, it's.

However, Ann, who raised the topic of the inset window image in her interview (last line of the above conversation), and who even acknowledged that she occasionally used it to check her hair before the lessons started, was also adamant that she was looking *directly* at Jean when they spoke via Skype. Attempting to elicit the students' thoughts on the seeming paradox (common to videoconferencing) of per-

ceiving oneself to be looked at when one's interlocutor's eyes on-screen appear to be cast downward, the interviewer asked the follow-up question, "And when he was looking at you, did it look like he was looking right at you?" Ann and Lynn replied:

Ann: Mm-hmm. Yeah.
Dave: Oh.
Lynn: Yeah.
Dave: Yeah.
Ann: You could see when he would look, like, from Lynn to me or, depending on who was talking.
Lynn: [Mm-hmm
Ann: [You could see like
Dave: Uh huh (1) And his eyes were looking at, like, right at your eyes when he was doing that?
Ann: Mm-hmm

Here, Ann's 'forgetting' of the mediation of eyes and faces contrasts with Kelly's claim that echoes in the audio channel disturbed her ability to communicate with Amandine and Eduardo evidence perhaps of the resistance of time to compression online, in contradistinction to space (Boellstorff 2008; see Sect. 9.2.2): audio lag and echoes contravened against the students' and tutors' basic ability to understand and make themselves understood by their distally located partners, while the simultaneous presence of two or more moving images on the screen at once was not perceived as disturbing these abilities.

However, in light of Kelly's difficulties in recognizing the place-guessing game as such (even though she understood the word for "place"), and considering Ann's "revelation" that she could "look twice" at a French man on Skype but said that she did not see him as French, we suggest that in the cases of *both* Kelly and Ann, we may see the confounding effects of CMC upon heteroglossic language learning. Voice and appearance, separated from the living bodies of students of French through the mediation of microphones and webcams, headphones, and screens, seem hard-pressed to reconstitute whole human subjects in dialogue.

9.4   Discussion

By using desktop videoconferencing with French tutors in Lyon to teach French in a Berkeley classroom, language educators on both sides of this trans-Atlantic telecollaboration were seeking to establish a dialogue between 'American learners of French' in California and 'French graduate student instructors' in France. The scare quotes around these two denominations are meant to already highlight the initial difficulty of naming precisely the Self and the Other. For the Lyon tutors, the Berkeley undergraduates were perceived as 'NNSs' and 'Americans' even though the students did not necessarily see themselves as 'typically American' nor as NNS;

for the Berkeley students, the graduate student instructors were perceived as 'native speakers' and 'French' even though some of them were of non-French origin, with only near-native proficiency in French. Much of the thrill of engaging in this exchange was based on the imagined nature of Self and Other and on the desire to escape the traditional boundaries of the Self. Both the American and the French investigators intended to have the undergraduate and graduate students 1) get in touch with the foreign Other, 2) experience the presence of the foreign Other, and 3) understand themselves through the eyes of the Other by taking the perspective of the Other.

As we saw in the data presented in Sect. 9.3, videoconferencing technology enabled the students to achieve these goals but on its own terms. On the one hand, it fulfilled its promise to give the Berkeley undergraduates *direct* access to native speakers across time and space, an opportunity for *authentic* communication, *genuine* exploration of foreign worldviews, *unmediated* negotiation of meaning, and *real* language use. By circumventing the traditional institutional constraints (exams, grades) and institutional authority (teacher power, classroom regulations), computer-mediated technology opened up free access to the 'real world' of French language and culture. Similarly, for the Lyon graduate students, the technology gave an opportunity to apply a French pedagogy of *Français Langue Étrangère* (FLe) to nonimmigrant learners with highly educated, international ambitions. Videoconferencing was a way of increasing the possibilities of not only improving one's French but also enhancing one's international understanding on the basis of genuine dialogue and the free exchange of ideas. In short, it promised to develop what we have called "heteroglossic language learning."

On the other hand, if computer-mediated technology enabled the tutors and students to experience heteroglossia, it did so on its own terms.

1. It enabled them to get in touch with the foreign Other, yes, but on the terms of the screen's interface, with its truncated embodiments, its fragmentations, and its overreliance on linguistic signs to convey meaning. Embodied cognition in CMC was translated into "window frames" and the representation of body parts (the tilt of a head, the waving of a hand, and the direction of an eye gaze) that was often ill-matched with other body parts 6,000 miles away. This fragmentation of the body made it easier to imagine and thus to actually see on the screen a national Other with all its attendant national stereotypes, e.g., Ann and (aggressive) French males, Jean and (puritan) American women. The fact that Jean did not turn out to conform to Ann's stereotype of French males can be seen as a positive effect of computer technology, of course. However, the medium did not facilitate a deeper dialogue about the stereotype itself, in part because of the linguistic and cultural limitations of the two interlocutors, and in part because of the ambiguity of the communicative situation (Was it a pedagogic exercise? An informal chitchat? An institutional requirement?).

2. CMC offered the possibility of experiencing the foreign in the present, but this present was translated into "audio/video synchronicity" with all its attendant

problems, its time compressions, delays, and gaps between sound and image. The disconcerting effect of hearing your utterances repeated when you expected to hear your interlocutor's answer made the relation of Self and Other more ambiguous than expected. It suddenly blurred the boundaries between speakers and thus hampered rather than fostered heteroglossia in Bakhtin's sense.

3. Computer mediation potentially afforded the opportunity to take the perspective of the Other, but this double perspective was translated into "monitoring your visibility" by the Other on the screen. As we saw in Sect. 9.3.3, Ann herself commented upon the ubiquity of the inset window as an ever-present reflection of the Self; we regard the fact that nearly two-thirds of the 28 student participants in the 2008 and 2009 exchanges prominently included *themselves* in their drawings of their online learning experiences as illustrative as well. In all dimensions of Bakhtin's heteroglossia, the computer offered a simulation of embodiment, presence, and double-voicedness that resignified these notions and gave them a different meaning.

Indeed, technologies of synchronous CMC distort and transform the very dimensions of time, space, and representation necessary for heteroglossic or multivoiced communication, and demand our undivided attention: (1) They disaggregate the human body in space, and sever the link between eyes, faces, hands, bodies, etc., forcing speakers to attend to the constraints of the technology (screen, gaze, eye movements, etc.); (2) they universally exhibit at least some degree of latency between signal transmission and reception (sometimes with differences between audio and video lag times), again requiring the user to attend to the technical parameters of long-distance communication (echo and repetition); (3) they multiply the representation of reality through inset or side-by-side windows that require users to self-monitor their own responses to the demands of the technology.

To be sure, educators and technologists alike may envision a more perfect videoconferencing environment than that described in this chapter—one with high-resolution transmissions, boundless screens, and no perceptible delays. However, the diminishment of heteroglossia online has only partially to do with technological shortcomings or outright failures such as those experienced by students like Kelly and Ann. To this point, we find a recent US industry study exploring computer users' preferences regarding the next generation of video feedback windows instructive: after testing numerous options for optimizing this feature, the study finds that users "wanted to be able to see themselves looking straight ahead, as if they were looking at the other participants even when they were looking at themselves" (Mitchell et al. 2010). In this vision for the future of videoconferencing and, perhaps, other more 'advanced' communications technologies, not only do the latencies, stoppages, and other perceptible limitations of the system disappear but also the system itself aspires to become invisible. As we imagine future classes of language learners and their intercultural peers and teachers online, who would then be less able to discern when their overseas partners are looking at them and when they are monitoring themselves, the boundaries between Self, Other, and world so necessary to Bakhtin's heteroglossia will have unfortunately disappeared.

9.5   Conclusion

This brief study of synchronous videoconferencing in the teaching of foreign languages has shown how ambiguous the notion of heteroglossia becomes when mediated by the computer. The effort of the interlocutors to grapple with the medium on the one hand brings them closer together around a common platform and common efforts to overcome the limitations of the computer. On the other hand, it forces them to devote all their attention to the technology itself at the expense of deeper negotiation of social and cultural meanings, let alone worldviews. While communication across linguistic, national, and ethnic boundaries has become more difficult due to globalization and the uncertainty of intentions and expectations of people around the world, CMC levels the playing field around the joint operating table of network time, computer space, and digitized representation. In other words, technology says: "I will bring you closer together, but you will have to communicate on my terms, i.e., you will have to attend to my demands." These demands put into question the very nature of the heteroglossia the computer was meant to bring about. In synchronous CMC, Bakhtin's heteroglossia is both enhanced and distorted. It requires vigilance and caution for fear that, as in the American science fiction film *Bladerunner*, the replicant be taken for the human.

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Chapter 10
Heteroglossic Practices in the Online Publishing Process: Complexities in Digital and Geographical Borderlands

Silvia Noguerón-Liu and Doris S. Warriner

Abstract This chapter explores the multilingual, multidialectal, and multimodal interaction of adult immigrants in the context of digital media composition in the US Southwest. The analysis draws on the notions of heteroglossia, multimodality, and translanguaging, to examine interactions between adult learners of English and the values they attach to different languages, varieties of language, and semiotic systems. With a focus on talk about the challenges and possibilities of creating websites in Spanish (and certain varieties of Spanish), the analysis illuminates the productive coexistence of multiple meaning-making resources; the ways that social, historical, and ideological forces shape available resources and interactional negotiations; and the varied ways that individuals take up or manipulate such influences.

Keywords Multimodality · Online publishing · Social semiotics · Translanguaging

Transcription Notation

_____	stressed word or syllable
Bold	speech of central interest to analysis
(.)	pause of less than 1 second
↑	rising intonation
↓	falling intonation
=	two utterances closely connected without noticeable overlap
[ ]	overlap between speakers
Italic	word said in a different language during the interaction
((a))	transcriber's description

_____

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10.1   Introduction

For first-generation immigrants to the USA from Spanish-speaking countries, their efforts to use a computer, search the Internet, send electronic messages, and/or create digital texts are mediated by a number of factors, including their own multilingual resources, the content they encounter, and their distinct cultural experiences. This is particularly true for adult users who are learning how to navigate the Internet for the first time. Researchers have studied the nature of computer-mediated discourse (Androutsopoulos 2006a), the characteristics of virtual communities (Hine 2000), and the nature of Internet use in local contexts (Miller and Slater 2000). Yet there is no systematic examination of how novice technology users rely on multiple linguistic resources to understand, navigate, and respond to the content presented to them via web-based applications. While the use of multiple languages online has been studied from macro- and micro-social perspectives—e.g., measuring linguistic diversity at a global scale and exploring the social and situated practices of multilingual users (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012)—this research has neglected the experiences of individuals with limited knowledge or access to information and communication technologies. Indeed, the practices of multilingual novice technology users remain unexamined, and we have very little research on the offline and online interactions that socialize them into the affordances of online interfaces (Chandler et al. 2007).

In order to analyze how adult immigrant learners negotiate meaning by drawing on a wide range of resources, including different language varieties, registers, and modalities, we explore their multilingual, multidialectal, and multimodal interaction in the context of a web design class in the US Southwest. Drawing on the notions of heteroglossia (Bailey 2012; Bakhtin 1981), multimodality (Kress 2009; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001; Van Leeuwen 2007), and translanguaging (Garcia 2008), we examine classroom interactions between novice technology users, with a focus on how these interactions are shaped by the values participants attach to different languages, varieties of language, and semiotic systems. Using heteroglossia as a lens, we analyze how participants in this class not only negotiate multiple social worlds through codeswitching, but also make sense of the affordances of online interfaces, and situate the imagined audiences of their digital texts. The concept of translanguaging (García 2008) allows us to understand the value of multilingualism and hybridity for performing identity and negotiating meaning in locally relevant ways. And finally, a social semiotics approach to multimodality allows us to add semiotic resources to our analysis of the practices involved in computer-mediated activity. Together, these constructs (heteroglossia, translanguaging, and multimodality) provide a useful lens through which the use of technology by members of immigrant communities living in borderlands regions can be examined. Findings show that diverse migration trajectories and different academic experiences both shape individuals' participation in digital literacy practices.

The analysis illuminates the influence of practices and ideologies in the digital and geographic borderlands that immigrants in the US Southwest negotiate on a daily basis. With a focus on participants' talk about the challenges and possibilities of creating websites in Spanish (and certain varieties of Spanish), our findings

illuminate the productive coexistence of multiple meaning-making resources; the ways that social, historical, and ideological forces shape available resources and interactional negotiations; and the varied ways that individuals take up or manipulate such influences. We discuss the complexities of conceptualizing the Internet as a "translocal affinity space" (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012), where multilingualism may be valued as a resource. We also examine the practices of Internet users who belong to more than one speech community in their everyday lives (Danet and Herring 2007), whose communicative repertoires allow them to create local and transnational networks and identities through computer-mediated communication (Androutsopoulos 2006b; Lam 2009; Panagakos and Horst 2006). This inquiry also adds to the body of research on codeswitching practices that take place when individuals engage with others in technology-mediated activity (e.g., Cromdal's 2005 analysis of students' talk in collaborative word processing; Leppänen and Piirainen-Marsh's (2009) examination of codeswitching during videogame playing), including how participants' language choice may facilitate or constrain their emergent digital literacy practices.

10.2   Theoretical Framework

Our analysis of participants' linguistic and semiotic practice draws from a framework that emphasizes the fluid and complex nature of language and communication used in everyday life. In this section, we describe how the constructs *heteroglossia, translanguaging*, and *multimodality* each reflect a view of language as a set of dynamic, emergent, and situationally influenced practices.

10.2.1   Heteroglossia

Bakhtin was concerned with both social dialects and individual differences between speakers, and he believed that such differences characterized all cultures. He theorized the evolution of and struggles between different languages as if they were each a living organism, with a focus on the "stratifying forces" (p. 293) that contributed to the perceived status or prestige of one language variety relative to another. Because Bakhtin was interested in explaining how language varieties and nonstandard dialects are shaped by social, historical, and political influences, he coined the term *heteroglossia* to describe and theorize the existence of and relationship between different language varieties:

> At any given moment in its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These 'languages' of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying 'languages.' (Bakhtin 1981, p. 291)

Bakhtin went on to explain that all these "socially typifying" languages of heteroglossia were influenced by distinct and sometimes contradictory "points of view on the world" (ibid). To Bakhtin, different languages—and the different points of view that they index or support—acquire their character and strength by coexisting with other languages.

As Brandist (2002) points out, Bakhtin was concerned with the languages of oppressed groups in society and argued that every utterance represented a larger tension between the forces of standardization/unification and "popular heterogeneity." As Brandist has described, Bakhtin posited that "every concrete utterance is a microcosm of this struggle between 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' forces that simultaneously unify and stratify language at all stages of its historical existence" (p. 112). Others (e.g., Bailey 2012) describe such tensions as push-and-pull forces between national (or "standard") varieties of language and local (or "nonstandard") varieties. In this view, push–pull forces are sustained by processes of stratification even while contributing to them:

> And this stratification and heteroglossia, once realized, is not only a static invariant of linguistic life, but also what insures its dynamics: stratification and heteroglossia widen and deepen as long as language is alive and developing. (Bakhtin 1981, p. 272)

In this chapter, we draw on Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia and social stratification to describe and analyze how individuals might use multiple different languages, or sign systems, to participate in the social world (Bailey 2012), and how multilingual individuals alternate between the languages of various discursive communities that they have affiliations with. We focus on the choices that Spanish-speaking immigrants make while using online resources. In communities where languages are in contact, such alternations are part of everyday practice.

10.2.2   Translanguaging and Codeswitching

García (2008) refers to *translanguaging*, as the process of "engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices" (p. 44). In this framework, codeswitching is not considered a marked behavior, but the usual way to communicate. The notion of translanguaging expands existing theories of multilingualism by focusing on the social practices of individuals. We draw on this construct in order to move away from a focus on abstract, idealized notions of language as a set of skills (Blommaert 2010), and to emphasize the fact that multilingual users deploy a variety of such concrete *resources* while engaging in everyday practice. Following Blommaert's rationale, we see codeswitching (an example of this phenomenon) as a shift in voice, instead of a switch of just languages, where individuals mobilize resources from a complex repertoire of "concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities" (p. 102). By focusing on the complexity of immigrants' multilingual *repertoires* that comprise these resources, the analysis demonstrates that multilingual repertoires are assessed and valued within particular spaces (Blommaert et al. 2005). Also, by using repertoire as an analytical concept, we are able to capture the

deployment of multiple resources and the struggles and tensions that are manifest in heteroglossic practice.

For Latino communities in the USA, translanguaging practices have been an integral part of identity and belonging. Spanish and English take different forms, reflecting the linguistic and cultural practices of speakers that maintain ties with various discursive communities, and localized varieties of the languages in contact are utilized (Niño-Murcia, Godenzzi and Rothman 2008). Codeswitching changes in various regions and within groups of Latinos in the nation (Zentella 1997) and the linguistic differences between these groups illustrate the historically and culturally situated nature of language alternation from heteroglossic lenses. A translanguaging lens allows us to understand how linguistic practices are shaped by a particular "historical flow of social relationships, struggles, and meanings" (Bailey 2012).

10.2.3 Multimodality

In addition to the linguistic resources mentioned above, we also consider *semiotic resources* for meaning-making (Van Leeuwen 2007): actions and artifacts for communication, including those produced with a person's body (e.g., gestures, voice) and those produced through the use of technologies (e.g., with a pencil or computer software). According to the theory of social semiotics, a multimodal analysis moves away from a focus on the "grammar" of sign systems to the systematic study of resources that are neither stable nor fixed. This represents a shift that is aligned with the changes in communication and representation through digital means (Kress 2009). From this lens, we observe how semiotic resources work together and how individuals strategically utilize them in social practice (Van Leeuwen 2007).

Similar ideas about moving away from abstract conceptions of language are noted in the fields of computer-mediated discourse and sociolinguistics of new media. Instead of focusing on the medium of communication, more attention is now paid to "user-related" situated practices and social contexts where such practices take place (Androutsopoulos 2006a). As a result, language choice in online interaction can also be regarded as a semiotic strategy, where individuals mobilize resources for particular purposes. For instance, users may switch languages to perform a certain identity online, or to achieve stylistic or cultural effects (Leppänen and Peuronen 2012). Research conducted on the practices of multilingual youth (Lam 2009; McGinnis et al. 2007) has showcased the incorporation of semiotic resources in heteroglossic practices, where they participate in online interaction and media production that include various languages, language varieties, and textual resources. Young immigrants utilize images, icons, colors, and layouts in their design of websites or personal profiles that connect them with multiple localities and discursive communities around the world. More recently, "digital heteroglossia" is of special interest in work on the use of Web. 2.0 applications, such as blogs, microblogging, or user-generated media-sharing sites like YouTube (Androutsopoulos 2011).

10.3   Methodology

The data analyzed here are taken from a larger study that investigated adult immigrants' digital literacy practices, their language choice in online spaces, and the ways these practices fostered or limited connections across spaces. The interactions analyzed here took place in a semester-long web design class in a metro area in the US Southwest, a few hours away from the US–Mexico border, during the spring months of 2010. Silvia Noguerón-Liu negotiated multiple roles as a researcher and practitioner, as she was also the instructor of this class. Students in the group were between 30 and 60 years old and had all been born in Spanish-speaking countries, with distinct immigration trajectories and academic/work experiences in the USA and in their countries of origin. These factors shaped their technology access and academic literacy skills in Spanish and English at the time of the study. Classroom sessions were conducted in Spanish, with occasional codeswitching to English to refer to terms and functions in operating systems and web-based applications.

10.3.1   Participants

In the two excerpts selected for analysis, we highlight the participation of four students in the class (all names are pseudonyms) because their viewpoints and perspectives about language choice in technology domains prompted the analyzed exchanges. Two of the participants (Rita and Rafael) were also focal participants in the larger study, which meant they also participated in individual interviews or focus groups, in addition to being audio-recorded in classroom interaction. Rita (age 60) had lived in the USA for over 40 years, codeswitched in conversation frequently, and was fluent in spoken English. She reported her formal education was limited, since she had only completed elementary school in Mexico. Jaime (age 45), who attended class with his spouse, worked in a landscaping business. Like Rita, Jaime struggled with academic literacy in Spanish and English (e.g., he frequently misspelled words in both languages). Mónica and Rafael (both in their mid-40s) had higher academic literacy skills in Spanish. Mónica was a small business owner, self-reported as fluent in English. Rafael had completed a college degree in Mexico, but regarded his English skills to be more limited.

10.3.2   Data Analysis

Our analysis includes coding to identify classroom interactions related to language choice and codeswitching in audio recordings. The excerpts selected were analyzed and coded in terms of the following categories: (a) language choice in web-based interfaces (e.g., e-mail, blog provider); (b) language choice in online search keywords; (c) requests to clarify or translate functions/commands in English; (d) setting up spell-check dictionaries and keyboards to switch from English to Spanish; and

(e) language choice in planning, outlining, and drafting website content. In addition, some of the themes analyzed in interview data about Rita's digital literacy practices are also presented in the first section of findings, in order to illustrate the restrictions she faced when she chose English or Spanish at home and in the classroom.

We also accounted for the use of registers in participants' interactions, including the specialized language of online content management systems and the specialized domain of landscaping, as defined and explained by Jaime, one of the participants in the second interaction. We looked at the semiotic resources that mediate human–computer interface interaction, with a focus on the metaphors embedded in operating and content management systems. For novice technology users, the understanding of these metaphors is a crucial element in their success in interacting with applications—for instance, with graphic user interfaces that rely heavily on knowledge of how items in a physical office are organized (Gaver 1995). By paying attention to specialized languages and metaphors in our analysis, we were able to note the extent and variety of participants' linguistic repertoires, and the ways they aligned with the demands of technology use in their everyday practice.

10.4   Findings

Two excerpts examined here illustrate the tensions that participants faced when they negotiated their stances toward codeswitching in the web design class. Some tensions involved translanguaging practices in everyday routines, and other tensions were present in the following stages of the composition process: (a) during students' navigation of the blog interface that allowed them to post and edit content and (b) during a session of brainstorming and outlining website content. In the first instance, we illustrate how Rita, for whom translanguaging was part of her everyday routine, negotiated the terms used in a Spanish translation of a blog interface. In the second instance, we focus on the feedback that Jaime received from his peers on his use of a Spanglish word in a webpage outline.

10.4.1   Negotiating Languages, Registers, and Metaphors in Online Interfaces

From classroom observation and interview data, Silvia (first author) noticed that Rita (age 60) often relied on a complex hybrid linguistic repertoire to navigate work, school, and family situations and relationships. She had lived in the USA for almost 40 years, traveled to her hometown in Mexico at least once a year, and shared a household with her bilingual son and granddaughters (who preferred English to communicate) while taking care of her own mother, who spoke only Spanish. She considered herself proficient in spoken English, in part because she had used English frequently for communication at several jobs she had in the past. Rita's online

searches also demonstrated her fluidity in language alternation, where she utilized both languages, depending on the information she needed. For instance, she typed "*como cosinar pollo*" [sic: How to cook chicken] and "turkey meetloaf" [sic] in two sequential web searches for recipes. Rita reported that she also watched recipe videos uploaded by Spanish speakers to YouTube and cooking shows in English at the Food Network site, and she followed the local and international news in the local Spanish-speaking radio stations, Univisión and CNN. Overall, in her media consumption practices, she did not compartmentalize languages, and in her family interactions, codeswitching was often used to accommodate members with different migration trajectories and language preferences.

However, Rita voiced a concern with her reading and writing skills in both languages, especially in English. She characterized her opportunities to engage in translanguaging as minimal when responding to an online form in a state government site. When asked to choose, she indicated a preference for Spanish:

> Cuando algo me piden *steps* o me piden alguna cosa, entonces digo yo, mejor en español…. Aunque muchas veces, es mucho mejor, también, mira, muchas veces que el español, algunas palabras no son iguales y es mejor que te vayas, te vayas al inglés.

> When they ask me for something or for *steps*, then I say, better in Spanish…. Although many times, it is a lot better, also, see, many times that in Spanish, some words are not the same and it's better that you go, that you go to English.
> (Interview, 11-7-2009)

In this excerpt, Rita describes a tension between the potential benefits of each choice. While Spanish supported her full comprehension of forms or steps, she expressed concern about the content of the forms "not being the same" as they were in English. She also noted during online searches that English was good "*porque tienes más opciones*" [because you have more options]. She noted the lack of online content in Spanish, and expressed distrust in the translated forms she used. While individuals are able to create content and interact in online environments in more than one language, interfaces and applications like the ones Rita encountered still reproduced notions of language that were bounded and static, where the translanguaging that she engaged in was not possible.

The following excerpt demonstrates the lack of flexibility of online applications and interfaces that do not accommodate multilingual users like Rita. When this interaction occurred, Silvia had been helping students understand the various features in a free blogging platform (2-10-2010). When an individual creates a blog, a "sample" post and a comment are generated automatically, so that users see an example. Silvia showed students how to delete these items by directing them to the comment menu. Most students had chosen to keep the blog interface in English, arguing that it would help them "practice" this language, while others (like Rita) preferred Spanish. The functions in the comments' menu in both languages appear below:

> Unapprove | Reply | Quick Edit | Edit | Spam | **Trash**
> Rechazar | Responder | Edición rápida | Editar | Spam | **Papelera**

The menu options include lexical items common in the register of word-processing, e-mail composition, and social media. These include functions to respond to some-

body's message/comment, edit digital files, and sort them into a spam or a trash folder. The semiotic range of this register draws heavily on an office desktop metaphor (e.g., sorting and organizing files and entries) and also on social conventions of an oral conversation (e.g., the social expectations of replying to a comment). It is expected that new users of a blog platform are familiar with these conventions.

Showing the English interface in the projector, Silvia explained that they would see the word "trash" as the command that would delete the comment by clicking on it. However, Rita requested help, explaining she could not see the word "trash" in her menu. Silvia observed in Rita's screen that her interface language was Spanish and directed her to click on the word "*papelera*" [wastepaper basket], the translation that the blog platform provided for "trash." In the following quote, Rita argued against the use of such term, pointing to the inaccuracy of the translation:

> Es que es totalmente diferente, Silvia, porque *trash*, para nosotros, es **basura**. Y pues aquí dice **papelera…papelera**…
> It is totally different Silvia, because *trash*, for us, means **trash**. And well, here it says…
> **wastepaper basket, wastepaper basket.**

In this excerpt, Rita expresses her dissatisfaction with the term "*papelera*," arguing for the use of a more conventional translation in the form of the word "*basura.*" She aligns with a speech community that utilizes a particular variety of Spanish (*"para nosotros, es basura*" "for us, it means trash") where translanguaging is a normative practice. Because the word "*papelera*" is not commonly used by all Spanish speakers, Rita recommended using *basura*, a more common translation for Mexican users, like her.

Another possible obstacle to Rita's comprehension of this word was her lack of familiarity with the use of this term in technology-related domains. The word *papelera* is often found in the Spanish translation of "recycle bin" in Windows, translated as "*papelera de reciclaje*." As a result, this lexical item has become part of the technology register for Windows users in Spanish-speaking countries. However, Rita had not had any previous experience with an operating system or electronic sorting of documents prior to attending computer courses at the research site. She did not have a technology register to draw from, and she lacked experience with the office desktop metaphor in the blog platform. Even though Rita was fluent in oral Spanish, her unfamiliarity with a language variety and a technical register complicated her interaction with the interface. When this occurred, she drew from her English vocabulary repertoire to recognize the word "trash," and then made sense of what needed to be done to delete a comment. But the English word emerged in social interaction with the instructor and other students whose interfaces were in English. Had Rita attempted to delete blog comments by herself at home, this mediation of meaning through interaction would not have occurred.

In response to Rita's observation, another student, Mónica, provided an alternative for her to negotiate this tension with an unfamiliar word. She explained the meaning of the commonly used office metaphor with a gesture (grabbing and shaking a sheet of paper) to demonstrate the situated meaning of *papelera* in this context, clarifying, "*estamos hablando de documentos*" [we are talking about documents]. While Rita's previous comment made visible the mismatch between the

interface designers' choice and the linguistic repertoire of her discursive communi-ty, Mónica's suggestion positioned the end users as responsible for making sense of the word, and she used the office metaphor as a mediational tool. Because Mónica's work and schooling experiences had provided her with many opportunities of so-cialization into academic literacies, she had resources in her repertoire that helped her navigate the interface:

Mónica:	Nomás porque está desechando, como si estuviera desechando sto, ((grabs and shakes esheet of paper)), por eso dice **papelera.**
Silvia:	Papelera es como la **basura,** ¿no?
Mónica	Bueno, la… la **basura,** en español es algo general. Pero, como aquí estamos hablando de documentos, entonces por eso… es que nada más es cuestión de, de pensar.
Mónica:	It's because you are throwing something away, like if you were getting rid of this ((grabs and shakes a sheet of paper)), that's why it says **wastepaper basket**
Silvia	Wastepaper basket is like **trash**, isn't it?
Mónica:	Well… **trash**, in Spanish is something general. But, since we are talking about documents here, then that's why… it's just a matter of, of… putting some thought into it.

The dissonance between Rita's knowledge and the interface commands points to the complexities of design and bounded notions of language in Internet applications. As Jewitt (2005) explains, "it is not the technology that determines people's meaning making; the medium of the book, or the CD-ROM—like all media, is shaped by the people who use it, and what it is that they do with it." (p. 189). When individuals interact with electronic interfaces or texts, Jewitt argues, the resources available in their design will present both constraints and possibilities for users. In Rita's situation, even when she had a complex set of linguistic resources in heteroglossic practice, the lexical items and metaphors she encountered in a blog platform posed an obstacle for her understanding.

10.4.2 Negotiating Multiple Languages and Registers for an Online Audience

The next interaction (recorded 3-24-2010) shows how an Anglicism ("*trimear*") was used to describe the potential content of a student's website. In this situation, the students had been brainstorming and outlining the sections of their personal website project, to be published using the blog platform described above. One of the stu-dents, Jaime, was drafting and outlining a website to advertise a small landscaping business. Silvia used Jaime's draft navigation map as an example for other students

and asked them to think about ways to use words that their audiences could understand. She asked Jaime about the list of services he wanted to include in his site, in an attempt to illustrate this point. In lines 103–104, Jaime mobilizes his knowledge of the formal register of landscaping in Spanish ("irrigation") in addition to more accessible, everyday language to describe their services (e.g., mow the lawn, plant seeds). He also displays his familiarity with codeswitching when he mentions the term "*trimear*"—a term borrowed from English and conjugated as a Spanish verb:

101	Silvia	A lo mejor Jaime sabe mucho de *landscaping* y hay términos que solo él conoce,
102		y la gente que son expertos conoce. ¿Qué servicios ofrece?
103	Jaime:	O sea (.) **trimear** palmas, árboles, podar zacate, sembrar semilla, ah, todo lo que
104		se trata de:e **irrigación**.

101	Silvia	Maybe Jaime knows a lot about *landscaping* and there are terms he only knows
102		and people who are experts know. What services do you offer?
103	Jaime:	Mmmm (.) ***trimear*** palm trees, mow the lawn, plant seeds, uhm, everything
104		about (.) **irrigation.**

In this utterance, Jaime displays the heteroglossic practices made possible by his multilingualism and fostered by his participation in the landscaping discursive community, where he frequently alternates between Spanish and English, between specialized and everyday languages, and between formal and informal registers.

Later (as illustrated in the following excerpt), Silvia tried to build on Jaime's response to push students to clarify words their audience may not understand, while Rafael sought clarification for the term "*trimear*" (lines 109–110). During their interaction, Mónica and Rita revoiced the term in an affirming tone, signaling recognition of this term, but Jaime chose to translate (line 115) to the standard Spanish "*podar.*" In line 117, Rafael asked for more specific details of the social practice, to which Rita responded "it's like shaping."

105	Silvia:	OK, irrigación. Entonces cuando usa una palabra como irrigación, si me da
106		una idea que tiene que ver con el riego, pero a lo mejor hay servicios, hay
107		cosas específicas que yo no sé y hay que describirlo para gente que no lo
108		hace. [Entonces]
109	Rafael:	[Como esa], **como esa palabra que dijo** (.) **yo no sé que es.** (.) ¿*Trim*?
110		
111	Jaime:	¿Trimear?
112	Rafael:	¿Trimear?
113	Mónica:	↓Trimear.
114	Rita:	↓Trimear.
115	Jaime:	=O sea, en español, podar.
116		((simultaneous talk in classroom, inaudible))
117	Rafael:	¿Es darle forma, o nada más cortar?
118	Rita:	**Es como darle forma**…
119	Silvia:	Oh sí, ¿qué es? ¿Darle forma?
120	Jaime:	=**Sí, darle forma a los árboles.**

105	Silvia:	OK, irrigation, then when he uses a word like irrigation, I get an idea of it
106		relating to watering, but maybe there are services, specific things that I don't
107		know about and you need to describe them for people who do not do that.
108		[Then]
109	Rafael:	[Like that], that word he said (.) **I don't know what that means.** (.) *Trim*?
110		
111	Jaime:	*Trimear*?
112	Rafael:	*Trimear*?
113	Mónica:	↓*Trimear.*
114	Rita:	↓*Trimear.*
115	Jaime:	=I mean, in Spanish, *podar.*
116		((simultaneous talk and laughter in classroom, inaudible))
117	Rafael:	Does it mean to shape, or just to cut?
118	Rita:	**It's like shaping.**
119	Silvia:	Oh yes? What is it? Shaping?
120	Jaime:	**=Yes, shaping the trees**

By coconstructing the definition of the term with examples, Rita and Jaime aligned themselves with a discursive community that relies on codeswitching as a resource (lines 118 and 120). In addition, Jaime displays the range of their repertoire of linguistic resources by providing a standard Spanish translation, since he was able to switch back and forth across language varieties.

Later, however (in lines 121, 124–125), Mónica labeled the borrowed term "*trimear*" as "Spanglish" and described it in negative terms, as "not the right word." Just as the online forms forced Rita to choose one language, instead of letting her draw from her translanguaging practices, Monica directed Jaime to make the same choice: to either use the English word "trim," or the Spanish translation, "*podar*":

121	Mónica:	=Es que lo que él dijo fue **una, una, Spanglish**.
122	Jaime:	=Sí, [fue]
123		[((simultaneous talk and laughter in classroom, inaudible))]
124	Mónica:	Un poco de inglés, un poco de español. **Pero no es la palabra correcta**. **No**
125		**es una palabra correcta**. [Tiene que decir *trim*]
126	Jaime:	**[Así dice uno]**
127	Mónica:	=O podar

121	Mónica:	=That thing he said, that was, **uh, Spanglish.**
122	Jaime:	=Yes [it was]
123		[((simultaneous talk and laughter in classroom, inaudible))]
124	Mónica:	A little English, a little Spanish. **But it's not the right word. Not the right**
125		**word**. [You have to say *trim*]
126	Jaime:	**[That's what one says.]**
127	Mónica:	=Or "*podar*"

In this interaction, we see centrifugal and centripetal forces at play, as the speakers alternate between valuing heteroglossia and imposing standardizing practices. For instance, even though Monica views languages as bounded codes that should

be kept separate, Jaime describes the value of situated, everyday practice: "That's what one says" (line 126). By using the mitigated form of first-person singular in the impersonal "one," Jaime defends the role of "*trimear*" in general, and in his own communicative repertoire in particular.

After a few more turns, Mónica continued to argue for adhering to a standard language choice, arguing that Spanglish terms were not recognizable to all speakers. In lines 142–143, for instance, Mónica animates a confused interlocutor who hears the term "*parquear*" (another term borrowed from English and conjugated according to Spanish grammatical norms) when she states "That you are going to do wha:t?" In response, Jaime situates the use of "*trimear*" in a particular geographical location and as appropriate for inter-group communication: "***acá** con los güeros*" [**over here**, with the "fair-skinned"]. By doing so, Jaime reminds Mónica that the needs and demands of their lives in the USA require the hybridization of Spanish:

142	Mónica:	Porque es como dice, voy a parquear el carro. ¿Que va a hacer qué:e? <u>Voy a</u>
143		↑<u>es-ta-cio-nar</u> el carro!
144	Jaime:	=**Esas son palabras que usa uno [acá con los güeros,** se le sale a uno]
145	Mónica:	[*I'm going to park the car*]. Es Spanglish
146	Silvia:	Y eso se le hace que es normal, [o malo o es bueno]
147	Mónica:	[**No:o son modismos**]
148	Jaime:	=No (.) no es bueno porque **son palabras este:e (.) hechas por el mexicano**,
149		pues que [así lo habla]
150	Rita:	[**El latino**]
151	Jaime:	=Y **se descuida uno** y lo habla así.

142	Mónica:	Because it is like saying, I'm going to *parquear* the car. That you are going
143		to do wha:t? <u>I'm –going-to-↑park-the-car</u>! ((Spanish))
144	Jaime:	=**Those are words that you use [over here with the *güeros*,** they slip out]
145	Mónica:	[*I'm going to park the car.*] That's Spanglish.
146	Silvia:	And do you think that's normal, [good or bad]
147	Mónica:	[**No:o they are idioms**]
148	Jaime:	No (.) it is not good because **they are words, uhm, made up by the**
149		**Mexican**, because that's [how he speaks]
150	Rita:	[**The Latino**]
151	Jaime:	=And then you are **careless** and speak like this

This interaction between Jaime and Mónica illuminates the tensions that exist in all of our utterances between centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin 1981). As Blommaert (2010) points out, we can think of language in use as representing at least two different states of being: "language-in-motion" (where language forms and meanings are dynamic and evolving) and "language-in-place" (where language forms and meanings should be fixed and standardized). Such tensions appear between and within each speaker. As a result of Jaime's migration trajectory and the social demands of his job, he is able to deploy linguistic resources in a variety of ways (some of which are hybrid). At the same time, he has internalized negative connotations to Spanglish words (lines 148–149), attributing these transformations

to "Mexicans," even though Rita expands the critique to a wider, Latino population
(line 150). Although Jaime describes codeswitching of this type as a "careless" act,
he also seems to recognize the need for immigrant communities to adapt while in a
language contact zone.

Toward the end of this interaction, students continued to build on the characteriza-
tion of Spanglish as a careless practice. In the following excerpt, Mónica and Rafael
coconstruct the negative consequences of heteroglossic practices and translanguag-
ing for families and children of immigrants. In lines 156–158, we see that Monica
and Jaime work together to label certain marked practices as "terrible Spanish" and
a "source of shame" for parents. The tension between centripetal and centrifugal
forces is evident here as Jaime argues for the situated value of codeswitching by
arguing "*nosotros así nos entendemos*" [that's how we understand each other] (lines
159–160) and then animating a workplace interaction where "*trimear*" is utilized
(line 162). However, in their last comments, both Jaime and Mónica agree on the
"wrong" nature of codeswitching, and Mónica positions herself as having the au-
thority to police and repair this utterance. In this instance, centripetal forces are
robust and strong, and standard varieties are considered more valuable.

152   Mónica: Y lo empieza a usar, **a mal usar. Porque es un mal uso del idioma**.
153   Rafael: **=Está mal para los niños**. [Para las nuevas generaciones]
154   Mónica: [**Es un mal uso del idioma**]
155   Rafael   =Porque ellos si [hablan así].
156   Mónica: [Por eso] muchos de los muchachos que crecen aquí hablan
157   **un español pésimo. Y es una vergüenza para nosotros que**
158   **[nuestros hijos hablen así.]**
159   Jaime: [Pero entre nosotros], así para **nosotros si nos entendemos**
160
161   Mónica: =Sí, pues sí.
162   Jaime: =Como en el trabajo…. ¿qué es? Pues, ↓trimear. ¿Verdad?
163   Silvia: Para fines prácticos, le parece que si puede usarlo.
164   Jaime: =**Pero está mal.**
165   Silvia: Se le hace que está mal.
166   Mónica: =**Ya le corregí** lo primero.
167   ((class laughter))

152   Mónica: You start to use it, **misuse it. Because it is a bad use of the language.**
153   Rafael: It's bad for children. [For the new generations]
154   Mónica: [**It's a bad use of the language**]
155   Rafael: =Because [they speak like that]
156   Mónica: [That's why] many kids that grow up here speak a **terrible**
157   **Spanish. And it's a shame for us that [our children speak like that]**
158
159   Jaime: [But among us], like among us **we do**
160   **understand each other**
161   Mónica: =Yes, well, yes.
162   Jaime: =Like at work (.) What is it? Well, ↓*trimear*. Right?
163   Silvia: So for practical purposes, do you think you can use it?
164   Jaime: =**But it's wrong.**
165   Silvia: You think it's wrong
166   Mónica: =**I corrected** his first.
167   ((class laughter))

It is worth noting that in Jaime's final draft of his website text, he utilized the word "*podar*" and not the Anglicism "*trimear*." In his efforts to represent and advertise the services of a landscaping company, Jaime was caught in between favoring the pragmatic value of codeswitching on site, or adhering to conventions standard in Spanish. In the context of online publishing for a seemingly wide, imagined, global audience, the purpose of Jaime's website was to reach a clientele in his immediate community, who may have shared the same translanguaging practices that he and Rita engaged in. However, the content of his blog was evaluated by an audience of peers who differed in understandings and experiences of translanguaging as everyday practice. All students had migrated from the same nation of origin (Mexico), but their academic and professional experiences had shaped their own linguistic repertoire and flexibility to deploy multiple resources differently.

10.5 Discussion

These interactions showcase the complex ecology of digital literacy practices in multilingual communities and the constant shifts among social positionalities experienced by participants who are also novices in technology use. In particular, these findings illustrate the tensions between the centripetal and centrifugal forces that shaped participants' interactions with peers and with online interfaces. Codeswitching and the localization of standard Spanish were crucial resources in the everyday practices of communities where Rita and Jaime lived and worked. Their heteroglossic and translanguaging practices complicate their stances toward the dominant status of English and standard Spanish. The privileged position ascribed to standard varieties of each language was reproduced not only by institutions or fixed interfaces but also in and through interaction, where language policing revealed the existence of standard language ideologies toward codeswitching. As Blommaert et al. (2005) note, sociolinguistic repertoires, such as the ones Rita and Jaime attempted to deploy, are assessed in regard to the norms and expectations enacted in particular spaces.

These findings also complicate our understanding of the promising nature of synchronous, online communication (e.g., chat) for fostering multilingual interaction, in contrast with the asynchronous, fixed communication practices often encouraged in institutional contexts and official policies (Paolillo 2007). With the increasing popularity of social networks and microblogging (e.g., Facebook and Twitter), multilingual users can easily find spaces to mobilize linguistic and semiotic resources for identity performance. However, as the data analyzed here demonstrate, there are generational and pragmatic aspects that shape online participation in these spaces. While blog platforms and their potential to reach a global audience have been identified as an area of interest for the spread of multilingualism in the Internet (Danet and Herring 2007), the analysis presented here draws attention to the particular needs and practices of adult immigrant users for online publishing. In Rita's case, her obligations and responsibilities as a caregiver and employee required that she engage in online interaction with government-affiliated

institutions by submitting online forms—a "fixed" one-way form of institutional communication. Her translanguaging practices were constrained by the fact that she needed to choose between English and Spanish. She benefitted from user-generated media as a consumer of YouTube videos (recipes in Spanish), yet her experiences with fixed institutional platforms were much more complicated and burdensome. Similarly, Jaime needed to publish a business website for professional purposes, a very different purpose and genre in comparison with a personal blog or a social network profile.

Lastly, these findings point to the ways in which the various semiotic systems, language varieties, and registers in participants' repertoires shaped their participation in digital literacy practices. The struggles faced by Rita demonstrate the lack of alignment between her experiences and those of imagined end users of online applications (Laguerre 2010), because these interfaces will be more transparent for users like Monica, who have previous experiences with technology, academic literacy skills, and a certain educational and professional background. Rita's heteroglossic and translanguaging knowledge was not viewed or deployed as an asset until she was able to recognize the differences in both interfaces through codeswitching with her peers and instructor. In her interactions with the interface and with her peers, she treated "language as a contained system" (Bailey 2012, p. 501) but did not alternate between codes as easily as she did in her everyday practice. The metaphors embedded in the interface were not easily visible either, until a peer made the connection between print and electronic documents for her. Similarly, Jaime's ability to switch across standard and localized varieties of Spanish (e.g., *podar* vs. *trimear*) was not validated in his emergent efforts of online publishing. These experiences call for a critical view of the ways multilingual and multimodal practices are valued in digital literacy practices, with special attention to varieties and resources that may be marginalized both in online and offline contexts in adult immigrant education.

10.6   Implications

In this chapter, we have drawn on notions of heteroglossia, translanguaging, and multimodality to examine the practices and interactions of adult Spanish-speaking immigrants while learning to use information and communication technologies. By focusing on the role of translanguaging and heteroglossia in communication on online platforms, the analysis illuminates how "technology-enabled communication facilitates complex languaging practices that question monolingual realities" (García 2008, p. 46). Although many digital literacy practices are shaped by fixed and static notions of language in institutional and classroom interaction, it is also important to examine how different semiotic systems might be mobilized by multilingual users and to note the additional layers of complexity (beyond language alternation) available to them. By examining some of the ways that metaphors were embedded in online interfaces and how the presence of standard language varieties

became an obstacle for multilingual users, we were able to show that complex trans-languaging practices and linguistic repertoires shape technology-mediated practice. The heteroglossic nature of participants' experiences demonstrates the value of paying increased attention to the ways in which local practices shape and inform the choices that multilingual users make in their participation in computer-mediated communication.

Concerns about ideologies and structural forces have been part of conversations about the spread of English in online spaces. Some argue that this spread is a natural outcome of its role as a global language or as a lingua franca, while others are concerned with its hegemonic role and its implications for minority languages (Danet and Herring 2007). It is important for researchers to identify and examine the existing structural inequalities in technology distribution and language status, (Thurlow and Mroczek 2011) since both forces shape the choices that individuals like Rita and Jaime make in their computer-mediated interactions. In spite of the diversity and fluidity of their communicative repertoires, participants face tensions while they negotiate regulating ideologies at work, and they sometimes impose bounded (or restrictive) notions of language, codeswitching, and language alternation on each other. Similar user-generated language policing was found in a community of Irish translators of Facebook (Lenihan 2011); in spite of goals to localize the interface to users' needs, the translators' community sanctioned the use of Anglicisms, and debated over the language varieties that were acceptable or inacceptable in this space. As Androutsopoulos (2011) explains, new technologies do not automatically create heteroglossic practices. These are shaped by local and situated circumstances and ideologies: "although Web 2.0 environments open a range of possibilities for heteroglossic 'hot spots,' their exploitation ultimately depends on institutional and situational context and discourse dynamics" (p. 294).

This study demonstrates that efforts to support translanguaging and heteroglossic practices as resources for online communication require particular theoretical and pedagogical approaches to support students. With the promises and potential of new tools for online publishing with multilingual communities, we need to consider how digital literacy practices are shaped by everyday interaction and local practice. We should also be aware of the larger ideological and "normative" forces that shape the decisions individuals make in their interactions with technology, or their interactions with others mediated by technology. These ideas make evident that digital inequality is not just an issue of access to equipment or to instruction or content in a person's native language (Warschauer 2003). Best pedagogical practices to bridge digital gaps can benefit from dialogue and analysis of the top-down structures (e.g., design of online interfaces and forms) and bottom-up practices (e.g., peer-review policing), that together reproduce linguistic boundaries in the otherwise promising, hybrid, digital borderlands.

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Chapter 11
Theorizing and Enacting Translanguaging for Social Justice

Ofelia García and Camila Leiva

Abstract This chapter theorizes translanguaging, while describing how it is carried out in one "English" classroom in a school for Latino adolescents who have arrived recently in the USA. The theories of transculturación, autopoeisis, and coloniality and border thinking are brought to bear on the concept of translanguaging, which is defined as an act of bilingual performance, as well as a bilingual pedagogy of bilingual teaching and bilingual learning. The theoretical discussion is then followed by a description of how the flexible use of linguistic resources in classrooms for immigrants can resist the historical and cultural positionings of English monolingualism in the USA. Translanguaging as pedagogy holds the promise of developing US Latinos who use their dynamic bilingualism in ways that would enable them to fully participate in US society, and meet the global, national, and social needs of a multilingual future.

Keywords Social justice · Autopoeisis · Dynamic bilingualism · Transculturación · Coloniality

11.1 Introduction

What is translanguaging and what does it have to do with social justice? This chapter attempts to answer these questions while further theorizing the concept of translanguaging, in my view an act of bilingual performance, as well as a bilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning. To anchor the theoretical discussion, I offer a description of how translanguaging is performed by a teacher, Camila Leiva, in one "English" classroom in a school for Latino adolescents who have recently arrived in the USA. This chapter then analyzes how the flexible use of linguistic resources in an "English" classroom for immigrants resists the historical and cultural positionings

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of English monolingualism or "heritage language" bilingualism in the USA. I argue that for US Latinos, translanguaging offers the alternative of performing a dynamic bilingualism that releases them from the constraints of both an "Anglophone" ideology that demands English monolingualism for US citizens and a "Hispanophone" ideology that blames US Latinos for speaking "Spanglish" (Otheguy and Stern 2010), or for their "incomplete acquisition" of their "heritage language" (Otheguy and Zentella 2012). But before I describe how translanguaging operates in Camila Leiva's classroom, I theorize translanguaging by reflecting on my own subjectivity as a US Latina.

11.2   Theorizing Translanguaging

The term translanguaging was coined in Welsh (*trawysieithu)*by Cen Williams (1994). In its original use, it referred to a pedagogical practice where students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of reading and writing or for receptive or productive use; for example, students might be asked to read in English and write in Welsh and vice versa (Baker 2001). Since then, the term has been extended by many scholars (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Canagarajah 2011; Creese and Blackledge 2010; García 2009, 2011; García and Sylvan 2011; Hornberger and Link 2012; Lewis et al. 2012a, b). I have used the term to refer to the flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals in order to make sense of their worlds, and I have applied it mostly to classrooms because of its potential in liberating the voices of language minoritized students (García 2009, García and Kleifgen 2010).

Translanguaging is related to other fluid languaging practices that scholars have called by different terms, meaning slightly different things. Jørgensen (2008) refers to the combination of features that are not discrete and complete "languages" in themselves as *polylingualism*. Jacquemet (2005) speaks of *transidiomatic practices* to refer to the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different communicative codes, simultaneously present in a range of local and distant communicative channels. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) refer to fluid practices in urban contexts as *metrolingualism,* rejecting the fact that there are discrete languages or codes. Canagarajah (2011) uses *codemeshing* to refer to the shuttle between repertoires in writing for rhetorical effectiveness. But what makes translanguaging different from these other fluid languaging practices is that it is transformative, attempting to wipe out the hierarchy of languaging practices that deem some more valuable than others. Thus, translanguaging could be a mechanism for social justice, especially when teaching students from language minoritized communities.

In this section, I try to theorize translanguaging by reflecting on how the concept emerged for me as a US Latina, born in Cuba and raised in New York City. I, thus, draw mostly on Latin American scholarship, and specifically the work of Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, and the Argentinean cultural theorist Walter Mignolo. I explain later how the theories of *autopoesis* (Maturana and Varela), *transculturación* (Ortiz), and *colo-*

niality and border thinking (Mignolo) have interacted with those of others, mostly in the North American context, in ways that shape my theorizing of *trans + languaging*. I first discuss the concept of languaging, and then focus on the trans-aspects.

11.2.1 Languaging

In the last few years, many poststructuralist scholars have moved away from studying language as a monolithic construct made up of discrete sets of skills to a conceptualization of language as a series of social practices and actions that are embedded in a web of social relations. Many have rejected language as an autonomous system and instead claim that acts of language orient and manipulate social domains of interactions. Pennycook (2010) explains:

> A focus on language practices moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that preexists its use, and competence as an internal capacity that accounts for language production, towards an understanding of language as a product of the *embodied social practices* that bring it about. (p. 9, our italics)

Grounding their scholarship on Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia* (1981), poststructuralist sociolinguists analyze the social and political consequences of diverse speech types and interactions. Bailey (2007) explains that heteroglossia is "about intertextuality and both are about the ways that talk in the here-and-now draws meaning from past instances of talk" (p. 272). More recently, Blommaert (2010) has pointed to the superdiversity that produces different social, cultural, political, and historical contexts resulting in a complex of linguistic resources. Heller (2007) points out that we need to focus on "a more processual and materialist approach which privileges language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action" (p. 1). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have gone one step further and postulate the "invention" of language, insisting that the metadiscursive regimes used to describe languages are located in Western linguistic and cultural suppositions.

This poststructuralist sociolinguistic position on language was foreshadowed by the Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela who in 1973 had referred to the language practices that are a product of social ones as *languaging*. It is Maturana and Varela's concept of languaging that shapes my understanding as a Latin American of translanguaging. Languaging is directly related to Maturana and Varela's theory of *autopoesis* that argues that we cannot separate our biological and social history of actions from the ways in which we perceive the world. Our experience, Maturana and Varela say, is moored to our structure in a binding way, and the processes involved in our makeup, in our actions as human beings, constitute our knowledge. That is, knowledge is *enactive*. What is known is brought forth, and is not simply based on acquiring the relevant features of a pre-given world that can be decomposed into significant fragments. As Maturana and Varela (1998) say: "All doing is knowing, and all knowing is doing" (p. 26).

For Maturana and Varela, living beings are characterized by their *autopoietic organization*, which they explain by describing cell metabolism. Cell metabolism

produces components such as a membrane, but this cell membrane also makes up the network of transformations that produced it. That is, in cell metabolism there is a network of dynamic transformations that produces its own components, including the boundary that is the membrane, but the membrane is also essential for the operation of the network of transformations which produces it as a unity. As Maturana and Varela (1998) explain: "The *being and doing* of an autopoietic unity are inseparable, and this is their specific mode of organization" (p. 49, our italics).

Maturana and Varela see language in the same way, not as pre-given and able to be decomposed into fragments that human beings have, but as human action by someone in particular in a particular place. That is, language is an ongoing process that only exists as languaging. They explain (1998):

> It is by *languaging* that the act of knowing, in the behavioral coordination which is language, brings forth a world. We work out our lives in a *mutual linguistic coupling,* not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a continuous becoming that we bring forth with others. (pp. 234–235, our italics)

For Maturana and Varela, *autopoietic languaging* refers to the simultaneous being and doing of language as it brings us forth as individuals, at the same time that it continuously constitutes us differently as we interact with others. Their understandings of our being constituted in language "in a continuous becoming" is reminiscent of Bakhtin's claim that we are always becoming through contextually bound contact with others. Translanguaging is enacted through contact with others that is always unfinished and unfinishable, thus, enabling the possibilities of acting for social justice.

Following Maturana and Varela's thinking, A. L. Becker (1995), writing about translation, further posits that language is not simply a code or a system of rules or structures; rather languaging shapes our experiences, stores them, retrieves them, and communicates them in an open-ended process. Languaging both shapes and is shaped by context. Becker (1995) explains: "All languaging is what in Java is called *jarwa dhosok*, taking old language (*jarw*a) and pushing (*dhosok*) it into new contexts" (p. 185). To learn a new way of languaging is not just to learn a new code, Becker says, it is to enter another history of interactions and cultural practices and to learn "a new way of being in the world" (p. 227).

Many poststructuralist sociolinguists, focusing on the social diversity of speech types, reject the concept of distinct languages and, thus, of bilingualism or multilingualism. Bakhtin (1981) had already referred to the fact that the concept of different languages is based on the way social actors distinguish among them, rather than on forms that are the result of a priori analysis. In maintaining that the notion of language is an invention, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) also disinvent the concept of multilingualism and plurality of languages. They claim that a strategy of pluralization reproduces "the same concept of language that underpins all mainstream linguistic thought" (p. 22). Despite the growing poststructuralist criticism of the pluralization of languages, however, as a US Latina I have needed to justify my languaging in "English" and "Spanish," for without the existence of "Spanish" I would not be able to claim a sociohistorical relationship with Latin America and my subjectivity as a US Latina. It was precisely the work of the Latin Americans Maturana and Varela that gave me the answer I was seeking. Just as the process of cell metab-

olism referred to earlier produces a cell membrane which also makes up the network of transformations that produces it as a unity, languaging orients social domains of interactions in ways that may produce the unity of certain language practices into so-called languages. These different language practices, in themselves, then make up a network of transformation that generates complex languaging and at the same time produces the unity of certain language practices as a "language." An *autopoietic organization* of languaging across national, sociopolitical, and social interactions in ways that resist the asymmetries of power that are embedded in the web of social relations in which languaging is performed is then needed. It is not enough to claim that languaging consists of social practices and actions; it is important to question and change these when they reproduce inequalities. By appealing to the concept of *translanguaging*, I go beyond simple languaging as a social practice to emphasize that a *new* discourse is being produced by a new *trans-subject*.

11.2.2 Trans-

As the Chileans Maturana and Varela revealed for me the importance of languaging, it is two Latin American scholars, one Cuban (Ortiz) and the other Argentinean (Mignolo), who led me to the trans-. In the 1940s, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (1940) introduced the concept of *transculturación* to refer to the complex and multidirectional process in cultural transformation. In his monumental study, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (1940/1978), Ortiz claims:

> In all embraces of cultures there is something of what happens in the genetic copulation of inividuals: the child always has something of both progenitors, but it is *always different* from each of them. (p. 96, my translation, our italics)

In this conceptualization of transculturación lies the kernel of the questioning of the epistemological purity of autonomous languages enunciated by those with power, whether individuals of social and national groups. Transculturación is not simply about a passive adaptation to a static locus or cultural standard. Instead, it is, as Bronislaw Malinowski explains in the prologue to Ortiz's (1940/1978) *Contrapunteo*:

> A process in which both parts of the equation are modified. A process in which *a new reality emerges*, compounded and complex; a reality that is not a mechanical agglomeration of characters, not even a mosaic, but a new phenomenom, original and independent (p. 4, my translation, my italics).

Transculturación dissolves solid differences while it creates new realities. We are not in the presence of a synthesis or even of a hybrid mixture. Rather, we are in a space that creates a new reality because not one part of the equation is seen as static or dominant, but rather operates within a dynamic network of cultural transformations. It is not two fixed identities that are combined. Coronil (1995) explains that the concept of *transculturación* "breathes life into reified categories, bringing into the open concealed exchanges among peoples and releasing histories buried within fixed identities" (p. xxix–xxx).

The concept of translanguaging goes beyond code-switching. Code-switching refers to the mixing or switching of two static language codes. Translanguaging, resting on the concept of transculturación, is about a new languaging reality, original and independent from any of the "parents" or codes, a new way of being, acting, and languaging in a different social, cultural, and political context. Translanguaging brings into the open discursive exchanges among people in ways that recognize their values of languaging. In allowing fluid discourses to flow, translanguaging has the potential to give voice to new social realities.

The Argentinean semiotician Walter Mignolo says that transculturación involves *"border thinking."* Mignolo (2000) sees border thinking as "knowledge conceived from the exterior borders of the modern/colonial world system" (p. 11) and as "thinking *between* two languages and their historical relations" (p. 74, my italics). That is, border thinking insists that there are links between the place from which we theorize and the ways in which we enact our locus of enunciation. Unlike Makoni and Pennycook whose questioning of language led them to reject the notion of bilingualism and multilingualism, Mignolo sees the enactment of "an other tongue" as a way to crack global designs and to develop "an other thinking." "An other tongue" is not for Mignolo simply a heteroglossic intertextual discourse with simultaneous use of signs and double voicing in the ways of Bakhtin. It also has little to do with the superdiversity that looks at language from different social, cultural, political, and historical contexts (Blommaert, 2010). This "other tongue" originates from *coloniality*, and not from poststructuralist and postmodern theories; it aims to de-colonize dominant intellectual knowledge, including language. Mignolo claims that this "other tongue" (what he calls "bilanguaging") "infects the locus of enunciation" (p. 220). From this different border position, from social practices and actions "between" two languages that are no longer static or linked to one national identity emerges what I call *translanguaging*. In translanguaging, the speaker is situated in a space where alternative representations and enunciations can be generated because buried histories are released and alternative, conflicting knowledges are produced.

For me then, translanguaging refers to social practices and actions that enact a political process of social and subjectivity transformations, which in turn produces translanguaging. Besides challenging the view of languages as autonomous and pure, translanguaging, as a product of border thinking, of subaltern knowledge conceived from a bilingual in-between position, changes the locus of enunciation and resists the asymmetries of power that "bilingual codes" often create.

Traditional conceptualizations of bilingualism insist that speakers perform two "codes" in additive ways, according to "standards" created by powerful agencies such as schools, or nations. In so doing, bilingual speakers whose languaging does not conform to the enunciations of the powerful are stigmatized and excluded. In speaking about US Latino bilingual students, Rosa (2010) observes that they are "expected to speak two languages but understood to speak neither correctly" (p. 38). Translanguaging, however, resists the historical and cultural positionings of monolingualism or of additive bilingualism, releasing speakers from having to conform to a "parallel monolingualism" (Heller, 1999). Translanguaging is the enactment of what I have called "dynamic bilingualism" (García, 2009). Many others have also

argued that bi/multilingualism is *dynamic* (De Bot, Lowie & Verspoor, 2007; Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008), that is, not only interdependent, but acting as a unity of language practices. I turn now to describing and analyzing how my understandings of translanguaging are enacted in one "English" classroom in a school for Latino adolescents who have recently arrived in the USA.

11.3 Enacting Translanguaging

Camila Leiva was born in Chile and came to the USA in fifth grade, and went back and forth to Chile until she was in eighth grade. Her father is Chilean, but her mother was born in the USA, although she has lived in Chile for more than 25 years and still does today. Camila is teaching in a public (government-supported) high school for Spanish-speaking newcomer immigrant adolescents who are new to English. All students are, thus, *emergent bilinguals*, Spanish-speakers who by developing English are becoming bilingual. Camila is bilingual, and is an English teacher of "English Language Arts." Camila's classroom discourse, as we see later, fits my definition of translanguaging. She uses her full linguistic repertoire, without regard to whether some might see it as "Spanish" or "English" in order to teach these students. Her pedagogical practice includes translanguaging as a way to scaffold English language instruction for students who are still emergent bilinguals and to develop their own translanguaging discourse. But in translanguaging, Camila is not simply displaying a heteroglossic discourse. In translanguaging Camila is enacting a process of social transformation, releasing US Latinos from the constraints of either Spanish or English monolingualism or a static additive bilingualism, and creating a space for the dynamic bilingualism (García 2009) that is in turn enacted through translanguaging. Camila is able to construct alternative representations by critically situating her translanguaging discourse within a socially, ideologically, and historically in-between locus of enunciation. But before we examine a specific part of the lesson, I offer a glimpse of the school context that allows for this critical use of translanguaging as discourse and pedagogy to take place.

11.3.1 The School Context

The school in which Camila teaches is a high school that is part of a network of government-funded high schools for immigrant newcomers which uses a type of bilingual approach that I have called "dynamic plurilingual" (García and Kleifgen 2010; for more on these schools, see García and Sylvan 2011). Although the schools in the network are not structured as bilingual education programs in the traditional way, they are actively building on the students' bilingualism "from the student up." By allowing individual students to use their home language practices to make sense of the learning moment, these schools go beyond traditional second language pro-

grams (such as English as a second language, ESL, English structured immersion, or Sheltered English in the USA) or traditional bilingual education programs.

Camila teaches in a school in Queens, a borough of New York City with a significant Latino immigrant population. Although most New York Latinos are either Puerto Rican or Dominican, the school population is predominantly from Ecuador. More than 85 % of the students receive free or reduced lunch, an indication of a high poverty index.

Camila teaches ninth and tenth graders together. In addition, following the principles of the schools in the network—principles of heterogeneity and collaboration, experiential learning, and language and content integration—Camila's classroom is project based, and language and subject-matter content are never separated. We describe later a 45-minute lesson in Camila's English language arts class during one Monday in February. Because half of the class were ninth graders, about half the class had been in the USA approximately for 6 months to a year; the other half had been in the USA more than a year, but less than three. Thus, although all students were emergent bilinguals, they had different levels of English proficiency. In addition, although all were Spanish-speaking, the level of Spanish literacy varied. Some came to the school with age-appropriate literacy in Spanish, but many had very low levels of literacy in Spanish, and many had interrupted formal education, meaning they had stopped attending school before coming to the USA.

11.3.2   Sí Se Puede Through Translanguaging

Camila Leiva is a teacher of "English" language arts. But for Camila, education is not just about teaching language arts, but also about producing alternative knowledge that releases immigrant students' histories and discourses. To do so, she selects material carefully and uses a translanguaging discourse to critically situate her work. On this particular Monday, Camila is working on the theme of literary conflicts. Camila selects two music videos, one by the rapper El Chivo de Kinto Sol, and the other by the hip-hop artist Eminem. As we will see, it is not just literary conflict that she is teaching.

11.3.3   Producing Alternative Knowledge
Through Translanguaging

Camila first plays the music video "*Sí se Puede*," by El Chivo de Kinto Sol http://www.myspace.com/video/kinto-sol/el-chivo-de-kinto-sol-quot-si-se-puede-quot-music-video-new/31015082. "*Sí se Puede*" communicates the idea that "Yes, we can" fight against deportation of undocumented immigrants and the separation of children who are citizens from parents. The rapper came to the USA at the age of 13 from Mexico and raps mostly in Spanish, although his music is a blend of hip-hop

and more traditional Mexican music. But it is translanguaging that creates the *sí se puede* discourse with its sociopolitical reality.

The music video starts with a white middle-aged man, sporting a T-shirt that says "Deport Pedro" holding a school meeting behind an American flag. His message to the all-male audience of white working-class men is clear and in English:

> I'll tell you the truth about illegal aliens!
> They only come here to take.
> They take our welfare.
> They're taking over our schools.
> They take our jobs.
> They take our benefits.
> They contribute nothing!
> Illegals are invading our country & our government is doing nothing to stop them!
> Immigration is out of control, Fellows.
> We got to do something.
> Think about that!

The men assent, and one wears a T-shirt that says: "Speak English." But then, just as the man ends his speech, the school custodian comes in, clearly a Latino. There is silence.

The image now changes to mostly children, but also mothers and some fathers, all brown and clearly Latino, ascending stairs. The stairs go up, but not straight up. Rather they go round and round, indicating the labyrinth in which these children and parents are caught. We see children's hands holding on to the rails as they ascend, and we see their sneakers marching up, and then, the rapper starts in Spanish with the refrain:

> *Por una causa y la misma razón*   [For one cause and the same reason
> *Unidos todos sí se puede.*   United we can.
> *Unidos todos con esta canción*   United with this song,
> *Sí se puede.*   Yes, we can.]

Throughout the rapping in Spanish, there are signs in English that reinforce the attitude of the white middle-aged man in the beginning—the bumper sticker on his jeep that reads "America for Americans," the word "criminal" on a sign, the deportation order for José Ramírez, the ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) police. But the anti-immigrant messages are interrupted by the Latino children who are significantly wearing a T-shirt that says "Born in the US." The children together with their parents are climbing the stairs to act, to write posters with counter-messages to the anti-illegal immigration, one at the beginning of the video. These counter-messages are clear and are written mostly in English, although some are in Spanish:

> "If you take my mother, it will hurt my heart."
> "Families need to be together."
> "All families should be together."
> "It will not be the same if you took my mother."
> "*No me separen de mi mamá y mi papá.*" [Don't separate me from my mother and father.]
> "*Yo no quiero que me separen de mis papás.*" [I don't want you to separate me from my parents.]

The anti-illegal immigration message at the start of the video is not only interrupted by the children, but by the many interactions of the man who gives the initial anti-immigration speech with others. After the man realizes that the school custodian is Latino, he gets in his jeep only to find out that he has a flat tire. It is a Latino mechanic who fixes his flat tire. In addition, when he goes to pick up his daughter from pre-school, it is a Latina teacher who greets him. Finally, when he takes his daughter to the dentist, he realizes the dentist is also Latino.

Almost immediately when the rapper starts, there is an image of a Latino family. The mother is lovingly spoon-feeding her son, while the husband watches over them. But it is this family that the ICE police interrupts as they ascend other stairs to arrest and handcuff the father and husband, José Ramírez. The child starts to cry, as does the mother, who is left praying, saying the rosary, and lighting candles to La Virgen de Guadalupe. This disrupted image of a Latino family eating together is contrasted to that of the white family of the man with the initial anti-immigrant message who is seen enjoying a peaceful family meal.

After much rapping, the video ends with the children repeating the messages mostly in English, but also in Spanish, that they have written on their posters, and with one final image with a message: "4 million US citizen children are fighting to keep their Moms and Dads."

The video, with its translanguaging where English is performed alongside Spanish, both in sound and image relates one important message:

| *Unidos todos con esta canción* | [United with this song, |
| *Sí se puede* | Yes, we can.] |

It is the translanguaging that creates a unity that is difficult to express, neither immigrant nor native and yet both; neither Spanish nor English, and yet both in autopoeitic organization. The music video is neither in English nor in Spanish, but in "both" that is "neither" because it is a new discourse, a product of coloniality, a transculturación languaging. Because the students and Camila are constituted in the translanguaging of the video, they are involved in a continuous becoming that is of neither one kind nor another, but that constitutes the liberating action of an autopoeitic "*Sí se puede.*" As they follow the translanguaging, the students are confronted with alternative representations that release knowledge and voices that have been silenced by the discourse about illegal aliens in English that dominates the beginning of the video.

11.3.4   Releasing Voice and New Subjectivities Through Translanguaging

After playing the music video "*Sí se Puede*" twice, there is a classroom dialogue in this supposedly "English Language Arts" which shows how and why both Camila and the students translanguage. The dialogue reproduced subsequently makes up a two-and-a-half-minute segment of a longer 5-minute dialogue: (C stands for Camila, S for students; a number after S refers to different students):

1. C: Four million US citizens are being separated from their fathers and mothers because their parents are being deported.
2. S1: *Que los niños nacieron aquí. Legalmente son ciudadanos. Pero los padres no*.
3. S2: *Entonces esta es la preocupación de que los separen….*
4. C: It's a very worrying situation. So, because we don't have that much time and I want to get to the Eminem video…. What are four keywords? *Las palabras importantes, palabras claves?*
5. S3: *Deportar*
6. S4: Families together
7. S5: Protection
8. S6: Discrimination
9. C: I love how even though the song is in Spanish, we're choosing words in English. Kinto Sol grew up in the US but they do hip-hop in Spanish, and we're doing the same.
10. C: What problem do you see in the song?
11. S7: That many white people don't like Spanish people.
12. S8: It's the voice of the people.
13. C: The chivo, the rapper, says that some people don't like Latinos but……
14. S1: *No sé cómo decirlo en inglés, pero…. que los latinos tenemos que pagar lo que otras personas….*
15. Ss: ……[inaudible].
16. C: Don't shoot her down. We're respecting each other's opinions. What else do we see?
17. S3: *Que las familias*, this guy, every time he has problem. Taking care something. It's a Latino that help. [….]
18. C: The custodian is a Latino person. And who takes care of his daughter?
19. Ss: Latinos!
20. S2: *Miss, ¿yo puedo poner que muchas familias están separadas?*
21. C: *¿A causa de qué?*
22. S2: *Deportan los inmigrantes.*
23. C: How did you start the answer?
24. S2: They want the Latinos to get out of America.
25. C: What do you think the problem is? What is the type of conflict?
26. Ss: Me, me, me….
27. C: I like the enthusiasm. What type do you think it is?
28. S3: I have three. Because he has a problem with other people, and *cuando fueron reparar el carro; no es, pero que tiene un problema, pues así*, character vs. character.
29. C: What else can he say? Good… new hands. People who haven't spoken.
30. S4: *Porque tiene un problema consigo mismo: character vs. himself.*
31. S5: *Porque los Latinos es una sociedad, y él es un character.*
32. C: Why do you think……
33. S5: *que lo quieren matar?*
34. C: *Ramón, cuéntanos en español.*
35. C: Latinos, are we the majority or the minority?
36. Ss: Majority!/minority!// *Somos mayoría en números!// No minoría!*
37. C: They call us a minority, even though we 're a majority in many places. I'm going to give you some time before you finish. *Si ya terminaron, avancen a la segunda parte a la canción de Eminem…..* (Observation, February 28, 2011).

Clearly the fact that Camila allows students to translanguage in the dialogue means that the voices of emergent bilinguals who otherwise would have been silenced are released. The students' translanguaging serves three important discursive functions—to enable:

1. Participation
2. Elaboration of ideas
3. The raising of questions

First, translanguaging allows all students to participate. In interaction 14, the student clearly states that he cannot say it in English and, thus, has to use Spanish. In interaction 17, another student uses Spanish to initiative participation and finds her voice. Second, it enables students to elaborate ideas, something they cannot do in their limited voice in English only. For example, although the student in interaction 28 starts speaking in English, it is clear that if she's going to say more, she's going to have to use Spanish. Finally, students clearly understand that although the class is an English language arts class and the teacher is mostly using English, they can raise questions in Spanish, as the student in interaction 20 does.

What is interesting in this dialogue is the way in which the teacher uses translanguaging. As with the students, translanguaging fulfills some discursive functions, but there is much more going on in this dialogue. The discursive functions of translanguaging for the teacher are five:

1. to involve and give voice,
2. to clarify,
3. to reinforce,
4. to manage the classroom, and
5. to extend and ask questions.

First, Camila translanguages to involve students as when in interaction 34 she calls on Ramón to tell her what is going on in Spanish: "*Ramón, cuéntanos en español*." Second, Camila translanguages to clarify what she's been saying, as when in interaction 4 she asks the students to tell her "the four keywords/*las palabras importantes/las palabras claves*." Third, when students tell her in Spanish that the concern is that families would be separated, she reinforces in English by saying: "It's a very worrying situation" (interaction 4). Fourth, she uses translanguaging for classroom management, for example, when in interaction 37, she turns to Spanish to tell students to hurry up, "*avancen a la segunda parte…* " Finally, Camila translanguages to go beyond the lesson, to extend it, to pose questions, as when in interaction 21, she turns to Spanish to clearly pose a Why question, "*¿A causa de qué?*" Camila uses language flexibly to enable students to learn, to develop academic concepts and language, and to think.

Beyond the important discursive functions that translanguaging fulfills, translanguaging, as "an-other tongue" as Mignolo would say, clearly opens up an in-between space where alternative representations are released. When a student starts saying something and the rest of the class yells at her, Camila firmly tells them, "Don't shoot her down. We're respecting each other's opinions" (interaction 26).

Translanguaging opens us a space of tolerance and respect that goes beyond the illegality and criminality that is transmitted in the rap.

This space of tolerance is not a static space, but a new emerging and dynamic space where sociocultural transformations are possible. For example, through translanguaging Camila is helping students construct a Latino pan-ethnicity. The Latino immigrants in this school are from many different national backgrounds. In the USA, they come together for the first time, bringing their different histories, geographies, cultures, and language features. It is not enough simply to construct English fluency. For this US Latino population to succeed, it is important to also construct a Latino pan-ethnicity. Camila clearly points this out when she translanguages to say in interaction 31, "*Los Latinos es una sociedad.*" It is significant that she says "*es.*" Not we are, not they are, but "is a society," a new space of possibilities, neither we nor they, but in an act of *transculturación*. Translanguaging makes it evident that we cannot separate our languaging from the way in which we perceive the world, our autopoeisis, but it also makes it possible to assume an in-between position that resists the asymmetries of power instilled by standard language practices in school.

Camila is not constructing a closed Latino pan-ethnicity, but one where fluid identities are being brought forth with others in a process of continuous becoming. In interaction 9, she says: "Even though the song is in Spanish, we're choosing words in English. Kinto Sol grew up in the US, but they do hip-hop in Spanish, and we're doing the same." Camila wants to create through translanguaging a discourse that goes beyond autonomous languages that represent sole national or transnational identities. Rather, translanguaging for her opens up possibilities of participation, while generating the fluid subjectivities that US Latinos need to succeed in US society. Translanguaging gives back the voice that had been taken away by ideologies of monoglot standards (Silverstein, 1996), whether of English or Spanish. The US Latino "languagelessness" (Rosa, 2010) is converted into voice.

Translanguaging in this classroom is not simply about learning a new way of doing and being. Translanguaging is about bringing into the open the often concealed exchanges among people and releasing subjugated histories. Thus, Camila exposes students to a music video where sociohistorical representations, as well as language practices are juxtaposed. Furthermore, she does not stop there, but translanguages in her dialogue to decolonize the dominant intellectual knowledge. She uses translanguaging to problematize. In interaction 25, she clearly asks the students: "What do you think the problem is?" And she is not satisfied with "solving problems," but builds and accepts tensions so that border thinking and alternative representations are generated. Up to the end of this exchange, Camila had referred to Latinos in the third person: they/he/she. And she had reserved the "we" to speak of the classroom itself. But now, in interaction 35, she asks students: "Latinos, are *we* the majority or the minority?" Clearly, she has changed the locus of enunciation, giving power to the students who are no longer separate from her, the teacher. In addition, when students chorally call out "mayoría" "minority," she does not rush to solve the tension. She again positions herself as one with her students and in opposition to others who are not Latinos: "They call us a minority, even though we're a majority in many places." Translanguaging is

Fig. 11.1 Translanguaging in English class: Camila Leiva, PAIHS Queens

the discourse in that in-between space that is full of tension so that new realities can emerge, realities that offer possibilities of being released from subjugation.

11.3.5 Performing Academic Discourse

Besides enacting translanguaging in actual classroom discourse, as well as by bringing in the sociopolitical reality of the students' lives through images, signs, and the spoken word in the music video, this lesson offers students the opportunity to translanguage in writing and to perform academic discourse. Camila has distributed a worksheet at the beginning of the class period. The worksheet, which appears as Fig. 11.1, first asks students to list the four types of conflict as a "Do Now" which is the common activity that NYC secondary education students do as transition from one class period to the other. After the students listen to the music video (#2 in Fig. 11.1), they are asked to do #3, that is, translate into English a verse of the Spanish rap. Finally, Camila asks them to do some activities—identify the key words, the conflicts, the types of conflicts, and the reasons for the conflicts (#4).

Students fill out the worksheet in collaborative groups, and as well as they can. Some of them use their emerging English for the translation, but many of them use Spanish, although incorporating features from "English," mostly lexicon. Their English translations also show features of "Spanish," this time in lexicon, syntax, and morphology. By asking the students to put their "English" text next to the Spanish text, Camila is helping students construct their own translanguaging, while enabling them to use their entire linguistic repertoire to make sense of the lesson.

At the same time, she is facilitating the process of ensuring that new language features emerge in interrelationship with the old ones. It is this flexible linguistic repertoire that bilingual Latinos require in order to meet their communicative and academic needs, including literacy in standard academic English and the learning of challenging new content. Translanguaging is not a "crutch" for emergent bilingual students to develop English, but is recognized as the way in which American bilinguals sustain their home language practices as they appropriate English. That is, translanguaging offers the opportunity of rejecting the common proposition in "second language" acquisition studies that emergent bilingual students have a "first" language that is used solely at home, and a "second" English language that is used in schools. Instead, translanguaging reinforces the notion that the language practices of American bilingual children include, flexibly and simultaneously, features of languages other than English, as well as English. It engages bilingual students with their entire range of language practices, including those associated with academic English, as their very own.

11.3.6   *Justice For All Redefined Through Translanguaging*

After the students finish the first worksheet, Camila turns to the Eminem video, but this time the rap is in English (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8M9MTle-8AM). The music video starts with school children reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. The words of the Pledge, "one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all" are contrasted with the deaf ears of then President George W. Bush, the US Supreme Court, and Congress to the pleas of the people against the war in Iraq. Students are asked to fill out a worksheet that parallels that given for the "*Sí se puede*" rap. This time, however, students are asked to translate one verse of the rap into Spanish:

> All you can see is a sea of people, some white and some black
> Don't matter what color, all that matters we gathered together
> To celebrate for the same cause don't matter the weather
> If it rains let it rain, yea the wetter the better
> They ain't gonna stop us they can't, we stronger now more than ever
> They tell us no, we say yea, they tell us stop we say go
> Rebel with a rebel yell, raise hell we gonna let em know.

The message is the same as in the "*Sí se puede*" video. All, "*unidos todos con esta canción,*" "all that matters we gathered together" and it is then that "*sí se puede*" against injustice because "they ain't gonna stop us" since "we stronger now more than ever."

There is much more than unity of people, black and white, Latinos and not, in the message. There is also a call for unity of the "languages" "some white and some black" that make up the people, and it is in Eminem's rap that this becomes obvious. Just as Eminem takes liberty with the "standard" use of "English," enabling his poetry, his resistance, his liberation, the students' use of "English" and "Spanish" evolves into a translanguaging that is simply not one or the other, but that takes liberties to enable their voices to emerge. When these emergent bilingual students

translate into Spanish, their literate Spanish is also freed. Most of the time, the choices students make show traces of colonization, of historical oppression, and of subjugation that has been the result of collapsed Latin American educational systems, the result of war, colonization, rural conditions, and neoliberal economies. The students' developing Spanish literacy is also coming into being in relationship to that in English. Thus, as when they translated into English, their Spanish is also interspersed with features from "English." The emerging "English" and "Spanish" voices of these students are poetic and they speak of resistance, of liberation, but always of meaning, pointing to a new, generative, and better "locus of enunciation," than that of poor "languageless" Latinos. Students are empowered as they are given voice, a voice that is not one or the other, but both, and yet neither. A new voice of US Latinos, of a new "trans-subject" that truly generates "justice for all," "unidos todos en esta canción."

11.3.7   Conclusion

This chapter has looked at how translanguaging in an "English" classroom for immigrants resists the historical and cultural positionings of English monolingualism or "heritage language" bilingualism in the USA by creating a "new" American subject that is engaged and educated. Translanguaging is here theorized and analyzed from a US Latino perspective, through practices and ideologies of trans-subjects—the author, the teacher, and the students—in a classroom for Latino immigrant youth. For US Latinos, and especially for new immigrants, translanguaging offers the alternative of performing a dynamic bilingualism that releases them from the constraints of both an "Anglophone" and a "Hispanophone" ideology that has rendered them "languagelessness" in the US landscape. We have seen how translanguaging is action that constitutes knowledge in autopoeisis, how as in *transculturación* it modifies the parts so that a new reality emerges, and how it decolonizes dominant intellectual knowledge of language and allows subaltern knowledge to emerge from an in-between position.

   We have made tremendous progress in advancing theories of language that go beyond autonomous language systems and insist on languaging as action. Furthermore, we have shown how dynamic bilingualism and flexible language use exists in most classrooms around the world where there are bilingual children (Blackledge and Creese 2010, García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013). Now our understandings of dynamic bilingualism and flexible language use must impact educational policy that continues to insist on monolingual standards to educate and especially to assess.

   Only when educational systems, whether monolingual or bilingual, understand that, extending Becker, all doing is knowing and languaging, and all knowing and languaging is doing, will there be a space to educate all children equitably and for social justice. For that to occur, bilingual students must be allowed to build on their translanguaging practices, their peers must be engaged in translanguaging discourses, and teachers must value translanguaging and build on those flexible practices.

By exposing alternative histories, representations, and knowledge, translanguaging has the potential to crack the "standard language" bubble in education that continues to ostracize many bilingual students, and most especially immigrants.

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Chapter 12
Rethinking Bilingual Pedagogy in Alsace: Translingual Writers and Translanguaging

Christine Hélot

Abstract This chapter presents the model of bilingual education in place in Alsace (French/German) and analyses how the language allocation and two teachers each in charge of one language reflects a monolingual representation of bilingualism. The chapter describes how student teachers reflect upon the way language contact and bilingualism are represented in literature for children, as well as upon the process of translation in the specific case of literature for children. It also argues for the rehabilitation of translation in bilingual pedagogy and explains why translation may be viewed as an example of translanguaging. Finally, through the analysis of examples of authors crossing language borders in children's books, the chapter explores how translanguaging in writing can serve creativity in bilingual and multiliteracy pedagogy.

Keywords Multiliteracy · Multilingual literature · Teacher education · Translingual authors

12.1   Introduction

In this chapter, I propose to reflect upon the notion of translanguaging in relation to bilingual pedagogy, multilingual literature and teacher education. The context of this research is the region of Alsace in France where the bilingual education model is based on the strict separation of the two languages concerned, French and German. In this bilingual programme, the language policy dictating the language regime (Blommaert et al. 2005) entails the following strategies: time separation, subject separation and teacher separation. I will focus on the teacher separation policy, which implies that one teacher is responsible solely for the French language and the other solely for German. This side-by-side teaching arrangement means that

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teachers and students are supposed to function in a monolingual mode (Grosjean 2008) in all their classes, whether in German or in French.

Taking into account the specificity of this context, I would like to address the following questions: Is it possible to envisage translanguaging as a pedagogical approach in bilingual teacher education in Alsace; how and why could it make a difference for teachers and students alike? My argumentation is based on García's (2009, p. 45) definition of translanguaging: "For us translanguagings are multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds", and because, as García explains, translanguaging also occurs in writing, I explore the meaning of this notion in relation to multilingual authors and the way they perform their identity through their choices of language use (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

First, I shall describe the basic principles of the Alsatian model of bilingual education and present briefly the historical and ideological context of this recent model of language education in France. I will argue that the dominant monolingual ideology of French language education policies continues to influence even bilingual education programmes and explain how the one-language/one-teacher policy prevents teachers and students from performing their bilingual identity in class. In the second part of the chapter, I shall analyse different configurations of translanguaging used by multilingual authors, how these authors negotiate their identity through the translation of their own work or the invention of new hybrid forms of language and how through their language choices they construct deeper understandings of bilingualism and biculturalism. I shall then reflect on whether such examples can help future bilingual teachers to question their own relationship to their bilingualism and to deconstruct the normative monoglossic vision imposed by educational authorities. I shall point out the link between multilingual authors and their biography, marked by migration and contact with different languages and cultures, their choices of languages and language use for writing, for translation or self-translation, and their common refusal to be assigned to a sole 'mother' tongue. I am particularly interested in probing their decision to cross language borders and to translanguage, and how in the process they create new forms of bilingual literature.

In the last part of the chapter, I will discuss the relevance of using bilingual literary texts with trainee teachers to make them aware of the paradoxes and pedagogical constraints that derive from a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism. More specifically, I would like to make them aware of the need to go beyond a vision of bilingual language use as synonymous with the language use of two separate monolinguals. Finally, I shall argue for the legitimisation of translanguaging as pedagogy in the bilingual classroom (Blackledge and Creese 2010) in order to lessen the linguistic insecurity felt by both students and teachers because of the one-language/ one-teacher strategy, and to develop biliteracy approaches where each language supports the other in the bilingual acquisition of reading and writing competences.

12.2   Bilingual Education in Alsace

Bilingual education in public schools in Alsace started in 1992. The first official texts were published in 2001 as part of a new national policy which was launched in 2000 by the then minister of education Jack Lang, who implemented a major plan

to improve foreign language teaching and language education, in general, in France. As part of this policy, support for 'regional languages' in mainstream education was seen as necessary, as it was time to show more open attitudes towards languages, which had long been forbidden at school. In 1951, the loi Deixonne[1] had cancelled this policy, but it took another 20 years for regional language classes to be offered in schools and it took another 40 years for bilingual education to be available in public schools[2]. One should mention, however, that from the 1970s, groups of parents in different regions of France had managed to start bilingual programmes in private schools and were putting pressure on the government to allow bilingual education in public schools as well. European language policies were also somewhat influential at that time with the elaboration of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the Council of Europe in 1992, a Charter France has signed but not yet ratified because of constitutional incompatibility.

'Regional' is the term used in France to refer to heritage languages which are considered part of the history of France (and its overseas territories), endogenous languages to the state as opposed to exogenous languages which have come into the country through external migrations. Apart from the term 'regional', language policy documents categorise other languages as 'foreign', including alongside 'European languages', 'languages of origin' and 'oriental languages'. These categorisations have obvious political and ideological dimensions (Hélot 2007, Bothorel 2004), which we will not discuss here. What needs to be made clear, however, is that they are relevant to the rationale behind the different models of foreign language and bilingual education on offer. In other words, there are different models of bilingual education for different types of languages, and the immersion model I shall be discussing later is only available in regional languages. Seventy-five regional languages were included in the report drawn by Cerquiglini in 2003 on the *Regional Languages of France*, and 13 of these can now be taught in schools: Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Creole, Gallo, Flemish, Francique, Occitan, the regional languages of Alsace, Melanesian languages and Tahitian.

I have previously analysed the bilingual education model in place for regional languages in France (Hélot 2007) and have described it as an example of partial immersion, because its founding principle is the 50/50 division of teaching time across the two languages. This rule has been strictly applied in the various French regions where bilingual education has developed because of the constitutional amendment, which states that the French language is the official language of the Republic. This policy means that French is the language of instruction in schools, and as long as 50 % of the time spent learning at school is done through French, a regional language can be used for teaching for the remaining 50 %. It also explains why full immersion, as is available in private schools in Brittany, for example, has not been allowed in public schools, despite two attempts in 2001 and 2002 to have it accepted by the French constitutional court.

This partial immersion model works on a strict separation model, where school subjects are distributed across the two languages concerned, with a further directive in 2002 indicating that no school subject should be taught exclusively in the regional language. The national French curriculum is applied in bilingual programmes just

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[1] http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/dglf/lang-reg/lang-reg4.htm

[2] Ministerial circular 2001–167 dated 5/09/2001, BOEN n 33.

as in monolingual mainstream classes and its contents and objectives are similar, even if half of the teaching takes place in a language other than French. Therefore, the regional language is a medium of instruction for otherwise similar contents to those in monolingual programmes, illustrating an approach to bilingual education based mostly on an instrumental vision of language learning and on a monoglossic ideology.

Bilingual education in regional languages in France is highly regulated first by national directives giving the general legal framework and overseen as well by regional education authorities such as academic and local inspectors. It is very popular with parents particularly in Corsica and Alsace where the number of bilingual classes is growing all the time and where the programmes are supported financially by local education authorities. Bilingual education in regional languages is available on an optional basis from kindergarten (age 3) to lycée level (age 18) and leads to specific bilingual qualification at the baccalaureate level. As far as language outcomes are concerned, its main aims are additive bilingualism and acquisition of biliteracy skills, and from a societal point of view, maintenance of regional minority languages, pluralism and enrichment (Baker 1996). A last point to mention concerns the organisation of bilingual programmes in streams within mainstream schools, in order to make bilingual education available across different socio-economic populations and to avoid such programmes from becoming elitist, as could happen if bilingual schools per se were created.

The Alsatian context can be considered as a specific case of bilingual education because the language chosen for the programme by the regional local authority is German, a dominant European language spoken in the Germanic sphere, different from the local variety of Alsatian spoken in the region. In other words, the Hochdeutsch variety was preferred for bilingual education to the local language used in Alsace. This choice has remained a subject of polemics between local education authorities who claim Alsatian is not a written language (even though there are plays and poetry written in Alsatian) and that German is the high variety, which has traditionally been used by educated people in Alsace and for religious ceremonies, for example. I shall not delve deeper here into this specific aspect of language policy, if only to add that Alsatian today is still a marker of Alsatian identity, whereas attitudes towards the German language in Alsace are still influenced by a long history of very violent conflicts between the two countries, with profound scars still visible in this border region with Germany.

Bilingual education in Alsace is, therefore, the only model of partial immersion education available in a dominant European language. This explains why partial immersion education in English cannot be made available because English is not a 'regional' language of France, and the same holds true for Arabic, for example. There are other models of bilingual education for these languages such as the content and language integrated learning (CLIL) model, but they only start at secondary level and the exposure to the second language is far less extensive than in the 50/50 immersion model. Indeed, if it were possible for schools in Alsace to offer partial immersion education in English, the demand for bilingual education would grow exponentially putting at risk the German programme. However, German in Alsace

is seen as a form of cultural and social capital in a region where traditionally many workers have crossed the border to find employment in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland.

This said, the students who enrol in the bilingual programme are for the most part monolingual French children, a few of them having had some contact with Alsatian (mostly though their grandparents) and a few more being monolingual German speakers with no knowledge of French. Interestingly, despite political wishes to bring France and Germany closer through a common agreement to teach the neighbour language in each country, the bilingual programme in France is meant to answer the needs of French students, and not of German students living on the border or in France. In other words, a common dual-language programme available to students from both countries was never envisaged.

The main characteristic I want to discuss here is the separation principle according to the one-language/one-teacher strategy. From the very beginning of the programme in Alsace, the local education authorities insisted on this policy, which, in our opinion (Hélot 2007, 2008), was based on the well-known Ronjat principle (1913) meant to secure the development of 'balanced bilingualism' in the family. The Ronjat principle is often recommended as a way of keeping the two languages separate from one another and to prevent the young child from language mixing. The theoretical basis given by language policymakers in Alsace is that in a bilingual situation, each language should be associated to one person so that the child can distinguish between the two linguistic systems. But the one-language/one-teacher strategy has another function as well: It is meant to make it easier for the German teacher to use solely German and never to use French, therefore, discouraging students and teachers alike from language mixing or translanguaging.

The fear that stands behind this conceptualisation of bilingual education in Alsace can also be understood in relation to the policy of choosing German instead of Alsatian. Alsatian speech is indeed marked by many code-switches from French, making this German variety a language of France but also exacerbating negative attitudes towards language mixing. Thus, bilingual education in Alsace has somewhat contradictory aims: Competence in German should be improved, students should become balanced bilinguals but the two languages should be kept at bay from one another and the standard dominant norms of each language should be taught, in a region where the local variety of German can still be heard and where the cultural context is historically Germanic. There are no more border patrols between the two countries but symbolic borders between the two languages, with Alsatian in the middle, are obviously still very important. Although the language regime chosen for bilingual education in the region is meant to support the rapprochement between France and Germany, the bilingual model in place in Alsace does not truly challenge the link between language and national identity.

I have analysed the monoglossic ideology (García 2009) at work in this model of bilingual education as double or parallel monolingualism (Heller 1999), where we see children travelling on two parallel roads which never meet, and which is based in Cummins' terms (2007: 229) on 'the two solitudes assumption'. In Alsace, how-

ever, bilingual education not only is characterised by strict language allocation, but also has been conceptualised mainly in terms of providing a more efficient approach to learning German; therefore, the teacher responsible for the French part of the curriculum is a regular mainstream teacher who shares her class with the teacher in charge of German and only the latter needs to follow the bilingual teacher education programme. So in the French part of the programme, the teacher is monolingual and in the German part, the teacher is bilingual but must communicate with the children only in German. This means that bilingual teachers and emergent bilingual students are obliged to function at all times in a monolingual mode (Grosjean 2008), and the students are left to make the connections between the two languages and to develop their bilingual identity on their own. More importantly, it prevents the creation of interactional spaces where cross-linguistic transfers and metalinguistic awareness activities can be developed (Sook Lee et al. 2008). Despite research evidence having shown that language use, cognitive processes and metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals are fundamentally different from those of monolinguals (Cook 1991; Grosjean 2008; Valdes 2001; García 2009), the bilingual model implemented in Alsace is still based on a vision of bilingualism as synonymous with double monolingualism.

On the whole, the young trainee teachers who choose to attend the bilingual teacher education programme believe that as future civil servants, they have no say on top-down language policies and they tend to share common assumptions about second-language acquisition: It should start as early as possible, neither language mixing nor translation should be encouraged for fear the children become lazy and prefer to use French, and they believe it is necessary to keep the two languages separate; thus they consider the one-language/one-teacher rule as the most appropriate approach. Without much experience in classrooms, they also find it difficult to envisage differently the teacher's talk and the students' talk; in other words, even if they do not translanguage as teachers, they could allow their students to do so, in order to support their bilingual acquisition. They join the programme after having been selected for their competence in German, but they do not necessarily feel secure in their second language and often report that they do not consider themselves bilingual because they do not speak German 'perfectly'. Yet, they will be in charge of two classes of students, which they will teach solely through German.

To summarise this point, I consider that the policy for bilingual education in Alsace has a major impact on bilingual pedagogy, enforcing a strict separation approach (García 2009) to bilingual learning to make sure no translanguaging can take place. Therefore, it is a challenging task to take bilingual student teachers on a different path from the one traced by the institutional policies in place. I have been looking for contested spaces in the bilingual teacher education curriculum where I could start to implement a more critical approach, tackling issues of history, politics, ideology, and identity and how they relate to bilingual pedagogy. In the following section, I will focus on one approach I have developed to challenge the bilingual trainee teachers' attitudes towards language separation through an analysis of the different ways in which various translingual authors negotiate their multilingualism and identity in their writing.

12.3   Translingual Authors: Challenging the Boundaries of National Languages

In a previous study, I looked at the way translated books for children revealed ethnocentric attitudes towards languages and cultures, reinforcing the link between national identity and language, and underestimating the child as a reader (Hélot 2011). I also analysed the way in which bilingual or dual-language books represented bilingualism, how the organisation of language contact on the page revealed the unequal relationships between the languages used and how student teachers could be encouraged to cross national borders in their approach to literacy.

Here, I wish to reflect on the different ways in which multilingual authors can help to understand what it means to be multilingual, i.e. to have a plurilingual repertoire that allows them to be creative and to navigate across different languages and cultures. In the words of Kramsch (2003, p. 119), "The multilingual subject is not necessarily the person who speaks many languages with equal mastery or with native or near native proficiency, but rather someone who resonates to each language relative to the other, and who has a more acute awareness than usual of the social, cultural and emotional contexts in which his/her various languages have grown and the life experiences they evoke". I have selected several multilingual authors who, through their multiple ways of using language and their languages (in the plural), through their experience of transnationalism and their ability to be 'in the middle' are examples of individuals who express an alternative and critical perspective on multilingualism, on interculturality and on literature. More specifically, I want to question the unidirectional link between the notion of identity and the notion of language (in the singular), and to find ways of deconstructing the essentialising vision of the one-language/one-nation ideology that permeates bilingual education, not to mention the normative approach in the teaching of literacy through the standard variety. My aim is to make bilingual student teachers aware that language instruction models, whether monolingual or bilingual, shape different language attitudes and most importantly the learners' identity, and that bilingual education could be an opportunity for students to develop new identities, particularly in Alsace where this question has been so sensitive throughout the twentieth century.

On the notion of identity, I argue first and foremost that it is characterised by its multiple and dynamic dimensions (Maalouf 1998) and that it is interrelated to its negotiation in the different contexts in which multilingual people live (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Thus because of their biographies, because they have lived in different countries or they might have their own experiences of cultural conflicts or of stigmatisation towards a minority language, multilingual authors perceive the boundaries of language, languages and cultures differently expressing these issues creatively in multiple forms through their writings. Our purpose is to make future bilingual teachers aware of the fact that identities are performed through language use, and in bi- or multilingual contexts through the use of two or several languages in many different combinations according to the authors' intentions and their writing contexts.

The best example to work with, in the Alsatian context, is the very famous author/graphic artist Tomi Ungerer. Ungerer was born just before the Second World War in 1931 in Alsace, and left his home penniless at 18 to go to New York; he then moved to Canada and now lives in Ireland. Ungerer writes in German, English and French; he also speaks Alsatian and is an active advocate of bilingualism. In 1991, he published an autobiographical memoire of his childhood during the war, intended for both a young and adult readership (*À la guerre comme à la guerre, Dessins et souvenirs d'enfance*). He subsequently translated his French text into English (*Tomi, a Childhood under the Nazis 1998*) for his Jewish American friends in New York, and then into German (*Die Gedanken sind frei* 1999).

What is relevant for my purpose in the case of these books is the issue of self-translation. Because Ungerer is multilingual, he could choose to self-translate his book from French into English and German. In a previous publication (Benert and Hélot 2007), we analysed the way his translations showed an in-depth knowledge of the different histories and cultures of his intended readership, negotiating very sensitive issues between France and Germany in particular, and neither silencing the violence involved nor giving in to simplification. Our analysis of his very careful choices of translation of words like *Nazi*, for example, or of *Heimat* rather than *Vaterland* are illustrations of his understanding of language, of the ideological charge inherent to certain vocabulary and of his ability to feel comfortable in his plurilingualism and transcultural position. Indeed, the three versions of his memoire show how he can navigate from French to German and to English not just because he has a high level of competence in these languages, but because he has a deep understanding of the different cultures. He is, therefore, a kind of passeur, who can cross language frontiers and national borders to narrate his experience of the war to readers on both sides of the Rhine and across the Atlantic. Ungerer has always refused to be assigned to one sole mother tongue: In an interview published in 1996, in which he was asked in which language he wrote and which was his mother tongue, he replied with a pun which is often quoted "*Je n'ai pas de langue maternelle, j'ai simplement plusieurs langues fraternelles*". He then explained he wrote in English, French and German and that Alsatian should also be added. When the interviewer insisted that one had to choose one language in which to write, he evaded the question, and when she insisted he said he could not answer. It is clear for us that Ungerer refuses to be seen as having one mother tongue and perhaps the question does not even make sense for him, because he is so used to writing in different languages and to moving within different cultures.

However, Ungerer's books are all published by his French, Swiss or American publishers in one sole language at a time[3] and there are no examples of translanguaging in his writing, even if some of his illustrations show cross-cultural *clins d'oeil* and puns which make reading his books a never-ending source of delight for

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[3] An exception is the 2008 trilingual version of the Three Robbers in Alsatian, French and German (La Nuée Bleue, Strasbourg). This book was first published in English in 1962 and has since been translated in 20 languages and has sold over 2 million copies throughout the world. It appeared for the first time in Alsatian in 2008, translated from both the French and German versions.

anyone interested in children's literature and interculturality. Also worth mentioning is his portrayal of a bilingual character named Flix (1997 for both French and German versions; 1998 for the US version) who lives in a border region very similar to Ungerer's native Alsace (see Benert and Hélot 2009 for analysis). Flix is the story of a dog born of cat parents who learns to negotiate his two cultures, thanks to his two languages. It is a beautiful and very funny story denouncing racism, which can be read as a hymn to the construction of Europe. Again the book is available in three languages, however, not translated by the author, and interestingly it is impossible to work out the original language since the three versions all state that they are translations. So here again, Ungerer claims the right to be plurilingual, which means the notion of mother tongue has become meaningless for him, particularly as he has not forgotten his own experience of seeing one of his languages forbidden during the war (French), and Alsatian afterwards. Most of Ungerer's books for children denounce stereotypes, racism and the violence of war and conflicts.

Many other translingual (Kellman 2000) or bilingual authors (Beaujour 1989) write in several languages and portray bilingual characters, but they do not mix their languages. As explained by Grosjean (2009), it is common for bilingual writers to publish in both their languages, to write in their 'second' language and then to revert to writing in their first language, as well as to self-translate. It is only recently that bilingual writers have portrayed characters who speak bilingually, who language the way bilinguals do, i.e. who intermingle their languages and translanguage. Benert (2011) proposes a very interesting analysis of the historical dimension of literary plurilingualism and how different values are attached to it at different times. She analyses more specifically how throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the norm of purism imposed itself on authors who chose 'purilingualism' instead of plurilingualism (Knauth 2004), and how sensitivity towards identity was expressed in literary works in the singular, stressing the crucial affective role of one sole language for identity development. She writes: "According to these new points of view, the plurilingualism of writers became totally contrary to the concept of mother tongue which was then given a quasi sacred value and became one of the pillars in the invention of national identities"[4] (Benert 2011, p. 127). She also reminds us of the scandal created by Oscar Wilde in 1894 because he had written *Salomé* in French, an expression of treason towards his own language. From then on, authors' identities will tend to be essentialised, conceptualised as homogenous entities, enclosed within the borders of one language and one culture, and their choice of language will be seen as suspect when they do not write in their supposed 'mother tongue'.

Benert (2011, p. 126) goes on to quote Knauth (2004) who makes a useful distinction between 'intratextual' and 'intertextual' plurilingualism. Intertextual plurilingualism refers to authors who write in several different languages (like Ungerer, for example, but there are many others), whereas intratextual plurilingualism describes authors who use several languages in their writing, therefore, who experiment with various forms of linguistic hybridity in their texts. The distinction serves

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[4] Our translation of the original in French.

my purpose, which is to make a link between translingual authors who do not trans-language and those who choose to, in order to investigate their possible motivation, and suggest that their choice is linked to performing new identities. Among authors who choose intratextual plurilingualism, I have gathered a corpus of texts from two Hispanic American writers Junot Diaz (2008) and Suzanna Chavez Silverman (2004), two Japanese authors Murakami (2007) and Minae Mizumura (1995), an Irish-German couple writing for adolescents, O'Sullivan and Rösler (1990, 2001, 2002) and an Austrian poet, Ernest Jandl (1966). These are only a few examples of translingual writers and are not meant to represent all the writers who translanguage today, but their texts offer a sample of different language combinations and different approaches of translanguaging in writing. By translanguaging, we mean that these authors have chosen to weave elements of one language into the main language of their respective narratives or to blend the two languages in such a way as to create new forms of language. I shall explain later how such choices are motivated by their own biography and their language experiences. From the point of view of reception, it is clear that they write for readers who are prepared to follow them along their path of reinvention of language, readers who are willing to share in a bilingual bi-cultural adventure with an author legitimatising new linguistic forms of expression.

What is interesting in the examples just mentioned is the degree of blending bilingual authors will allow themselves to use. It can vary from minimal use of language A vocabulary or short expressions and sentences in language B, as, for example, in Murakami's *Hashiru koto ni tsuite kataru toki ni boku no kataru koto*[5] (2007). In this autobiographical text, he depicts his love of running marathons and the way he trains in various cities in the USA. His text is scattered with words and expressions (and titles of songs) in English, which refer to his experience of running, for example:

> Il reste à peine plus d'un mois avant le marathon de New York. C'est le moment pour moi de réduire mon "mileage" avant d'éliminer la fatigue que j'ai accumulée. En anglais, on emploie pour ce processus les mots de "tapering off", ce qui signifie diminution progressive. (French translation, Murakami 2009, p. 116)

The author chooses not to translate the English term 'mileage' which must be self-explanatory for joggers, but then explains the second English expression 'tapering off'. Apart from these few English incursions into the original Japanese, the text retains a monolingual character; we use this example to illustrate minimal translanguaging, a process which is very common today in speech and in writing and which could be compared to the process of language borrowing. However, minimal, these loan words are the result of a choice on the part of the author who needs to use the precise expression that makes sense of his experience, perhaps also to express some intimacy with joggers who run marathons all over the world. I include this example

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[5] As explained by Murakami at the end of the book the title is borrowed from Carver's *What we talk about when we talk about love* and literally means: What I talk about when I talk about running. We use the translation in French in class, which also shows in italics the use of English words or expressions. (*Autoportrait de l'auteur en coureur de fond*, Belfond 2009, translated into French from the Japanese by Hélène Morita).

in the corpus of literary extracts I use with the student teachers in order to discuss with them the extent to which their purist attitudes are challenged, specifically in relation to the spread of English into French and German. I also like the idea of exposing them to a translation from Japanese into French that includes some English words and expressions, in order to raise the notion of language borders and to understand the central role of translation.

I then move on to another Japanese writer, this time presenting the text in Japanese to the student teachers. In 1995, Minae Mizumura published her novel "*Shi Shosetsu (Personal novel): from left to right*" in Japan. In this autobiographical work that portrays her life as an expatriate's daughter growing up in the USA, she switches to sentences and paragraphs in English in her otherwise Japanese description of the character's cultural identity problems. Looking at the book, nearly every page features several lines in English, making the narrative a bilingual text where the bilingual character uses her two languages as she sees fit to describe her life. The reading experience is interesting to ponder since the novel was horizontally printed in a Japanese/English bilingual text, which reads from left to right as in European languages; this novel was a first for Japanese literature[6]. Therefore, the blending of the two languages in this case goes further, since it changes the directionality of the Japanese script, forcing readers to experience a decentring from their usual reading practices. For the French student teachers who cannot read Japanese but who know English, the materiality of the different scripts as they appear on the page makes the contact between the two languages more tangible while illustrating at the same time the distance between the two scripts. Apart from the fact that there is no translation of this book in French or English, working with the Japanese language gives the student teachers an experience of the materiality of written text. It is also a tangible example of two very distant writing systems blending into one another.

O'Sullivan and Rösler's three bilingual novels, published in Hamburg in 1983, 1984, 1990 and republished in 2001 and 2002, are a further example of bilingual writing, in this case aimed at adolescent German/English bilinguals. All the books offer the same kind of intermingling of English and German throughout the texts and the intended readers are meant to understand the 'witty speech mismatch' without using a dictionary. As explained on the back cover, translanguaging is used to help students of English to read half a book in the 'foreign language', to have an experience similar to going to another country and to learn more vocabulary than in the traditional foreign language class[7]. Thus as often in literature written for children or young people the objective in this case is not only literary but didactic as well. Although the texts seem to distribute German and English equally, the pedagogical objective consists in youngsters developing reading skills in English on the basis of their knowledge of German. Here is a short extract:

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[6] Information gathered at http://wordswithoutborders.org/contributor/minae-mizumura on 28/03/2012.

[7] Information given on the back cover of "*It could be worse—oder?*" 1990.

Florian warf den Rest des Doughnuts in einen Papierkorb. "Come on", Sakina pulled him
along, "we mustn't lose sight of them". Andy and his girlfriend had just joined a queue.
Florian warf einen Blick zurück. Der letzte Bissen kam ihm hoch.
The river bus had arrived at Charing Cross Pier boat station. (Butler, Graf & Friends: Nur
ein Spiel? 2002, p. 76–77)

In this extract, it is obvious that although the characters each speak a different
language they understand each other. Florian is the German character spending 3
weeks in London with his British friend Maddy and for most of this detective novel,
the narration will switch from English to German and the reverse according to the
points of view of the characters. Without carrying out a detailed analysis of the logic
at work in the choices of switches on the part of the authors, the reading experience
is interesting in so far as it provides a bilingual mode of reading somewhat similar
to a bilingual mode of oral communication: As a bilingual, one forgets the language
switches after a while, and one follows the narrative without pondering all the time
on the language being used. Of course, reading such a translingual novel implies
having sufficient linguistic knowledge in both languages. While this example could
be used for an analysis of intersentential code-switching (occurring at clause or
sentence boundaries), we prefer not to focus on the use of the two languages, but
on the motivations of the authors who managed to publish these translingual texts,
a rather rare occurrence in the 1980s and in children's literature. Like the two Japa-
nese writers mentioned earlier, their choice is related to their own biography, their
own bilingualism and in this case to their respective professions, author and teacher
of English in Germany. Based on their personal situation as a mixed couple with
bilingual children, they wished to offer young readers a bilingual experience. Yet
the narrative translanguaging they use is a form of cohabitation between English
and German, which does not truly reflect "*le parler bilingue*" (Lüdi and Py 1986) of
bilinguals, as our next examples will show.

Junot Diaz, in his Pulitzer prize-winning novel "*The Brief Wondrous Life of
Oscar Wao*"[8] (2008), writes in an exuberant English prose dotted with a lot of Span-
ish words and expressions as well as slang, to portray the language use of his La-
tino characters who have migrated from the Dominican Republic to the USA. For
example (page 113):

Her advice? Forget that hijo de la porra, that comehuevo. Every desgraciado who walks in
here is in love with you. You could have the whole maldito world if you wanted.
The world! It was what she desired with her entire heart, but how could she achieve it? She
watched the flow of traffic past the parque and did not know […]
Me I'm going to the Hollywood for a dance. I have un buen amigo working in the door
and from what I hear there'll be a whole assembly line of rich men with nothing to do but
adore me, ay sí.

In this example, Diaz chooses to use translanguaging as a narrative device not only
to give some authenticity to his characters but also mainly to illustrate the very
rich creative dimension of their use of language, the blending of rhythm between

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[8] I wish to thank Professor Ricardo Otheguy from the Graduate Centre of the City University of
New York for giving me this great novel.

English and Spanish, the humor expressed in family members being referred to in their Spanish names. Interesting also are the long notes that explain the history of the Dominican Republic for both aware and unaware readers, addressing at the same time insiders and outsiders and crossing cultural gaps between readers who know about the context of his novel and those who do not. Clearly, the immigrant experience is central to the novel and his characters feel like immigrants thus they speak like immigrants. The bilingual author somehow forces the English language to be hospitable[9] to the Spanish language, to make room for Spanish words and syntax into English. It also gives him more freedom because he does not have to choose between his two languages, or to find ways to go round one language to express an emotion that comes more naturally in the other. Indeed, our next example illustrates how, through giving the possibility to her two languages to meet and to blend, the bilingual writer Chavez-Silverman (2004) can create a new literary aesthetics. Again this narrative is an autobiographical memoire, which is made clear in the title: *Killer Cronicas: Bilingual Memories.* Grosjean (2009, p. 143) quotes this passage from her novel:

> Como northern Califas girl, of course, había visto mucho nature espectacular; the Pacific Ocean come yarda de enfrente, for starters, y los sequoia giant redwoods. Yes especially los redwoods. Pero también esa enredadera, don't know its name, the one with the huge velvety deep purple blossoms y las fragile, hairy leaves and stems como patas de tarantula.

Grosjean reports that the author deliberately chose to blend her two languages to that degree so as not to have to choose between English and Spanish and to encourage other minority authors to write bilingually. With colleagues, Chavez-Silverman edits for the University of Wisconsin Press a series entitled "*Writing in Latinidad: the autobiographical voices of Lationos/nas*", which includes autobiographical works, memoirs, journals, collections of letters and performance pieces, by Latino and Latina writers who live in the USA. The difference between this type of translanguaging and Diaz earlier is that the latter is accessible to monolinguals whereas Chavez Silverman's prose, because of the extent of the blending, is far more difficult for a non- or limited Spanish speaker to understand. But in effect, this means Chavez Silverman is inventing a new language, which is accessible to those who share her linguistic and cultural experiences, but demands of those who do not that they cross the linguistic and cultural gaps necessary to understand the experiences of the characters in the story. In this particular extract, it is interesting to point to the common experience of bilinguals who do not always know the name of trees or birds in their two languages, and how lexical availability is related to the environment in which the languages are used. But more importantly, what Chavez-Silverman is doing is asserting the right to express herself according to the way she languages across her

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[9] On the notion of "hospitable" language, see Gasquet, A. & Suárez, M. (2007), *Écrivains multilingues et écritures métisses: l'hospitalité des langues*, Clermont Ferrand: Université Clermont-Ferrand II, where they analyse the reticence of the French literary world to open to linguistic and cultural diversity. Francophone Caribbean writers, in particular, have led a rich debate on this question as well as on the choice of language for bilingual authors living in former colonies (see, for example, Ascencio 1997, about Haïtian authors).

two languages and in the process, the freedom she claimed to translanguage has allowed her to create a new literary form which gives a voice to authors and readers who share her experiences. Furthermore, in this case, it is not just a new literary voice Chavez Silverman brings into the world of literature, it is a new voice which can be heard by those who language and translanguage like her characters and which is further legitimised when it appears in print in a published book.

The same kind of creative freedom can be analysed in the work of the Austrian poet Ernst Jandl. Jandl was born in 1925, and like Ungerer he wrote for both children and adults and in different languages. He is famous for several children's books (*Fünfter sein* 1998; *Otto Mops* 2001) but he mainly wrote poetry which he sometimes recorded himself and which has often been put to jazz music. Jandl was particularly interested in deconstructing the materiality of language, in exploring or 'exploding' the formal shape of sounds and words and in destabilising his readers (Kargl 2008). For example, in his poem entitled "Chanson" (1971), he not only mixes words from English, French and German, but also ends up deconstructing the words and blending the sounds of the three languages together. As the title indicates, the text becomes a song (all the more so when Jandl reads it himself), keeping the same rhythm throughout the poem but playing with the consonants and vowels in such a way as to tangle the three languages together inextricably. The poem counts four words in French, German and English and begins in the following way, "*l'amour, die Tur, the chair, der Bauch*"*,* then a few lines down it becomes "*le tür, d'amour, der chair, the bauch*" and further down again, "*am'lour, tie dür, che thair, ber dauch, tie dair, che lauch, am thür*"; it ends with three words back in their original shape, "*L'amour, die Tur, the chair*".

What Jandl is doing is experimenting with the sounds of the three languages, first repeating the words but changing their order, breaking them away from their article, robbing German nouns of their capital letters, in other words subverting and destroying fixed forms in order for the readers to decentre from their traditional experiences with language, to break with their reading (and listening) habits. But Jandl is not just playing with the three languages, and his intention is not to make a statement about identity, his objective is mainly political: All his poems express strong messages against war and its consequences, against social injustice, poverty, hunger and isolation. Like Ungerer, he lived through the Second World War and even saw Hitler give a speech in Vienna in 1938, and all his life Jandl fought against political oblivion in Austria. So that in the poem "chanson", where he tears apart the words of three languages and forces them to encounter otherness with the sounds of other languages, translanguaging takes on a different purpose: As analysed by Banoun (2002), it is meant to express a political message.

This last example of translanguaging is as far as we have taken bilingual student teachers on their journey to understand the ways in which bilingual individuals language and translanguage to create meaning, how bilingualism offers them greater choices of creative expression and to what extent they choose to assert their creative freedom with language and languages. As explained earlier, my aim is to challenge the monolingual language regime of the bilingual model in Alsace, thus, to make student teachers aware of the specific relationships translingual authors have with

linguistic, cultural and social diversity. The objective is to develop an understanding of how bilingual authors look upon each of their languages through the eyes of the other, of how they negotiate the foreignness in each of their languages and how this gives them the freedom to 'desacralise' both their languages. Interestingly, the student teachers often argue that language games are the preserve of poets, novelist and artists who enjoy a certain freedom to experiment with language and various art forms, but they would rarely give themselves or their pupils the same freedom to language, especially at school.

12.4   Rethinking Bilingual Teacher Education in Alsace

As a primary teacher educator in France and researcher in the field of bilingualism, I have been searching for spaces in the curriculum where I can implement different attitudes towards bilingualism and more specifically towards bilingual minority language speakers. (Hélot 2007, 2010, 2011). In the case of bilingual education in Alsace, the issues are different because bilingualism in German and French is highly valued and strongly supported by educational authorities. However, in both cases, the strongly held attitudes in the educational sphere towards language purism and normativity has made it difficult to conceptualise bilingualism or plurilingualism away from a compartmentalised view of language competence, and to challenge the dominant monoglossic habitus of French schools. Because of the ideological grounds on which bilingual instruction is regulated in Alsace, it is almost impossible to find interactional spaces where bilingual learners can reflect on their bilingual learning experience.

It should be explained here that because of the separate model of language instruction, it is particularly difficult to do research on translanguaging in a bilingual class in Alsace. Whenever I have observed such classes, I have indeed noticed instances of children translating, using French words in their German and even teachers switching to French in specific circumstances. Like García (2007) in New York schools, I have witnessed examples of translanguaging among students and teachers in Alsace, despite the very strict policy of language separation. For example, I have heard young learners reflecting on cognates in the two languages, which is a pedagogical strategy recommended by Cummins (2005), yet left unexplored as a learning resource by their teachers. Because teachers are regularly inspected, it would be very difficult ethically to record instances of translanguaging. This is the reason why I cannot use a corpus of oral classroom transcripts in the teacher education module. Using examples of translanguaging in literary texts is more appropriate in the sense that it offers a way of legitimising language mixing, and of showing that there is intent and meaning behind these hybrid forms of language use. Translingual authors are highly educated people who belong to literary elites and are recognised as artists; reading their texts helps to understand that their experiences of migration, of linguistic and cultural pluralism defines their identity which they perform through their creative use of language and languages.

   Thus, I strive to open a new learning space where future bilingual teachers can entertain the idea of giving themselves such freedom to experiment with their languages, where they can reflect upon their personal relationships with both their languages, and where they start to understand that even at school, languages are not sacred entities meant to be respected at all cost. In other words, I explain to them that they can appropriate their plurilingual repertoire in all its multiple forms for their own lives and self-expression, and I would argue that only once they have experienced this freedom with their languages will they be able to give their students the same kind of freedom to develop their bilingualism and their bilingual identity in a creative way.

   This said, the 3-hour session analysing excerpts from translingual authors is the first opportunity for the student teachers to confront their entrenched representations of bilingual language use. Up to now, it has not been possible to run the class and gather data on their discourses because the issue is too sensitive[10]. However, I did witness their bewilderment and disbelief that such texts could be published. For some of them the translingual texts epitomise what should be avoided at all cost in bilingual education. Yet once they understand better the authors' intent in translanguaging they start being aware that keeping languages separate at all times is unrealistic, but it is difficult for them to entertain the possibility of negotiating their own language policy in the bilingual classroom. Because they see themselves more as German teachers than as bilingual teachers, using French in the German class is synonymous with transgression of official policy. Some remarked that it was all very well for bilingual authors to translanguage because they are fully bilingual, but young children starting to acquire German should learn to distinguish the two languages.

   In other words, it is rather difficult to convince student teachers of the pedagogical role of translanguaging. They expressed fears that the acquisition of German would be delayed and that the learners would be 'mixed up' in both their languages. On the whole, they found it difficult to accept that translanguaging should be legitimised at school based on the argument that it is a normal practice among bilinguals in everyday life. They did agree to the paradox of functioning in a monolingual mode all the time in a bilingual programme and understood the metaphor of a personal language police caused by the language regime. Furthermore, they even came to accept that such a policy might run the danger of silencing the learners, of leaving them to make sense on their own of their competence in two languages. Perhaps the most productive side of the module was that it opened a space for discussion on linguistic insecurity. Although most student teachers have spent time in Germany they still do not feel as comfortable teaching through German as they would through French and most of them do not see themselves as bilingual. Therefore, having to teach through German all the time is more demanding for them[11], as well as having

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[10] Recording the student teachers' discourses during their exchanges about the translingual texts would defeat the purpose of the activity, which demands that they express themselves freely and react spontaneously.

[11] This point, in fact, questions the sustainability of the bilingual programme in Alsace where it is well known that some teachers drop out of the programme after a few years. (Figures not available.)

to inhibit their French when their students do not understand the lessons in German. What is clear from my observations is that the translingual texts offer an excellent basis on which to discuss what it means to be bilingual and to explore the notion of identity. The texts did help the student teachers to understand that their role might be more than just being a German teacher, but obviously more time (and experience) will be necessary for them to make sense of their professional identity. In a 50/50 dual-immersion kindergarten in California, Sook Lee et al. (2008, p. 91) noticed that a strict enforcement of the instructional separation of the two languages led to "an assumed personification of both teachers and students as speakers of Spanish or speakers of English, but not speakers of both". Thus, it is hoped the reflection proposed in relation to translingual authors will help the student teachers in Alsace to feel less guilty when they do use some French at times in the German class, and that they will remember translanguaging can have pedagogical functions that support bilingual acquisition.

Obviously, in a context where the one-language/one-teacher policy is so entrenched, I am aware that what I propose to the student teachers is destabilising and tends to make them confused at first, but I will now be able to relate it to a new policy proposed in June 2012 by the Recteur for the region of Alsace[12]. Despite a very polemical debate, a new bilingual programme was started, reducing instruction through German to 8 h a week (from 12 h at present), and most importantly changing the policy to one teacher for both languages. Parents' associations and bilingual militants in Alsace have not stopped accusing the educational authorities of destroying the model they are so attached to, not only the 50/50 time allocation but also mainly the one-language/one-teacher instructional strategy, which they see as the most efficient way of dispensing bilingual education. From the point of view of research, this latest development will offer new opportunities to work with bilingual teachers on their management of the two languages. I would argue that the language regime imposed by the one-teacher/two-languages policy might be less constraining in that it is easier for one teacher to see the need to create interactional spaces where bilingual students can explore their metalinguistic abilities, where they can compare their languages and perform their bilingual identity. As explained by Blommaert et al. (2004) and Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (2005), schools need to purposefully create interactive spaces where learners feel free and safe in their access to linguistic resources in both (or all) their languages. Only in spaces where children can use both languages can they reflect upon the two linguistic systems and develop bilingual language skills. Creese and Blackledge (2010) also argue against the boundaries put up around languages in 'separate bilingualism' which limit opportunities to use both languages at will. In a further study (2011, p. 18), they give examples of the specific knowledge and skills that flexible bilingual pedagogy makes possible for learners. Why should bilingual learners and teachers be restricted to functioning in a monolingual mode, when we know that in many situations, bilinguals do not have to choose between their languages and translanguaging is used as a stylistic or communicative device (Romaine 1989, Martin-Jones 2000)?

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[12] See article in the local press Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace at: http://68.snuipp.fr/IMG/pdf/DNA_du_17_juin.pdf

Indeed, there are so many pedagogical possibilities which are wasted because of the one-language/one-teacher policy in Alsace, such as parent collaboration during the German class, reading and writing bilingual books, taking notes in French to support acquisition of German, translating, drawing on existing knowledge in French, as well metalinguistic and metacognitive activities which are known to support bilingual learning. All the activities developed for the German class in fact limit the students in their expression since they are restricted to a language regime that does not allow them to make links with the language they already speak. This does not mean they do not acquire competence in the German language, but that they are not given the opportunity to develop their bilingualism and their bilingual identity in a safe and integrated learning environment. If schools are meant to prepare for the real world, they should support bilingual individuals to use languages in a way that reflects the community language experiences. In twenty-first-century multilingual societies, there is clear evidence of language hybridity, whether with Internet, Facebook or other social media, and in the linguistic landscape, where it is common to see interrelated semiotic systems. Indeed, literacy practices have been transformed by new technologies and have become multilingual and multimodal, so that insisting on language separation today as in the bilingual programme in Alsace widens the gap between language use at school and multilingual language practices in the real world.

12.5   Conclusion

As García et al. remind us (2006, p. 16) "Even though language practices in schools often seem to be neatly sorted out into different times subjects and teachers, there is evidence of much hybridity in the language practices themselves. And hybrid language use is more than simple code-switching or the alternation between two codes, it is a more systematic, strategic affiliative and sense making process". In this chapter, I explored the notion of translanguaging through the work of various translingual authors and in particular in examples of intratextual plurilingualism. My aim was to find a contested space where I could challenge the ideology of separate bilingual pedagogy and where student teachers could understand that medium of instruction policies in schools are first and foremost ideological and discursive constructs (Tollefson and Tsui 2004). I analysed the way translingual authors make sense of their own experiences of linguistic and cultural difference and how they perform their identity through their choices of languages and of language blending. Through what these translingual authors tell us of their own experiences of multilingualism and through their creative use of their languages in their literary works, I wanted to make bilingual trainee teachers aware of new ways of understanding bilinguals' experiences and engagement with the world. Because translingual authors break with the traditional ideological barriers that separate languages, new bilingual literary voices emerge; thus, I hoped trainee teachers would understand the creative dimension of translanguaging and reflect upon new possibilities in bilingual pedagogy.

Aware of the constraints inherent to the language policy imposed on them, I argued for the use of translanguaging to counteract linguistic insecurity in the classroom, to get teachers to understand that balanced bilingualism is a myth, and that translanguaging is a linguistic resource available to bilinguals who can communicate in a creative and meaningful way because of their plurilingual repertoires. Finally, I chose examples of translingual authors to challenge literacy practices based on the strict separation of languages and to encourage teachers to produce bilingual texts with their students in order for them to invest their identity meaningfully and to feel less inhibited by their limited competence in one of their languages. But as rightly pointed out by Creese and Blackledge (2011, p. 10), "Although we can acknowledge that across linguistically diverse contexts moving between languages is natural, how to harness and build on this will depend on the socio-political environment in which such practice is embedded and the local ecologies of schools and classrooms". At present in Alsace, the local ecology of schools and classrooms, whether monolingual or bilingual, does not offer much interactional space for future bilingual learners (and their teachers) to make sense of their multiple identities. Yet a few teachers have managed to contest the institutional policy in place and to teach both German and French. Further research will take us to their classrooms to understand why and how they have managed to resist entrenched monoglossic top-down policies and to recreate their own.

Dedication   This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Yves Bleichner, a beloved colleague at the IUFM Alsace/University of Strasbourg who passed away in March 2012. His contribution to the field of bilingual pedagogy in Alsace will always be remembered.

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Chapter 13
Focus on Multilingualism as an Approach in Educational Contexts

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter

Abstract "Focus on Multilingualism" is a holistic approach to the study of multilingualism in educational contexts. This approach can be characterized by focusing on the following three elements: the multilingual speaker, the whole linguistic repertoire and the context. Multilingual speakers use languages as a resource to communicate successfully and to develop their own identities through multilingual practices. In this chapter, "Focus on Multilingualism" is illustrated with examples from multilingual education in the Basque Country.

Keywords Language ideology · Multilingual education · Cross-linguistic interaction

13.1 Introduction

Language always has an important role in the school curriculum not only because language (or language arts) is usually one of the compulsory school subjects in primary and secondary school but also because the content of any other subject is learnt and taught through language along with other semiotic signs (gestures, images, etc). Moreover, school is much more than a learning and teaching institution, it is also a place where social interaction takes place, and language has an important role in this interaction.

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In the European context, the European Commission has as a policy goal that all European citizens have to be able to speak two European languages in addition to their mother tongue (Commission of the European Communities 2003). The main policy measures to achieve this goal are to start instruction in a foreign language from an early age, and the use of foreign languages as additional languages of instruction. The latter is usually known as "Content and Language Integrated Learning" (CLIL) in the European context (Coyle et al. 2010; Cenoz, Genesee and Gorter 2013). The most common foreign language in the school curriculum is English with the exception of English-speaking countries. Other languages such as French, German or Spanish are also studied as foreign languages. In some bilingual regions, minority languages are used in education such as German in South Tyrol, Welsh in Wales, Catalan in Catalonia or Basque in the Basque Country. The combination of foreign, national and minority languages can result in a strong presence of language arts subjects in the curriculum, and multilingual education may use different languages as languages of instruction (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008; Cenoz 2009). At the same time, the linguistic diversity of schools is increased by the presence of students with other home languages that are not part of the school curriculum (Extra and Gorter 2008). Multilingualism in school contexts is also a well-known phenomenon in other parts of the world (Skutnabb-Kangas and Torres-Guzman 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 2009).

Taking into account that schools set the teaching and learning of languages amongst their most important goals, it is not surprising that research on multilingualism in school settings has focused on the measurement of language proficiency in one or more languages (see, for example, Johnstone 2002; Genesee et al. 2006; Baker 2011). The focus has been on language as a system and research studies have looked at linguistic, cultural, economic, political and social factors that influence language acquisition (Brisk 1998). When looking at the acquisition of language proficiency, languages have been considered as separate entities and the transfer of elements from one language into another has traditionally been regarded as negative. This position is related to the development of monolingual ideologies that developed hard boundaries between languages and associated individual languages with states, nations and empires (see Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese 2012). These ideologies are still influential in school contexts. In fact, many teachers believe that they have to isolate the target language from other languages students use, and research has tested oral or written comprehension and production in each separate language in very controlled situations. As Musk (2010, p. 182) says, the predilection for language competence has sidelined the communicative function of language.

A different approach to the study of multilingualism in education is to place the emphasis on spontaneous multilingual speech in its social context. This approach considers language as a social resource and it highlights individual agency when using different languages and other semiotic devices and makes reference to heteroglossia (Creese and Blackledge 2011). The simultaneous use of different languages in school contexts has been referred to as "flexible bilingualism" (Blackledge and Creese 2010) or "translanguaging" (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010).

In this chapter, we propose an alternative to the traditional focus on monolingualism, which we call the "Focus on Multilingualism" approach. In the following, we first define "Focus on Multilingualism" and its scope and then explain its three

dimensions and its application to multilingual education. Examples are provided from schools in the Basque Country that aim at multilingualism in Basque, Spanish and English.

13.2 What Is "Focus on Multilingualism"?

"Focus on Multilingualism" is an approach to research in education that has important teaching and learning implications. It is related to concepts such as "flexible bilingualism" (Blackledge and Creese 2010) or "translanguaging" (García 2009). According to Blackledge and Creese (2010, p. 109), "flexible bilingualism represents a view of language as a social resource (Heller 2007) without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction". García and Sylvan (2011, p. 389) define translanguaging as "the process by which bilingual students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices in order to make sense of, and communicate in, multilingual classrooms". Both concepts are a reaction to the ideology of separate bilingualism.

"Focus on Mmultilingualism" shares the heteroglossic character of multilingualism with the concepts of flexible bilingualism and translanguaging. Similarly to the proposal made by Creese and Blackledge (2011), it places the language users at the centre rather than the languages. It is also close to "translanguaging" because "it considers multiple language practices in interrelationship" (García 2009, p. 7). However, the scope of "Focus on Multilingualism" is in some aspects also different from "flexible bilingualism" and "translanguaging".

"Focus on Multilingualism" has its roots in multilingual education understood as "the use of two or more languages in education provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy" (Cenoz 2012). According to this definition, multilingual education includes schools and higher education institutions provided that the acquisition of competencies in different languages is a goal. Some examples of multilingual education are schools aiming at multilingualism in bilingual regions where a minority language is spoken such as Wales, Catalonia, South Tyrol or the Basque Country in Europe. Another example of multilingual education is Canadian immersion where French is used as the language of instruction for English first language learners, or dual immersion schools in the USA with English and Spanish as the languages of instruction. Additional examples are Intercultural Bilingual Education in Latin America which uses indigenous languages and Spanish, or international schools in different parts of the world. All these different types of schools aim at developing proficiency in two or more languages. Schools that aim at multilingualism can be found in some parts of the world and can involve different types of languages, different pedagogies and sociolinguistic contexts. In practice, it is impossible to develop a straightforward typology of multilingual education involving two or more languages because of the great diversity of elements involved. Following Hornberger (1989), the "Continua of Multilingual Education" is an alternative to typologies that can be used to analyse and compare the complex reality of multilingual education resulting from the interaction of linguistic, sociolinguistic

and educational variables such as linguistic distance, status of the languages or the use of languages in the curriculum (Cenoz 2009). The "Continua of Multilingual Education" can be used as a tool to describe different types of multilingual education and make international comparisons.

"Focus on Multilingualism" uses Hornberger's idea of continua and looks at the languages in the school curriculum as linguistic systems and at multilingual practices in which speakers use their multiple linguistic resources in interaction. Therefore, it looks at the interrelationship at two different levels. "Focus on Multilingualism" considers that languages can be distinct entities because they are treated as such by social actors in the school context who study languages as a subject or as language arts. For example, English, Basque and Spanish are compulsory school subjects in primary and secondary Basque schools and French is an optional subject in secondary school. Basque is the main language of instruction but also Spanish and English are used as languages of instruction. The four languages are considered separate objects in the school context and they are listed as such on the timetable.

Languages are also treated as distinct objects by many other researchers in multilingual education who tend to focus on issues such as the acquisition of proficiency in one specific language, the transfer from one language to another or the acquisition of content taught through a specific language. In comparison to school ideologies and research traditions that create solid boundaries between languages, "Focus on Multilingualism" considers that boundaries should be more flexible, as will be discussed in the next sections. "Focus on Multilingualism" also considers complex discourse practices that can be more often found in spontaneous interaction amongst multilingual students both at school and outside school. In these situations, translanguaging is a common practice amongst multilinguals. It can have a pedagogical value but this value in many contexts has not been explored sufficiently.

"Focus on Multilingualism" originates in situations where three languages are part of the school curriculum. Having three or more languages in the curriculum is quite common in many parts of the world such as India (Mohanty 2008), China (Jiang et al. 2007), Morocco (Ennaji 2005), Luxembourg (Kirsch 2006) or the Netherlands (Gorter and Van der Meer 2008), to mention just a few. "Focus on Multilingualism" is also a valid approach for schools with two languages in the curriculum but when it comes to research the complexity of school multilingualism involving three or more languages can provide the opportunity to observe interesting patterns of interrelationships involving different directions. "Focus on Multilingualism" is an approach for teaching and research in multilingual education that relates the way multilingual students (and multilingual speakers in general) use their communicative resources in spontaneous conversation to the way languages are learnt and taught at school. It analyses the gap between the traditional focus on one language at a time at school and in research and real multilingualism that considers all the languages and multilingual discursive practices. It explores the possibility of establishing bridges that can link these two realities so that multilingual students can use their own resources to a larger extent in formal education.

In the next sections, we will look at the three dimensions that we distinguish in "Focus on Multilingualism": (1) the multilingual speaker; (2) the whole linguistic repertoire and (3) the social context.

13.3   The Multilingual Speaker

The communicative skills of multilingual speakers have traditionally been measured from a monolingual perspective against the yardstick of the ideal native speaker of each of the languages involved. This practice produces a sense of failure and lack of self-confidence when learning languages because the level to be reached in the target language is seen as an impossible goal (Cook 2010). When more than two languages are learnt at school, the possibility of becoming "an ideal multilingual" with native competence in several languages is even more remote. The idea of the bilingual who is expected to be like two monolinguals (that can be extended to the idea of the multilingual as several multilinguals) was criticized by Grosjean almost 30 years ago (Grosjean 1985). Grosjean proposed a holistic view of bilingualism, according to which bilinguals are considered as fully competent speaker-hearers who have a unique linguistic profile. In the field of second language acquisition, Cook (1992) proposed the notion of "multicompetence" as a complex type of competence, which is qualitatively different from the competence of monolingual speakers of a language. Cook (2003, p. 2) defines "multicompetence" as "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind", a concept based on the idea of the second language user as a whole person in opposition to the monolingual native speaker.

In the real world, multilinguals acquire and use their skills at different levels depending on their communicative purposes, and the holistic-multilingual approaches proposed by Grosjean and Cook seem to reflect multilingual speakers' discursive practices more accurately. Being competent to communicate in several languages does not only imply acquiring syntactic rules or vocabulary but also implies using languages in different contexts. A multilingual speaker uses different languages either in isolation or mixed, for different purposes instead of using one language for all possible situations. An example of a Basque L1 speaker who is fluent in Spanish and is attending a course in English can be useful to illustrate this point. Itziar (not her real name) is a 20-year-old female student of Social Education at the University of the Basque Country. She has been asked to indicate which languages she uses in different situations. These questions were part of a questionnaire carried out to analyse the complexity of multilingual proficiency. More than 100 university students filled in a questionnaire on their perceived competence in three or more languages and the use of these languages in different everyday life activities. Itziar's answers are given below:

- **Talking about a personal problem with a close friend**. Only if I always speak Basque to this friend I would use Basque, otherwise I use Spanish.

- **Chatting on the internet**. If it is with my friends I would use Basque, if it is that I just join a "chat" I think that I would use Spanish.
- **Reading the newspaper**. I usually read newspapers in Basque and Spanish.
- **Listening to what your friend did at the weekend**. That would be in Basque, I have very few friends who use Spanish to talk about daily things.
- **Writing an application for a job including your CV**. As we live in the Basque Country I would use Basque but there can be exceptions. I have my CV ready in Basque but if I need a job in Spain I would translate it.
- **Reading a novel**. I tend to use Spanish, there are more things to read in Spanish and the things I am interested in are usually written in Spanish.
- **Watching a movie**. The same as for books, usually in Spanish.
- **Listening to a lecture on multilingual education**. In Spanish or Basque, I could follow well in both, but not so well in English.
- **Reading a legal text like the Basque Country Official Gazette**. I would read it in Spanish because we have learned most technical words in Spanish.
- **Sending an e-mail to ask for information about a job**. I would look at the information first and then depending on what it is I would use Spanish or Basque.
- **Sending an SMS to a friend**. Basque or Spanish depending on the friend.
- **Talking to a doctor in hospital about a health problem**. I would probably use Spanish because most doctors prefer to speak Spanish.

This example shows that Itziar alternates the use of Basque and Spanish depending on the activity and the interlocutor. In comparison, a monolingual student with Spanish as the first language will use only Spanish for all activities and with all interlocutors. Itziar as a bilingual speaker will have fewer opportunities to use each of the languages for each of the activities and there are some activities that she does preferably in Basque, others in Spanish and others in both languages. It may be difficult for Itziar to read a legal text equally well in Basque and Spanish because she is not used to reading this type of text in Basque, even if she is a native speaker of Basque. The type of competence Itziar has in either Basque or Spanish is difficult to isolate without considering the other language because they are intertwined. If we adopt a holistic multilingual view, we can consider Itziar a competent bilingual speaker who can carry out many activities in both Basque and Spanish and navigate between languages according to the context. She is not less competent than a monolingual speaker because she can carry out all these activities. However, she is different from a monolingual speaker because she uses one or two languages (or even three) and she can even do so in different ways using her bilingual repertoire. The holistic approach to bilingualism proposed by Grosjean (1995, 2008) or the concept of multicompetence proposed by Cook (1992) seem more adequate approaches to define Itziar's competence than a practically non-existent monolingual speaker of Basque and a monolingual native speaker of Spanish when looking at Itziar's communicative competencies and language practices.

Even though the ideas proposed by Grosjean (2008) and Cook (1992) have received attention in studies on multilingualism and second/third language acquisition and are often mentioned in the literature, they have rarely been put into practice in

research and teaching. The atomistic/monolingual native speaker ideal competence is still the reference for researchers and language teachers who usually focus on one target language at a time. "Focus on Multilingualism" proposes to consider multilingual speakers as such and not as monolingual speakers of each of the languages because monolingual competence cannot be applied to multilingualism (see also Jessner 2008). The communicative competence of multilingual speakers is fluid, not fixed, difficult to measure but real. "Focus on Multilingualism" looks at multilingual speakers and proposes to look at the different ways these speakers learn and use their languages without comparing them to ideal native speakers of different languages.

13.4   The Whole Linguistic Repertoire

As we have seen in the previous section, multilingual speakers navigate between languages. However, the intersection between languages has not received enough attention (Gorter 2013). This is quite surprising if we take into consideration that, as Li Wei and Wu (2009, p. 193) point out, codeswitching is "the most distinctive behaviour of the bilingual speaker". The study of codeswitching has been an important development in sociolinguistics (see, for example, Gardner-Chloros 2009) but it has received less attention in research conducted in educational settings. In general, the language separation ideology is well rooted in education and teaching practices try to avoid translation and the interaction between languages, and have been referred to as "parallel monolingualism" (Heller 1999, p. 271), "two solitudes" (Cummins 2005. p. 588) or "separate bilingualism" (Blackledge and Creese 2010). The preference for what Li Wei (2011, p. 374) calls the "One Language Only (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT) ideology" creates a gap between school communication and the practices of multilingual speakers in real life.

   Interaction between the languages can be analysed with reference to approaches to second language acquisition based on the Complex systems theory or dynamic systems theory (De Bot et al. 2007; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008; Van Geert 2008; Jessner 2006). In his volume on developmental psychology, Van Geert (1994) compares the similarities and differences between a child learning about time telling and money counting in terms of connected growers. There is support because both growers share some underlying principles and there can be strategies learnt in one that can be applied to the other. At the same time, there is competition between these growers because the child needs resources such as time, attention and effort to learn them. There can also be some confusion because the time units and the money units are different (adding to 60 in the case of time and to 100 with money). This example can be applied to learning two or more languages at school. The relationship between the languages can be at the same time competitive and supportive. Learning languages require resources such as time, effort, attention and interest. This is clearly seen at school and there have been many attempts in different parts of the world to try to get more time for second and foreign languages by

learning language and content at the same time as is done in multilingual education programs including immersion or CLIL. The use of languages as the medium of instruction optimizes some of the resources necessary to learn languages. At the same time, learning different languages can also be seen as connected and supportive growers. Language learning involves a series of cognitive processes that are shared independently of the target language. By learning a language, multilinguals also acquire principles and strategies that can support the acquisition of other languages. This idea has already been pointed out in research on third language acquisition (see Cenoz 2013) but has not been developed sufficiently in research and teaching in the context of multilingual education.

"Focus on Multilingualism" proposes that all languages used by multilingual speakers and learners can act as connected growers. Using the image of weaving, we can think of the longitudinal threads, or warp, as the languages that are being learnt. They are vertical and parallel and they do not touch each other, they are the languages in the curriculum that are separate from each other. However, we can add the lateral threads, the weft, so as to create the interlacing or interaction between these languages and the processes of learning them. The weft goes across the curriculum of languages and establishes interrelationships. The weft adds support to the cloth even if it also requires time, effort, attention and interest.

Research that goes beyond two languages into third language acquisition and use has had an important development in the last years and has provided some evidence about the interaction between languages (see, for an overview example, Aronin and Hufeisen 2009). One of the areas that has received most attention is cross-linguistic interaction (see De Angelis 2007; Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008). Findings in this area indicate that the first and second languages can influence the third language but also that learning an additional language can have an effect on previously known languages (Cook 2003). This mutual interaction can be illustrated by what multilingual speakers say when reflecting on the process of learning and using languages.

> The art of language learning may lie not in the acquisition of an individual language but in mastery of the learning process itself. (Tonkin 2009, p. 201)

> My speech demonstrates all kinds of cross-linguistic influence: influence from one mother tongue to another; from a mother tongue to a second language; from a mother tongue to a third language; from a second language to a mother tongue; and from a second language to a third language. …
> (Kamanga 2009, p. 124)

Cross-linguistic interaction has been studied particularly at the lexical level but the interaction between languages takes place at other levels as well. The examples from classroom and Internet interaction in the rest of this chapter were collected as part of a research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (EDU 2009-11601) aimed at investigating multilingual competence in school contexts. The data collection included class observations, questionnaires and interviews in five multilingual schools and students were also asked to write compositions in Basque, Spanish and English. The class observations and interviews were recorded and transcribed. All the students were in the 3rd year of second-

ary school and were fluent in Basque and Spanish but also studied English as a third language. Furthermore, the project included interactions from Tuenti, a very popular Spanish networking service similar to Facebook. A group of five secondary school students agreed to provide examples of their interactions on Tuenti outside school and in this chapter we present one of the interactions. The interactions were edited by the students so as to remove personal names.

The following utterances produced by a secondary school student in the Basque Country when writing a composition in Basque, Spanish and English provide an example of interaction at the discourse level. They are the first sentence of compositions produced by the same student when describing different pictures for each of the languages on different days:

*STU   Irudi honetan, baso baten erdian dagoen laku bat ikus dezakegu
        [In this picture, we can see a lake that is in the middle of a forest]
*STU   En esta imagen, podemos ver una granja, que está siendo visitada por
        unos niños y sus padres
        [In this picture, we can see a farm that is being visited by some children
        and their parents]
*STU   In this picture we can see the inner part of a house

This example shows that the student uses the same strategy for the opening sentence of the composition in the three languages even if the pictures and the languages are different and the compositions were written on different days. It is a clear case of transfer at the discourse level. The student is using a strategy acquired to write a description in Basque which she also applies when writing a description in Spanish and English; the latter is a language in which her competence is more limited. Students are not encouraged to interrelate their languages but as multilingual speakers, they use their resources in different languages when they have to complete the task of writing a composition.

Multilingual speakers are not always aware of the resources they have and they may not use them because they are not activated. An example of the way language separation can result in less efficient learning can be found at the morphosyntactic level when looking at in the case of Basque, French and Spanish. Basque is a highly inflected non-Indoeuropean language that is considered as completely different from the rest of the languages in the curriculum. Basque is the main language of instruction in most Basque schools in the Basque Autonomous Community where Spanish is the dominant language in society. English is taught as a foreign language but also as an additional language of instruction and French is an optional second foreign language in secondary school. One of the most interesting linguistic features of Basque is that it is an ergative language that has a special ending for the subject of transitive verbs and uses different auxiliaries for transitive and intransitive verbs. So for example in sentences 1 and 2 "Mikel" has the ending "ek" and becomes "Mikelek" because it is the subject of a transitive verb but in sentence 3 it is just "Mikel" because the verb is intransitive. Transitive and intransitive verbs also have different auxiliaries in Basque:

1. Mikel**ek** Aneri liburua ematen dio	‹Mikel gives Ane the book›
2. Mikel**ek** Ane ikusten du	‹Mikel sees Ane›
3. Mikel hondartzara doa	‹Mikel goes to the beach›

This distinction in Basque is already known in an implicit way by secondary school students even if they are not speakers of Basque as a first language because in most cases they have had Basque as the language of instruction for all the school subjects (except Spanish and English) over 10 years.

This grammatical distinction in Basque can be useful for learning some tenses in French such as the "passé composé" that uses different auxiliaries for transitive and intransitive verbs as can be seen in sentences 4 and 5.

4. Mikel**ek** Ane ikusi **du**	Mikel **a** vu Ane	‹ Mikel has seen Ane ›
5. Mikel hondartzara joan **da**	Mikel **est** allé à la plage	‹ Mikel has gone to the beach ›

Both Basque and French use different auxiliaries depending on the transitivity of the verb and therefore Basque can be used as a resource.

The distinction can also be very useful when secondary school students learn how to analyse the syntax of Spanish sentences in grammar classes. Their Basque makes a clear difference between transitive and intransitive verbs and has a specific declension ending for indirect objects. Students already know these distinctions in an implicit way because of one of the languages in their repertoire. However, the strict language separation of the syllabuses for the different languages prevents most students from benefitting from this knowledge because they are not usually made aware of it. The ideology of language separation does not allow them to benefit from their own multilingualism. The idea behind "Focus on Multilingualism" is the opposite. The languages in the multilingual speakers' repertoire need to be activated in order to support the acquisition and the metalinguistic reflection of other languages. It considers the complexity of multilingualism and the way the different subsystems are connected across the languages in their development, and the way they support each other. By looking at the different languages and their interactions in research, new trends and patterns can be identified (see Cenoz and Gorter 2011).

13.5 The Social Context

Multilingual speakers acquire and use languages while engaging in language practices in a social context. Multilingualism has a social dimension, not only a linguistic dimension. Multilinguals use their linguistic resources in a social context and shape this context in communicative interaction (see also Canagarajah 2007, Kramsch 2010). The traditional monolingual ideology of school contexts focuses on teaching languages as codes and, when it is teacher-centred, it provides few opportunities for interaction as part of pedagogical practices. When interaction between teachers and students takes place in the classroom, it is expected to be in the designated lan-

guage. School organization reinforces this separation of languages by having one teacher for each language or using colours or other codes to identify the designated language. However, research on multilingual practices in the classroom has shown that both students and teachers use their linguistic resources to a certain extent in spite of the constraints (see Lin and Martin 2005; Li Wei and Martin 2009; Li Wei 2011; Blackledge and Creese 2010).

In fact, classrooms are more multilingual than institutional ideologies want them to be. The following example based on an observation of a Physics class in a Basque-medium secondary school illustrates this point:

> The teacher uses a laptop with a beamer for all to see, Windows and MS-Word are in Basque. The teacher uses Basque when addressing the students but she uses some Spanish when talking to herself saying things like "menudo rebote se ha pillado"< isn't she angry! >, "qué tonta soy" < silly me! > . Most of the students use Basque when talking to each other but some students also use some Spanish.

Here follows another example from the same classroom but now it is the English language class with another teacher:

> Students listen to an English text that they can read at the same time in their textbooks. The teacher repeats the main ideas of the text in English, and afterwards she explains parts of it in Basque or in Basque and Spanish so as to make sure that students understand correctly. The teacher uses English most of the time when addressing students, but the students answer in Spanish and sometimes in Basque. The English used by students is only for short answers to direct questions and there is no spontaneous use of English by students.

These examples show that there is a difference between the strict allocation of languages in a multilingual school and the real language practices. The Physics class is supposed to be in Basque only but the teacher and some students also use Spanish. The English class is supposed to be in English only but Basque and Spanish are used both by the teacher and the students. These examples of interaction in the class go against the official policy of separation but are closer to spontaneous discursive practices. "Focus on Multilingualism" looks at such multilingual practices both at school and outside school so as to compare multilingual practices in different contexts (see also Gorter 2013).

When students are not constrained by school regulations about language use in class, they can use their resources in more creative ways. In many cases, groups of secondary school students who meet at school but get together for leisure activities can be regarded as a community of practice because they "develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values—in short, practices—as a function of their joint involvement in mutual activity" (Lave and Wenger 1991). Adolescent students develop their multilingual and multicultural identities both at school and out-of-school (see also Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003; Creese and Blackledge 2010, 2011). It is in these natural contexts that multilinguals have more possibilities to use languages as a resource in successful communication. One of these natural contexts is chatting on the Internet, a medium of communication which is extremely popular amongst adolescents.

The following interaction was provided by the multilingual students who took part in it. They are 14-year-old secondary school students chatting on Saturday eve-

ning after they have been out in the city where they have seen each other at a distance but they did not get together. Jon (male) and Miren (female) are fictional names. The actual conversation is in bold. The translation into English and the conventional written form are given in italics (B = Basque, S = Spanish and E = English).

Jon: **zmz??** < *how are you?* > (B: *Zer moduz?*)

Miren: **osond ta z¿** < *very well and you?* > (B: *Oso ondo eta zu?*)

Jon: **osond** < *very well* > (B: Oso ondo)

Miren: **te e vistoo** < *I saw you* > (S: Te he visto)

Jon: **yaa yo tambienn pero stabas lejos** < *I also saw you but you were far away* > (S: *Ya yo también pero estabas lejos*)

Miren: **jeje barka x no saludartee eh!** < *jeje sorry for not saying hello eh* > (B/S: *¡Jeje barkatu por no saludarte!*)

Jon: **jajajja lasai** =) < *jajajja it's ok* > (B: *jajajja lasai*)

Miren: **te e visto ta, bien kon el skate** < *I have also seen you with the skate* > (S/E: *Te he visto también con el skate*)

Jon: **jajjaja es de un amigo** < *jajjaja it is my friend's* > (S: *jajjaja es de un amigo*)

Miren: **ok ya sabes andaar? sk no te e vistoo andandoo** < *can you skate? I didn't see you skating?* > (E/S: *Ok ¿ya sabes andar? Es que no te he visto andando*)

Jon: **buenoo mas o menos** < *well more or less* > (S: *Bueno más o menos*)

Miren: jej < *jej* >

Jon: **necesito algo de praktika y tal..** < *I need a bit of practice or so* > (S: *necesito algo de práctica y tal*)

Miren: **osea no no¿** < *so no no* > (S: *o sea no no*)

Jon: **buenoo si el suelo sta liso y no ai nadie cercaa sii** < *well if the ground is flat and there is nobody near me yes* > (S: *Bueno si el suelo está liso y no hay nadie cerca si*)

Miren: **balee osea komo yooo y te has kaiidoo¿** < *ok like me, did you fall?* > (S: *Vale o sea como yo y ¿te has caído?*)

Jon: **qbaa ke yoo kontrolo** < *of course not, I manage* > (S: *Que va que yo controlo*)

Miren: **aaah! bale baleee sois muxps en la kuadrilla no?** < *aaah! Ok ok are you a lot in your kuadrilla ** > (S: *aaah! Vale sois muchos en la cuadrilla ¿no?*)

Jon: **25 o asi bosotras?** < *25 or so and you* > (S: *25 o así vosotras?*)

Miren: **15o asii** < *15 or so* > (S: *15 o así*)

Jon: **okk** < *ok* > (E: < *oki* >)

Miren: **tienes el msn instalaau¿** < *do you have msn installed* > (S/E: *¿Tienes el msn instalado?*)

Jon: **noo me konekto por ebuddy** < *no I make the connections through ebuddy* > (S/E: *No me conecto por ebuddy*)

          (NB *cuadrilla is the regular group of friends)

This conversation shows how multilingual students navigate amongst languages in their private conversations and how they develop their own creative multilingual voices combining languages and other semiotic devices. A first analysis of this con-

versation identifies three languages: Basque (B), Spanish (S) and English (E) and some characteristics of Internet communication such as the lengthening of vowels (yooo, yoo), spelling (kontrolo, konekto) or abbreviations (zmz??). There are signs that cannot be assigned to any of the languages (aaah! jajjaja, jeje). At the same time, the conversation shows that there are no clear boundaries between the three languages involved and that it is quite difficult to separate the languages from other semiotic signs in the conversation. There are words like "msn" or "ok" which come from English but are used in Spanish and Basque commonly by some speakers. The integration of the word "barka" (*sorry*) in a Spanish utterance does not seem to carry any extra meaning. Musk (2010) also reported "a seamless bilingual medium, whereby the boundaries between languages or codes are at most only loosely maintained" when 17-year-old bilinguals in a Welsh–English bilingual secondary school took part in focus group discussions at school. The linguistic practices of these students and their peers are heteroglossic and combine different forms and signs. As we have already seen, the Tuenti interaction discussed here has not taken place at school and students have more possibilities to be creative and to flout linguistic conventions. The conversation is the result of using semiotic resources that combine languages and other signs.

13.6   Implications for Teaching and Research on Multilingual Education

"Focus on Multilingualism" proposes to consider multilingual students as multilingual speakers and not as deficient monolinguals both when teaching and learning at school and when conducting research on school multilingualism. It highlights the agency of multilingual students so that they can benefit from their multiple repertoires when learning languages and content at school. Multilingual students have more experience than monolingual students as language learners and language users but this experience is less likely to be used if languages are kept completely separate at school. Even if students and teachers occasionally switch and mix their languages in the classroom, there is a loss of resources when languages are kept separate. The ideology of language separation is usually fixed with the idea that students should speak their languages as "pure as possible" (see also Jørgensen 2005).

  "Focus on Multilingualism" highlights the need to integrate the curricula of the different languages so as to trigger more benefits of being multilingual. Taking into account that resources for processing languages are limited and that time devoted to language learning at school is also limited, it is desirable to benefit from connected growers that can be easily transferred amongst languages. Weaving the tapestry of languages is not only about the warp but also about the weft. Through a strong integration in the curricula of the different languages, the connections are more likely to be activated. As Block (2007, p. 80) points out "there is a need for teachers to draw on the considerable language resources that such students bring with them to class".

There is also a need to bridge the gap between out-of-school multilingual and multimodal practices and formal school practices. In the case of multilingualism, one of these resources is the ability to combine different languages in communication. As we have already seen, teachers and students use their multilingual resources in class but particularly outside the class in Tuenti interactions. The combination of different semiotic resources including multilingual texts is widespread outside the classroom in sectors such as advertising where images, fonts, symbols and colours are mixed with languages. However, beliefs about language separation are still strong in school settings. School activities that look at out-of-school communicative practices in order to develop communicative awareness could be useful.

Even if it is true that multilinguals not only engage in multilingual practices but that their discursive practices can also be monolingual, it is important for the school not to ignore the existence of multilingual practices. Even if multilingual schools have as an aim the development of literacy skills in different languages, multilingual practices from communication outside school can be used to develop awareness about different discursive practices and their characteristics. "Focus on Multilingualism" is an approach for teaching, learning and research in multilingual education that can be considered as heteroglossic because it looks at the simultaneous activation and use of languages and other signs by multilingual speakers.

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Chapter 14
'gusame ka' lata!: Faux Spanish in the New Latino Diaspora

Holly Link, Sarah Gallo and Stanton Wortham

Abstract Drawing on ethnographic research in one American elementary school, this chapter investigates how a group of young English-speaking students react to the increasing presence of Spanish in their school and community. The authors focus on how English-speaking African American students use basic Spanish words and phrases, speaking "faux Spanish," as they imitate their Spanish-speaking peers, participate in interaction rituals, seek attention, and playfully mock their peers. The chapter describes how these instances show children making sense of difference, as they assign value and high status to language practices and social identities often marginalized in school settings. The study suggests that, regardless of the Standard English variety taught and required for academic endeavors at school, children are busy expanding their linguistic repertoires, playing with positioning and footing, and laying claim to and negotiating multiple social identities. The authors argue that attention to these processes may help educators treat them as resources for learning that can inform practice.

Keywords Faux spanish · Stylization · Register · New latin diaspora

14.1 Introduction

Across the USA, rapidly shifting classroom demographics have given way to what Enright (2011) terms the "new mainstream," growing numbers of students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds attending American public schools

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even in areas that have not traditionally been ethnically diverse. This is happening most saliently in areas of recent immigrant settlement called the "new Latino diaspora" (NLD; Murillo and Villenas 1997; Wortham et al 2002), rural and suburban areas in which Spanish-speaking students are beginning to outnumber their English-speaking peers in many public elementary schools. In such schools, first- and second-generation immigrant students work and play alongside peers from various backgrounds whose families have no recent history of immigration. While most research in NLD locations examines how Latino students are faring, in this chapter we focus on English-speaking peers in one such community, examining a distinctive response to the arrival of Spanish speakers.

In newer receiving communities, where long-standing residents live in close proximity to growing numbers of Mexican immigrant families, both hosts and immigrants face the task of making sense of one another. These sense-making processes take place within the larger national debate about Mexican immigration to the USA, a debate rife with negative evaluations of immigrants (e.g., Dick 2011a; Santa Ana 1999, 2002). Research on these processes documents how widely circulating discourses about immigrants are reproduced, contested, and transformed at the local level (e.g., DeJaeghere and McCleary 2010; Koppelman 2011; Gallo et al. 2011; Perez 2012). Following this line of scholarship, and drawing from 3 years of ethnographic research in one school, we focus on the language practices of young host community members from one classroom in an NLD community. Over the course of the first 3 years of school, children from English-speaking backgrounds, the majority of whom were African American, expressed great interest in learning Spanish and using basic words and phrases, incorporating Spanish phonology and vocabulary into their discourse, and claiming to speak Spanish and understand Mexican culture.

We focus on moments when children from English-speaking backgrounds spoke what we call *faux Spanish*, nonsense syllables which sound like Spanish in their phonology and intonation. Faux Spanish utterances included nonsensical syllables interspersed with Spanish vocabulary such as numbers, which were often strung together to formulate what sounded like conversational turns. For example: "'kɑmɑs 'mɑkɑ dos 'komɑs 'ɛkɑ pu'lɑtɛ 'ninəə 'sokɑ 'siŋko 'komɑs 'nɑki."[1] The following excerpt from our field notes describes this kind of language use. Imani, an English-speaking African American girl, interacts with her Mexican, Spanish-speaking peers and a researcher.[2]

> During the bus ride on the kindergarten field trip to a nearby farm, I (researcher) sit near Imani who tells her peers and me that she speaks a lot of English, but only a little bit of Spanish. Gregorio, her seatmate, asks her to speak Spanish, but she does not. A bit later, when I ask her if all of her family lives here in town, she first replies yes, but then says no, that they also live in Mexico….Hours later, on the bus ride home when most of the children are sleeping, I hear Imani, several rows in front of me, speaking loudly in what sounds like faux Spanish to her seatmate, Madalena. (Field notes, June, 2009)

Throughout the 3 years of research at Grant Elementary, Imani and her peers from English-speaking backgrounds engaged in similar language practices and claims.

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[1] This and all examples of faux Spanish are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

[2] Pseudonyms are used for names of research participants, school, and community.

Over half of their classmates were from Spanish-speaking households, the majority of Mexican heritage with parents who arrived in the USA over the past decade.

In this chapter, we argue that these practices violate normative expectations about language attitudes, language learning, and language use in the USA—where languages other than English are normally positioned as inferior, and their speakers are positioned as lacking the skills needed to succeed in school.[3] We discuss how faux Spanish and related practices contest widely circulating negative evaluations about Mexican immigrants and their language. Children's embrace of Spanish and Spanish speakers represent counterhegemonic action through which language practices and social identities often marginalized in school settings are nonetheless assigned prestige and value in local contexts. We describe how these responses, when children from English-speaking backgrounds draw on and play with the linguistic resources available to them at school, emerge, transform, and solidify as we follow the same class of children across 3 years of elementary school. Our analysis shows how young children, both in discrete interactions and diachronically across several years, make sense of difference and attempt to forge solidarity with their Spanish-speaking immigrant peers. These students' actions reveal an unexpected heterogeneity and flexibility in interethnic relations.

14.2   Dialogism, Stylization, and Enregisterment

In this chapter, we draw on Bakhtin's dialogic approach to discourse in which "the expression of an utterance can never be fully understood or explained if its thematic content is all that is taken into account" (1986, p. 92). Utterances not only have referents, but also "echo" with the "voices" of others. When one speaks with a certain voice, she uses "words that index some social position(s) because these words are characteristically used by members of a certain group" (Wortham 2001, p. 38). In this way, speakers inevitably position themselves with respect to others, making indexical associations to and evaluations of others. In the field note excerpt above, for example, Imani voices her Spanish-speaking peers positively, aligning herself with them and offering a positive evaluation of their language practices. Following Bakhtin, the language use we examine in this chapter can be seen as a site of diverse, shifting, and negotiated meaning (cf. Bailey 2007). The voices young English speakers invoke as they move across the school day reflect not a singular or static response to the prevalence of Spanish and Spanish speakers in their classrooms, but rather multiple and conflicting understandings of difference and evolving voices and evaluations.

To examine these dialogic practices more closely, we follow Rampton's (1995, 2006, 2009, 2010) research on heteroglossia in multiethnic school settings in the UK. He documents moments when adolescents engage in *stylization*, or "reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated representations of languages, dialects, and styles that lie outside their own

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[3] Exceptions to these normative expectations exist, especially in areas of the USA where bilingual education programs are growing (cf. García, 2009), but the monolingual ideology remains strong.

habitual repertoire" (Rampton 2009, p. 149). This concept, rooted in Bakhtinian notions of discourse, illustrates how, when speakers produce "an artistic image of another's language" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 362), they are critically reflecting on and evaluating that language as well as positioning themselves with respect to its speakers (Rampton 2006). Rampton also explores how adolescents engage in language *crossing*, or "the use of a language or variety that feels anomalously 'other' for the participants in the activity, involving movements across quite sharply sensed social or ethnic boundaries, in ways that can raise questions of legitimacy" (Rampton and Charalambous 2010, p. 2; see also Rampton 1995). In examining these kinds of language practices, listener uptake or response is of great analytical import (Rampton 2009). For example, the success of crossing depends on whether listeners are convinced of its interactional salience as well as the speaker's "ethnopolitical right" to cross (2009, p. 153). We argue that English-speaking children's use of Spanish and talk about Spanish and Mexican-ness at times resembles stylization, and at other times crossing—when usage involves more explicit movement across social/ ethnic boundaries.

As we followed one class of children through their first 3 years of elementary school, we documented how the constellation of language practices described above emerged and changed over time. We came to see these practices as part of an *emergent discursive register* in which linguistic and paralinguistic signs came to be associated with and recognized by particular groups of speakers (Agha 2004, 2005, 2007). We refer to this register as *faux Spanish*. Its development and transformation is, in Agha's terms, a process of *enregisterment*, "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (and enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language speakers" (Agha 2005, p. 38). Using the concept of enregisterment, we examine the development of both the *social range* and the *social domain* of this emergent register. By "social range" Agha means those who are recognized as displaying these particular language behaviors, and by "social domain" he means those who recognize these behaviors as indexes of this group (Agha 2007, p. 125). Our analysis traces how children's instances or tokens of talk become meaningful in a changing social domain and range. The concept of enregisterment builds on Bakhtinian dialogism and Rampton's empirical research on stylization and crossing. Just as children's utterances echo with multiple voices, involve metalevel evaluations, and accomplish social positioning, their language practices can be seen as reflexive activity through which linguistic and paralinguistic forms come to index particular social roles and stereotypes (see Agha 2007; Silverstein 1976, 2003). These roles and stereotypes are not static or monolithic, but emerge in and through children's interactions as they move across kindergarten, and first and second grades.

In this chapter, although the emergent register we refer to as "faux Spanish" centers on actual instances of faux Spanish, it also includes a number of additional features. First, it emerges and develops within a shifting but limited social range and domain. It includes some Spanish language practices of peers from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, often those used in ritualized utterances (such as greetings and leave-takings), classroom routines, and everyday interpersonal interaction. It also involves metalinguistic activity—talk about Spanish language practices and

Mexican-ness. The utterances in faux Spanish have little, if any, referential meaning, but substantial indexical value. This register is linked to but distinct from wider socio-historical phenomena such as the local, primarily Mexican, immigrant language(s) and the standard academic variety of English used in school. In the following section, we describe these broader contextual factors as we discuss the research setting and methods.

14.3 Marshall as a Community of the New Latino Diaspora

In the past 15 years, longstanding patterns of Mexican presence in the USA have changed dramatically. There has been considerable growth in immigration to areas previously unfamiliar with Latinos, especially rural and suburban locations such as Marshall, our focal community. Wortham et al. (2002) refer to these areas as the "new Latino diaspora" (a term coined by Murillo and Villenas 1997). Marshall, a town of approximately 35,000 located outside of a large city in the Northeast, has experienced a dramatic demographic shift in recent years. From 2000 to 2010, the Latino (primarily Mexican) population grew from 1,500 to almost 10,000. It has a shrinking White population (32%), and growing African American (38%) and Latino (28%) populations (US Census Bureau 2010).

Marshall's longtime residents respond in various ways to the growing numbers of Mexicans. Some view Mexican newcomers as hardworking, family-oriented, and religious people who have revitalized the town's commercial areas and churches. Others describe them as a strain on social services, lament the increased use of Spanish in local businesses, and insist that English should be the only language used in schools. The comments of a longtime resident upon hearing Spanish spoken in a local deli—"This is America, speak English!"—exemplify these latter sentiments (Gallo et al. 2011). Our research in Marshall has explored some of these responses with regard to Mexican residents' language use, particularly in local schools (Allard and Mortimer 2008; Gallo et al. 2011). Findings suggest that attitudes in Marshall about Mexicans' language use are dynamic and heterogeneous. For example, administrators and teachers at the high school have tended to view Mexican newcomers as lacking both education and language, describing them as speaking "Tarzan English" and "Hillbilly Spanish" (Gallo et al. 2011). In contrast, at the elementary level educators have expressed more positive views of Mexican-heritage students, positioning them as bilinguals-in-the-making (ibid).

14.3.1 Grant Elementary School

The school site for our study, Grant Elementary, is one of six elementary schools in Marshall and is located in the downtown area. Over 96% of its approximately 400 kindergarten through fourth-grade students qualify for free or reduced lunch due to

their families' limited resources. The school serves almost equal numbers of African American and Latino (predominantly Mexican) students, and a few students from other backgrounds (MCES 2010). In the lower grades, however, Latinos constitute the majority of students, and over 70 % of the current kindergartners come from Spanish-speaking households. In the cohort we have been following for the past 3 years, more than half are of Mexican origin or first-generation children of Mexican families, roughly 25 % are African American, and the remaining 25 % are of Puerto Rican, Caucasian, or multiethnic (African American-Caucasian, African American-Latino, Mexican-Caucasian) heritage. Teachers at Grant are from European American, middle-class backgrounds, and only one teacher in the school speaks Spanish. For the first 2 years of research, one Spanish-speaking administrator of Puerto Rican heritage was present, and in the third year a Latina principal arrived. Spanish-speaking students at Grant are integrated with other students for the majority of the school day, and the approximately one-third who qualify for English as a Second Language services participate in a pull-out program for 15–60 min several times per week. At Grant, none of the classes or curricular materials are provided in Spanish, and while many of the students at the school are bilingual, the school itself is not. English is the official language of academics at Grant, and students are expected to use it for all academic tasks.

14.3.2   A Diachronic Look at Language Practices

We collected data at Grant Elementary for a 3-year period, from 2008 through 2011. In the first year of the study, we followed a group of six Mexican-heritage children at home and school during their kindergarten year, focusing on their language development as they entered the school system. We continued to follow this same group, with some changes in focal students, for the next 2 years as they moved through first and second grade, examining their language and literacy practices at home and school (first grade) as well as their fathers' involvement in their schooling (second grade). During this time, data collection included both field notes from participant observation and videotaping of focal students at home and in school, plus interviews with focal children, their parents, their teachers, and school administrators.

Although not part of our planned research focus, during the 3 years we began to notice how children from English-speaking, non-Latino backgrounds showed great interest not just in using and learning Spanish but also in talking and making claims about the language and its speakers. Our discussion in this chapter centers on the language practices and metalinguistic activity of these English-speaking students. Our ethnographic analyses follow Emerson et al. (1995) and Maxwell (1996), iteratively drawing patterns out of field notes, documents, transcribed interviews, and transcripts of video-recorded interactions. We used the qualitative software program *Atlas.ti* to code and group the instances of English-speaking children's talk in and about Spanish and its users in over 500 hundred texts, composed of field notes, transcribed interviews, and video-recorded interactions. Thus, although English-speaking children were not focal students in the larger study, we collected substantial

data on their interactions with the children we were observing regularly. As classroom composition changed each year, focal students were spread out across three classrooms in kindergarten, and across two in first and second grade. Additionally, there was a high rate of mobility, particularly for the English-speaking (non-Latino) students. Thus, the English-speaking students we observed expressing interest in Spanish and Mexican-ness changed over the course of the 3 years. Friendships between English-speaking students and the focal students also changed, which, as we discuss below, seemed to affect Spanish speakers' responses to their peers' interest in and use of Spanish or faux Spanish. In what follows, we provide an outline of the language practices children employed during the 3 years. We then discuss how these practices became enregistered as children moved through kindergarten, and first and second grades.

Children from English-speaking, non-Mexican backgrounds engaged with Spanish and Spanish speakers in various ways. They learned and used basic words and phrases in Spanish, adopted Spanish phonology and lexicon (or imitated these in faux Spanish), and at times even claimed Mexican identity or heritage. The tables below summarize the types of practices we observed. Table 14.1 represents how students from English-speaking backgrounds demonstrated metalinguistic awareness regarding Spanish, as well as claims they made about their relationship to Mexico. Students from English-speaking backgrounds frequently commented about spoken Spanish (e.g., "you talk Spanish?") and written Spanish (e.g., asking to have the Spanish version of handouts to take home). Many students also expressed a desire to learn Spanish and solicited English translations of spoken Spanish. A few students engaged in play about Spanish (e.g., enacting a Spanish class) and labeled students based on their language backgrounds. For the most part, these practices were accepted by peers from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. However, when English-speaking students claimed Mexican heritage (e.g., "I lived there [Mexico] before") or knowledge about Mexico (e.g., "Mexico is right here [on the map]"), students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds were less likely to accept the claims.

Table 14.2 represents the ways that children from English-speaking backgrounds incorporated Spanish into their school interactions, such as using Spanish vocabulary (e.g., *Excelente!*), repeating Spanish words spoken by their peers (e.g., *Rojo, rojo*[red, red]), translating words and phrases between English and Spanish (e.g., *Hola* means hello), and speaking faux Spanish. Over the 3 years, many children from English-speaking backgrounds engaged in these practices, and these uses of Spanish were generally accepted by classmates from Spanish-speaking backgrounds.

From this array of practices, the most striking to us were moments when children spoke faux Spanish, using intonation and phonology that made nonsense syllables sound like Spanish (with few, if any, actual Spanish lexical items). These utterances included drawn out or exaggerated nonsense syllables sprinkled with basic Spanish vocabulary (e.g., 'komαs 'mαkα dos 'komαs 'ɛkα pu'lαtɛ 'ninəə 'sokα 'siŋko 'komαs 'nαki). Children strung together multiple utterances of this sort, formulating what sounded like conversational turns, at times directed to no one in particular but uttered in front of peers or researchers, and at other times spoken to English speakers or Spanish speakers. The phonological, intonational, and syl-

Table 14.1 Talk about Spanish or Mexican identity/heritage by children from English-speaking backgrounds

Descriptions	Examples from field notes and video logs
Noticing or asking about others' use of Spanish	Why did she say *caramba*? You talk Spanish? I saw you speaking Spanish
Commenting about written documents in Spanish	Spanish, Spanish, Spanish! (requesting Spanish version of note sent home) Do you got Spanish ones [forms to send Home]?
Asking how to say words in Spanish or expressing desire to learn Spanish	How do you say, "you're welcome, baby" in Spanish? I wanna learn Spanish. I try to be sayin' it
Requesting translation of what peers said in Spanish	What did they say [in Spanish]?
Engaging in play about Spanish language	[Let's play] Spanish class! (kids gather on the rug)
Labeling others' language backgrounds	Spanish, English, Spanish, Spanish (pointing at different children at the lunch table and naming them)
Claiming Mexican heritage or identity	I live there [Mexico] before
Claiming or showing knowledge of Mexican geography	Mexico is right here. (pointing on a map)

Table 14.2 Use of Spanish by children from English-speaking backgrounds

Description	Examples from field notes and video logs
Use of Spanish vocabulary for classroom activities, interactional rituals, evaluative remarks, and simple commands	*Excelente!* *Rá-pi-do, rá-pi-do, rá-pi-do* [fast, fast, fast]! (while peer passed out playing cards) *Gracias* for listening to my song. *Siéntate* [sit down]! *Mira* [look], sit down please
Repeating or parroting words uttered in Spanish by peers	*Rojo, rojo* [red, red]! (when Spanish-speaker announced in Spanish that his face was red from running)
Translating words and phrases from Spanish to English, or from English to Spanish, in front of peers and researchers	*Hola* means hello. I can say "come here" in Spanish—*ven aquí*
Speaking faux Spanish to or in the presence of English- and Spanish-speaking peers and researchers	For example, gúsame kɑlɑtɑ!

labic construction of faux Spanish mirrored the language of Spanish speakers in the classroom, and most likely the Spanish they heard in Marshall and the media, but the utterances lacked referential meaning. We became curious about the indexical significance of these utterances and the interactional work children were accomplishing with them. Across the 3 years, we traced how these utterances and actions were enregistered in this classroom during the early years of elementary school.

14.3.2.1   Kindergarten

Our first year of research coincided with the children's first year of elementary school and was, for almost all the children, their first experience interacting extensively with others from substantially different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. At the beginning of the school year, for most of the students from Mexican households, Spanish was the primary language of communication. Spanish-speaking children tended to use Spanish in interaction with each other. They also saw us, the researchers, as Spanish-speaking adults who could help them communicate with teachers and English-speaking peers. Their peers from English-speaking backgrounds responded to these uses of Spanish by frequently asking what we or they were saying. During the kindergarten year, these inquiries and requests were directed primarily to researchers. English-speaking children also began to try out Spanish vocabulary, often in a performative manner, calling a researcher's attention before proclaiming, for example, "Do you know what *corazón* means? Heart!", or asking how to say different words in Spanish. Students frequently demonstrated how they could count in Spanish or use salutations and leave-taking expressions. We recognize that our presence as non-Latino Spanish speakers and teacher-like figures legitimized and may have incentivized the use of Spanish for non-Spanish speakers in the classroom, but we argue that these instances also reflect children's attempts to make sense of the different ways of speaking they were encountering.

Early in the study, we noticed that some students were stringing together short series of Spanish-sounding syllables as they sat at their tables and worked side-by-side with their Spanish-speaking peers. These faux Spanish utterances often took place during times when children were not being directly supervised by their teachers and when many of their peers were conversing with each other in Spanish. Some of these early usages seemed to be forms of *self-talk* (Goffman 1981), which were directed to no one in particular but most likely were meant to be heard by peers (or researchers). In these cases, children were "keeping alert and staying in tune" (Rampton 1995, p. 185) with the language practices of their peers and engaging in a relatively safe exercise of stylization. The social positions indexed or enacted through this stylization were tentative and unlikely to generate a rejection or confrontation.

The use of faux Spanish progressed over the course of the kindergarten year and culminated in more explicitly interactional types of usages such as that when Imani spoke directly, loudly, and at length to her Spanish-speaking classmate on the bus ride home from a field trip. This excerpt is a particularly rich example of the interactions between English and Spanish-speaking peers linked to faux Spanish, as it includes Imani's claims about her ability to speak Spanish ("a little bit") and about her family "also" living in Mexico, claims that preceded her utterances in faux Spanish by several hours. When she broke into faux Spanish, her seatmate, Madalena, a Spanish speaker, did not question Imani's attempts at communication. While the researcher was not close enough to document Madalena's reaction, Imani spoke long enough and loud enough for others to react. Across the bus, her teacher caught the researcher's eye, later telling the researcher she was uncomfortable with Imani's utterances, as they could have offended Spanish-speaking parent chaperones on the

bus. Madalena, on the other hand, seemed to take this form of communication in her stride, listening politely. Immediately afterward, the researcher told parents sitting within earshot that sometimes children from English-speaking backgrounds pretended to speak Spanish, and they smiled and laughed in response. Thus, Imani's use of faux Spanish, together with her claims about her ability to speak Spanish and her family living in Mexico, could be what Rampton calls a "safe" kind of crossing which was perhaps tacitly ratified when it was accepted by Spanish-speaking peers and parents. Through this crossing, Imani aligns herself with her Spanish-speaking peers, offering a positive evaluation of them and their language practices as something she herself participates in.

Other students from English-speaking backgrounds were not so successful in their attempts to affiliate or interact with their Spanish-speaking peers through Spanish. Jaleesa, an African American child who had few close friendships in the classroom with peers from either English- or Spanish-speaking backgrounds, spent much of her kindergarten year talking about Spanish and demonstrating words or phrases she had learned. However, while Imani, over time, began to use faux Spanish with her peers, Jaleesa primarily used it with the researcher. About half way through the school year, in front of tablemates who were mostly Spanish speakers, she told a researcher that she could speak Spanish and launched into faux Spanish. When her Spanish-speaking peers commented that what she was saying did not make sense, she ignored them and continued. Jaleesa remained unpopular with her classmates over the course of the year, regardless of their language backgrounds. Her attempts to position herself as a Spanish speaker were seen as transgressions by her peers. This example illustrates the risk inherent in crossing and stylization, and how the success of such moves depends on listeners' uptake, which in turn depends in part on contextual factors such as existing interpersonal relationships.

Over the 3 years, more and more English-speaking students engaged in similar stylization and crossing. What were initially instances of self-talk or talk directed to researchers grew into more interactional uses, which were mostly implicitly accepted or explicitly ratified by Spanish-speaking peers. At the same time, more children, Spanish and English speakers alike, became familiar with and came to value the use of Spanish tokens in the classroom. Initially just "momentary disruptions" (Rampton 1995, 2006), utterances in Spanish came to index status. Students for whom these practices had more neutral or positive interactional effects tended to engage in more positive interactions with their Spanish-speaking peers; in some cases, these children were considered to be close or "best" friends of Spanish speakers by their classmates. We follow Rampton (1995, 2006) in viewing these practices not just as part of a self- and sense-making process, but also as a way for children to forge solidarity with peers from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Students' uses of and talk about Spanish became increasingly integrated into routine interactions with peers over the course of the year, as the faux Spanish register emerged and expanded.

14.3.2.2   First Grade

In first grade, many English-speaking children continued to use and talk about Spanish with researchers, and they began to use it more often in interactional rituals and

curricular routines with their peers. For example, they readily greeted, took leave of, evaluated others' work (e.g., *muy bien* [very good/well] and *excelente*), gave directives, and used terms in Spanish for counting and basic school vocabulary (e.g., colors, shapes, classroom materials). We also noticed an increase in meta-talk about Spanish, with children often asking each other, even in cases when they knew the answer, if a peer or researcher spoke Spanish and reacting enthusiastically or dramatically (e.g., "Oh my God!") when the answer was affirmative. Children who did not use Spanish at home also showed more interest in the school library's collection of bilingual (Spanish-English) and Spanish texts, at times choosing books in Spanish to take home or to have researchers read.

We noticed that the range of the register continued to expand as children seemed to feel more comfortable trying out Spanish tokens, and some who had not been observed using it began to perform in faux Spanish in front of peers and researchers. Qasim, an African American boy from an English-speaking background who frequently commented on others' abilities to speak Spanish, would break into loud, full-bodied performative stylizations in Spanish or faux Spanish during transitional moments in his classroom. For example, on one occasion when a researcher entered the room with a small group of mostly Spanish speakers from a nearby classroom, he ran to the door and began speaking rapid-fire strings of Spanish-sounding syllables, following the group to the rug, and continuing by demonstrating and translating Spanish words and phrases (*hola* means hello, *siéntate* means sit down). In such cases, researchers often smiled or praised these efforts, while Spanish-speaking students made few comments. Their choice not to reject (or to praise) their peers suggests that they had become more familiar with these practices, and that the Spanish speakers saw such uses of faux Spanish as part of the classroom routine. In another classroom, also during a transitional moment, a group of children, mostly Spanish speakers, followed Jeremiah, a boy of multiracial [non-Latino] heritage, to the rug for an impromptu enactment of "Spanish Class" while the teacher was preparing materials for her lesson. In other instances of language play, children recycled words and phrases from a Mexican folk song, the single song in Spanish that their music teacher had taught them that year. Through practices such as these, an increasing number of children offered positive assessments of Spanish and those who spoke it. Spanish speakers' responses to these practices were positive or neutral. At the same time, catalyzed in part by interactions that started with faux Spanish, several children came to develop affiliations or cross-ethnic friendships.

As the year progressed, children engaged in increasing amounts of metalinguistic activity about Spanish and Mexican-ness, and it became routine to hear children discussing others' language practices or abilities. Charles, an African American boy from an English-speaking household whose closest friend throughout first grade was Gregorio, a Spanish-speaking student, showed great interest in knowing and learning about Spanish and Mexico. He often asked about or commented on his peers' and the researchers' use of Spanish, and on several occasions he chose books in Spanish from the library. He also claimed to speak and read Spanish, although he rarely uttered any actual tokens. Toward the end of the first semester of first grade, upon hearing his peers discuss who at the table spoke Spanish, he responded, "I do, too. I only speak it at home, and sometimes I do at school, right Gregorio?" Gregorio did not discredit this claim, but he later commented about his "best friend

[Charles]," saying "he doesn't talk in Spanish but I show him in Spanish." Charles's talk about Spanish could perhaps be seen as "safe" crossing, but a curious kind in which, due to his alliance with a Spanish speaker, uttering tokens of Spanish was not necessary. Although Charles was clearly part of the social domain that recognized the faux Spanish register that was emerging in the classroom, he was apparently not confident or competent enough to use Spanish tokens.

In contrast to Charles, Shantel had no close Spanish-speaking friends. She tended to direct her comments and use of Spanish to the researchers, and she had few successful interactions with Spanish-speaking peers. Despite her interest in Spanish and Mexican-ness, the claims she made in the presence of her peers were flatly contested. For example, in early spring of her first-grade year, during an independent work time, she began pointing at a location on a map with a stick uttering what sounded like, "that's Mexico." Immediately, Ben, a Mexican-born classmate replied, "Where? You not go to Mexico. I went there before. That was my house." She responded, "me, too," and then argued with Ben, claiming that she had, in fact, lived there. Ben shut down this interaction by commenting, "Dang, you not talk Spanish." In this case Ben insisted across several conversational turns that her assertions were false. Such failed attempts happened with children like Shantel and Jaleesa who did not have positive interpersonal relationships with many peers. These children nonetheless continued to experiment with Spanish and faux Spanish in the classroom.

Negative reactions to the use of Spanish or claims about Mexican-ness mostly came from Spanish speakers, but not always. One day early in the year Lori, a White student, and Tavia, an African American student, began speaking faux Spanish to each other during independent work time. Their tablemate, Zachary, an African American boy, told them to stop, saying: "this is the USA, this is America." His words echoed with more widely circulating voices, like the Marshall resident we described earlier saying "Welcome to America. Speak English!" These comments echo negative discourses at the national level that condemn immigrant language use (cf. Dick 2011b). Zachary's directive illustrates how "people are continuously affiliating or disassociating themselves from a range of circumambient images of language and speech" (Rampton 2011, p. 288). As a child who never attempted to use Spanish during the 3 years we observed in his classrooms, Zachary represents other students who, while they most likely recognized the faux Spanish register, chose not to employ these practices themselves.

In first grade, while metalinguistic activity and use of Spanish tokens directed to researchers continued, children began to employ the register more often in informal interactions and even during curricular routines. During this year, more children showed interest in Spanish, and it was normal to see English speakers discussing its use. This more routine use, as well as claims children continued to make about Spanish and Mexican-ness, suggest that the register had begun to solidify across the small social domain of the classroom. Not all users employed all of the register's features, and some English speakers did not use it at all. Furthermore, the kinds of evaluations communicated through talk in and about Spanish broadened, and not all were positive. As the register expanded, it was sometimes evaluated by mobilizing more negative national discourses about Spanish.

14.3.2.3   Second Grade

Many of these patterns in English-speaking students' Spanish use continued in second grade, as the register of faux Spanish solidified further, but important changes also occurred. A wider range of students from English-speaking backgrounds incorporated actual Spanish lexical items into their talk, but there were fewer instances of faux Spanish. And, although Spanish literacy was not taught or recognized in school, students also demonstrated an increased awareness of Spanish print, often commenting on the Spanish-language version of handouts sent home to families or the Spanish sides of their weekly literacy magazines. Some students, like Keisha, an African American girl who regularly showed interest in Spanish and tried out Spanish vocabulary and phrases, also complained about the injustice of not providing equal availability of homework and other documents in Spanish. Others, like Charles, regularly asked for the Spanish version of handouts to be taken home, perhaps trying to demonstrate that there were Spanish speakers in his family (although there were not). In these instances, regardless of whether children were attempting to cross, they had begun to direct their positive evaluations of Spanish explicitly toward teachers, who were less willing than researchers to respond or address children's comments or requests. In students' second-grade year we also observed clearer instances of students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds explicitly teaching Spanish vocabulary to their peers from English-speaking backgrounds.

Two students, Nailah and Careem, illustrate how various students were engaging with Spanish and Mexican-ness during their second-grade year. Nailah, an African American student who had many Spanish- and English-speaking friends, regularly showed interest in learning Spanish words, often inquiring what different Spanish words meant. She also liked to repeat Spanish phrases she heard and frequently demonstrated her knowledge of Spanish, such as during a lunchtime conversation when her friend Marcie, from a Spanish-speaking background, said "Mine looks like a *mesa*. Who knows what's a *mesa*?" Nailah quickly responded, "It's like a table in Spanish." She was one of the few who spoke in faux Spanish during second grade, such as during a paired math activity when she used Spanish-sounding language with her partner. Her classmate Gregorio talked proudly about how he and other Spanish-speaking students were teaching Nailah and other friends words in Spanish, such as the colors. And when a researcher asked Nailah what it was like to have classmates speak Spanish in front of her, she responded, "I be like—of course I try to be sayin' it—I can't." She then said she wished she could speak some Spanish, implying that her use of faux Spanish was different from the Spanish her peers from Mexican households spoke, and once again evaluating Spanish speakers positively. Nailah's Spanish language use illustrates the various ways second-grade students used elements of the emerging register. Her actions were shaped by close friendships with students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds and her desire to build solidarity. She enthusiastically tried out Spanish words and phrases with Spanish- and English-speaking peers and readily asked Spanish speakers for English and Spanish translations or mini-lessons. This active learning and metalinguistic activity suggests that, by this point in the children's schooling, Spanish was clearly marked as a language of value and prestige.

Nailah's use of Spanish and faux Spanish contrasts with a lower incidence among other students in the second-grade year. This may have been due to one teacher's explicit message to students that they should not pretend to speak Spanish, that they could speak it only if they knew it fully. For example, when Keisha spoke in Spanish in front of this teacher, commenting proudly that she had guessed how to say something in Spanish, her teacher responded, "you don't guess a language, you know it." When asked in an interview why she preferred that students from English-speaking backgrounds not try out Spanish, the teacher explained, "I think they're learning over the years we won't accept it—non-Spanish-speaking children kind of doing that 'making fun' fake Spanish." Although she recognized that some students did have genuine interest in learning Spanish, she worried they would use it "in a mocking sense." We ourselves never observed students using Spanish in a mocking way, but it is nonetheless a realistic fear (cf. Hill 1993). Students from Spanish-dominant backgrounds who were trying out English in nonstandard ways were never told not to use English unless they actually knew it. Instead, they were encouraged to do their best and great emphasis was placed on their acquisition of English. Students from both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking backgrounds did not consider Spanish use to be mocking, perhaps because they did not see Spanish as an inferior language to be ridiculed. The faux Spanish register assigned a different value to Spanish than national discourses do. So the teacher's fears might have been well-founded, but she failed to appreciate the local inversion of national discourses that students were constructing in her classroom.

Careem was typical of students who used few components of the faux Spanish register. He was a multiracial [non-Latino] student who got along well and sometimes played with students from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, but he rarely acknowledged their language and very rarely used Spanish himself. In fact, the only time we heard him using Spanish in second grade was early in the school year during library class:

> The librarian dismisses students from the carpet. A bunch of students, including Careem and several Spanish speakers, run over to the table with a puzzle, rushing to get there first since they know only four of them are allowed at each table. One boy comments to another Spanish-speaking student "*no tu no. no más uno, dos, tres, cuatro*" [you no. just one, two, three, four], pointing to the four who can play. Other Spanish-speaking students then do the same, counting to 4 in Spanish, pointing to those who get to stay at the table and play. Careem says "*uno, dos, tres, cuatro*" [one, two, three, four], starting by pointing to himself and then others. The librarian then walks over and counts to four in English, pointing to Careem as one of the students who can stay.

In this instance, Careem drew upon his limited Spanish vocabulary and knowledge of classroom procedures to jockey for a spot at the prized activity table. His Spanish use was not received by his audience as strange, perhaps because each student was more focused on vying for a position at the table. This instance seems not to be either crossing or stylization. It shows how, by second grade, many students were incorporating Spanish words into their linguistic repertoires and using them for interactional purposes without the language being particularly marked.

On another occasion, however, Careem's talk about Mexico was not accepted by a Mexican-heritage peer. Students are seated on the carpet for a full-class activity and turn to a page in their books that has a map of the world with dark-green

coloring in areas with rain forests. One student asks another Spanish-speaking student and then a researcher: "*Hay mucho en Mexico?*" [Are there a lot of those in Mexico?] Ben (Spanish speaker) then turns to the researcher with an unbelieving face: "*Hay en Mexico?*" and she nods and says "sí" [yes]. Careem, who is seated nearby and overhears this conversation, turns to the boys, points to the map in a teacher-like way and tells them: "Mexico is right here." Ben rolls his eyes and comments "You don't even know Spanish," clearly annoyed. In this instance, Careem's comment, which may have only been an attempt to demonstrate geographic knowledge rather than claim Mexican heritage, was rejected by his Mexican-heritage peer Ben. Careem, who likely drew upon contextual cues (students using the map and talking about "Mexico"), could have thought they were looking for Mexico on the map and therefore tried to help by showing them. Like his rejection of Shantel's claims to Mexican-ness in first grade, described above, Ben appeared to have taken up Careem's comment as crossing, causing Ben to draw upon linguistic proficiency in Spanish as the criterion of Mexican-ness, effectively denying Careem the right to speak on the subject. Thus, while the use of Spanish tokens or faux Spanish was safe for many students, claims about Mexican-ness or claims about knowledge of Mexico were often not.

As children moved through second grade, a wider range of Spanish language practices emerged and were accepted. The examples of Nailah and Careem illustrate variation in the social range of the developing register. Some users employed many or all of its features, while others used it only occasionally. Spanish speakers also retained the right to make judgments about its acceptable use, although they did not do it often. The increased attention to and interest in Spanish texts, and particularly in documents sent home, shows English speakers being more vocal in expressing interest in, making claims about, and aligning themselves with Spanish and Spanish speakers. The use of Spanish tokens became routinized to the point that it no longer stood out as a disruption from the flow of ordinary interaction. The decreasing use of faux Spanish contrasted with students' more vocal expressions of interest in Spanish. Based on one teacher's concerns about "fake Spanish" being used to mock Spanish speakers, as well as her comments about needing to "know" a language in order to speak it, we speculate that the movement of actual Spanish tokens into more public classroom discourse led to the demise of faux Spanish itself.[4]

14.4   An Uncertain Future

By tracing the enregisterment of faux Spanish over 3 years in one classroom, we have been able to illustrate shifts and expansions in the register's social domain and range. We have seen how children drew on different features of the register for

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[4] Although our analyses in this chapter are based solely on data we collected in kindergarten, and first and second grades, when this group of students moved to third grade their teachers had similar concerns about "fake" Spanish and communicated to students that only those who truly "knew" Spanish could be considered "Spanish speakers."

various purposes, and how some of these features—such as the use of Spanish lexical items—became normalized as part of routine classroom interactions. Over time, the faux Spanish register gave way to "authentic" Spanish. The register's social domain was limited to a sublevel of interaction and discourse that operated simultaneously but was removed from official or sanctioned classroom life (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2010). Faux Spanish and Spanish are not completely separate, as illustrated in various examples that included both nonsense syllables and actual Spanish words. But most uses of Spanish are not faux in the sense we describe here. Faux Spanish was used by non-Spanish speakers trying to align themselves with positive characteristics of Spanish speakers, in situations where the aspirant did not have sufficient skill to speak proper Spanish.

The largely positive evaluations of Spanish and Spanish speakers indexed by faux Spanish—from use of Spanish tokens to claims about Mexican heritage—contrasts with dominant language ideologies in the USA, which present English as the only valid language of schooling and positions other languages as problems in need of remediation (Gándara and Hopkins 2010; Gallo et al. 2011; Menken 2008). Children's actions at Grant Elementary contest larger circulating discourses and their negative evaluations of Mexican immigrants and Spanish. Despite the fact that Mexican immigrants are often positioned as uneducated and Spanish is positioned as inferior to English (e.g., Dick 2011a; Santa Ana 1999, 2002), at Grant many young people embraced Spanish and affiliated with its speakers, assigning status to the language and contributing to "the denaturalization of hegemonic language ideologies" (Rampton 2009, p. 149).

Situational meanings of faux Spanish tokens depended on the interactional context, including the relationships between particular children and listener uptake. But in general, through the enregisterment of faux Spanish over 3 years, children from English-speaking backgrounds expanded their communicative repertoires— "the collection[s] of ways individuals use language and literacy and other means of communication to function effectively in the multiple communities in which they participate" (Rymes 2010, p. 528)—and they also fostered cross-ethnic friendships and solidarity. This latter point is particularly important in NLD locations. In Marshall, a NLD community, we have observed more flexible and dynamic responses to newly arriving Mexican-origin residents. As Hamman and Harklau (2010) argue, in NLD communities "interethnic interaction related to the education of Latinos is primarily a new phenomenon and one where the habits and expectations that will steer that interaction are still far from set" (p. 161). The development of the faux Spanish register at Grant Elementary, although only a very local event, may help foster more positive interethnic interactions among Marshall schoolchildren. We are pleased to see the positive affiliations made across linguistic and ethnic backgrounds that faux Spanish made possible. These practices "didn't stand for seamless racial harmony, but carried solidary interethnic meanings" (Rampton 2011, p. 278).

The students we observed have moved into their final years of elementary school, and while they still use some Spanish tokens and engage in talk about Spanish, we have seen a decline in the overall usage of both Spanish and faux Spanish among native English speakers. We do not yet know the fate of the register. Once they enter middle school, will those from English-speaking backgrounds draw on

Spanish and make affiliations with Spanish speakers? Will their uses of Spanish in adolescence become more mocking as they orient toward dominant discourses on Mexican immigration? Will the faux Spanish register simply fade away? Will the beginnings of interethnic solidarity built at the elementary level remain solid? We do not know. But we do believe that teachers' responses to the faux Spanish register could be important.

While the initial lack of attention paid by teachers to faux Spanish may have allowed it to flourish in the first 2 years of elementary school, the negative responses from teachers in second and third grade apparently restricted its development. The expansion of the register could lead to more positive positioning of minoritized languages. However, since faux Spanish flourished primarily in peer-led interactions that were removed from official classroom life, how might teachers learn to build on rather than squelch these practices? A teacher development approach that included training in classroom discourse analysis (Rymes 2009) and critical language awareness (Alim 2010) might foster more positive responses to students' creative communicative practices and empower teachers to draw on these practices. And in the case of faux Spanish, more careful consideration of the register through teacher research or critical language awareness could serve pedagogical purposes. First, attention from teachers to how children are drawing on Spanish to affiliate across cultural and linguistic backgrounds could generate teacher-led discussions about social relationships and peer interaction in an interethnic context. Second, teacher attention to the features of faux Spanish could help frame children's expanding communicative repertoires as resources for learning. Finally, teachers' consideration of the language learning taking place through peer interaction might result in more deliberate planning for peer learning and teaching. By focusing on the rich and varied communicative practices of their students, teachers could foster more successful school experiences for the growing numbers of students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds in their classrooms.

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Chapter 15
Dissecting Heteroglossia: Interaction Ritual or Performance in Crossing and Stylisation?

Ben Rampton

Abstract As Coupland and others show, Bauman's account of 'performance' provides a valuable perspective on speech stylisation across a range of public contexts. However, this chapter explores the limitations of performance as a window on crossing and stylisation in everyday practice, and although recognising other frames as well, it dwells instead on Goffman's interaction ritual, cross-referring to two studies of adolescents in England. In the first, race and ethnicity were controversial, and the performance of other-ethnic styles was risky. However, interaction ritual constructed crossing and stylisation as urgent responses to the exigencies of the moment and this made them more acceptable. In the second, performance implies a reflexive composure that is hard to reconcile with informants' experience of social class as an uncomfortable but only half-articulated issue, whereas interaction ritual provides a sharp lens on how youngsters used stylised posh and Cockney to register their apprehension of ongoing stratification.

Keywords Interaction ritual · Artful performance · Social class · Stylisation

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15.1   Introduction

Bakhtin has had a huge influence on sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. In the 1980s, Dell Hymes acknowledged that in spite of the fact that none of Bakhtin's works were available in English in the 1960s when he himself began arguing for communicative competence and the ethnography of communication, "he [Hymes] was 'scooped'…in terms of the development of ideas" (Cazden 1988, p. 117; see also Hill and Hill 1986; Duranti 1988, p. 225). Since then, Bakhtin and his circle have inspired innumerable sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists with their materialist philosophy of language (Vološinov 1986). They have opened links with researchers elsewhere in the humanities and social sciences (cf Williams 1977; Todorov 1984; Rampton 2006, p. 406), and the Bakhtinian conceptual perspective has resonated far and wide, especially with the notions of 'heteroglossia', 'voicing' and 'genre'. Even so, Bakhtin's own analyses of dialogicality focused on *literature* rather than face-to-face interaction, and he did not have the resources of spontaneous speech machine recording to draw on. So when more recent researchers have drawn contemporary technologies into explorations of the Bakhtinian framework, they have been able to elaborate very extensively on Bakhtin's basic ideas, often discovering hitherto unanticipated patterns and intricacies in communication. As a result, Bakhtin has become more of a background inspiration and general guide to interpretation than a front-line analytic resource. Or at least that is the position he occupies in the chapter that follows.

   In it, I focus on stylisation and language crossing, two concepts that draw on Bakhtin's discussions of heteroglossia and double voicing (1981; 1984; Rampton 1995/2005, chap. 8.5). However, these notions are integrated with the analytic apparatus provided by Goffman and Gumperz, and they are brought into an argument with the perspectives on voicing and performance offered in the contemporary work of Coupland and Bauman. My disagreement with Coupland and Bauman is centrally concerned with the role that stylisation and language crossing play in what Bakhtin calls 'ideological becoming' (1981, p. 346–7), the dialogical processes by which people come to align with some voices, discourses and ways of being, and to distance themselves from others. The overall gist of my case is that if we really want to understand how young people socialise each other into living with ethnic difference, or to appreciate the subtlety with which they come to inhabit social class positioning, then we need to dissect the details of heteroglossia, probing at the specifics of particular instances, haggling over our analyses and interpretations of the interactional dynamics. I shall begin by outlining the grounds of my argument with Coupland.

15.2   The Problem

Speech stylisation and language crossing have been the focus of a good deal of sociolinguistic interest in recent years. Stylisation involves reflexive communicative action in which speakers produce specially marked and often exaggerated rep-

resentations of languages, dialects and styles that lie outside their own habitual repertoire (at least as this is perceived within the situation on hand). Crossing is closely related, but it involves a stronger sense of social or ethnic boundary transgression—the variants being used are more likely to be seen as anomalously 'other' for the speaker, and questions of legitimacy and entitlement can arise. As pointedly non-habitual speech practices, stylisation and crossing break with ordinary modes of action and interpretation, invite attention to creative agency in language use and often also contribute to the denaturalisation of hegemonic language ideologies.

The institutional genres and interactional frames in which stylisation occurs are very varied, but, going beyond their description in different field settings, Nik Coupland has recently suggested that Richard Bauman's notion of artful performance may be particularly relevant for the more general theoretical characterisation of stylisation. For Bauman, performance involves a 'special interpretive frame' in which speakers assume "responsibility for a display of communicative competence", and produce language designed for "enhancement of [the] experience" of their audience (1975/2001, p. 178, 1986, 1987; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Hymes 1975). Following the discussion of a wide range of studies of style and stylisation, Coupland suggests that "it would be apt to invoke the idea of performance as a quality of most and probably all of the styling practice we have considered" (2007, p. 146; see also Rampton 2001, p. 50).

Bauman's notion of performance works well with the relatively public, commercial and/or mass-mediated contexts where Coupland and a number of others investigate stylisation, constituted as they are with substantial audiences, professional and other high-profile communicators, rehearsals, etc. (e.g., Coupland 2001, 2007). However, in this chapter, I argue that it is much less relevant to the everyday crossing and stylisation practices that I have studied with radio-microphone recordings of spontaneous interaction among adolescents in multi-ethnic working class clubs and schools in England. In my first study (Rampton 1995/2005), where I looked at cross-ethnic uses of Creole, Punjabi and Indian English and where race and ethnicity were often controversial matters, the performance of other-ethnic styles could actually be rather risky, eliciting strong criticism from the style's owners/inheritors. In the second (Rampton 2006), where I looked at adolescents doing stylised posh and Cockney accents, the degree of composure and reflexive control implied in artful performance was often hard to reconcile with my informants' experience of social class as a lived, pressing, sometimes difficult and normally only half-articulated issue. In both sites, there were many cases where Goffman's notion of *interaction ritual* works better than Bauman's performance as an account of the framing for these expressive practices. With Creole, Punjabi and Asian English, interaction ritual made crossing and stylisation acceptable by constructing them as urgent responses to the exigencies of the moment, affiliated with the interests of the main activity. With posh and Cockney, interaction ritual provides an analytic lens better able to capture the situated immediacy with which acts of stylisation articulated the speaker's apprehension of ongoing processes of high/low social stratification. I try to elaborate these claims in the ensuing discussion, although it is essential to recognise three methodological issues at the outset.

First, my discussion is non-exhaustive. 'Performance' and 'interaction ritual' do not represent the only options for a higher level account of the special interpretive

framings entailed in stylisation and crossing, and any attempt to develop a more comprehensive view could start, for example, with Goffman's list of the most basic 'keys' in which activity is transformed and routine interpretation suspended ('make-believe', 'ceremonials', 'contests', 'technical redoings' and 'regroundings' (1974, chap. 3)). Second, there is an ineradicable element of interpretive leeway in the use of concepts like these. In contrast to constructs like 'plural marker', 'fall-rise' or 'second pair part', neither 'performance' nor 'interaction ritual' (nor 'make-believe', 'ceremonials', etc.) forms part of a consensual system of high-definition terms referring to readily isolable phenomena, and, instead, they are integrative, mid-level concepts used in the interpretive characterisation of broadly different configurations in the relationship between cultural convention, participant relations, interactional organisation, signs, affect and cognition.[1] Third, these two terms are not mutually exclusive: there is often a performance element in interaction ritual, as well as elements of interaction ritual in performance, and the 'empirical object' can itself be highly motile, presenting complications that analysis needs to reckon with (cf Goffman 1974, p. 79–80; also Bauman 1975/2001, p. 178–9). That said, performance and interaction ritual still differ in important ways in the participant relations and orientations to non-routine experience that they entail, and my overall argument in this chapter is that interaction ritual is likely to be a lot more influential in crossing and stylisation than researchers often appreciate.

In what follows, I begin by modelling some of the main pragmatic processes in the interpretation of stylisation and crossing (Sect. 15.3), moving from there to Bauman and Coupland's definition of performance (Sect. 15.4). After that, I identify the problems with performance as a frame for interpreting ethnolinguistic crossing and stylisation in my first data set, pointing instead to the significance of contests and interaction ritual (Sect. 15.5). Section 15.6 summarises Goffman's perspective on interaction ritual, and Sect. 15.7 returns to the ethnolinguistic data, explaining why Goffman's account of interaction ritual is a much more valuable analytic resource than Bauman's performance. Section 15.8 extends this argument to the stylisation of posh and Cockney, and then in its conclusion the chapter engages with Coupland's stimulating speculation about stylisation and performance in late modernity (Sect. 15.9).

15.3   Stylisation and Crossing as Special Interpretive Framings

Following Gumperz's insistence on the importance of inferential processes (e.g., Prevignano and di Luzio 2002; also Auer 1988; Clark 1996, chaps. 5, 6 and 16; Ochs 1996), it is worth starting out with a model of the socio-cognitive processes involved in stylisation and crossing. So in the course of

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[1] For comparable range in the characterisation of stylisation itself, see Coupland 2007:112–115, 154.

A. engagement in an activity of some kind
B. communicative acts or elements emerge, are produced or encountered that are hard to incorporate as an unexceptional contribution to ongoing activity. In cases where the production of these elements is intended rather than accidental, the following processes are likely to be involved:

   i)   A violation of co-occurrence expectations: a speaker produces and—she or he hopes—the recipient(s) perceives linguistic or semiotic forms which do not fit with the kinds of thing that the activity in play had hitherto led them to expect (⇨ 'what?!').
   ii)   There is an implicit invitation from the producer and an effort from the recipient(s) to place the unexpected forms among signs they have elsewhere/ previously encountered and to identify their potential connotations/indexical valence ('what <u>is</u> that?').
   iii)   There is an invitation/effort to understand the unexpected signs' relevance to some aspect of the scene or interaction in train ('why that now?' part 1).
   iv)   There is an invitation/effort to use the unexpected signs to interpret the producer's stance/self-positioning in/on that aspect of the interaction ('why that now?' part 2).
   v)   There is an invitation/effort to start formulating a response ('what next?').

The answers to these questions may be either settled in an instant or negotiated interactively over several turns, and of course a variety of problems of producer–recipient coordination can occur around each one. But regardless of the specifics, the disjuncture of speaker and voice in stylisation and crossing violates co-occurrence expectations and jeopardises the subsequent pursuit of normal business, pushing the recipient towards a figurative reading of the shift's significance (Coupland 2007, p. 154).

The crucial *difference* between stylisation and crossing lies in the extent to which the speaker's use of another voice turns the participants to wider issues of entitlement. So when young Londoners did stylised posh and Cockney, and when vernacular English speakers with Punjabi backgrounds stylised Indian English, they put on exaggerated accents that they would never use in ordinary talk with friends. However, nobody accused them of expropriating linguistic resources that did not belong to them, or of using language to which they had no right. In contrast, the use of Indian English could be very risky for white and black kids, as could white and Asian uses of Caribbean Creole. The circumambient politics of race made ethnolinguistic boundaries very sensitive, and so when crossing recipients encountered the disjuncture between the voice and the speaker's ethnic background, the question 'why that now?' was supplemented with 'by what right?'. In cases of aggression, the answers to these two questions could dovetail—'that's illegitimate' would run with 'she or he wants trouble'—but for the most part in the crossing data from the 1980s, the intentions were friendly. So a successful piece of language crossing would find the recipients satisfied on the interactional 'why that now' question and pacified (or even entertained) on the ethnopolitical 'by what right?'. A clever or funny interactional design could capitalise on ethnic difference and neutralise the political sensitivities, potentially leading to new solidarities; conversely, the politics

might be overriding, crashing the original interactional plan; or alternatively, the two could be held in awkward tension, as when people found jokes funny that they also objected to as racist (e.g., Rampton 2005, chap. 2.4). This sketch of pragmatic inferencing can be extended to cover a number of processes observed in the empirical study of stylisation and crossing, and I refer back to it later. But it is now worth turning to Bauman's notion of 'performance'.

15.4   Bauman and Coupland on Artful Performance

According to Bauman, "[i]t is part of the essence of performance that it offers to the participants a special enhancement of experience, bringing with it a heightened intensity of communicative interaction" (1975/2001, p. 182). More generally,

> [p]erformance in its artful sense may be seen as a specially marked way of speaking, one that sets up or represents a special interpretive frame within which the act of speaking is to be understood. In this sense of performance, the act of speaking is put on display, objectified, lifted out to a degree from its contextual surroundings, and opened up to scrutiny by an audience. Performance thus calls forth special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of speaking and gives licence to the audience to regard it and the performer with special intensity. Performance makes one communicatively accountable; it assigns to an audience the responsibility of evaluating the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's accomplishment. (1987, p. 8)

The attention to a "special interpretive frame" and to acts of speaking "put on display, objectified, lifted out to a degree from [their] contextual surroundings" resonates with the foregrounding and non-routine inferential work associated with stylisation and crossing, and as in the two empirical studies that I discuss, political issues may also become relevant when "performances move the use of heterogeneous stylistic resources, context-sensitive meanings, and conflicting ideologies into a reflexive arena where they can be examined critically" (Bauman and Briggs 1990, p. 60). Indeed,

> [t]hrough his performance, the performer elicits the participative attention and energy of his audience, and to the extent that they value his performance, they will allow themselves to be caught up in it. When this happens, the performer gains a measure of prestige and control over the audience… [T]here is… [a] persistently documented tendency for performers to be both admired and feared – admired for their artistic skill and power and for the enhancement of experience they provide, feared because of the potential they represent for subverting and transforming the status quo. (Bauman 1975/2001, p. 183)

Coupland draws Bauman's work into the centre of his account of stylisation (2007, p. 147–8), and both scholars are clear that the scale of performance varies. Coupland suggests that "we should recognize a scale that runs between… mundane [e.g. joke-telling]… and high performance" (2007, p. 146–7) and Bauman stresses that it "isn't all or nothing—[it] may be dominant in the hierarchy of multiple functions, as in… full performance, or it may be subordinate to other functions—referential, rhetorical, or any other" (1986, p. 3; also Hymes 1975). Indeed, there can come a point where the special interpretive frame is no longer accompanied by any assumption of accountability to an audience, and here Bauman talks of 'play' (1975/2001, p. 178).

There seem, then, to be good *prima facie* grounds for linking stylisation and crossing to performance, and this is increased by the flexibility of the formulations provided by Bauman and Coupland. So exactly why and how is performance problematic for the account of crossing and stylisation in the settings where I have studied it?

15.5   Ethnolinguistic Crossing and Stylisation in Ashmead: Problems with Performance and the Influence of Other Frames

In my study of crossing and stylisation among adolescents in a multi-ethnic working class neighbourhood, 'Ashmead', in the 1980s (Rampton 1995/2005), the two varieties most often involved in crossing and stylisation were Creole (c. 250 episodes in 145 hours of radio-microphone recordings and extensive participant observation) and Indian/Asian English (160 episodes). However, this was not an inter-ethnic free-for-all, and local adolescents generally developed a good sense of when they could and could not cross into Creole and Indian/Asian English (and Punjabi as well). White and black kids usually avoided the use of stylised Asian English in the company of Punjabi peers (2005, chaps. 2.4 and 6.3) and most white and Punjabi youngsters either avoided the use of Creole with black peers or restricted it to a limited set of fairly stock phrases (2005, chap. 8.3)—kids who used a lot were liable to be seen as 'silly', 'stupid', 'thinking they're black' or as stereotyping black people (2005, chap. 2.1). The public profile of these two languages undoubtedly contributed to these patterns of avoidance. In the 1980s (as well as before and after), Creole occupied a dominant position in popular music and youth culture, while in the mass media at the time, there were often racist images of a ridiculously deferential, uncomprehending Indian English. In view of the parodic public images of it, you did not address Asian English to your Punjabi friends in case they took it as racist mockery (2005, chap. 2.4), and if you produced elaborate Creole with black peers, you risked being seen as either mocking or expropriating a widely valued popular resource (2005, chap. 9.2; Hewitt 1986, p. 162).

These were not auspicious conditions for attempting ethnolinguistic crossing and stylisation within artful performance, not at least in the fuller senses defined by Bauman and Coupland. With an insistent 'by what right' question in the air, youngsters needed to be especially skilful verbally and/or confident of their audience to embrace the performer's role in either Creole or Asian English, "giv[ing] licence to the audience to regard [the performance] and the performer with special intensity" (Bauman 1987, p. 8). Indeed, with crossing in *Punjabi*—another variety with local interethnic currency—it was precisely at the point where the public performance of bhangra music and dance started attracting wider interest and prestige that white and black adolescents stepped back (Rampton 2005, p. 60, 70 and chap. 10). In contrast to the patterns of avoidance with Creole crossing and the stylisation of Asian English, it was generally in the company—and with the encouragement—of friends of Indian and Pakistani descent that white and black kids used Punjabi, in a range of contexts

mentioned below (2005, chap. 8.5). But at the time of my fieldwork, bhangra music was also being noticed and becoming popular, and in this more conspicuously performance-oriented context, Asian kids talked negatively about white interest, a lot of male crossers lost interest and white girls only participated as audience with the personal authorisation afforded by (actual or potential) romance with Asian boys.

Certainly, there were a few individuals willing and able to do Creole or Punjabi crossing in fairly 'full' performance settings (2005, p. 207–11, 240), but these were exceptional, and if the fuller definitions of performance provided by Bauman and Coupland were taken as the essence of crossing and stylisation, we would only be able to account for a fragment of the data set. In fact, though, there were other genres and activities that instituted a "special interpretive frame" and that thereby enabled crossers to use Creole, Asian English and Punjabi without being accused of mocking Asians or of 'acting black'. In terms of Goffman's list of basic keys, one set of these could be classed as 'contests' (cf Goffman 1974, p. 56–58).

As many scholars have noted, in games, sports and other contests, there is an agreed relaxation of the rules and constraints of routine interaction (1974, chap. 3; Handelman 1977; Turner 1982, p. 56; SuttonSmith 1982; Rampton 2005, chap. 6.7). Among younger kids, chasing games provided a significant context for crossing in Punjabi—Punjabi abuse featured as one way of trying to attract attention and initiate some chasing (2005, chap. 7.2), and more generally during recreational cricket, soccer, tennis, etc., Asian English was often stylised by Punjabi boys in commentaries improvised either as players themselves or as spectators (Aziz [Pakistani-descent; male; 13 years]: '*and Kapil Dev is batting now and Aziz is the wicket keeper for Pakistan.. oh yes what a ball.. what a save by the wicketkeeper*'. In fact, games constituted the only context in which it was relatively safe for white and black boys to use Asian English in the presence of Punjabi peers, and here they also joined them in the use of phrases encoding positive evaluation—'*very good shot*, '*very good,* '*good shot*, '*shot*, '*shotting*'—which variously targeted good and poor performance and could be delivered enthusiastically, ironically, nonsensically or with indifference (2005, chap. 6.4). Another well-established and quite clearly framed playground genre that was hospitable to language crossing was jocular abuse, and here too there is an understanding that the assumptions (about truth and falsity) governing everyday life have been suspended (2005, chap. 7.3; Labov 1972; Goodwin and Goodwin 1987). In this context, white and black boys drew Punjabi into displays of quick-witted resourcefulness, and this extended to the playful corruption of collaborative songs and to incrimination traps disguised as language teaching ("say [mɛ̃ ʈəʈʈi khanda]" (translation: "say '*I eat shit*'")).

Like artful performance, sports, games and verbal contests involve the production of a potentially engrossing, non-routine frame designed for the enhancement of experience. Within this, however, the social relations of participation are configured differently. Instead of the speaker–audience asymmetry fundamental to artful performance as defined by Bauman and Coupland, these contests involved protagonists who began from a more or less equal baseline, and rather than seeking admiration for the use of an other-ethnic language, a little bit of judiciously provocative crossing served to spice the contest up. There was also less dependence on ethnically marked

representations and practices circulating in public culture generally, and rather than depending on the depth and range of the players' linguistic knowledge and verbal skill with high-prestige cultural material, the outcome of these games was generally decided by matters such as physical speed or aptitude, the fall of the cards and so forth.

At the same time, however, there were also a great many other instances of crossing and stylisation which would be much harder to construe as varieties of 'contest':

Extract 1 As I was going down the stairs into the gym at the youth club, a small Asian boy (about 12 years old) was walking down in front of me. Jim Cook, the school caretaker, was at the bottom by the doors. He held them open for us and as the boy went through, he turned to Jim as he passed and said in a very strong Punjabi accent (not subsequently maintained in ordinary talk): '**how are you doing Mr Cook**'. As I passed through after him, without any hint of annoyance Jim said something like 'might as well keep the doors open all the time', which he did. [fieldnotes] (2005, Ex. II.6)

Extract 2 A playback interview involving Ben (the researcher/author, 30+, male, Anglo descent), Asif (15 yrs old, male, Pakistani descent), Kazim (15, male, Pakistani descent), and Alan (15, male, Anglo descent). Ben is struggling to elicit some retrospective participant commentary on extracts of recorded data, and is on the point of giving up (2005, p. 123–4; also 2002, p. 39–44):

```
 1    Ben: right shall I- shall we shall we stop there
 2    Kazim: no
 3    Alan: no come [ on carry on
 4    Asif:         [ do another extract
 5    Ben:  le- lets have (.) [ then you have to give me more=
 6    Alan:                   [ carry on
 7    Ben:  =attention gents
 8    Asif ((quieter)): yeh [ all right
 9    Alan ((quieter)):     [ all right
10    Asif ((quieter)): yeh
11    Ben:  I need more attention
12    Kazim ((in Asian English)): I AM VERY SORRY BEN JAAD
                                  [ɑɪ æm veri sɒri ben dʒɑd]
13    Asif  ((in Asian English)): ATTENTION BENJAMIN
                                  [əthenʃaːn bendʒəmɪn]
14          [((laughter))
15    Ben:  [right well you can- we cn-
16    Alan: [BENJAADEMIN
```

Extract 3 Ian [An M 15 wearing radio-microphone], Jagdish [In M 15], Richard [An M 15], Conrad [AC M 15] and a lot of other pupils are queuing up in the corridor waiting to go in for dinner. They notice a pupil of Bangladeshi descent trying to push in… (2005, chap. 6.2).

```
7  Rich:         OI EH EH WHERE YOU GOING (.) GET BACK OI
8     :          (                    )
9  Rich:         EH GET BACK (1.0) HEY WHAT A RAAS ((= approximation
                                              to Creole)) (.)
10 Ian :         EH (     ) EH MISS (.) WHERE THEY GOING (.)
11 Rich:         MISS THEY'VE PUSHED IN
12 Ian :         OI (.) LOOK Baker ((a 6th former)) THESE LOT PUSHED
                                                             IN
13               (.) THEY JUST (  OUR DINNER)  THEY (BOUGHT  )(.)
14               GET BACK TO THE BACK
15 Rich:         GED OU'
16 AnonA:        ((in exaggerated Asian English::)) OUT:
                                             [ɑʊth]
17 Rich:          GED OU'
18 AnonA [M]:     ((slowly in stylised Asian English:)) GE:T  OU:T
                                                  [ge:ʈ ʌʊ:ʈh]
19 AnonB[M]:     ((slow:)): OUT BOY OUT
                            [ʌʊt bhɔɪ ʌʊt]
20 AnonA         ((slow:)): GE:T OU:T
                             [ge:ʈ ʌʊ:ʈh]
21  Rich:        (those others) pushed in (          [        )
22 AnonB:                                             [ MOVE IT BO:Y
                                                      [mʊv  ɪt  bɔɪ]
23  Ian :        [WELL WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH YOU BAKER (.)
24     :         [(                              )
25     :         [(                       )
26  Ian :        see if that was me innit (.) ([kɹɑɑf]) ((=
                                       approximation to Creole))
27               ((more laughter and talk for 8.0))
28  Ian ((quietly)): fucking Bengalis
```

Extract 4 1987 dinnertime. Andrew [14 African-Caribbean descent, Male; wearing radio-mic], Adrian [14 AC M], Mashuk [14, Bangladeshi descent, M], AnonF [Anglo, female], AnonF2 [Female], Colin [? M] are in the bikesheds outside, a relatively secluded area where people smoke. Up until line 40 or 41, they are arguing about coursework, but in lines 41 and 42, Adrian and Mashuk notice Colin lighting a cigarette (2005, p. 207–11):

```
38 Andrew:  yeh YEH EVERYONE GETS THE SAME YEH (.) yeh (.)
40 Mashuk:  it don't matter how thick or [ (        ) you are=
41 Adrian:  ((rapidly:))                 [ANDREW
42 Mashuk:  =you get the same t-(.) AAH CHAA [ ME LIGHT IT UP MAN
                                             ((= in Creole))
43 Adrian:                                   [ Colin's behind you
44 Andrew:  ((rapidly:)): wh' Col where's Colin man I can't-
45          where's Colin man where's Colin where's Colin
46          ((smile-voice:)) aah dere you are (.)
47          Colin give me a pull please
48 Colin:   no hold on
```

Extract 5 Kazim and Asif [both Pakistani descent; M; 14] pass Laura [African-Caribbean, F. 14] and her friends in the corridor during lunch-time. Micky is Anglo; (2005, p. 206):

```
Kazim:       eh heard the new news (.)Micky's goin' out
             with Laura
Asif:        ((loudly, approximating Creole 'gewaan':))
             AAH GO'AAN LAURA
```

Neither performance nor contests provide a larger context for these instances of crossing and stylisation, and, instead, it is helpful to turn to Ervin Goffman's descriptions of *interaction ritual*.

15.6   Goffman's Interaction Ritual

Offering an interactional reinterpretation of Durkheim's account of collective rituals, Goffman proposes that participants in an encounter treat each other as being in "possession of a small patrimony of sacredness" (1971, p. 89). However, "[w]hen individuals come into one another's immediate presence, territories of the self bring to the scene a vast filigree of wires which individuals are uniquely equipped to trip over" (1971, p. 135–6), and this continuously threatens to destabilise social relations, throwing the orderly flow of interaction into question. Imbued like this with a regard for moral and territorial boundaries, Goffman's theory of ritual face-work sees an orientation to potential offence pervading all interaction (see also Brown and Levinson 1987), but, in addition, there are actions and sequences which intensify the display of this concern:

> [f]ace-to-face interaction… is the location of a special class of quite conventionalised utterances, lexicalisations whose controlling purpose is to give praise, blame, thanks, support, affection or show gratitude, disapproval, dislike, sympathy, or greet, say farewell and so forth. Part of the force of these speech acts comes from the feelings they directly index; little of the force derives from the semantic content of the words. We can refer here to interpersonal verbal rituals. These rituals often serve a bracketing function, celebratively marking a perceived change in the physical and social accessibility of two individuals to each other,…as well as beginnings and endings – of a day's activity, a social occasion, a speech, an encounter, an interchange. So in addition to the fact that any act performed during talk will carry ritual significance, some seem to be specialised for this purpose… and these play a special role in the episoding of conversation. (1981, p. 20–1)

So 'interpersonal verbal rituals' occur in sequences of increasing/increased interactional uncertainty. These moments of jeopardy intensify the need for participants to display regard for the relations on hand and social order more generally (1971, p. 126–7), and to do so, people generally amplify the symbolic dimensions of their conduct, shifting briefly away from the appropriately modulated/hedged production

of propositional utterances geared to truth and falsity. Instead, they turn up the ritual aspects through a range of inherited symbolic formulae—farewell and greeting routines, apologies, thanks, expletives, expressions of dismay or surprise and even proverbs—and, we can assume, it is by invoking relatively well-established material associated with (local or quite general) tradition that they display an orientation to perduring social bonds and collectivities capable of overriding the temporary disturbance immediately on hand. Greetings, for example, use well-known formulae to resolve the indeterminacies that arise at the opening of an encounter, leave-takings provide reassurance against what is unknown in the period of separation coming up (1963, 1971, p. 107) and praise shows that the speakers are "alive to the situation of one who has sustained change, that he will continue his relationship to him" (1971, p. 93–4).

From the accounts offered by Bauman, Coupland and Goffman, it is clear that both artful performance and interaction ritual orient to experience in which the hold of routine assumptions guiding everyday conduct is relaxed, threatened or disturbed, and this makes them all at least potentially congruent with the non-normal framing associated with stylisation and crossing. However, there are important differences in the way that they each relate to exceptional experience. With performance, people are asked (and helped) to come away from ordinary activity into the fictive, other-worldly realms created for them by the performer(s), whereas in interaction ritual, instead of participating in a voluntary and controlled release from routine, participants can find themselves *confronted* with uncertainty. Rather than creating them, acts like praise, blame, thanks and disapproval *react* to departures from the normative equanimity of ordinary conduct. Interaction ritual actions are *evasive* or *redressive*, aimed at *preserving* or *restoring* normal relations, *re*-stabilising rather than *de*-stabilising the ordinary world, escaping not *into* but *out of* less charted zones of experience. Performance might be offered for the enhancement of experience, but interaction ritual offers a defence against its vulnerabilities.

With this account of interaction ritual and its difference from performance in place, it is worth now returning to the Extracts cited at the end of the previous section.

15.7 Interaction Ritual as a Crucible for Crossing and Stylisation

Rather than being embedded in either contests or artful performance, the crossing and stylisation in Extracts 1–5 occur in interaction rituals. Asian English is stylised in a greeting (Extract 1), an apology (Extract 2) and a demand for remediation (Extract 3, lines 16 ff), and there is crossing into Creole in expressions of annoyance (Extract 3, line 9; Extract 4) and of admiration/encouragement (Extract 5).

For some of the episodes, there certainly seems to be relevance in Bauman and Coupland's account of reduced performance, or performance as one subordinate function among several. Indeed, Goffman's account of 'overlays' makes it clear that even within small-scale practices designed to move the participants past potentially

vulnerable moments, there is scope for displaying unorthodox alignments, (re)key-
ing the conventionally expectable ritual actions (cf 1971, p. 108, 202 ff.). Certainly,
in the affirmation of common ground for the resumption of synchronised, affiliative
action in orthodox interaction ritual, people often draw on forms that are more el-
evated (or more intimate) than normal, but these showcase moments for the indexi-
cal display of social allegiance can also be used more divergently. They are a prime
site for all sorts of improvisation, and it is very common to hear people putting on
different kinds of 'funny voice' in thanks, greetings and farewells. So in Extract 2,
the boys' apology in lines 12 and 13 does not appear to be very serious. The lexical
choices ("I am very sorry…" and "attention Benjamin") make a show of providing
ritual remediation for the offence I was drawing attention to, but the shift into styl-
ised Asian English seems designed to enhance the fun the boys were having, and
following their apology, the interaction continued much as before. Indeed, there are
strong signs of their lack of genuine contrition not only in the laughter in line 14
but also in line 12's "ben jaad", a nickname for me which I later discovered to be
an accidental peer-group Punjabi invention of Alan's, falling ambiguously between
[ben jɑɾ], meaning 'Ben, friend', and [pɛn tʃɔd], 'sister fucker'). Similarly, in Ex-
tract 5, Asif's expression of encouragement—'aah ge'aan Laura'—looks double-
edged, designed as much to embarrass or to provoke cross-sex banter as to encour-
age (Rampton 2005, p. 206), and in instances like these, as well as in the small
boy's Asian English greeting in Extract 1, there is a good case for seeing stylisation
as 'play' or performance in one of its more attenuated forms, artfully inserted into
sequences conventionally oriented to other purposes.

However, this is much more difficult with other extracts. Rather than subverting
interpersonal ritual, reconfiguring it in short performances of individual initiative
designed to amuse, stylisation can also *intensify* ritual interaction, and this is clear-
est in Extract 3. Instead of softening the perception of offence, the shift to stylised
Asian English from line 16 seems to *upgrade* the demand for remediation, using a
voice associated with youth cultural incompetence to racialise the episode, playing
on a strong vein of local hostility towards Bangladeshi newcomers (2005, chap. 6.2;
also Goffman 1971, p. 189 ff.). Similarly, there is little evidence that Richard's
brief shift to Creole in line 9 lightens the sense of affront, and in Extract 4, there
are no grounds for thinking that Mashuk is not principally intent on having a pull
on Colin's cigarette. Indeed more generally, 'gewaan' and 'cha' were used so often
to add conviction to the speaker's stance on whatever it was she or he had noticed
that they seemed to have been incorporated in the local multi-ethnic vernacular as
ordinary ways of expressing strong emotion (cf Rampton 2005, chap. 8; Hewitt
1986, p. 129).

In episodes like these, rather than generating 'overlay' and taking it in another
direction, crossing and stylisation seem to be an integral part of interaction ritual. If
we dwell further on interaction ritual's fundamental differences from artful perfor-
mance, we can start to explain how ethnolinguistic crossing and stylisation became
widespread, in spite of the constraints I described at the start of Sect. 15.5.

Artful performance tends to be willingly initiated by the performer (or at least
has their active consent), and in the performance of conversational narrative, for

example, the issue occasioning the story may prove incidental to the pleasure provided in the tale world that the story creates. In contrast, ritual actions are typically produced as a response to surprises/transgressions/changes/uncertainties that are emerging/have emerged independently of the main participants' volition. Here, the ritual expression can be urgent, interrupting and often kept quite short in the interest of harmonious relations (since elaboration is generally seen as being proportionate to the seriousness of the occurrence that prompts it). The symbols invoked have to be conventional enough for the recipients to recognise their communality, but their *raison d'être* lies in the immediacy of their ties to whatever has just transpired or is transpiring, and they may sound false if there is any hint that they are rehearsed (unless, once again, it is something very serious that prompts them). In addition, instead of seeking individual distinction, the ritual actor acts *on behalf of* the main collectivity or encounter, seeking to preserve/restore/recalibrate the common interactional project actually or potentially deprived of its bearings.

For most ordinary members of a multi-ethnic friendship group, who lack any exceptional skill in the use of other-ethnic varieties and are sensitive to the ways in which race politics can complicate such practices, the emphasis on renormalisation and continuity makes interaction ritual a much more congenial site for experimenting with other-ethnic forms than artful performance (which, in contrast, seeks to generate appreciation of, e.g., potentially memorable innovation in the here and now). In principle, when you make the shift into a variety that you are not fully entitled to, the 'why that now?' question is answered by whatever pressing exceptional occurrence the ritual action is attending to. Furthermore—and again in contrast to performance which asks the recipients to dwell on language use—the implicit declaration of affiliation to the activity in which you and your friends have been engaged blends with a commitment to returning to the main business (cf Goffman 1971, p. 138), and this is potentially capable of moving the recipients quickly past the 'by what right?' issue. Indeed, turning from production to reception, even if you do not use these other-ethnic forms yourself, they are still going to feel quite an integral part of your world if your ethnic inheritor friends use them to ritually protect the activity, team or party that you are jointly involved in. As an audience, *performance* confronts you with the question of whether or not to let the performer lead you into the realm she or he is projecting, but as long as you are not a target being excluded, ritual generally co-opts you into the collectivity that is being reaffirmed/protected.

These features of interaction ritual help to explain how ethnolinguistic crossing and stylisation came to be such common practice in Ashmead, despite the fact that the 'by what right?' question inhibited crossing and stylisation in contexts of full performance. Of course, interaction ritual was not the only frame that licensed these practices, and in Sect. 5, I suggested that contests, sports and games also provided a more fertile frame for crossing and stylisation than artful performance. Actually, though, this kind of generic framing often is not enough on its own to account for the licence grabbed and granted in these incidents, since acts of stylisation and crossing were also timed at particular interactional junctures—in games, for example, 'good shot' registered exceptional actions which were temporarily changing the balance

of power between the protagonists (cf Goffman 1971, p. 93–4 on 'ratificatory rituals'). The special interpretive frames associated with contests and games can partly account for some of the licence for crossing and stylisation, but within these, it was interaction ritual that often provided the more immediate pretext.

Interaction ritual, then, provides a much better explanation of the spread of ethnolinguistic crossing and stylisation in Ashmead than artful performance. Yes, there were some exceptional individuals who crossed and styled in relatively full performance contexts, and crossing and stylisation could and often did introduce innovative, amusing—and more performance-like—overlays in interaction ritual. However, there were also occasions when, instead of serving as an overlay, crossing and stylisation provided an intensification that was integral to interaction ritual sequences, and if we turn from specific episodes to a more general theorisation of the currency of these expressive practices in Ashmead, full performance faces explanatory problems that interaction ritual overcomes.

In fact, this view of the relationship between artful performance, contests and interaction ritual has implications that reach quite far beyond the Ashmead data set. For quite some time now, cultural commentators have talked about the emergence of 'new ethnicities' in the UK, drawing attention to changing representations of identity in popular music, film and the performance arts more generally (Hall 1988; Gilroy 1987, chap. 5; Back 1996; Mercer 1994). In the process, they have often also underlined the significance of language mixing and crossing, using examples of full performance in public contexts (e.g., Gilroy 1987, chap. 5; Back 1996, chap. 8; Mercer 1994, chap. 2). Unquestionably, artful performance in popular culture makes a substantial contribution to many people's interest in, and engagement with, other ethnicities, as well as to the ratification of ethnic difference as a normal state of being, but obviously, the relays between public representations and everyday practice are rather complex. From the data reviewed in the previous sections, it is clear that the local uptake of widely circulating forms and practices is mediated by a range of more everyday stances, frames, genres, participant and social relations, and that for the activation of other-ethnic language use in local networks, artful performance may well be subsidiary in influence to contests and to interaction rituals in particular. In sum, if it is too closely pegged to Bauman's notion of performance, the sociolinguistics of crossing and stylisation may be unnecessarily limited in what it can reveal of new forms of low-key urban 'conviviality', in which racism is recognised but "racial and ethnic differences have been rendered unremarkable" (Gilroy 2006).

Indeed, *outside* situations of ethnic diversity, there are also limits to the value of performance as a central organising concept in the analysis of stylisation practices where there *are not* any particular boundary or 'by what right?' issues tied to the languages involved. At this point, it is worth turning to the stylisation of two varieties marked for social class rather than ethnicity—posh and Cockney.

15.8   Stylisation and Social Class

In the 1990s, I carried out fieldwork in a multi-ethnic secondary school in inner London ('Central High'),[2] and focused on the links between language and social class (see Rampton 2006, chaps. 6–9 for a full account). Youngsters did not talk much about social class—race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality were all much 'hotter topics'—but a small Labovian study showed that traditionally class-marked standard and vernacular forms were closely integrated into their ordinary talk, and that their use of these forms varied in line with the formality of the situation in the way that variationists have so often described (2006, chap. 7.3). More significantly here, they also switched into exaggerated stylisations of posh and Cockney, the two most clearly classed varieties in the region,[3] on average about once every 45 minutes.

Since most kids had a mix of both more and less posh and Cockney variants in their everyday speech, their stylisation was unconstrained by the kinds of sensitivity to otherness evidenced in Ashmead, and both inside lessons and outside in recreational interaction between peers, there were a number of clear cases of rather full performance, involving: rehearsal; active and explicit demarcation of the line between audience and performer; commencement only once the audience was properly assembled; and appraisal both during and after (see, e.g., 2006, p. 280–3 and chap. 9.4). At the same time, however, there were other frames for the stylisation of posh and Cockney, and there are three major obstacles to using performance as the main term for characterising these practices. First, performance emphasises the 'enhancement of experience', whereas it often seemed to be a sense of its vulnerability that occasioned the stylisation of posh and Cockney. Second, stylisation in full performance generally implies the projection of a fairly well delineated persona, whereas stylised posh and Cockney quite often occurred as fleeting colouration added to ordinary interaction, their indexicalities relatively indeterminate and much more a matter of stance than social type. Third, beyond the empirical distortion entailed in any privileging of enhanced experience and persona projection, a performance account of stylised posh and Cockney would miss the connection to more general theorisations of the meaning of social class. These points can be taken in turn.

First, it was often at ritually sensitive moments that adolescents shifted into stylised posh and Cockney—when they felt humiliated or offended by a teacher, when faced with separation from their pals, and at sharply felt states and changes in the structured flow of social relations. So Hanif, for example, responded to some pa-

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[2] This was part of a 28-month ESRC-funded project "Multilingualism and Heteroglossia In and Out of School" (1997–99), and data-collection involved interviews, participant observation, radio-microphone recordings of everyday interaction and participant retrospection on extracts from the audio recordings. Analysis focused on four youngsters (two males and 2 females) in a tutor group of about 30 14-year-olds, and the account of posh and Cockney stylisation centred on c. 65 episodes identified in 37 hours of radio-microphone audio data.

[3] It is worth adding here that my analysis certainly doesn't take the links between stylized posh, Cockney and social class for granted, but as there isn't space for arguing the connection here, the reader is referred to Rampton 2006: Chs. 6 and 7.

tronising over-explanation from Mr A with a loud, stretched, ultra-posh "ˆo:::h" ([ɚˑʊ]) (Rampton 2006, p. 290–3). As with Creole and Asian English, stylisation often intensified rather than softened the confrontation in remedial interchanges: when, for instance, Mansur told Rafiq to stop annoying him with "if that goes on I'm gonna kill you", Rafiq's shift into hyper-posh 'oh no' did not ease the strain— instead it opened into further mockery (2006, p. 331–332). Indeed, a sense of ritual offence could generate activity that itself partly resembled performance in its fuller forms. In Extract 6, Ninnette and Joanne have just come away from a playground interaction with their form tutor, Mr Alcott. Mr A has made a joke and Ninnette has taken this as an unwelcome piece of teasing (2006, chap. 8.3):

Extract 6 Joanne (14 years old, female, Anglo-descent), Ninnette (14, F, African-Caribbean-descent), David, and perhaps a few others. They have been talking about another matter when Ninnette starts to talk about Mr Alcott in line 2, who they had been speaking to a couple of minutes earlier (2006, p. 284–290):

```
1   Jo:I keep singing
2   N: oh this is Mr Alcott
3      (.)
4      erm- no- look
5      this is Mr Alcott
6      ((in a posh accent: )) |oh (.)\no  (.)
                                [əʊʔ: nɛuː]
7 Jo: >he goes he's< (1)
8      ((high pitched posh laugh: )) ‖ohehehe\haw:
                                      [pə ̄ʰə ̄ʰə ̄ʰ ̄ˑ ̄ə]
9   N: ((loud but in normal accent: )) oh I can fly
10 Jo:((laughs: )) he goes
11     he looks down
12     and he goes
13     ((high pitched posh laugh: )) >ahahahaha haw haw haw haw<
                                      [ɑˑhɑʰɑʰɑʰɔʰɔʰɔʰɔ]
14     [I go (.)
15 N: [I (          )
16     I want to kick [his bum
17 Jo:                [>that's how I go<
18 N: I want to kick up [the
19 Jo:                   [I will
20     where is he
21 N: ((laughs))
22 Lin?: (              )
23 Jo:((quick three-note humming))
24     I'm not going down there with them gay people (3)
25     just go- NINNETTE (.)
26     >(     I'm a go) < (.)
27     ba:ng
28 Li:((seeing someone: )) OH THAT'S SIMON
```

Before Ninnette breaks into her parodic 'oh no', she sets the scene and assembles the audience—'oh this is Mr Alcott' (line 2) and 'look' (line 4)—and, in this respect, her actions work towards a performance frame, using methods that she also employs elsewhere in activity that is more easily interpreted as full performance. In fact, though, this is an "expansive, dramatic" version of what Goffman calls 'afterburn'—"when one individual finds that others are conducting themselves offensively in their current dealings with him,… he can wait until they have closed out the interchange with him and turned from the encounter, and *then* he can express what he 'really' feels about them… he may turn to a member of his encounter… and flood into directed expression" (1971, p. 187–188). Ninnette's exaggerated Cockney helps her recover from feelings of humiliation. In spite of the introductory elements of performance, she is not conjuring a different world for the pleasure of it, and Joanne is not offering an appraisal of her skills in doing so. Through a hideous exaggeration of what was really only a smile-voice and a half-chuckle from Mr Alcott (who, incidentally, did not speak posh either (2006, p. 286–287)), Joanne identifies precisely what has offended Ninnette—the sense of being laughed at (lines 7–8 and 10–13)—and she follows this up by volunteering to execute the retaliation herself (lines 18–20).

Representing some variation on the mixing and blending of frames evident in the data on Creole and Asian English, Extract 6 is a case of performance emerging 'hot on the heels' of the kind of experience that calls for a ritual response, and there were a lot of other examples, some of them much more light-hearted. It was quite common, for example, for stylisation starting in a greeting to develop into sequences where the elements of performance (or play) were rather pronounced. So in one corridor incident, Ninnette and Joanne picked up on a passing 'hi' and turned it into a duet of sound-play mingling the properties of Cockney and with the meowing of cats (see www.cambridge.org/0521812631), and in another, Simon's Cockney greeting to Marilyn got extended in derogatory impersonations designed to entertain the other boys (2006, p. 351–360). And of course, further from the site of immediate ritual activity, moments and experiences of heightened vulnerability or transgression were remembered, replayed, rehearsed or hypothesised in stories, jokes, and dramatic (p)re-enactments, with stylisation and crossing again drawn in to elaborate (e.g., 2006; Extracts 9.4, 9.10; for examples of Ashmead 2005; Extracts II.5, II.10).[4] Nevertheless, even though these expressive practices involved form-focusing and some special interpretive framing as proposed by Coupland and Bauman, posh and Cockney stylisation oriented as much to the vulnerabilities as to the enhancement of experience, and as such it would be a misrepresentation to foreground performance as the principal frame.

The second problem with centring performance in the analysis of stylised posh and Cockney relates to the delicacy of their integration into ongoing everyday interaction and the vagueness of their indexical resonance. In accounts of full performance, the characters projected through stylisation are often quite strongly delineated (cf Coupland 2007, chap. 6). When someone changes their voice, they introduce

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[4] For a narrative analytic perspective on these processes, see Georgakopoulou's work on 'small stories', e.g., 2006, 2007.

a figure designed to hold the attention of the audience, and the orchestration of other aspects of the performance—the plot, the scene, the other figures, etc.—assist in the characterisation of this persona. Sometimes, the stylisation of posh and Cockney certainly did evoke clearly defined and sometimes very traditional characters— snooty, braying toffs in Extract 6, and vulgar female lowlifes on other occasions (2006, chap. 9.5). However, the stylisation was often much less spectacular and more closely woven into ordinary activity, involving, for example, the posh- or Cockney-fication of just a single syllable. For example, in Extract 7, it is only the final syllable of 'Galaxies' in line 11 that gets pronounced in hyper-Cockney:

Extract 7 Hanif (14, male, Bangladeshi-descent; wearing the radio-mic), Arun (14, male, Malaysian descent), Simon (14, male, Anglo-descent) are sharing the same table in science. Hanif's been away, looking around for a book he needs for the writing work they've been set, but now he's arrived back, bringing a copy with him. (See Rampton 2006, chap. 8.4 for fuller discussion).

```
1    Hanif:              ((whistles six notes))

2                         what you doing Arun

3                         (.)

4                         what you doin Arn

5                         (.)

6                         (>shup<) leave it Dimbo

7                         (2)

8                         look what you ma-

9                         look what you made me do

10                        (4)

11                        "Stars   and   Galaxies"
                          [stɑ ̃ːz  n gæləksə̃ɪ̃ːː z]

12                        (1)

13                        ((quietly reciting page numbers:))

14                         one three seven

15                        (3)

16                        ((fast and loud to the teacher:))

17                         >SIR can I go check if there's any

18                         Essential Sciences left<
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In lines 2–4, Hanif asks Arun what he is doing, and after that in line 6, he tries to ward off some kind of territorial incursion. Exactly who is trying what is not clear from the tape, but Hanif follows it with a reproach in lines 8 and 9. There is no audible apology or retort, the matter drops and Hanif then turns to his worksheet, reading the title aloud and ending the word Galaxies in an exaggerated Cockney diphthong.[5] The stylisation here is most plausibly construed as a way of managing the transition between chat and study, peer group and curriculum (Goffman 1971, chap. 3). Reading the whole title itself, '*Stars and Galaxies*', it looks as though Hanif is talking to himself, dedicating himself to the solitary task ahead. However, as well as being adjusted to the audience's sensibilities, self-talk is often designed to be overheard (Goffman 1981, p. 97–98), and in rounding the title off with an accent that was often associated with informal sociability, Hanif combines a display of 'being on task' with signs that he is not a nerd and is still in tune. Elsewhere, Hanif showed an active sense that peers and school activity were potentially at odds, and here his hyper-vernacularised speech looks like a way of mitigating the affiliation to classroom business.

In instances like this, as in interaction ritual much more generally, acts of stylisation are often auxiliary rather than focal, valued more for their contribution to dealing with maintaining or restoring normal relations than for qualities of their own. In such contexts, stylisation can be seen as the fleeting articulation of stance (Ochs 1996), with the exaggeration of posh or Cockney intimating some kind of rather general apprehension of 'high/low' or 'us/them' social relations. However, this indexicality is something much vaguer/more blurred than the evocation of familiar identities, typifications or stereotypes, and falls far short of any contribution to fictive character delineation or the projection of non-ordinary personae. Clearly formulated identities, typifications and stereotypes might well feature prominently in a theoretical account of the *origins* of this indexical resonance (Ochs 1996; Hill 2005; Agha 2007), but for a close-up description of stylisation in episodes like Extract 7, it is important to recognise the relative indeterminacy of the connotational meaning, referring instead to the 'pragmatic residue' associated with particular words and accents (Silverstein 1976, p. 51–52; Garrett, Coupland and Williams 1999, p. 323) or to the ways they 'taste' of the contexts in which they have lived their socially charged lives (Bakhtin 1981, p. 293).

If it was taken, then, as a governing interpretive perspective, Bauman and Coupland's account of artful performance could make it harder to describe the relative delicacy and indeterminacy that posh and Cockney stylisation practices sometimes involved, and this is closely related to the third problem with artful performance as a central interpretive resource—its limited theoretical yield in the context of social class.

As I mentioned at the outset of this section, my informants for the most part seemed to lack any elaborate vocabulary for explicitly addressing class stratifica-

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[5] The mid-central starting point for the diphthong in the last syllable ([ə]) was highly untypical of Hanif's pronunciation of the vowel in the happY group elsewhere, was associated by Hanif with the accent of a cousin who lived in London's East End when the sequence was replayed to him and is described by Wells as broad Cockney (1982: 319).

tion or the classing of culture, and there was not much talk about posh-and-Cockney stylisation either. Overall, the notion of 'class' appeared to have lost the place that it had once held within young people's 'discursive' consciousness (Rampton 2006, p. chap. 7.2). At the same time, the patterns of variability revealed in the Labovian analysis suggest that even though they did not discuss it much, class hierarchy had a pervasive influence on their practical consciousness/habitus (Bourdieu 1991, Part1; Rampton 2006, chap. 7.3).

Faced with the challenge of locating posh and Cockney stylisation itself within this situation, I drew on Raymond Williams' account of class hegemony, which, he says, saturates "the whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and commonsense" (1977, p. 109). In the first instance, this view of hegemony squared with both the lack of discursive consciousness and the routine style shifting—class stratification was not discussed much because it was a matter of 'simple experience and commonsense', and its saturation of the 'whole substance of lived identities and relationships' was attested in the habitual phonological movement 'up' and 'down' between standard and vernacular in Labovian style shifting. However, in terms that are very similar to Bakhtin's account of 'ideological becoming' (1984, p. 347), Williams then goes on to talk of "creative practice" in which "tensions at the edge of semantic availability…[,] active, pressing but not yet fully articulated" find "specific articulations—new semantic figures… in material practice" (Williams 1977, p. 130,134). This fitted with how stylised posh and Cockney momentarily denaturalised the routine reproduction of high/low relations, with how kids switched into these exaggerated styles in ways that showed they were alive to status degradation in a teacher's remark, that they were alert to shifts in solidarity in the transition between chat and work, or to the tensions between social decorum and sexual desire (2006, chaps. 9.2 and 9.5).

Linking back to the themes centrally at issue in this chapter, it seems to me that artful performance is insufficient to do justice to the subtlety of these processes. If one simply equates stylisation with artful performance, then there is the risk of a preemptive 'persona' and 'identity' analysis committing what Williams calls "the basic error", "the immediate and regular conversion of experience into finished products… the reduction of the social to fixed forms" (1977, p. 128). If it is premature, persona and identity analysis is likely to short-circuit the investigation of how stylisation contributes to ideological development, leaving little scope for discerning different degrees in the objectification of "tensions at the very edge of semantic availability", or for differentiating representations of social relations that are emergent as opposed to being well established. In contrast, interaction ritual draws both analysts and participants right into the unregulated urgency of the unfolding moment, into all the pressures and promise of situated, contingent, cultural and corporeal experience where people search for some semiotic rendering of the stance in social relations they can sense and assess, but where there can be problems in the coding.

So in the stylised posh and Cockney data set, interaction ritual provides an analytic lens capable of capturing the situated immediacy and indexical subtlety with which speakers articulated their apprehensions of high/low stratification. Certainly, stylised

posh and Cockney were also artfully performed, but as a general perspective, performance implies a level of reflexive control and a recourse to well-defined personae that is not especially well tuned either to the insistent insecurities experienced in class relations or to the multiplicity of occasions in which class hegemony get noticed and noted symbolically. Of course, once again, there are wider implications. The frequency of the occasions prompting interaction ritual and the relative ease with which it can be executed make it an essential site for any analysis of the politics of everyday relations in situations of subordination. People often find themselves in positions where they lack the interpersonal and/or institutional resources, authority or opportunity to institute a frame for artful performance, but however powerless they are, they will still encounter situations where displays of ritual regard are required, and there is almost always at least some scope for inflecting these in ways that the initiated ear can hear as intimations of dissent or independent agency (cf Scott 1990; McDermott 1988; Varenne and McDermott 1998, p. 177).

15.9   Conclusion: Stylisation as a Sign of the Times?

As I acknowledged right at the start, the special interpretive frames associated with crossing and stylisation are unquestionably multiple and often interwoven, and this chapter refers to three—interaction ritual, performance and contests/games. It has dwelt, though, on the 'contending claims' of performance and interaction ritual, and in concluding, I would like to address Coupland's admittedly speculative but nevertheless performance-based suggestion that stylisation is a 'sign of the times'.

In his hugely insightful analysis of the hosts' talk on a Cardiff local radio programme, Coupland shows how instead of simply relying on their 'natural' or 'authentic' possession of the local dialect, the presenters generate regional identification with Wales through exaggerated stylisations of Welsh English. In a context where "there is an increasing awareness that traditional icons of Welsh identity are poorly suited to current Welsh aspirations and opportunities",

> "[t]he playful, erratically voiced [stylized] Welshness that the presenters construct, frame-marked for inauthenticity, is a set of traditional symbolic forms held up for scrutiny and offered for reevaluation. These presenters are not 'guardians of culture'… as much as facilitators of cultural reassessment." (2001, p. 371)

This draws on Bauman and Briggs' proposal that "performances move the use of heterogeneous stylistic resources, context-sensitive meanings, and conflicting ideologies into a reflexive arena where they can be examined critically" (1990, p. 60), and Coupland links this to Giddens' 1996 work on reflexive modernisation in post-traditional society.

In the extracts and data sets reviewed in this chapter, youngsters repeatedly held "heterogeneous stylistic resources" up for scrutiny and evaluation. In addition, as outlined in Sect. 3, the very act of switching into a variety that you do not normally use in routine conversation, or that you are not entitled to by birth, makes authenticity an issue. However, if this is situated within interaction ritual more fully, it is

less obvious that the producers of stylisation and crossing are acting as the 'facilitators of cultural reassessment', involved in a drive for reflexivity. The linguistic resources may not belong to the producer of the switch in any straightforward way (as, e.g., a language their parents use at home), but in interaction ritual, the switch can often be seen as warranted by the exigencies of the situation, sparked by the incursion of some exceptional event or action, celebrating or condemning it on behalf of the group engaged in the activity that has just been interrupted (Sect. 15.7). At such moments, there is an important sense in which the producers are indeed acting as "guardians of the culture"—culture as enacted in the activity prevailing hitherto (Ochs 1996, p. 409). Though the selection of another voice may momentarily threaten to de-authenticate the act, it is *re-authenticated,* not in the pleasure or resonance it succeeds in generating for an audience watching (as Coupland rightly notes in the radio performance setting) but instead in its interactional aptness and its declaration of alignment with the participants engaged in the project/event that has been disturbed.

Coupland ends his 2007 discussion of stylisation as a late modern practice with a brief account of 'metro-ethnicity', "a deliberately shallow form of ethnic identification [which] treats ethnic or social allegiance as a fashion accessory" (Coupland 2007, p. 183; Maher 2005), and this also connects with debates about postmodernity and the circulation of pastiche and simulation in a public culture committed to commerce and consumption (Jameson 1984; Rampton 2006, chap. 6.6). These are undoubtedly important questions, but there are two major reasons for questioning their relevance to the crossing and stylisation data reviewed in this chapter. First, as we have seen (Sect. 15.5), the wider public circulation of ethnic forms in media performance culture actually correlated with the *avoidance* of crossing and stylisation among kids in Ashmead—the prospects of metro-ethnicity seemed, in other words, to operate as a deterrent. Second and maybe more important, there is nothing particularly late modern about interaction ritual. Zygmunt Bauman, commonly regarded as broad and perceptive a commentator as Giddens, notes in 'A Sociological Theory of Postmodernity' that "the rules binding short-distance, face-to-face intercourse between moral agents under conditions of physical and moral proximity… remain as much alive and poignant as ever before" (1992, p. 201; also, e.g., Goffman 1983, p. 3). 'Face-to-face intercourse' is the domain of interaction ritual, and the prevalence of Goffmanian interaction ritual has been empirically documented in a very wide range of societies, traditional, modern and postmodern (often addressed as 'politeness' in sociolinguistics). So if we are seeking, as Bakhtin insists, to contextualise the speech processes we are studying historically, the ascendance of an individualist, spectacular and/or reflexive 'performance' culture is not sufficient. Yes, globalisation undoubtedly does intensify the links between people from different backgrounds, and contemporary cultural and economic processes no doubt do position and politicise their relations in new ways. However, at ground level at least, in their apprehensions of social stratification and efforts to develop new solidarities from ethnolinguistic difference, it looks as though people draw on interaction ritual practices that may well be fundamental to human sociality in general.

Transcription Conventions

[ ]   IPA Phonetic Transcription (revised to 1979)

Prosody

\   low fall
/   low rise
\   high fall
/   high rise
ˇ   fall rise
ˆ   rise fall
| high stress
|| very high stress
| low stress
|| very low stress

Conversational features

(.)	pause of less than a second
(1.5)	approximate length of pause in seconds
[	overlapping turns
[	
CAPITALS	loud
>text<	more rapid speech
( )	speech inaudible
(text)	speech hard to discern, analyst's guess
((text:))	'stage directions'
bold	words and utterances of particular interest to the analysis

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Chapter 16
Marking Communicative Repertoire Through Metacommentary

Betsy Rymes

Abstract In this chapter, I illustrate that people accumulate idiosyncratic experiences as a repertoire of communicative resources and, in many everyday interactions, use those elements to strike out in new, more loosely encoded, de-enregistered ways. In the face of this kind of everyday creativity, however, a question arises: How do people make sense of each other? Without adhering to the normative expectations of language, dialect and register, how do people interacting know what counts as a communicatively relevant repertoire element? This chapter answers that question by using the concept of metacommentary—or comments *about* language—as a new ordering principal for understanding heteroglossic communication.

Keywords Metapragmatic discourse · Irony · Metacommentary · Communicative repertoire

> Offhand remarks, things glimpsed in passing, jokes and commonplaces, shop displays and climate and flickering light and textures of walls are all consumed by us and become part of our fiber, just as much as the more obvious effects of upbringing and socialization and intimacy and learning. Every human being is an archeological site. What passes for roots is actually a matter of sediment, of accretion, of chance and juxtaposition.
> Luc Sante, *Factory of Facts* (Luc Sante, 1998, p. 33).

As Luc Sante observes, above, much of what makes up one's identity or "roots" is not systemic or ordered. In many ways, individuals are an idiosyncratic accumulation of experiences and expressions, and it follows that our interactions with others are an even more intricate heteroglossic second-order mix. In the study of language and communication, researchers have struggled to find order in this accumulation—to name languages, to locate regional dialects, or to document processes of enregisterment (Agha 2005). In turn, these codes are often used to include and exclude as well as to legitimate and erase (Kroskrity 2000). Yet, in any given interaction, individuals are also resisting systemization and enregisterment, even sometimes explicitly

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working to disavow past patterns. In this chapter, I illustrate that people accumulate idiosyncratic experiences as a repertoire of communicative resources and, in many everyday interactions, use those elements to strike out in new, more loosely encoded, de-enregistered ways. In this kind of everyday creativity, however, how do people make sense of each other? Without adhering to the normative expectations of language, dialect, and register, how do people interacting know what counts as a communicatively relevant repertoire element? This chapter answers that question by using the concept of metacommentary—or comments *about* language—as a new ordering principal for understanding heteroglossic communication.

16.1   Beyond Languages: Communicative Repertoire

How do people in interaction use multiple communicative resources to convey meaning and to make sense of one another? Often, "language," is the most obvious ordering category. However, the organizing concept of this volume, "heteroglossia," as coined by Bakhtin (1981), is rarely about the combining of languages, in the traditional sense of nation-state-bounded codes like Spanish or French. Rather, Bakhtin introduced the concept of heteroglossia as a way of capturing the baroque complexity of interaction between people on different historical and biographical trajectories. Given the infinite variability in play, how do people in interaction—and how do we, as sociolinguists, linguistic ethnographers, or linguistic anthropologists—figure out which of these accumulated details are relevant?

   In the past, disciplinary linguistics and sociolinguistics have had different answers to this question. Disciplinary linguistics made a point of disentangling heteroglossia and sorting languages into codes. Sociolinguistics has specialized in identifying dialects and registers that systematically vary across space or social setting. More recently, linguistic anthropology has provided more nuanced ways of understanding relevant points of contrast in talk by examining how forms become enregistered across a speech chain, over an accumulation of linked interactions. By contrasting norms with use, linguistic anthropologists have been able to illustrate the situationally contingent emergence of meanings and more playful "troping" on norms or registers (Agha 2006). Still, the focus has been on how forms become sedimented as linguistically identifiable parts and portions of normative routines to which we are socialized or from which we depart in small increments. This chapter takes a different approach, looking at interactions, including "multilingual" interactions, not to characterize codes or departures from them, but to identify how people draw attention to those communicative elements that make meaning at the moment.

   In the previous work (Rymes 2010), I have developed the notion of *communicative repertoire*, or the collection of ways individuals use language and other means of communication (gestures, dress, posture, accessories) to function effectively in the multiple communities in which they participate. In contrast to Gumperz's (1964, 1965) notion of "verbal repertoire" which he coined to capture the collective multilingual elements in play in situations of societal multilingualism, the term

"communicative repertoire" emphasizes the repertoire elements an *individual* commands. These can include not only multiple languages, in the traditional sense, but also gesture, dress, posture, as well as knowledge of communicative routines, familiarity with types of food or drink (and how to consume them), and mass media references including phrases, dance moves, and even recognizable intonations that circulate via actors, musicians, and other superstars. So, an individual's repertoire can be seen as something like the archeological layers mentioned by Luc Sante in the epigraph. As one moves through life, one accumulates an abundance of experiences and images, and one also selects from those experiences, choosing elements from a repertoire that seem to communicate at the moment.

To restate the guiding question of this chapter, then, given the infinite repertoire diversity across individuals, how do people in interaction know which "offhand remarks, things glimpsed in passing, jokes and commonplaces" count as communicatively relevant elements? By what mechanisms do we measure the relative efficacy of any interactional move? One important mechanism is metacommentary.

16.2   Orders of Metacommentary

Multilingual communication, by definition, makes the shifting of a linguistic code the most salient communicative act, and such shifting can be made even more marked when people comment on it—"Hey, what language are you speaking?" or "Don't be speakin' Spanish!" or "I want to speak Spanish." However, metacommentary is often not so explicit, nor does it always refer to language. Something as seemingly insignificant as a clearing of the throat or a tossing of the hair could also function as metacommentary. Conversely, the object being remarked on is often not linguistic, but a sign of some other kind. Someone yawns, stretching their arms wide, and someone metacomments sarcastically on this gesture: "*That* interesting, eh?" Obviously the yawn has come to mean *boredom* and been marked as a communicatively significant element. In any interaction, metacommentary signals an understanding of what a sign means without necessarily arbitrarily systematizing communicative elements, but by pointing to that sign's situated communicative value. Moreover, as discussed below, metacommentary permeates any act of communication.

16.2.1   *Metapragmatic Discourse and Metapragmatic Function*

Silverstein (1993) has used the term "metapragmatic discourse" to describe explicit metacommentary. For example, comments about how language is functioning such as, "That was a mean thing to say," "I wish you would give me more compliments," or "Using 'sir' and 'ma'am' is polite," are, in Silverstein's terms "metapragmatic discourse," because they are calling attention to how utterances are functioning in a particular context. More pathbreakingly, Silverstein also describes the implic-

it metapragmatics of just about any use of language. While speakers are usually not explicitly drawing attention to how specific linguistic forms or languages are functioning, they signal the function of any communicative act through implicit metapragmatic activity. Rather than saying something like, "That was a mean thing to say," people may act sad or offended; instead of saying, "I wish you would give me more compliments," someone might "fish for a compliment" by saying something like, "how do I look?"; instead of saying "using sir and ma'am is polite" people may refuse to answer ("I can't hear you!") until children attach these address terms to their requests. In this way, speakers signal their evaluations through everyday implicit metapragmatic function. The more we investigate the metapragmatics of language, the more apparent it becomes that every utterance—what may seem to be a simple, or even a scientific, description of the world—is saturated with metapragmatic function.

In describing metacommentary here, I include both examples of explicit metapragmatic discourse, and an attempt to tease out examples of more implicit metapragmatic functioning. Moreover, often cases of explicit metapragmatic discourse are also layered with implicit metapragmatic function. So, referring to someone's language in a case like "Don't' speak Spanish!" is an example of explicit metapragmatic discourse. And, as Lucy (1993) has pointed out, this is an example that traditions of language philosophy have long been identified as special because it is clearly an example of language referring to language. It is the revelation that all language is referring to language that needs some more detailed reflection here. In the examples below, I attempt to illustrate both how explicit remarks about language use, and implicit metapragmatic function, are worthy of our investigation as we begin to understand heteroglossic communication in an era of massive multilingualism.

Ironically, multilingual contexts, and particularly multilingual classrooms, and even more particularly, multilingual classrooms that focus on language, are most often subject to the most explicit focus on code (e.g., "Speak English!") and the banishment of any forms of communication that do not fall within such metapragmatic descriptors. Bakhtin developed a theory of heteroglossia to understand the nuance of human experience as represented in the genre of the novel, and this volume takes up this literary theory as a way to understand multilingual interactions in the "real" world. Yet, in massively heteroglossic, real-life classrooms, a focus on code often makes heteroglossia and its expressive affordances invisible. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate heteroglossia circulating in multilingual classrooms and to illustrate how the analysis of metacommentary can facilitate this goal. I use cases of both explicit metapragmatic discourse ("Don't speak Spanish!") and more implicit metapragmatic function (as when a stance toward the Spanish language develops when people "don't understand" even simple expressions in context) to illuminate the complexity of individuals' communicative repertoires. Through an analysis of metacommentary, we can go beyond simply observing that students speak "multiple languages" to accounting for their facility with the multiple and nuanced functions languages take on in context.

In what follows, I have culled examples from a range of research settings in which I have conducted linguistic ethnographic research over the last 15 years—an

alternative school in Los Angeles for kids who had been expelled or left other high schools in the city; a primary school in rural Georgia (in the USA) experiencing an unprecedented increase of Spanish-speaking children; and a Philadelphia area high school with students reporting over 65 different home languages. In the interest of illuminating how an analysis of metacommentary can illuminate heteroglossia, I will list six broad types of metacommentary, illustrating each category with examples of everyday encounters from my research in classrooms and schools. These orders illustrate not a complete picture of how heteroglossia is marked through metacommentary (both explicit metapragmatic discourse and more implicit metapragmatic functioning), but rather the iceberg-tip of variety. The goal is to illuminate this variety and not accumulate coded, ordering principles. After illustrating a few types, I shall conclude by explaining why an analysis of metacommentary makes not only social science sense, building more accurate representations of identity and communication, but also ethical sense.

16.2.1.1 "Don't talk Spanish" and "I wanna talk Spanish": Metacommentary Type 1, Marking Code

Probably the most obvious kind of metacommentary involving communicative repertoire is the kind of comment that marks a "foreign" language. Often, this can be in the form of a critique, as in this story a student told to me about riding on a bus in Los Angeles (Rymes 1997):

EXAMPLE 1: Don't talk Spanish.

Sylvia: …I was minding my business, she was—she got on the bus and started saying, "don't talk Spanish."

While Sylvia's story reports on explicit silencing, this same kind of marking of code can also happen more implicitly, and not necessarily in order to silence, as when Sylvia uses Spanish during "group work" in the Los Angeles alternative school she attended. Below, her peers do not tell her explicitly not to speak Spanish, but they draw attention to the fact that Spanish is being spoken, focusing on code (Rymes 1997):

EXAMPLE 2: QUE MAS.
((*The students have been discussing a topic "the problem with gangs," and making a list.*))

Sylvia: Okay, they be writing on the walls, qué más?
Damon: Qué más?
              What more?
Jaime: heh heh heh.
Sandra: Yeah what else.
Damon: That's what it means?
Sylvia: ((*smiling*)) Yeah.
Damon: Whaaaaaaah!
Sylvia: heh heh heh heh

Here, Damon turns Sylvia's utilitarian use of the Spanish phrase, "qué mas" into a focal phrase within a mini-Spanish language lesson, with Sylvia offering praise for Damon's accurate translation of her language. This kind of interaction highlights how these high school students (just like the person on the bus) notice this language as "foreign" words. This noticing, and the metacommentary surrounding the use of "qué más," changes the communicative event from a listing exercise, in which language is being used to build a list together, to one focused on language as linguistic code. So, in Silverstein's (1993) terms, while the explicit metapragmatic function here is "asking for meaning" of "qué más," the overarching metapragmatic functioning is to banish Spanish from this interaction.

I have also recorded second graders making this move—highlighting nation-state-bounded languages as different but also as desirable in their identifiable foreignness. Here, a Spanish/English bilingual student, Rene, attempts to translate the name of a picture book, *Time for Bed*, for his teacher. David and TC, the two students listening, following the lead of their teacher, draw attention to the code, their own lack of familiarity with it and a desire to learn more:

EXAMPLE 3: I WANNA TALK SPANISH.

Rene: It's time to sleep. That's ora de dormir.
Teacher: Oh.
David: hora de dormir. hora de dormir.
Teacher: Mmmm. Okay.
TC: I wanna talk Spanish.

While the teacher here had initially explicitly instigated this translation interaction, and the students, as shown in this excerpt, explicitly voice their interest, Spanish never becomes an object of instruction again, nor do students use it as a medium for interaction. So metacommentary about the language serves here, as with the high school students in Example 2, more to mark Spanish as "foreign" rather than to promote its further use as a medium of communication. Again, while the explicit metapragmatic discourse suggests a desire to speak in Spanish ("I wanna talk Spanish"), the overarching metapragmatic function of this event is to quash the use of Spanish during reading activity. These instances of marking of Spanish through metacommentary not only highlight its use but also limit its continued presence in each of those classrooms. Those interactions were recorded in 1996 and 1999 respectively, and took place in schools in which Spanish and English were the only two languages officially in play.

In contrast, in 2011, in Philadelphia, in a massively multilingual classroom (20 students from 13 different countries and language origins), marking of "foreign" language through metacommentary happens continuously, as does the continued use of multiple languages as a medium of communication in the English classroom. French speakers from Burkina Faso and Guinea, for example, periodically use their French during English class, often to remarks of envy from the other multilingual (but non-French speaking) students, as below:

EXAMPLE 4: OH, FRENCH!

((*The students are watching a movie and the initial credits rolling are written in French.*))

Aiche: Oh, French! ((*sounding pleasantly surprised*))
Krysta: Oh, yeah—you can read it.
Virginia: I'm jealous!

Sometimes the Liberian English speakers in the class take time to explain a few things about their own language, explicitly naming it "Liberian English" and making explicit translations, in this case, after reading the words "Thiefy" and "Rogue" (for Burglar) in a novel by a Liberian author, Helene Cooper:

EXAMPLE 5: THIEFY.

Janetta: People call out "thiefy". That's a Liberian English word.

All of these examples illustrate how, in interaction, code, in the sense of nation-state-bounded linguistically distinct code, can be made salient. In these instances, when people do not understand certain repertoire elements, they use the category of "different language" to (in widely varying ways) make sense of what is going on.

16.2.1.2   "Oh!! EEEEEE-mail!": Metacommentary Type 2, Marking the Sounds of Language

In other cases, however, code is not the salient element in interaction. Sometimes pronunciation draws the metacommentary. While working with bilingual teachers in Georgia, USA, in the early 2000s, for example, I would frequently hear stories of their interactions with monolingual colleagues and administrators in which these colleagues marked not their Spanish but their accented English as communicatively relevant. One form this metacommentary would take would be repeated emphasis on misunderstanding accented speech and "ah ha" moments, like the following, when someone 'finally' understood an accented speech token (Rymes et al. 2008). Here, in a role-playing activity we created for bilingual teachers, Laura reenacted her memory of this scene with an administrator:

EXAMPLE 6: OH! EEEEE-mail.

Admin: Are you aware of the meeting today?
Laura: Yes, I sent you an e-MAIL.
Admin: Excuse me?
Laura: Did you get my e-MAIL?
Admin   Um. I'm sorry?
Laura: Did you get my E-MAIL?
Admin: Oh!! EEEEEE-mail!

The bilingual teachers, many of whom were the only Spanish-speaking adults at their schools, all empathized with this scenario of implicit metacommentary on their

ways of speaking. Marking of their "accent" through metacommentary, on the part of their colleagues and bosses, made "accent" an issue, whereas in other situations (in our group discussions, for example) "accented speech" of Spanish/English bilinguals was not relevant as a category. While these administrators do not use explicit metapragmatic discourse to remark on bilingual teachers' Spanish accent, their repeated enactment of misunderstanding ("excuse me?") metapragmatically functions to deliver this message implicitly.

In other cases, the "accented speech" of "white people" can be the relevant category for metacommentary. Some of the Liberian high school students in Philadelphia, for example, describe being not interested in dating white people, for example, because of the *way* they speak English:

EXAMPLE 7: FRUSTRATING AND ANNOYING.

| Janetta: | I probably wouldn't date a white guy. It can be hard to talk to white people. ((S*he mimics what sounds like forced speech.*)) It becomes frustrating and annoying. |
| Bill: | ((*Laughs and shakes his head.*)) |

And in the following example, gathered by an international graduate student, while the languages of "Korean" and "Chinese" are invoked, the commentary is not on what those languages mean or how to translate them, but on the emblems of pronunciation that mark speakers of those languages:

EXAMPLE 8: SI ME DA.

Student 1:	Do you know how we make fun of Korean in Chinese? We end every sentence with "si me da".
Friends A&B:	Haha, si me da. Yeah.
Friend A:	Is this delicious si me da?
Student 1:	Mike you are so young si me da.
Friend B:	You guys are always saying "zhe ge zhe ge zhe ge" and "na ge na ge na ge" in Chinese.
Student 1:	We say "zhe ge" more than "na ge".
Friend B:	"zhe ge" more than "na ge"?
Student 1:	Yes.

Student 1, who recorded this conversation, described these speech tokens (using explicit metapragmatic discourse) as "different ways to make fun of each other's native language." And yet, neither "zhe ge" nor "na ge" have paraphrasable meanings in English (the student later suggested their similarity to "like" and "you know"). Their salience here is in the way they sound to other people—like Korean speakers. Moreover, the "Korean" token, "si me da" is not even an actual word or phrase in Korean. According to Student 1, it is a made-up word that some people use to describe how Korean sounds "in their heads." For these 20-somethings, from Korea and China, living in Philadelphia, the sounds of Korean and Mandarin—in this case, not the system of the language or a literal translation of these elements—are the salient elements marking their conversations as Korean- or Chinese-like. And yet,

while the explicit metapragmatic discourse is that these tokens are for "making fun" of Korean or Chinese speakers, their use leads to laughter, continued use, and riffing off each other with more examples and counterpart examples. So, in contrast to the Spanish/English examples above, where marking Spanish led to its silencing, here the implicit metapragmatic function of marking "Korean" or "Chinese" leads to more use of these tokens and affiliation between the Korean and Chinese speakers.

This recognition of the sound of a language as a relevant communicative element can begin very early. A doctoral student recently showed me a video of her 3-year-old daughter, commenting on the way her day-care providers pronounce the place name, "Pakistan," and summing up with her own assessment of the right way to say it:

EXAMPLE 9: Pakistan.

Daria: Mommy, why do they say "PÆkistan"?
           It's not PÆkistan, it's PAHkistan."

This 3-year-old already senses that there is a meaningful distinction between these pronunciations. This distinction has nothing to do with nation-state-bounded languages, regional dialects, or registers, but with the way different types of people pronounce words. Daria has already developed an understanding that the pronunciation of "Pakistan" is a functionally salient repertoire element, as made clear through her metacommentary. Perhaps, however, she is not yet aware of the implicit metapragmatic function of asking such a question and making such an explicit prescription for pronunciation. This is what allows a 3-year-old to make such a statement, with minimal controversy, while a person with a more mature communicative repertoire will have more awareness of its potential for a range of implicit metapragmatic functioning.

16.2.1.3   *Güey?*: Metacommentary Type 3, Marking Address Terms

Names, nicknames, and terms of address often proliferate like mushrooms. As such, probably the most obvious form of metacommentary about names is the comment on what you can "call me." I am Dr. Rymes—you can call me "Betsy." Or, as some of my colleagues have been known to say, "I am Dr. Doe—you can call me "John" after you receive your PhD." Usually, however, what people can be called is a matter of more subtle metanegotiation. I once listened as, over 30 minutes, three high school students debated what it meant to call someone *homes*, *dog*, *roll dog*, or *chucho* (Rymes 2001).

The scholarly world has also engaged in similar unpacking of the term *dude* (Kiesling 2000) or its close, Spanish relative, *güey* (Bucholtz 2009). Usually, however, when kids use these terms, they slide them in and nobody metacomments with explicit metapragmatic discourse. When I taught Spanish speakers in Los Angeles, for example, this was a typical morning ritual.

EXAMPLE 10: Collecting homework in Los Angeles.

Teacher: Juan, could you collect the homework?
Juan (to S1):   Da me tu tarea, güey (Give me your homework, dude).
S1:   Hands homework to Juan.
Juan (to S2):   Da me tu tarea, güey (Give me your homework, dude).
S2:   Hands homework to Juan.
                      Etc.

In settings of communicative diversity (like classrooms and schools), words for *güey* and *dude* (and *homes*, *dawg, chucho,* etc.) multiply exponentially. At the same Philadelphia area high school mentioned above, one year the Hindi speakers started to use the romantic Bollywood term of endearment "Jaan-e-man" ('honey', loosely) in the usual structural slot for "dude" or "güey." Soon, the West Africans started using the term too (hey, Jaan-e-man!), and, seamlessly, the word became part of the classroom vocabulary.

While students do not always explicitly metacomment on these words, there is implicit metapragmatic negotiation about their function, or when it is okay to say them. Occasionally metacommentary draws attention to the role and relevance of these terms. In the classroom example below, for example (O'Connor 2012), students' immediate metacommentary on one girl's use of *güey* illustrates this peer group subtly honing ideas of who can use it.

EXAMPLE 11: Güey!!!

Laura: Hey (0.8) hey ↑güey↓ ((Robert and Nadi turn))
                    Huhhuh both of you [guys looked!]
Nadi: [(xxx)] güey! ((to Laura, smiling))

As O'Connor writes about Laura, she "was English-dominant, academically ambitious, and highly involved at school—had grown up around Spanish, but it was uncommon to hear her use Spanish in any context." So, the more fluent Spanish speakers, may find it amusing that this person is using "güey," because (a) although she is capable of speaking Spanish, she is known at school as someone who chooses to use primarily English and (b) she is a female, and in this community, "güey" is understood as a word males use. Here, she uses it abruptly to try to get the attention of two boys she is working with. By metacommenting on this herself (both of you guys looked!), she illustrates her surprise at its successful functionality (for her). But Nadi's repetition of the word, with a smile, illustrates his understanding of her use of this word, *güey*, in particular, is itself remarkable. This use of *güey* and the metacommentary surrounding it may have less to do with its status as a "Spanish" word, than with local expectations for that particular youth-oriented token and which individuals use it.

16.2.1.4   Metacommentary Type 4: Gesture

Another form of metacommentary, which can both powerfully mark forms of speaking and be commented on through speech, does not itself involve speaking at all: gesture, eye gaze and body comportment. These signs are made clearly relevant

FRAME 1:	FRAME 2: ((teacher off camera))
Al: My grandma is who I talk to. Amin: That's still different.	Tchr: There are still many similarities and that's the point!

Fig. 16.1 Students are discussing how a character in a novel confides in her grandmother and Al is remarking that this is something he does too

when commented on—as when someone says "Look at me when I talk to you" or "pick up your feet and stop shuffling, young man!" But gesture can also function as another type of metacommentary on talk. For example, a student in a classroom can swiftly go from an alert, engaged state of attention, to a bored head on the desk posture, indicating utter disdain for what has just happened interactionally, as in the following frames, where the teacher comments on the dialogue between the two students pictured, and one student vividly metacomments nonverbally, by turning his face into his hand (Fig. 16.1).

EXAMPLE 12: That's the point.
Alternatively, students can go from a state of disengaged posture to total engagement. In Example 13 (Fig. 16.2) this happens when the interaction shifts in focus from pronunciation of the word "Chancy" to shared recognition of the homonym, Chansey, a Pokemon™ character.

EXAMPLE 13   (Fig. 16.2): Ch Ch Chansey!
These examples illustrate how gesture and body comportment function as metacommentary. Language is still the object of the commentary. At other times, however, gesture itself is the object of metacommentary. Sanctioning comments like "Sit up straight!" illustrate how this awareness of gesture has even become stereotyped.

16.2.1.5   Metacommentary Type 5: Comments on Clothing, Appearance

Just as there can be nonverbal commentary on verbal tokens, there is also verbal commentary on nonverbal communicative displays. But, given that there are infinite visual cues in any presentation of self, most of which are ignored, how are we to know which are most relevant? Through metacommentary. When one student

FRAME 1:	FRAME 2:
Teacher: Ch- ch ch says "ch"	Student: Chansey! That's a pokemon.
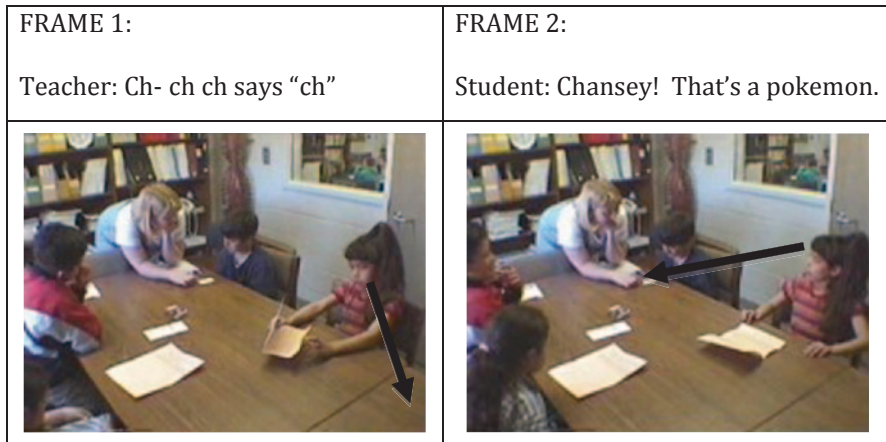
Fig. 16.2 Students go from a state of disengaged posture to total engagement

shows up wearing a Muslim headscarf (hijab) one day, (which she had not done all year), this became something the others noticed and talked about:

EXAMPLE 14: HIJAB.

Jeni: ((enters the classroom wearing a light-colored, floral hijab along with khaki pants and a cardigan))

Janetta: Why did you wear that today?

Janetta probably could not be much more direct in her question. But, as Claudia Mitchell-Kernan (1972, p. 174) pointed out many years ago, "signifying" on clothing, that is, making indirect comments about someone's clothing (or hair, or other accoutrement) are a common way of poking fun through indirect metacommentary. In the example below, she writes (adding her own metacommentary), "The relevant background information…is that the husband is a member of the class of individuals who do not wear suits to work":

Wife: Where are you going?

Husband: I'm going to work.

Wife: (You're wearing) a suit, tie, and white shirt? You didn't tell me you got a promotion.

Here, the wife's metacommentary not only signals her attention to her husband's clothing, but also her awareness about the suitable clothing for each situation. With an added layer of irony, Mitchel-Kernan points out, the wife may also be suggesting that he is not going to work at all, but to a secret, romantic rendezvous!

16.2.1.6   Relax, Homeslice! Über-Metacommentary: Irony

Probably the most widespread form of communicative metacommentary these days is *irony*. In interaction, all the categories mentioned above—commentary on lan-

guages, accents, address terms, gestures and clothing—are candidates for ironic metacommentary. While ironic metacommentary on language, accent, address terms, gesture, or clothing can function as mockery, ironic metacommentary can also display many other forms of appreciation for the repertoire range people have at their disposal, and their knowing use of it. Irony does not include any explicit metapragmatic discourse unless that discourse is itself being used ironically. So, analytically, implicit metapragmatic function is a definitive feature of irony.

Ben Rampton, for example, has written about how students of German as a foreign language in a London high school ironically use German when they leave that class, to joke around in the school's hallways and in other subject classes (transcript adapted from Rampton 2006). Nobody in this excerpt explicitly comments on the use of German, and yet German itself, as a code, takes on an implicit metapragmatic force:

EXAMPLE 15: MOCK GERMAN

Mr. N: as I've said before
            I get a bit fed up with saying
            Shshsh.
John: LOUDER!
Mr. N: you're doing your SATs now.
Hanif: <u>VIEL LAUTER SPRECHEN!</u>
            <u>VIEL LAUTER SPRECHEN!</u>
            ((*translation from German: 'speak much louder'*))
Mr. N: ((*emphatic*)) sshh!
John: ((*smile voice*)) lauter spricken.
            whatever that is.

Here, "German" is being used as a language, but to ironically enact a serious and forceful "German" persona, delivering a command directly in opposition to the teacher's "shshsh." Clearly, in this instance, the totality of the German language as a nation-state-bounded code is less important than the use of a few German tokens, used here by Hanif to ironically enact a flagrantly unbounded classroom persona.

"Accents" also provide rich material for ironic metacommentary. So irony layers on top of other forms of metacommentary, including some of the examples I have already used, as when the bilingual teachers in Example 6 above (reprinted below), ironically imitate the voice of the monolingual administrator who could not understand their use of "e-mail."

EXAMPLE 16   (6 redux): OH! EEEEE-mail.

Admin: Are you aware of the meeting today?
Laura: Yes, I sent you an e-MAIL.
Admin: Excuse me?
Laura: Did you get my e-MAIL?
Admin: Um. I'm sorry?
Laura: Did you get my E-MAIL?
Admin: Oh!! EEEEEE-mail!

This ironic deployment of stress here ("EEEEEE-mail!") functions to illustrate the administrator's own annoyingly clear and, as a consequence, insulting annunciation of a simple English word.

Ironic use of address terms occurs constantly and multifunctionally—my neighbor calls me a very formal "Dr. Rymes," for example, as she sees me taking out the trash, or my 13-year-old son calls to me "Relax, *homeslice*," when I'm trying to rush him out the door to school. These forms of address could be interpreted as mockery, but they are also ways of doing affiliation or sharing hilarity to break up life's inevitable routines.

All these examples illustrate that irony often layers on top of other forms of metacommentary—forms that are never explicitly labeled via metapragmatic discourse. Speakers can ironically invoke a "foreign" language or an overly (non)-foreign "accent." They can ironically address each other, mocking repertoire norms of formality or closeness. Speakers can also deploy ironic gestures, mocking professorly gesticulation, or a street-smart urban swagger (or 'Swagga'). And certainly, much of fashion innovation comes from ironic commentary on trends, as when padded shoulders on women's suits become enormously padded fashion statements, or when Björk wears a boney corset on the outside of her puffy dress.

At times, relentless irony may seem cynical—perhaps sending a message like, "I've seen it all, and we're all sell-outs. Therefore I take nothing seriously." However, these days, ironic embodiment of a huge range of repertoires has become so common that it can also function to send a message of appreciation and communicative awareness—"I use many ways of speaking and I've witnessed even more. Now I'm displaying one of them in a new way because I enjoy how it sounds/looks/feels and the effects it has on other people." Irony, then, rather than being a cynical stance, can be a way of appreciating the vast communicative complexity of a heteroglossic lifeworld.

16.3   Conclusion: Why Use Metacommentary as a Way to Understand Heteroglossia?

Why look at metacommentary? With the barrage of examples given here, I have hoped to illustrate the potentially limitless communicative layers that exist in an interaction, and the metacommentary that makes those layers meaningful and relevant to us—not simply a pile of experiences that nobody understands. An individual's "roots" lie not simply in some pre-ordained heritage language or culture, but also in the much more random life elements that an individual encounters and absorbs. The meaning of those experiences is often made visible to self and others through metacommentary.

Making those experiences visible and caring about the variety of experiences that make up an individual's communicative existence is an ethical choice. I say this because language discrimination happens far more often on the level of scarcely perceivable bits of information than on huge systems, encoded and understood as

languages, dialects, or registers and discussed through explicit metapragmatic discourse. Nearly 50 years ago, sociolinguists pointed out that something like "African-American English" is not a deviation from a super-standard version of English, but a linguistic system with grammatical patterns as predictable as any arbitrary "standard" English. However, very few people care about this systematicity. What matters to those using forms that are perceived as "African-American" is how they are taken up and commented on in everyday interactions. The habitual "be" construction in an utterance like "we be crazy" might be commented on as "incorrect" by an English teacher, recognized as an emblem of Cool by fellow students, or sanctioned by another group of students through irony: "no, you be fools!" These everyday, implicit, metacommentaries—at least as much as the legitimation via explicit metapragmatic discourse of "habitual be" by sociolinguistics—illustrate what matters to speakers.

Moreover, while the disciplinary production of labels and codes for ways of speaking are often attempts to legitimate those codes, these labels can do just as much to damage the speakers of those codes as help save them. As soon as we label something a "code," it becomes arbitrarily enforceable as such. That there is a "proper" way to speak African-American English is as fictitious as the idea that there is a "proper" way to speak "Standard English." And yet, naming a code "African-American English" and extolling the fact that it has a systematic grammatical organization suggests just that. It also creates an illusion that such a code is equally valid interactionally as other codes, erasing the fact that much more intractable sociocultural norms and systems of discrimination and racism are in place to exclude speakers of African-American English, no matter how pristine and internally consistent a code it may be.

These same principles apply to multilingual communication. We can label someone "bilingual," or describe processes like "translanguaging" as legitimate communicative resources, metapragmatically honoring a robust communicative repertoire, but from moment to moment, features of languages will be marked, through metacommentary, and most often, implicit metapragmatic function, as impossible to understand (oh, EEEE-mail!), and speakers' attempts at more fluid forms of communication will be sanctioned.

At this point, it may be clear to the reader that talk of code and how it functions is yet another form of metacommentary. Much of the business of language teaching is itself a factory of explicit metapragmatic discourse. But as the examples here have shown, this discourse can harbor more subtle processes of metapragmatic functioning.

So, systemizing descriptions of languages, dialects, and codes can potentially recreate those same exclusionary boundaries they attempt to transcend. This kind of focus on system and code can also be impractical and aesthetically limiting. Practically, teachers and students of language can spend a lot of time focusing on linguistic elements that are minimally relevant to everyday communication. Aesthetically, a focus on code often leads to a waste of the brilliance of communication that heteroglossia affords. Who wants to speak "pure English" or "pure French" or "pure African-American English"? Not only are those categories fictions, they are not very expressive. In many contexts, the expressive power of these repertoire elements lies in their ability to

be mixed and savored in new ways and combinations; and part of the joy in communicating is being able to notice the nuances of someone's unique repertoire ("güey?"). Taking an analysis of "metacommentary" as a point of departure allows a researcher, a teacher, or any human in interaction to depart from the constraints of legitimating systems, to look instead at what situated communicative repertoires mean in action and to savor their robust expressive possibilities.

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