ROUTLEDGE CRITICAL STUDIES IN MULTILINGUALISM

Language, Literacy and Diversity

Moving Words

Edited by
Christopher Stroud
and Mastin Prinsloo

ROUTLEDGE

Language, Literacy and Diversity

Language, Literacy and Diversity brings together researchers who are leading the innovative and important retheorization of language and literacy in relation to social mobility, multilingualism and globalization. The volume examines local and global flows of people, language and literacy in relation to social practice; the role (and nature) of boundary maintenance or disruption in global, transnational and translocal contexts; and the lived experiences of individuals on the front lines of global, transnational and translocal processes.

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Preface

Languages and literacies travel, carried by people on the move, borne by artifacts and embedded in assemblages and networks of contact. Semiotic mobility has increasingly become a crucial perspective from which to understand and theorize language and literacy, as well as a source of new methodologies and approaches to its study. The intense interest enjoyed by issues of mobility and language is far from a recent phenomenon. In fact, whole areas and subdisciplines of applied and sociolinguistics can trace their *raison d'etre* directly or indirectly to a concern with mobility. The teaching and learning of language with its distinction between foreign and second language and concern with notions of nativeness or nonnativeness is one such area. Language contact and migration studies is another. It has generated large numbers of studies on uprooted languages and diasporic populations. These studies, steeped in notions of language loss/death and maintenance, all reproduce a sense of language as potentially highly perishable if transported under the wrong conditions. In sociolinguistics, notions such code-switching, jargon, pidgin and creole capture some effects of mobility. So too does psycholinguistics with its multiple studies on forms of bilingualism, language attrition, the language of adopted children, and the cognitive effects of 'language shifting'. In fact, most areas of language study, theoretical and applied, have had some impressionable encounters with issues of linguistic and literacy mobility during the course of their history. The paradox is that although all these research areas are mediated by mobility, they continue to be treated in terms of static notions of language.

How we think about language mobility depends largely on what understanding of language we entertain. Traditionally, studies of moving words have been filtered through bounded notions of language and community. From this perspective, linguistic forms are treated as belonging to (expert) speakers of the community, as displaying structural integrity and as being targets of acquisition by learners. Disciplines such as language planning/policy have reinforced and cultivated fantasies of the structural integrity of bounded language and its acquisition. Research areas such as cross-cultural or intercultural communication have sought to understand the conditions of intelligibility, mutual understanding and consensus in encounters between mobile speakers. A range of notions such as native speaker, semilingualism and multilingualism have populated the code, while the notion of code-switching has sought to preserve the structural integrity of a language from the untidy trajectories of its speakers. The effect of this disciplinary bolstering has been to consolidate and entrench a localist view of language and literacy, against which mobility was perceived as a rift or a tear in the smooth fabric, something out of the ordinary, an 'accidental' circumstance in need of salvage or repair.

But what if mobility, far from being an aberration or exception, is actually the normal state of affairs? What if instead of viewing linguistic mobility through the lens of a localist idea of language, the tables were turned and language was viewed through the lens of mobility? Sheller and Urry (2006) alert us to how "all the world seems to be on the move", and so we need to replace sedentary social science "that treats as normal stability, meaning and place, and treats as abnormal distance, change and placelessness" (208) with more fluid approaches.

In a similar vein, Monica Heller has commented on the ordinariness of languages crossing boundaries and the changes they undergo in doing so, where the unexpected becomes the norm (see also Pennycook 2010):

> As soon as we start looking closely at real people in real places, we see movement. We see language turning up in unexpected places, and not turning up where we expect them to be. We also see them taking unexpected forms.
>
> (Heller, 2007, 343)

From urban studies, Massey (1994, 148) remarks on the power geometries that structure the politics of mobility:

> Jumbos have enabled Korean computer consultants to fly to Silicon Valley as if popping next door, and Singaporean entrepreneurs to reach Seattle in a day. The borders in the world's greatest ocean have been joined as never before. And Boeing has brought these people together. But what about those they fly over on their islands five miles below? Has the mighty 747 brought them greater communion with those whose shores are washed by the same water. It hasn't, of course.

Power geometries of language are at work when linguistic forms travel—some travel well and others not so well. When the places and spaces across which words move are "filled with codes, customs, rules, expectations and so forth" (Blommaert, (2005, 73) with their own indexical orders, the significance and value of particular forms of language are recalibrated. Suresh Canagarjah (2006, 237–238) draws out the language educational implications of extensive mobility and contact in the following:

> Rather than focusing on rules and conventions, we have to focus on strategies of communication. [. . .] Our pedagogical objective is not to develop mastery of a target language (that cliché in our field), but to develop a repertoire of codes among our students . . . through all this we are helping students shuttle between communities, and not to think of only joining a community.

When people move, they do so with feeling and emotion. Sheller (2004, 227) has noted how "motion and emotion . . . are kinaesthetically intertwined and produced together through a conjunction of bodies, technologies and cultural practices". Urry (2003) refers to the idea of 'meetingness' and Boden and Molotch (1994) to 'the compulsion to proximity'. Claire Kramsch (2009) has underscored the corporeality of language and the importance of affect. Mobile speakers in moving bodies create vectors of 'meetingness' and satisfy their 'compulsion to proximity' through stories, and networks of diasporic narrative, as well as gossiping, rumor mongering, and catching up. Mobile technologies of communication, like smartphones, as well as personal biographies and social trajectories tattooed on bodyscapes, are some of the means through which mobile speakers negotiate affect semiotically.

This current volume extends a mobilities approach to language and literacy by engaging a consistent perspective on language as mobility, and critically juxtaposing key concepts in sociolinguistics and language education, the politics of language education and migration. In so doing it breaks away from a view of language as something ontologically distinct from mobility, which could be tagged and labeled, and its trajectories tracked, blocked or modified across boundaries and borders. Instead, all of the authors in this volume engage language as *of* mobility and seek to explore what it means to view language as constituted *by* mobility and as a *construct of* mobility.

In the first chapter of the volume, Sjaak Kroon, Dong Jie and Jan Blommaert explore the paradigmatic effects of globalization on sociolinguistics, pointing to how mobility questions some fundamentals of sociolinguistic thought. This theme is picked up in a number of the following chapters. Two chapters explore the effects of mobility on institutional practices of health and classrooms, exploring the way in which multilingualism mediates mobility across health provisions for migrants, on the one hand (Collins and Slembrouck), and what happens when textualities in peripheral township classrooms meet up-scaled, world language forms, on the other (Canagarajah). Both of these chapters complicate the notion of scale in productive ways. The chapters by Park and Wee and Catherine Kell delve into the detail of words that move. Park and Wee offer us a fundamental reconceptualization of lingua franca English from a mobilities perspective, one involving a radical critique of standardization approaches to such contact languages, whereas Kell constructs a thoughtful critique of the emplaced notions of literacy event and practice, arguing constructively for notions such as text trajectory, which can build on earlier situated concepts to capture the traffic of meaning across space and time. Two chapters, Rakesh Bhatt's piece on the politics of anamnesis and the Kashmiri diaspora and Rajend Mesthrie's on language shift in South African Indian English, detail the personal and community management of multilingual resources in ethnically plural societies (see also Ben Rampton's contribution here). Each of these chapters offers fresh insights on processes of language loss and maintenance in a globalizing and fragmenting world. In another chapter, Cécile Vigouroux explores the transport and reindexicalization of forms of French in marabouts' advertisements. As with other studies in the volume, her chapter illustrates how timeless structures (for example, colonial tropes of Africa) and seemingly stable systems (be they state institutions or 'languages') are built on the ever-shifting edifice of mobility. Each of the two final chapters in the volume explores what it would mean to introduce mobility as a pedagogical strategy into classroom practices. In Deumert's case, the intervention is in the form of mobile technologies, and in Pennycook's chapter, it takes the form of embodied narratives in 'traveling' languages (Tongan), carried by their speakers into the physical space of the classroom. These final two chapters illustrate another characteristic of the volume as a whole, namely the authors' attention and commitment to exploring the societal implications of mobile words.

The sociopolitical resonance of a sociolinguistics of mobility and globalization is something that we as the editors feel particularly sharply. As we sit writing the introduction to this volume on language, literacy and mobility, we do so from a particular location in space and time. Cape Town, South Africa, twenty years after the first free elections, remains densely populated by the ghosts of apartheid and the legacies they carry with them. We are thus acutely aware of the turbulent and unsettling nature of mobility we experience in our everyday lives. Being sensitized to this condition, we are also aware of much in these chapters that can be read turbulently—not in the narrow and popular sense only of chaotic, disruption, destruction and upset, but as always present, immanent forms of reordering and reorganization, not necessarily predictable. We therefore offer an afterword to this volume, where we draw out readings of each chapter that reveal the turbulent dimensions of words that move.

Christopher Stroud and Mastin Prinsloo

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1 Truly Moving Texts

Sjaak Kroon, Dong Jie and Jan Blommaert

THE PROBLEM

This chapter explores central questions in what is now called the sociolinguistics of globalization. At the core of this approach, there is an awareness that the features of globalization—the heightened intensity of flows of people, goods, images and messages across nation-state boundaries, significantly boosted in the past couple of decades by the advent of the Internet and other forms of mobile communication technology—has a *paradigmatic* effect on sociolinguistics. Globalization dislodges (or, at the very least, profoundly questions) several of our common and time-tested sociolinguistic fundamentals: the nature of language and meaning in all its forms, the nature of communities using and sharing linguistic and communicative resources, the effect of space and time on human meaning-making and identity construction are among the theoretical and methodological victims of globalization (Blommaert 2005, 2008, 2010; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007, 2010; Coupland 2010).

The reason for this is that such fundamental notions were grounded in a *sedentary* view of humans and their societies: sociolinguistics tended to assume a social world in which people remained together in one place (e.g. Martha's Vineyard in Labov's early work), shared the knowledge of language as well as the sociocultural conventions of its usage and, thus, achieved 'natural' and 'organic' forms of meaning among themselves through perduring patterns of communication, which because of their perduring nature could be described 'synchronically' in the structuralist sense of the term (see Williams 1992 and Rampton 1995 for early critiques). As soon as we started realizing that *mobility* is the key to social life in a globalized world, a fundamental reconstruction of the sociolinguistic instrumentarium became inevitable. People and their attributes move around, and they do so in new and unpredictable patterns of complexity we now call superdiversity (Blommaert and Rampton 2011).

In a globalizing world, we need to consider language as a complex of mobile resources, shaped and developed both *because of* mobility—by people moving around—and *for* mobility—to enable people to move around.

The paradigm shift compels us to reconsider many of the stock assumptions of linguistics and sociolinguistics, notably emphasizing permanent instability and dynamics rather than structural transparency and stasis, and thus constructing radically different notions of 'order' in the linguistic and sociolinguistic system. The order we now observe is no longer an order inscribed in stable structural (and therefore generalized) features of language, but rather it is an order inscribed in the trajectories of change and development within the system. *Change is the system*, and observed stability in the system is a necessarily situated snapshot of a stage in a developmental trajectory in which the current state is an outcome of previous ones and a condition for future ones (Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2010; Blommaert and Rampton 2011).

In this chapter, thus, we intend to engage with an issue that is at the core of this paradigmatic shift: the question of meaning-making in a system that we see as intrinsically unstable and dynamic. Meaning is, of course, quite an exhausted topic in the study of language and signs (and in this chapter we shall address signs that contain language). From the extensive literature and debate, we need to select a small handful of basic items. The first one is the commonsense observation that meaning is inevitably based on *shared recognition* of signs as being meaningful for the parties engaged in interaction. If we use the word 'man', we assume that you recognize it as meaning the same thing as we do. If not, there is a problem of meaning-making. Connected to this point, we see such recognition as being *normative* by definition: we recognize signs as being meaningful because we share conventions (i.e. norms) for recognizing and identifying such meanings. The second thing we need to adopt from the literature on meaning is that meaning is inevitably connected to the *structure of signs*—the grammatical patterns in sentences, the phonological rules underlying word formation, the indexical load signs give off, a particular spatial arrangement in visual signs (e.g. reading from left to right or from top to bottom) and so forth. I can only make sense when the signs I produce have a recognizable structure, which marks its shared meaning for you and enables you to decode the sign as meaning this or that (see Agha [2007] for an excellent overview and discussion of these points).

Mobility of signs evidently complicates several matters. As noted at the outset, much of the literature on meaning assumes an a priori sharedness of both elements; it assumes the stability of signs-as-structures as well as of the conventions for decoding the sign as meaningful. This a priori stability accounts for some of the sociological naiveté of which linguistics and sociolinguistics have been repeatedly accused (e.g. by Williams 1992). In a world in which signs and sign users travel across entirely different societies and cultures, there are, of course, no such a prioris; quite the contrary, the nonsharedness of such elements ought to be the point of departure for every consideration of meaning-making in an age of globalization. We know that mobility of signs and sign users involves complex processes of decoding and interpretation; and we know that when signs travel, their shape moves rather unproblematically from one place to another, whereas other features of the sign—meanings, indexicals, social value and so forth—do not travel too well (see Blommaert [2008] for a discussion of nonexchangeability of sign value). An accent in English that is perceived as prestigious and valuable in Nairobi may index low levels of education and migrant identity in London, for instance.

What is required, therefore, is

(a) to establish the relationship between spatiotemporal mobility and meaning, in which meaning is in itself seen as an effect of mobility (I can understand you because you and I can relocate ourselves into a space of shared meaningfulness); and

(b) we need to dig into the structure of signs in an attempt to produce a detailed account about which features of signs *exactly* allow, invite or enable the necessary sharedness that produces meaning, and which features do not.

Those two questions will guide us in this chapter; in order to answer them we shall analyze some signs that are rather straightforward, even typical globalization objects: public signs in English, found in tourist hotspots in the People's Republic of China. The signs were all collected in 2009 and 2010 by the authors and are part of a larger database of Linguistic Landscaping materials on tourist places in China.

Such signs would often be discussed in the context of 'world Englishes', and the assumption that the signs are 'in English' is in itself quite questionable. Such signs, as we shall see shortly, *look* English but can best be understood from within a local economy of signs and meanings in which 'world Englishes' is hardly relevant as a target of interpretation. We shall not delve deeper into this discussion; rather, we shall see the signs as semiotic artifacts in which specific resources are being blended in an attempt to make sense to mobile people—foreign tourists to whom 'English' appears more accessible than 'Chinese'. Detailing what these resources are is part of the exercise here, and the bottom line question is: when we talk about signs that move around the globe, *what exactly is mobile*? When are texts truly moving?

Before engaging with the materials that are central in this chapter, we need to pause and reflect on some general semiotic principles. Contrary to the Saussurean doctrine, signs are not random; we must therefore situate them before we can move on.

SIGNS, LANDSCAPES AND SEMIOTICS

The questions we gave above can be reformulated as: how do we get from spatial mobility to semiotic mobility in studying signs in an age of globalization? As announced earlier, we see meaning as an effect of mobility—communication itself is an act of mobility because it involves the transfer of signs across universes of interpretation, in which the participants are required to relocate themselves in an often locally created space of meaningfulness. In some literature, such a space is often called a 'third space', i.e. a range of conditions for meaning that cannot be reduced to either of the participants but which consists of a kind of ad hoc compromise reached between the participants. Such a compromise can be attached to any feature of the sign, and we must therefore be precise about what we understand by the specific types of signs we will address below. Note that such a compromise is best seen in terms of *normativity*: participants agree on an ad hoc set of norms by means of which signs can become recognizable as meaningful.

The signs we shall investigate belong to a particular genre best described as *public order signs*: signs manufactured by a public authority with the intention of informing the public about an aspect of public order. Road signs, safety signs, warnings and instructions for appropriate presence or use belong to this genre complex, and such signs are used across the world in a wide variety of places—from roads and parks to building sites, public toilets, tourist or sports venues, commercial premises and so forth. Their normative dimension is evident. Many of these signs would be internationally standardized (think e.g. of road signs), and the reason for that is that such signs are *important* and *consequential*: they often specify what is legally appropriate (and consequently sanctionable in the event of transgression) and are thus strictly normative; they are legally binding both for the authority producing them and for the audiences consuming them. Because of this elevated status, such signs need to be semiotically *transparent*: the meanings they intend to convey should be clear to anyone and must leave as little room as possible for misinterpretation; it should not be contestable as to what they signal. Great care is therefore put into the construction and manufacturing of such signs; they are never the work of amateurs and are always highly conventionalized and standardized. Public order signs are entirely nonrandom, and their explicit function is *denotational*: to provide precise, clear and unambiguous meanings to all possible audiences.

Such signs are material objects of course, and they combine a variety of semiotic features, ranging from the general shapes of signs (e.g. round versus triangular road signs) and their colors (red versus blue, white or green road signs); over their genres, registers and styles, the specific semiotic instruments used (e.g. arrows) including language and the linguistic rules dominating language; the literacy resources by means of which they have been constructed (orthographic and spelling rules) and, finally, their *emplacement*: the particular spot in which they have been put (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Such signs are typically *multimodal* signs and analyzing them includes attention to the different modes that enter into the construction of the sign (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). Together, these features compose the sign as a semiotic actor: it is because of the complex interplay of these various features that the sign provides meaning to its audiences. As we see it, every sign is a *composite* artifact, and in our analysis we shall have to disassemble it and focus on different features in an attempt to understand its role in mobility contexts.

This is a first theoretical point: signs are composites of various features. The second point we shall use is an ethnographically based semiotic heuristics grounded in the commonsense communicative features of these signs. Actual signs never produce *general* meanings but always a *specific* range of meanings. This is because every actual sign is restricted both by a semiotic scope and a spatial scope: its meaning is semiotically restricted by the actual message in the sign ("don't drive more than 50mph") and spatially by its actual emplacement ("don't drive more than 50mph *in this specific area*") (Blommaert and Huang 2010). It is by looking at semiotic and spatial scope that we begin to understand the social and political functions of signs: they *demarcate* spaces into a patchwork of (often overlapping and layered) zones in which a particular set of rules and restrictions prevails. You cannot drive more than 50mph here, but you can drive faster in another zone; you can eat your lunch here but not there; you can smoke here but not there; and this particular space is inaccessible to you whereas the adjacent one is not. For public-order signs, such demarcation is of critical importance: the strict rules they articulate (and their consequences) are specific and valid in particular spaces only. And evidently, the idea of demarcation now enables us to see linguistic landscapes as heavily ordered and stratified spaces, in which various power regimes operate; the aspect of normativity is again evident.

A third theoretical instrument we shall use is this: it is again ethnographically inspired. We have to see signs as communicative actors in their own right and consider their actual structure as a trace of the communicative situation they are intended to shape (see Fabian 1986 for an inspiring example of analysis). Every sign points *backward* to its producer(s) and its conditions of production; and it points *forward*, toward the intended audiences and the intended consequences of the sign. Thus, a road sign reading "maximum 50" is more likely to affect the behavior of car drivers than pedestrians because the latter are not likely to violate the 50mph speed limit. Pedestrians are thus not normally selected as an audience by the sign, and most pedestrians would not take any notice of it, other than to be upset when they witness a car driving manifestly faster than what the sign imposes. The condition for that, however, is that the production of the sign was done in such a way that the clear and precise meanings it communicates are indeed perceptible as such. Every sign, therefore, raises in its actual composition and structure ('backward pointing') questions about the resources, competences and skills mobilized and deployed in its production, and from this inspection the ('forward pointing') conditions for uptake can be judged. Again, it should be clear that all of this has a normative dimension. A decent analysis of the conditions of production of signs enables us to predict the future, so to speak; it enables us to make statements on the possibility for successful uptake of the sign. In a particular theoretical jargon, analyses of the conditions of production enable us to judge the capacity for *voice* inscribed in the sign; in more applied reformulations we can say that they enable us to judge the capacity of signs to be mobile communicators, to be truly moving (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005, 2008).

The theoretical points outlined here will underlie our analysis in what follows. We are now ready to have a look at the signs we collected in tourist places in China.

SIGNS, PLACES AND THRESHOLDS

English has, over the last decade, become a prominent language in the People's Republic of China. Obviously driven by China's rise to global prominence in economic and political affairs, China has begun to imagine itself as a globalized country, the main centers of which—Beijing and Shanghai to name just the two most visible of them—must become global cities. International mega-events such as the Olympics (Beijing 2008) and the World Exhibition (Shanghai 2010) underscore this ambition, whereas a strong drive toward generalized provision of English among the middle-class population articulates a more fundamental process of 'globalization in the hearts and minds' of the contemporary Chinese citizens (Dong 2011). Places that profess the globalized nature of China—tourist hotspots being chief among them—are effectively bilingual. And this is where our story begins.

We shall consider four signs taken from three tourist spaces in China. The signs are bilingual in a particular sense: they show the 'equivalent bilingualism' common in public order signs, in which everything that is communicated in the first language is also communicated in the same order in the second language. The first two signs were found in the Forbidden City in Beijing—undoubtedly one of China's major tourist attractions; the third one was found at the Great Wall, another world heritage site in China; and the fourth one was detected in a hotel in Xining, the capital of the central-Chinese province of Qinghai. All four signs belong, as we said, to the genre of public order notices. Let us consider these signs in sequence. We shall first present the signs, after which we will engage with them in some detail.

The Fire Extinguisher Box

Figure 1.1 is a picture of a rather mundane object in public spaces such as tourist centers: a box containing fire extinguishers and other firefighting equipment. The box is red, and several of these boxes could be found across the enormous compounds of the Forbidden City. The bilingual signage tells us that the selected audience is essentially anyone within eyeshot of the box—Chinese as well as international tourists.

Figure 1.1 'Fire Exting Uishr Box'

Note in Figure 1.1 the way in which the equivalent bilingualism is effected. The Chinese characters are neatly aligned; the English glosses underneath are coordinated with the characters and read FIRE EXTING UISHR BOX, awkwardly separating parts of the word 'extinguisher' and with a typographic error (UISHR). Note also the unwarranted hyphen between 'fire' and 'alarm'. Now consider Figure 1.2: a similar fire extinguisher box found just meters away from the one depicted in Figure 1.1.

This box looks, and is, of more recent production than the one in Figure 1.1, and we notice a difference in the orthographic quality of the English displayed on it. The awkward spatial correspondence between the Chinese characters and parts of the English words has been replaced by an entirely normative spatial organization. The English words are now separated along their conventional unit boundaries, and the typographic error has been corrected. The unwarranted hyphen, however, persists.

Monkey Around in the Cable Car

The third sign we will discuss was found near the entrance of a cable car at Mu Tian Yu, one of the places from which one can access the Great Wall and admire the breathtaking views from there. The sign is just part of what amounts to an entire wall full of English instructions—reminding one of a user's manual, a software license agreement or a patient's guide to the use of medicine.

Figure 1.2 'Fire Extinguisher Box'

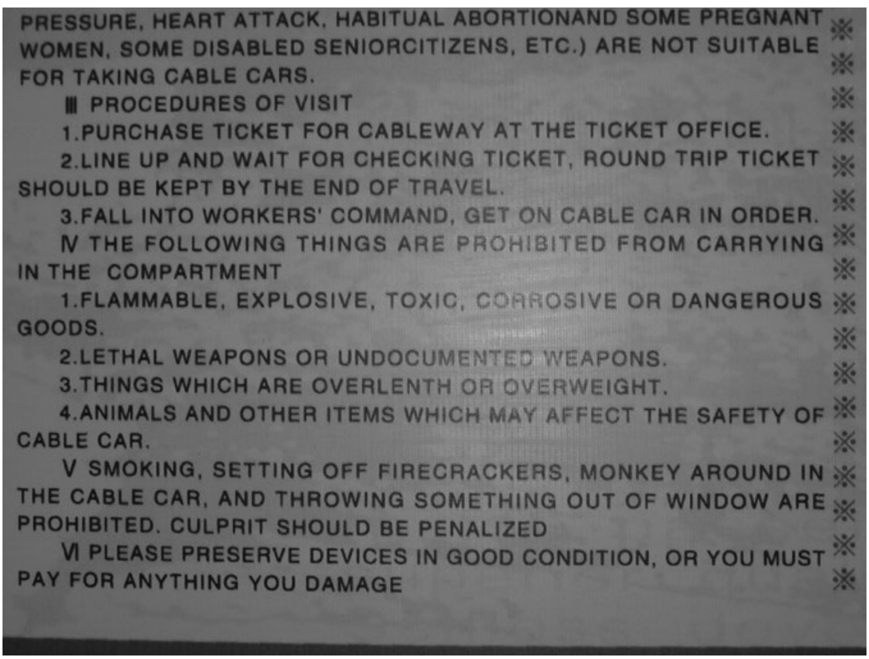

Figure 1.3 'Monkey around in the cable car'

As we can see, the sign contains a rather astonishing amount of text—too much for anyone to process in the few moments spent in the area where it is put. In contrast to the signs in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 where Chinese and English co-occurred within one sign, this sign is a monolingual one juxtaposed to its Chinese equivalent. The selected audience is manifestly the growing numbers of domestic and international tourists visiting the site. Whereas generally speaking the English displayed here is quite adequate—there are hardly any major grammatical or orthographic problems (but notice, e.g. 'overlenth')—some unexpected expressions occur. People are warned not to "monkey around in the cable car", for instance—a rather colloquial expression at odds with the formal and official character of the sign.

Point Profess Your Excellency Seat

The fourth and final sign we shall discuss here was found near the elevator in a hotel in Xining, Central China. It is again a mundane, yet important notice, explaining the evacuation procedures to be observed in case of an emergency.

Such evacuation signs (here: 'safety scattering sketch map') are mandatory in public buildings in most parts of the world; their layout and contents are standardized and controlled by laws specifying rules of determining liability in case of hazards. The sign we see in Figure 1.4 was in all likelihood produced by the Chinese authorities; identical signs can be found on the Internet from a variety of places in China.

The sign is of course bilingual; yet the English in the sign is, to put it mildly, challenging. Let us consider the text in more detail (Figure 1.5).

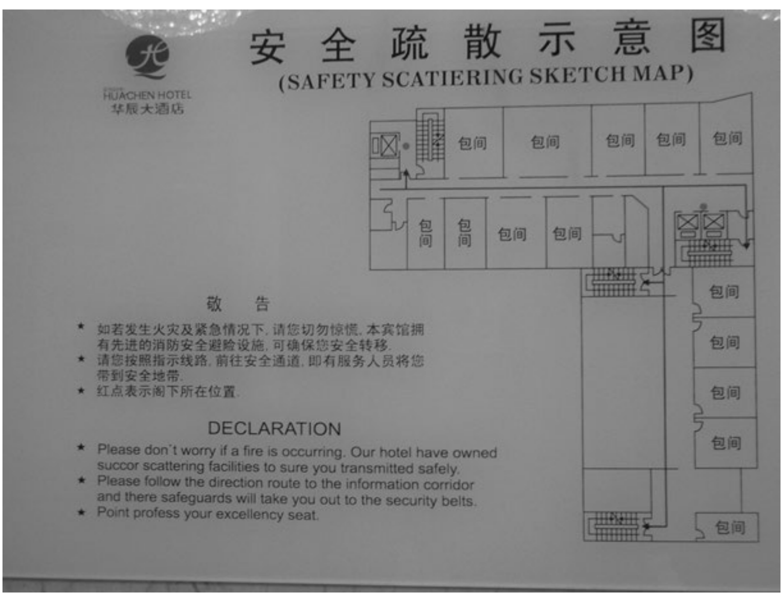

Figure 1.4 'Point profess your excellency seat'

Figure 1.5 'Point profess your excellency seat' detail

We read remarkable phrases such as 'succor scattering' (for 'security—evacuation'), see references to people being 'transmitted' and taken out 'to the security belts' ('secure zones'), and can't help but wonder about the sentence 'point profess your excellency seat'. This, in fact, is the attempted equivalent of a Chinese sentence saying that the dot on the floor map indicates your current position—a mandatory element in notices of this kind.

THREE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS

The cases shown here present us with three different problems; all, however, belong to larger questions about the mobility of linguistic and semiotic resources. Let us recall that these signs are composite artifacts in which language, literacy, genre and style conventions are being blended into one act of communication. Whereas all the signs presented here do show what can in a loosely descriptive way be called 'problems with English', the problems are different in nature in each of the cases.

The *fire extinguisher box*, we would argue, represents problems at the level of English *orthography*: the rules for 'writing English correctly'. As we have seen, these rules are violated in two ways. First, the English writing contains a spelling error: the missing 'e' from 'uishr'; second, the English words are graphically ordered in a way that violates their conventional morphosyntactic boundaries ('exting-uishr'). The unwarranted hyphen ('fire-alarm') could also count as an orthographic problem, although it is a widespread practice in several languages.

The *monkey around in the cable car* represents an entirely different kind of problem. Here, the grammatical rules and the orthographic conventions have all been largely observed; some curious discursive features occur, creating a measure of deviation from genre norms ('monkey around'), without, however, being too problematic. The main problem of the sign is that it is too 'full': it contains so much text that it may defeat the purpose of being read by customers of the cable car. In addition, the text is heavily structured in 'chapters' (I, II, III etc.) and 'sections' (1, 2, 3 etc.), turning it into a complex architecture of super- and subordinate statements. A full reading of the wall filled with guidelines and restrictions would take several minutes of concentrated reading; most customers would either not have the time to make such an effort or would switch off after a few seconds. This problem is a *genre* problem: whereas the genre of a public notice ought to be constructed in such a way that it enables everyone to read and process it effectively within the specific conditions of consumption (as is the case, say, with a road sign even when people drive by it at considerable speed), this genre is realized here in a way that makes the sign effectively dysfunctional. What should have been a concise and extremely clear text has become elaborate, overstructured and overdetailed prose—something which on social media such as Facebook would be disqualified as 'TMI'—'too much information'.

The *point profess your excellency seat*, finally, presents us with yet another kind of problem. Here, the problem is *discursive*: the English translation results in a veritable soup of words, each of them closely or remotely equivalent to the Chinese text, but nonsensical when put together in what appears to be conventional English orthography and syntax. Here, it is *the totality of the message* that fails to communicate—it is not easy to imagine someone able to make sense of 'point profess your excellency seat' in the panic and confusion of an emergency. People who do not read Chinese would require a generous while of deep reflection on the meaning of the sentence because the only ways in which one can make sense of it is either by associative connections with earlier examples of the genre ('oh yes, this is the point on the map!') or by relying on the assistance of someone who understands the Chinese text and is capable of providing a more adequate English equivalent.

The 'problems with English' thus appear to be problems with specific features of the sign: orthographic norms attached to the language, genre norms attached to the function of particular text types and discursive norms attached to the general rules of communicability. All three sets of norms cooperate in the signs, and the different signs display different degrees of observance and deviation, not toward 'English' in an abstract sense, but toward *specific resources that enter into the construction of an* 'English' *sign*.

These resources and the ways in which they are deployed in our examples compel us to follow the ways in which signs point backward, toward conditions of production. We know of such resources that they are unevenly distributed across the globe, and that some learning environments in the world offer easier and more egalitarian access to them than others. 'English' is not an egalitarian commodity wherever it occurs; its global status involves new and highly unpredictable forms of stratification in access and distribution (Blommaert 2005, 2008, 2010). This is why highly professionalized sign producers such as the ones who produced the signs shown here—public authorities, who can be expected to have access to a pool of advanced competences and skills—can be shown to struggle with 'English'. When the signs were manufactured, clearly the specific resources needed for the construction of 'English' were not generally accessible to the sign producers in China. It seems some were—it is not unlikely that the *point profess* sign was manufactured with the assistance of an automatic translation computer—whereas others were not. We thus see a pattern of distribution of resources through these signs—an unstable system of allocation of specific semiotic resources entering into the construction of 'English' signs.

This explains the difference between Figures 1.1 and 1.2. As noted, the box in Figure 1.2 was of more recent origin than the one in Figure 1.1, and we see that the English on the more recent box is largely devoid of the kinds of problems we observed in Figure 1.1. The reason is *change in the system of allocation*. The Beijing Olympics of 2008 were perceived as a showcase for contemporary China, and the Chinese government made huge efforts to 'clean' the public Englishes in Beijing and other major cities in China (Zhou 2007; He 2008; Gao and Lin 2010). The effect of that 'cleaning' can be seen in Figure 1.2; the fact that this 'cleaning' campaign focused on the major centers in China explains the persistence of severe problems in the *point profess* example—Xining is a place of secondary importance in the hierarchy of places-to-be in China, and it may take a while before the metropolitan cleaning exercise reaches these secondary centers.

The *monkey around* sign, too, testifies to the effects of the 'cleaning' campaign. Naturally, the Great Wall is one of the main attractions of China; the public English there is both abundant and of relatively high standard. Note, of course, that the 'cleaning' campaign is in effect a campaign of *normative re-centering*. Whereas the dominance of local Chinese templates for writing was—literally—evident in Figure 1.1, the re-centering exercise drags Chinese English away from its local influences and modes of hybridization and brings it into the fold of normativity associated with the 'global center' of English: the normative varieties of the UK and the US. We thus see in the developmental aspects of our cases a dynamic pattern of redistribution of English resources: a particular set of (normative, 'central') resources is made available and accessible in some 'central' places in China, whereas it remains unavailable in less 'central' places. Our signs thus point backward to a large-scale pattern of sociolinguistic reordering in China.

They also point toward a differential 'weight' for the different specific resources. In terms of what we could call 'global comprehensibility', different thresholds appear to operate in our cases. The orthographic problems appear to be the least momentous in terms of comprehensibility, even if they are perhaps the most widespread ones. The orthographic problems do not prevent us from quite accurately understanding what the sign is supposed to communicate. At the other end of the scale of comprehensibility, we see that discursive problems can render a text virtually meaningless. The *point profess* example shows that adequate grammar and orthography can be overruled by inadequate discursive pragmatics. Words and sentences can be well formed, yet entirely nonsensical for reasons we have begun to understand because of Chomsky's 'curious green ideas' that 'sleep furiously'.

As for the level of genre, our *monkey around* example shows that genre conventions are rather compelling—violate them and the text is likely to *transform into another genre*: the 'text not made for reading'—and we are familiar with such genres as well (how many people actually read the license agreement statements they have to 'accept' when downloading software?). Failed genres can still turn into other genres and be quite effective as instances of that (unintended) genre, as when a serious statement is turned into a joke or vice versa. This is a *voice* problem, not a *language* problem. The one whose statement is re-genred by interlocutors is likely to be frustrated because of what feels to him/her like a massive case of misunderstanding; he/she is not likely to see this problem as lodged into inadequate levels of linguistic competence.

We thus see how voice and communicability appear to be determined by different thresholds of communicability, attached to specific features of the sign. Signs are composite artifacts, and it takes a detailed ethnographic analysis of them to actually distinguish what they mean and which specific problems emanate from them.

CONCLUSION

John Gumperz taught us two decades ago that understanding revolves around the capacity to contextualize utterances in an appropriate contextual universe (Gumperz 1982); Erving Goffman (1974 [1986]) described such universes as 'frames'. When we consider signs produced in and for mobility, we see that the accessibility of adequate frames for understanding signs is located in a variety of different levels of semiotic structure, different features of the sign. Linear models of understanding, in which a sign 'directly' communicates a particular meaning, appear not to have too much purchase in this world.

This may be both sobering and encouraging for people involved in fields such as TESOL or intercultural communication training. The insight is sobering because simple stories about communication—such as those focused on 'correct language' and orthography—are unlikely to have any practical value. It is encouraging because it compels them to develop more nuanced and detailed accounts of language and communication, which can only benefit the quality of their endeavors. More theoretically inclined scholars may wish to consider the ways in which contemporary signs and the communication processes they trigger and that issue from them need to be seen as layered and fragmented, with a range of different possible effects, to a large extent contained and inscribed in the ways in which specific resources have entered into the sign. In simple terms: they may wish to disassemble what is commonly called 'language' and start looking at the different components of communication.

Even if such an enterprise generates new challenges and demands, it is hard to avoid these in a globalizing world of language. The effects of globalization have shaped highly complex sociolinguistic environments, populated by people with wildly different backgrounds and trajectories, different forms and degrees of access to sociolinguistic and semiotic resources and frames for interpretation. Unified notions of language and communication will not stand the test of empirical verification in such a superdiverse sociolinguistic world.

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2 Classifying Migrants in the Field of Health

Sociolinguistic Scale and Neoliberal Statecraft

James Collins and Stef Slembrouck

INTRODUCTION

One feature of late modern societies is that they have health care systems, however beleaguered these may be in the present era. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the project of state building required these kinds of institutions. Today, they are also major sites of institutional encounter between migrant populations and host societies—though the provision of health care for migrants is typically a contentious arena of institutional practice, where questions of citizenship status, funding and language sit uneasily beside the idea that health care is a 'basic human right'. This is true whether countries have predominantly public or private health care systems. In an essay on the anthropology of the state, Trouillot (2003) suggests some conceptual parameters relevant for thinking about these matters and about the special challenges that migrants pose for contemporary societies more generally. His concepts relate to the changing topography of the state and its capacities to regulate the conditions of citizens' existence, to provide for their social welfare, claim their allegiances, and so forth. This has become particularly acute in an era of neoliberal globalization:

> [c]hanges in the functions and boundaries of the national state generate confusions even among social scientists in part because globalization now produces spatialities—and identities—that cut through national boundaries more obviously than before, and in part because the social sciences have tended to take these very same boundaries for granted.
>
> (2003, 84)

In addition, Trouillot argues that in our era of globalization we cannot assume that nation and state are simply equivalent. Their nonequivalence has implications for the way we conceptualize and study the processes that are specific to state organizations. It also makes a strong case for ethnography:

> If we suspend the state-nation homology as I suggest we should, we reach *a more powerful vision of the state*, yet *one more open to ethnography*, since we discover that, theoretically, *there is no necessary site for the state, institutional or geographical*. Within that vision, the state thus appears as an open field with multiple boundaries and no institutional fixity—which is to say that it needs to be conceptualized at more than one level.
>
> (2001, 127 [emphasis added])

Trouillot's thesis is essentially that globalization introduces questions of space and identity in new ways that cut through national boundaries and that our old ways of thinking about them need to be reexamined. We agree with this general view and investigate ethnographically some of its implications in the field of health care, by exploring how statecraft devolves into communicative practices. We will focus in particular on the interaction between the distribution of migration-affected multilingualism (of clients, and of service providers) and institutional processes of categorization and entitlement under neoliberal forms of governance.

In what follows we develop our investigation of how migrants are classified in the field of health care by addressing several related questions. The first is whether a given scale, in this case that of the nation-state, provides a privileged lens from which to view the major institutional fields that shape migrant encounters within the host or receiving society. A second, corollary question is how scaled levels of social organization, national and otherwise, interact in institutional fields such as health care (Collins and Slembrouck 2006). A third question is whether and how practices of classification and categorization, central features of modern statecraft (Scott 1998; Greenhalgh 2003), are sensitive to scale differences. Lastly, we ask a crosscutting question. How do language differences—which in contemporary nation-states serve both as a principle of social hierarchy (Heller 1999) and as a marker of ethnolinguistic identification (Silverstein 2003)—influence both processes of scaling and practices of classification?

We investigate our questions using data drawn from ethnographic studies of migrants and health care provision in Flanders/Belgium (e.g. Collins and Slembrouck 2006, 2009; Slembrouck 2009) and the US (Collins and Burrell forthcoming), and we orient our ethnographic analyses with concepts of state, scale and categorization. Our focus on multilingualism and state processes is by no means accidental: language is implicated in processes of forming and maintaining the state; at the same time, plurilingualism driven by transnational migration is challenging the modernist ideal of a unity of language and nation. In addition, health care practices are entangled in questions of cross-linguistic translation, while language differences are implicated in the powers of states, such as the policing of state boundaries.

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON STATES, SOCIOLINGUISTIC SCALE AND CATEGORIZATION

Hymes (1980) argued that ethnographic material feeds a comparative analysis. We take this insight in a specific direction, investigating field-specific categorization practices and scaling, as revealed in provisions for migrant health care in Belgium and the US. Our motivations for such comparison are threefold:

(i) The US and Belgium, although different in size, are both federal states, raising challenging questions of scale because governance is based on the interaction of federal, state and other governance levels (e.g. county or municipal) (as noted by Kontopoulous 1993).
(ii) Both countries are part of the 'Global North', receiving destinations for migrations, and often show similarities in popular and state response to migrants (Friedman 2003; Pujolar 2009; Sassen 1999).
(iii) The authors draw upon sustained collaboration, having previously analyzed and compared the two national contexts (e.g. Collins and Slembrouck 2009).

In conceptualizing a 'field of health', we draw from Bourdieu's (1993) conception of fields as relationally organized arenas of social endeavor. We thus begin by asking how the health field interacts with educational, economic and political fields. We assume heuristically that health care will be informed by categories that originate in the state, more particularly in forms of neoliberal statecraft that have emerged across the globe in the past three decades.

Trouillot's remark that "there is no necessary site for the state, institutional or geographical" is especially relevant when investigating state forms and practices in an era of neoliberalism. Harvey (2005) argues that neoliberalism entered the world stage over three decades ago, with the near-simultaneous emergence of Deng Xiaoping in China, Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. Each leader implemented forms of governance that reduced public sectors and supported 'unfettered' market activity as the best political-economic policy for the world as well as for their particular nations. During the reign of global neoliberalism, deregulatory priorities led to the downsizing of public sectors, privatization and growth of public/private 'partnerships', whether in manufacturing or finance, education or social services (Gledhill 2004; Hall 2005; Harvey 2005). Decreased governmental oversight and increased 'public/private' blending has led to the need for new modes of regulation. One such new mode, studied (among others) by anthropologists of globalization, has been the rise of 'audits' and other forms of organizational 'accountability'. Audits and accountability practices depend upon self-reports and external metrics (typically formalized classifications of people, activities and 'outcomes'). Taken together, they comprise new techniques of surveillance and governmentality (Gledhill 2004; Hall 2005; Greenhouse 2009), for which "there is no necessary site . . . institutional or geographical" (Trouillot, 2001: 127).

We regard 'neoliberalism' as a form of corporate-capitalist global hegemony, which extensively reworks the societies under its domination, blurring lines between public and private, state and civil society, and raising new empirical and analytic challenges for understanding the relation between state and society. We propose to analyze aspects of neoliberal statecraft in the provision of migrant health care precisely because migrant health care is a field in which public and private organizations and agents are complexly intertwined, across different social scales, and the categorization practices that arise from this blending themselves often combine dimensions of 'care' and 'control'. Our analysis of categorization as a practice of governance focuses also on how categorization interacts with language-sensitive social scales.

SCALE AND CATEGORIZATION

Scale analysis provides insight into the dynamics between institutional orders and migration-driven encounters with "other" languages and peoples (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005b; Collins and Slembrouck 2009; Kell 2009; Pujolar 2009; Valentine, Sporton, and Bang Nielsen 2009). These dynamics are salient in the current period, a period in which nation-states have adapted their modes of organization under the pressures of corporate-led or neoliberal globalization. In our analyses, we employ a broad concept of *sociolinguistic scale* (Blommaert 2007). We use this to mean a general mutual implication between language use and social forms of differing scale or scope: the ways that spatiotemporal scales influence language use and, conversely, language use evokes cultural and social schematizations of varying scope (Arnaut 2005; Agha 2007; Collins and Slembrouck 2009; Collins 2011; Dong 2011).

In this chapter we offer ethnographic data and analysis of scale-sensitive classification processes, attending to categorization as a form of everyday life and of state power. There are a number of studies of state processes and categorization (Bourdieu 1998; Nugent 2004; Scott 1998), and they offer a number of insights relevant for our concerns. First, they show that states use classifying discourses as a template for allocating resources (Nugent 2004), which fits well with our empirical concern with state processes and access to health care. Second, they show that the implementation of classifying discourses helps construct the 'national state', and we may infer that the same is true of other scale levels (Bourdieu 1998; Scott 1998).

We assume that categories impose scales on the instances to which they are applied, but that the generality or specificity of scaling achieved remains an empirical question (Tsing 2000). Most relevant for our research focus, categorization processes are more salient when situations are disputed or outcomes are uncertain or debated over (Hall, Slembrouck, and Sarangi 2006). This is a typical situation with regard to migrants, for migrants are 'others', whether as 'guests' or 'aliens' (Sassen 1999). They present problems for official classifying discourses, raising related questions of recognition (what kind of person is this, and to which services or care are they entitled?) and action (how does one interact with such persons, using what discursive repertoires?).

HOW LANGUAGE DIFFERENCE MATTERS: A COMMENT ON DATA AND METHOD

The cases presented below are taken from ethnographic and sociolinguistic studies of language difference, migrants and health care in the US and Belgium/Flanders (Collins and Slembrouck; 2006, 2009; Burrell, Collins and Bilbao 2009; Burrell and Collins, forthcoming; De Maesschalk et al. 2010). Each case focuses on one aspect of the broader studies: the direct and indirect role of language intermediaries in health care encounters. Our thesis in examining the role of language intermediaries is that in their activities they inhabit and instantiate interscale relationships. Put more simply, in their work—that is, their efforts to mitigate the communication difficulties that migrants face in obtaining health services—they build interfaces, of varying transience or permanence, between individuals, groups and organizations of differing size and scope. This mediating, interfacing activity provides evidence of sociolinguistic scale and categorization processes in the field of health care.

Our first two cases are taken from a study of Mexican and Central American migrants in upstate New York and how they obtain health care given their particular occupational and political statuses (Burrell, Collins, and Bilbao 2009; Burrell and Collins forthcoming). The first case describes and analyzes selected activities of a bilingual clinic outreach worker; his job required bilingual competencies in Spanish and English, and he worked in a part of upstate New York with a relatively concentrated and long-term population of migrants. The second case is drawn from the same ethnographic research project as the first, but it examines the role of second-language teachers, who extend their activities to include health advocacy for migrants in an area with a sparsely settled and more recently arrived population of migrants. Our third case, which is taken from research on migrants and health care in Flanders, examines the role of the interpreter during the medical encounter, and, more specifically, physicians' perceptions of the role of interpreters in the emblematic scene of family health care: doctor, patient (and interpreter). It examines most directly the question of scalar influences on multilingual work-based communicative practices.

Case 1: "Everyone has my cell phone number": Sociolinguistic Scale and Migrant Access to Health Services in Upstate New York

The database for cases 1 and 2 consists of twenty-seven interviews, semi-structured, with migrants, employers, public officials, health care providers, advocacy organizations and outreach workers, as well as participant observation at a variety of formal and informal social events (data were primarily collected over a period of seven months in 2007, with follow-up interviews in 2008). The interviews covered a range of topics but focused on how both individuals and organizations dealt with the perceived health care needs of Mexican and Central American migrants to upstate New York. The interviews and participation in social events with and for migrants allowed us to understand the variety of public and private organizations that provided health care services to migrants and the variety of political statuses held by migrants. As noted earlier, case 1 focuses on the activities of a bilingual outreach worker, David Strauss (pseudonym), who worked for a combined county-federal migrant health program that served predominantly Mexican migrants working and living in New York's Hudson Valley.

Migrants engaged in farm work usually lived together in groups on the apple and berry farms for which the Hudson Valley region is famous. Mexican migrants have been working in the region for over twenty years (Gray 2009), and, in the particular county from which we draw this case, there were more than one thousand Mexican migrants working and living in 2007. Most came and went seasonally, following crop cycles and schedules, but a sizable minority set up permanent residence and moved into different occupational sectors. In the county we are discussing, the seasonal farm workers as well as the wider population of migrants were served by a federally funded program of migrant health care that employed a combination of mobile and fixed clinics in order to serve its client base. The mobile clinic consisted of a van, offering vaccinations, screening and care for mild wounds or ailments. It moved around in a circuit of farms on a regular cycle during the fruit-growing season. The fixed clinics were held once a week during evening hours at local doctors' offices or in health centers. They were staffed by a local doctor and nurse and served all migrants in the area who were either not served by the mobile clinics or had more severe medical needs.

During a long, open-ended interview about the health care program, David described his typical activities in useful detail. In his work he interacted with a substantial population of resident migrants in the county as well as the seasonal migrants for whom the program was intended. In addition, during the seasonal schedule of mobile farm clinics, he served as an onsite interpreter, linking the entire set of sixteen farms, and the seasonal farm workers employed and resident there, to the migrant health care program that he worked for, which was federally funded but locally administered. Lastly, he served as a case worker for individual farm workers with chronic conditions, operating at the scale of an individual patient and interfacing frequently with a tiered series of health care organizations.

At one point in the interview, he said, "Everyone in the county has my cell phone number". This pointed to a central feature of his mediating role(s): that he served as a nodal point for individuals, groups and organizations. In particular, he was a liaison for individual farm workers and their household members who needed either transport or interpreting or both, connecting those individuals and households to the federal- and county-sponsored migrant weekly clinics, as well as to a migrant-service community health center in a county further south in the Hudson Valley. In his work he drew upon both bilingual language skills and system knowledge to help clients understand and navigate the logistics and procedures of health care.

David's work as a case manager typically involved multiple doctor visits and specialized treatment regimens. The following anecdote illustrates some of the challenges that arose when he mediated on behalf of individuals with immediate and long-term medical needs. The incident concerns a patient he worked with who needed an operation, which required her to be an in-patient in a hospital in a city in a neighboring county. When the patient's appointment needed to be rescheduled, because neither the patient nor anyone in her household spoke English, David called the hospital scheduling office on her behalf. However, the hospital reservation staff would not discuss the patient or her schedule with him. Given federally mandated confidentiality rights, only the patient was entitled to conduct this business. David's explanation that he was an outreach case worker for people who did not speak English had no persuasive force in this situation. Apparently it was up to the patient to conduct that conversation, although in this case the patient lacked the English necessary for the task. What struck us was that the recognition of his role that existed in the rural region of the valley counties, where "everybody ha[d his] cell phone number", did not extend to an urban center and a large hospital with formalized protocols for who can speak to whom about what.

David's typical activities entailed bridging relations between groups and organizations of differing and intersecting time-space scales. As noted above, this outreach worker was the linguistic interface between groups of farm workers living on separate farms and the mobile clinic that visited once a week. This made it possible for a federal-county program to activate a virtual network of multiple farms and provide health service to separated groups spread across the entire county on a common schedule. In addition, he connected a large population of long-term "resident" migrants, living scattered throughout the county, to town-located, migrant-dedicated health clinics, for which he served as a primary bilingual interpreter. The bureaucratic impasse over scheduling underscores, however, that such mediating activity across differently scaled entities is an 'emergent', provisional phenomenon. The attempted cross-linguistic mediation between individuals, local health clinics and a regional urban hospital did not succeed. David's credentials of trust, reputation and health program employment did not suffice for a large-scale organization invoking federal health confidentiality mandates.

The outreach worker's difficulty in rescheduling his client's operation illustrates another aspect of scale-sensitive, situated categorization. In the county in which his programs operated, he was recognized by migrants and health care providers as an institutional insider, officially part of existing health programs, and entitled to speak for and on behalf of clients. In a city and a hospital unfamiliar with such local understandings, his procedural and linguistic competencies were unrecognized, perhaps because he was neither a patient or family member nor a recognizable (that is, classifiable) member of the health care profession.

There were other ways in which this outreach worker used specific interactional strategies to connect differently classified groups—seasonal migrant workers versus (unauthorized) longer-term migrant residents. One illustration of classifying practices and language-sensitive scale relations involves the stratagems that make it possible for the county's long-term migrant residents to gain access to public health care. Many of them had moved out of farm work and into such service sectors as landscape gardening or domestic cleaning. In David's account, whether or not this group of people was able to access the health services targeted for migrant seasonal farm workers depended on how an intake worker phrased a particular question. If, as was often the case at weekly town clinics where longer-term migrants often accessed health services, the clinic intake clerk asked, "Have you worked as a farm worker in the past three years?", this expanded eligibility to a much wider network of current and former farm workers and their families than the alternative version of the same question: "Are you currently employed in farm work?"

In these several examples, we find initial answers to our first question, about whether the nation-state is a privileged level of scale analysis, in which it seems the answer is 'yes, but it depends on particular circumstances'. In addition, in response to our second question, about how scale levels interact in fields such as health, we can tentatively say that many levels of interaction are possible, with unexpected groups being relevant, including 'longer-term' versus seasonal migrant workers, and small-scale clinics versus larger-scale hospitals showing different rigidity with regard to multilingual language issues at different stages of health case management. Lastly, in response to our fourth question, about language difference influencing classifying practices, we may note several different ways in which this is so: (1) that the outreach and connecting activity required bilingual competencies; (2) that the specific posing of the clinic intake question influenced categorization practices and thus the scale of local migrant groups served by a given federal program and (3) that from the vantage point of a larger-scale urban hospital, unfamiliar with local-scale understandings, the linguistic intermediary's procedural and linguistic competencies were unrecognized.

Case 2: "Who are your friends?": Education Programs, Women's Networks, and Accessing Health Care

The second case is taken from the same wider study as the prior case, but it focuses on the activities of language workers who served also as health intermediaries. Several characteristics of the population and setting are different from the first case. The migrants were more recent arrivals to the area. Most had moved into this region and occupational sector in the past decade. They worked on dairy and cattle feeding farms in a multicounty region. They were relatively far from the center of seasonal farm work and the programs that served seasonal farm workers. Dispersed across numerous small farms, they were both geographically and linguistically isolated. They often had a different political status that compounded their isolation. Many were undocumented and thus unable to obtain driver's licenses in New York State, and they thus needed to exercise caution and discretion when venturing outside of the farms where they worked and lived. Examining the mechanisms and resources that could be used to access health care in such a situation, we came to appreciate the role of ad hoc or volunteer language intermediaries, who extended their language work from one domain of migrant life to another.

What we found, based on our own ethnographic data and supported in a recent report by Bonville 2010, was that ESL language teachers employed in the federal Migrant Education Program (MEP) became institutional mediators for migrant families. In their capacity as educators, they visited individual households on a weekly basis, provided rudimentary language instruction and helped with household literacy tasks, such as accessing and completing forms from children's schools or from social service agencies. More pertinently, some would provide transportation to and interpreting during health care encounters, whether in doctors' offices or at hospital visits. Bonville's informative analysis shows that the MEP itself served as a focal point, a site for meetings among migrant women, typically mothers with young families, who would otherwise be deeply isolated by geography and language.

A case involving a migrant mother who lived on a dairy farm for three years illustrates both forms of isolation. On one occasion, in order to take her son to a doctor's appointment, she hired a *raitero*, or unofficial taxi. At the doctor's office, however, she was unable to complete the paperwork and had to contact the migrant education staff member, who drove a considerable distance and helped translate and interpret during the child's appointment (Bonville 2010, 15). We see in this instance how MEP language educators also serve as linguistic mediators in health care encounters, linking isolated families with health care providers. As Bonville shows, they also enabled migrant women to establish social ties with other Spanish-speaking migrant women living in similar situations. While providing family support, MEP language teachers mediated between various scales: they connected households of individual women to networks of other migrant women as well as to health, education and social service institutions.

The language mediators in our study, as well as those discussed by Bonville, worked for the Migrant Education Program. Like the Migrant Seasonal Farmworker Health Program in case 1, MEP is a federal initiative that is instantiated through local organizations. In the case of MEP in New York, the local organizations are Boards of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES), multicounty education and social service consortia, which convert federal, state, county and private funding into programs that serve a host of constituencies: adult learners, the unemployed, those needing special education services and 'special groups' like migrants.

Eligibility requirements for the MEP cast in sharp relief the interplay between the spatial and temporal dimensions of scaled activities and categorization practices. For example, in order to be eligible for MEP services, a migrant family must illustrate *time-specified mobility*. As one BOCES website states: "Children qualify for the program because of *their family's movement across school district lines during the past 36 months* to seek or obtain agricultural employment" (Herkimer-Fulton-Hamilton-Otsego BOCES 2010 [emphasis added]). In short, federal programs are administered through regional (multicounty) consortia and are targeted at migrant workers in "agricultural employment" who have crossed a school district boundary in the past three years. During those three years, but only those three years, they are eligible for second-language education services as well as interpreting and translation services and ad hoc assistance with access to health care.

As with case 1, we see that the nation-state remains a significant scale level, for federal programs are important in both migrant health care and education. But how national-level programs are implemented depends on a range of other political and social strata as well as how various agents interact with these strata and their scaling possibilities. Examples include regional and county consortia, which manage programs aimed at migrants families with a specific time-specified mobility, the 'emergent' social networks brought about by the ad hoc advocacy of MEP teachers and the changing size of groups who are eligible for health care from migrant health clinics, depending on the strategic use of intake questions. We see also that language difference matters both as a reflection of a large-scale societal concern with 'language problems' and as a resource that evokes scaled possibilities in face-to-face and network-based social terrains. The MEP teachers, like the health outreach worker, are employed because of their multilingual language abilities. Nonetheless, much depends on the initiative intermediaries show as they engage with migrants in the field of health, whether as the (multilingual) phone resource 'known' to the migrants of a county, or the teacher/health advocate who connects an isolated mother with health services through the medium of onsite interpreting.

Case 3: "Next time again bring your niece": Formal and Informal Interpreting in Neighborhood Health Clinics in Ghent

Our third case concentrates on neighborhood health care in an urban context. For this case, nine interviews were conducted with general practitioners in four neighborhood health clinics in Ghent in the spring of 2010 (De Maesschalk et al. 2010). These continue an earlier line of neighborhood ethnographic work on globalization-effected multilingualism in which interviews, photo documentations and participant observations had been conducted in 2003 and 2004 (Collins and Slembrouck 2006, 2007). The neighborhood clinics are nonprofit organizations, which, through a system of individual patient registration, draw on federally subsidized health funds via the so-called mutualités (the semi-private/semi-public health insurance organizations that administer the federal health fund). The focus of the interviews was on practices of migrant health care and, particularly, preferences in the reliance on formal and informal interpreters, the characteristics of in situ decision making and the scales involved in the categorization processes. While health is financed federally in Belgium, the provision of formal interpreting is operated both through municipal agents with local and regional Flemish-government funding (e.g. *Tolk en Vertaalservice Gent* (TVG) for onsite formal interpreting in the Ghent area) as well as regional agents (e.g. *Ba-bel* as a regional provider of telephone interpreting for the Flemish Community). In contrast, informal interpreting tends to be provided at the scale of the neighborhood, the household or the family network.

We were particularly interested in what the doctors have to say about what the two categories of formal and informal interpreting entail and what warrants the allocation of a patient and/or consultation type to either category of language support. Some GPs also discussed similarities, differences and boundaries with situations where the doctor is bilingual or a situation in which a paid cultural mediator functions as a go-between between doctor and patient. Somewhat unexpectedly, the GPs were not all dismissive of informal interpreting. In fact, at various points, a preference for informal interpreting was stated with the listed advantage of prioritizing the affective and social relational aspects of general practice consultations. This stance was summarized anecdotally by one GP: "Next time again bring your niece". It was felt that there was more certainty that a patient would feel at ease during medical consultations if an informal interpreter were present. This also lay behind the GP's advice that it was better to (continue to) rely on relative A or neighbor B in some cases. Thus, the informal interpreter takes on a role comparable to that of the parent accompanying the child to the doctor or the daughter accompanying the elderly father.

Nevertheless, various GPs expressed concern about how to optimize the use of informal interpreters, and others pointed to the need for quality checks and increased awareness in the use of such interpreters. Some doctors had developed specific strategies for this—e.g. short reliability "tests", which they insert early on in the consultation. In addition, formal interpreting was generally said to come with better guarantees of reliability, but at the same time it was difficult, time consuming and cumbersome to organize. At the same time, some differences were noted between phone interpreting—organized at a distance but available almost instantly—and in situ interpreting—which was always arranged beforehand, by appointment. Formal interpreting was certainly considered an important requirement when signs of noncomprehension prevail, the condition is critical or when the consultation is communicatively demanding.

Interestingly, the group of doctors who participated in the interviews showed little awareness about the wider organizational aspects of interpreting: some said in so many words that they realized that the neighborhood centers were well-resourced financially. It was easy for them to access formal interpreters, and they suspected that their colleagues in single-doctor practices were probably worse off in this respect. There was no talk about poor resources the neighborhood clinic would have in this area or that formal interpreting would be difficult to organize because of a patient's particular status as a refugee, asylum seeker or undocumented person. Most of the GPs voiced specific recommendations for practice related to improving the quality of informal interpreting, e.g. through training initiatives for both doctors and interpreters; they appeared to be quite unaware that such training programs are readily accessible and provided for nationally by the "Centrale Ondersteunings Cel Social Tolken en Vertalen"—the central support unit for community interpreting and translation.

During the interviews, person features oriented to the scale of the state (part of question one referred to earlier) did not surface as features that affect access to health care or the allocation of interpreting resources. This is different than the two US cases, where preoccupation with 'illegal' migrants is high and the question of "who will pay" for health care is omnipresent. The GPs also reported on different categories (asylum seekers, undocumented refugees, migrants), but exclusion from health care or language support was not effected in practice (the main criterion for eligibility appeared to be: residency within the broad confines of the neighborhood). While this tells us something about the professional and ethical value orientations of the GPs who work in the neighborhood clinics—they are strongly committed to social outreach and equity in access to medical care—it also hints at sufficiency in financial resources to accommodate all the cases that present themselves in the centers, as well as a prevalence of local in-house decision making about entitlement.

Our third case also testifies to the role of institutional agents interacting with social strata and their scaling possibilities. A more general point to be made here, which forms part of answering question four, is that the preference for informal interpreting is a scale-sensitive stance. GPs act on the assumption that the density of urban migrant life and its networks of kin and friendship in many cases would provide multilingual language interpreters, as reflected in the doctor's comment: "next time again bring your niece". Other categorizations crosscut or inform decision making—e.g. the seriousness of the medical condition. This case contrasts with that found in case 2, in which rural-geographic isolation and the absence of state-provided legitimation was the strongest scale-sensitive feature calling for MEP interpreting.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we explored our investigation of how migrants are classified in the field of health care. Our focus was on the role of language intermediaries in instantiating the interscale relationships that play a role in this. The observation was made that the categorization of people in need of health care interlocks with the forms of multilingual mediation and that, in combination, the two may limit access to provisions or the quality of care they can rely on. In many instances, multilingual mediation plays a role over and above the provision of language support (the role that is canonically associated with multilingual mediators). In some contexts (e.g. rural Upstate New York), care can be mediated by outreach workers (case 1) or by ESL teachers who act as linguistic mediators in the clinics and thus shift from an educational role to a voluntary role of translator/interpreter who enables access (case 2). In other contexts (e.g. urban Flanders, Belgium) state-funded neighborhood health care routinely relies on the services of both municipality-provided formal interpreters and neighborhood-provided informal interpreting. Informal interpreting by family members is a valued means of providing quality care. But none of these appear to have a direct bearing on access itself. The empirical question thus in the background is how language mediating relationships at times enable and at other times frustrate access, and which kind of mediation works to overcome the potential exclusion of people in need of care, on the grounds of them being categorized as migrants. In this, language mediation may be restricted to interactional support during access, or it may also regulate access itself. Its success may be secured within the confines of routinely established connections between scaled provision and client category, but its successful extension to other contexts cannot be taken for granted.

We can now return to the four questions posed at the beginning of the chapter. The first question was whether the scale of the nation-state provided a privileged vantage point for analyzing the institutional fields that shape migrant encounters with the host or receiving society. Based on our findings in the ethnographic cases drawn from both countries, we suggest that the nation-state remains a powerful entity. In particular, central institutions such as health and education (not to mention law and police) are firmly controlled by national and federal bureaucracies. Many health programs for migrants originate in state-based offices and policies. As we have seen, eligibility for such programs depends on 'classifying discourses' about different kinds of migrants as well as on assumed differences between migrants and nonmigrant citizens. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that scaling processes are situation-/site-sensitive, and actualized access depends on local decision making, which can exercise a considerable leeway in how the categories of state and program are applied to specific individuals and their circumstances.

Our second question was how scale levels, national and otherwise, interacted in institutional fields such as health care or education (Collins and Slembrouck 2006). As we have seen, health care often involves entities and activities that originate in diverse, differently scaled enterprises (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005a): migrant health care often involves the local siting of programs with county, state or federal provenance, as with the mobile health clinics discussed in case 1. In the situated cross-language communicative activities, we frequently see how scales are invoked or instantiated, as with the intake questions to the fixed clinics in case 1 or the preference for informal interpreting in case 3.

Our third question was whether classifying and categorizing practices, a central feature of modern statecraft (Sarangi and Slembrouck 1996; Scott 1998; Greenhalgh 2003), were sensitive to scale differences. We may now answer this question in two ways. First, as discussed throughout the cases, it is clear that different kinds of classifying questions invoke different scale levels: "What kind of problem do you have?" is for a clinic or doctor's office—as in case 3; "When did you move to this school district?" evokes both a local district and a federal program, as in case 2; "Have you worked as a farm worker in the past three years?", as discussed in case 1, is pertinent to services offered in a particular county but also invokes the criteria of a federal program; "Next time again bring your niece", as discussed in case 3, does not invoke criteria of access but a category of mediation at the local level.

Our case studies support the argument that the closer one gets to the scale of the person-to-person activities of those accessing health care, whether of outreach workers providing interpreting services, or doctors thinking about when to use a professionally trained interpreter, the more ad hoc classifications and procedures may take the place of official classifications and procedures. It is perhaps for this reason that we find the doctors of case 3 least aware of government or financial constraints on language services for migrants seeking health care. It is also likely for this reason that we find that our language intermediaries in cases 1 and 2 first reported incidents of their efforts and advocacy on behalf of migrants needing health care and only later, under probing, noted the existence of constraints (as in the three-year limit for eligibility for MEP services).

Lastly, we asked a crosscutting question: How does language difference influence both scaling processes and classification practices? When language becomes a project of state formation (Anderson 1991; Bourdieu 1991), membership in a national community (i.e. 'legitimate citizenship'), normatively requires possession of specific linguistic resources. Under official monolingualism, which is the language policy of many, if not most, nation-states, language difference becomes a salient feature of 'otherness' that generates exclusion. However, the presence of ethnolinguistic minorities challenges this monolingual ideology, although typically in highly regulated ways that obtain to spatiotemporally defined 'pockets' of institutional activity (Heller 1999; Silverstein 2003). As we have seen in health care provision, language difference often reveals both intra- and interorganizational relationships and scale levels. This is shown, for example, in each of the three cases: in the first, the bilingual outreach worker connects individuals and groups to county and federal programs and reveals the scale sensitivity of program-specific genres like intake questions; in the second case, MEP language teachers connect migrant clients both with each other (the women's networks) and with health-service providers; in the third case, the GPs were aware of different interpreting needs within their community of registered patients and of neighborhood-supplied, city-provided and nationwide interpreting services.

As we have demonstrated in this chapter, the analysis of scale and scaling processes helps us to understand the specificities of fields in an era of neoliberalism. State organizations constitutively affect and define fields differently, and often there is a complex interaction between organizations at the local, regional, national and federal level. Whether or not the nation-state is privileged as a scale in its own right is an empirical question, which is to be addressed ethnographically.

One of the contentions of this chapter is that we need language-focused ethnography to study the contemporary, globalized state. The salience of language and language difference in quotidian experiences of globalization is indeed worth reiterating in detail. For instance, language difference is noted and debated as a source of educational (under)achievement. In the political domain, acquisition of the dominant language at the expense of the minority language occurs as a ticket to citizenship and 'integration'. Language difference is seen as a complicating factor in access to medical diagnosis and treatment. The three health care cases in this chapter examine how language mediators operate with transnational migrants across diverse social and sociolinguistic scales, and this reveals the complex ways in which classifying discourses regulate access and organize the field of health. It is an open question to what extent these categorization processes are sensitive to the 'new' regulatory regimes for institutions and activities resourced with public funds.

Against this background, it is rather hard to ignore a matching empirical and social theoretical focus on the neoliberal state: in some cases, services may face the effects of privatization; in other cases, experiential voices hint at tightened financial scrutiny and demonstrated accountability and the role of performance indicators. For instance, in a set of additional field conversations, it emerged that the city-based interpreting services referred to in case 3 face an uncertain period of renewal of contract in which services are no longer supplied free of charge to the receiving institution and in which allocated subsidies may be made dependent on the capacity of the organization to demonstrate that its services are also beneficial to the spread of Dutch, the dominant majority language. It is an interesting development that the cost of interpreting (field specific to medical and social welfare) is being weighed against that of Dutch courses for immigrants (field specific to politics and education). Under neoliberalism, state functions also get blended with nonstate actors. Cases 1 and 2 involve federal, county and individual resources deployed to meet the needs of incoming Mexican migrants linked to the 'liberalization' of economic policy under the North American Free Trade Act. In case 1, the federal migrant seasonal work program was supplemented with county and private funds, and the scope of medical coverage depended in part on outreach workers' strategies with medical intake questions. In case 2, language educators extended their family assistance obligations into the realm of health care, making situation-specific decisions to combine educator, interpreter and advocate roles. However, at the same time, it is interesting to note that the general practitioners in the Flemish neighborhood health clinics, at the time of the interviews, appeared to be unaffected by the neoliberal climate, at least on the terrain of language services and migrant access to health. They may well experience neoliberal pressures in other areas—e.g. time management vis-à-vis individual patients. However, just as Tsing (2000) reminds us that globalization is always situated, we must remember that neoliberalism as a transnationally distributed discourse takes effect in specific nuanced practices and circumstances, multilingualism being one of them.

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3 Negotiating Mobile Codes and Literacies at the Contact Zone

Another Perspective on South African Township Schools

Suresh Canagarajah

The intensified mobility of people, language and texts in recent forms of globalization has generated new questions for analysis. Blommaert (2010) has provided a valuable language and framework to unpack this global flow of symbolic resources and their conflicting uptake in different locations. A central idea is that each place has its own "orders of indexicality", which assign meanings, values and statuses to diverse codes. These indexical orders are part of a "literacy regime" that stipulates the types of texts that are considered meaningful and successful. There are hierarchies in indexical orders and inequalities between literacy regimes. Blommaert adopts the metaphor of "scales" to refer to such differences. While the local scale is momentary and situated, the translocal is timeless and universal (Blommaert 2010, 34). The codes and literacies of powerful communities are valued at the translocal level, while those of the powerless are considered restricted in value to their local contexts. This is because the codes and literacies of powerful societies are "high mobility resources" (2010, 12) that can "jump scales" (36). The indexical orders and literacy regimes of powerless communities therefore constitute a "peripheral normativity" (82) lacking capital beyond their own locality. A particularly significant manifestation of peripheral normativity is what Blommaert (2008) calls "heterography". This literacy practice features a mixture of local languages and visual and aesthetic resources, combined with partial appropriations of prestige codes and literacies. Heterography may thus provide identity and coherence to local communities. However, when such texts and codes representing peripheral normativity travel beyond the local community, they experience "constrained mobility": "In the transfer from one place to another, they cross from one regime into another, and the changed orders of indexicality mean that they are understood differently" (xiv).

The model Blommaert has developed is significant for many important reasons. Firstly, Blommaert enables us to understand how power works despite and/or through translocal flows of symbolic and material resources. This is an important corrective to theorists who consider globalization as facilitating a "flat world" (Friedman 2007) where inequalities are eliminated or reduced. Secondly, Blommaert encourages us to see globalization as not monolithically constituted—i.e., differentiating communities according to a single norm—but generating situated and plural norms. In this manner, he evokes an appreciation for the complexity of what are considered disprivileged codes and literacies. As he argues, "We had better conceive of literacy as organized in relatively autonomous complexes that need to be described as such, rather than as part of large (for that matter 'globalized') and abstract technologies of literacy. The rules that apply locally may differ significantly from those valid elsewhere, and an analysis of processes of transfer needs to be based on an analysis of the different regimes of literacy through which the texts move" (2008, 194). In this sense, Blommaert encourages us to adopt different perspectives on different literacy regimes, understanding each complex according to its own situated logic and conditions of production. Thirdly, Blommaert highlights the complexity of the dynamic process of change:

> Languages and discourses move around, but they do so between spaces that are full of rules, norms, customs and conventions, and they get adapted to the rules, norms, customs and conventions of such places before moving further on their trajectories. This dynamic of localization, delocalization and relocalization is essential for our understanding of sociolinguistic globalization processes.
>
> (2010, 80)

Despite its merits, I see certain crucial ways in which Blommaert's orientation needs to be qualified. To begin with, Blommaert treats these literacy regimes and indexical orders as autonomous. Each literacy regime is treated as separate, with its own logic, and cut off from others. Although Blommaert qualifies this perspective by calling literacy regimes "*relatively* autonomous complexes" (2008, 194; emphasis added), his application of the concept treats mobile codes and literacies as lacking mediation. By mediation I mean that particular scale levels and norms are treated as uninfluenced or uninformed by scales, norms and values from elsewhere. Consider Blommaert's description of the competencies of local communities:

> Their literacy skills are locked, so to speak, into one scale-level, the local one. This, too, is a core feature of sociolinguistic globalization: the relocalized varieties may get "stuck" at a local scale-level and offer little in the way of mobility potential across scales for their users.
>
> (2010, 96)

Phrases such as "locked", "stuck" and "one scale-level" are striking. Although every community has a preferred indexical order and literacy regime, it is not cut off from negotiating other indexical orders and literacy regimes from elsewhere. The local is permeated by diverse other 'locals'—i.e., diverse symbolic and material complexes. It is possible then for the local community to be not unaware of (and even not incompetent in) the indexical orders and literacy regimes of other places. Blommaert's reading gives the impression that local communities will 'uptake' traveling codes according to their own norms only, failing to adopt other scale-level perspectives with regard to the differences involved.

I find the metaphor of scales a useful means of addressing the ways in which diverse norms and literacies can be layered in the same context, giving an additional layer of complexity to Blommaert's own construct "layered simultaneity" (2005, 237). While the community may have its own norms that it applies at the local scale level, it can also adopt a translocal perspective and relate to other codes and literacies that travel to its location. Thus, people could be shuttling between different scale levels in the same location. Scales allow us then to consider social spaces as layered, not dimensional or monolithic. Scales orientate to contexts as relational, enabling us to adopt different norms in different modes of relationship or social consideration. Blommaert's use of scales is a bit too static and hierarchical to accommodate such mediated layering. Blommaert (2010, 34) defines scales according to space and time in the following way:

	Lower scale	Higher scale
Time	momentary	timeless
Space	local, situated	translocal, widespread

Among the values Blommaert uses to characterize scale levels, lower scale is associated with "diversity, variation" and higher scale with "uniformity, homogeneity" (35). That is, because scales are hierarchically stratified, there is a restricted set of universally accepted norms at the higher scale level. It is true that Blommaert introduces the notion of *polycentricity* to accommodate the possibility that there could be different language norms in operation in the same space. However, these polycentric norms are not allowed to overlap or lead to tension. Language norms are stratified according to different contexts and functions: "We thus see various orders of indexicality operating in the same polycentric environment, often without manifest overlap or confusion but 'niched' and confined to particular sets of communicative tasks" (61). Norms are thus niched and confined. Polycentricity does not lead to hierarchies being contested or renegotiated. Norms and statuses differ according to particular communicative tasks or genres, leaving the scales hierarchically stratified.

Several scholars of lingua franca communication have noted that norms in social spaces are open to renegotiation and reconstruction. This means that the uptake of literacy and language resources in diverse locations will be unpredictable. Therefore, the outcomes of mobile texts have to be empirically observed in diverse locations, in relation to the different interlocutors and conditions, rather than theorized ideologically. A variety of scholars (Firth 1996; Khubchandani 1997; Seidlhofer 2004; Kell 2008) warn us of the limitations of using power differences deterministically to predict language outcomes. We have to keep our constructs open to accommodate norms being creatively renegotiated in diverse social spaces, and the possible emergence of new norms that are collaborative.

Such an understanding of contexts and texts as open to negotiation raises the question of how we should view social spaces. I view all social spaces as *contact zones*, to borrow a metaphor from Mary Louise Pratt (1991). I see the presence, even clash, of diverse semiotic resources in the same *space*. Much depends on how people negotiate these mobile resources. While it is true that communities appropriate these resources to construct local indexical orders and literacy regimes that are *placed*, they can also relate to translocal scales and renegotiate norms for intercommunity relations. I thus find it useful to distinguish between *space* and *place*. While place features localized and situated norms, space is virtual, featuring mobile and delocalized codes before they get placed. These domains are of course relational, so place has the possibility of being transformed into space where norms can be renegotiated (or relocalized). Spaces, therefore, are contact zones of diverse indexical orders and literacy regimes, with varying outcomes. In adopting this position, I recognize that I am using these terms differently than scholars like de Certeau (1984) and Pennycook (2010), who consider *place* more social and negotiated than virtual *space*.

Such a perspective would encourage us to see people as not locked into only one scale level of speaking or writing. They may develop the ability to shuttle across scale levels, spanning indexical orders and literacy regimes, without necessarily being physically mobile. This is possible because all contexts are mediated by mobile resources from diverse places. People are also able to renegotiate norms and construct texts that transcend the norms of specific scale levels. In adopting this layered orientation to social spaces, then, we must be open to the possibility that texts and talk may feature hybrid norms. Contact zones are generative of "new literate arts" (Pratt 1991, 31) that merge competing indexical orders. It is possible to have texts that infuse resources from local norms for voice and identity, while relating to translocal norms for intercommunity relations. Texts and talk do not necessarily feature only one norm or the other exclusively. In the data analysis below, I show how we might perform a different reading of literacy competence when we look at the classroom as a contact zone of different indexical orders and literacy regimes.

BACKGROUND

Blommaert (2010) applies his literacy orientation to Wesbank High School, a township school, in the Cape Town metropolitan area and shows how the writing texts of students deviate from dominant norms of English. There are grammatical and spelling deviations, inconsistent capitalization, and nonverbal visual embellishment in them. In showing that teachers fail to correct many of these deviations and produce similar texts themselves, Blommaert demonstrates that such uses constitute a local indexical order, a "peripheral normativity". Blommaert goes on to show that this local norm is both a problem and a solution. It is a solution because it provides a shared norm that the community can relate to for identity and learning without resorting to inaccessible exogenous norms. However, it is a problem because their local semiotic resources hinder their social and geographical mobility. The implication is that the local literacy regime and indexical order are shaped by the limited resources of the community and limit their mobility in translocal spaces.

I observed literacy instruction in another township school near Cape Town and came to different conclusions. As in Blommaert's study, the school in question was a high school. Whereas Blommaert's school was ethnically mixed (predominantly colored, but including the black and white communities), mine was exclusively black and predominantly Xhosa speaking. I will label it "High School" in the interests of anonymity. High School was established in October 2008 because the other high school in the township was "full". It started with 20 educators and 682 learners, but currently has 25 educators and 828 learners. According to the deputy head, "The school is not well resourced and we've got large numbers of the learners in classes. Nevertheless, motivation is high". To quote the deputy head: "Our first matric results was 90.5% and we hope to improve on this" (personal communication, 06/07/2012).

THE STUDY

I obtained permission from the principal to sit in on classes, take observation notes, and audiotape lessons. The teachers gave me work of varying levels done by their students in their examinations. The work was classified as 'good', 'moderate' or 'poor'. These texts show what the students could produce under test-taking conditions. They also gave me sample teaching materials and lesson plans. While I was at High School, I interviewed the deputy head (who was in charge of the English teaching program) and a focus group of English teachers. During the final week of my visit, the deputy head invited me to share my tentative observations with his team of English teachers and permitted me to audiotape the meeting. This conversation served as a member check procedure, as I had the opportunity to elicit the opinions of the teachers on my interpretation of their practices. As was the case in their classrooms, the teachers did not want me to be a detached observer. In the classrooms, they asked for my opinion when they discussed the effectiveness of students' writing or presentations, compelling me to join their learning community.

I adopt a holistic orientation to classroom literacy. Unlike Blommaert, who focuses on the sentence-level problems in the texts produced by teachers and students at Wesbank (although he does accommodate a holistic orientation in other studies—see Blommaert 2008), I include rhetorical and discourse issues as well. Writing should involve considerations such as ideas development and organization. I also like to consider the production of writing text in the broader context of reading and speaking, not to mention the other semiotic resources in classroom ecology (such as texts displayed on the walls of the school or those accessed electronically). In my view, a holistic approach is necessary to understand the resources available to the students and the types of competence they are developing. This also provides insights into the pedagogical frames of reference of the teachers. My approach thus continues the orientations of new literacy studies (Street 1984; Gee 1990; Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic 2000) and multiliteracies (Cope and Kalantzis 2000). These orientations go beyond the autonomous literacy tradition, which perceives texts as normative products that are separated from other communicative modalities, semiotic systems and ecological resources.

However, my study has some limitations. It does not follow the trajectory of the texts involved or examine their reception in multiple sites, i.e. beyond the township. However, I would argue that I am able to infer the possibilities in local practices and competences from the manner in which students shuttle between genres and norms. I am also able to address passive or receptive forms of competence in multiple codes among students. There is also ample evidence of how students interpret literacies from elsewhere in my observation notes. As for productive competence, I am able to show that they recognize different norms in different genres and contexts from the way students construct different texts. However, my claims on uptake are provisional, awaiting empirical observation in other contexts.

Logistical constraints prevented me from conducting detailed interviews with teachers on the rationale for their assessment of each student's work. Therefore, I have based my interpretation of the available evidence on their overall attitudes and orientations (presented later) gleaned from interview data and the consistency of their evaluation practices. Similarly, although we cannot be certain that students are conscious of all their choices and norms, patterns of consistent usage indicate the rationale behind their practices. There is a real danger that if we assume that township teachers and students are deficient and stuck in peripheral normativity, no amount of evidence will convince us of their agency.

SHUTTLING BETWEEN SCALES

The local indexical order was especially evident in oral interactions. In conversations in English, teachers and students always adopted pronunciation and intonation that were locally preferred. Even in cases where teachers or students read texts published in British or American English (for example, Wordsworth's "The world is too much with us"), they adopted a local accent, tonality and pronunciation. In other words, teachers and students would read aloud texts with syntactic structures from privileged varieties of English in their own locally acceptable pronunciation. The locally accepted pronunciation was also evident in the fact that teachers often corrected students into enunciating English according to local norms. When a student articulated "low self-esteem" as /$_1$loself ^{1}estim/ the teacher asked the student to repeat the phrase a few times, indicating lack of intelligibility. Then he rearticulated it as /^{1}lo: $_1$selvestim/ (with the primary stress on "low"), correcting the student. There were also idiomatic expressions that speakers of other English varieties may not share. "Sorry Sir" was the way students hailed their teacher. "Up your hands" was the phrase used by teachers to ask students to raise their hands if they wanted to answer the teacher's question.

There was also a lot of mixing of codes in oral communication. Xhosa words were often strategically introduced to make a point. In illustrations here and later, pseudonyms are used for the people concerned. When Mr. M clarified a point about the woman's place in the husband's family after her marriage, he switched to a Xhosa term:

> Mr. M: In South African tradition, what is a good mother? In our culture they say, if you are married to me, you are not married to me alone, [uses Xhosa word to convey concept]

Ms. J, who is colored and spoke Afrikaans, shared with me how she used a Xhosa word to attract her students' attention. She used *bhala* ("write") when students were distracted by other activities. The code switch from English elicited immediate compliance:

> Ms. J: Today I said to my grade eleven class, Bhala.
> SURESH: What does that mean?
> Ms. J: Write. Because they are not used to *me* saying that, they immediately looked up.

It is clear that the teacher finds the switches into Xhosa pedagogically valuable.

Though the medium of teachers' classes and instructions was almost always English, students sometimes addressed their questions to teachers in Xhosa or discussed group assignments among themselves in Xhosa to produce the answers for the teacher in English. Aware of my presence in the classroom, Mr. M once asked his students doing group work, "Are you speaking in Xhosa English?" and elicited embarrassed laughter from everyone. However, he did not chastise them for using Xhosa English, and students continued the group discussion in this medium. Though students largely used Xhosa in the play areas during the break, they also switched heavily into English.

I now turn to the language norms manifested in literacy activities. Some literacies may be defined as local, even though outsiders may have access to them. A literate activity in which students used Xhosa English freely and creatively was the Facebook page they had created for their school. The participants use the conventions of text messaging (featuring abbreviations and icons) in addition to mixing English and Xhosa. Since Xhosa uses the Roman alphabet, it is convenient to use the existing keyboards and resources to write in Xhosa in these sites. This is a hybrid form of literacy activity, combining oral and literate resources, and diverse languages. Consider the language in the thread of discussion below:

> SINAZO: Guys cela nincede amabuteri eclass yaw abafun uya kwi ball as a result some of the gils awana partnerz so f ukhona thn help out
> MOMMMMOLATHISE: Mfingo and phumlani are available
> XOLISANI: lol
> SINAZO: lol wel i wl tell them, so do you njena sbabalwe you are available..zizidudla ke
> MOLATHISE: For man-p not mfingo he prefer bone people

As this interaction is defined primarily as an in-group conversation, students are adopting a local scale level to their language norms and text production. I will show below that certain other written genres, which may also be defined as relatively more local, feature local language norms.

I did not find such code mixing used or approved in the formal written work of students. It appeared to me that students and teachers treated formal writing as relating to the translocal scale. We can ask why they shifted the language norm for writing. It might be argued that expository writing requires a somewhat broadly shared norm designed to enable texts to shuttle across scale levels. This translocal norm is represented by what some American scholars call Standard Written English, or SWE. Besides, some genres of formal writing are focused on negotiating institutional relationships across communities in privileged contexts. Therefore, teachers focused on adopting SWE in their assessment of expository writing by their students. This does not mean that I did not find the types of grammatical problems in such texts that Blommaert identifies in his data. Teachers always corrected the texts to move students to translocal norms. In some cases, I found that teachers had not corrected all of the errors. I did not take this to mean that teachers approved of such usage or shared those norms. As a teacher of writing, I recognize that identifying the sentence-level errors is not the sole concern in grading an essay. In my final interview, teachers shared their concerns with me about limiting marking to such mechanical errors. Therefore, we should consider other explanations beyond "peripheral normativity" to find the reasons why not all grammatical errors were corrected.

The grading rubric of the teachers is usually a good indication of their frames of reference. The rubrics used for grading expository essays meant that the teachers had to give attention not only to sentence-level grammatical and mechanical problems, but also to global issues of idea development and organization. As for language, the teachers clearly expected students to shift to a translocal scale and adopt SWE for such written products. Later I found that all teachers in the township schools I visited used the same rubric for assignments, and I learned that the set of rubrics used was used throughout the country. Local educational experts contend that these rubrics have a positive washback effect on teaching, orientating students and teachers toward issues beyond grammar and product (see Van der Walt 2010).

Consider now the essay written by Zianda for this assignment on the topic Problems of Modern Youth:

> Youth or modern youth are young people from of the certain age until up to the age of thirty five (35). When you are above 35 it means you no longer young person.
>
> In all over the world there are many lots of young people's, which means there too many problems or challenges we face, some of those challenges are hard to face them. People who are youth start developing these problems at teenage stage, so as the person grow those problems go on and on. for an example, when you start to smoke you become more addicted or want to keep on using so its very difficult to quit and you end smoking maybe for the rest of your life. Some of the other main problems that youth of modern faces are teenage pregnancy, Drugs, drinking to much alchohol, Hiv Aids, Abuse etc.
>
> When you are modern youth there things that led you to destroy life and end regreting whishing you could turn back the clock. Young modern youth are dying at very early state. all of these because of these problems one of is Hiv Aids. Long time ago when our great great grandmother and grandfather where growing up there was not such problems. so that why they lives a long life and I salute them. In nowadays youth are very stubborn and some or most a watching television and see those things that are done the television and try to change their lives because of it.
>
> The young one in nowadays seems like or think like they know it all. Some of don't practice his/her culture. they are taken by the new technology and influenced by the media. Modern youth are being thought or told whats wrong and what is right, but it seems like they don't even care. They get advices from the people they are close too and being motivated and inspired to do good things.
>
> I think use as youth we must try to be more responsible and relevant know what is right what is wrong and think positively. what things we have can they affect our lives in future.

The outline at the top of the essay showed that Zianda had a clear plan before she started writing the essay. In separate thought clouds, she had written the following: "1. Introduction; 2. What are the problems of modern youth; 3. Effect of these problems; 4. What motivates or inspires us mostly; 5. What are the bad influences in our lives as modern youth; 6. Conclusion." The outline reflects the content of the essay quite well. It appears as if points 4 and 5 have been combined into a single paragraph. In keeping with the process tradition of writing, instructions have been given to students to plan their essays well.

It is interesting to note that the phrases in the outline are spelled correctly. The errors in the essay therefore appear to be production problems, probably attributable, at least in part, to the time constraints students have in test-taking conditions. That Zianda is striving to approximate SWE is also clear from the fact that there is no Xhosa in this essay. We can see that the essay is pitched at an abstract level for a more general/invisible audience, treating youth in the abstract. "Us" in the essay doesn't refer to those in this township but youth in general. Though there are a few local problems discussed in the essay, such as AIDS, teenage pregnancy and drugs, they are hardly the monopoly of townships these days. The abstract treatment of the theme suggests that the presumed audience and projected voice of the author work at a translocal level. It is appropriate, therefore, that the teacher also expects SWE norms and makes a careful correction based on this norm.

The following is an example of the teacher's corrections of the second paragraph in the essay (note: *underlining* reflects run on sentences or identifies problematic syntax; ~~strike through~~ is deletion; and CAPS indicate the teacher's insertion):

> <u>In all</u>ALL over the world there are <u>many</u> lots of young peo<u>ple</u>~~'s~~, which means <u>there too</u> many problems or challenges we face, some of those <u>chalengles</u> are hard to face. <u>them</u>. People who are youth start developing these problems at A teenage stage, so as the person grows those problems go on and on. for an example, when you start to smoke you become more addicted or want to keep on <u>using so its</u> very difficult to quit and you end UP smoking <u>maybe for</u> the rest of your life. Some of the other main problems that <u>youth of modern</u> faces are teenage pregnancy, <u>D</u>rugs, drinking <u>to</u> TOO much alchohol, Hiv Aids, Abuse etc.

Some errors in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have not been corrected. Based on the rubrics teachers had to use when marking, Ms. J has given thirty out of fifty points for the essay. Because the teacher has relied on the rubric to make her assessment criteria evident and not given any terminal comments, we do not have specific information on the rationale for this assessment. A possible reason why the teacher has not added comments is the advice given by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to use this rubric, and not any other criteria, in order to maintain objectivity and uniformity in grading.

The teacher has given twenty-two out of thirty points for content and planning, four out of twelve points for language, style and editing and four out of six points for structure. The grading suggests that the teacher was impressed with the organization and some of the provocative ideas in the essay, though she may not have been impressed with the language, style and editing.

In other written genres, such as letters to institutions, teachers were also mindful of special genre conventions. In the examples I saw, though there are some problems with punctuation, capitalization and syntax, the students successfully approximated the format of an official complaint letter. In my view, the texts of the students in High School show a *recognition* of different norms at different scale levels. They also show the ability to adjust production to suit different scales and audiences. The students are not stuck in their "peripheral normativity".

I acknowledge that both linguistic and communicative competence matters in successful uptake; the grammatical deviation in their writing does affect the possibility of uptake. However, the *potential* in the students to recognize scale differences and make efforts to approximate the desired norms should be treated as agentive and creative, and built upon. Perceiving these students as deficient prevents us from recognizing that potential.

There was no attempt to mix Xhosa words or phrases in the letters I saw, which suggests that the students recognized the translocal scale of communication in such written genres. However, the use of visual and aesthetic resources that constitute what Blommaert calls *heterography* requires a qualified response. The lack of heterography in the formal essays shows that students were careful to distinguish the place where heterography belongs. However, I found heterography in the outlines where students had to give evidence of brainstorming ideas before writing. Evidence of planning and outlining was included in the rubrics for grading. Zianda, for example, presented the main theme of her expository essay in the center of the outline in the shape of an embellished and shaded heart. The points that make up the body paragraphs were presented in differently embellished clouds connected to the heart. (Because I was given a Xerox copy of the essay, I am unable to say if Zianda had also colored these thought clouds and heart.) Such doodling and painting probably helps students get over writer's block and freely brainstorm ideas. This heterography could be thus very functional. However, the main point to realize is that all students recognized heterography as not belonging in the formal essay, but outside it, for other informal spaces in the written product. Teachers, too, accepted heterography in the outline and did not chastise students for such embellishments nor advise them against doing so.

Teachers had designed different types of writing activities for assessment, with certain writing genres accommodating heterography. This was not surprising. In doing this, they were following the range of activities and proficiencies mandated by WCED as part of its language curriculum (see FAL

Generic 2003, 47–49). In what they labeled "shorter transactional texts", teachers asked students to write postcards, advertisements, or posters.

The guidelines for grading these genres suggest an acceptance of informality as appropriate for that genre. Surprisingly, however, these guidelines state that marks should not be awarded for illustrations. The instructions to the students also state that illustrations should not be included. This might be construed as somewhat limiting the multimodality of this writing.

Consider the poster Mawande had designed to warn against smoking, in response to the following prompt:

> Design a poster in which you highlight the dangers of cigarette smoking. Use approximately 30–60 words.

It is interesting that the prompt refers to this assignment as "designing" rather than "writing". It implicitly acknowledges the nonalphabetic and nonlinear nature of this literate product. The following guidelines are also included:

> You are required to show ALL aspects of the writing process: planning, writing, proofreading and editing. Pay careful attention to:
> Audience, register, tone and style
> Choice of words and language structures
> Format.

It is evident that the rubric for this assignment gives more weight to the rhetorical issues of register and style but does not ignore issues of careful planning and writing. The emphasis on "choice of words" is an acknowledgment that a language appropriate for the text and audience has to be used.

In his poster, Mawande used different fonts to highlight different messages. He had also embellished the fonts. (I was unable to see the colors he might have used in the Xerox version I have.) In the center of the poster is what appears to be the lung that is destroyed by smoking. There is a burning cigarette in the lung. Familiar icons such as the "STOP" traffic sign visually reinforce the message. The writer uses space creatively, deviating from the usual left-to-right, top-to-bottom sequencing of messages in alphabetic literacy. Messages such as the following, in different fonts and shading, surround the margins of the poster: "Don't", "Cancer Kill" and "Smoking Can harm Your Lungs!!" The cigarette in the center of the lungs is inscribed with the message: "ciggarret. Try me, ill destroy u". Though there are some spelling, capitalization and punctuation problems, the teacher did not correct them in this assignment. It is possible that the teacher treated the language as appropriate use of local communicative practices and considered that it would be processed without problems. I base this interpretation of the grading on the consistent practice across all graded papers that I perused. Grammar errors were not corrected in shorter transactional texts. We can understand, therefore, that the teacher has given eleven points out of twenty for this assignment, which qualifies as "meritorious" but not "outstanding".

Interestingly, my post-test review of a similar assignment to the one done in the senior certificate examination revealed that all students included illustrations, despite the prohibition in the guidelines (see Examiners' Reports 2010, 1). The review acknowledges that it is difficult to keep illustrations out of this assignment. My explanation for informal language and illustrations in shorter transactional texts is that this genre assumes a more immediate local audience and warrants a local scale of communication. The mobility of such texts is limited. They are also more informal than the institutional and formal texts discussed above. These texts have more immediate relevance for the local places and communities in which they are displayed. In such genres, teachers recognize that heterography is a resource. Perhaps there is an intuitive recognition by both teachers and students of the limitations of a communicative pedagogy that restricts literacy to the alphabetic (see Van der Walt 2010 for a criticism of the limitations of the WCED communicative curriculum that still conforms to monolingual and alphabetic norms).

CLASSROOM AS A CONTACT ZONE

The students' oral and written products I have presented suggest a shuttling between different scales and their related indexical orders and literacy regimes (albeit according to the interpretation and understanding of these scales and orders by local teachers and students themselves). There were other semiotic resources in the classroom that also presented nonlocal indexical orders and literacy regimes and had the potential to develop certain receptive competences, slightly different from the productive capabilities we see above. These resources show that despite the poverty and inequality, the township classroom is rich in resources for learning. The classroom becomes a contact zone of diverse linguistic and textual resources, partly because of the agency of teachers and administrators who make attempts to expose students to other indexical orders and literacy regimes. Local teachers, especially those in township schools, are concerned that their students should master elite or privileged language norms. This is confirmed by my interview with the local teachers (presented later in the chapter) and teacher educators in the region.

Let us begin with oral resources, to qualify the scenario presented earlier that Xhosa English is well shared by teachers and students and used freely in classroom interactions. The classroom also makes available other indexical orders for oral/aural input.

Interestingly, some students engaged in small talk with me before classes began. They asked me what I do for a living, where I am from and what I was doing in their town. In all these conversations, the students dealt with my Sri Lankan English very well. We rarely asked for repetitions or experienced communication breakdowns in these conversations. Such interactions indicate that these students do not see their indexical orders as the only ones that matter or treat their norms as the ones that govern interactions with others. This evidence gives me confidence that these students will not be deficient or handicapped when they migrate to translocal contexts for work or education. They will apply their receptive proficiency in the other indexical orders to work toward intelligibility and communicative success. I must acknowledge that this view needs to be empirically tested. However, my experience with the students shows their capacity to switch norms.

There were classroom resources at the level of written products that also introduced students to other literacy regimes. Consider two of the reading assignments that were discussed in many of the grade eleven classes I went to. The first was Wordsworth's sonnet "The world is too much with us". The sonnet presents a version of literary English that is somewhat elevated, though it was considered simple in terms of eighteenth-century British literary norms. Apart from the language, the poem also presents values and literary resources of the translocal scale, which students negotiated for relevance to their local scale. After discussing the division of ideas into the octave and sestet, the students discussed the implications of the poem for present-day concerns. In relation to the teacher's question how the contemporary world might be "too much with us", the students commented on cell phones, drugs, crime, violence and TV. In this manner, they negotiated the indexical order and content of the poem in relation to their local life.

Another text was a biography of Oprah Winfrey for reading comprehension. The chapter in the textbook was written in prose approximating SWE. The reading also introduced them to genres (US talk shows) and experiences (celebrity culture) from the translocal level. To supplement the lesson, Ms. J had asked students to watch a documentary on Oprah's difficult childhood and rise to fame that appeared on a local TV network the previous night. This reading, too, provided scope for localization, as students discussed the way a fellow black female could transcend poverty to achieve success.

Teachers also used readings from local newspapers for listening comprehension in their classes. In Mr. M's class, a very topical op-ed on women's role in society was read out from *Cape Times*, as the international women's day had been celebrated recently. Mr. M told me that he used newspapers not only for relevance (as students related better to local topics), but also to overcome the problem of limited pedagogical resources. He could get many copies of this newspaper free of charge and carry it from one class to the other to distribute it to students for group work. The language of the local newspaper approximated SWE, with some qualified switches into Xhosa or Afrikaans, where relevant, and approximating South African English (SAE) in certain texts. This example also shows that we must not think of the local literacy regime as monolithic. Though localized to some extent, the language of the newspaper approximated educated varieties of English. Students are thus being exposed to diverse registers and norms through such local texts.

There were other literate resources in the classroom that introduced students to translocal norms—for example, the written instructions of the teachers on the board, which were always in SWE. In teachers' written instruction, I saw no grammatical errors that would be a demonstration of "peripheral normativity" for Blommaert.

There were other textual resources in the classroom that were not part of the explicit instructional material. In almost all of the classrooms, teachers had quotations and maxims on the walls to motivate their students. They were all in SWE. Consider this selection of messages in grade eleven in blue or green square paper pasted on the wall:

> Educate the learner
> To read the world
> Not the word
>
> Always do right.
> This will gratify
> Some people and
> Astonish the rest.

These messages are not only in SWE, but they also introduce certain values. Though some are clichés, they are capable of promoting social mobility by motivating students to be successful. With their poetic and rhetorical appeal, reinforced by rhyme and parallelism, the messages also introduce effective forms of communication that straddle the oral/literate divide.

These semiotic resources in classroom ecology helped students shuttle between literacy regimes. Though I did not see students producing similar texts, it is significant that they are immersed in them in their school environment. These texts provide a rich semiotic ecology in which students are made aware of different literacy regimes and indexical orders. They offer students the possibility of recognizing other literacy regimes and developing passive competence in them. Though these texts are not part of the explicit teaching of teachers, such ecological resources can be more effective than explicit instruction. Given these findings, it is questionable that township students will transport local norms to translocal spaces without being aware of the tensions with the indexical orders or literacy regimes of those locations and scale levels. However, I contend that they will engage with these norms and negotiate them critically, as they do in their classroom life. We have to theorize such types of awareness in our consideration of mobility and pedagogy for these students without assuming deficiency.

A PEDAGOGY OF SHUTTLING BETWEEN SCALES

In an audiotaped discussion with a focus group of teachers on the final day of my school visit, I found that teachers had an intuitive understanding of a pedagogy that I like to label "shuttling between scales". They did not appear to have a conscious policy of adopting this practice. Rather, their classroom practice seems to have been motivated by assumptions and orientations such as those that we collaboratively reconstructed and theorized in our conversation. I would argue that the teachers considered themselves as facilitators of negotiations in the contact zone of indexical orders and literacy regimes. They did not see their role as simply affirming the local norms students brought from their community. They considered the role of education as larger than that. Literacy education for them involved the ability to shuttle across scales and norms. In choosing the teaching materials, assigning activities, assessing their written performance, modeling through their teaching practice and even providing nonpedagogical resources in the classroom ecology (as I have demonstrated above), teachers strove to facilitate an engagement with competing literacy regimes, transforming the classroom into a contact zone. This objective is not surprising given the communicative curriculum and state policy, not to mention teachers' own good sense. Van der Walt comments: "Because of the multilingual and multidialectal ability of most people living in Africa, they may have a more acute awareness of the necessity to shuttle beyond local norms" (personal communication, 09/05/2012).

In undertaking this pedagogical responsibility, the teachers constantly wrestled with curriculum options that did not provide easy answers. Teachers also revealed a critical understanding of the place of code switching in society and classrooms. During our final meeting, we discussed the inequality of codes and the need for students to switch to privileged forms of English even in Cape Town. Mr. M mentioned how his daughter would switch Englishes when she talked on the phone with her friends and that he sometimes thought she was "a different person". In acknowledging the reality of code switching, the teachers also recognized the legitimate place Xhosa English had for their students in their local interactions. Ms. J took code switching even further in her class. When Bulo was sometimes lost in the English class, as he did not understand much English, she would convey the instructions to Bulo's neighbor in English. The neighbor would then translate this into Xhosa. Sometimes, this worked the reverse way: i.e., the neighbor translated Bulo's questions in Xhosa into English for the teacher. The reason for this strategy was that Ms. J was an Afrikaans speaker, and she did not know much Xhosa. In adopting this practice, Ms. J did not express any exasperation with Bulo. She treated this form of communication as routine. We can consider this use of language juxtaposition as a creative strategy to overcome certain limitations, with an expansion of repertoires and metacognitive awareness for all three people in this activity.

My view of code switching as a form of all-purpose plurilingualism was, however, met with considerable resistance by local teachers. Mr. C expressed in no uncertain terms that students are expected to be 'correct' and 'pure' in their use of English in certain contexts and that code switching would be treated as deficient. Other teachers noted that for students to adopt wholesale a translocal norm might not be the best option whether in writing or in conversation. They understood the implications for identity and voice in shifting completely to a translocal norm. Mr. M mentioned, to resounding laughter from others, "There is a saying in our community that you can *speak* English, but you can't *be* English!" I asked for a repetition as I did not catch the distinction he was making. After Mr. M elaborated the point, we considered how local students could use privileged forms of English while remaining Xhosa. We wondered whether it is possible to insert certain Xhosa features (such as accent, idioms or even strategic switches) into SWE forms of syntax, vocabulary and grammar. We considered how talk and text are not always framed in monolithic terms but accommodate hybrid norms for voice. I gave them examples of writings by African-American scholars who mesh codes in their writing, merging SWE and their vernacular effectively, in a practice becoming known as codemeshing (hooks 1989; Smitherman 1999; Young 2004). Such considerations also influenced pedagogical practice. Teachers were torn between form-focused correction and sensitivity to voice. Though there were no definitive answers on how to teach for voice, it was a good sign that teachers were wrestling with the dilemma.

It seems that the reason that they did not correct all the form-focused errors (which Blommaert suggests might be an endorsement of such deviant usage) is because they were concerned about the implications of such corrections for identity and voice.

Whatever the option for texts/talk that merge different indexical orders for voice, it appeared to me that at the level of practice, students were *implicitly* developing strategies to negotiate competing codes and literacies already present in their classroom ecology. I must emphasize that I am only pointing to a potential (not an advanced proficiency) that can and should be further developed. As they learn to decipher the differences between the indexical orders and develop receptive competence in interpreting them effectively for intelligibility, students are also developing productive competence in shuttling between different written genres (formal essays, longer transactional texts, shorter transactional texts and Facebook messages) with different language and literate norms. In doing all this, students are learning to shuttle between different scale levels of communication—i.e., situated local norms and more distant translocal norms. Teachers are facilitating the development of these negotiation practices and metacognitive awareness by giving their students diverse assignments, assessment criteria and pedagogical resources.

The practices these students are developing in negotiating competing indexical orders and literacy regimes are of value in themselves. These negotiation strategies will help tremendously in crossing scale levels, as all of us have to do in contact zones of mobility. There is scope here for further developing this implicit 'pedagogy of shuttling between scales' for township schools and others elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

I grant that township schools, like any others, cannot be generalized. It is possible that there were certain unusual conditions in the school when I visited (e.g. British student-teachers) that may not exist in other schools. However, I want to move beyond the specific case study to the more general theoretical concerns at issue in this chapter. I argue that we have to consider all social spaces in globalization as contact zones, with different forms of uptake and renegotiated norms possible. The indexical orders that result from the mobile codes and literacies in these contact zones will vary based on the agency of social groups. People do form their own local indexical order and literacy regimes by appropriating mobile codes. However, they can also treat mobile codes as affordances, develop a sensitivity to the indexical orders and literacy regimes elsewhere and acquire a competence for agentive translocal interactions. These negotiations need to be empirically observed without predefining the language the people concerned use as deficient.

From this perspective, we have to reconsider Blommaert's argument that township schools are adopting their deficient local codes as their norms for identity and self-validation: "What happens in Wesbank High is a 'down-scaling' of education, bringing it down to the level of the local or regional community, borrowing its norms and expectations, and training learners in the local(ized) codes and norms" (2010, 95). In the school I visited, I did not see this happening. Teachers are very mindful of the scale levels students have to cross in order to be educationally and socially successful. No one there mistakes their local indexical order and literacy regime for the universally applicable or makes a virtue of their limitations.

What we see at High School is that teachers and students are able to shuttle between scale levels and indexical orders to develop rich metacognitive resources. The students are developing receptive/passive competence in translocal norms, the ability to recognize norm differences and productive skills in certain genres of writing (expository essays and institutional letters, for example), approximating translocal norms. This is far from Blommaert's view that sees the social conditions as limiting the agency of people and reifying the unequal social structure. This does not mean that students do not bring a strong sense of their locus of enunciation. In their mimicking of others' norms, we do find that their place norms are adopted to judge other people's codes. However, this rootedness can be a resource for voice and identity, as I discuss next.

We have to consider the possibility that local resources need not always be disempowering. They can facilitate voice. Communities may use local norms strategically for their identity and ethos, with positive results. From this perspective, High School students do not have to leave behind their resources when they communicate in translocal literacy regimes, but make strategic spaces for them in relation to the indexical orders they engage with, as in the practice of codemeshing. In order to adopt this perspective, we have to consider texts and talk as not constituted by only one indexical order or norm. They can be hybrid and accommodate diverse norms. From this perspective, we have to reconsider the picture we get in Blommaert that heterography is deficient and shaped by lack of access to elite codes and literacies (as he interprets the texts of Congolese Julian and Tshibumba in *Grassroots Literacy*). However, local communities have traditions of hybrid literacies that mesh diverse codes and semiotic modalities. They are also becoming powerful resources in certain contexts of translocal literacy, under new labels such as pluriliteracies (Garcia 2009). Heterography can be resourceful and empowering, if practiced effectively in appropriate contexts. In the township, students are sometimes meshing local and translocal semiotic resources in certain forms of writing genres and literacies (as in Facebook and posters, which permit multimodality). In treating heterography as deficient, Blommaert is unwittingly treating alphabetic and graphocentric literacy as privileged, which is not untrue for certain institutional contexts. However, heterography (like codemeshing) is increasingly acceptable in diverse institutional contexts and may provide spaces for merging local norms for strategic voice and critical literacy.

My perspective on social spaces as contact zones does not reject Blommaert's constructs but provides an additional layer of complexity to them. It is true that all communities have their local indexical orders and literacy regimes. It is true that they uptake other people's codes and texts according to their local norms. It is also true that power differences are real and it is possible for the indexical orders and literacy regimes of certain communities to be treated as more prestigious with high mobility potential, enabling them to jump scales easily, treating those of others as "peripheral normativity". However, the perspective on contact zones presents other possibilities. The construction of local indexical orders does not have to deny people of the ability to develop an awareness of, and even competence in, translocal norms. Such resources are often available in the same social spaces, however impoverished the communities. It is a testament to globalization and mobility that all social spaces are ecologically rich sites of layered indexical orders and scale levels. This is the advantage of adopting the metaphor of scales to understand the local and translocal as relational.

If we consider social spaces in this relational manner, we have to also reconsider the pejorative values we give to the codes and literacies of certain communities. When we term the norms of some communities as always "peripheral", "constrained", "stuck" and "locked", we are adopting values attached to the status quo. We also have to be careful not to predefine certain indexical orders and literacy regimes as always local or translocal. All communities have their own "placed" indexical orders and literacy regimes. They belong to the local scale level, though some powerful communities may try to upgrade them to translocal applicability. However, in the increased awareness of intercultural relations and cosmopolitan conditions, all communities are realizing that they have to negotiate the norms of others for translocal scale interactions. In other words, the indexical orders and literacy regimes of privileged communities are also local. People's effort to jump scales has to be negotiated in the contact zone. Though powerful communities are still able to impose their norms on others, the unilateral imposition of indexical orders for translocal communication is increasingly being contested. In contexts where coexistence and collaboration are becoming important, or when the single communities' ability to dictate their own terms or even be self-reliant in all domains of socioeconomic life is becoming limited, communities are having to negotiate norm differences effectively for intelligibility and comprehension. From this perspective, the local norms a community might take to a translocal interaction may be renegotiated by other parties, with the understanding that both have to move beyond their local indexical orders to adopt hybrid and co-constructed new norms for communication (as empirical studies in contact situations increasingly show—see Canagarajah 2007; Firth 1996).

It is a challenge for researchers to talk about the resources of diverse communities without predefining their status or adopting a biased perspective. Whereas we have to adopt an ideological orientation to accommodate the reality of power in communication, we also have to adopt enough sensitivity to the possibility of social agency and creativity that enables social groups to rise above disempowering circumstances. Perhaps our differences in orientations to mobility result from differences in our locus of enunciation. For some scholars from developed communities, it is not too problematic to consider certain indexical orders and literacy regimes as always peripheral, powerless and deficient. For others at the receiving end of globalization, such as those from Sri Lanka or South Africa, there is evidence of rich ecological resources in their communities, practices of navigating different scale levels, scope for voice and identity in translocal social spaces and traditions of renegotiating indexical orders for communication—despite the reality of dehumanizing power.

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4 English as a Lingua Franca

Lessons for Language and Mobility

Joseph Sung-Yul Park and Lionel Wee

INTRODUCTION

Greater mobility of people in the globalizing world leads us to reconsider many of our fundamental assumptions about language. For instance, the increasing movement of people across national borders questions boundaries between languages; prevalent practices of hybridity and appropriation press us to problematize the notion of language as a stable, homogeneous entity. At the same time, the prominence of mobility increases the need for us to pay attention to relations of power and the way they shape such experiences of mobility. Different constraints imposed upon different mobile populations remind us that linguistic competence and repertoire of social groups are always evaluated in the context of power, demanding greater sensitivity to the structure of inequalities that condition mobility.

One important theoretical and practical point that could be made about these two issues that are brought into relief by mobility—the ideology of language as a bounded entity and the unequal relations of power that shape experiences of mobility—is that they are interrelated. Ideologies of language that uphold assumptions of homogeneity and unity of a language community typically work to disenfranchise mobile speakers on the margin of the mainstream society. Furthermore, privileged migrants are able to benefit from their mobility more than less privileged ones, precisely because of their ability to negotiate with dominant ideologies of language that define what counts as legitimate and authentic language. Research on language and mobility that aims to address either of these two issues, then, must also seriously engage with the other as well, if it is to achieve a fuller understanding of how experiences of language and mobility mutually shape each other.

The recent debate about English as a lingua franca (ELF) provides a useful opportunity for considering this point. Over the past two decades, many researchers have focused on how, as a global language, English is now used frequently for practical purposes of international communication by and among those who are commonly seen as "nonnative speakers". As a result, a large body of work on ELF (Firth 1996; Jenkins 2000, 2006, 2007; Seidlhofer 2001, 2005, 2006; House 2002, 2003; Canagarajah 2007;

Prodromou 2008; Kirkpatrick 2010 among others) has emerged, problematizing the legitimacy and authority that have been traditionally reserved for "native speakers" of Kachruvian inner circle countries and questioning the characterization of nonnative speakers as deficient. In this sense, ELF research is explicitly orientated toward contesting unequal relations of power that constrain social life in global communication; it is an effort to shift the center of the hegemony of English that conditions how people on the move are perceived and evaluated.

However, among researchers working within this paradigm, there has been a heated discussion over a particular direction of research, which we call for the sake of convenience the "ELF research project". Here, we refer to the project centered on the work of Jennifer Jenkins (2000) and Barbara Seidlhofer (2004), which aims to identify core linguistic features that facilitate intelligibility in ELF communication so that a counterhegemonic curriculum of English language teaching may be developed. Whereas the ELF research project has been highly influential, its tenets have triggered much debate. Critics are concerned that such efforts to establish an ELF core hold the danger of reintroducing a monolithic model of English that the notion of ELF is meant to contest, and that English language teaching programs based on features of ELF may inadvertently disadvantage learners because the still-dominant ideologies of language value only 'center' varieties of English.

In this chapter, we review the key issues in the debate over the ELF research project as a way of illustrating how a critical reconsideration of our assumptions about the nature of language and the need to focus on issues of inequality must go hand in hand when studying language and mobility. We suggest that the primary reason why the ELF research project has caused such controversy stems from the fact that its theoretical and methodological assumptions tend to view language as a fixed, static and clearly delineable object that can be dissociated from social relations of speakers. Because such a view cannot adequately capture the complexity and dynamism of the way ELF is used in social contexts, it leads to contradictions between the political goals of the ELF research project and what it ends up suggesting as strategies for intervention. Through our discussion, we draw lessons about how investigation of language in the context of mobility requires serious rethinking on the level of both theory and political stance taking, arguing that a theory of language that does not take into account the fluid, dynamic and practice-based nature of language will have much difficulty in proposing a cogent critique of social inequalities that penetrate the lives of people on the move. In the following, we first review two main issues related to the ELF research project—its methodological focus on the 'pure' form of ELF, and the implications of its emphasis on formal features of ELF. We then move on to consider their implications for engaging in responsible investigations of language and mobility.

IN SEARCH OF PUREST FORM: WHO SPEAKS ELF?

Current research on ELF is grounded upon several key assumptions. The first is that the spread of English as a global language has led to the situation in which speakers for whom English is the second language outnumber those for whom it is the first language (Crystal 1988, 2003; Phillipson 1992; Jenkins 2000). This observation about numerical superiority has led to a further claim: that the ways in which English is being used globally are increasingly varied, giving more weight to the language as used by nonnative speakers. Thus, Seidlhofer suggests that English, "as a consequence, is being shaped, in its international uses, at least as much by its non-native speakers as its native speakers" and "the language is used more and more for practical purposes by people with very varied norms and scopes of proficiency" (2004, 211–212).

The above two claims, which serve as the basic assumption for research on ELF, are for the most part uncontroversial. This is because changes in language practices can and should be reasonably expected when the language itself comes to be used by more speakers. However, these two claims have also led to a more controversial claim. This is the claim that because first-language speakers (or 'native speakers') are outnumbered, the kind of English spoken by them is supposed to be increasingly irrelevant to the use of English on the global stage.

It is this third assumption that gives specific shape to the ELF research project, leading it along a different trajectory from other researchers working on ELF. Because the English of native speakers is supposedly becoming irrelevant to many learners of English who intend to use it as a language of international communication, it follows that the model for English language learning should shift toward how those nonnative speakers use it as a lingua franca. Thus, the objective of the ELF research project becomes to provide descriptions of the ways in which English is used by nonnative speakers in international contexts, so that the information gathered can serve as a basis for a language teaching approach that is more reflective of the English language's global demographic (Seidlhofer 2005, 340).

In the ELF research project, this information on English as a lingua franca is primarily information about the form of English used as such, that is, its linguistic features. But because it is also obvious that ELF does not exist in a single, coherent form, being used by speakers from a wide range of linguistic, cultural and national backgrounds, the target of the ELF research project is not to describe the entire range of linguistic features of ELF as a linguistic variety, but to identify the most important group of features that facilitate communication without hindering comprehension or interaction when used between speakers of different backgrounds.

This set of 'core' features, then, has become the key for the ELF research project. Its main point is that the ELF core would be the basis for teaching

English as a lingua franca; instead of learning how 'native speakers' of English use the language, which is no longer useful knowledge in our globalizing world, English language learners can instead economize their effort by learning the ELF core. This would both help them communicate in English with others in an international context and also emancipate them from the hegemonic influence of 'native speaker' norms, which have dominated English language teaching for so long.

Because of the importance of specific core features for the ELF research project, it is natural that the main concern of the project becomes the source of its data. In order to sustain its theoretical and political goals, the ELF project carefully delimits its data in order to eliminate influence from native speaker English and identify the most authentic form of ELF by focusing on specific situational contexts. This is manifested in several ways. For instance, the ELF research project has primarily focused on spoken rather than written ELF communication. This is because written ELF is more likely than spoken ELF to manifest the 'confounding' influence of prescriptive rules deriving from native speaker norms, and consequently, does not display ELF in a sufficiently 'pure form' (Seidlhofer 2004).

Thus, not all forms of interaction in ELF equally count as viable data for ELF research. Clearly, the most important criterion for data inclusion is the absence of native speakers. Of course, the exclusion of native speakers represents a methodological desideratum for ELF rather than a criterion that is always met in specific research projects. It is thus not the case that ELF research never includes data involving native speakers. For instance, Mauranen's ELFA (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) (2007) project on English use in Finnish universities includes native speakers. The ELFA project's description states that native speaker speech constitutes 5 percent of the overall data and "long monologues (e.g. conference presentations or course lectures) by native speakers of English are not transcribed, but if English native speakers are present in groups, this is coded" (http://www.helsinki.fi/englanti/elfa/elfacorpus.html).

According to the ELF research project, data for ELF research should come from "interactions between members of two or more different linguacultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue" (Seidlhofer 2004, 211, citing House 1999, 74). Again, this is because the presence of a native speaker is considered to 'contaminate' the data, as nonnative speakers might modify or adapt their otherwise 'natural' patterns of communication to take into account the presence of the native speaker. Presumably, then, the purest form of ELF is to be found in interactions involving only speakers from Kachru's Expanding Circle. An interaction in English involving a Thai and an Indonesian speaker would therefore fit the bill. An interaction between a Singaporean and a Korean would be less ideal for ELF research purposes. And finally, an interaction between an Australian and a Canadian would probably be discounted altogether.

This methodological position, however, becomes problematic when we consider it against a view of language that takes authenticity as an ideological construct (Bucholtz 2003). The emphasis on 'purity' presumes that there is an ELF linguistic norm that can and should be allowed to emerge unscathed once the confounding influence of the native speaker has been removed. But given the fluid and polymorphous nature of ELF (or any language, for that matter), such efforts to draw a clear boundary between native and nonnative usage are not theoretically sound. To privilege one particular mode of interaction or group of speakers as more authentically representing ELF than others is clearly an unsatisfactory conceptualization, as it turns the complex and polymorphous way in which English is used in the world into a simplistic picture, arbitrarily assigning a particular type of using English as more central to the entire range of possible types. Moreover, such a direction does not sit well with the emancipatory goal of ELF research, as it can easily fall into the trap of imposing a hierarchical order among different ways of using English in the process of privileging particular modes of interaction as more authentic than others.

This latter point can be illustrated through a further assumption the ELF research project makes about ideal sources of data. The ELF project gives high priority to interactions involving "expert speakers of English from a wide range of L1s" (Jenkins 2006, 169), or "highly competent and fluent users of ELF" (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, and Pitzl 2006, 14). This reference to "expert", "competent" or "fluent" speakers of ELF would seem to rule in interactions between, say, Thai and Indonesian English language teachers or diplomats, while ruling out interactions between Thai and Indonesian domestic helpers, even if the language being used in both situations is English. And indeed, the specific kinds of speakers that ELF researchers have focused on tend to include international businessmen, employees of multinational companies, academics, university students and English language teachers (Seidlhofer 2004; Jenkins 2007; Mauranen 2007, 2012).

The kind of English that the ELF project is interested in is, in other words, a kind of 'educated' English. That is, even as the project espouses an anti-hegemonic stance toward the native speaker/nonnative speaker dichotomy, it seems to be assuming a class-based usage of ELF; this can be glimpsed from Seidlhofer's (2004, 211) assertion that "whatever the setting, ELF interactions often occur in influential networks (i.e., global business, politics, science, technology and media discourse)".

The ELF research project is usually not explicit in justifying this focus on speakers from a particular class background, though we may assume it is not due to the quantitative dominance of such speakers; the large number of lower-class migrant workers in the world would arguably give rise to plenty of situations in which English is used among speakers working in less than "influential networks". Presumably, this covert appeal to class is necessary because practitioners of the ELF research project may wish to present the ELF usage of more privileged speakers as a model that can contest the native speaker's hegemony with greater legitimacy. At the same time, the more stable and wide-reaching social networks of elite ELF speakers may mean that their use of English could be less subject to "L1 interference" (though this assumption could be empirically assessed) but more representative of an emergent regularity distinct from native speakers' English.

However, this focus on elite speakers who carry the aura of success and socioeconomic mobility is problematic for several reasons. For instance, it is not only conceivable but highly probable (especially in the case of English language teachers) that the 'educated' English that these ELF speakers possess will have been acquired using native speaker norms as a point of reference. That is, these speakers would have learned English in educational contexts that are based on traditional native speaker norms, particularly because they would be coming from Expanding Circle countries, which are typically recognized as being exonormatively oriented toward the Inner Circle. Once we recognize this, then the feasibility of distilling 'pure' ELF from their language use as though their English would somehow be free of native speaker contaminants becomes highly questionable. The idea of a 'pure' ELF that is untainted by native speaker norms while also being manifested by "expert speakers of English" seems chimerical at best.

Another problem, however, relates to the more fundamental goals of the ELF research project and is therefore potentially more damaging. By positing socially privileged speakers as models for ELF interaction, the ELF research project risks reproducing the very problems of English that research on ELF, including the ELF research project, aims to combat. That is, if the position of an ideal speaker of ELF on whom learners should model their use of English is based on social and economic background, then ELF speakers without such background would still be subject to illegitimation, marginalization and discrimination, just because they speak differently from those privileged model speakers, and we will have simply replaced the hegemony of the native speaker with the hegemony of the elite speaker. Whereas it is most likely the case that the advocates of the ELF research project do not intend to celebrate and rationalize the classed positions of elite nonnative speakers, placing the linguistic practices of those speakers at the center of the model for ELF leads to an unequal distribution of authority and legitimacy and breeds the danger of doubly marginalizing the less privileged nonnative speaker.

In our opinion, this problem is not simply a matter of political sensitivity (or a lack thereof) because highlighting the ELF usage of less privileged groups instead to the exclusion of privileged ones is not the answer either. The problem, instead, derives from more fundamental assumptions of the ELF research project that we outlined above. When language is understood and approached as a bounded entity (such as 'ELF'), the diversity and variation that takes place within those boundaries come to be seen as contamination and corruption that arise due to interference from the 'outside' and thus are considered to be less ideal as data. This also means that one or more groups must be seen as more representative and authentic than other users of the language, as the division of 'center' and 'periphery' of sociolinguistic space is imposed on speakers to place them in a hierarchical relation of inequality. In this way, the assumption of language as bounded entity places researchers in a compromised position that makes it difficult for them to question and contest linguistic inequalities.

This points us to one way in which assumptions about the nature of language are closely linked with our capacity for critical engagement with the relations of power underlying language use. In the case of the ELF research project, its pursuit of an 'authentic' form of ELF inevitably leads to a search for 'authentic' speakers, who are then exalted as model ELF speakers for the rest; this serves as a window through which relations of inequality are reintroduced, undermining the potential transformative effect that the ELF research project may bring about in the lives of many speakers who use English in the world today.

FEATURES OF ELF: THE QUESTION OF INTELLIGIBILITY

We noted above that a distinguishing strategy of the ELF research project has been to identify core ELF features that are independent from native speaker norms and that can be used to transform English language teaching practices for nonnative speakers. Such a focus on core features, however, has invited much criticism, as some scholars are concerned that highlighting certain features over others may lead back to treating ELF as a monolithic variety imposed on the nonnative learner. For instance, Prodromou (2008) argues:

> Jenkins repeatedly conflates ELF and indigenized varieties, sliding from one to the other as if the phenomena described were of the same kind… The "varietal" forms are treated as "monolithic" in so far as ELF users "have to" adapt their discourse to conform to these "core" items (Jenkins 2006, 161). Thus, while denying that ELF is a monolithic model, Jenkins argues as if ELF were a variety with prescriptive norms of its own.
>
> (2008, 28)

Of course, the main proponents of the ELF research project strongly deny such charges, arguing that identification of the ELF core is a necessary tool for describing the diverse and polymorphous nature of English as an international language, and that learners always have the agency to decide which form of English they will acquire (Seidlhofer 2006; Jenkins 2007). However, a closer inspection of the way in which the focus on the ELF core has featured in the ELF research project points to problems that cannot be simply considered outcomes of methodological necessity or addressed through pedagogical flexibility.

So far, the ELF project has identified core features in the areas of phonology, lexicogrammar and pragmatics. The influential work on phonology is Jenkins (2000). This distinguishes between phonological features of English that are part of the 'Lingua Franca Core' (LFC) and those that are not; the former refers to features that critically affect the intelligibility of pronunciation, whereas the latter refers to features that do not seriously lead to intelligibility problems. Examples of the LFC include contrast in vowel length and placement of nuclear stress, both of which seriously affect intelligibility if not maintained. In the case of lexicogrammar, Seidlhofer (2004; see also Prodromou 2008, 31) suggests the following grammatical features as noncore, for they present "no obstacle to communicative success" (220):

(i) simple present third person: *He look angry*
(ii) article omission: *He bought new car*
(iii) using a bare infinitive in place of—ing: *He look forward to buy new car*

In the case of pragmatics, while it is generally considered too early to establish a clear distinction between core and noncore 'pragmatic principles', ELF advocates have suggested the following as key characteristics of ELF interaction (from Seidlhofer 2004, 218):

(i) Misunderstandings are not frequent in ELF interactions; when they do occur, they tend to be resolved either by topic change or, less often, by overt negotiation using communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition.
(ii) Interference from L1 interactional norms is very rare—a kind of suspension of expectations regarding norms seems to be in operation.
(iii) As long as a certain threshold of understanding is obtained, interlocutors seem to adopt what Firth (1996) has termed the 'let-it-pass principle', which gives the impression of ELF talk being overtly consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive, and thus fairly robust.

The ELF research project's focus on the distinction between core and noncore features illustrates well its emphasis on intelligibility, and with that emphasis, we can see the underlying language-ideological stance that characterizes the project—that is, as long as speakers can mutually understand each other, communication is deemed successful. For instance, while the lexicogrammatical features above would generally be characterized as 'nonstandard', if not downright 'ungrammatical', Seidlhofer et al. (2006, 17; see Prodromou 2008, 31) quote an ELF user as saying, "what really matters is that we are sort of basically understood", thereby defending their usage as practical. This, of course, is the whole political point about the ELF project:

stigma and prejudice to which nonnative speakers' English is frequently subjected should be rejected, for ELF as used by those speakers is perfectly pragmatic and practical, fully and effectively able to facilitate communication across cultures.

Despite such laudable intent, however, there are several problems with the underlying assumptions here. First of all, this represents a particular language ideology that deems transfer of referential information as central to communication. The phonological LFC, for instance, which mostly focuses on segmental features, implies that the notion of intelligibility concerns recognition and identification of words as they are pronounced. However, we may argue that this is an unnecessarily narrow conceptualization, as what is often simply referred to as 'intelligibility' may be distinguished into three components (Smith and Nelson 1985; Smith 1988): intelligibility (in the narrow sense of word recognition), comprehensibility (how an utterance or text is linguistically meaningful) and interpretability (how the utterance or text can be understood in relation to particular goals or intentions). Also significant in the process of communication would be the recognition, interpretation and negotiation of indexical meaning as well—that is, how participants in interaction not only make sense of referential and discursive meaning but also of social meaning, by being able to position the speaker and her discourse within a field of social relations and positions.

The narrow view of intelligibility is again linked with a perspective that treats language as an abstract, bounded system. The view that treats variation and hybridity as problematic noise results in an understanding of language as a fixed code, which can be detached from its social context of use for easy description in terms of formal features. Based on such an assumption, communication is reduced into conveyance of referential meaning, and the complex work of social positioning and negotiation that participants carry out through interaction is ignored. This can be a significant problem for research on ELF because it not only misses the entire process of identity work involved in ELF interaction, but it also leads to underestimating the tenacity of ideological forces that nonnative speakers must work against when they speak in English—forces that are not necessarily lifted when the interaction takes place among nonnative speakers.

Cameron (1995) has pointed out how speaking 'ungrammatically' is not simply a matter of language, as it can often carry various kinds of indexical connotations such as being stupid, unintelligent or even immoral. For instance, because the lexicogrammatical constructions mentioned above are generally considered ungrammatical, there is a risk of the speakers' being burdened with various kinds of social stigma, even when they are communicating among nonnative speakers. But this problem tends to be overlooked in the ELF research project, as we can see from the ELF project's characterization of ELF pragmatics as fully cooperative and mutually supportive.

A good example of the limitation of cooperativeness in ELF interaction comes from Meeuwis (1994), who describes interactions involving South

Korean, Tanzanian and Flemish engineers. The South Koreans and the Tanzanians were junior engineers, who had been sent to Belgium to attend a training program conducted in English by the Flemish engineers (1994, 394). Here we have a communicative situation that clearly fits the ideal model for the ELF research project; the speakers all come from backgrounds and cultures where English is not a first language, they are involved in using English for 'practical' purposes and they are all educated professionals.

Meeuwis, however, points out that there were greater communication problems between the Tanzanians and their Flemish instructors than between the South Koreans and the same instructors. Meeuwis describes these differences in terms of communicative 'testiness' and 'leniency': there was greater testiness in the Tanzanian-Flemish interactions, whereas the South Korean–Flemish interactions were characterized by greater leniency. This is despite the fact that (Meeuwis 1994, 400–401, italics added):

> the Tanzanians' English deviated to *a far lesser extent* from what the Flemish are used to as a standard English than the Koreans' English did. The Koreans' English showed many more sources for potential breakdowns and for the development of these breakdowns into conflicts.
>
> . . . The interactions between the Flemish and Tanzanians, whose non-native discourse, as noted, showed even less potential causes for communicative problems, were marked by a much lower degree of communicative leniency on behalf of the Flemish. Occasional pragmatic differences and breakdowns were selectively highlighted. . . . [The Flemish instructors'] commentary that this interactive behavior irritated them points in the direction of communication 'conflict'.

Meeuwis explains that this difference in the distribution of 'testiness' and 'leniency' is attributable to the dominance of publicly held stereotypes about different nationalities and the traits they are likely to possess (1994, 402):

> A dominating Belgian and Western European public opinion still holds to a deeply-rooted perception of Africans as intellectually retarded, underdeveloped, uncivilized in manners and social conduct, and poor in cultural history and achievement. The Far East, on the other hand, typically enjoys fame as possessing an ancient cultural, intellectual, and artistic tradition.

Meeuwis's observations concerning communicative 'leniency' (or lack therefore) go to the very heart of the ELF project's claims about intercultural pragmatics, particularly its claims about the prevalence of the 'let-it-pass' principle. As Meeuwis points out (1994, 398, italics in original):

> First, it cannot be concluded from the findings that leniency is typical of NNS-NNS communication with respect to *all* levels of linguistic

> structuring. . . . Second, I would not claim that NNS-NNS intercultural communication is *invariably* characterized by participants' leniency . . . conditions of the extra-situational order, such as structural inequality and historically institutionalized prejudice, are able to override leniency in NNS-NNS conversations.

The ELF research project's broad assertion that ELF interaction is guided by a 'let-it-pass' principle thus fails to take into account the kinds of cultural influences, including cultural stereotypes and attitudes, that interlocutors bring with them to each and every communicative situation. This mistake on the part of the ELF project is encouraged by envisaging ELF as bounded, asocial entity that is characterizable through formal features that communicate referential content. It is this view of language that leads the project to presume that culture-specific influences are minimal, if not altogether absent—and that the primary concern for ELF research should therefore be ensuring intelligibility in the narrow sense. This, in turn, results in an inability to account for, or even recognize, the relations of inequality that are unambiguously present in ELF interaction. The language ideological assumptions behind the feature-based, core approach of the ELF research project, then, have the inherent danger of forgetting about the social and cultural constraints on communication that are not always smoothly dealt with in interaction among people from different cultures and societies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDYING LANGUAGE AND MOBILITY

In the sections above, we focused on two major problems with the ELF research project and discussed how they are linked to underlying assumptions that treat language as a fixed and bounded entity. Although it is clear that such assumptions about language are problematic in any case, the fact that ELF is a phenomenon located in the context of mobility makes such assumptions particularly more problematic. That is, the diversity, fluidity and friction inherent in ELF force us to resist views of language that rely on homogeneity, fixity and unproblematic stability.

In using English for international communication in the context of heightened mobility, there are too many different specific situations involved, with each situation likely to involve different individual speakers. Recurrent interactions involving speakers with the same background and the same situations are far too infrequent—especially if we try to draw them from a heterogeneous collection of interactions at the global level. In this sense, ELF cannot be understood as based on a single, homogeneous, clearly delineable community, and it cannot be seen as a language variety that is definable and distinguishable through a fixed set of linguistic features. As Mollin (2007, 45, cited in Maley 2008, 6) points out:

> Crucially, ELF situations have the frequent attribute of occurring between ever new conversation partners, so that its speaker community is constantly in flux rather than remaining stable and fixed. A user of English as a lingua franca thus has to accommodate to different other speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds with different levels of competence in each speech situation. It is difficult to imagine how a negotiation towards a common standard in all of these ever-changing conversation situations would proceed. Common features in ELF would thus be rather surprising.

The relations between ELF speakers are not only in constant flux, but they also are in constant interaction with the complex dynamics of power that permeate mobility itself. The ELF research project's assumption that interaction among ELF users will largely be smooth and cooperative ignores the logic of capital conversion within and across linguistic markets (Bourdieu 1991). It is widely recognized that language can act as a gatekeeper precisely because it allows selective access to social goods and affects one's social trajectory. The discussion of Meeuwis's work above shows how the ability of speakers to convert linguistic capital into some form of symbolic profit can be enhanced or undermined by the influence of cultural stereotypes, even when all the interlocutors involved are nonnative speakers.

Even so-called native speakers are not exempt from the need to deal with the consequences of having devalued linguistic capital in the context of mobility (Lippi-Green 1997). Consider the experience of Helen, a Manchester woman who found her accent to be a problem when it came to employment opportunities in London (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 152–153). In Helen's own words:

> in the arts where no-one has a regional accent . . . my CV was good enough to get me interviews, but . . . as soon as they heard me speak . . . I wasn't taken seriously. . . . People can't see further than my voice and assume I'm aggressive and common. They think I should own pigeons and have an outside toilet.

Such problems of capital conversion are much more pronounced on a global level. Blommaert (2003) discusses a handwritten letter from Victoria, the sixteen-year-old daughter of a family whom he stayed with during field trips to Tanzania. The girl is "definitely a member of the local middle class, a class which uses proficiency in English as an emblem of class belonging. . . . It is, in other words, an 'expensive' resource in Dar es Salaam" (Blommaert 2003, 617). Blommaert (2003, 618–619) points out that whereas the text may be considered a representative of 'good English' in the local linguistic market, when this same text is moved to a different market, it loses the social indexicalities of prestige:

> as soon as the document moves across the world system and gets transplanted from a repertoire in the periphery to a repertoire in the core of the world system, the resources used by Victoria would fail to index elite status and prestige. . . . The indexicalities of success and prestige, consequently, only work within a local economy of signs, that of Tanzania, an economy in which even a little bit of English could pass as good, prestige-bearing English.

Notice that the problems faced by Helen and Victoria regarding their uses of English have little to do with intelligibility in the narrow sense assumed by the ELF project. It is not that Helen was unable to make herself understood; rather, her problem was that she was perceived as lacking sufficient sophistication to warrant the kind of job that she was looking for. In fact, when Helen did finally land a job, it was with a community theater project where "she was told she'd only been selected because the area would benefit from a common touch" (Milroy and Milroy 1999, 152). Similarly, Victoria's act of letter writing constitutes a form of "language display", where the goal involved "constructing a relational identity of a 'good girl', someone who behaves and performs well, is probably among the best pupils of her age-group, and is worthy of compliments from her European Uncle" (Blommaert 2003, 618). But this is not sufficient for Victoria's English to allow her to overcome the kinds of social values attached to it once it leaves its original linguistic market.

As an alternative to the assumption of language as a fixed, bounded entity, we might adopt the view of language as local practice (Pennycook 2010), in which language is an outcome of flexible adoptions and appropriations of resources rooted in people's practices—including not only linguistic ones but also social, material and ideological ones. From this perspective, ELF may be better construed as a context of use, instead of a bundle of structural features that constitute a linguistic variety that is extractable from the behavior of authentic speakers. That is, the notion of ELF would have to refer to a repertoire of practices that speakers employ in navigating through a multiplicity of specific contexts where speakers coming from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds attempt to use English as a shared means of communication.

Here, it might be useful to consider Levinson's (1992) notion of an activity type. An activity type, according to Levinson, refers to "a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions. Paradigm examples would be teaching, a job interview, a jural interrogation, a football game, a task in a workshop, a dinner party, and so on" (1992, 69 [emphasis in original]). Activity types are important because they draw our attention to the question of how the structure of the activity constrains the kinds of text and talk that can or should be employed during the conduct of the activity.

ELF interactions, we suggest, may represent a particular class of activity types, one where the goal involves the need to communicate in a situation where none of the participants share the same L1. In such a situation, ease of understanding and shared norms of interpretation involving the same code cannot be taken for granted. Uncertainties that permeate such contexts may lead to complex outcomes. On the one hand, the participants may be acutely aware that, precisely because they do not belong to the same speech community, they need to make special allowances when interacting with each other, thus leading to greater flexibility and creative appropriations of English. On the other hand, again due to such uncertainties, they may rely on more dominant ideological preconceptions of the Other imagined in terms of hierarchical relations, and use that to interpret the meaning and value of others' use of English (Park and Wee 2009). In this sense, ELF use as an activity type may be seen as a tension-ridden space, where the kinds of pragmatic features postulated by the ELF project—the use of repetition, the 'let-it-pass principle'—are employed alongside language ideologies that link different uses of English with different social meanings. If so, it may be difficult to see immediately how a recurrent, distilled pattern of language use may emerge as a result of such practices, and this may indeed be the point of ELF interaction—that its speakers are constantly negotiating the way in which they use English to position themselves in relation to each other while also negotiating referential meaning they are trying to communicate.

Viewing ELF as an activity type, then, leads us away from a focus on English because the same strategies might be observed whenever speakers who lack a shared linguistic or cultural background are attempting to communicate, regardless of whether they use English or some other language as the lingua franca. This is an issue that ELF still needs to explore. Björkman's (2011) discussion of pragmatic strategies used in an educational setting represents a useful step in this direction. However, while she acknowledges that the strategies she identifies (such as backchannelling, prospective and retrospective signaling of the discourse structure and repetition) may be considered general strategies for effecting communication (2011, 961), she still on occasion characterizes them as strategies for "ELF usage" (2011, 962). In this sense, treating ELF as an activity type bleeds ELF of its distinctiveness as a research project, leading us toward the more general objective of promoting cross-cultural meta-communicative awareness and sensitivity. Various scholars have in fact been calling for education initiatives that specifically aim at nurturing such cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity. This is a goal that many argue is increasingly urgent given the challenges of living a globalized world (see, for example, the contributions to Suárez-Orozco 2007). Thus, Süssmuth (2007, 210) laments the "lack of didactic concepts for adequately incorporating intercultural skills in schools", and Mansilla and Gardner (2007, 58) emphasize the importance of cultivating 'global consciousness'.

However, the use of English across speakers who do not share a common language or culture would still remain an important area for research on cross-cultural communication because the status of English as a global language gives great ideological salience to the hegemonic hierarchy of native versus nonnative accents that are linked with national and social identities (Park and Wee 2009). That is, studying the use of English in international communication is an excellent site for understanding how cross-cultural awareness can never simply transcend relations of power that constrain experiences of mobility and social life in general: inequalities of English constantly remind us that communication across cultures, particularly when it is mediated by English, cannot be a neutral ground where anyone may participate equally with minimal trouble. In fact, without such sensitivity to issues of power and inequality, research and advocacy that aim to inculcate awareness of intercultural skills and global consciousness in the student can run into the exact same problem as the ELF research project, unwittingly downplaying the unequal relationships of power that such students will always be a part of.

The ELF research project, then, would do well to actively reconsider some of its fundamental assumptions and use this as an opportunity to push its original goal of moving the center of English even further. The focus on linguistic features may be shifted toward practices, so that ELF is understood less as a variety existing independently of social conditions, and more as what people do when they engage in communication across cultures, and how they deal with (or fail to deal with) ideologies that maintain and reproduce cultural and linguistic boundaries. Also, the ELF research project may relax its emphasis on 'pure' data that are not 'contaminated' by native speakers or 'interference' from the English of socially less privileged speakers, instead making such complex patterns of interaction one of its foci of analysis. Such an approach would not only have the benefit of not reifying the nonnative/native speaker distinction and its connection to class, but it could also allow the ELF project to more actively study and analyze how relations of power can shape and condition speakers' practices in cross-cultural communication. This would help the project to develop more precise and sophisticated views of how to spread the idea that, in an increasingly complex cultural world, the responsibility for becoming more appreciative and aware of the importance of cross-cultural accommodation lies with everybody, native and nonnative speakers of English alike. Such changes in direction would allow us to fully explore the significance of the phenomenon of ELF for language and mobility in our global world.

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5 Ariadne's Thread

Literacy, Scale and Meaning-Making across Space and Time

Catherine Kell

INTRODUCTION

Ariadne's thread is a metaphor used by Latour (1987) to illustrate what he calls "networks of practices and instruments, of documents and translations . . . *that would allow us to pass with continuity from the local to the global*" (emphasis added). In Greek mythology the goddess Ariadne gives a ball of fleece to Theseus to unwind as he enters the labyrinth to follow its maze of paths. Using this, Theseus is able to kill the Minotaur and then find his way out again. In this chapter, I explore whether or how the Ariadne's thread metaphor with its associated concepts of "networks of practices and instruments, documents and translations" can "allow us to pass with continuity from the local to the global", with the vertical jumps and scale shifts implied.

My analysis builds on Kell (2011), where I explored the 'traffic of texts', the small-scale to-ing and fro-ing of written text-artifacts in trajectories that cumulatively assemble the structures and processes of people's daily lives, in many cases contributing to more durable and less reversible forms of meaning-making. The key issue this raises is exactly what we mean by scale and, if vertical scale-jumps are achieved, exactly how they are achieved. Lempert (2012, 139) refers to Latour (2005, 220) to show that Latour himself "would have us be indifferent to the scale of interaction, not because scale is illusory but because he does not want to settle scale in advance". My view is that *not* settling scale in advance requires us *not* to be indifferent to scale.

The chapter therefore addresses the question of the role of scale in debates about how to theorize the relation between the local and the global and the movement between these. In my view, a crucial lacuna in these debates is the lack of focus on how exactly communication occurs across time and space—the mechanisms of it and the methodologies available to study it. Alphabetic literacy and its many recent add-ons, its relation to other modes of communication, as well as the tools and technologies that people use to project their meanings via written texts, I argue, should form up an important part in efforts to address this lacuna.

The chapter situates these concerns in the theoretical fields of New Literacy Studies (NLS), sociolinguistics and social geography. It outlines the ways in which scale has made an appearance in these fields, especially with regard to micro/macro theorizing, indexicality, implicit weighting of scales and horizontal versus vertical metaphors of scale. It then puts forward the idea of a language of description for studying the recontextualization of meaning-making through the tracing of text trajectories as a framework for examining the validity of scalar forms of analysis. With this framework in place, 'moving words' can be studied in fine detail, with attention paid to the affordances of modes, technologies and capacities: the text-artifacts thus produced for meaning-making, and the recontextualization or projection of these text-artifacts across time, space and, debatably, scale. In arguing for this approach, I propose that the concepts central to the theoretical framework of NLS, literacy events, literacy practices and domains need careful scrutiny and perhaps rethinking in contexts of mobility characterized by digitally mediated forms of communication.

THE LOCAL/GLOBAL IN NEW LITERACY STUDIES AND IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Behind these concerns and questions is the debate that has taken place within NLS over the past decade about whether or not its theoretical framework limits research and analysis of literacy to 'the local' (Brandt and Clinton 2002; Street 2003; Kell 2011). A key theme in Brandt and Clinton's critique is the ways in which the 'global' reaches 'down' into the local via literacy. Street's rebuttal argues that Brandt and Clinton's concept of 'distant literacies' is akin to his autonomous model and therefore questionable. What "might be seen as distant or autonomous literacy needs to be seen as always and everywhere ideological", as always instantiated (Kell 2009b, 80). What Street argued was necessary was a framework and conceptual tools for characterizing the relation between local and distant. He has continued to argue that the concepts of literacy events and literacy practices enable this. There is no doubt that rethinking literacy studies in a way that views the 'situatedness' of literacy in social practices has been the central achievement of NLS. However, I have critiqued the adequacy of the framework in detail in Kell (2009a, 254–258; 2011). In what follows I take this critique into a closer engagement with theorizations of scale.

Blommaert (2005) takes a different approach to the issue of literacy and the relation between the global and the local. Instead of focusing on 'distant' and more powerful literacies pressing down on the local, he shifts the directionality so that the focus falls on people's projecting of their texts beyond the local (Blommaert 2008). His central argument is that discourse forms can lose function when they are moved into different environments. Looking through a south–north lens, Blommaert maps this feature of loss of function against worldwide inequalities conceptualized as center-periphery models; a perspective of 'looking up'. His arguments suggest that as discourse forms move across spaces, they are subject to changed sets of evaluative criteria, which are part of stratified economies of literacy. These different criteria position 'grassroots' texts as substandard and convert communicative difference into communicative inequality.

In recent years sociolinguistic theory and research have arguably been dominated by a paradigm that views language as the property of groups defined by their fixedness in space and time. This can be seen in the prominence of concepts like 'speech community', 'language variation' and so on, which involve what Rampton (2000) terms the 'production of meanings within' contexts that are single and bounded. Blommaert (2007b) calls this the paradigm of 'language in place' and draws attention to what he calls its 'superficial' conceptual analysis of 'space and time'.

This paradigm is in deep crisis as a result of the advent of rapid communication and new forms of connectivity in contemporary information and networked societies in a world of intensified mobility and ceaseless flows of people, objects, ideas and information across spaces and boundaries, and also, in a more abstract sense, across domains and scales. Rampton (2000) argues that what is needed is a paradigm of language in motion that conceptualizes 'projection across' contexts.

Implied in the above is the question of how to move from the micro to the macro, how to make that analytical move in order to explain larger and more abstracted phenomena, from the basis of data of unique instances of communication. Blommaert (2007b), and Collins, Slembrouck and Baynham (2009), in arguments for a model of sociolinguistics that is theoretically adequate for addressing phenomena of globalization, call for a spatialization of sociolinguistics, where the concept of scale would be valuable in linking localized productions of meaning with larger-scale orderings. They also argue for the value of the concepts of indexicality and deixis as enabling such linkages to be made across 'orders of indexicality', which in their view appear to be closely mapped to the idea of nested scales. Blommaert (2007a) provides a simple vignette to demonstrate how this can work in one unique instance of communication. He describes how a student discussing the outline of her thesis with her tutor may say:

> S: I'll start my dissertation with a chapter reporting on my fieldwork.

The tutor in response says:

> T: We start our dissertations with a literature review chapter here.

Blommaert argues that the tutor performs a *scale-jump* here from the local to the 'translocal', invoking practices that have normative validity, and he suggests that this indexes a higher scale. Baynham (2009, 138) provides a further example in which a Moroccan father positions his son by addressing him in Standard Arabic and argues that this is an example of what he calls *upscaling*. With this example, Baynham suggests that invoking standard languages in order to do this can involve a form of symbolic violence. In each case more generalized and abstract phenomena (institutional norms/rules and the notion of the standard language) are invoked in the particularities of the micro-interactional instance. Neither of these examples actually involve 'moving words', but they involve movement in the sense of indexing orders that are not empirically 'present' in the moment, but that may be viewed as higher-scale phenomena. Both of these examples therefore invoke vertical metaphors, which, the authors suggest, link the micro-interaction with the macro forces that are instantiated within it.

Moving to social geography, Lempert (2012, 138) takes issue with the view that interaction has to be conceptualized at the micro level and then "placed in some reconstructed surround" (153), which "ferries in contextual information to participants, making the interaction meaningful and pragmatically consequential" (139). He states that some scholars and researchers:

> marvel at what they take to be the scalar hybridity and heterogeneity of discursive interaction, like the way resources and materials associated with distinct spatial and temporal scales converge and are melded in the crucible of face-to-face encounters. In face-to-face interaction they discover sherds of larger structures—discourses, language ideologies, categories of identity, master tropes and narratives.
>
> (138)

In invoking metaphors of scale in the above two examples, Blommaert and Baynham are asserting that these 'sherds' are there, thus performing themselves an analytical scale-jump from what they have each observed in these two fleeting interactions to claims about language, power and symbolic violence. However, I argue that claims of such nature have to be 'read out' from the data rather than 'read into' it, and I explain what I mean by this and provide examples of how this can be done. But before I do that, I will take a detour into scale debates from the field of human geography.

DISCUSSIONS OF SCALE FROM HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

Debates about scale in human geography can be helpful in interrogating the idea of vertical metaphors suggested in Blommaert's and Baynham's examples. In addressing this I draw on a heuristic offered by Massey (1993, 60–64) for thinking about globalization and the concept of scale.

Massey (1993) asks us to imagine being on a satellite moving outward from planet Earth. In looking back we see all the movement and communication going on. We see the airplanes, on the long haul from London to Tokyo, the hop from San Salvador to Guatemala City. Some of this is people moving, and some is physical trade; some is media broadcasting, including faxes, e-mail, film-distribution networks, financial flows and transactions. Looking closer, there are ships sailing the ocean and steam trains chugging laboriously up hills. Closer still and there are trucks and cars and on down further, somewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, there's a woman, on foot; like many women, she still spends hours a day collecting water.

Massey (1993) discusses the "power geometry of space-time compression" (64), by which she means the way in which different groups and individuals are placed in distinct and differentiated ways in relation to these flows and interconnections. She suggests that some are more in charge of it—are able to initiate flows and movement; while some flow and move with little control, and some are effectively imprisoned by it. She asks us to go back to our satellite and look back, not at the actual movement of the vehicles and the invisible communications, but rather at the social relations (involving this power geometry of space-time compression), which are increasingly stretched over space. Each set of these social relations has "internal structures of domination and subordination" (65), and "the local's relationship to the global is premised on a politics of connectivity—'power geometries'—that recognizes and exploits webs of relations and practices that construct places, but also connect them to other sites" (Marston, Jones, and Woodward 2005, 419).

In their seminal paper "Human Geography without Scale" Marston et al. (2005) state that in the context of a vociferous debate about scale within geography, there are three choices for thinking about scale. The first involves affirming hierarchical scale; the second involves models that integrate vertical and horizontal understandings of socio-spatial processes; the third involves abandoning scale in its entirety. Their choice is for the third option—the abandonment of the concept of scale. Their reasons for this are: First, they argue that there is a "confusion and conflation between scale as size (extensiveness or scope on the horizontal plane)" and "scale as level (vertically imagined and nested hierarchical ordering of space" (Howitt 2002, 305, cited in Marston et al. 2005, 420). Second, they see scale as deeply entangled with the micro-macro distinction in social analysis and "its army of affiliated binaries" (421). This makes sense, they argue, because the local/global distinction is merely the spatial version of the micro/macro and "smuggled in", alongside, may be agency/structure as well. They surmise that correspondingly, other oppositions are easily invoked—static/dynamic, concrete/abstract, sectarian/cosmopolitan. Third, the authors suggest that once scaled layers are presupposed, it is "difficult not to think in terms of social relations and institutional arrangements that somehow fit their contours" (421). Research projects assume the hierarchy in advance and are set up a priori to obey its conventions. The authors also view hierarchical scale as "bound to methodological perspectivalism", the "God's eye view . . . , implying a transcendent position for the researcher".

Along similar lines, Moore (2008, 205) discusses what he calls "scale conceptual slippage" and the analytical confusion thus generated. Quoting Agnew (1993, 258, italics in original), Moore (2008, 205) explains how labeling a scale gives rise to a problem where "one can start out using spatial concepts as shorthand for complex sociological processes but slip into *substituting* the spatial concepts for the more complex argument". Moore points out: "[A]ccounts of geographic scale … are flawed by an unreflexive conflation of scale as an everyday category of practice with their treatment of scale as a substantial category of analysis" (207). Moore quotes Brubaker and Cooper's argument that the former would be "categories of everyday experience, developed and deployed by ordinary social actors", whereas the latter would be "experience-distant categories used by social scientists" (2000, 207). Brubaker and Cooper make an example of the conflation of nationalism as a category of practice with it as a category of analysis, arguing that many of the terms we use (such as nation) form the basis of the "common-sense folk sociologies by which we make sense of the world". They then become "reified in social thought as essential and natural entities and these reified understandings are often uncritically adopted by social scientists as categories of analysis" (Moore 2008, 206). In doing this, "we take a category inherent in the practice of nationalism—the realist, reifying conceptions of nation as real communities—and make this category central to the theory of nationalism" (Brubaker and Cooper, quoted in Moore 2008, 207). Moore argues that the role of social scientists is to seek to "explain the processes in which national 'group-ness' crystallizes . . . not reproduce them in our own accounts" (207) and suggests that the same problem applies to geographical scales ('local', 'national', 'global'). Whereas the concept of scale is not yet a commonsense folk sociology, the concepts of local and global are becoming part of general public discourses (rather than just academic ones).

Marston et al.'s (2005) proposition about abandoning scale leaves them to propose what they call a 'flat ontology', which draws upon actor network theory and focuses on specific sites of interaction. These they see as always emergent, contextual milieus, continuously transformed through unfolding network connections with more extensive spaces. Moore (2008), on the other hand, rejects the idea of the abandonment of scale. He suggests instead that avoiding the reifying social science practices that these authors critique would involve paying much "closer attention to how scale operates as a category of practice" and (quoting Mansfield, 2005, 468) argues that we need to be "paying attention to the scalar dimensions of practices, rather than practices occurring at different scales".

Turning back to Massey's heuristic: We can view this as both vertical and hierarchical, although it does enable us to perceive and describe 'situatedness' while simultaneously invoking those larger-scale orderings. However, as an ethnographer and from an ontological standpoint I want to question it, by asking us to consider the notion of what Bourdieu (in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 235) calls the "intellectualist bias" in which "the world is treated as a set of significations … in this sense the 'knowing subject', in taking up a point of view of the action, withdrawing from it in order to observe it from above and from a distance—constitutes practical activity as an object of observation and analysis, a representation".

Whereas many of us are indeed in a position to initiate flows and interconnections, we cannot literally sail out on our satellite to see the world objectively in all its nested contexts at their different scales. We are still "natives" (Silverstein and Urban 1996), whatever scale we may operate on and control. And many of us, particularly ethnographers, work with those who simply flow and move, or might be seen as effectively imprisoned by these "power geometries". These natives, as much as they might themselves traverse spaces and borders, are perhaps less likely to imagine/appreciate these orderings in Massey's vertical way, as to experience events unfolding over time across contexts, in moment-to-moment struggles for survival. At the same time we would wish to explore the ways in which they creatively exercise agency and craft responses to their situations.

What does this mean for literacy studies, the phenomenon of mobility and the relation between the local and the global? The first answer to this question is that claims related to verticality in relation to scale and power should be derived from the analysis of empirical data. Studying crossings across physical places/contexts may be revealing in this regard, as they involve the discipline of remaining at the emic, and being highly reflexive when leaving the plane of the emic. The second is that mobility is not necessarily only connected with people moving but also with the semiotic resources they have to project their meanings across contexts, the texts they create and project that are mobile. This means that the phenomenon of voice and the conditions for its production and projection become central issues for analysis.

Working within a NLS framework, I focus on the ways in which people "make things happen" (Kell, 2009a; 2009b) through projecting meaning-making across space and time. I say "people making things happen" as I draw on Activity Theory (AT) rather than Actor Network Theory (ANT), thereby positioning human actors and their agency at the center rather than viewing their text-artifacts or other nonhuman objects as having agency. Literally moving their words, people recontextualize meanings by carrying or sending them into new contexts. Their efforts to make things happen are the thread, which at times becomes 'fixed' or 'realized' in texts, which then carry the thread across and into new participation frameworks. Although most of this projection occurs through written texts, some of it also draws on other modes of communication, so that visual texts, and forms of embodied or gestural communication, also transmit and amplify meanings across contexts and become entwined with the linguistic, at the same time as they link up with material objects. I call these "meaning-making trajectories", following on Silverstein and Urban's (1996) "text trajectories".

To do this I developed a "language of description" (LoD) for studying meaning-making across space and time (Kell 2006; 2011). This LoD was developed to address problems I had identified in the theoretical framework of NLS. In developing it, I drew on Bernstein's (1996, 135–141) idea of an LoD, which "constructs what is to count as an empirical referent, how such referents relate to each other to produce a specific text and translates those referential relations into theoretical objects". I needed a means of translating between the phenomena that I was observing on what I called the emic plane, and what I was finally able to construct as an argument on the etic plane. I saw this as a form of refinement (Burawoy 1998: 17) of the problems I had identified in the theoretical apparatus of NLS. My LoD has the following premises:

1. The need to shift from the study of single instance data (as captured in the concept of literacy events) to meaning-making as it flows or is recontextualized across time in sequences of events. The unit of analysis proposed as an alternative is that of trajectories, which can be broken down into strips and nodes.
2. The need to shift from the study of bounded contexts/groups about which inferences could be made about such groups' literacy practices. The unit of analysis proposed is that of 'event-spaces', which are moments or stages in the trajectory. These event-spaces are conceptualized as participant frameworks consisting of actors who try to achieve purposes and make things happen by projecting their meanings into subsequent event-spaces with different participation frameworks. In this way the focus is not on 'contexts as containers', but on the process of contextualization. This is achieved through the use of texts as 'joins', which can be more or less successful in sustaining the projection of the meanings across contexts.
3. The need to shift to a view of literacy as one amongst many mediational means whereby actors within particular event-spaces achieve their purposes, using the range of semiotic resources available to them in that place at that time. These include modes of communication like spoken and written language, visual, embodied/gestural forms of communication; technologies and tools for communicating (like pencils or computers in the linguistic mode) and artifacts that may be actual written texts and necessarily material ones (e.g. reporting templates), as well as physical objects like concrete blocks or flags. The concept of "mediational means" also includes the capability of the actors to recognize the aptness of a mode, tool or artifact for expressing and producing meaning, as well as their capacity to realize or materialize the meaning they wish to express.

With this set of concepts in place I will present two text trajectories that demonstrate the usefulness of the LoD in throwing light on issues of scale.

Following the Thread (1): A Text Trajectory

The first text trajectory is an "Incident Report Form" produced by a supervisor, George, in a big construction company in a regional plant in Smalltown, New Zealand, about four hundred kilometers away from the Head Office in Auckland. The report had been sent to Lino, the national Health and Safety (H&S) officer, on her Blackberry by the local H&S officer, Wayne, a few minutes before I interviewed her. Lino said she had just received a good example of the literacy difficulties faced by the workers she was dealing with, who were generally Pacific Islanders who had come to work in New Zealand. Scrolling down on the Blackberry screen to the bottom of the message, she read:

> Lino, is this okay? Note the incident date. Have told George to hold fire.

She then scrolled quickly back up to the top of the message and read out verbally line by line, while showing me on the screen (the text is reproduced verbatim):

> Name: George Lambert
> Date: 21/02/09
> Place: Yard
> Accident: Loader overballance close to tipping over. came to rest on block wall
> Incident: Near miss

While scrolling further down rapidly with her thumb, she said: "If you scroll down to see if there's any actions . . . 'Dangerous ramp too steep. Vehicle falling or roll over. Hazard: identifiable over. Corrected action: remodel ponds'". She started talking while still scrolling:

> So you can see there's not enough description, it's repetitive. What happens is, because it's automatic, this poor supervisor—his email gets read by everyone in the company. He could be a target in terms of how he's written it. . . . You see, it goes through levels, the regional manager, the national H&S, and then to our CEO and then you get a call from the CEO, saying 'Please Explain!'. . . . So what Wayne is doing, he's pre-empting these guys and at the moment I've coached him to say: 'Listen whatever you do, do not get the guys to put information in the system yet. Get them to draw the picture, to draw what happened; tell them if they can't write it, tell them to explain it through to you so that you can put it in for them, so that they don't feel' . . . Because when this goes out, they'll all go: 'Oh this guy, this George, from Smalltown NZ, he's a bit of a wally'.

By saying "it's automatic", Lino meant that the message had to fit into a preformatted web-based template, which, once sent, would be read simultaneously by staff at different levels in the company and in different parts of the country. Here is the full message as it appeared on the screen:

> Name: George Lambert
> Date: 21/02/09
> Place: Yard
> Accident: Loader overballance close to tipping over. came to rest on block wall
> Incident: Near miss
> Incident causes: Dangerous ramp too steep vehicle falling or roll over
> Hazard: identifiable over
> Corrected action: remodel ponds
> Lino, is this okay? Note the incident date. Have told George to hold fire.

Lino explained that she would tell Wayne to tell George to "put the incident on hold so it doesn't go further" but was worried that information had already "been input" and therefore was already visible. Lino was thus intervening in a way that perhaps was outside her job description, in order to protect the workers from the effects of what could be seen as literacy inequalities. She was also drawing attention to the modes of communication (including verbal explanations and drawings) that could mitigate such literacy inequalities and enable the workers and supervisor to communicate messages. She said she'd prefer them to scan the diagram and attach it to the report together with a photo, and then action would be taken to rectify the problem. So that way:

> I get more information . . . when that message goes across the road and then this poor man that put it together gets targeted because of insufficient information, they have this perception, they think "oh he's an idiot—what a silly thing to put down".

The Incident Report as a Text Trajectory

The recontextualization of George's Incident Report across space and time requires close examination in order to illuminate and explicate the concept of scale, the relation between the local and global, while also avoiding the "substituting of spatial concepts for complex sociological processes".

The trajectory starts at the moment of the workplace incident, as this is the material (constructed through the movement of trucks and loaders on roads next to ponds) that requires entextualization. George realizes, perhaps in discussion with the H&S officer, that he needs to submit the report.

It is likely that he goes to the computer at the site office and downloads the preset template for reporting. The rules specify that George, as supervisor, submits the form rather than anyone else. George has the capability ('mediational means' in the LoD) to download it, fill in place, date and time, but choosing the options in the drop-down boxes is difficult ('near miss' doesn't seem to make sense). But George carries on to fill in the free-form part of the report, trying to follow the impersonal, staccato, bullet-point language of the truncated report genre, suggested by the options in the drop-down box. He then emails it to Wayne, in an office 'across the road', at which point his text starts to travel the miles.

In this new event-space, the report is recontextualized into a different participation framework. Wayne checks it. As Lino has instructed him, he does not send it on to the Regional Manager and the Head Office, but first to her. Wayne can manage the technology to the extent that he presumably has emailed the report in 'draft' to Lino (although Lino is worried that it may already have been 'input' into the system and immediately visible to everyone).

Lino has set up this *detour* in the trajectory in order to 'protect' the workers. A fraction of a second later, therefore, Lino, is sitting four hundred kilometers away in a traffic jam, on her way to an interview with me, when her Blackberry beeps with the report. She carries it with her (on her phone) into this new participation framework. The text is clear in her mind, and she is busy pondering what the best course of action will be. Presumably, back at the office, she gets in touch with Wayne and asks for more detail and changes to the choice of options in the drop-down box. She may have even asked Wayne and George to construct a report with a diagram and photos, as she ponders the fact that the visual mode of communication would provide both a better representation of the incident and less space for George to be labeled a 'wally'. Lino's role as mediator is a complex but powerful one. The problems are not with grammar and spelling, which Lino explained would have been ignored, but with the form of explanation and the level of clarity with which the accident has been presented. In the LoD, this point could have acted as a 'node' if Lino had introduced a new mode of communication, like the visual.

Once Lino has intervened, the report is either sent back to George or Wayne for more detail, or is 'input' into the system, which then allows for it to be viewed instantaneously (or within milliseconds) at the Regional Office, the National Office in Auckland and the Parent Company in Australia. It is likely that the report will be read and judgments will be made about 'poor old George in Smalltown NZ who couldn't fill the form in correctly'. This is where the text trajectory ends, in the sense that the actual text-artifact of Incident Report travels no further. However, it will be 'mined' for data and information (at a more granular level), which are likely to be entered into a database of health and safety records, which are then translated and abstracted into standardized reports on Health and Safety in the company, which can then be measured against a network of similar such reports in other companies in other countries. It is likely that the company develops its "Health and Safety Record" on the basis of such reporting mechanisms.

This is an example of a highly scripted process, operating according to prespecified templates in the domain of strict health and safety procedures. In this case, the text is instantaneously recontextualized into higher levels of the organization and across space into multiple contexts—moving words indeed.

Before I discuss issues of scale in this text trajectory, I will present one further text trajectory, which has both similarities and differences.

Following the Thread (2): A Text Trajectory

This trajectory was drawn from a lengthy ethnography in a settlement in Cape Town, South Africa, where people living in backyard shacks accessed government funds to build their own brick houses. From this data, I identified four trajectories that were chosen not because they were typical, but because I had sufficiently detailed data to reconstruct most of the sequences in the trajectory and had been present in almost all of the event-spaces thus described. I have discussed the "Writing a Wrong" trajectory previously (Kell 2006; 2009b), but I now revisit these descriptions, focusing on the issue of scale through the lens of the problems raised by Marston et al. (2005) and Moore (2008).

In this trajectory, a woman called Nomathamsanqa had been allocated a house because of her disability, rather than having to build her own house. There were serious construction problems with the house, and Noma tried her utmost to get these addressed.

Figure 5.1 Noma's house with problems visible: area above wall and below roof not filled in, missing ridge piece, bad workmanship above door and window.

Noma unsuccessfully raised the problems orally numerous times in community meetings. At this point she wrote a narrative about her experiences in isiXhosa, in a child's exercise book (this was part of a writing project that I had initiated in the community). This 'story' became the focus of tremendous attention in the community and more widely, and the decision was made that she should take it and read it out aloud at a meeting of the national organization in an adjacent area. An intervening meeting took place with a provincial-level structure, and the story was read out, after which she again presented it orally at the national meeting. A decision was made that a general collection of money be made for new materials and a builder to put the house right. The process started when she moved into the problem house, and it ended when she moved back into the rebuilt house—this took about six months altogether and shifted across organizational structures, participant groups, neighborhoods and buildings.

I applied the language of description to this trajectory. I divided up the different sequences of events (across the six months) into strips, with divisions relating to whether the recontextualization of Noma's meaning-making process entered into new participation frameworks or not. So the series of meetings where Noma tried to raise the problem orally to no avail was a strip with the same participation framework, even though a number of different meetings took place. But when Noma took part in the meeting I initiated about writing stories, a new strip emerged, and this was characterized by a

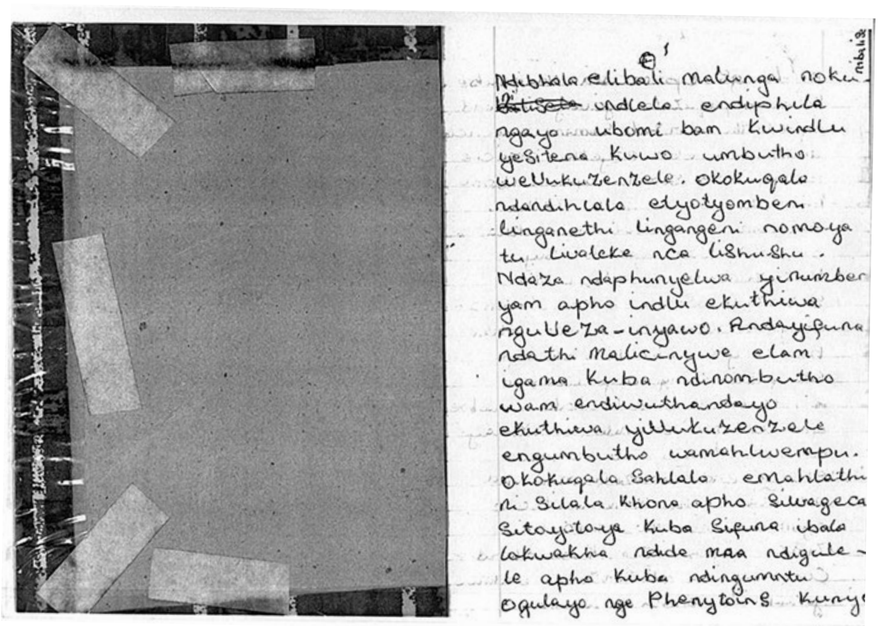

Figure 5.2 First page of Noma's story

new mode of communication—writing (I called this moment a 'node'). Noma then grasped this and a further new strip emerged, which was the numerous small events when neighbors and others came from far and wide to read the story. The written form made the difference. Noma told me that "now they can see my problem". The irony was that she had been telling them orally about her problem for months, but no one had taken any notice.

A new strip started when it was suggested that she take it to the national meeting and read it out loud. So the movement across strips, the recontextualization of Noma's text, literally coincided with the switch of mode of communication (the oral to the written, to the 'read', and back to the oral with the book in hand). In each shift the mode of communication enabled the text to gain function, even as it transferred across contexts.

The trajectory of Noma's attempt to get her house fixed is a highly 'emergent' trajectory in a field of fluid and unstable social arrangements and institutional patterns.

DEBATING SCALE THROUGH TRACING TEXT TRAJECTORIES

The following discussion is premised on the argument Massey (1993) presents that whereas some of us are in command positions in these power geometries and in charge of the flows out of which they are constituted, others are effectively imprisoned by them. It would be easy to say that Noma and George are imprisoned by these power geometries and not in charge of 'flows'. Certainly, when one looks in closely, as Massey suggests, we see that George and Noma are probably amongst the poorest of the poor in their respective countries. However, Noma had managed to move out of a backyard shack where she had paid exploitative rentals, accessed water from a public tap and used shared ablution facilities. She had allegedly been subjected to violence, was disabled and had to survive on her disability grant and with two young children and no other means of support. She had now moved to a new 'development' where she had a house of her own and no longer used shared services. George was most likely a migrant worker in New Zealand, from a Pacific Island. Neither had English as a first language, and both struggled with reading and writing in English. Each had experienced some social mobility and had managed to make things happen—Noma had managed to get a stake in the new 'development' and a house built for her, empowered through writing her story and projecting it to other contexts; George had managed to become a supervisor, potentially disabled by the visibility of his own writing as he was obliged to project it.

Massey (1993) argues that sets of social relations are stretched over space, and that each set of social relations has internal structures of domination and subordination. What is meant exactly by "internal structures" is not clear. However, it was clear in Noma's case that officials of a very *local* structure (her own committee) were exercising excessive domination in their refusal to acknowledge her problem, allegedly ridiculing and hurting Noma. Once Noma projected her text beyond the local, however, to the regional and national meetings, her problem was 'heard' and she was able to get redress. The form of her text gained function.

There are two points to note: first, the language used in the text did not by itself invoke more generalized and abstracted phenomena as it moved. In fact, the genre she used did the opposite, 'freezing' her autobiographical narrative-as-witness text, and exporting it 'as is'. The appearance and performance of the story, however, evoked the necessary sense of responsibility and guilt for the problem to be rectified. There was thus a reification of the 'story'. Second, the regional and national structures were meeting in a space about one hundred meters away, just over the railway line. The text trajectory did not really stretch over space, but it stretched out over time, making a small scale-jump into organizational structures with wider reach. What exactly is at stake in this scale-jump? Does the text then invoke the 'translocal'? I would refrain here from using a term like 'translocal', with its implications of higher levels or macro themes, instead arguing that the text simply *entered a new event-space, which afforded better potential for its recognition*.

George, on the other hand, sitting in a company in Smalltown, New Zealand, was not overtly subject to 'domination and subordination' in what Massey calls the 'internal structures', other than knowing that he had to fill in the Incident Report Form. Wayne was prepared to assist. The prespecified template did not lend itself easily to the task, and George was obliged to project his text beyond the local—to the regional, national and international offices with his text most likely to lose function as it traveled across space. However, it did not stretch across time as Noma's did—the digital affordances of the technologies ensured its instantaneous recontextualization. Unless, as Lino had done, a detour was set up for the trajectory, George's text would be visible to all, with all the possibilities for symbolic violence.

Here we need to examine closely the symbolic violence potentially inherent in the prespecified template. George needed to fill this template with his text—exporting it into the stratified semiotic economies it entered into. But as it was recontextualized, the instantaneity of its projection meant that there was little space for it to be negotiated. Noma's text, however, had time to be negotiated, to 'gather' weight, as it traveled across contexts, was touched by many hands and was read in conjunction with that which it indexed (the broken house).

Latour (1987) suggests that the Ariadne's thread "of networks and practices and instruments, of documents and translations" enables us "to pass with continuity from the local to the global". Noma's trajectory was subjected to processes of translation. The oral discussion of her 'story' in the meeting became translated into a sum of money and then into a rebuilt house—a further traffic of small texts came into play in these two processes, no doubt involving lists of names, calculations, receipts for building materials and so on. At each stage, meaning-making became 'fixed' and less negotiable; at the same time the process became more durable and irreversible as it proceeded.

In George's case, there would have been a translation from his written report into data, which would then have been entered into standardized records of health and safety. These processes would be undertaken by people with specialized skills and knowledge of data entry—abstracting the actual incident into figures and rendering it as a report far away from the actual site and particularities of the incident.

The translation into numbers (money and figures) invokes generalized orderings that can be seen as tokens, abstracted away from the real interactions and histories they represent. This was retranslated back into the material objects (bricks, stones and roof sheets) as well as the labor required for the house to be rebuilt—all very local phenomena. In George's case there was no further retranslation—the abstractions stood in the form of the H&S records, enabling translocal comparisons to be made.

Each trajectory is premised on 'a politics of connectivity', which is dependent on the production and uptake of written texts, but we see how variable this is in the two cases. Noma's occurred around the turn of the century, before computers and mobile phones were commonplace. Her text acted as a join connecting contexts as it threaded its way through the neighborhood, across the railway line, into the garage. This involved horizontal sequential movement, but as it entered into the regional and national structures, we can say it jumped scale, involving vertical movement. Altogether the process took about six months. When we traced George's trajectory, we noted that it also threaded its way across the road, across the country, back to the local office, then to the regional office, back across the country and possibly across the continents. All of this happened, however, within milliseconds.

Returning to some of the specific problems with scale discussed above, Marston et al. (2005) argue that there is confusion and conflation of scale as size and scale as level. In the two trajectories, Noma's story entered into higher levels of the organization as she took it to the regional and the national meetings. In these contexts, decisions could be made on the basis of the representivity of the delegates to these meetings. The question of the weighting of this higher level does therefore become salient. As George's text traveled, let's say, to the national Head Office, it entered a context in which its readers had an overview of H&S issues across all branches and could assess risks, make comparisons and perhaps issue instructions that could override local actions. So power issues come into play in these spaces. The concept of scale is therefore weighted in accordance with the levels at which interaction occurs. At the same time, and furthermore, the issue of size (or reach) comes into play, as having oversight of H&S issues from a national perspective means that more useful comparisons and assessments can be made, and standardizations can be invoked.

Second, with regard to the entanglement of the issue of scale with the micro-macro distinction and other binaries: I have refrained from arguing that more generalized and abstracted phenomena are invoked in the micro-interactional event-spaces of each recontextualization. This would be equivalent to making an argument that the micro somehow magically turns into the macro. As the trajectory unfolded across space and time, it did, however, involve translation, which gave it greater exchangeability or fungibility—in Noma's case, money, and in George's case, numbers that represented a count of incidents. This translation does, I suggest, involve greater levels of abstraction that potentially can be seen as involving analysis and comparisons across contexts and therefore at least translocal, if not global or macro.

Third, with regard to the problem of making analysis fit a priori scale sizes or levels, it is important to distinguish between size and level. In the first point above, it was noted that level played an important role in the translations that occurred in the trajectories but that size was less important. By tracing the trajectory into further contexts, it is possible to avoid making a priori assumptions about the relative weighting of sizes and levels.

Fourth is the issue of 'methodological perspectivalism', by which is meant the question of whether or not the analyst is using 'a God's eye view' when drawing on scale as a category of analysis: this is where Bourdieu's 'intellectualist bias' can so easily come into play. It is all too easy for researchers and analysts to adopt the nested scales view sketched by Massey (1993), in which levels are preset and come to structure each level as they go down. But if we turn this heuristic around and start from the bottom up, the ways in which people are able or are not able to project their meanings vertically become ever more visible. What also becomes more visible is that assumptions cannot be made.

While being strongly drawn to Marston et al.'s (2005) idea of a 'flat ontology' in which the concept of scale is abandoned, I argue that their second option is the more viable one. This involves the linking of the vertical with the horizontal and the tracing of the scalar dimensions of practices (Moore 2008). As I reconstructed the sequences in the trajectory across spaces, I followed what I saw as a horizontal thread, refraining from making assumptions about the vertical. But as I traced what happened in the translations in the trajectory from context to context, I was obliged to make vertical moves using the terms in the LoD. This is what I refer to as 'reading out' from the data rather than 'reading into'.

Finally, I return to Moore's useful distinction between the use of scale as a category of practice or as a category of analysis, and his insistence that we pay attention to the scalar dimensions of practices as opposed to practices at different scales. I have attempted to trace the trajectory as it was projected into higher levels, which I identified as weighted. I refrained from making assumptions about what happened with practices at different scales because the unit of analysis involved tracing across contexts that are not necessarily tied to scales.

ANALYZING MOVING WORDS: LITERACY PRACTICES OR TEXT TRAJECTORIES?

It was only after being present in many of the event-spaces in Noma's trajectory and the reconstructing of the sequence of events that I began to realize the power of this unit of analysis and what it offered in contrast with the NLS framework of literacy events and practices. If I had been focusing on literacy events and practices only, I would not necessarily have noticed the difficulties Noma was having in raising her problem orally in the earlier strip. I may also not necessarily have noticed the effects her one particular text was having as it was projected into different participation frameworks in the new event-spaces. I could perhaps have taken an approach where I studied her text itself, and searched it for the 'sherds' of the larger structures of domination that were exerting themselves on her problem, and that were invoked in her text. But by literally following the trajectory ethnographically across at least some of its sequences, I could follow the horizontal path—the Ariadne's thread.

CONCLUSION

It may turn out that the text trajectory approach lends itself only to fairly limited areas of research—for example, workplaces, development work, community organizing, institutional processes, the educational arena and voice in the media and mediatization. But it is becoming increasingly apparent how very many processes in everyday life involve sequences of events that are joined together through texts.

In previous work I have explored whether it can be argued that trajectories are either highly scripted (like George's) or completely emergent (like Noma's). Along with this exploration goes the possibility that trajectories contribute to processes that have more irreversibility and greater durability. Scripted trajectories follow tracks like rivers carving out well-worn paths on the substructure of the environment. Such paths can be conceptualized as 'infrastructure' when they become intertwined with physical objects and spatial patterns. It is my hope that this chapter can contribute to raising the possibility that literacy needs to be seen as a central part of such processes and that texts (of whatever type) act as joins in the infrastructures being built up in the world at large.

I have argued that NLS has up to now been framed within a discourse of literacy-in-place. Whereas the theoretical framework of NLS has enabled substantial advances in understandings of literacy, I suggest that new theoretical tools may be helpful in studying the role of literacy in meaning-making across space and time. By viewing literacy as enabling the instantiation of meaning-making within participation frameworks in event-spaces, that situated view can be maintained. By adding the concept of recontextualization within the wider framework of text trajectories, texts can be traced along spatial and temporal lines.

As trajectories traverse time and space, at differing speeds and with different degrees of traction, they sometimes intersect and interact as they thread their way through a multiplicity of event-spaces. It is possible to conceive of multiple trajectories forming networks. These networks are composed of the strands of connectivity, which, as demonstrated in the two examples of text trajectories provided, are largely constituted from the traffic of texts. Each text in this traffic has people behind and around it, making things happen at the same time as they make and remake their worlds.

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6 How One Reads Whom and Why

Ideological Filtering in Reading Vernacular Literacy in France

Cécile B. Vigouroux

INTRODUCTION

There is a common saying in French, *Dis-moi ce que tu lis, je te dirai qui tu es*, that literally translates as: "Tell me what you read; I'll tell you who you are." A quick search on the Internet shows that there are quite a number of people who are guided by this principle. According to some, a glance at what a fellow bus passenger is reading or a quick browse through somebody's bookshelves may well determine whether or not one wants to initiate a conversation or establish a relationship with him or her. In this chapter I contest this saying, arguing that what often matters is *how* one reads *whom* rather than *who* reads *what*. In other words, *how* we interpret and valuate a text is influenced by *whom* we think we read.

This chapter is in line with work done in social literacy, which views all literacy activity as inherently ideological. The activity of reading and writing is partly shaped by overlapping ideologies of what counts as text, as "good" or "bad" writing, and as educated or uneducated scribing (Baynham 1995; Street 1995; Gee 1996; Barton 2007). I want to take this view a step further by analyzing how readers of particular texts construct the writer by imagining him through an ideological filter. From a theoretical and methodological point of view, I propose that the activity of reading be approached as a social practice along with those other social practices embedded within a particular ecology that must be factored into an analysis for it to be adequate. That is, reading cum interpretation must be investigated as inscribed in a time-space frame of ideological constructs.

The chapter analyzes the reading of advertisements of self-identified African clairvoyants in France, commonly referred to by the emic term *marabout*. For the past sixty years, these advertisements have been part of the written texture of French major urban centers. Commonly referred to as *flyers de marabouts* or *marabouts de papier* ('paper-marabouts'), the cards circulated by the African soothsayers advertise their power to do things like bringing back an unfaithful spouse, restoring men's virility, helping people succeed in business or enabling them to pass their driver's license test.

Marabouts' flyers as a written genre are inscribed in the long tradition of printed clairvoyance publicity, which has been in circulation in France since the 1920s (Eldelman 2006). The flyers use similar discursive strategies to those found in other advertisements of occultism and, like the latter, they are characterized by a high degree of intertextuality. Although African marabouts' advertisements are not strikingly different from their non-African counterparts, readers tend to stereotype them as characterized by a *marabout-way-of-writing*, which boils down to "bad writing". This alleged bad way of writing is in fact what Fabre (1993) characterizes as "ordinary (French) writing", which turns out to be very similar to the text produced by the very critics who post derogatory comments on marabouts' "vernacular literacy" (Barton and Papen 2010). Why, then, has this writing become the object of parodying discourse, which portrays self-advertising marabouts as indexing illiteracy and dishonesty? Although other clairvoyants have also been subjected to harsh criticism, it is noteworthy that the latter's literacy has hardly ever been parodied in this way.

This chapter focuses on a metadiscursive activity in which self-proclaimed *magopinaciophiles* engage. These 'collectors of marabouts' flyers' post their scanned acquisitions on the Internet on websites entirely dedicated to their collection. They comment on the flyers, articulate their classificatory choices and also trade duplicates with fellow collectors. I examine the social processes by which marabouts' flyers have become prized collectors' items.

I argue that such passion for marabouts' flyers is more than a temporary playful activity triggered by readers' curiosity about supposed marked literacy or collectors' interest in unusual artifacts. I submit that the reading and entextualization of paper-marabouts are rooted in a long tradition of stereotypical images of Africans as putative incompetent speakers of French or illiterate immigrants. These cultural and linguistic stereotypes find their origins both in France's nineteenth-century colonial ventures into Africa and in a long-lasting regimented linguistic ideology within and outside its hexagonal boundaries or European boundaries, including Corsica. Both shape the economy of writing and reading in which marabouts' flyers are inserted and against which they are read.

I open my discussion in the next section with a brief description of the main linguistic and discursive features of marabouts' flyers. In the section following it, I focus on metalinguistic discourses produced on flyers. Comments and online discussions were selected from thirty-five blogs and four forums that claimed to involve only hexagonal French speakers. Because the data are decontextualized (largely because no clear authorship can be identified, unlike in Lee and Barton 2011), I could not engage in an ethnography of reading flyers per se. Nevertheless, despite the obvious limitations of such Internet material, e-comments give us a sense of how differently the marabouts' flyers are interpreted from other signifying forms and how they are positioned within the highly stratified local literacy regime. Although we cannot provide a clear answer as to *who* interprets marabouts' flyers, we can still venture some hypotheses on *why* flyers are publicly commented upon and for *what* purposes.

The last part of the chapter focuses on the historical and sociolinguistic conditions that have shaped the reading of flyers. Both France's hypernormative linguistic ideology and its long tradition of derogatory images of Francophone Africans as *poor* speakers/writers of French are examined here.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MARABOUTS' ADVERTISEMENTS IN FRANCE

The textual presence of marabouts in the socio-scape of France dates back to the 1960s and coincides with Africa's post-independence period, which has produced considerable migrations from France's former colonies, in contrast to the colonial period. The first marabouts' advertisements appeared in the 1960s and increased steadily in number until the 1970s. At about this point, the number increased sharply. According to Kuczynski (1992), who conducted an extensive ethnographic study on marabouts in Paris, both the format and the style of advertising were fixed in the mid-1970s and they have changed very little since then. Slightly bigger than business cards, the flyers are usually printed on colorful paper and appear at first glance to have strikingly similar layouts, themes and linguistic features.

Figure 6.1 Marabouts' flyers in Paris

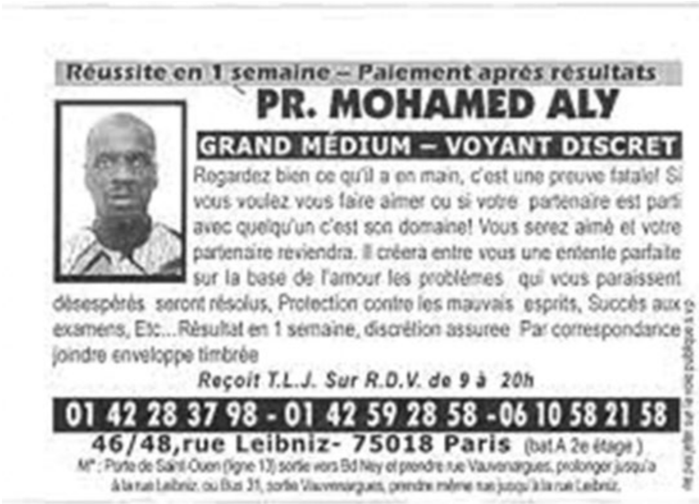

Figure 6.1 (Continued)

Although the display of information differs slightly in the two examples in Figure 6.1, the overall structure remains the same: the practitioners' names (Charles and Mohamed Aly) either follow or precede their titles ("Medium, clairvoyant, healer" in the left flyer and "PR" and "Grand medium—clairvoyant discreet" in the right one); contact details are supplied after a short description of the advertised services. Flyers usually exhibit similar characteristics quite uncommon in business advertisements in France, such as specifying the position of the door at the location of the practice/office (e.g. *esc. 1 porte du milieu* (1st staircase, middle door); *porte 21* (door 21). Although this is clearly useful (as a means of facilitating the customer's access to the location), it is also interpreted as reframing the advertised business as a private and unregulated endeavor.

Addresses are an important feature for collectors; some use them to categorize the marabouts according to neighborhood or to identify specific ones—for instance, through seeing which have the same street address and even door number. In the discussions, some readers parody the addresses by adding ridiculous details such as the number and position of the marabout's bed.

Intertextuality is certainly the most striking feature of the marabouts' flyers. Large or short strips of discourse are replicated from one flyer to another, creating the impression of a uniform style of writing and a distinctive genre. Some replications are accurate, as in the following example, where instances of heterography are replicated in different flyers: e.g. *Éleve les mauvais sorts* for *Enlève les mauvais sorts*, transforming the intended meaning of "remove curses" into "lift/raise/bring up curses". Such examples corroborate the view that flyers echo each other.

The reinsertion of strips of discourse into a new text tends to create a cut-and-paste impression with heterogeneous discursive elements following each other with no apparent thematic or structural coherence: e.g. *Amour, Argent, Examens, Chance Aimer, Définitif, Mal aux yeux, Retour de l'être aimé, homme impuissant, guérisseur* ("Love, Money, Exams, Luck in Love, Definitive, Sore eyes, Return of the beloved one, impotent man, healer"). The heterogeneity of the advertised services is reinforced by the grammatical categories used to describe them: nouns (e.g. *Chance* ("luck"), a verb in its infinitive form (*Aimer* ("to love")) and an adjective (*Définitif* ("definitive")).

Besides sharing common themes (love, professional success, achievements or accomplishments in different domains such as sports, luck games, increase of sexual prowess, fertility and healing of sickness), marabouts' advertisements display similar linguistic features that can be summarized as follows.

Heterography

Whereas some spelling unorthodoxy does not change the acoustic image of the words nor the intended meaning like in *soussis* for *soucis* ("concern"), others do, as in *perte des cheveaux* [ʃ (ə)∨ o] "horses") instead of *perte des cheveux* [ʃ(ə)∨ Ø] "hair"), which changes the intended meaning "loss of hair" to "loss of horses".

Typos

Whereas some flyers exhibit a high rate of typos, others don't display any of them. The attested typos don't generally impede comprehension: *neutrailse* for *neutralise* ("neutralize") or *irréaisables* for *irréalisable* ("unrealizable").

Lack of Agreement

Instances of disagreement are found both for plural nouns, as in *aux entreprise* instead of *aux entreprises* (with 's' on the noun), and for gender, as in *attraction moral* instead of *attraction morale* because the head-noun the adjective modifies is feminine singular.

Cross-Register Transfers

These show up mostly in the concurrent display of elements usually associated with written (formal) and oral (informal) registers, such as the use of 1) T/V in: *Si ton mari ou ta femme est parti(e) tu viens ici tu vas le (la) voir dans la même semaine ou si vous voulez Chassez quelqu'un de chez lui ou du pays* ("If your (T) husband or wife is gone you come here you are going to see him (her) in the same week or if you (V) want to Drive somebody out of his home or the country").

This example illustrates two types of uncommon uses of French forms of address: 1) the concurrent display of T and V to address the readership; and 2) the use of T in public writing especially in business-related announcements. As argued in Vigouroux (2011), corroborating Pires's (2009) findings, T/V use in flyers is far more patterned than it may appear at first glance. T is generally used when referring to love matters (e.g. a breakup or a spouse's unfaithfulness), whereas V is left for other problems such as the one mentioned in the above example.

Cross-register transfer also occurs with the use of frozen expressions such as *il courra derrière vous comme le chien derrière son maitre* ("he will run after you like the dog behind his master"), which is sometimes written with some variants as in *Il ou elle sera pour toujours comme un toutou* ("he or she will be forever like a pooch"). The canine reference is so commonly used in marabouts' advertisements that, over the years, it has tended to epitomize them. It is not rare to find the expression entextualized into new contexts.

Unexpected Use of Prepositions

In some cases the nonstandard use of prepositions does not hinder understanding, as in *les problèmes* ***au*** *lieu de travail* instead of . . . ***sur le*** *lieu de travail*) ("at the workplace"). In others it may say the opposite of the intended meaning: *il créera* ***contre*** *vous, une entente parfait* ("he will create a perfect harmony **against** you") instead of ***entre*** *vous* ("**between** you").

'Misused' Diacritics

In French, misplaced or misused 'accents' do not usually impede meaning (e.g. *râpide* for *rapide* ("fast")), but in some other cases, they may hamper understanding: *votre rival repousse à jamais*. In this example the omission of the accent for the past participle *repoussé* radically transforms the intended meaning from "**pushed away** forever" to "your rival **pushes back/again** forever" or "**grows up** forever".

Violations of Standard Writing Conventions

There are very few flyers with no punctuation such as full stops. The lack of commas to distinguish syntactic or thematic groups may impede understanding, as in the following examples: *si vous avez un examens attraction* ("if you have an exams attraction"); *Médium avec dons réputé international Africain* (literally: "Medium with gifts renowned international African").

The typology of linguistic features illustrated above should not make us forget important variations between flyers. Some of them display a high degree of vernacular literacy, whereas others conform to expected written standards. Readers tend to blow the *fautes de français* ("French mistakes") found in flyers out of proportion, as illustrated in the next section.

Kuczynski's (1992) work with the Parisian printers of flyers shows that marabouts allow very little divergence from the current norm of writing, valorizing the reproduction of a consistent style of advertisement. The unchanging nature of the flyers' format and stylistic features for the past forty years makes us believe that marabouts' performed vernacular literacy may well be part of a business strategy (see Vigouroux 2011).

An unforeseen outcome of the vernacular literacy performed in the flyers is, at least for the marabouts, the extent to which it is circulated and caricatured beyond the specific public the cards were designed for. Such mobility comes along with the resemiotization of flyers as advertised material into that of objects of collection and critical discourse. For many readers and collectors, the appeal of paper advertisements lies in their perceived transgressive nature. What exactly is transgressed here? It may be the boundary between the public and private spheres of communication, the presumed "legitimate" way of writing French, or the very idea of a legitimate literacy enforced by school language regimentation. Such a conclusion would be consistent with Bourdieu (1975) on language "fetishism". Or it may be the authorized and authoritative nature of public voice that is violated. Besides, who is the transgressor: the marabout, his flyers or both? I address these questions in the next section.

READING OF MARABOUTS' FLYERS

As a communication platform, the Internet transforms the reading of flyers into a shared metadiscursive activity where readers compare notes and elaborate on each other's interpretations. Such non-elicited activity (at least by us) reveals not only the ways in which people read flyers but also offers a glimpse of their own performed literacy. As I show below, this 'double-take' helps us have a better understanding of the ideological filtering that occurs during the activity of reading.

Flyer reading performs different functions largely depending on whether or not it is a *terminus ad quem*. According to my research, participants in online discussions of marabouts and their practices do not make metalinguistic comments on flyers. Conversely, in other forums where comments are made on flyers, the comments often come along with derogatory remarks on marabouts, and by extension those who believe in them. Because of space constraints, my focus here is on the metadiscursive activity produced in response to marabouts' publicity.

Although some commentators remain relatively silent about how entertaining flyers are, others do seem to find them amusing:

> *haha, ces fameux marabouts . . . leurs cartes de visites sont à se tordre de rire* ("ha ha these famous marabouts . . . their business cards make one double up laughing"). Sarah

These readers invariably mention the latter's nonstandard literacy:

> *Ce petit bout de papier mal imprimés sont* [sic] *une aude à l'orthographe et au bons sens* [sic]. *Chacun d'eux délivre une tournure de phrase insoupsonnée de la langue française déclanchant inévitablement un sourire* ("This small piece of paper badly printed are an ode to orthography and common sense. Each of them delivers an unsuspected turn of phrase of the French language inevitably triggering a smile"). maraboutmarabout

This comment reflects the widespread belief among the readers that flyers are full of spelling and syntactic 'mistakes'. Incidentally, this example illustrates how heterography and unorthodox syntax presented as characteristic of marabouts' flyers is a rather common feature of vernacular French; therefore it does not index the marabouts alone. Indeed, three cases of lexical heterography can be identified here: *aude* for *ode* ("ode"), *insoupsonnée* for *insoupçonné* ("unsuspected") and *déclanchant* for *déclenchant* ("triggering"); two cases of head-noun disagreements: *imprimés* ("printed") and *bons* ("good") should be singular because they modify singular nouns, respectively, *bout de papier* ("piece of paper") and *sens* ("sense"); finally, one case of subject-verb disagreement: *sont* ("are") instead of *est* ("is"), the third person singular of *être* ("be"), as the subject *ce petit bout de papier* ("this small sheet of paper") is singular.

Whereas instances of heterography, more specifically flyers' nonstandard literacy, generate metadiscursive activity, lack of such features is also thematized:

> *Ce matin, j'ai eu un flyer de marabout exorciseur sans AUCUNE faute d'orthographe. Je trouve ça louche.* ("This morning I had a flyer of marabout exorcist without ANY spelling mistake. I find it suspect"). Mariejulien

As is evident here, rather than revising their general appreciation of marabouts' advertisements, (for instance, by acknowledging their linguistic heterogeneity), readers tend to frame flyers' standard literacy as exceptional, even suspect, as in: *Je trouve ça louche* ("I find it suspect"). Other readers express nostalgia for the alleged decrease of 'mistakes', laying the blame on computer spell checks:

> *Aujourd'hui, la langue employée sur ces petits bristols imprimés a tendance à être plus disciplinée, la ponctuation est apparue et les robots-correcteurs réduisent les savoureux écarts orthographiques.* ("Today, the language used on these small printed business cards tends to be more disciplined, punctuation has appeared and automatic correctors reduce the delightful spelling deviations"). animulavagula

It is noteworthy that none of the readers gives credit to the marabouts for the alleged decrease of heterography in the flyers, as if the latter are inescapably bound to their image as incompetent writers. For some readers, the 'mistakes' do not only characterize the marabouts' flyers, but they also index the practitioners as competent in their profession:

> *En revanche, je doute un peu des réelles capacités de Monsieur Bana: peut-on faire confiance à un marabout qui ne fait pas de fautes. . . ?* ("On the other hand, I question somewhat Mister Bana's real capacities: can we trust a marabout who doesn't make mistakes. . . ?"). Carpediem

Thus the valuation of marabouts' expertise seems to be conversely related to their literacy skills. In other words, the more 'mistakes' there are in his flyer, the most competent a marabout is deemed to be. Such reading is strikingly different from that of readers whose interest is oriented toward maraboutic practices rather than flyers. Readers tend to exaggerate instances of heterography and unorthodox syntax found in advertisements, especially when some of the same 'mistakes' are evident in their own postings.

Next, I show how French hyper-normative language ideology, combined with its socially complex relationship with its former African colonies, has shaped the construction of marabouts' advertisements as 'full of mistakes'. In short, the reading of flyers has less to do with the literacy performed there than with the readers' imagined sociolinguistic projections on the scriber, here the African. The following comments suggest that a *grammar of reading flyers* has slowly emerged on the Internet and that some phrases are not considered "classics":

> *Le vrai flyer de Marabout est structuré d'une manière bien précise . . .* ("the real marabout's flyer is structured in a precise way . . ."). origeeknal
>
> *Sobre et élégant, son argumentaire est remarquable pour la rare qualité de son orthographe et permet de se délecter tous les "classiques" tels que "il ou elle courra derrière vous comme un chien derrière son maître"* ("Sober and elegant, its [the flyer's] arguments are remarkable for the rare quality of their/its orthography and enable [the reader] to delight in all the 'classics' such as 'he or she will run after you like a dog behind its master'"). MrBana

Valuation criteria have been developed to assess the quality of flyers:

> *Monsieur Motabaly, un flyers* [sic] *rare d'un point de vue iconographique (pictogramme symbolique du coeur+oreille+colombe) et de couleurs de caractère 'rose fushia' note technique 8/10 (notamment pour le "beaucoup de chance avec les filles"*
>
> *(note artistique 8/10 (picto+couleurs)). . .* ("Mister Motabaly, a rare flyers [sic] from an iconographic point of view (symbolic pictogram of the heart+ear+dove) and with colors of 'pink fuchsia' character technical

> score: 8/10 (particularly for the 'lots of luck with girls' (artistic score: 8/10 (picto+colors) . . .))". (Marabous's blog – Vive Les Marabous!)

These appraisal criteria illustrate a multimodal reading of flyers, according to which text, iconography, color and display are all scrutinized. The evaluator's distinction between the technical and artistic aspects of the flyers makes obvious the extent to which written text and other discursive materials are perceived as a distinct category. Based on this grammar of reading, some flyers are disqualified as *fake*. A case in point is the following announcement that circulated on the Internet and triggered a lot of comments about its authenticity as a marabout's flyer.

Although I am aware of the risk of not doing justice to Mister Bibi's creative use of French, I am providing an approximation as well as a commentary for those unable to read French and therefore appreciate Mister Bibi's well-calibrated writing performance:

> **★Mister Bibi★**
>
> **Big Clairvoyant Medium**
>
> Thanks to big secret and inherited gifts—for ten generation 88.2-Recognized fysically by his peers, presently present to help you-all difficulties- Luck in game, Star Academy, Loto (gives the numbers the same evening)- Success, Business, Trade, Grocery, Taxiphone, Dezintoxication Alcole, Drog, Tele, PD2, Religion, Tobacco.

Figure 6.2 Mister Bibi's advertisement

> **Right Hand of the Almighty**
>
> SICKNESS–stokolm syndrome, Gilles de la tourette, Tic and Toc with just a Tac, Indian Pedofile, UNLOCKING SIM card, Lock eh everything that is locked. TUNING–Piercing, Tatoo, Scarification, Botox a l'ancienne, Silicone and mastic for all façade, Viagras, DHEA with HONORS. Lipo and selfsuction. Hair loss. **Big Specialist of Sentimental Pwoblems** (even that of one evening). RETURN, Resurrection of the lost person (even in sea)–IMPOTENCE, Sterility, Desireless, Affection, Libido, Premature ejaculation, Circumcision, Female circumcision, Deflowering and Reflowering (under GHB), TELEPATHY (like she has arrived)–ALL CASES EVEN DESPERATE ONE. It is with a gift that I repair all these pwoblems.
>
> 7/24h without prescription receives or displaces. 08.11.73.36.31

Mister Bibi's advertisement was clearly designed to reproduce marabouts' flyers as illustrated by its format, general layout, advertised services and vernacular literacy. As in any flyer, the header exhibits Bibi's title as a practitioner (Clairvoyant Medium) and the domains of his competence. The picture on the upper left corner is positioned as would be expected, although it is very different from what is usually found in the kind of flyer shown in the previous section. (Bibi's cap and sunglasses are very unlikely for a marabout, which arouses suspicion about his expertise.)

Advertised services form the main body of the flyer. The contact information is displayed at the bottom. A few of the advertised services such as help with impotence, libido, sterility and luck in games are very similar to those promised by marabouts. Bibi's flyer also displays some degree of vernacular literacy, with instances of heterography (**héréditerre* for *héréditaires*, **fysiquement* for *physiquement*, **drog* for *drogue*, and **DHEA* for *DEA* [*Diplôme d'Études Approfondies*], which in France comes between the master's and doctoral degrees), one adjective–head-noun disagreement (**dix generation* for *dix generations*) and misuse of written conventions, such as inconsistent punctuation and erratic usage of capital letters. Unusual for marabouts' flyers, though, are instances of what seems to be eye dialect—for instance, with the semi-labialization of [r] (**pwoblème* for *problème*) intended to iconize Mister Bibi's accent. Such iconization has apparently proved successful as claimed by the following reader:

> *on croit l'entendre parler, c'est charmant. Je me demande si les immigrés asiatiques sauraient écrire les menus de leurs restaurants en prenant l'accent! Même en plissant fort les yeux, moi je n'y parviens pas* ("it's like hearing him speak, it's lovely. I wonder if Asian immigrants would be able to write their restaurants' menus in their accent! Even in screwing up my eyes tightly I can't do it"). Grincheux grave ["Real grouch" in English]

Mister Bibi plays with the term *dermophil indien*, which is a lip balm used in France, cleverly transforming it into *pedophile indien* ("Indian pedophile"). Among the most common arguments put forward to show that Bibi's flyer is inauthentic is the number of similar puns in it and their sophistication:

> *ce qui me dit que ça peut être un fake, ce sont les jeux de mots assez fins qui contrastent avec les fautes d'orthographe et le cractère* [sic] *"charlatan" de ce type d'annonce*. ("what tells me that it may be a fake, it is the relatively subtle plays on words that contrast with the spelling mistakes and the 'charlatan' nature of this type of announcement"). 3615buck

While aficionados of flyers question the authenticity of Bibi's flyer, Grincheux has a very different take on it, considering it to be a revealing illustration of the French government's lenient immigration policy that admits immigrants with a poor command of French into the country:

> *le français, langue de la République, est associé, dans notre culture, aux valeurs fondatrices de celle-ci, parmi lesquelles la liberté et l'égalité. La connaissance même de ces valeurs est gage d'intégration. (. . .) mais prenez le cas de ce* ***Monsieur Bibi****, que l'on a laissé installer en France un cabinet conseil en voyance extra lucide sans vérifier au préalable son degré de maîtrise du français. (. . .) Comme dit Jack Lang avec des trémolos dans la voix: l'immigration est une richesse pour notre pays*. ("French, the language of the Republic, is associated in our culture with the latter's founding values, among which liberty and equality. The very knowledge of these values is a pledge to integration (. . .) but take the case of this **Mister Bibi**, who has been allowed to establish in France an extra-lucid clairvoyance office without checking in advance the extent to which he commands French. (. . .) As Jack Lang ([a socialist, who is very vocal on the benefits of immigration to France] says in a quavering voice: *immigration is a [form of] wealth for our country*").

Bibi's vernacular French is adduced here as a counterexample to integration in the French nation, which is perceived as intrinsically linked to the command of the "language of the Republic", which, Grincheux claims, is a *sine qua non* to embrace the values of the Republic: liberty, equality and fraternity. This comment echoes, on a small scale, the institutional discourse on immigration in Western democracies in which language proficiency in the host language is taken as an index of the immigrants' integration into their new sociocultural ecology. Grincheux's discourse is also informed by the long-standing ideology inherited from the Jacobin regime according to which French is the defining feature of the Nation. Quite tellingly, his formulation *le français, langue de la République* ("French the language of the Republic") echoes that of article 2 of France's 1958 constitution: *La langue de la République est le français* ("The language of the Republic is French"). Grincheux's comments on Bibi's flyers triggered a number of responses from readers of flyers. Quite strikingly, none of them addressed the politically charged content of his post. They all focus on the alleged fakeness of Mister Bibi's advertisement as if Grincheux's lack of expertise in reading flyers was more critical than Bibi's alleged poor literacy competence:

> *J'espère quand même, cher Grincheux, que vous n'avez pas besoin de moi pour identifier ce faux!* ("I really hope, dear Grincheux, that you don't need me to identify this fake!"). Porcoleader

Up to this point, we have focused on readers' metadiscursive activity relating to flyers. We have seen how, through making it possible for these to be circulated, the Internet has created a forum for collaborative reading cum interpretation of this literature. On the other hand, being public (i.e. accessible to all), the discussions themselves become objects of metadiscourse as illustrated below:

> *Je suis d'origine africaine et n'ai pu que constater le racisme et la condescendance avec lesquels vous vous moquez des marabouts . . . ? Pourquoi? (. . .) La finalité [de votre site] est flagrante: se moquer avec ostentation des africains . . .* (*ahhh, comme ils sont drôles ces Bamboulas. . . . Nous, les toubabs, ça nous fait bien rire . . . au point d'en faire un site internet dédié . . .). Comme on dit aux US: 'Get a job, get a life, and stop making jokes about other people who are different than you'. En gros, vous n'êtes qu'un pauvre type ostensiblement raciste. . . . Vous devriez avoir honte*. ("I am of African origin and I couldn't but notice the racist and condescending ways in which you mock marabouts . . . ? Why? (. . .) The purpose [of your website] is obvious: to ostentatiously mock africans [sic] . . . ('ahhh, these Bamboulas [a derogatory word equivalent to the N-word in English] . . . . We, the toubabs [an unmarked name used in West Africa for people of European descent], it makes us laugh a little . . . to the point of dedicating a website to it . . .). As they say in the US: 'Get a job, get a life, and stop making jokes about other people who are different than you'. In sum, you are a conspicuously racist dork. . . . You should be ashamed [of yourself]"). Unsigned

This commentator is responding to posts on the website megabambou.com, which has become the main site for collectors of flyers or anybody interested in them. The way he/she presents himself/herself ("I am of African origin") helps him/her frame the marabouts as Africans (and not as clairvoyants) and therefore articulate the issue as a racial one, implicitly categorizing the addressee as non-African. By disclosing his/her origin (interestingly using an expression that conceals his/her gender), s/he implicitly frames his/her criticism as a personal matter. Thus, denigrating marabouts is denigrating every African and therefore "me".

However, this position also contrasts strongly with that of many of the Africans I informally consulted about their perceptions of flyers and their entextualization by French people. Those who tend to confine the production of flyers strictly to marabouts' practices don't feel targeted or offended as Africans. Similarly, some Africans find 'funny' the way some French people mock their alleged 'African accent', while others are offended by it. Such contrasting reactions mean that both views must be taken seriously and investigated in order to reach a better understanding of the factors that help construct them. As shown below, the webmaster's response to the unsigned comment raises the tricky or elusive question of the boundary between jocularity and stigmatization:

> *J'ai un boulot, j'ai une vie. Maintenant, je vais faire comme vous dites: ignorer tout le reste. Surtout ne pas m'intéresser à tout ce qui est different* [sic]. *Même pas pour y percevoir un décalage, d'où parfois peut surgir une forme d'humour bon enfant. Vous avez raison, il faut maintenir entre les cultures des frontières bien imperméables. Que les blancs s'occupent des blancs, les noirs des noirs, les jaunes des jaunes, et les vaches seront bien gardées.* ("I have a job, I have a life. Now I am going to do as you say: ignore everything else. Especially not get interested in everything that is different. Not even in order to perceive a discrepancy, from which a form of good-natured humor may arise. You are right, we should maintain entirely impermeable boundaries between cultures. Let whites deal with whites, blacks with blacks, yellows with yellows, and everything will be fine"). Megabambou

Irreconcilable positions are expressed in these two comments: the joking display of and comments on flyers considered by the webmaster, Megabambou, as a praiseworthy endeavor, and a sign of openness to cultural 'differences' is perceived by the other party as a racist enterprise meant to ridicule Africans. This divergence of interpretations exemplifies Ochs's (1990) distinction between direct and indirect indexicality, where a particular signifying practice may be associated with two different stances. The direct one is discursively articulated (for instance here, joking about flyers), whereas its indirect counterpart (e.g. denigrating Africans) remains nonexplicit and therefore potentially unrecognized by some readers. It also shows how one's reading is shaped by the position one occupies or that ascribed to him or her in the social environment where signs are produced and interpreted.

I contend that the webmaster's reframing of the matter into the general issue of maintaining (sociocultural) boundaries rather than as a black-*versus*-white 'problem' disconnects the activity of reading marabouts' flyers from other social activities. Indeed, by analyzing the interpretation of flyers in light of other practices taking place in France, we cannot but notice that it is inscribed in a long tradition of parody of an 'African way of speaking' and more generally of associating derogatory images with Africans, a topic to which I return in the next section. An analysis of flyer reading requires that we pay attention to the social order that shapes and is shaped by it. Thus, we can unveil the power dynamics at the very heart of the reader-'readee' relationship: who gets to comment on whom? In other words, *what* gets entextualized cannot be disconnected from the social formation of the process of entextualization itself in a given ecology.

The webmaster further elaborates his position in another post as follows:

> *Le pays d'origine des auteurs de flyers n'a aucune importance, non plus que leur couleur de peau. Il pourrait s'agir de devins Russes, de sorcières Islandaises, de bons Aryens, ou même de voyants Français.* ("The country of origin of the flyers' authors is not important, not even their complexion. It could be Russian seers, Icelandic witches, good Aryans or even French clairvoyants.")
>
> *Bref, l'origine du site, c'est simplement l'idée d'exploiter au maximum le matériau littéraire produit par les marabouts, et de donner des lettres de noblesse à ce média méprisé du plus grand nombre. Rien de plus. Et rien de moins.* ("In short, the origin of the website, it is simply the idea of exploiting to the maximum the literary material produced by the marabouts, and to acclaim this media despised by a majority. Nothing more. And nothing less.")
>
> *À tous ceux qui veulent voir le monde comme une interminable lutte de races, je souhaite bon vent: qu'ils passent leur chemin et aillent semer leur intolérance ailleurs. Après tout, c'est leur droit de ne pas avoir le sens de l'humour.* ("To all of those who want to see the world as an endless racial struggle, I wish good riddance: they may go and sow their intolerance elsewhere. After all, it is their right not to have a sense of humor.")

There is no reason to cast any doubt on the genuine nature of the webmaster's enterprise of valorizing 'the literary material' of marabouts' flyers, nor that of any reader. Being well aware of the fuzziness and porosity of the boundary between *laughing at* and *laughing with*, the megabambou.com webmaster warns his readers as follows:

> *Ce site ne peut et ne doit en aucun cas être considéré comme une incitation à la haine raciale, ni être assimilé à un dénigrement d'une quelconque nature.* ("This website can and should in no way be considered as an incitement to racial hatred nor can it be associated with denigration of any nature.")

I spent hours analyzing marabouts.com website and never found any openly offensive remarks about marabouts or their literacy. However, it is also difficult to deny that flyers are seen as indexing poor literacy skills and framed as amusing semiotic objects worth collecting. This framing can only happen if one has access to, or construes, a set of derogatory images of Africans as incompetent speakers of French. The relevant issue here is not about whether or not the commentators on and collectors of flyers' are racist. Rather, it is about the social process that makes these derogatory images go unnoticed by those who genuinely reproduce them. To respond to Megabambou's comment, it is not that jokes 'could' potentially be made of "Russian seers, Icelandic witches, good Aryans or even French clairvoyants" that matters. It is that in actual practice this does not happen! And if it did, would readers focus so much on their (il)literacy?

The next section articulates the socio-historical processes that have shaped the reading of marabouts' literacy as "bad" and "amusing". These processes are threefold: 1) linguistic, with France's hyper-normative linguistic ideology; 2) historical, with enduring racial stereotypes inherited from France's colonial history and 3) sociopolitical, with France's Eurocentric definition of its modern nation. I show how each of these processes is present in the construction of the other, but more importantly how together they frame readers' interpretation of flyers. Therefore none of these processes should be considered independently of the others. We open our discussion with an event that took place a year prior to the writing of this chapter.

IDEOLOGICAL FILTERING OF FLYER READING

As has been extensively analyzed in the literature, France epitomizes what Silverstein (1996) calls the "culture of monoglot standardization", with deliberate and repetitive attempts to eradicate linguistic diversity. Since the advent of the *united and indivisible Republic* in 1789, the language question has been a State prerogative (Lemarchand 2003). The post-revolutionary state ideology of *one nation one language* replaced the *one nation one religion* ideology of the old regime (Bell 1995). The right of each citizen to take an active part in the political affairs of the newborn republic by speaking the language he/she felt most comfortable with lasted only a few years, from 1789 to 1793. It was soon dismissed by an engagement to eradicate varieties called *Patois*, considered as unintelligible and backward and a threat to the unity of the newborn Republic (Gardy 1990; Martel 2005). This evolution was the outcome of a series of legislative stipulations that often went along with physical and symbolic violence exerted on the resistant, and therefore presumed antirevolutionary, citizens (De Certeau et al. 2002).

French language policies have always opposed usage of languages other than French, having already displayed intolerance toward internal varieties of French within its European borders (including Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg) and even within its national/hexagonal boundaries. Epitomizing the language hyper-normativity of France and the preeminence of written language are the passionate and often impassioned debates on orthography and its reforms (Catach 1991; Watts 1991). Studies such as Biedermann-Pasques and Jejcic (2006) highlight French respondents' strong correlation between orthography and language, as well as the homology between linguistic purism and national patriotism. Although the majority of French people have little knowledge of orthographic reforms, unlike Francophone Belgians or Quebecois, they are nonetheless aware of the social stigmatization associated with heterography. There is an overwhelming opposition to any kind of reform that conjures up a threat to French identity and, to some extent, to the Nation.

Two centuries after making French the sole language of the Nation, the Jacobin state instituted it in its exploitation colonies, in almost the same way it did after the French Revolution, namely through education. The major difference, though, was the racialized and racist ideology in which the teaching of French to the 'Natives' was embedded, as exemplified by the following passage of colonial administrator and linguist, Maurice Delafosse (1904, 263–264):

> It is often said that it is us [the French] who invented petit-nègre and that if we spoke correct French to blacks [sic], they would speak the same way [i.e. like us]. [. . .] Our language is undoubtedly one of the most complicated in the world. [. . .] How would anybody expect a black [sic], whose language is of rudimentary simplicity and has almost always absolute logic, to quickly assimilate an idiom [i.e. language] as sophisticated and illogical as ours? It is definitely the Black—or, speaking generally, the primitive—who created petit-nègre by adapting French to his state of mind. (My translation)

Maurice Delafosse speaks of *petit nègre* (small/broken negro), a rudimentary French variety allegedly spoken by Africans. According to him, this variety emerged because of the colonized Africans' intellectual limitations and the French language was too difficult for their simple minds which are more suited for their rudimentary African languages. His description was informed by language ideologies fueled by France's expanding linguistic and political nationalism dating back to the seventeenth century (Vigouroux 2013). At that time, the myth of *le génie de la langue française* (Meschonnic 1997) emerged in France and was attributed to the clarity of the language allegedly found in its word order and the quality of its vocabulary, summarized by Count of Rivarol a century later as: "What is not clear is not French" (De Rivarol 1794). Based on the correlation between *Language* and *Nation*, the myth of French genius became inseparable from that of its people. Delafosse's description was also reminiscent of late nineteenth-century French philologists such as Lucien Adam, Julien Vinson and Charles Baissac, who claimed that Africans in plantation settlement colonies produced Creoles because of their supposed mental inability to learn "refined" European languages such as French because of the alleged childlike structures of the substrate language (Mufwene 2008).

In World War I (1914–1918), *petit nègre* became embodied in the iconographic figure of the "Senegalese" infantryman (*tirailleur sénégalais*) who epitomized France's colonial army and imperial *grandeur*. (Senegalese is, of course, a misnomer. These infantrymen came from various West African countries.) The image of Africans as speaking 'butchered French' continues to pervade France's socioscape thanks to popular culture. One of the most emblematic examples is that of the chocolate powder advertisement *Banania* that came out in 1915.

I wish to draw attention to the inscription in the bottom left corner, *y'a bon* ("there's good"), which taps into the readers' cultural knowledge of both the *tirailleurs* and their alleged way of speaking "bad" French (Dufour and Laurent 2009). A close examination of the printing material from the early years of the nineteenth century shows how widely *petit nègre* was used to portray Senegalese infantrymen and, by extension, new fictionalized

Figure 6.3 Advertisement for Banania chocolate powder

African characters. *Tintin au Congo* (henceforth TC) was published in 1930 (Hergé 1930). TC, which in the modern popular imagination has come to epitomize the "colonial linguistic spirit" of that time, was in fact one of many entextualized versions of linguistic stereotypes in circulation in several literacy genres. Originally used derogatively to refer to the French spoken by Africans, the expression *petit nègre* is now commonly used to refer to any nonstandard written French, therefore indexing nongrammaticality. The very fact that the expression is still in use and more notably perceived by many French people as not offensive (see Amedegnato and Sramski's 2003 findings), illustrates how deeply entrenched linguistic prejudices against Africans are in France.

Because of the fantasized linguistic representations that the flyers evoke among French readers, marabouts can be said to be the modern counterparts of last century's *tirailleurs sénégalais*. Negative representations associated with them have become hegemonic in part because of the *erasure* of nonstereotypical African models in French society both in the media, and in socially elevated positions, including academia. France's public space has also long been characterized by an underrepresentation, or lack of acknowledgment, of the social and cultural diversity of its population.

The near-invisibility of Blacks in France's sociopolitical scape and mediascape is therefore part of a social order that produces these representations. Local and national political representatives are still overwhelmingly male, white, Christian and of European descent. Minorities' struggle for sociopolitical recognition has, since 1998, taken place in the symbolic field of the media through repeated demands for increasing the visibility of France's sociocultural diversity. When "visible", minorities have been confined to second-tier positions, with fictional characters perpetuating stereotypical and derogatory roles such as rap musicians, drug dealers and, more generally, the socially impaired. In the news, they tend to be discursively constructed as disturbing the public order and as threatening, if not downright dangerous (see Levasseur 2009 and Sedel 2009). The erasure of France's cultural diversity has been rationalized through recycled discourses on the Republic as "one and indivisible" (Schor 2001). It has thus been framed as a political stance against divisive communitarianism, a rallying notion that has actively participated in the construction of the French social space from an ethnonationalist perspective since the 1990s (Dhume 2010). As aptly summed up by Wallerstein (2005, 2), "France defines itself as the country of universal values, where discrimination cannot exist because everyone can become a French person if they're ready to integrate fully".

This one-nation-one-people ideology means that ethnicity statistics are strongly prohibited in France (Spire and Merllié 1999). Consequently, stigmatization based on race is underdocumented and therefore hard to prosecute. In addition, attempts by ethnic minorities to organize into pressure groups or thematize their hyphenated French identity (e.g. Congolo-French, French-Moroccan) are considered as a denial of the French Republican model (Ndiaye 2008).

Equally relevant to understanding the reading of flyers is France's highly regimented economy of written signs. Vernacular literacy usually remains confined to the private sphere of communication, at least until the advent of the new technologies of communication that makes the private *versus* public space distinction rather thinner and fuzzier (Damar 2010). Because the marabouts have used public media to advertise their services, their flyers are read and contrasted with other circulating literacy that is highly regimented and therefore unrepresentative of *vernacular ways of writing* in France.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explored the sociopolitical processes that make many hexagonal French people want to collect marabouts' flyers and discuss the literacy of marabouts on the Internet. Taking the advertisements to the Internet sphere, outside the specific ecology for which the flyers were intended, the French collectors have produced a metadiscourse on the marabouts' literacy, which has been semiotized in ways that reveal some deep-seated social biases of European French citizens toward Africans.

In the process I argued that the particular ways in which the marabouts' flyers are read and ridiculed can be associated with long-standing constructions of Africans as poor speakers of French. These stereotypes, which find their origins in the nineteenth-century colonial enterprises of the French, still have currency in France thanks to popular culture. They are part of the "cultural legacy of the empire" to borrow Gilroy's (1987, 27) words, shaped by France's hyper-normative linguistic ideology. Taken together, all of these kinds of erasure contribute to the economy of writing and reading in which marabouts' flyers are inserted and against which they are read. A close examination of their reading helps us gain a better understanding of the highly stratified literacy regime in which the flyers have been inserted.

In conclusion, the activity of reading should be analyzed in light of other social practices embedded within a particular ecology in order to demonstrate how it is inscribed in a time-space frame of ideological constructs. I believe such an approach helps us gain a better understanding of *how* one reads *whom* and *why*.

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7 Script Choice, Language Loss and the Politics of Anamnesis

Kashmiri in Diaspora

Rakesh M. Bhatt

> [O]rthographic wars are often fought letter by letter, diacritic by diacritic, taking no prisoners.
>
> (Mark Sebba 2007, 133)

INTRODUCTION

This chapter has a rather modest descriptive aim: to demonstrate the ways in which Kashmiris in diaspora respond symbolically to new relations of power and domination between languages in contact, and how they understand their own historical-linguistic identity within a system structured around dependency and unequal development. In such asymmetric scenarios of power and struggle, the visible, and audible, diacritics of minority identities are often erased as minority groups acquiesce to the local dominant linguistic group(s). The 'new settlers'—a term used by Kashmiris who recently moved to New Delhi, to differentiate them from those who had moved in the 1950s and 1960s under different sociopolitical conditions—had to decide whether, and to what extent, to keep their ethnic identity tied to (a) the most audible marker, i.e., continue speaking Kashmiri, and (b) the most visible marker, i.e., the script choice: Perso-Arabic or Devnagari. In this chapter I will be concerned with the latter, focusing mainly on the symbolic meaning of script choice. I will present arguments to show that the choice of script in the case of Kashmiri is closely tied to a politics of anamnesis; specifically, in terms of representations, identities and voice. By linguistic politics of anamnesis, I specifically refer to a selective, often strategic, recalling of elements of various language ideological discourses that are used to justify contemporary linguistic practices, habits of thought and language policy decisions.

At the very outset, let me point out that Kashmiri diaspora is an instance of what Cohen (2008) has termed "Victim Diaspora", characterized by a violent rather than a freely chosen experience of displacement. An estimated 250,000 Kashmiri Hindus left Kashmir at the outset of insurgency in the state, beginning in the fall of 1989 and continuing into spring 1990.

Roughly half of them moved to the neighboring city, Jammu, while others moved mainly to Delhi, the research site of this study.

Kashmiri diaspora consciousness is thus a result of the traumatic experience of ethnic cleansing and political repression. Consequently, one finds the usual trappings of such diaspora condition in this community: on the one hand, the resistance of a community to assimilation within the dominant culture, and, simultaneously on the other hand, a claim to a kind of post-exilic independence vis-à-vis the place of origin. Kashmiris in diaspora display a paradoxical stance: a *longing* for use of Kashmiri language and *a strong desire to belong* to the Kashmiri community yet at the same time being actively engaged in erasing all indexicalities associated with Kashmiri language use. It is not uncommon to hear public exhortations from community members in conclaves and local meetings, and to read local leaders in the ethnic sociocultural magazine, *Koshur Samachar* ('Kashmiri News'), making a strong commitment toward ethnolinguistic identification that takes the following form, a direct quote, in (1):

(1) *asyi cha kashyir telyii, yelyi asyi kashar zabaan cha*

"we are Kashmiris only, when we have the Kashmiri language"

The editorials of the local sociocultural magazines also frame the loss of Kashmiri similar to (1). In (2), I present one instance of that:

(2) In the diaspora, however, we have lost sight of one important aspect, which gives us our distinct identity and that aspect is our mother tongue, Kashmiri (*Koshur Samachar*, 11/99:2).

Such expressions of language-identity alliance in public spaces serve several sociolinguistic functions, solidarity and positive politeness and stance-taking (Jaffe 2009; Englebretson 2007)—a linguistically articulated form of social action, calling, as in (1) and (2), other stance-takers to re-calibrate their position with respect to the acquisition and use of Kashmiri in the diaspora context. The sociocultural value of Kashmiri is thus mobilized in (1 and 2) to frame the significance of ethnic identity—its distinction—in Diaspora context, especially when linguistic obituaries of Kashmiri, such as in (3), circulate routinely in the community (Kachru 2001, 2002; M. Bhatt 2009; R. Bhatt 2011):

(3) Kachru (2001: 10):

> The recent scholarly debate—and predictions—of language death in South Asia and beyond has shown that a host of culturally and linguistically diverse human languages are passing through escalating critical stages of endangerment, decay, and ultimate demise. The question is: Is our mother tongue on a critical list? . . . This language extinction will be proportionately shared by India's 380 languages. . . . What, then,

does the horoscope of the Kashmiri language show? A short answer is: Decay and death!

The positive evaluation in stance-taking in public spaces, however, changes radically in private spaces where we notice a discursive reversal of public stance-taking. Consider the excerpt in (4):

(4) I is interviewer, R is subject #9, male, age fifty-three

I: L1 parents kyaazyi chi responsible
why are parents responsible (for the lack of Kashmiri use among kids)
R: L2 *acha, ba vanoov kithpaThyi*
okay, I will tell you how
L3 *ba sa gos panis dostas samkhyin*
I went to see my friend
L4 *bu chus drawing roomas manz bihith*
I am sitting (waiting for him) in the drawing (living) room
L5 *temsindyi nikas siiThyi gindaan*
playing with his kid
L6 *yi aay yaapaaryi dooran, yi na dost sanz zanaan*
there came running from there, y'know my friend's wife
L7=> *dapaan cham hey yemis siiThyi ma karyiv koshur*
she tells me, hey, don't talk to him in Kashmiri
L8=> *yemis gasyi pranansechan kharaab*
his pronunciation will get bad
I: L9 *ti kyaa gav prananseshan gasyi kharaab*
What does that mean, his pronunciation will get bad?
R: L10=> *yi na ki yemis gasyi koshur accent*
Y'know, that he will get a Kashmiri accent.

In lines 7–8 we notice the mother taking an epistemic stance, negatively evaluating, by assertion, Kashmiri language use (the object of stance) and aligning herself with the dominant local community value system. In line 10 it becomes clear that the mother is implicitly disaligning herself with the stereotypical associations with Kashmiri—specific segmental and prosodic forms that appear in their speaking of English and Hindi, the local languages. The awareness among the diaspora community of Kashmiri accentedness is widespread and is generally derided and denigrated and mocked. The logic of this meta-linguistic awareness follows the familiar paradigm of formal learning of second language, presented in (5):

(5) The logic of accent erasure

- Transfer (from Kashmiri) yields accents
- 'accents' are audible
- audible accents are undesirable

- they must be silenced
- silencing must be completely successful
- success is possible if there is NO Kashmiri linguistic input in the learning environment.

In private spaces, therefore, Kashmiris are not only *not* speaking Kashmiri, but they are in fact actively erasing all linguistic-phonetic indexicalities of their ethnic identity. In their bid to assimilate into the dominant Hindi and English linguistic culture, they are willing to become invisible—as Kashmiris!

The Kashmiri contact outcome of rapid language shift/loss is an anomaly given the relatively stable multilingual context of India where language maintenance is the norm (Pandit 1977, 1978; Pattanayak 1981, 1990). The analysis of empirical data leads to a surprising result: The loss of intergenerational transmission of Kashmiri is to a large extent related to multiple ideologies about its script—often contested, contentious and communally organized. I argue that these multiple ideologies of script operate at different sociolinguistic levels—historical, political, linguistic and communal—leading cumulatively to linguistic subordination, and eventual loss, of Kashmiri language. Let me turn first to the historical dimension of script ideologies.

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

I begin with an excerpt from one of the Kashmiri community leaders, male, seventy-eight years old, and still very active in his profession (at the time of the interview, but now deceased) and very well regarded in the community. I asked him why Kashmiri is not a popular language among the diaspora community members. His response is quite representative of the community beliefs, reflecting negative evaluation of Kashmiri:

(6)

L1: Kashmiri does not qualify to be a language.
L2: It is a spoken script.
L3: People have written it in Sharda, Devnagari, Arabic.
L4: It has never had so to say a script of its own.
L5: Second is, even at the height of Kashmir's glory
L6: Kashmiri was never the court language.
L7: So, what I am trying to suggest is that
L8: even at the highest glory in Kashmir
L9: nobody ever thought to convert Kashmiri
L10: into the official language of Kashmiris
L11: and develop it into [inaudible]
L12: so, therefore, it has remained a dialect
L13: it will remain a dialect
L14: It has no commercial value.

Although four scripts have been historically used to write Kashmiri, viz., Sharada, Roman, Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, the historical absence of a unique one language–one script relationship is recalled in contemporary discourses as evidence of its 'dialect' status; hence, unworthy of any formal linguistic, literary or cultural activity. The negative evaluation of Kashmiri in the stance act of this speaker resonates with a stance taken in prior, colonial discourse, presented in (7) and (8) below:

(7)

> The *language of Kashmiris* is, like their dress, *peculiar*, and distinct from that spoken in any part of India, or of the adjacent countries. It may be considered *a patois* rather than a *proper language*, and there is *harshness and uncouthness* about the *pronunciation* which betrays it as such. . . . Difficult to pronounce and difficult to acquire, it is generally incomprehensible to strangers [emphasis added]. (Wakefield 1879, 107–108)

(8)

> The language [Kashmiri] is of Hindu origin . . . may be supposed (to be) rich in agricultural terms. . . . But the *vocabulary is small and inadequate for present-day use*, being conspicuously *weak in terms* both for the implements and materials *of modern civilized life and for abstract ideas* [emphasis added]. (Neve 1912, 84)

These negative evaluations are not surprising because, during various points in the history of Kashmir, different languages served as 'legitimate language', creating conditions where the acquisition of symbolic and cultural capital meant acquisition and use of a language other than Kashmiri: It was Sanskrit from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, written in the Sharda script, leading to Kashmiri diglossia—Sanskrit (H), Kashmiri (L); Arabic and Persian were introduced in the fourteenth century, and Persian was the official language until the Dogra king Pratap Singh made Urdu the official language at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bhatt 2002). After independence, language loyalties toward Kashmiri dwindled (Bhatt 1989) as the 'value' of Kashmiri diminished in competition with Urdu, the language given the 'official' status.

These historical language ideological episodes have left their mark on the way diaspora speakers, such as in (6) above, view the codes of their sociolinguistic repertoire (English, Hindi, Urdu, Kashmiri) and negotiate their positions vis-à-vis these codes. The conclusions drawn by the speaker in (6) can be analyzed within a framework of the logic of linguistic subordination that is predicated on three assumptions, presented in (9i–iii):

(9) The logic of Kashmiri subordination

- (i) that Kashmiri does not have a script of its own—the unique correspondence of one language ~ one script is missing;
- (ii) that Kashmiri has never served in formal domains, such as the court language, presumably because of its dialect (= low) status;
- (iii) that Kashmiri has no commercial 'value'.

The sedimentation of these assumptions over time establishes a local linguistic archive (Blommaert 2006), which is then used to portray, as we have seen above, history as nature, confusing history with nature (see Barthes 1972)—i.e., something inherent in the linguistic design of the Kashmiri language that renders it weak, incapable and value-less. Rather unsurprisingly, therefore, we find that the local contemporary personal narratives of the diaspora members reproduce, and thus fortify, the very archive that it uses to justify itself, leading to language subordination.

THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

In India, language policies, past and present, have had to deal with, on the one hand, the hierarchical regimes of languages (sacred/vernacular, colonial/indigenous, global/local), and, on the other, repairing historical injustices (e.g., of colonization) by addressing the linguistic rights of all the 'vernaculars' spoken in different regions. In the context of Kashmir, there have been two surprising language-policy decisions that have introduced negative (e)valuation of Kashmiri language: Kashmiri is not the 'official' language of the state of Jammu and Kashmir (henceforth, J&K)—Urdu is!—but there is an 'official' script to write it: Perso-Arabic. These decisions do not comport well with Kashmiris in diaspora, largely Hindu Kashmiris aligned with Devanagari script; they have to reconcile themselves to the situation in which the language they speak has no official status (or functional power). Although the script does have official status, they do not command it. Table 7.1 (adapted from Chaturvedi & Mohale 1976) shows institutional exercise of symbolic domination through language choice.

A cursory look at the table below reveals the symbolic and material resources, and cultural, economic and political practices that the older, first-generation diaspora members were socialized into. The distribution of language learning options in it reflects, not surprisingly, given the logic of language subordination, the archaeology of language acquisition and use in Kashmir: 'other' (Urdu and Hindi) languages are used (i) to initiate literacy and (ii) to be used as the medium of education. This, despite the UNESCO (1953) recommendation on the use of vernacular languages in education: "We take it as axiomatic, too, that the best medium for teaching is the

Table 7.1 Language choice according to the modified Three Language Formula in Jammu and Kashmir

Stage	Lower Primary	Higher Primary	Lower Secondary	Secondary
Age	6 7 8 9	10 11 12 13	14 15	16 17
	I II III IV	V VI VII VIII	IX X	XI XII
Compulsory language	Urdu or Hindi	1. Urdu or Hindi 1 English 2 Urdu in Hindi medium schools or Hindi in Urdu medium schools.	1. Urdu or Hindi 2. English 3. Urdu in Hindi medium schools or Hindi in Urdu medium schools.	Any two of the following: 1. Urdu or Hindi 2. English 3. Urdu in Hindi medium schools or Hindi in Urdu medium schools.
No. of languages	1	3	3	2
Optional languages	0	0	3	2
			Punjabi, Dogri, Kashmiri, Ladakhi, Arabic, Sanskrit	Hindi, Urdu, Dogri, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Ladakhi, Arabic, Sanskrit

mother tongue of the pupil" (ibid, 6). The state's language-in-education policy also disregards the proposal of the education commission of India that offered a Three Language Formula to equalize the burden of language learning throughout the nation, and to foster linguistic plurality:

(10) The Three Language Formula
   i. Regional language and the mother tongue where the latter is different from the regional language.
   ii. Hindi or, in Hindi-speaking areas, another Indian language.
   iii. English or any other Modern European Language.

The acquisition of literacy in another tongue has several unfortunate consequences, as enumerated by Srivastava (1984): (i) it leaves many learners at the level of semi-literacy; (ii) it creates intellectual imbalance between standard language literacy and mass literacy; (iii) it downgrades the learner's mother tongue; (iv) it interferes with the channel for cross-cultural communication that would serve as a bridge between oral and written culture and (v) it generates a disharmonious relationship between functions of literacy (i.e. what literacy does for the learners) and uses of literacy (i.e. what learners do with literacy skills). In light of these observations, it is not difficult to predict the fate of a language—Kashmiri, the ethnic mother tongue of the majority of the population—that is relegated in the educational domain to that of an optional language, a choice (one of six) available only at the lower secondary level, in Grades IX and X. In sum, Table 7.1 shows how the language education policy of the state, a macro-process of symbolic domination, legitimizes cultural and political ideologies of the dominant ethnolinguistic group, the ruling Kashmiri Muslim elite.

The cumulative effect of initiating literacy in a second language using a script that is not suited for Kashmiri is that the literacy rates for the State of J&K have always been one of the lowest among the officially recognized states and union territories. Table 7.2 shows the literacy rates of the State of J&K well below the national average.

The marginalization of ethnic language and literacy practices does not go unnoticed among the diaspora members. Older members of the diaspora still recall a relatively recent historical factoid, presented in (11), offered by a seventy-one-year-old female schoolteacher who ends her concern with

Table 7.2 Literacy rates of the state of Jammu and Kashmir as compared to the national average

	1961	**1971**	**1981**
Jammu and Kashmir	11.03	18.58	26.67
India	24.02	29.45	36.27

invoking a negative evaluation of Perso-Arabic script, by repeating it, in Hindi:

(11) Subject #3, [translated from Kashmiri-**Hindi**-*English* mixed code]

In the fifties, Kashmiri was introduced in the schools, **from I through V grades at the primary level**, not only as a *subject* of study but also *as a medium of instruction. But the experiment was soon discarded as unfeasible on the lame excuse of a clumsy script.* They should have fixed the script, but didn't. *Now there is no Kashmiri script, nor a political will to introduce one.* **Now it is all Perso-Arabic, Perso-Arabic.**

THE LINGUISTIC DIMENSION

The two competing scripts, Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, used to write Kashmiri are inadequate to represent the entire inventory of the sounds and the range of phonotactic patterns of the language. Additionally, with the emergence of modern technologies of communication, such as email, texting and tweeting, the traditional scripts have become more irrelevant to modern generations of diaspora Kashmiris. The preference now is for roman script, a plausible option but fiercely contested by older generation of diaspora who are quick to point out the inefficiencies of the Perso-Arabic script. The attitude is best summarized in the following two statements that appeared in the diaspora cultural magazine, *Koshur Samachar* (KS):

(12) Press statement, the Forum of Emigré Kashmiri Writers (KS, Feb., 1993, 30):

The adoption of Perso-Arabic script for Kashmiri has deprived most of the non-Muslim Kashmiris, especially the womenfolk [presumably responsible for 'teaching' Kashmiri to the next generation], of the readership of the Kashmiri literature, old and new.

(13) Editorial, (KS, Dec., 1999, 3):

Our Kashmiri language is more and more becoming artificial because it is unnecessarily loaded by such Persian words as are not intelligible even to common Muslim men and women.

The diaspora members point to several sounds, such as the voiceless and voiced velar fricative, voiceless and voiced pharyngeal fricatives and uvular voiceless stop, that are not part of the Kashmiri inventory but appear as part of the official Kashmiri alphabet. These sounds, introduced into the alphabet as a result of excessive borrowing from Persian and Arabic, are quickly noted by the diaspora community as foreign, and interpreted as linguistic acts of transgressions, a deliberate attempt by the Muslim élite to Arabize Kashmiri. Madan (1998, 986) puts it rather succinctly:

(14)

> The older composite nature of Kashmiri (comprising Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other lexical elements) is being altered by the Muslim élite in an effort to standardize it through the elimination of readily recognizable Sanskrit words. The Pandits look upon this, too, as part of the process of Islamization, and a none too subtle way of changing the common cultural heritage in a manner that eliminates its Hindu elements.

Another argument advanced by the diaspora community against the adoption of Perso-Arabic as the authorized script for Kashmiri is related to redundancy in its writing system, e.g., the sound [s] is represented by <se>, <seen> and <suwad>, or the sound [z] is represented by four alphabets, namely, <zal>, <ze>, <zoe> and <zwad>. There is no logical way of knowing which allograph to choose to represent a particular grapheme for writing a particular word. This writing system requires the learners to know the writing conventions just as the English script require its learners to know when to use <f>, and when to replace it with <ph> or <gh>. The redundancy and the unsystematic classification of the Perso-Arabic script, they argue, make it difficult to learn and, therefore, undesirable for use in writing. The alternative is to use the Devanagari script for writing Kashmiri, which brings me to the discussion of the next dimension, the communal dimension of script ideologies.

THE COMMUNAL DIMENSION

The Hindu Kashmiris have traditionally used Devanagari to write Kashmiri, whereas Muslim Kashmiris have traditionally used Perso-Arabic to write it. As such, each community, especially the language experts, summons the literary traditions of the past to rationalize and legitimize their current writing practices and script choices. In 1992, the Kashmiris in diaspora lobbied for the officialization of Devanagari as the second script to write Kashmiri. Although their demand was favorably received at that time by the Ministry of the Human Resource Development, no formal decision was made and no formal action was taken. In August 1994, the Ministry issued a statement in which it declared quite emphatically that the status quo would be maintained:

(15) "No orders on Devnagri script for Kashmiri" (Voice of Kashmir, Sept. 1–7, 2004, 5):

> The government would take this opportunity to assuage any fear of doubt that any person may have regarding the support or patronage of the Kashmiri language in the Devnagri script. . . . [The Ministry] is of the categorical view that such issues should be considered by the state government only.

The status quo policy has entrenched the ideological alignments within the Kashmiri community, at home and in diaspora, with respect to script choice. What emerges from the 'script controversy' that followed government's decision is the insight that diaspora concerns are not necessarily local. In many cases they are translocal, often closely linked to home, the place of origin. The local diaspora concerns, related in this case to language, script choice and ethnic survival, are viewed at 'home' as a political act of linguistic secession. Here are excerpts from well-known Kashmiris at home, the noted Kashmiri writer G.N. Gohar (16); the famous writer, journalist and Sahitya Akademi [National Academy of Letters] Award winner, Ghulam Nabi Khayal (17) and the former editor of Kashmiri in Cultural Academy (18).

(16) G.N. Gohar (*Voice of Kashmir*, 1–7 Sept 2004, 5):

> KPs [Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus)] have always worked as an extra-constitutional authority along with the Government of India right since the time of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru [a KP, originally]. The demand for Devnagri is an extra constitutional manoeuvre on part of the community.
>
> . . . the minority community cannot impose its views on the majority community, when the latter is already following Nastaliq [Kashmiri variety of Perso-Arabic script] for so long.
>
> . . . we are living within a circle of **Lakshman Rekha** and none should come out of it. If one attempts to do so, then there will be **Mahabharat**.

(17) Ghulam Nabi Khayal (*Voice of Kashmir*, 1–7 Sept 2004, 7):

> Any move to change the script from Nastaliq to Devnagari is frought with grave dangers . . .
>
> Sometime ago, . . . a Delhi based organization of Kashmiri Pandits used to bring out Pamposh, a magazine containing Kashmiri literature and materials both in Nastaliq as well as in in Devnagri script. I used to contribute for that myself. But asking for an official recognition towards the same seems to be a sinister plan to me.

(18) Rasool Pampore (quoted in *Voice of Kashmir*, 1–7 Sept 2004, 7):

> Historic works of Kashmiri poets and writers such as Lal Ded and Sheikh-ul-Alam are preserved in Nastaliq script. If Devnagri comes

to be accepted as an official script then all these preserved works would become extinct for the future generations.

The responses in (16)–(18), while quite powerful in terms of disalignment in both content and style with the diaspora concerns, when juxtaposed with the diaspora voices as in (19) and (20), demonstrate the power of nonlocal discourses in imposing the political will of those at home. The diaspora linguistic concerns, while legitimately local, must have political license from home.

(19) Playwright, M.K. Kemmu (quoted in *Voice of Kashmir*, 1–7 Sept 2004, 7):

> There is no arrangement to teach Nastaliq script to the future generations of KPs outside Kashmir, so how can we expect them to keep in touch with Kashmiri literature being written in that script? . . . We need to have an alternate script in Devnagri so that our children . . . are able to read and write in Kashmiri.

(20) *Koshur Samachar* (February 1993, 31):

> Devanagri, in fact, has been in use for writing Kashmiri for a long time now, not only by Kashmiris settled outside the Valley . . . but in the Valley itself. . . . Pandit Ishwar Kaul who wrote the first Kashmiri grammar and compiled the first Kashmiri dictionary (subsequently edited by Grierson), Professor S.K. Toshakhani, who wrote the first Kashmiri novel besides several text books for use in the schools, . . . and the renowned Kashmiri poet, Master Zinda Kaul, who was the first Kashmiri writer to have bagged the Shaitya Akademi Award. The first Kashmiri drama by Pandit Nand Lal Kaul and the Kashmiri Ramayana as also several other Kashmiri classics have already appeared in the Devanagari script.

Leaving aside an analysis of the competing discourses on the choice of script, the sociolinguistic consequence of these conflicting and often contentious discourses is a generation of Kashmiris in diaspora that neither read and write Kashmiri nor do they have any desire to speak or understand it—this generation displays all symptoms of ethnolinguistic malaise, as I have discussed elsewhere (Bhatt 2008).

VOICE OF KASHMIRIS: LOST IN DIASPORA

So far I have discussed the different dimensions of the politics of script choice that have arguably led to the moribund status of the Kashmiri language. What I have not discussed yet is the status of the spoken word; quite unsurprisingly, Kashmiris in diaspora have actively replaced their ethnic mother tongue with linguistic norms that dominate the local linguistic ecology: Hindi and English. One notices, immediately, both linguistic attrition at the individual level and the loss of language usage at the group level. A short transcript (Time: 2 mins 15 seconds), shown below in (21), of an interaction with a twenty-three-year-old, educated, upper-middle-class Kashmiri woman provides a paradigm example of the extent of linguistic attrition.

(21) Subject #11 (Note: Three languages are used in this excerpt: English, *Kashmiri, Hindi*; *indicates grammar errors; S = subject #11, I = Interviewer, L1–L29 are lines 1–29)

SL1: *ba chas vathaan* [**pause**] late, not *jaldii* [**pause**]
I get up late, not early
IL2: late, *koota* late
late, how late
SL3: um [**pause**] *din *college chum gatsun* [**pause**] *din* [**short pause**]
(the) day I have to go to college, (that) day
SL4: *jis din* [**pause**] I will [laughter] sorrrry [laughter]
the day . . . I will
SL5: then *ba chas vathaan seThaa jaldii*
then I get up very early
IL6: *seThaa jaldii, koota jaldi* gav
very early, how early is that
SL7: but its *pat* [**pause**]
but its then
IL8: *pat, pat kayaa chak karaan*
then, then what do you do
SL9: um, **me chum bas* [**pause**] I catch a bus at [**pause**]
um, I have bus . . . I catch a bus at
IL10: *kos bas, yi chaa university special bus*
which bus, is the 'University Special' bus
SL11: *na na na yi cha pants hath ta akh ba chas hyavaan, *Green Parkas*
No, no, no this is five hundred and one (#501) I take, at Green Park
SL12: and then I take change to mudrika
IL13: *acchaa gav tse chak bas pat change karaan*
Okay, you change the bus then
SL14: yeah
IL 15: *change katye chak karaan*
where do you change
SL16: Kashmiri Gate [**pause**] **ba chas* [**short pause**] *bus stop par*
Kashmiri Gate. I am . . . at the bus stop

SL17: and, um **me chum class nau bajan aasaan*
and, um, I have a class at 9
IL18: *nau baje cha class aasaan, acchaa yi class kyaa cha*
The class is at 9, okay, what class is it?
SL19: um, **su chu akh* [**short pause**] so there are um
um, it is one
IL20: *ath manz kyaa cha parnaavaan*
What do they teach in it?'
SL21: ath manz cha parnavaan sociology, psychology, mental health, etc. research statistics
In it they teach . . .
SL22: **class cha aasaan dod bajan taam*
The class is till 1.30 pm
IL23: *taamath*
Till
SL24: *taamath*
Till
SL25: and **pat chu aasaan* IC, DC saiThaa saiThaa complications here and then there are IC, DC, many, many complications here
IL26: *IC, DC kyaa gav*
What is IC, DC
SL27: IC cha Individual conference, um, *ba chas*, um,
IC is individual conference, um, I am, um
SL28: **asyi chu* meetings with our supervisors and who [**short pause**] supervisors are field workers
We have . . .
SL29: and group conferences **asyi cha sooruyi behaan exchange karaan* our experiences in the field.
And group conferences, we all sit together, and exchange our experiences in the field

A quick look at the transcript shows several pauses (more than four seconds) and short pauses (less than four seconds), several syntactic and morpho-syntactic errors (indicated in the transcript by using the diacritic * before the error) related to verb agreement, wrong case-assignment, quantifier agreement and extensive code-switches to English (and rarely to Hindi) when she is unable to express herself in Kashmiri. Lines 1 and 5, which is a repeat of Line 1, are the only two instances where she is able to produce a short grammatical sentence (three words and five words, respectively) in Kashmiri—all other instances are either ungrammatical, or incomplete sentences that are finished in English. The switch to English, for long stretches in her responses, is a common linguistic strategy she employs to avoid speaking in Kashmiri, even when I asked the question in Kashmiri. What is remarkable about her, and what is borne out in interviews with other young

Kashmiri men and women (between ages twenty-two and twenty-nine) is that her comprehension skills are quite advanced. Just before the interaction reported above in (21), she had told me as much:

(22) *phikri chum taraan*, but I have problem speaking it.

"I understand, but I have problem speaking it."

Notice that in (22), the Kashmiri part of the clause is grammatically well formed, i.e., when she is talking about her Kashmiri comprehension, but then she switches to English to tell me that she has a problem speaking it. The well-formedness of Kashmiri expression could be due to her recall of a similar expression I had used inquiring about her Kashmiri comprehension earlier on in the interview. We have seen earlier, e.g., in Lines 20 and 21 in excerpt (21) above, that she is able to easily reproduce what is said before.

The question that needs to be addressed, given (21 and 22), is: what accounts for this attrition? Part of the answer comes from the responses in the interviews: where the younger generation complains that the parents do not speak to them in Kashmiri while at the same time the parents now lament at their lack of effort to speak to their children in Kashmiri, a fact that is recorded in several of the editorials that have appeared in the two Kashmiri cultural magazines, *Koshur Samachar* (*Kashmiri News*) and *Naad* (*A Call*). A voice of the mother, fifty-seven years old, upper middle class, reveals, rather poignantly, the negative stance this generation took with respect to the use of Kashmiri, especially with their children:

(23) Subject #15 (*Kashmiri*, *Hindi*, English)

L1 *mai jab* chotii Thii
when I was little (young)
L2 jab meri shaadi hui
when I got married
L3 mujhe bhii yahii lagtaa Thaa
I also used to think/feel
L4=> ki myaanyan shuryan gos na 'kashmiri accent' gasun
That my kids should not get the 'Kashmiri accent'
L5=> so I spoke to them in English mainly
L6 (pause) bas yahii hai
well, that is it

The shifts in footing aside, marked by code-switching, there is a clear articulation of Kashmiris' attitude toward assimilation into the larger metropolitan community, specifically through the process of erasure of their ethnolinguistic identity: not even any (phonetic-indexical) traces of Kashmiri should appear in the use of their children's languages (Hindi and English).

This recalls what was discussed earlier in excerpt (4) above, where the mother negatively evaluates Kashmiri language use and aligns herself with the dominant local community value system. In line 4 of (23) above, the mother, as in excerpt (4), disaligns herself with the stereotypical associations with Kashmiri—the Kashmiri accentedness that is derided and denigrated and mocked. The awareness and use of mock-Kashmiri, which I claim is a specific instantiation of language subordination, is widespread among the diaspora community, as articulated by a twenty-six-year-old Kashmiri middle-class woman:

(24) Subject #8

L1 I'll answer your question
L2 you know, what that woman said, 'hey, yemis gasyi [he will get] kashmiri accent'.
L3 I mean, Kashmiris do have a peculiar accent, you know.
L4 I mean it's funny, but it's true.
L5 My Mama (mother's brother), when my Mama visits us from Kashmir, it is funny.
L6 He has such a terrible accent.
L7 He says (laughs) 'yi chaa [is this] daresad [dressed] chicken', phizikis [physics], sainas [science]
L8 Oh and my sister and I would laugh.

The audible epenthesis in the use of English words by Kashmiris mark them as object of ridicule, disparagement and deprecation. In such scenarios of language ideologies, where a particular (Kashmiri) accent becomes "peculiar" (Line 3), "terrible" (Line 6) and evokes laughter (Line 8), it is not difficult to see how speaking with an accent can result in community's negative stance toward Kashmiri, embracing a pattern of language acquisition and use (see excerpt (23) above) that follows the logic of language subordination discussed under (5) above. These contemporary attitudes toward Kashmiri, the willingness of diaspora Kashmiris to neutralize their ethnolinguistic identity, *may* have their roots in historical-colonial discourses about Kashmiris—one such speculation is worth noting:

(25) Wakefield (1879,100):

> In character the Kashmiris have some good qualities, but these are outnumbered by their failings and faults. They are the most inveterate liars to be met with in the East, and that means a good deal in a part of the world where the inhabitants generally seem to imbibe the talent of lying with their mother's milk. They are as a race decidedly cowardly, ever ready to wrangle, but never to fight; and, if threatened by their superiors in any way, cry and act after

> the manner of children, consequently are not to be depended on to bear themselves well against any physical danger. They are decidedly clever and ingenious, and talkative and cheerful in disposition; but their selfishness, ignorance, and their intriguing, false, and dishonest qualities, have caused hard things to be said of them by other nations, which undoubtedly they in measure richly deserve.

CONCLUSION

Kashmiris in diaspora show an interesting ambivalence toward their mother tongue: a desire to keep it, but not for themselves, not in their private spaces. The urge to adopt the urban vernaculars of New Delhi, Punjabizied Hindi and Indian English neutralizes the desire of the community to keep Kashmiri alive in their interactional repertoire. At a group level, there are clear indications of language loss. At an individual level, one notices severe language attrition, especially among the younger Kashmiris. In this chapter I explored the various causes and consequences of this loss/attrition. I argued that the negative attitude toward Kashmiri, leading to language loss, is a cumulative effect of at least four ideological discourses of language subordination—historical, political, linguistic and communal. The key to understanding language subordination in the diaspora, leading to language loss, is the linguistic politics of anamnesis. Selective, often strategic, elements of various language ideological discourses are summoned to justify contemporary linguistic practices, habits of thought and language policy decisions that offer little in the way of any active use of Kashmiri in routine daily interactions. One important element of these discourses is the absence of a unique script for writing Kashmiri. The availability of four scripts, not just one, has led to variable interpretations of script choice: Hindu-Muslim, Traditional-Modern, Local-Nonlocal, and Old-New. All these dichotomies of alignment, however, underlie a more fundamental, fiercely contested notion of authenticity: linguistic/script choice is only one instantiation of it. The casualty of the politics of choice, unfortunately, is a disenfranchised diaspora group that has lost all loyalty to its ethnic mother tongue, Kashmiri.

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8 Language Shift, Cultural Practices and Writing in South African Indian English

Rajend Mesthrie

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I take up three central themes on the consequences of migration and transnationalism for the sociolinguistics of speech and writing. These are (a) arguments against taking languages for granted as stable and located systems, (b) characterizing the personal and community management of multilingual resources in ethnically plural, but socially and politically hierarchical societies and (c) revisiting aspects of language shift *vis-à-vis* the changing nature of cultural and linguistic boundaries in a globalizing world. I examine these themes in relation to the history of a relatively clearly defined subgroup of the South African citizenry, viz. the Indian community of KwaZulu-Natal province, whose origins go back to the mid-nineteenth century. Itself characterized by internal fluidity via heritage languages and cultures, the community has also had to engage with the larger Zulu culture of the province and the socially dominant English culture. The study of specific Indian languages in South Africa from a socio-historical perspective has been undertaken since the 1980s (see e.g. Mesthrie [1991] on Bhojpuri-Hindi and Prabhakaran [1992] on Telugu). For the variety of English characteristic of this community, see e.g. Bughwan (1979) and Mesthrie (1992). In this chapter, I attempt to shift direction slightly by reflecting on the complex sociocultural and linguistic resources coexisting in the community, as partially reflected in the recent *Dictionary of South African Indian English* (Mesthrie 2010). In keeping with the thrust of this volume, I also focus on some community writing practices that veer away from those of a normative standard (though the latter of course is also significant in many domains).

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Large numbers of slaves, who were brought from coastal parts of India in the Dutch period (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), were assimilated into what came to be the Cape's Coloured and Malay communities. The community today considered 'Indian' in South Africa owes its existence to the

British period in South African history, when thousands of indentured workers were shipped from British India into the colony of Natal between 1860 to 1911 to set up tea, coffee and, above all, sugar cane plantations. Later small numbers of Indians arrived on their own initiative as free traders, clerks etc., some of whom settled directly in the Cape colony and Transvaal, rather than Natal. Natal (now known as KwaZulu-Natal) has remained the main province of the descendants of these immigrants. Most of them chose to remain in the then-colony of Natal, taking up the option of a small plot of land for gardening, rather than a one-way passage to India.

In the first hundred years (1860 to 1960) multilingualism was a notable characteristic of the Indian communities. Whereas the first (or immigrant) generation often spoke just their home language (Tamil, Bhojpuri-Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu, Urdu, Konkani, Meman etc), the second generation picked up Zulu (or more often, the related pidgin language, Fanakalo), some English or Afrikaans (depending on location) and another Indian language for communication with their new neighbors from India (usually Tamil or Hindi). But the language that was established most firmly was English. Much of this was voluntary: M.K. Gandhi, who lived in South Africa for twenty-one years, observed in 1909 how Indian youth were starting to use English among themselves "even when it is not necessary to do so" (Mesthrie 1992, 26), clearly showing an early rise of English as a lingua franca and prestige code. But not everyone was an aficionado of English: there were champions of Hindi like Sri Bhawani Dayal, who walked out of a conference in Kimberley in 1929 in protest against a view from the chair that Indian languages be excluded from the curriculum of schools for Indians (Agrawal 1939, 165). In that year another conference convened in Cape Town by the government of the Union of South Africa to discuss the future of Indians in the country had resolved that they could remain in the country provided they adopted Western ways, including the (increased) use of English. Many Indians had had by then to learn English for work and trade under difficult circumstances, as the following anecdote about the efforts of a Gujarati trader told to Hey (1961, 10) by his son:

> He didn't know a word of English. When he served behind the counter, a customer came in for a tin of condensed milk—he had been educated in Gujurati—he asked the customer: 'What is condensed milk?' They pointed it out to him and he would ask them to spell it, and would then write it down in Gujurati script.

Despite the pressures to learn English, Indian languages remained prestigious in cultural and religious spheres (together with Sanskrit or Arabic), and no language shift took place in the first hundred years of Indian history (1860 to 1960). But shift did set in after this, as the children of the various subcommunities increasingly spent time together at school and in playgrounds, and gradually adopted a consciousness of being 'Indian South Africans' rather than just Gujarati, or Tamil-speaking Indians and so on. Bughwan (1979) describes how the language problem shifted within a generation from how to acquire English to how to prevent English from eroding knowledge of the Indian languages. As far as literacy was concerned, the situation was even weaker: Bughwan (1979, 485) cites a survey published in 1969 suggesting that only 23 percent of Indian women could read an Indian language at that time. This is exactly the same as the rate for females in India at the time. Sandhya Rani (2010, 119) gives a figure of 21.97 percent for females and 45.96 percent for males in 1971. However, in terms of the depth of literacy, it is unlikely that Indian South Africans could match their Indian counterparts. Note that the figure for English literacy amongst Indian South Africans in 1969 was higher than for literacy in an Indian language. The figure for functional literacy in an Indian language was probably not much higher at any time in South Africa.

Most of the studies cited above write with immense concern about the demise of Indian languages in South Africa. This decline was never a result of neglect by the communities, which spent much effort in maintaining part-time vernacular classes at which the rudiments of literacy and knowledge of religious material were, and still are, inculcated. For a while, under apartheid schooling and university, Indian languages made it into the mainstream curricula, albeit as optional subjects. Today some schools in KwaZulu-Natal still offer languages like Tamil and Hindi as an option. Whereas in the early 1990s it seemed likely that Indian languages would be lost in South Africa as colloquial spoken languages, new post-apartheid and global mobilities have seen fluent speakers of Gujarati, Tamil, Hindi and Urdu enter the country on a temporary or permanent basis, offering some hope of linguistic renewal to these communities. Moreover, other languages that had not caught root in South Africa can now be heard frequently, albeit in pockets: notably Bengali (from India and Bangla Desh), Panjabi, Marathi and Malayalam.

This chapter focuses on some cultural spheres in which Indian languages have survived, albeit partially and in a transformed 'third space' (Bhaba 1994). The term denotes a new, intermediate, but 'positive' social world that first-generation migrants create and inhabit that does not quite conform to those of the home country and adopted homeland. In keeping with the emphasis of this volume, I focus largely on the written word, examining the use of Indian lexis in English writing, as well as the adaptation of conventional English orthography for aesthetic as well as symbolic reasons. I also discuss variation in orthoepic (or spelling) conventions regarding Indian lexis and make a few suggestions that have ramifications for the representation of English in its full glory as a language that is conquering the global village.

ORTHOGRAPHIC PRACTICES IN A THIRD SPACE

The Indian languages brought to South Africa have long traditions of literacy: the North Indian languages derived from Sanskrit go back to the medieval period (of around 1000 AD) for poetry and religious verse, while

Tamil from South India claims an unbroken written tradition that goes back to Classical or Old Tamil of about 200 BC. These languages (apart from Konkani) have their own scripts, which are closely tied to the identity of the language and region in India. In South Africa literacy was more the prerogative of the trading classes, and of certain castes, than that of the average indentured laborer. Mission and western education largely introduced literacy in English in South Africa, rather than in Indian languages. Writing in an Indian language was more often functional: to send a letter back to family in India, to send out notices for religious occasions and so forth. A few examples of the wider use of Indian languages in writing did occur: a Hindi newspaper *Naitāli* ran in the 1940s, while *Indian Opinion* (1903–1961) founded by M. K. Gandhi was written in Gujarati and English, and for a while had sections in Hindi and Tamil. Bazme Adab (founded in 1932) is a Muslim cultural organization devoted to supporting Urdu and has promoted this language in poetry, religion and writing. There are also individuals who wrote poetry in Gujarati, Hindi etc. However, English was the language that the vast majority of Indians became literate in. At first, English and Indian languages were kept apart as much as possible so early English writing among Indians did not show much influence from Indian languages. Notably, *Behold the Earth Mourns*, probably the first novel by an Indian South African (Ansuya Singh 1960) deals with Indian themes in a style and lexis that is almost wholly English. Only later, as confidence to experiment in English grew and—paradoxically—as the Indian languages themselves receded as active vernaculars, did Indian language influence make an appearance in creative writing, newspapers and advertisements.

Weddings remain a major part of family and community traditions, where speeches are now in English, but the religious ceremony remains the prerogative of the Sanskrit or Classical Tamil of the priest. Wedding cards are an opportunity to put on display this sense of community, as well as synthesis between languages. Wedding cards from Hindu homes always begin with the Aum (often transliterated as *Om* in English) symbol—see Figure 8.1 (whose Aum symbol is isolated in Figure 8.2). This is literally a nasalized vowel, comprising 'the holy word', with an aesthetic shape to go with it. The symbol may also decorate the entrance door to a Hindu home and is a motif used in advertising cultural events or even in one's car (e.g. on disc holders). For Muslims the same holds with the Bismallah, the first word in the invocation to Allah (see Figure 8.4).

Some short texts like religious notices produced in South Africa are fully bilingual, with text first given in an Indian language and then in English. A more interesting phenomenon is the use of a decorative orthography, which is essentially English but adapted to look oriental. Figure 8.3 shows the typesetting of a printer in Durban, no doubt drawing on Internet resources these days. The text is easily readable by members of the SAIE community, even if they are not conversant with an Indian orthography. English speakers outside the SAIE community would also find it easy to read except for unfamiliar words taken directly from Sanskrit or Hindi, as shown by

Figure 8.1 A Hindu wedding invitation to a prenuptial ceremony, Durban, 2010

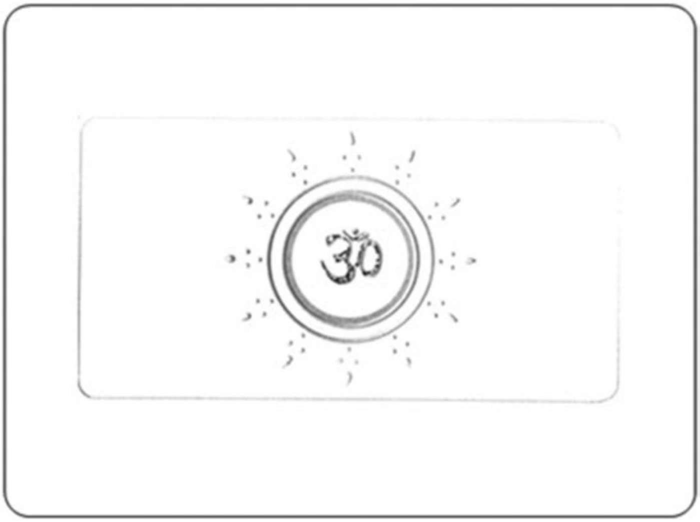
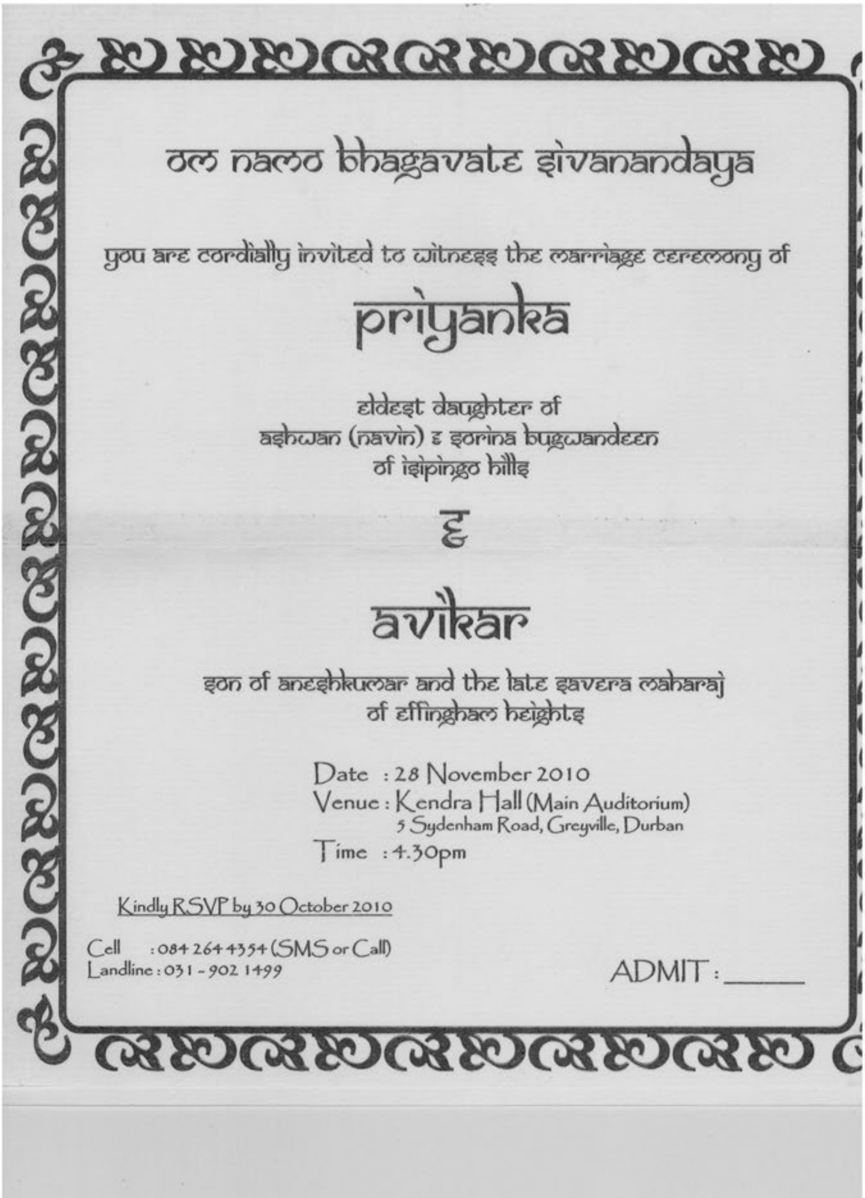


Figure 8.2 The sacred Hindu Aum symbol on cover of Hindu wedding card, Durban, 2010



om namo bhagavate sivanandaya

you are cordially invited to witness the marriage ceremony of

priyanka

eldest daughter of
ashwan (navin) & sorina bugwandeen
of isipingo hills

&

avikar

son of aneshkumar and the late savera maharaj
of effingham heights

Date : 28 November 2010
Venue : Kendra Hall (Main Auditorium)
5 Sydenham Road, Greyville, Durban
Time : 4.30pm

Kindly RSVP by 30 October 2010

Cell : 084 264 4354 (SMS or Call)
Landline : 031 - 902 1499

ADMIT : ______

Figure 8.3 A Hindu wedding invitation (to the nuptials), Durban, 2010

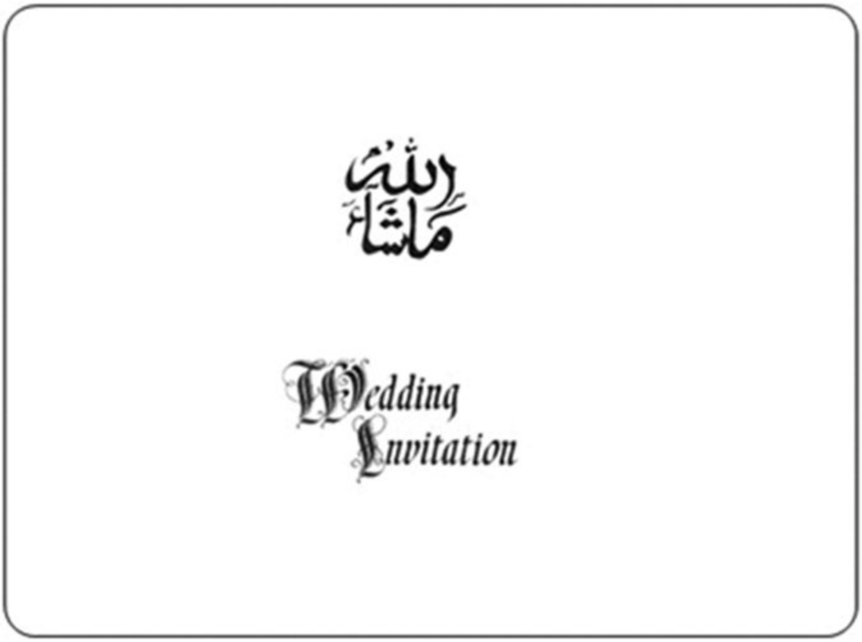


Figure 8.4 Cover of a Muslim wedding invitation, Cape Town, 1996

a quick test with three individuals in Cape Town with no connection to the Indian communities. Figures 8.2 and 8.3 would, however, not be accessible to someone who only knew Hindi and its Devanagari script (literally 'sacred—of the city' (i.e. 'sacred script of the city' or perhaps 'script of the sacred city'). The reason for this is that the script is an English-Devanagari hybrid, with English at the core, and the Devanagari embellishments have a decorative rather than cognitive function. The embellishments in Figures 8.1 and 8.3 would mislead the reader viewing the text through the lens of Devanagari expectations.

However, Figure 8.1 is interesting in other ways that make it a 'third space text':

(a) The English letter 'i' does not have a dot, but it is always given a Devanagari curl. Interestingly, a dot above a letter is possible in Devanagari (signaling a nasal) but this option is not used by the sign writer. Perhaps this would make the text too obviously English in appearance, whereas the "i" topped with a curl is readable as English, while signifying an oriental style.

(b) The letters 't' and 'f' are designed to make the crossing of these English letters coincide with the Devanagari line, making it unlike the

English ‘t’ and ‘f’ or any Devanagari consonant. (The ‘f’ written this way would suggest the vowel ‘i’ in Devanagari).

(c) The word *Aum* in Figure 8.3 (the very first word, spelled *Om* here) is written as if it were the letters ‘t (retroflex)’ and ‘l’ in Devanagari, while just about resembling English ‘o’ plus ‘m’. The three English speakers of non-SAIE background I tested could not read this word; and it would not make sense to someone who knew only the Devanagari. Likewise the rendition of ‘of’ looks Devanagari, but would not make sense to someone who knew the script (because it looks like the letters ‘t’ and ‘i’ in Devanagari, but these could not be written in this sequence in Devanagari unless a consonant followed the ‘i’).

This is not the only kind of calligraphic embellishment available to designers. Figure 8.5 is taken from a flyer advertising a student function at the University of Cape Town. Much simpler than the wedding card, the flyer is nevertheless interesting for its signification of hybridity and youthfulness. Below the title of the flyer (and the show) is the logo of the society, comprising an ‘Aum’ sign again, embellished in ways that make it appropriate to a younger audience. The sign is written without the classically round lettering expected (and found in the wedding card of Figure 8.3), thereby suggesting a modern, and youth-oriented, group. The same holds for the English lettering below for ‘Hindu Students Society’. The modern (rather than classical)

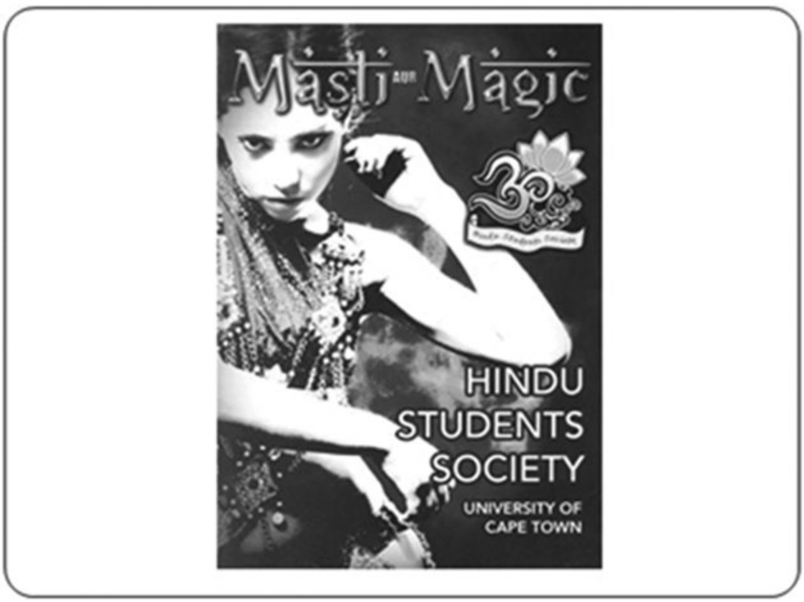


Figure 8.5 Flyer advertising a Hindu Students Society function, University of Cape Town, 2010

dance movements suggested by the image of the young woman are a perfect visual counterpart to the calligraphy here. The 'm' in Aum is usually signified by a dot over a half moon (*anunasika*) but is here replaced by a drawing of a lotus. The flower is an important symbol in Hinduism, adding a further aesthetic and spiritual dimension to the original symbol, with connotations of beauty and spirituality. However, the psychedelic plant-root to which it is attached in the picture repeats the theme of youth and modernity (and possibly beauty over spirituality!). The title of the show also shows the hybridity characteristic of the wedding card, but in slightly different ways. The wording itself is hybrid: *masti* is from Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi for 'fun, etc.' and passes as SAIE as well. Parents still admonish their monolingual children in English: *Don't make masti* ('Don't be mischievous'). *Magic* is obviously from English (here promising an outstanding event, rather than literally a magic show) and is parallel to the word *masti* in syllable structure and alliteration. The two key nouns are joined not by English 'and' but by its Hindi equivalent *aur*. Presumably this word is felt to be known by all members, even those not familiar with Hindi. The semantic hybridity is matched by orthographic play. Again a line is inserted above the letters (except for the head letters) to evoke an oriental feel, and the letter 't' is crossed using this line. In contrast to the wedding card, dots are used with the vowels, this time mimicking their functionality for 'i' in English. However, the dots would be nonfunctional had these vowels been written in Devanagari. Thus they are decorative, evoking symbols from Hindi without the appropriate signification. (A dot—or *bindu*—with vowels in Hindi would signify a nasal pronunciation.) The dot below the letter 's' is also decorative, as it does not serve the equivalent function in Devanagari of differentiating a retroflex 'd' from retroflex flap 'r'. The 's' in *masti* in the flyer is almost a play on the latter (retroflex flap 'r') because they look very similar. Finally, the more solid English characters at the bottom right announce the name of the society and its affiliation to the university, perhaps suggestive of a more permanent structure beyond the timeframes of this show.

This section demonstrates a playful kind of orthographic crossing via an experimental and decorative calligraphy that achieves deeper symbolic meanings than might be apparent at first glance. In this regard new literacies are supported by new technologies (see e.g. Halliday 2001, 188–191). The graphic synthesis between Roman and Devanagari orthography achieves a symbolic meaning, suggesting an identity that links Western and South African culture with Indian roots. Such an identity is enacted in orthography when advertising or announcing an event that is marked as 'Indian'. It is suppressed in other contexts, which might be marked as functional rather than symbolic—for example, in writing notes, letters or essays. Prayer and temple notices are in a standard biliterate mode, giving the text in the standard form of two languages—for example, Tamil and English are still used in religious notices in Durban. The Indian language text usually and symbolically comes first.

The next section deals with the extent to which the written language itself is heteroglossic (rather than the orthography that conveys it).

ORTHOEPIC ADJUSTMENTS IN LANGUAGE SHIFT

Although ongoing language shift is an inescapable fact in South Africa's Indian communities, there are some saving considerations. One is the overflow of these languages into the English of Indian South Africans (Mesthrie 1992), enriching it immensely in domains pertaining to culture, religion, kinship, clothing, food, names and even swearing. *A Dictionary of South African Indian English* (Mesthrie 2010), published exactly 150 years after the first arrival of Indians as indentured laborers in the colony of Natal, contains about 1,700 terms that are more or less specific to this dialect. These terms are drawn from many semantic fields like kinship, religion, weddings, music, earlier plantation life and above all—as the next section shows—culinary terms. About half of the terms come from Indian languages and are used as 'unmarked' or ordinary terms even by children who do not understand an Indian language. A fair number of these terms have become more widely known outside this dialect (food terms like 'biryani', 'dhania', 'roti').

In this section I wish to continue the theme of orthographic adjustments—this time of a less decorative nature—focusing on variable spellings of Indian words and the give and take necessary for Indian words to be adequately spelled in English. (Strictly speaking, the focus shifts in this section from orthography—the nature of the script—to orthoëpy or spelling conventions.) Popular spellings of SAIE words (in advertisements, notices, letters, SMS communication and so forth) are not standardized. Writers make do with the best they can in approximating the pronunciation of Indian words via the vagaries of English spelling practices. Spellings are thus often highly variable, as a few examples will illustrate. A popular sweet made by Indians is *jalebi*, a spiral-like (or pretzel-shaped) orange-colored snack made from a batter of yeast and cake flour deep-fried in oil and dipped in rose water or syrup. In the standard transliteration of Hindi orthography, this would be spelled *jalebi* (IPA [dʒʌˈle:bi:]). In advertisements and cookbooks variants like the following occur: *jalebi*, *jelebi*, *jalebee*, *jelebee*, *jaleebi*, *jalehbi*, *jallebi*, *jullebi* and *julebi*. These variant spellings do not indicate variant pronunciations; rather they reflect uncertainty over what might be the best representation in English spelling. Fortunately, the spellings do not mask the item being signified. All spellings use an initial consonant 'j' and the final consonant 'b'. The medial consonant 'l' predominates, but some spellers double the 'l' perhaps to indicate the pronunciation of the preceding vowel (short 'a' or [ʌ], rhyming with, say, 'hull' rather than 'bull'). Or it could simply be that English is inconsistent between single and geminate consonant spellings. It is noteworthy that all three vowels are subject to variant spellings. The first vowel would be ‘a’ in the Indian tradition, though some SAIE speakers articulate it with a close to ‘e’ quality. The medial vowel in the word is a long ‘e’, which does not occur in English generally. The ‘eh’ spelling of the sixth variant (*jalehbi*) tries to capture the length of the vowel. The use of ‘silent’ consonants like ‘h’ and ‘r’ to indicate the quality of a preceding vowel is not a good strategy for languages that actually pronounce these consonants after vowels (see further the example of *barfi* discussed next). Finally, in terms of variant vowel spellings, the *jalebi* example shows uncertainty as to whether the final vowel should be spelled ‘i’ or ‘ee’. To take the example of another sweetmeat, ‘barfi’ IPA [bʌrfi:], similar variants occur (e.g. *burfee*, *barfee*, *burfi*). In this word the ‘r’ is pronounced fully (as a rolled consonant). However, because an ‘ar’ spelling might be taken to rhyme with ‘bar’ in British English (where the ‘r’ is ‘silent’ in many accents), some spellers use a form like ‘barrfee’, where the ‘rr’ represents a rolled pronunciation.

Indian writing systems distinguish vowel length fairly systematically, without enlisting the help of silent consonants. There are two main transliteration systems used by linguists and writers to represent Devanagari vowel symbols into Roman orthography. The first uses the symbols: *a*, *aa*, *i*, *ii*, *u*, *uu*, *e*, *ee* etc. to indicate short-long pairs of the vowels (in say *hut—heart*, *sit—seat*, *pull—pool*, *bet—Bert* etc). It should be noted that *ee* may be a long [e:] or a diphthong [eI] in Indian languages; the English example ‘Bert’ is not strictly correct here but is provided as an approximate equivalent (the Indian long vowel being mid-front, not mid-central). This system works well for grammar books that involve a closed transliteration system from an Indian language into an agreed system of representation. But for a general work in English (say, a novel) this system has some disadvantages. The double spellings make the words look unnecessarily foreign when they might already have been fully adapted as mainstream English. Secondly, the ‘ee’ spellings would suggest the vowel in words like ‘see’, which is not what is intended (because ‘see’ would be represented by ‘ii’ in this system). A second system that uses macrons or bars above a vowel to denote length seems to me to work better. Moreover, because long vowels often bear the stress in Indian words in SAIE, there is the added value of showing a novice where the stress lies. Thus the spellings for the above two examples within this system would be ‘jalēbi’ and ‘barfi’, the spellings given for the headwords in the *Dictionary of South African Indian English*. The final vowels could also be marked for length for consistency; but because all final vowels of English (and SAIE) are lengthened anyway, there is perhaps no need to do so.

I have dwelled on the spelling system not so much for the specifics of the SAIE case as to indicate the more general point that as a globalizing English continues to absorb words from other languages in speech and print, there is a case for devising a reasonably systematic method of indicating a viable pronunciation of at least the subset of new words in English. Perhaps one day the entire global English spelling system will be gradually and organically revised in this way, unlikely as this seems today.

THE IMPACT OF INDIAN LANGUAGES IN SAIE WRITING

Not surprisingly, authors from the SAIE community draw on dialect and standard as resources that represent community interactions relatively faithfully and heighten their own style. There is a tradition of plays, being especially responsive to the spoken voice and oral traditions of SAIE dialect. Ronnie Govender's *The Lahnee's Pleasure* (1972) is one of the best known of these efforts that made it into print. The use of distinctly SAIE turns of phrase is increasing rather than decreasing with younger writers, the ones least in command of an Indian language. Writers like Imraan Coovadia, Summaya Lee and Shubnum Khan show an ease with the use of Standard English and SAIE dialect. What I wish to offer in this short section is not the perspective of the literary critic but the views stressed in this book of (a) languages no longer being 'located' and stable systems and (b) of literacies not being straightforward standardized forms of reading and writing of texts representing those stabilities. In the work of three writers mentioned, one finds whole subcultural worlds being built up and validated via the strategic use of SAIE dialect, giving credence to localized practices and ways of thinking and being conscious. I illustrate this with a focus on how these authors use stylized culinary registers and the theme of cooking in transcendent ways to reinforce this alterity. Coovadia's *The Wedding* (2001) is a comic novel based on a marriage in India between a mismatched couple who end up in South Africa. It is a novel with a simple plot, propped by a delicious sense of humor, expressed in Indian turns of phrase that are transformed into highly poetic language. Running through the novel is a sustained comic metaphor drawing on the richness of Indian cooking, sweets and flavored drinks. Initially Khateja, the bride, does little or no cooking for her new husband whom she despises and tries to antagonize at every turn. The husband, Ismet, on the other hand, is partially characterized in terms of sweetmeats (the general term for 'mithai' or Indian sweets): the following extract establishes him as a conventional young man before his marriage:

> He drank *lassi* with sugar and ice in the summer. He read the newspapers in the morning with a cup of tea by his elbow, although of course that was in the past now. . . .
>
> . . . When offered a square of *bharfee* or a *laddoo*, for instance, his whole face would light up. He'd smile a little smile, frown, hold up the sweetmeat to himself in his large hand, smile again, break off a small piece with thumb and forefinger—and then, for all the world like a trained seal, toss it from above onto his tongue, chop-licking.
>
> (*The Wedding*, 103)

This pleasure belongs to his bachelor past in India. He eventually manages to cajole his wife into cooking for him prior to leaving for South Africa, hoping that this would be a giant step in the direction of normal conjugal relations in the marital bed:

> Ismet saw suppers, Sunday dinners, snacks on the weekend-time, curries, *biryanis*, *bhajias*, *pathas*, and *pooris* as the first essential step, the harbingers, the bringers of a new order among things and new set of relations among men.
>
> (*The Wedding*, 157–158)

The first meal Khateja cooks is no less a linguistic than a culinary feast:

> There were thick buttery *rotis*, hot-smelling and brown-circled. . . . On the left was a white bowl brimming with *dahl*, thick with whole eyes of lentil, lemon-topped. To the right loomed a stack of *patha*, with the green and black leaf-sides still visible. To the fore, *kachoomber* listed creamily. Beyond nestled *bhajia*, crisp-fried brown *samoosa*, *falooda*, cold, pink, encrusted with almonds.
>
> And *kheer*, swollen with cream and raisin, *chevra* new with nut, a pot of Ceylon tea made with unseparated milk and seven tablespoons of white sugar, a pile of date-filled biscuits covered in coconut flakes—and wonder of wonders, miracle of miracles! A large round of *laddoo* rising like the sun on its own saucer, orange-proud, rolled about in sweet coloured sticks, smooth and close-packed.
>
> (*The Wedding*, 174)

But Khateja has her revenge by deliberately using excessive amounts of chili powder, green chilies, black pepper and Tabasco sauce to keep Ismet in thrall, and showing no qualms about such "irresponsible spicing" (179).

Shubnum Khan's *Onion Tears* (2011) draws food and cooking into the story even more strongly. The title refers to tears shed by Khadeeja while peeling onions. This main character is the namesake, but polar opposite, of the Khateja of Coovadia's novel. Khadeeja is an excellent cook who turns to preparing meals and pickling for others to supplement her husband's meager income. References to cooking are therefore necessarily more literal than effusive. The illustration below is part of a description of her granddaughter, Aneesa:

> Aneesa did not have many friends at school. During break she usually sat by herself picking at the peanut butter and apricot jam sandwiches her mother persistently packed. She enjoyed staying over at Nani's house because that meant she would get sandwiches crammed with meat, spicy curry and *achar* for school lunch. And if she was lucky, maybe even a cling-wrapped *amli* sweet or a piece of *burfee*. (21)

For reasons of space I will not quote from the third set of novels by Summaya Lee, *The Story of Maha* (2007) and *Maha: Forever After* (2009), except to mention the link between sweetmeats and sex in the latter novel, at least in the ribald discussions on the eve of a bride's wedding:

> 'Can you tell me which are the five sweetmeats found in a man's underpants?' says an older aunt. . . . 'I'll give you a clue. Only four out of five are on this mithai plate'.

The answer, for those who like riddles, is to be found on pages 268–269 (most of these items have been cited from the Coovadia novel above).

In addition, high-quality metaphors regarding relations between people are drawn from the world of cooking and used in the three novels. In *The Wedding* Ismet reflects on the changes in attitudes amongst young Indians of the second generation in South Africa: "Good customer relations, word of mouth, small profit margins weren't good enough for today's young people, oh no. They wanted something more, a bit on the side, love with their *achaar*, beauty from their *bharfee*, glamour right along with their one *goolab jamu*" (231). In particular, *roti*, the round, flat, unleavened Indian bread traditionally made every day in North Indian homes takes on a symbolic character in SAIE writing. Khadeejah in *Onion Tears* is an expert at making *rotis*, but is obstinate about them being made from white rather than the healthier brown flour:

> Once she had been given brown *rotis* at a relative's house. Khadeejah had walked into the kitchen, rolled up her sleeves and half an hour later set down fresh white *rotis* on the table. Family knew that if Khaddejah was coming to visit they had to do two things—clean their houses and have white *rotis* ready. Khadeejah was always ready to extol the virtues of the colour white.
>
> (28)

In her way of thinking the link between perfection and whiteness extends to variation in skin color amongst Indians. She demands it of her 'rotis' too. In the sequel to her first novel, Summaya Lee (2009) has her main character, Maha, reflect that after marriage she had become a Round Roti: "I had indisputably morphed into the type of female I had derided as a teenager" (Maha, *Forever After*, 62). The 'round roti' figuratively refers to the taking on of domestic duties upon marriage, involving cooking, the regular making of *rotis* and perhaps putting on of weight. In his short story *Hajji Musa and the Hindu Firewalker* (1978), Ahmed Essop has a delightful line on the centrality of 'roti' in SAIE culture, the dependence of husbands on their wives' cooking, paradoxically coupled with the subservience of women in the kitchen: "'Your wife will be well in a few days', Hajji Musa assured the anxious man. 'And you will have your daily *roti* again'" (42).

Not surprisingly, the restorative powers of 'roti' are mentioned in *The Wedding*. Early in his adventure in Gujarat, when he impetuously alights from a train at a village upon spotting Khateejah for the first time, Ismet tries to find shelter and sustenance: "He set off for the hut where he'd been offered a bed. Some water, a curry, maybe a 'roti' or two, and a nice cup of tea and he'd be restored, no doubt" (34).

Typical of Coovadia's writing is the use of 'maybe' in free indirect style to build up a picture of simple optimism and innocent expectation. The addition of "a roti or two" and "a nice cup of tea" is masterly at the semantic and prosodic level as comic irony. The hero's thoughts range from simple hope to overexpectation within the confines of one sentence. These literary texts thus bring to life "the lived experiences of individuals on the front lines of global, transnational, and translocal processes" (to cite from the editors of this collection). The point to be stressed is that this skilled literary production nevertheless draws on everyday community resources. I refer not just to the labor of love of (mainly) women in kitchens, but to the language and informational resources developed within the community. Even at the level of the everyday spoken word, food metaphors are significant in SAIE dialect—see the following everyday witticisms whose meanings go beyond the literal in *A Dictionary of South African Indian English* (Mesthrie 2010):

to want mutton curry and rice every day 'to expect the best at all times, to have unrealistic expectations'
to get dol curry and rice every day 'to go through lean times'
to fry one's own bhajias 'to sing one's own praises'
to add masala 'to add spice to a tale, to exaggerate'
to make khichri 'to create confusion, to make a mess'.

There is a range of first-rate cookbooks written by South African Indian women—for example, Ramola Parbhoo (1985), Sheila Somers (2008), Ramola Makan (1989) and above all Zuleikha Mayat (1961). *Indian Delights* is an institution in its own right. This cookbook produced by the Women's Cultural Group in Durban, with Zuleikha Mayat as chief author, was first printed in 1961 and has seen many editions, reprints and spin offs. It gives recipes, together with the stories and the culture behind them (including gender mores of the kind evoked in the works cited above). The book sells internationally and has a large following in the old USSR, the US and India itself. Mayat's life and work and that of the Women's Cultural Group are treated in a full-length historical study (Vahed and Waetjen 2010).

Finally, it should be emphasized that none of the vocabulary items illustrated above belongs to the domain of slang (as some SAIE speakers mistakenly think). They are 'normal' usage by a cross-section of people, young and old, male and female. For the sake of completeness, it is necessary to mention that there *is* a rich countercultural slang vocabulary associated with SAIE, used by mainly young males and older males clinging to a long-faded adolescence, which adds yet another layer to this L1 variety of English (see Mesthrie 2008). Such slang does make an appearance in the occasional humorous column in community newspapers (e.g. the humorous *Bhajia and Bhoondi* column in the *Post* dealing with Indian working-class mores in Durban). Reference to these spicy snacks metaphorically promises a column of spicy talk and comment.

CONCLUSION

In this article I have focused on the cultural dimension of language shift, and on the written word. In gradually and inadvertently shifting from Indian languages to English, Indians in South Africa have had to make sociolinguistic compromises but have not given up on a rich cultural heritage. The language they have shifted to is not straightforwardly recognizable as Standard English, except in formal and educational settings. In some senses the everyday English of the community might be considered English in a distinctly Indian incarnation (Mesthrie 1991, 240). Such hybridity in ordinary speech, creative writing, decorative cards and flyers and multilingual notices supports the theme stressed in this book of not taking for granted the linguistic stability and 'locatedness' of major languages like English. This chapter has nevertheless stressed that hybridity can develop patterns of its own that speak to the personal and community management of multilingual resources and threads, even in the face of language shift. In a wider context of globalization and superdiversity, Blommaert's (2010, 9) remarks are pertinent:

> Thus we see very fragmented and "incomplete"—"truncated"—language repertoires, most of which consist of spoken, vernacular and non-native varieties of different languages, with an overlay of differentially developed literacy skills in one or some languages (depending on the level of literacy at the time of migration). We also see how many communication tasks are accomplished collaboratively, by combining the resources and skills of several people.

Whereas markers of the local dialect of SAIE tend to decrease in public styles of speaking, this is not true of the written genres of wedding cards, religious notices and creative prose. These are indeed—as Blommaert reminds us—collaborative efforts, drawing on the differential multilingual skills within a community. Those who can read and write an ancestral language may lack the skill to render it into English; conversely those skilful in English may have to consult the elders about the nuances of cultural, culinary and ancestral language practices. At least two of the authors cited in this chapter are unable to cook; a fact one would not have guessed from the skilful stylization of the topic!

Writing in English is necessary for communicating with a broadly South African readership and for global success. Paradoxically, in creative spheres, that success is enhanced by adding distinctiveness of 'voice', language, idiom and tone. These are matched by the decorative processes evident in cards and notices, which strike a balance between the global, the transnational and the local.

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9 Superdiversity and Social Class
An Interactional Perspective

Ben Rampton

INTRODUCTION

In recent years in Britain, face-to-face interaction has become a potentially rather significant site for an understanding of large-scale social processes.

From one direction, researchers concerned with migration and population mobility are looking for new principles of social cohesion in local 'conviviality' and low-key interactional 'civility' (Gilroy 2006; Vertovec 2007; Wetherell 2009). Group classifications look increasingly precarious; the traditional binaries—majority/ minority, host/migrant—can no longer account for the emerging splits and alignments; and more and more people are saying, 'You can't put me in a box' (Fanshawe and Sriskandarajah 2010). Contemporary urban environments present a huge challenge both for identity politics and for traditional forms of sociology (Burton et al. 2008), and increasingly, commentators register their uncertainty with the term 'superdiversity', a concept designed to

> underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything . . . previously experienced . . . , a dynamic interplay of variables including country of origin, . . . migration channel, . . . legal status, . . . migrants' human capital (particularly educational background), access to employment, . . . locality . . . and responses by local authorities, services providers and local residents.
>
> (Vertovec 2007, 2–3)

At the same time, in a period of growing economic inequality, there has been a resurgence in the cultural and qualitative analysis of social class, rejecting the reduction of class to single indicators like occupation (Savage 2005). There is a return to Raymond Williams's analyses of "the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (1977, 110) and to E.P. Thompson's concern with class as a process that is produced "in the medium of time . . . in action and reaction, change and conflict" (1978, 295–296), and contemporary scholars like Beverley Skeggs insist on understanding class processes in "everyday negotiations of the mundane" (1997, 6).

For sociolinguists with a particular interest in interaction such as myself, these are fascinating developments, but they present an immediate conundrum: if one set of commentators is saying that we have hitherto unimaginable forms of superdiversity at play in interaction, and another group is saying that interaction is a primary site for class reproduction, who is right? Or maybe more realistically, what is the connection?

To address these issues, I would like to explore a few snatches of talk in contemporary London life. These center on an informant I shall call Anwar, and they come from a project focusing on English among adults of Indian descent in Southall.

SUPERDIVERSITY AND SOCIAL CLASS IN INTERACTION: A CASE STUDY

The informant I shall discuss is a forty-year-old businessman who owns a restaurant and catering business in West London where he lives. Here he is at the start of an interview talking about his involvement in the family business:

Extract 1

Anwar (businessman, male, early forties, born in London, Punjabi background), in interview with Devyani Sharma. Key: **London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP

```
Anwar: out of the forty years that er:: of my age
       twenty years of thaT i've been working in the business
       um:: tha's commiTTedly
       °and er°.. [... ]
       well w- we used to start in a very mediocre type of set-up
```

Now this is his brother talking about work at the beginning of another interview, and it is worth comparing their accents:

Extract 2

Naseem (businessman, M, mid-forties, born in Pakistan, Punjabi background) in interview with Sharma. Key: **London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP

```
Naseem: I doubT it ..
        now there there's so many
        no noT doubT iT
```

```
there definitely there's not
there's a a lod of legislation
that you have To be under a cerTain age
y' ave To-
oh you're only allowed To work a cerTain amount of hours
```

They are both very fluent, but which sounds more Punjabi? Anwar does, and this shows up in their uses of retroflexion as well as in their uses of standard and London vernacular English. These differences were reflected in the elicitation interview much more generally, as shown in Table 9.1.

So we have two middle-aged brothers working in the same business all their lives, one with English that sounds more Pakistani. In fact, one of them was born in Pakistan, but it *wasn't* Anwar—it was his older and more English-sounding brother, Naseem, and this contradicts the commonsense assumption that migrant families assimilate to English norms the longer they spend in England.

Of course, once one looks beyond just country of birth to their dispositions and to the *milieu* that each of them inhabits, the anomaly dissolves.[1] Anwar is a prominent community activist, cultivates transnational business links in Pakistan, and insists that when he goes there on his regular visits, he really mixes in. In contrast, Naseem focuses mainly on work and close family, and says that when it comes to the Pakistan cricket team, he will support anyone playing against them. Still, two brothers in the same business sounding so different looks like a problem for tick-box determinism, and a point for superdiversity.

In the next piece of data, it looks as though there might be another problem. Here is Anwar on the phone with Ronni, an old friend from

Table 9.1 Percentage of Punjabi, standard and vernacular English T in the two brothers' interview speech

	Punjabi retroflex T	STANDARD ENGLISH T	**Vernacular glottal** T
Anwar (349 T tokens)	38	55	2
Naseem (328 T tokens)	15	65	12

school, turning from a discussion about business to enquire about the family:

Extract 3

Anwar (businessman, M, early forties, born in London, Punjabi background) phoning Ronni (M, early forties, Punjabi background) on his mobile.

Key: <u>CREOLE</u>; **London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; [ ] IPA phonetic transcription

5 *((ringing tone))*
6 R: *((inaudible))*
7 Anw: *((in Jamaican accent:))* <u>WA:APN RA:NNI</u>
[wɑ:m][ɑ:]
8 *((in a more London accent:))* **ow's 'ings** man
[øʌʊz ɪŋz]
9 R: *((inaudible))*
10 Anw: nice one man
11 *((in Punjabi:))* ***kiddaan***
((Translation: 'what's up'))
12 everything alright?
13 R: *((speaks for 2.0 – inaudible))*
14 Anw: wha's happening
15 R: *((speaks for 3.5 – inaudible))*
16 Anw: yeh man yeh yeh (.)
17 hows every**f**ing
every**f**ing cool
18 R: ((speaks for 2.5 – inaudible))
19 Anw: ((with sigh?:)) yes bru**v** yeh yeh yeh yeh (.)
((the conversation is interrupted by an incoming call. When the incoming call is completed, Anwar rings Ronni back, and they discuss a business arrangement. Then in line 73, Anwar shifts the topic:
72 R: *((speaks for 1.4 – inaudible))*
73 Anw: ***hor kiddan*** – wha's **goin down** man every**f**ing cool
((trans: 'what else is up?')) [æʊ]
74 R: *((speaks for 2.3 – inaudible))*
75 Anw: how's 'ings a' e <u>YAR***d***</u>
[haʊ s ɪŋz æ ə jʌɖh]

At least at first, this mix of linguistic elements looks rather spectacular, involving features associated with Punjabi, with vernacular London English, and with standard English, and there is also some Jamaican vocabulary, one part of which is pronounced with Punjabi retroflexion (`'yard' [jʌɖh]`) in line 75)—see Table 9.2. But although this might create the initial impression of London language as a bewildering kaleidoscope, there are in fact at least four ways in which we can say that Anwar's speech reflects relatively stable social structuring.

First and most obviously, the speech in Extract 3 is rather different from the way Anwar talked in the interview. In fact he himself sees this way of speaking as a distinctive style, and he gives it a name, based on the area where he lives—'Southallian'. So we can start by saying that this kind of talk is one identifiable element in an at least partially structured repertoire of styles. Second, it is not just Anwar who can talk like this. In the data from 2007 to 2008, there are other, mainly male, informants who use this style, and the Punjabi greeting 'kiddaa' is also used by local white and black people (see Rampton 2011a for more discussion). Third, Anwar's friendship with Ronni goes back to his school days, which is where he says this style emerged. In fact, I have analyzed a great deal of data from the 1980s (Rampton 1995), when Anwar was an adolescent, and his speech in Extract 3 is highly consistent with the kinds of crossing and mixing that I identified then. And this means, of course, that the kind of speech displayed in the extract has been a stable feature in British urban life for the last thirty to forty years, as has indeed been amply attested in popular culture (see, for example, Apache Indian in the 1990s (described in Back 2003), and Gautam Malkani's 2006 novel *Londonstani*).

The fourth way of linking this speech to social structure requires further reference to my data from the 1980s. During fieldwork in the 1980s, my informants saw Creole and indigenous white nonstandard English as roughly equivalent; they said it was highly unlikely that either posh kids or new immigrants would use the multiethnic mix of Jamaican, Punjabi

Table 9.2 Some of the linguistic resources in play in Extract 3

Creole features	**Punjabi**	**Traditional London vernacular**
• line 7: 'waapn' used as a greeting (Hewitt 1986:130) • line 7: fronting of [ɒ] to [a] in the friend's name (Wells 1982, Ch.7; Sebba 1993); • line 75: 'yard' used for 'home'	• line 11 and 73: 'kiddaan', attributed interethnic currency in Extract 10 line 27 • line 75: Jamaican 'yard' pronounced with short central vowel [ʌ] and a retroflex D	• lines 8 and 75: zero-TH in 'aa's [ø]ings' (Wells 1982, 329) • line 8: H-dropping in 'ow's' • lines 18,16,73: TH-fronting in 'bruv' and 'everyfing' • line 73: alveolar –ING in 'goin' • line 73: centring dipthong in 'down' –[dæʊn] (line 73) (Wells 1982, 305)

and local vernacular English that characterized their neighborhood; and their mixings, crossings and stylizations expressed an alignment with peer sociability and popular culture, not with education (Rampton 1995). Combined with the demographic facts of their socioeconomic positioning, all this invites the conclusion that in these polylingual practices, youngsters had developed a set of conventionalized interactional procedures that reconciled and reworked their ethnic differences within broadly shared experience of a working-class position in British society. Race and ethnicity were very big and controversial issues in the media, education and public discourse generally, but with language crossing and stylization, it looks as though kids had found enough common ground in the problems, pleasures and expectations of working-class adolescent life to navigate or renegotiate the significance, risks and opportunities of ethnic otherness. Through language crossing, adolescents in the local neighborhood refigured ethnicities within the dynamics of British social class (see Rampton 2011b for elaboration). In fact, there is support for this interpretation in a growing body of research on European cities (e.g. Jaspers 2005; Madsen 2008), and so extrapolating back to Anwar, I would like to suggest that the style illustrated in "***hor kiddan***—wha's **goin down** man everyfing cool" has quite strong working-class associations.

So, far from being either unpredictable or even surprising, there is a lot of recognizable conventionality—stable social structuring—in Anwar's speech in Extract 3: it is a distinctive stylistic option that he has carried with him for over thirty years; it is shared in common with a lot of others; and its indexical connotations are working class and local, as well, perhaps, as rather masculine.

But if this way of talking is working class, how come it is being produced here by a prosperous businessman? And if this mixed style really is associated with working-classness, then does the use of it by a businessman show that the linguistic markers of class have lost their material groundings, that class is now style without economic substance, just one among a plethora of off-the-shelf sociolinguistic options in London? Have superdiversity and its associated processes now subverted social class itself?

To investigate what 'class' might mean in a context like this, it is worth attending to two of Anwar's more business-oriented calls.

The first is to Bilal, a barrister whom he has actually known since Bilal's boyhood, and here they are, shifting from business matters to family:

Extract 4

Anwar (businessman, M, early forties, Punjabi background) phoning Bilal (lawyer, M, late twenties/early thirties, Punjabi background) on his mobile.

Key: CREOLE; **London vernacular*; Punjabi;*** STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP; [ ] IPA phonetic transcription

```
1 Anw:    ((phone rings))
2 Lwyer:  hello
```

3 Anw: hi B***il***al HOW you doING
4 Lwyr: yeah ***alhamdulillah*** not too bad
5 how you doing
6 Anw: yeah I'm I'm I'm fiNe THank you veRy much..
7 I THough[' -
[ʔ]
8 Lwyr: [you've caught me at a good moment
9 cause I just finished courts
10 s[o just going back to chambers
11 Anw: [o-
12 oh oh OKAY yeah
13 'a's great
[øæs]
14 .hh e:::hm <u>BIL</u>al .00.13
15 THE REASON why I ca***lled*** you is e::h
16 I jus' waNTED TO LET you KNOW THa***t*** *((X – a name pronounced in Punjabi))*
17 He came.. ande::h we DECIDED ***not tu*** pursue HIs case

Overall, Anwar is a lot more standard in his talk to Bilal than he was with Ronni, and this is summarized in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Stylistic differences between Extracts 4 and 3

Conversation with lawyer Lines 3–13 (Ex 4)	**Conversation with Ronni Lines 7–18 (Ex 3)**	**Comment**
Line 3: 'hi B***il***al HOW you doING'	Lines 7 & 8: '<u>WA:APN RANNI</u> **ow's 'ings** man'	a) greetings in informal Anglo with the lawyer *versus* Creole with Ronni b) lawyer's name pronounced with Punjabi retroflexion *versus* Jamaicanization of Ronni's name
Line 10: ''a's great' Line 6: 'I'm fine'	Line 10: 'nice one' Line 17: 'everyfing cool'	c) Talking to Ronni, D's lexis is more idiomatic ('nice one') and colloquial ('cool' vs 'fine')
Line 6: 'THank you' Line 7: 'THough''	Lines 17 & 19: 'every<u>**f**</u>ing', 'bru<u>**v**</u>'	d) Standard pronunciation of TH with the lawyer *versus* vernacular London with Ronni
Lines 3–13: no vocatives other than the lawyer's name	Lines 8, 10, 16: 'man' Line 18: 'bruv'	

The contrast is even sharper when we compare the way in which Anwar shifts the topic from business to ask about the family. With the lawyer, he does this as follows:

Extract 5

Anwar on the phone with Bilal the lawyer (1.17).

CREOLE; **London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP; ; [ ] IPA phonetic transcription

```
53 Anw:  ((finishing the business topic:))
         bu'   I  I  I'LL keep you iNformed iN whaT's HappeNING
         [bʌʔ ɑ: ɑ: ɑ:ɫ]       [n]      [n]  [t]  [hæpnɪŋ]
54       HOW's everyTHING ELse
                    [θɪŋ  eɫs]
55       HOW's the famili:
```

With Ronni, it was:

Extract 6 (taken from Ex 3)

```
73 Anw:  kor kiddan – wha's goin down man everyfing cool
                    [wɒs  gəʊɪn dæʊn]
74 R:    ((speaks for 2.3 – inaudible))
75 Anw:  how's 'ings a' e YARd
         [haʊ s  ɪŋz   æ  ə jʌɖh]
```

The contrast is very clear—relatively standard with Bilal, and much more mixed with Ronni.

Let's move to a second comparison. In addition to engaging with the barrister, he also talked on the phone to a mechanic in the East End of London, and so here he is, talking to Ishfaq the mechanic, introducing the reason for his call:

Extract 7

Anwar with Ishfaq the mechanic, turning to the reason for his call.

Key: **Traditional London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP; [ ] IPA phonetic transcription

```
11 Ish:   yeah yeah n' too bad bruv
12        (.)
13 Anw:   yeah y' kNow e::hm e::h
```

14 TH- THis THese eh iNsuraNce peopLE
15 THey're ReaLLy me- muckiNG me aRou**n**ø ri:**gh**ʔ
16 (.)
17 [now-
18 Ish: [(wha- wh**a**ʔ they say**in**
19 Anw: **we**LL **you** **k**NOW **wh' I** **mean**
[wɑ:ll jə nɑ ɑ mi:n]
20 THey're jusø (.) pussyfoo**ʔin** abouT˺ THey are you kNow
[ʔɪn]
21 (0.5)
22 Ish: hhahahahaha[haha
23 Anw: [you **k**NOW
[nə::]
24 Ish: hehehehe[hehehe
25 Anw: [so:: *((smiley voice))*
26 (.)
27 So liSTEN
28 looʔ- **'ow** we g'nna g**e**ʔ **d**is car sorʔ**e**d **ou**ʔ man
29 Ish: **righ**ʔ
30 wh**a**ʔ I'm gonna do yeah
31 *((continues with a plan of action))*

Talking to the barrister, he had introduced the reason for calling as follows:

Extract 8

Anwar with Bilal the barrister, turning to the reason for his call.

Key: **Traditional London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP ; [ ] IPA phonetic transcription

12 Anw: oh oh OKAY yeah
13 øa's greaT˺
14 .hh e:::hm BILAL
15 THE Reason why i ca***lled*** you is e::h
16 I jus' waNTED TO LET you KNOW THa***t*** *((**X** – a name pronounced in Punjabi))*
17 He came.. and e::h we DECIDED ***n**ot* ***to*** pursue His case
18 (.)
19 Bil: [righT
20 Anw: [a***nd*** e::h He was gOING back aND e::h he was gonna ge**t** His
[ʔ]

```
21          work permit visa   (.)
                       [ʔ]
22          SO so THAT He coulD jusT e::hm..
23          you know DO everyTHING above eh eh above board an' ehm
24Bil:       fair fair enough okay
25 Anw:      AN' beING THe ceLebriTy He is ..
```

Clearly, Anwar's lead into the reason-for-calling is less elaborate with the mechanic than the barrister—"y' kNow e::hm e::h TH- THis THese eh iNsuraNce peopLE . . . " (Ex 7 lines 13–14) compared with "e:::hm BILAL THe Reason why i ca**lled** you is e::h I jus' waNTED TO LET you KNOW THa**t X** . . . " (Ex 8 lines 14–16). His lexis is generally more colloquial—"muckiNG me aRou**n**" and "pussyfooʔ**in** abouT̚" (Extr. 7 lines 15, 20) *versus* "DECIDED **n**o**t to** pursue His case" (Ex. 8 line 17). And his pronunciation is also less standard, as shown in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4 Quantitative comparison of two phonological variables in Anwar's pronunciation to the mechanic and barrister in Extracts 7 and 8

		Conversation with the mechanic (Extract 7)	**Conversation with the barrister (Extract 8)**
T in word medial and word final positions	alveolar [t] (STANDARD BR ENG)	1 (line 20)	5 (lines 13,16,16,22,25)
	glottal [ʔ] **(non-standard London)**	5 (lines 15,20,28,28,28)	2 (lines 20, 21)
	retroflex [ʈ] ***(Punjabi)***	0	2 (lines 16,17)
-ING in participial suffixes	velar [ɪŋ] (STANDARD BR ENG)	1 (line 15)	2 (lines 20,25)
	alveolar [ɪn] **(non-standard London)**	1 (line 20)	0
Proportion of STANDARD BRITISH ENGLISH features		**25%** (2 out of 8)	**64%** (7 out of 11)
Proportion of **non-standard London** features		**75%** (6 out of 8)	**18%** (2 out of 11)

Listening to the recordings themselves, Anwar is hearably the same person across all of these extracts, with the same pitch range, the same voice quality and the same pool of linguistic features: Punjabi, London vernacular, standard English, with Creole available too. Even so, (a) he turns *some* of these linguistic elements *up* and *others down* as he moves from one conversation to the next, and (b) he is very reflexive about this, referring to 'Southallian' in the interaction with Ronni, describing speech like the barrister's as 'polished', and saying that the mechanic's a Cockney, a "thoroughbred east-ender . . . of Pakistani origin".

So, to go back to the question about style, class and its economic correlates, three things are clear from these comparisons. First, these shifts in speech dovetail with a very real hierarchy of wealth and status—this is not just playful pastiche, and Anwar gets *more* Cockney with the *mechanic*, not with the barrister. Second, Anwar's using a very traditional British semiotic to position himself in his conversations with these two people. Standard and vernacular, posh and Cockney, have been intricately linked to socioeconomic stratification in Britain for at least 250 years. But third, these linguistic features don't just come fixed in the encounters, attached to particular jobs like wigs or overalls, and there is more going on here than Anwar just retuning his accent to the class position of the person he's talking to. Instead, as the talk unfolds, he uses these classed speech forms to shift the footing and to adjust his interactional demeanor. To see this, let's have another look at what he does when he is telling the mechanic why he called:

Extract 9 (see Ex 7):

		Analytic comment
13 Anw:	yeah y' kNow e::hm e::h	*Anwar is fairly standard in the first formulation of the reason for his call*
14	TH- THis THese eh iNsuraNce peopLE	
15	THey're reaLLy me- muckiNG me aRou**n**ø ri:**gh**ʔ	
16	(.)	
17	[now-	
18 Ish:	[(wha- wh**a**ʔ they say**in**	*A neutral response – Ishfaq asks for elaboration*
19 Anw:	**weLL** **you kNow wh' I mean** [wɑ:ll jə nɑ ɑ mi:n]	*Anwar doesn't elaborate as requested, but reformulates in much more of a London vernacular accent*
20	THey're jusø(.) pussyfooʔ**in** abouT˺ THey areyou kNow [ʔIn]	
21	(0.5)	
22 Ish:	hhahahahaha[haha *((after Ishfaq's laughter dies down, his next turn is:* "right, what I'm gonna do . . ."*))*	*Ishfaq engages . . .*

Anwar starts out fairly standard, and the first time he announces his problem—"THey're ReaLLy me-muckiNG me aRouNØ ri:gh?"- the response from Ishfaq is non-committal—"what are they saying?" But instead of responding to this by going into detail as requested, Anwar just recodes his general sense of grievance in more of the London vernacular—"**you kNow wh' I mean**" & "pussyfoo?**in**"—and this time, Ishfaq bursts into a hearty laugh. Anwar's reformulation isn't any more informative than the first time around, so it must be *the way he says it* that catches Ishfaq.

What we have here is an illustration of Bourdieu's "practical mastery of the social structure" (1991, 235) and Sapir's reanimation of social institutions in everyday communication (1949, 104). So on the one hand, taking the broad contrast between Anwar talking to the lawyer and Anwar talking to the mechanic, we can say, yes, in terms of large-scale, long-term social processes in Britain, it looks as though there is still hierarchic ranking among dialects, registers and styles, closely linked to occupational and economic structure. But once we look closely at interaction, the cartography of classed styles loses some of its immutability, and instead, it is absorbed into very local, personal and particular purposes and projects (see Ochs 1996). Yes, linguistic forms like these may be signs in a very stratified political economy, but we also breathe them in our efforts to get from one moment to the next.

So it looks as though processes associated with social class are still very powerful in the UK, though it is worth clarifying what social class means here. Class has stopped being just a demographic category, and instead, it is being treated as a set of differentiated ways of speaking and doing that we can tie back to the hard economy as a system of contrasting semiotic styles with very robust institutional underpinnings and a lot of material effects. This is broadly compatible with the cultural theory of Williams and Bourdieu, who see class as "a whole body of practices and expectations . . . a lived system of meanings and values" (Williams 1977, 110), and insist that the "most resolutely objectivist theory must take account of . . . the very construction of this world via the *labour of representation*" (Bourdieu 1991, 234). And in linguistic anthropology, it is also in tune with what Irvine says about style ("'styles' are . . . part of a *system of distinction* . . . index[ing] the social formations (groups, categories, personae, activity types, institutional practices etc) of which they are characteristic" [2001, 22]), and with what Agha says about 'register' ("registers are *historical formations* caught up in group-relative processes of valorisation and counter-valorisation, exhibiting change both in form and value over time" [2004, 25]). So where does this now leave superdiversity?

CONCLUSIONS

It is worth recapping on the data we have considered. First we had the difference in the English used by Anwar and his older brother, and linked to this, there seemed to be a kaleidoscopic array of linguistic resources in his vernacular speech, drawing forms from Punjabi, Cockney, standard and Creole English. In fact, we can account for the contrast between Anwar and Naseem if we recognize that instead of just inhabiting pregiven locales, individuals generate and maintain their own partly distinctive *milieux* over time. However, at least at first glance, these data seem to present the kind of challenges to established patterns that is captured by the term 'superdiversity'. Specifically in the case here, our data unsettle stereotypic assumptions about migrant families shifting to English over time, as well as traditional images of exclusively Cockney-like vernacular London English.

But when we took a closer look at communicative practice, we saw Anwar operating with signs and styles grounded in a number of widespread, long-term social processes: talking to the lawyer and the mechanic, we had the traditional semiotics of British social class; speaking Southallian urban vernacular with Ronni, there were evocations of formative experience at the intersection of youth, migration, ethnicity and class; and in fact here is just one more extract in which Anwar speaks to a Sri Lankan woman who doesn't know much English, itself a reflection of ongoing population mobility:

Extract 10

Anwar on the phone with a Sri Lankan woman who doesn't speak much English.

Key: **Traditional London vernacular**; ***Punjabi***; STANDARD ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION/RP

1 Anw:	HELL***o:*** yes e:h (.)
2	he***llo*** ______***l***
3	how are you
4	you ok***ay***?
5 Woman:	((*speaks for* 3.0))
6 Anw:	ye::s you keeping we***ll***?
7 Woman:	((*speaks for* 5.0))
8 Anw:	yeah
9 Woman:	((*speaks for* 2.0))
10 Anw:	yah I ***n***ee***d*** you ***d***o job f***o***:r me

Anwar speaks here in a telegraphic 'foreigner talk', not only turning up the Punjabi features in his pronunciation but also simplifying the syntax (see line 10), and he subsequently told us that although he produces this style unthinkingly, it gets remarked on by his daughter, who questions his performance of what she refers to as 'bud bud', a (sometimes racist) term widely used to derogate the English of migrants from the Indian subcontinent.

Bureaucratic, sociological, even sociolinguistic tick-box classifications might and indeed often do struggle with practices like these, but even so, if we are in less of a hurry, it is not too hard to place these interactions in longer, wider social processes. More than that, in fact, there were no signs of confusion or incoherence in the data themselves, and as far as we can tell from the recordings, all of Anwar's speech seemed to be ratified interactionally, understood and accepted by his interlocutors.

In Vertovec's account of superdiversity, "social scientists—to say nothing of civil servants—have few accounts of what meaningful interchanges look like, how they are formed, maintained, or broken, and how the state or other agencies might promote them" (2007, 27). Contrary to this, the sociolinguistic data here and elsewhere do show something of what "meaningful interchanges look like", and "how they are formed [and] maintained". Indeed more generally, evidence like this plays an important role getting large-scale processes like ethnicity and migration into perspective, showing that they are significant but by no means all-encompassing, that they are complex, yes, but also more ordinary and livable than anything one might infer from the high-octane, headline representations of the political and media arena (Harris and Rampton 2009). Rather than being as preoccupied, fractured or troubled by contemporary change as public discourse often imagines, a lot of ordinary people are actually fairly adept in the navigation of what is characterized as superdiversity, bringing intelligible order to their circumstances.

Pushing one step further, we should ask whether data and analyses like these answer the high-profile questions proposed by politicians and policymakers. Do they also show "how the state and other agencies might promote [meaningful interactions]" (Vertovec 2007, 27) ? Are there new principles of social cohesion in here, a set of practices that can be rolled out for the betterment of society, advanced by the state and other agencies?

Here we need to be much more cautious. Yes, data like these can be vital as a corrective to the distorting stereotypes and dramatizations that dominate public discourse, but even so, it is essential to recognize (a) that the coherence here is partly produced by the shift of analytic perspective, from the large-scale demographic aggregations that underpin statements about superdiversity and fears about social cohesion, down into a quite closely focused interest in participants' interactional sense-making; and (b) that I have actually been rather selective in my choice of data, and also fairly superficial in the analysis. We do not, for example, have responses in some of the extracts, and we have not looked at how Anwar fares in any longer-term projects. If we really did want to go further in the search for new principles of social cohesion in interaction, then among other things, we would need to attend to the interactional effects of Anwar's own social status, and/or the potential contention around styles like the one he uses with the Sri Lankan woman, and we would really have to find and study recordings of the interactional experience and enactment of struggle, dispute and frustration. There are, in short, no quick fixes for policy anxieties in the study of interaction per se—these are issues that need sustained ethnography as well (assuming, that is, that one accepts the premises underpinning these policy discourses, which are of course themselves often open to dispute).

But moving past the quest for immediate policy dividends, we can still formulate some quite powerful claims about the connections between diversity, class and language, suggesting a way in which speech and language bring intelligible structure to contemporary urban contexts. Here it is helpful to refer back to the work of David Parkin in the 1970s, itself broadly compatible with the perspective on style and social structure that I linked to Bourdieu, Irvine and Agha.

Studying urban multilingualism in newly independent Kenya, Parkin described how the values and connotations associated with different local, national and international languages converged in a complex system of symbolic oppositions. This system of contrasting varieties provided

> a framework for [the] expression of [both emergent and established] ideological differences, . . . [It was] a kind of template along the lines of which social groups [might] later become distinguished. . . . [Indeed more generally w]ithin . . . polyethnic communities, diversity of speech . . . provides . . . the most readily available "raw" classificatory data for the differentiation of new social groups and the redefinition of old ones.
>
> (1977, 205, 187, 208; also e.g. Irvine 2001, 22, 24)

In fact, systems of contrasting styles like these are going to provide orientational templates for the socialization of individuals as well as the formation of social groups, and I would like to draw two inferences from the data I have referred to in this paper. *First*, English speech in the UK encompasses at least two sets of polar contrasts: (a) the newcomer/local contrast associated with immigration, and (b) the high/low, standard/vernacular polarity associated with social class (see also Rampton 2011b). And then, *second*, the class axis ([b]) is especially insistent, at least in Britain. Of course the intersection of these axes of differentiation is complex and dynamic: my reanalysis of the data from the 1980s sees speech forms that were once associated with immigrants gradually reinvigorating working-class British vernaculars, and it is also clear that in different ways, class sensibilities are influential in attitudes to migrant newcomers, 'freshies' and 'FOBs' (Rampton 2011b, 1246–1247; Shankar 2008). The polarities of gender introduce additional complexities, and if we want to understand the ongoing enactment and reproduction of these templates, we need to examine situated encounters where people struggle over who is up and who is down, who's out, who's in and where the lines are drawn. Still, it seems to me that for participants, this kind of symbolic economy is going to bring a level of simplifying intelligibility to environments that others may only see as dizzyingly superdiverse. Or at least that, I think, is an important question for sociolinguistics to pursue.

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NOTE

1 It is important to note that the term *milieu* refers to much more than just physical locale. For Albrow et al. (1997, 30), it refers to "our ability, but also the necessity, of creating our own environment according to our intentions and always in cooperation and conflict with our fellow-beings". Dürrschmidt elaborates on this phenomenological perspective, insisting that *milieux* should be "defined as relatively stable and situated configurations of action and experience, in which individuals actively generate a distinctive degree of familiarity and practical competence. . . . This configuration enables individuals to handle successfully the changing variety of micro-globalisation" (1997, 57). In fact, globalization (and superdiversity) provide a good deal of impetus for the use of this notion: "It needed the disruption of local communities and their completely 'localised relations' and the extension of people's field of action and experience beyond a specific locale in order to make us fully realize that the individual generates a milieu in an always changing environment, instead of just inhabiting a pre-given locale (see Giddens 1990, 101ff)" (Dürrschmidt 1997, 61).

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10 Mobile Literacies and Micro-Narratives

Conformity and Transgression on a South African Educational Site

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INTRODUCTION: MOBILE PHONES AND MOBILE LITERACIES

Mobile phones, one of the most rapidly adopted technologies in history, have been a telecommunications success story on the African continent (Eagle 2010). While in 2000 only one in fifty Africans had access to a mobile phone, the figure is now close to 70 percent. South Africa—followed by Kenya and Nigeria—has the highest penetration rates in sub-Saharan Africa, and it is estimated that between 80 and 90 percent of the population are regular users of mobile phones (http://ml.sun.ac.za/2011/12/07/mobile-technology-in-africa-a-comparative-view-between-kenya-and-south-africa/).[1] The broad social diffusion of mobile phones is reflected aptly in the title of a poem by the Zimbabwean author Mihla Sitsha, *Makhalemkhukhwini*, which translates as "that which even rings in a shack" (Nkomo and Khumalo 2012). Mobile phones are not only used for voice calls but also for writing and reading digital texts. This includes SMS as well as various Internet-based applications; in particular, mobile messaging and social networking sites such as Facebook (Deumert 2014a). In South Africa, figures for mobile Internet access were around 40 percent for urban areas, and just below 30 percent for rural areas in 2012 (www. marionwalton.com/2012/03/06/how-many-internet-users-in-sa/; for comparative data from Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda, see www.insightsafrica.com). Thus, Africa—although lagging behind in terms of computer access—has the potential for global connectivity via growing numbers of Internet-enabled mobile phones (Kreutzer 2009; Hyde-Clarke and Van Tonder 2011; see also papers in Ekine 2010). The phone, rather than the computer, is thus central to African digital literacy practices.

The development community has greeted the broad social diffusion of mobile phones with interest and enthusiasm, and identified numerous ways in which mobile phones can assist, and even accelerate, development: they can, for example, provide access to financial services for the 'unbanked' (m-banking), improve service delivery (m-government), send medication reminders to patients (m-health) and offer support in distance education (m-learning applications; see Donner 2008, for a comprehensive review). The impressive potential of mobile digital media for education is summarized by Gunther Kress and Norbert Pachler (2007, 7) as follows:

> There is, in educational contexts, a justified intensity of interest around the effects of digital, in particular portable technologies, in all manner of ways. There is a promise of *greater* "*reach*", of more and easier *access*, of a kind of *democratisation* of education, a sense not just of a transformation, but a *revolution* of wide- and far-reaching areas of the educational world. (my emphasis)

With regard to literacy, especially, educators are keen to harness the educational potential of digital media as productive literacy spaces. Naomi Baron (2008, 6–7) noted that the amount of writing we do is increasing steadily and substantially: instant messaging and chatting, texting, blogging, Facebook, Twitter. In order to bring these leisure literacies into the educational system, we need to understand not only the affordances and limitations of the technology but also the everyday mobile literacy practices of teenagers and young adults in order to identify "matches and mismatches between everyday practices and educational practices" (Merchant 2012, 774; also Crook 2012). And we need to understand technology as a "placed resource" that gives rise to, and supports, *specific* practices within *specific* environments and contexts (Prinsloo 2005).

This chapter discusses a multilingual, digital literacy initiative in South Africa. The initiative, called m4lit, 'mobiles for literacy', distributed reading material—a mystery-cum-romance novel that was available in isiXhosa (one of South Africa's official languages) and English—to mobile phones via a website optimized for mobile access (a so-called mobi-site). The idea behind m4lit was quite different from digital initiatives, which are intimately tied to educational spaces, such as schools or libraries. In the eGranary project, for example, participants were given access to (offline) information—the eGranary digital library, developed at the University of Iowa—on a stationary computer that was located in a community library in Uganda. In the process of working with the material, participants developed not only knowledge about the topics they researched, but they also learned about the technology itself (computers) and acquired a type of literacy practice that was unfamiliar to them (the use of search engines; for a detailed discussion of the project see Norton and Williams 2012). The m4lit project, on the other hand, drew on a digital technology (mobile phones) and associated literacies (texting, instant messaging, social networking), which were closely integrated into participants' everyday, out-of-school practices, thus capitalizing, for educational purposes, on the enjoyment teenagers find in digital leisure literacies. The familiar technology was then used to give participants access to new content (a novel), not only within a particular locality (school, library) but anywhere/anytime, thus harnessing the mobile affordances of the technology. As long as participants had access to a mobile phone (either sole or shared access) as well as phone credit, they could read the story on their way to school, at home, or with friends in the street. Moreover, the participatory affordances of Web 2.0 environments were integrated into the project design: m4lit supported not only the consumption of a preexisting literacy artifact but also the production of content through comment functions, a story competition and social networking features.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first section provides an overview of the m4lit project; the next section suggests Roland Barthes's distinction between *plaisir* and *jouissance* as useful concepts for analyzing practices of conformity and transgression in spaces that are 'keyed' as educational; the following sections provide an analysis of the textual content that was produced on the mobi-site by participants in English and isiXhosa. The discussion focuses on two central questions: Firstly, how did participants respond to a literacy initiative that used a technology central to informal and social literacy practices (texting, chatting), in order to support a form of literacy, reading a novel, closely associated with in-school, classroom-based literacies? And secondly, how did bilingual readers, who speak both isiXhosa and English in their everyday lives, but were schooled in English-only institutions, engage with the bilingual design of the site?

M4LIT: AN ACTION-RESEARCH PROJECT

The m4lit project took place in 2009 and consisted of two interlinked components:

1. A sociolinguistic research component, exploring linguistic practices and mobile phone use among a sample of low-income, isiXhosa-speaking youth in Cape Town (methodologies: surveys, focus groups and observations), and
2. An intervention component that consisted of publishing a mobile novel, titled *Kontax*, in English and isiXhosa, and monitoring online reader engagement.

In this chapter I will focus on the intervention component, that is, on the mobile novel. Analyses of the data collected as part of (1) are discussed in Deumert (2010) and Walton (2010).

The intervention component was inspired by the popularity of Japanese m(obile)-novels (called *keitai shōsetsu*), which are written on, read on and distributed via mobile phones. *Keitai* novels have short chapters (around seventy to one hundred words in length), use frequent dialogue and various characteristics of digital language (e.g. emoticons and informal registers). Japanese *keitai shōsetsu* are rarely produced by professional novelists.

Mobile phone novelists are typically young, female amateur authors who write their stories on trains, between classes, and after dinner. Topics frequently venture into taboo zones, such as drugs, sex, abuse and teenage pregnancies (Nishimura 2011; Kim 2012; Hjorth forthcoming.). As noted by Yukiko Nishimura (2011), *keitai* novels have been the object of harsh criticism and are generally perceived as 'literally immature' or 'pulp fiction'. Such negative value judgments notwithstanding, the novels have a strong, stable and dedicated fan-base, which—like the authors—is primarily female.

In the case of m4lit, the m-novel was written by a professional writer (Sam Wilson). Thus, unlike Japanese m-novels, the text did not emerge from everyday peer-to-peer practices but was commissioned specifically for the project and produced by an 'adult' for 'teenagers' (target audience, to eighteen years of age). The English version was translated into isiXhosa by Nkululeko Mabandla. Stylistically, the choice of language in both versions was deliberately informal and colloquial, reflecting—as much as possible—contemporary usage (rather than a distant standard norm).

The novel was published over a period of twenty-one days in October 2009, with a four-hundred-word chapter published each day on a dedicated mobi-site. The mobi-site combined two modes: textual and visual. The latter included a photo gallery from which images and wallpapers could be downloaded (see Figure 10.1 for examples). However, the integration of such images notwithstanding, the multimodal possibilities of the medium were not fully explored, and there was a clear dominance of 'plain text' in order to allow access from low-end mobile phones.

Figure 10.1 Images for two of the story characters: Sbu and K8/Kate

Readers were encouraged to interact with one another and with the story. A prize of 100 ZAR was awarded for the 'best' chapter comments (roughly 10 EUR at the time). In order to leave a comment, users had to register on the site and create a profile page. These profile pages functioned like a mini-Facebook and allowed for social network(ing): there was an 'about me' feature, space for an image, a wall on which updates and comments could be posted. Registered users were also able to send messages to one another, to 'the *Kontax* Team', as well as to the fictional characters. Importantly, registering users made it possible to use these messages for research purposes. Finally, users had the opportunity to enter a writing competition in which they were asked to develop a storyline for a future m-novel. The prize was 2000 ZAR (about 200 EUR at the time). Absent from the site architecture was the possibility to chat, and all communication was thus asynchronous. From the end of October 2009, the novel was also advertised and published on the local mobile instant messager *MXit* (see Walton 2010, for details). However, the *MXit* platform, unlike *Kontax.mobi*, did not allow for social network(ing): it was possible to read the story and to send comments, but readers could not interact with one another. The *Kontax* mobi-site was disestablished in mid-2010, and the novel was republished on a new site called *yoza.mobi*. Four sequels (*Kontax* 2–5, available in English only) were published subsequently.

The promise of prizes certainly encouraged readers to comment on the story. However, their engagement was quite unlike what we know from popular fan fictions sites (Black 2008). Its social networking architecture notwithstanding, *Kontax.mobi* failed to develop into a sustainable interactional space and to attract a fan community. Although participants commented, sent messages, befriended one another and posted on the walls of their 'friends', these interactions were short lived and did not continue after the last installment of the story had been published. Rather than the emergence of playful and intertextual fan discourses, which draw—among others—on complex stylistic practices such as repetition, remixing and double-voicing, a type of communication emerged that was reminiscent of classrooms; that is, communication that is directed at the teacher as the main point of reference. The 'teacher' in this context was 'the *Kontax* team' (in the person of the project leader), which was not only a participant on the side, but also the 'institution' that decided whether or not a comment was worthy of receiving a prize. Thus, the original idea of giving prizes as encouragement to young writers had unintended consequences: it helped to establish a hierarchical structure where 'students' tried to 'please' the 'teacher' in order to receive a prize. Through affirmation—which was always public, as prizes were announced on the site—social identities of 'good' readers/writers were constructed.

The 'classroom feel' of the site was further supported by chapter prompts that were meant to stimulate reader engagement with the story. These prompts—posted by 'the *Kontax* team'—were frequently cast in the voice of the responsible, knowledgeable and somewhat moralizing adult/teacher (6).

The prompts also included comprehension questions, familiar from school-based reading exercises (7).

(6) Chapter 3: Do you think your friends hook up too easily at parties?

Chapter 4: When should you fight? When should you go?

(7) Chapter 7: Why doesn't anyone know Adelle?

In terms of content the *Kontax* story—while advertised to readers as a mystery-cum-romance leisure literacy (see campaign poster, Figure 10.2)—belongs to the genre of socially responsible teenage novels, that is, novels that do not merely provide entertainment but also expose readers purposefully

Figure 10.2 The Kontax campaign poster (English version) announces the story

to pertinent social issues and ethical dilemmas. Among the 'social problems' that form the background to the narrative are: single parent households, HIV/AIDs, teachers engaging in illegal business activities, xenophobia and strip clubs as potential employers for girls. The main characters are introduced as a graffiti crew; however, they do not engage in any illegal tagging practices. Rather they work on commission—that is, they paint murals (for which they are paid)—or look for houses that are about to be demolished. The subversive ideology that informs urban graffiti is thus normalized into a respectable, yet cool, teenage pastime. The moral outlook of the story was respected and appreciated by readers ("its quite a great.m0ral st0ry"; *pureness*, chapter comment 2009). This contrasts sharply with the prevalence of taboo topics and generally transgressive nature of peer-produced Japanese *keitai* novels.

The multilingual design of the project followed the traditional model of parallel or double monolingualisms (Heller 2007), and each language was assigned a distinct (virtual) environment: upon entering the site, potential readers had to decide whether to continue in English or isiXhosa. Figure 10.3 shows the start screen as displayed on the *MXit* interface.

The double-monolingual design of the site reflects common practice in South Africa. Television news is broadcast in different languages at different times; there are dedicated radio stations for specific languages; the web-portals of South African government websites allow citizens parallel access in any one of the eleven official languages (www. services.gov.za/services/content/Home/xh_ZA); commercial sites, such as www.news24.com, provide separate news websites in English, Afrikaans and isiZulu and, finally, multilingual signage—when available—displays the same information in multiple

Figure 10.3 MXit interface for the m4lit project (2009)

languages. However, such parallel designs, while easy to implement, are in stark contrast to the complex mixed practices that are an important feature of both offline and online communication in South Africa (Mesthrie 2002; Deumert and Masinyana 2008; Deumert 2014b; Deumert and Lexander 2013). Double monolingual designs constitute, in the view of Blommaert et al. (2009, 204), a 'modernist' response, emphasizing order and uniformity, to 'postmodernist' conditions of fragmentation, plurality and hybridity.

Kontax.mobi—as a reading and writing space—can be read as a macro-level sign that encourages and rewards (via prizes) certain practices and marginalizes others. Drawing on Erwing Goffman's concept of 'key', we can say that—social networking features notwithstanding—the site was centrally, and inadvertently, keyed as 'educational'. In addition, the parallel multilingual design created a digital environment in which hybrid multilingual practices were 'out of place', or rather didn't have a well-defined place. How did readers respond? Did they conform and behave in ways that were in line with the adult-designed educational ethos of the site? Or did they transgress, challenge and rebel? What kind of texts did they produce?

VERNACULAR CREATIVITY IN THE CLASSROOM: BETWEEN *PLAISIR* AND *JOUISSANCE*

In his work on art classrooms, Paul Duncum (2009) has suggested that approaches to teaching that draw on popular culture and everyday practices are particularly likely to engender transgressive behavior. This also applies to the educational appropriation of mobile phones. In the popular imagination mobile phones are not educational tools: they are status symbols and consumer items, and the textual practices that are associated with them flaunt school-based norms of writing and literacy, regularly and intentionally. One of the primary pleasures of online texting and chatting is *not* having to conform to a monolithic, school-enforced standard: while normalized conventions (such as *u* for *you*, *2* for *too*) certainly exist, no one is tied to a particular way of writing. Writers are always free to invent new spellings, to mess around and to play with "structures, systems, rules and codes" (Thurlow 2012, 170). Vernacular (or everyday) creativity is a prominent feature of the participatory affordances of Web 2.0 applications and arises out of the dialectical tension between conformity and its transgression. At times it is a form of creativity that is based on shared values and norms, combining existing resources (such as ways of speaking/writing, genre conventions, story elements, even clichés) in novel, but not transgressive, ways in order to connect socially to others. This form of creativity is about shared meanings and a sense of communion between reader and author. At other times, however, creativity can break precisely with these shared values and norms; it is anarchic, highly self-reflexive and rebellious, and transgresses well beyond the expected and agreed upon (Burgess 2006).

These two forms of vernacular creativity can be linked to what Roland Barthes (1975) has called *plaisir* ("pleasure") and *jouissance* ("ecstasy") (see also Kristeva 1980). *Plaisir* is the kind of deeply social, and thus necessarily compliant and ordering, enjoyment one might feel when having fun in class, but also when hanging out with one's peers, or spending time with family. It can be described as the almost wholesome and certainly comforting pleasure of "relating to the social order, a conservative and accommodating, conformist pleasure" (Duncum 2009, 234); it is a conservative force, "a guarantee of the status quo and existing power relationships" (Ott 2004, 196). *Jouissance*, on the other hand, is transgressive pleasure: it is risqué, subversive, avant-garde, discomforting, unexpected; it dislocates, crosses boundaries of social acceptability and is in conflict with the canons of culture (*jouissance*, in particular, has been linked to digital writing and new media culture, see Johnson 2009). *Jouissance* and *plaisir* obviously exist on a continuum and in gradations. As Barthes (1975, 2) explicitly acknowledges, "there is always a vacillation . . . the distinction will not be the source of absolute classification, the paradigm will falter". (For a discussion of the semantics of, especially, *jouissance*, see Gallop [1984]).

While the creativity of 'plaisir' produces a "text that comes from culture and does not break with it, it is linked to a *comfortable* practice of reading", the practice of *jouissance* forms a text that "discomforts . . . unsettles the reader's historical, cultural, psychological assumptions" (Barthes 1975, 14). In the context of m4lit, *plaisir* would be the enjoyment of the story, as well as the engagement with the story following the ground rules established by the mobi-site design: languages are kept separate, the 'teacher' is acknowledged, the moral of the story appreciated and the texts produced for the story competition conform to instructions. Practices of *jouissance*, on the other hand, would create texts that unsettle what is expected, texts that do not conform to what the site proposes, that might mix languages rather than keeping them separate, or venture into taboo zones, which upset the morality of the model.

Can we 'tame' vernacular creativity and bring it into the educational realm where literacy is usually about norms and conventions, about learning to write in a certain way and to read and tell certain kinds of stories? In other words, can we harness the creativity of *plaisir* without opening us up to the unpredictability and anarchy of *jouissance*? Or is there a space for *jouissance* in educational systems?

The m4lit project held the promise of reframing literacy in ways that went beyond "educational practices centering around monolingual identities and practices" (Stroud and Wee 2012, 19), and to allow the vernacular leisure literacies of texting and chatting to mesh with the more conventional literacies offered and enacted by 'the *Kontax* team'. Moreover, by putting both versions—English and isiXhosa—on equal footing, the design, although problematic in its double-bilingualism, challenged the existing linguistic market in South Africa where English dominates as *the* language of education and literacy. By using digital technology to promote reading, and by providing a space for languages other than English, m4lit opened up a space of potentiality. At the same time, the classroom feel of the site, discussed in the previous section, closed down much of this potential.

In the following two sections I analyze examples of the content that was produced by the readers of *Kontax*. Theoretically, the analysis focuses on the speaking—or in this case writing—subject, which Julia Kristeva (1980) described as "the place, not only of structure and its regulated transformation, but especially of its loss, its outlay" (24). In other words, the individual is the 'place'—biologically/materially, socially and psychologically/cognitively—where linguistic and sociopolitical norms are enacted, transformed and transgressed (Johnstone 2000). Moreover, more than conformity (the enjoyment of *plaisir*), it is transgression (the enjoyment of *jouissance*) that brings the subject into being and affirms agency, that is, the capacity to do otherwise. The discussion below focuses on three female readers/writers—*Diary*, *Cumaza* and *Sugar* (nom de plumes on the site)—who conformed and transgressed in different ways. The analysis considers the mobi-site data only. Although the mobi-site audience was significantly smaller than the *MXit* audience (see Walton 2010), the advantage of the mobi-site data for sociolinguistic research is its comprehensiveness and detail: it gives full access to demographic information, user profiles, messages between users, chapter comments and competition submissions. For the MXit audience only chapter comments and competitions entries are available; we do not have any information regarding the demographics of readers/writers.

"I AM SMART AND SPEAK PERFECT ENGLISH" (MATLWA 2007, 54)—SOCIOLINGUISTIC REPRODUCTION . . . NOT REALLY

Although South Africa's language-in-education policy supports the use of African languages as media of instruction, most schools have opted for English only at post-primary level. In 2009, when the project was conducted, not a single secondary school in Cape Town used isiXhosa as medium of instruction, and less than one-third of schools offered isiXhosa as a second language. IsiXhosa, it needs to be emphasized, is not a minority language in Cape Town: in 2001 (when the last census was conducted) it was spoken as a so-called home language by about one-third of the population (following Afrikaans, but ahead of English).

The popular association between English, education and literacy was clearly visible in the choices made by bilingual isiXhosa-English readers: even though they had the option of reading the novel in either language, many chose to read only the English version. For example, in the survey that was carried out as part of the project's background research, just over one-quarter of bilingual readers indicated that they had accessed the isiXhosa version. The reasons participants gave for preferring the English version of *Kontax* emphasized their lack of familiarity with written isiXhosa via educational contexts, and the resultant linguistic insecurity:

(8) Because we are not used in reading Xhosa words, we're used in reading English, like English books. (Focus group data 2009)

(9) *Hayi kaloku thina asikhulanga sifunda kwizikolo ezinesiXhosa.* ("You know, the reason is because we didn't go to schools that offered isiXhosa".) (Focus group data 2009)

Difficulties with African language literacy are exacerbated by a pervasive shortage of reading material (Bgoya 2001): a stock taking in 2010 showed that fewer than 5 percent of the books available in public libraries were in isiXhosa (the remaining 95 percent books are either in Afrikaans or English). Choosing to read *Kontax* in English can thus be seen as a form of social reproduction: the primacy of English as 'the' language of literacy and education is being affirmed.

The South African educational system is not only an environment where a particular form of English is required. Across the world, the linguistic characteristics of digital language—especially respellings and medium-specific abbreviations—have generated considerable, and usually negative, public debate. Of particular concern has been a possible spillover of such forms into school essays and exams (Thurlow 2006; Squires 2010). These debates and concerns are also prevalent in South Africa (Geertsema et al. 2011). Although the main text of the story is written in standard English, it includes texting sequences between characters who make use of nonstandard spelling. In addition, one of the characters' names is consistently spelled using texting conventions (K8 for Kate). The following sequence occurs in Chapter 6:

(10) After he finished, he [Sbu] lay in bed and went on MXit [a mobile instant messaging service, see section 2]. K8 was on, and she was very apologetic "Sry abt my parnts," she wrote. "Thyr crzy."

Readers/writers on the site made frequent use of nonstandard spellings, not only in private messages sent to one another, but also in their—potentially—prize-winning chapter comments, albeit at slightly lower frequencies (see Table 10.1).

The interpretation of these practices is not straightforward: on the one hand, nonstandard spellings are legitimized through their inclusion in the novel (as illustrated above); on the other hand, this inclusion is restricted to specific contexts (peer-based messaging). The use of nonstandard spellings

Table 10.1 Frequency of use for selected respellings on the *Kontax* mobi-site (registered bilingual isiXhosa-English readers/writers only; "you", "to/too", "like", "and")

	***Kontax* chapter comments (competition)**	**Private messages between users**
u	69%	86%
2	41%	73%
bt	53%	74%
lyk	50%	60%
nd	29%	31%

in reader contributions thus responds to what was licensed, and, at the same time, goes beyond these concessions by using nonstandard orthographic forms not only in peer-to-peer-communication but also in interactions with 'the *Kontax* team', the symbolic teacher persona. There is certainly some transgression here, but it is subtle: teenage writers merely extend a practice, which the novel signals as acceptable, to new contexts, from peer-to-peer interaction to student-teacher interaction.

There are also moments of *jouissance* in the texts produced by readers. *Diary*, an isiXhosa-English bilingual, was a highly active contributor on the English site. Diary employed a strongly nonstandard orthography, characterized by high levels of variation, frequent abbreviations, respellings as well as misspellings and ornamental forms (e.g. the use of zero for the letter /o/ or ! for /i/). *Diary*'s extensive use of these features can be interpreted as signaling her deep familiarity with the global world of digital English, indexing a particular voice: nonconformist, resisting normative, school-taught orthographies and reflecting a persona "associated with a hypothetical outside world of possibility, experimentation and freedom" (McIntosh 2010, 434; also Androutsopoulos 2011).

The nonconformist nature of *Diary*'s digital writing was not limited to orthographic style; it was also reflected in the content of her contributions to the story competition. These include sexual narratives of her 'coming out' as a lesbian and her subsequent sexual experiences (Example 11), short motivational lectures ("What m0tivates you?", "Wht cn prevent me frm reaching my dreams?"), and her self-identification as a poet, rather than a novelist (the genre promoted on the site; Example 12).

(11) it was 07.n0v.2009 at 08:30 pm .me and my 4 frndz ,khanyi, veve,sihle,evelo.g0 0ut 2 ths kwl club could eyethu, we got the wow th club is ful house,khany bough j and b ,n evel0 bough me c0ca n ch!ps bcz i dnt drink alc0h0l.kwl me n evelo we g0 n dance,swt sandinly i fil like go out 2 th t0ilet,owk kwl i got th do my thng.whn

em about 2 wash my hands fil a tingle sensati0n across my waste. wow its a gal nt jst any gal beautiful 0ne ,like any man w0uld l0ve 2 hv her,she is wearing a skiny jean ,penis sh0es,long hair,caty eyes. shz standing beh!nd me n we cn see each 0ther 0n th mirror-i said h! ,she said i hav been wtchng u ,n its nt yr first time u c0me hear at eyethu ,i said n0 its nt ,why :bcz i love yr style,th way u talk,yr dreadlocks,i said ow is it,i thought th at tht m0ment tht ths gal is a femme lesbian.i turn around she kiss me.n i didnt push lyk say st0p,she kiss me and i kiss her back

(12) i h0pe in future to inspire women:ladys:teenagers to reclaim their h!st0ric r0le as singers of th s0ngs tht c0nstituted a maj0r part of 0ur p0etic experience during ch!ldh00d.being a p0et in ths w0rld we live in its such a desireble feelng,a beautiful meaning ,the are two types of p0etrys e.g urban p0etry and c0ncse p0etry .and i am a urban p0etry.i live p0etry,breathe p0etry ,sleep and th!nk p0etry,and i talk like a p0etry.i am a p0et.

Diary's nom de plume can be read as a creative program: her contributions are a diary of free-flowing thoughts and ideas, confessions and musings. Her texts establish a social, political and emotional place, as well as an associated voice, which stands in broad opposition to the educational and moralistic ethos embodied on the mobi-site. Once-off erotic encounters in toilets ("I turned around, she kissed me and I didn't push like stop, she kisses me and I kiss her back") are certainly not something that would find encouragement in the school curriculum. Example (11) reflects transgressive content as well as form: a sexual, deeply personal anecdote rather than a plot for a new novel. The sexual focus of the story is not incidental: 'jouissance' is a deeply charged term and often refers to an erotic, sexual form of pleasure. The erotic and sexual remains one of the prime sites of transgression in most societies.

Unlike a conventional diary, the *Kontax* mobi-site does not constitute a private space. It is a public space, with an unknown, and potentially global, audience. In her discussion of Japanese mobile novels, Larissa Hjorth (forthcoming) refers to such new forms of public, yet intimate, user-generated mobile storytelling as 'micro-narratives': "The *compressed, mobile* and *intimate* nature of the cell phone has provided many with an accessible way to connect different stories and subjectivities in a fleeting moment" (my emphasis). Through *keitai shōsetsu*, Japanese women have brought "intimate and private stories into the public sphere"; we see something similar happening in *Diary*'s writings.

'Intimacy' is a key term here: just as mobile technologies are intimate technologies, close to our bodies and implied in the most personal aspects of our lives, they facilitate interactions with others, and narratives about ourselves, which prioritize the private, the intimate. And by releasing these narratives into an online public sphere, we articulate new transpersonal identities and subjectivities; we create "intimate publics" (Berlant 2011). Intimate publics are always transgressive: they unsettle—and thus contravene—the traditional distinction between public and private/domestic, a distinction that is also at the heart of Western views of school education (as distinct from the parental, educational duties in the home). *Diary*'s texts on the *Kontax* mobisite challenge our understanding of what is appropriate in an educational space, and in doing so they engender the pleasure of *jouissance*, for both the writer and the reader.

BEING IN PLACE AND YET OUT OF PLACE—CHALLENGING THE STATUS QUO . . . LOUDLY

Bilingual writers adhered to the double-monolingual design of the site, and code-mixing was almost entirely absent. It occurred, very occasionally, in the tag position where it fulfilled emblematic functions. This is illustrated in (13; isiXhosa in italics). In this context *ke mna ke* can be translated as "that's who I am".

(13) Da name is Amila and am 17yrs old in grd11.Am Xhosa *ke mnake*.i lv reading and writing.i hav a gr8 sense of humuor even if i may say so myself. . . . ciao (private message from *Amila* to *2010*)

Thus, once readers entered the site, they stayed in place: they either wrote in English or in isiXhosa. The mixed ways of speaking/writing, which are prominent in face-to-face interaction and informal digital literacies, remained outside the *Kontax* site.

In the South African context where English is privileged as the language of formal education, choosing to read and write in isiXhosa is, in itself, a challenge to the status quo and the "close-to-the-surface-layers" of South African linguistic ideology; that is, the overt prestige that is granted to English as a linguistic marker of educational achievement and an upwardly mobile social identity (Heugh 2009, 110).

The prizes provided an important incentive for bilingual participants to contribute material in isiXhosa: by posting chapter comments and submitting competition entries in both languages, they optimized their chances of winning. As one participant explained cunningly in a follow-up focus group discussion: "then you can win twice, or at least have a better chance" (Focus group data 2009). By projecting themselves as at home in both languages, and using this identity as a competitive advantage, they twisted the prevalent linguistic ideology, which projects English as the language of socioeconomic advancement and isiXhosa as the economically unproductive language of the home and tradition. In the space of *Kontax*, being bilingual and speaking isiXhosa was recast as an opportunity for economic gain, a competitive advantage—as long as one conformed to the double-monolingual design of the site.

However, where there was no gain to be had from one's bilingual competence, English generally dominated, and the language-ideological status quo was maintained. Only one bilingual reader/writer, seventeen-year-old *Cumaza*, fashioned her self-description on the associated social networking site in isiXhosa. Upon registration all users were asked to indicate the city where they live. *Cumaza* was the only one who did not provide the name of a geographical location but instead made reference to a social-symbolic and cultural place: *ekasi/elokishini* (from English 'location'). The term refers to the historical townships, or locations, where black South Africans were forced to live under apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, townships—affectively referred to as *ekasi*—have been redefined as expressive of a particular type of urban identity as well as associated styles of dressing, dancing, eating and drinking: proudly African, hip and cool. In her 'about me' feature, *Cumaza* provides a description (14) that is reminiscent of 'black is beautiful' discourses, evoking the afro as a symbol of self-assured blackness.

(14) *ndimfutshane, ndinesiqu, ndine-afro ndikwa mhle*

("I am short, I am stout, I have an afro and I am also beautiful")

As in the case of nonstandard spellings used in teacher-student interactions that were discussed in the previous section, *Cumaza*'s behavior is subtly transgressive in the sense that she diverts from the expected: she answered a question about a geographical location with reference to a cultural place, and used isiXhosa, rather than English, in her self-description. However, these linguistic choices are also an act of conformity in a society that has a constitutional, public and rhetorical commitment to multilingualism. In South Africa English might reign supreme, but it is nevertheless socially desirable for African teenagers to express themselves in African languages, and to celebrate their African identities. By transgressing one norm (default status of English in educational spaces), *Cumaza* conforms to another norm (expressing an African linguistic and cultural identity).

Sugar was the most prolific writer on the isiXhosa site, and generally her texts engaged well with the overall educational framing of the project. Example (15) illustrates *Sugar*'s bilingual chapter comments. She responded to the following chapter prompt separately in both languages (optimizing, as noted above, her changes for winning the prize for the best comment): "What do you think was up with K8's parents?" *Sugar*'s answer to the question is addressed directly at Sbu, the fictional character who felt humiliated after he was chased away by the parents of K8. Nonstandard usage is not eradicated in either version of the text: the English comment shows the familiar high density of nonstandard spellings; the isiXhosa version is characterized by colloquial forms such as *yicherry* ("girl") and *ingcosi* ("child"), nonstandard borrowings such as *u-andastande* ("to understand"), as well as spoken-language forms of address (*bhuti*, "brother").

(15) English: Man wat cn we say, k8's parents were only lukn' out 4 their daughter, meanin' doing their job.

isiXhosa: Noko sbu ntanga kumele ukuthi u-andastande imeko, uhlise umsindo phatsi kuba abazali bakaK8 bebezama ukunakekela ingcosi yabo kwaye yicherry so bebengacinga izinto ezininzi. Ngxe bhuti noko awumenyekanga esidlangalaleni.

("Sbu my man at least you should understand the situation, and calm down because K8's parents were trying to look after their child, besides she's a girl so they were thinking about a lot of things. Sorry my brother at least you were not embarrassed in public.")

On the level of "linguistic form", m4lit was successful in decentering conventional educational practices that treat monolingual standard norms as the only permissible form of language in writing and reading. As noted above, orthographic variation was licensed on the English site, and on the isiXhosa site lexical mixing and the use of vernacular forms were signaled as permissible and modeled in the text of the novel.

Voice, as noted by Jan Blommaert (2008; also Burgess 2006), is centrally implied in linguistic inequality and relations of social power: Who is heard? Whose voices are silenced? And whose are amplified? And why? Voice, however, is not merely a matter of linguistic form, e.g. speaking with a particular accent or writing in a specific register; our voice is also reflected in what we chose to talk about. In other words, voice, being heard, is the result of a complex relationship between linguistic form, sociopolitical context and referential content. *Sugar* did very well in her chapter comments; she won several prizes during the weeks in which *Kontax* was posted, and her engagement with the story—both in English and isiXhosa—was clearly valued by 'the *Kontax* team'. What she said and how she said it was rewarded and her identity as a 'good' writer affirmed.

However, *Sugar* transgressed rather loudly in her isiXhosa submission to the story competition. She was subsequently sanctioned by those 'in power' (i.e. those deciding about prizes): not for *how* she wrote, but *what* she chose to write about. *Sugar*'s story is a skilful micro-narrative with a well-structured, three-step plot:

a. girl meets boy and falls in love
b. boy cheats on her, breaks her heart and she attempts suicide
c. girl recovers, but decides to turn her back on boys. She turns her affection and intimate behavior toward women in order to protect herself from future harm. The story concludes: *Intombi itshintshele kwicala lokuba yitomboy, wathandana namanye amantombazana kuba ecinga ukuba ukhuselekile ekwenzeni lonto*. ("The girl changed and became a tomboy, and started dating other girls because she thought by so doing she was protected.")

Sugar's story is different from *Diary*'s autobiographical, stream-of-consciousness narratives: it is crafted, carefully written and edited. *Diary* was excluded from the story competition because there was uncertainty about her age. *Sugar*'s story was recommended as a winning entry by the project team, but it was rejected by the funders: "the messaging in it was not appropriate for the Foundation" (email sent February 2, 2010). Thus, although *kontax.mobi* was not an explicitly 'policed' space and was aimed at supporting the heterogeneous voices of young readers/writers, the project concluded with an example of overt policing: order had to be maintained and norms of 'youth-appropriate' content upheld (on policing and transgression, see Blommaert et al. 2009; Recuerda 2011). The voice of the adult/teacher made itself heard, loud and clear. In other words, although Sugar conformed linguistically—staying within the bilingual architecture of the site and producing a well-crafted text in isiXhosa—she transgressed in terms of content. As a result her voice was silenced.

Sugar won the second prize in the isiXhosa part of the competition for another submission she had made: a somewhat random list of possible themes for a second story, rather than a structured and crafted narrative. (Might this have been a consolation prize?) The winner of the isiXhosa competition was *Sbuja*. His story drew on African cultural images and involved a central character who is given special powers in his home village so that he can come to the city to fight the ancestors. It was a well-written story, reminiscent of the popular TV series *Heroes*, and creatively recontextualizes the long-standing cultural dichotomy between town and village. It certainly deserved a prize. However, it was also a story that stays within what is expected and allowed; it did not transgress and challenge the expectations of the committee. It is text as *plaisir*, not text as *jouissance*.

CONCLUSION: DEGREES OF CONFORMITY AND TRANSGRESSION

In his paper on voice, education and globalization, Jan Blommaert (2009, 447) provides an insightful analysis of the literacy practices of writers (migrants and school children) who "construct voice under severe constraints of linguistic choice", and who "work in a medium that was not theirs". M4lit, as an educational intervention, tried to turn the tables by providing reading material to young people in a medium they enjoy (mobile phones), and giving them the opportunity to respond, create and interact. The writers discussed here were familiar with the medium and its conventions; they were confident and experienced digital readers and writers. From this perspective, m4lit can be described as empowering teenage readers/writers: it engaged with young people in a space where they feel comfortable, are experts and are in charge. This is reflected in the comment by one user, *Mpumi*: "i cnt stand readn a novel bt this is diffrnt coz its jst lyk facebook" (Chapter comment 2009).

Although the site was framed as educational, certain transgressions and challenges to the status quo were permitted and even encouraged: nonstandard, digital writing was licensed, and the use of isiXhosa—its marginalized status in the system of formal education notwithstanding—was supported and rewarded. At the same time there was implicit regimentation: the site architecture, although appreciative of multilingualism, favored monolingual language use (rather than code-mixing), readers were asked to answer questions (akin to classroom discourse) and the story contained themes reminiscent of life orientation classes in the South African curriculum (Jacobs 2011). Overall, users accepted the educational framing of the site and recognized it as positive and beneficial for their lives: "This story is great maybe i may improve in my english class" (*GENTLEMAN*, chapter comment 2009); "kontax does educate us as far as im concerned, i like this its great thanks!!" (*Ace*, chapter comment 2009).

The digital space itself is often framed as free and playful, enabling the expression of alternative forms of being and self through vernacular creativities of *plaisir*, which play with the expected and foster social community, as well as *jouissance*, which work with the unexpected, transgress and unsettle (cf. Danet 2001; De Mul 2005; Berlant 2011). There is a strange tension between freedom and normativity on *kontax.mobi*: on the one hand, users were encouraged to express themselves freely and creatively; there was minimal explicit 'policing' of behavior and no overt set of rules. Although the site had the option to report a comment as inappropriate, no comments were reported as such, and there was no swearing, bullying or flaming.

On the other hand, the prizes introduced an evaluative element and incentive to conform to expectations: one may write as one likes, but one may not win. In other words, *plaisir* was rewarded; *jouissance* caused problems and was best left ignored. This latter aspect was thrown into relief at the end of the project when the winners of the story competition were announced. While heteronormative romance/attraction was an accepted theme in the story itself, narrating same-sex intimacy—even though a much-discussed topic in South Africa's media (Gunkel 2010)—was deemed 'not appropriate'. What we see at work here is a specific 'social pedagogy', a particular way of seeing the world, where norms begin to feel like laws, threatening "the positivity of being otherwise" (Berlant 2011, 181f). Mobile phones certainly have the potential to get teenagers writing, but will teachers like what they write?

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NOTE

1 All urls cited in the chapter were active as of October 2014.

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11 Early Literacies and Linguistic Mobilities

Alastair Pennycook

The changing linguistic diversity of cities as a result of increased migration in the last fifty years has huge implications for schooling, literacy and employment in increasingly diverse (sometimes 'superdiverse') cities. Extra and Yağmur have been able to paint a picture of the use of immigrant and other languages at both home and school across different European cities, concluding that "making use of more than one language is a way of life for an increasing number of children across Europe" (2011, 1182). Such projects in the mapping of linguistic diversity raise questions of access to majority languages of schooling as well as support for home languages. A slightly different perspective, however, draws attention not so much to the enumeration of linguistic diversity but to the manipulation of linguistic resources. Blommaert (2010), for example, has cogently argued for an understanding of the ways in which language gets dislodged from its traditional places and functions. We need therefore to "focus on mobile resources rather than immobile languages" (197). Blommaert looks at globalization in terms of the inequalities and mobilities it engenders and the roles of people's repertoire of language resources within this shifting, uneven world. Linguistic inequality, he argues, "is organized around concrete resources, not around languages in general but specific registers, varieties, genres" (47). Likewise, based on their studies of children from migrant backgrounds in Danish schools, Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2008) suggest that rather than seeing languages such as Turkish and Danish as separate entities that may be mixed together, and rather than categorizing their use by young people as bi- or multilingual, it makes more sense to focus on the ways in which these linguistic resources (or features) are deployed in whatever combinations work for their users.

From this polylingual (Jørgensen 2008), metrolingual (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010) or translingual (Blackledge and Creese 2010) perspective, the focus shifts away from questions of bilingualism, linguistic enumeration, language access or language maintenance, toward an emphasis on the mobility of linguistic resources in contexts of social and economic disparity. In this chapter, I shall look at how this focus helps locate contexts of linguistic mobility within far wider mobilities of language and people while also encouraging changed perspectives on local contexts of early literacy. With particular reference to Tongan communities in Sydney, and questions of language use within an informal playgroup, this paper explores the ways in which different forms of language mobility are embedded in relations of movement, migration and urban life.

In the widest circle of mobility we see patterns of migration in island communities, where movement between islands has always been the norm. At the second level, under more recent conditions of the global economy, communities establish themselves across the Pacific region, particularly in urban centers in North America, New Zealand and Australia. These transnational families become a key to the local Tongan economy through remittances from migrant family members. Meanwhile, translocal affiliations that link Tongan communities across these new centers of migration become part of the mobile linguistic and cultural organization of connected lives. Within these cities, particular conditions of mobility and access to work, housing and education require a range of translingual resources across and between migrant groups and neighborhoods. And within the playgroup for preschool Tongan children that is the particular context of this study, an emergent challenge is how to draw on and connect the transcultural capital and translingual resources of parents and caregivers in a context where linguistic and cultural resources are spatially organized and regulated. Put another way, how can a focus on the mobility of linguistic resources help us both to understand and to intervene in contexts of linguistic limitations?

LANGUAGE AND MOBILITY

In this chapter I want to make a case that mobility is the norm and stasis is what needs to be explained. I shall also draw a conceptual distinction here between movement and mobility. In the same way that Shatzki (2010) distinguishes between *activity* as process or happening and *action* as the result or outcome of such activity, so I shall here argue that mobility is the process and possibility of moving, and movement is the result. Human life, Thrift (2007, 5) tells us, "is based on and in movement". A focus on movement shifts our understanding of human life away from "a consciousness-centred core of self-reference" where the centrality of our own sense of being defines where we believe we are toward an understanding where movement captures a certain attitude to "life as potential". Movement, Chew (2010, 47) argues, is essential to existence: "nothing that has life is without motion. . . . Hence languages' unceasing companion is change and together they affect socio-cultural-political structures and these structures, in turn, influence and affect language change".

"Mobility is the great challenge", according to Blommaert (2010, 21), because it draws attention to "the dislocation of language and language events from the fixed position in time and space attributed to them by a more traditional linguistics and sociolinguistics". By looking at language in relation to "temporal and spatial trajectories" rather than "temporal and spatial location" (ibid), we can focus on how people, language, time and space are interwoven. Place or locality is not so much defined by physical aspects of context, by tradition or origins but by the flows of people, languages and cultures through the landscape. Once we make this shift to see mobility—across space and time—as central to human existence, we can start to see both human existence and language from a perspective that renders nonmobility—stasis—as the exception that needs to be explained. More generally this focus on mobility as the norm can be tied to a broader set of challenges to the fixity of modernist thought, seen through two divergent lines of thinking from Heidegger.

Deleuze uses Heidegger's phenomenological insistence that we cannot rely on a notion of a fixed standpoint to understand the world to argue that we need to focus on time and on becoming in order to see the flow of changing phenomena. Deleuze argues that modern thought privileges sameness and generalizability over difference: the similarity, even universality, of things is taken as a given or a goal, with difference being something that needs to be accounted for in this general model of sameness (human nature, universal language, common structures of thought) (Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 1994). On similar lines to my earlier argument that mobility rather than stasis should be taken as the norm, Deleuze suggests that it is difference rather than sameness that that we should assume in the first instance. Difference should thus be taken as the foundation of our thinking, with sameness in need of explanation when it occurs.

A related divergence from Heidegger can be found in the work of Levinas, in whose eyes Western philosophy has consistently denied the alterity of the Other, insisting instead on similarity, on the incorporation of the Other into totalizing frameworks of universality. Western philosophy, argues Levinas ([1969] 1991), has long been caught up with the dual obsessions of Being and the Same. It has sought to account for human ontology through an appeal to similarity. Thus, in his critique of Heidegger (whose great work *Sein und Zeit—Being and Time*—is directly alluded to in *Time and the Other*), Levinas insists that the philosophical tradition that has focused on being—ontology—has failed in the ethical demand to engage with difference. "Western philosophy", Levinas asserts, "has most often been an ontology: a reduction of the other to the same by interposition of a middle and neutral term that ensures the comprehension of being" (Levinas [1969] 1991, 43). We need, by contrast, a philosophy that takes otherness seriously as an ethical concern: "The strangeness of the Other, his irreducibility to the I, to my thoughts and my possessions, is precisely accomplished as a calling into question of my spontaneity, as ethics" (43).

Put together, then, the focus on difference and alterity found in both Deleuze and Levinas challenges normative assumptions not only about sameness and difference but also about time and mobility. For Deleuze, a central question concerns the ways in which repetition—of festivals, words, events, ideas—produces difference rather than sameness. "Each repetition of a word", explains Colebrook, "is always a different inauguration of that word, transforming the word's history and any context" (2002, 120). Repetition always entails difference because no two moments, events, words can be the same. Once we make an understanding of the flow of time central to an understanding of difference,

> any repeated event is necessarily different (even if different only to the extent that it has a predecessor). The power of life is difference and repetition, or the eternal return of difference. Each event of life transforms the whole of life, and does this over and over again.
>
> (Colebrook 2002, 121)

As Deleuze puts it:

> We produce something new only on condition that we repeat—once in the mode which constitutes the past, and once more in the present of metamorphosis. Moreover, what is produced, the absolutely new itself, is in turn nothing but repetition.
>
> (2004, 113.

Ultimately, Deleuze argues, "It is repetition itself that is repeated" (367).

From this point of view, sameness (language structure, identity, cultural norms) needs to be explained rather than assumed, and when we produce something new, this must always be a case of repetition. Meanwhile, for Levinas, central to any philosophy must be an ethics of responsibility toward the Other: how can one coexist with the Other while still leaving their being, their otherness, intact? Thinking about language practices in these terms suggests not only such truisms that there are no language universals (Evans and Levinson 2009), but that it is sameness, not difference, that needs to account for itself. To pursue this way of thinking further, to understand that language as a local practice (Pennycook 2010) is a form of language repetition that creates difference, we need to open up some alternative ways of thinking about time, space, difference and repetition: being in one place—or claiming to be so—is in need of explanation; mobility is the norm. A view that languages are systems located in speakers, places and snapshots of time is to overlook the mobility of linguistic resources in time and space. Sociolinguistic life, Blommaert (2010) argues, is best understood as "*mobile speech*, not as static language, and lives can consequently be better investigated on the basis of repertoires set against a real historical and spatial background" (173).

Ultimately, in the example I shall explore later in the chapter, stasis can be seen as induced by the state, its linguistic and cultural policies, and more importantly the language ideologies that come to settle like dust on institutions and their workers, and the people who use them, freezing the mobility of people's lives. As Mignolo (2011) claims, colonization of first space, and then time, were the two decisive technologies of the European project of modernity. The 'decolonial option', therefore, has to start with an undoing of these relations of time and space. The interventionist research strategy discussed below can consequently be viewed not only as an attempt to introduce bilingual resources into a playgroup but also as a move to prevent this clogging of the pipes, this movement of people and languages. While our research project was framed in terms of strengthening and supporting literacy practices in informal early childhood settings among children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, who were unable to access preschool programs, we can also see this work in terms of a facilitation of movement, a breaking down of the immobility imposed by English-language norms in preschool settings.

CULTURES OF MOBILITY

While there are important moral and political reasons to give salience to particular diasporic movements—the expulsion of Jews from Israel and the transportation of slaves from Africa, for example—it is also worth noting that we are all from somewhere else. Although there are also strong political and moral reasons to consider claims to indigeneity in different ways—indigenous Australians, for example, by dint of their length of territorial occupation and subsequent treatment under European invasion, have a particular type of ethical claim to indigeneity—we can also see all such claims in terms of being the first to arrive. Celts in Britain, for example, can be seen as the first wave among many (Romans, Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Vikings, Normans, Huguenots, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, West Indians and so on). The Celts, like many first peoples, also came to develop their stories and practices of mobility, as successive waves of people forced them into migration. Celtic history and legend are full of stories of resistance, slaughter, famine and forced migration, the Irish having suffered most grievously at the hands of the English, but so too the Scots, the Welsh and the Cornish. Holding firmly to the belief that they were the most skilled hard-rock miners anywhere, Cornish miners headed across the world, fueling the notion that the Cornish were to be found "wherever there was mining to be done" (Payton 2007, 34). In his classic book *The Cornish Miner*, Hamilton Jenkin (1927) recounts the common saying that "wherever a hole is sunk in the ground . . . no matter in what corner of the world—you will be sure to find a Cornishman at the bottom of it, searching for metal" (cited in Payton 2007, 34).

Every year in Moonta on the Yorke Peninsula in South Australia, an area known as The Copper Triangle or Little Cornwall, there is a *Kernewek Lowender* (Cornish Happiness) festival, presided over, in Cornish, by *Byrth* *an Orseth Kernow yn Australya* (the Bards of the Gorsedd of Cornwall in Australia). Like the Welsh diaspora, which has led, for example, to Welsh tea shops (*casas de té galesas*) in Patagonia (Coupland 2013), the Cornish ended up in unexpected places (Pennycook 2012). Drawn by the rich copper deposits found in the 1860s, though equally pushed by the poor economic conditions and the decline in the tin and copper mining industries in Cornwall, Cornish miners started arriving in South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although part of a relatively impoverished nineteenth-century industrial emigration, Cornwall became "the epicentre of a complex international information network. People at home in Cornwall had ready access to remarkably accurate intelligence about the relative fortunes of different potential destinations on the ever-expanding international mining frontier" (Payton 2007, 33).

Cornish miners became part of a translocal community, maintaining their Cornish connections and practices across time and space. They stayed in touch for generations through letters, newspapers, marriages and migrations to the Cornish homeland. As with many such diasporic communities, remittances home became an important part of the local economy (Panayiotopoulos 2010). These movements of people "created a 'culture of mobility' in Cornwall, an attitude of mind in which long-distance journeys and sojourns . . . were seen as normal, and where a network of linkages with overseas lands was already in place" (Payton 2007, 36). As Walker (2011) remarks with respect to such mobility among Comorians (from the Indian Ocean), "the fact that structural mobility, persisting as a strategy over several generations, is something familiar to many individuals in a community has important ramifications in other spheres of social and cultural activity" (168). As he goes on to argue, a study of the "social processes of adaptation, accommodation, and change that occur within highly mobile groups" would also shed light on all people because it is mobility that we all so often have in common.

Tongans are another people, who, like many islander communities (the Philippines, other Pacific Islands, the Caribbean) have a history of mobility that renders their sense of 'home' and their relationship to it, different than that of more landlocked peoples. The vast number of Filipinos currently working as domestic workers, ships' crews, laborers and entertainers around the world has become a part of Philippine labor and language policy (Lorente 2011). As Cowling (2002, 104) suggests, an important factor in Tongans' acceptance of the necessity of overseas migration is the background of

> internal migration which has taken place for several generations, influenced by the Tongan commitment to the education of children. In the past, as in the present, people moved from Ha'apai, Vava'u, 'Eua, and from Tongatapu villages distant from Nuku'alofa, to enable their children to attend church or government high schools in the capital.

Island nations already have internal forms of inter-island mobility as part of their conditions of nationhood.

Like many island nations, too, they struggle with a weak economy and a heavy reliance on incoming people as tourists and incoming money from remittances. Tonga has become a so-called MIRAB economy, that is, an economy dependent on migration, remittances, foreign aid and government bureaucracy as its major sources of revenue; remittances from overseas account for as much as 50 percent of GDP (Small and Dixon 2004; Pyke, Francis and Ben-Moshe 2012). As with the nineteenth-century Cornish (on their almost-island at the end of the British mainland), a culture of mobility has developed that on the one hand allows many to retain a strong sense of 'home', while on the other hand rendering one's presence there less likely. As Walker (2011) notes, to understand Comorian lives we need to go not only to the Comoros (Indian Ocean) but also "Zanzibar, and Dar es Salaam, Nairobi and Muscat, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, and the Hadramawt, as well as in Paris, Marseilles, and London" (168). All of these places, Walker argues, are "nexuses on Comorian trajectories through time and space" that are difficult to still call 'Comorian' because "essentialised expressions and attributions of identity are often inadequate to describe either the individuals themselves or the polyvalent, unbounded, and overlapping groups of which they are members" (168).

Many people, not only islanders, live transnational lives—moving across borders, or connecting through a range of technologies—and are members of transnational families—living across different parts of the world. With both continued disruptions through war, famine or the need to move to find work, alongside increased capacities for mobility, people are "more likely than ever to live across borders and boundaries, thus eroding the possibility, and historically well-tested expectations, that places of birth, life and dying will be the same. It is this increased likelihood of living across continents in the contemporary era that makes people think of the transnational family as something profoundly modern. But, while the mass scale of transnational family life and indeed the term itself is definitely recent, the phenomenon itself is not" (Skrbiš 2008, 232). This point that both Walker and Skrbiš, and the example of Cornish miners above, draw attention to—that mobility and its results are not new—is worth keeping in mind. What European scholars perceive as the new superdiversity resulting from increased migration into European cities has long been part of most of the world (Noble 2009; Pennycook 2012).

Tongan communities have grown up particularly in the urban centers that ring the Pacific: Sydney, Auckland, Los Angeles. Indeed, it is important to understand how different this looks from an islander perspective: these are not so much great land continents with cities on the edge, divided by the vast and empty Pacific Ocean, but rather a populated Pacific with integrated internal mobilities, dotted on its extremities by cities that cling to the edges of great land masses. Islander communities stay connected through multiple means, music being an important one. When Sydney rappers of Fijian and Tongan background, such as Trey and Posse Koolism, combine with King Kapisi's 'Samoan hip-hop to the world', and when Hawaiian band Sudden Rush's *Ku'e* (Resist) (Akindes 2001) show how they have been influenced by Aotearoa-New Zealand's Upper Hutt Posse's *E Tu* (Be Strong), we are witnessing what Mitchell (2001, 31) has called a "pan-Pacific hip-hop network that has bypassed the borders and restrictions of the popular music distribution industry" and a "Pacific Island hip-hop diaspora".

Auckland has thus become a major center for Pacific Island music, with many cross-influences from the Samoan, Tongan, Fijian and other Pasifika people there. Samoan King Kapisi urges islanders to engage with their own cultures and histories and to acknowledge the interrelated Pacific: "I represent for all Pacific peoples from Hawaii 2 Aotearoa" (Fix Amnesia, Savage Thoughts). Kapisi urges the "Newtown born coconut" (Newtown is a suburb of Auckland with a large Pacific Islander population; coconut meaning 'brown on the outside, white on the inside') to forget religion and to "check your history/Or you might lose yourself and your own identity" (Fix Amnesia). King Kapisi's 'Samoan Hip-hop worldwide' project reconnects the Samoan diaspora, urging them to reconnect with their cultural heritage (Pennycook 2007). Auckland-based Tongan group, NCTC (Northcote Tongan Cru), with their tagline 'Tonganz on the rise', their video imagery in the track '*Ofa Ki Tonga*' (scenes of the waters, land and traditions of Tonga, and themselves in traditional dress standing in front of a graffitied wall in Auckland) and their lyrics (in both English and Tongan) espousing the long connections to their language, culture and land, are typical of this trend. Their YouTube track "Raiders of the South Seas" (Kila Kokonut Krew Entertainment; Norfcyde Tongan Cru, 2012) opens with an image of what is known as the 'Polynesian Triangle' of the Pacific Islands (Hawai'i, Marquesas, Easter Island, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti).

A TONGAN PLAYGROUP

Tongans in Sydney face many of the common concerns of immigrant communities. In 2010, it was estimated that about 850,000 people of Pacific background were living in the four main Pacific Rim migrant destinations: New Zealand (350,000), Australia (150,000), the US (300,000) and Canada (50,000) (Department of Labour 2012). There are an estimated 80,000 to 120,000 people from Pacific communities (ARTD 2007, 3) in New South Wales (NSW), with almost 55,000 living in Sydney. The largest cultural and linguistic groups are Maori, Fijian, Tongan and Samoan (Families First 2007, 6). A recent study (Pyke, Francis and Ben-Moshe 2012) of the Tongan diaspora in Australia—classified generally as a 'labor diaspora' (seeking work)—estimates the population at about 18,000 (though this is likely an underestimation). Tongan cultural identity is considered to be very strong in terms of identifying primarily as Tongan, maintaining close links with Tonga—sending remittances, staying in contact with family and visiting quite regularly—and continuing to use Tongan as a family and community language: “Australia offers the space to be Tongan in another place” (7).

Other studies, however, present a picture of transition. Morton (2002) suggests that families often have to face poverty and other pressures, and children are no longer being taught in the traditional ways of *anga fakatonga*—traditional Tongan ways of doing things. As a result, some children are “creating their own culture”. In the New Zealand context, Tuafuti and McCaffery (2005) report that although both Tongan and Samoan are “still secure in the middle generations above 35 years of age”, they show, along with other Pasifika languages, “early signs of serious erosion amongst the school-age population”, with increasing numbers of them choosing to speak English rather than Tongan or Samoan, even though they are able to understand these languages, or even losing broad levels of comprehension (482). Although Tongan linguistic and cultural identity reportedly remains strong, there are very evident signs of at least linguistic shift.

Housing and family size are one concern of these Pacific Island people, with families having to relocate to other parts of the city when their families become too large for government housing in one region. Two central parts of many islander lives are rugby and the church. Rugby offers both leisure activity and, often more importantly, possible livelihoods, with Pacific Islanders making up a considerable percentage of Australian and New Zealand rugby union and league teams: 25 percent of National Rugby League (NRL) players are of Pacific Island background (Cadigan 2008). Church activity, particularly participation in choirs, is also a significant part of Tongan lives. Northcote in Auckland is not only home to the Northcote Tongan Cru but also to the Northcote Methodist Choir. It was with great pride in 2009 that the huge Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga was opened in Rooty Hill in Sydney by King George Tupou V of Tonga; and it is a source of great shame that the church was closed in 2012, mired in debt.

And so finally to the Bay Playgroup, which was one site of our larger research project (see Morgan, Chodkiewicz and Jones Díaz 2013) looking at ways to support literacy practices in informal early childhood settings. The informal early childhood sector, especially for many disadvantaged and linguistically and culturally diverse communities, is a crucially under-researched and underfunded area (Morgan and Chodkiewicz 2011). The data drawn on in this chapter are from a larger study in a number of supported playgroup sites with children and families in relatively disadvantaged multilingual and multicultural communities. The main focus of this study was on how to reach, engage and support the development of these children’s early literacies and languages, with a strong focus on the linguistic and cultural diversity of the children and families in informal settings. In addition to the Bay Tongan Playgroup discussed here, the wider study also focused on an Aboriginal playgroup and three mixed multicultural and multilingual playgroups, where participants were drawn from a range of community language backgrounds. The sites were selected in consultation with the study's research partners and each of the community agencies involved in the Family NSW Supported Playgroup programs. For the purposes of this study, names of the playgroup, children, caregivers and workers have been changed.

Informal playgroups represent the only engagement with preschool learning experiences for many children of disadvantaged and culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. This project assumed the fundamental importance of systematically supporting the development of early literacy of preschool-aged children in disadvantaged communities, especially among children and families who are not accessing formal early childhood programs (Kronemann 2007). Early literacy matters, as long as it is understood neither too narrowly nor too broadly. Too narrow an understanding renders early literacy an inscription into school behaviors and textual practices that does little to contextualize literacy and to bridge home, school and community practices; akin to what Luke (1996) has called a *logocentric* approach to literacy. Too broad a view can err toward Luke's *phonocentric* fallacy, a pedagogy of inclusion focusing indiscriminately on a range of supposed literacies (TV, online gaming, singing and so on) without paying adequate attention to the need for children, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, to have sustained support to develop their abilities to use, interpret and have control over a range of textual practices.

Early literacy was understood as the development of children's abilities to make sense of a variety of language-based material—oral, aural, visual and digital, as well as print—in the early years (Robinson and Jones Díaz 2006; Jones Díaz and Harvey 2007). Such practices therefore included a diversity of modes of communication, which needed to be supported and developed, particularly when preschool-aged children, many from Aboriginal and disadvantaged communities, do not have access to early childcare programs. A basic challenge that remains is to draw on the linguistic and cultural practices of this Tongan community in order to assist these young children in the move into schooled literacy. As Jones Díaz (2007, 32) argues, it is "essential that early childhood educators, families and other stakeholders acknowledge and draw on the varied literacy practices in which children participate in their homes, communities and in educational settings".

Early literacy from this point of view is understood as needing to include a range of language and cultural practices from the community in order to enable the building of semiotic complexity with a diversity of resources. In our project, we were careful, therefore, not to assume that the inclusion of first language and culture materials was an end in itself. We were also aware that these informal playgroups (particularly the multilingual groups in the wider project) were seen by some of the parents as a good place for their children to interact with other children in English rather than in the language of the home, and thus the introduction of languages other than English into these contexts had to be handled with care. In the context of bilingual early literacy, we also came to steer a careful path between an emphasis on materials drawn from the community itself (songs and stories, for example) and thus linguistically and culturally aligned with home and community practices, and materials drawn from the wider context of pre-school activities. Thus, singing well-known children's activity songs such as "Head, Shoulders, Knees and Toes" in Tongan and other languages, or providing copies of books such as *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* in a range of languages was seen as a way of introducing children to common cultural scripts they would encounter in elementary school as well as supporting their linguistic and literacy development.

Interviews with parents and other caregivers (with large, extended families, limited access to transport and unreliable work, those who bring children to a playgroup may vary considerably) revealed that Tongan is quite widely used. Fai, the mother of one of the girls attending the playgroup, provides an example of a common pattern of use: she and her husband speak Tongan and English at home, though her children use a lot of English. The children have books at home, though only in English. Her mother is staying with them so "[w]hen they talk with my mum, because my mum can't speak English, they speak Tongan". In community events and especially the church, Tongan is widely used, but because the children have their own activities and associate a lot with each other, they tend to use English: "We have a Tongan service. We have a Tongan Sunday School. But when they do activities, they—I think it's easier for them to use the English language" (Interview September 5, 2011).

In many ways, this is the typical pattern of intergenerational language shift, with the grandmother speaking almost only Tongan, the parents using Tongan and English and the children quickly becoming English dominant with only a receptive understanding of Tongan (Romaine 2006). This pattern is strengthened by the ways in which children are cared for in the community: it is very common for siblings to look after each other, and for the younger children in large families to be cared for by their older brothers and sisters. As we worked with the playgroup, we also had to deal with the wave of English brought by the siblings from the school upstairs. The bell would ring, and a rush of children would descend from above to pick up and play with their young brothers and sisters down below. As studies of early language and literacy development at home and school have shown, the varied patterns of caring and socialization, including the roles played by parents, wider groups of caregivers, siblings and peer groups, are crucial for an understanding of language development in different communities (Simpson and Wigglesworth 2008). In contexts such as the church, children were commonly left to play with siblings and other children. With English quickly becoming the main language of the school-aged children, it also became the language of many of these informal activities.

For most of the supported play groups with which we have been involved, English was also the default language. This was the case in both multilingual play groups—others that we worked with had mixtures of Tamil, Punjabi, Telugu, Gujarati, Hindi, Chinese, Arabic, Dinka, Maori, Tagalog and other languages—as well as this particular group, which was almost entirely Tongan. It is housed in a long room underneath the local public school, and has a history of low attendance and limited success in preparing the children who sporadically turned up for their later inscription into the ways of school. A difficulty we perceived was the separation that occurred when caregivers brought their children. While the children would participate in the English-based activities of the playgroup, the caregivers would congregate together and talk among themselves, predominantly in Tongan. Although the safe social space thus provided was an important one for caregivers to meet and talk, to discuss issues of housing, employment, family and church, our experience suggested that a much more productive space could be developed if we could bridge this gap between caregivers and children, English and Tongan, home and school. The project was thus also interventionist in that it sought not only to analyze what was happening in these playgroups but also to intervene with new materials, practices and workers, and to observe the effects of such changes. It is worth noting that the outcomes of this project are as much in doing the project as they are in publications and reports such as this.

What I have aimed to do in this chapter is to frame this context through a focus on the mobility of linguistic resources. The situation we tried to change, where the language of the playgroup was English and the language of the caregivers' interactions was Tongan, can be viewed as a particular case of dual monolingualisms (see Heller 2007) or, from the perspective I have been developing here of static linguistic resources, of frozen mobility. For a people steeped in a culture and history of mobilities, it was this divide between the school and its assumed language, English, between home language and literacy practices and school language and literacy that was the one space across which movement, and the mobility of linguistic resources, was most constrained. As we observed the interactions, the use of English in the playgroup, we realized that the possibility of increasing movement within this space was tied to language.

If we could provide opportunities for a wider form of engagement through play and talk in both English and Tongan, the caregivers and parents might move from their corner, Tongan could move into the play group and bilingual songs, texts and materials might make the journey home with them. It was to this end, to enable the final movement of linguistic resources, that we introduced a bilingual (Tongan/English) playgroup worker and bilingual materials, and put together a CD of Tongan songs. The CD had a mixture of songs, from

Tongan lullabies such as "*Pepe Tama*", and Sunday school songs such as "*Ko Sesu Ihe Famili*", to children's songs like "*Sipaita Si'i Si*'" (a Tongan version of "Incy Wincy Spider") or "*'Ae Fanga Kuma*" ("Three Blind Mice"). These songs, which the children also took home with them, were a strong encouragement to sing in Tongan and to use Tongan linguistic resources.

"'ULU, UMA, TUI MOE VA'E" ("Head, Shoulders, Knees and Toes")

This incorporation of Tongan linguistic resources into the playgroup had several effects: Tongan became more common as a resource used by the children and the caregivers in increased interactions with the children, and in materials used by the workers. Data in this project include observational (notes) and recorded (audio, video) data. These recordings were made later in the project when we had been working with specific playgroups for over a year. Earlier data (for example, Term 2) were predominantly observational. Some of these observed interactions were written down at the time. In this example from the Term 2 observational data, an uncle, who would formerly have remained on the edge of the space, had started to sit with his four-year-old niece, interacting with her in both English and Tongan, and teaching names for parts of the face (*telinga*—ear; *ihu*—nose) as well as their functions (*nanamu*—smell) (Bay 31.05.10). Here the uncle had not only moved into the space of the playgroup and seemed comfortable moving back and forth with Tongan and English, but he was also engaged in a structured interactive sequence on the names of the parts of the face used for the senses, as well as seeing that his young niece knew what these parts of the body were used for. Linguistic resources had moved from their role in the social interactions of adult caregivers to become part of the linguistic structuring of knowledge.

As already noted, the literacy practices of the church—saying prayers, reciting from the Bible, and singing hymns (with complex harmonies)—also had potential to enter this playgroup space. The church was a common reference point for activities, here occurring in this interaction between Melino (a four-and-a-half-year-old-girl) and Kate, the playgroup leader.

Melino: What's that?
Kate: That's my zipper
Melino: Zipper?
Kate: Yes, from my vest. You have a vest too
Melino: This for the lotu (showing her own vest)
Kate: *Lotu*? What is *lotu*?
Melino: Church. Mascot *lotu*
Kate: Oh, Mascot Church, that's where you go?
Melino: Yes

(Observational data\\Term 2\\Bay 09/05/11)

In this interaction, where Melino appears to be learning or consolidating the term "zipper", we also see her take on the role of teacher. Kate had been married to a Tongan and thus had ties with the wider community, but she had not used Tongan in the playgroup before our intervention and was herself a learner of Tongan. Here it is clearly important that Kate is willing to ask about Melino's term *lotu*, and that Melino is also comfortable with the work of translating.

Melino's grandmother, who brought her to the playgroup on occasion, asked her and others at morning tea to perform prayers and songs from Sunday School. Other parents and caregivers joined in these performances, and although other younger children could not join fully in Melino's and the adults' performance in Tongan, it was clear too that they were familiar with it and also treated such performances with a particular show of respect. Thus some quite complex oral performances of memorized texts—prayers, hymns and passages from the Bible—were incorporated into part of the daily routines. One word that turned up in the children's language use was "*fiefia*"—equivalent to "rejoice". This seems to be derived from the hymn "*Fiefia ma'u pe he Eiki*" ("Rejoice in the Lord Always"), which was also included on the CD of songs.

Once we introduced the bilingual worker, Kate also started preparing bilingual materials (pictures of animals with the names in both English and Tongan, for example) and encouraging the children to use the language. As the bilingual exchanges expanded, she was on occasion even corrected by children. Here she is reading a book with a group of three- to four-year-old children, and naming the animals in both English and Tongan. As she turned the page, Falala (four years old) pointed to the picture of a cat: "a cat" Kate repeated after her in English and in Tongan "*pusi* [cat]".

Kate:	"*puaka* [pig] *pusi* [cat], *pato* [duck]"
Kate:	What's this one?
Melino:	A dog
Kate:	Yes. You know how to say dog in Tongan? . . . Can you tell me? is it *puli*?
Falala:	*kulī*
Kate:	*puli*
Falala:	*kulī*

(Video files\\Term 4\\Bay 21/11/2011)

Important in this interaction is not only the naming and use of linguistic resources from both English and Tongan, the structured development of naming practices (pictures/names) and the development of the understanding that two signs (dog/*kulī*) may both refer to the same object, but also the changing roles of authority. Here, Falala becomes the knower, as she quietly insists to the adult Tongan learner that dog is *kulī* and not *puli* in Tongan.

It was common to hear many of these simple terms for colors and animals in both English and Tongan. Counting—"*taha* [one], *ua* [two], *tolu* [three], *fā* [four], *mima* [five], *ono* [six]"—also occurred in both. And the names of various body parts, particularly those in the song "*'Ulu, uma, tui moe va'e*" ("Head, Shoulders, Knees and Toes"), which was often used or sung (Video files\\Term 4\\Bay 21/11/2011). The presence of Tongan linguistic resources in the playgroup started to change the spatial dynamics. Caregivers moved into the space, children sat around and listened to stories in Tongan and interactions started to become more mixed. This is also, of course, only a beginning, a scratching of the surface of all that needs to be done to bridge homes and schools, working- and middle-class backgrounds, island and urban cultures, community church literacies and school literacies: thinking not only in terms of language, bilingualism, language maintenance and biliteracies, but also in terms of mobilities, may help us to think about where our interventions belong within a wider world of movement.

CONCLUSION: MOBILIZING TONGAN

We might bemoan the apparent erosion of Tongan language skills in these communities and the lack of heritage language support; we might alternatively be more optimistic that these communities with limited financial and educational resources nonetheless manage to retain a sense of linguistic and cultural identity. Our aim was in some ways more prosaic: how to enable a greater flow of linguistic resources in and out of these playgroups that could enhance the development of early literacy practices that would give these children better chances in their early school years. These interactions—moments of Tongan linguistic resources intermingling with storytelling, animal and color naming and more complex incorporation of religious texts in the interstices between playschool activities—and this comfort and interest in using Tongan within the semi-institutionalized setting of an informal playgroup (in the basement beneath a large brick school) can be seen not so much as bilingual education but rather as the mobility of Tongan linguistic resources. This was to enable Tongan resources, which tended to be left at the door, to enter the playgroup space, so that the 'home language' could be more than just that. It was to enable the Tongan caregivers themselves to move into the space of the playgroup and to make it part of their complex circuit of mobility rather than another of those ordered spaces of institutional estrangement.

As observed and recorded moments in an interventionist research project (we sought to change as much as to observe), these were moments of bilingual promise, where the institutional walls that keep languages other than English out of the school setting had been breached. This emphasis on the use of Tongan, however, is not, from the perspective we are developing here, concerned centrally with questions of language maintenance or reversing language shift. As Romaine (2006) and Simpson and Wigglesworth (2008) suggest, much of the discussion of language development from this perspective is based on the very particular, and often strangely static contexts of stable, bourgeois bilingualism, where children learn separated languages as part of an idealized project in linguistic and cultural preservation. Blackledge and Creese's (2010) studies of heritage language classes in the UK have also shown why we need a far more flexible, mixed model of translanguaging to account for what goes on in such contexts.

Our goal was to facilitate elements of fluidity into the playgroup, so that the barrier that English, architecture, schooling and literacy presented might be bridged. If we view such moves in terms of the mobility of linguistic resources, of the possibilities presented by alternative interactional styles and different modes of storytelling, we can start to view such moments not so much in terms of bilingualism but of language mobility, where Tongan, which has traveled from island to island, across the Pacific, from Auckland to Sydney and more, finally gets to take a step on that final journey into the domain of preschool literacy practices. Using a language of mobility such as Tongan in interactions, play, storytelling and songs in this early playgroup presents possibilities for other mobilities, for caregivers to cross the floor, for children to take Tongan materials home with them, for different interactions with their grandmothers, for other ways of engaging with their church activities. Whether it will also facilitate greater mobility between the complex literacies of the church and the early years of elementary school remains to be seen. Although we have now extended parts of this project and have been able to monitor some of the children into their first steps at elementary school, it is too soon to be able to draw conclusions. Looking at this through a language and mobility lens helps us to focus not so much on bilingualism or biliteracy as dual language support as on the mobility of linguistic resources within a wider context of past and future mobilities.

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Afterword
Turbulent Deflections

Christopher Stroud

Cultural theorist Sarah Nuttall (2010) gives a rich account of life in post-apartheid Johannesburg:

> We live across multiple registers of the social, the racial, the spatial—including ongoing racism, re-segregation, but also the contemporary forms of an historical legacy which are often left unwritten or disregarded—those of overlap, mixture, intimacy, crossing-over. (2)

Nuttall's description aptly characterizes the complex, layered and shifting conditions of (transnational) entanglement that most people are caught up in on a daily basis, wherever they find themselves in the modern world. Nuttall emphasizes the 'simultaneity' of living within the limits of bordered categories (both traditional and reinvented), on the one hand, and the historically grounded but contemporary deconstruction and fluidity of these categories, on the other. Categories are both given and decomposed. They are both discrete and overlapping.

In one sense, this volume has been about the linguistic manifestation of these tensions between parallel existences; of mobile lives and their languages and literacies in specific places. Its subject matter has been the role of language and literacy *in* mobility and *of* mobility: how moving words travel across a variety of spatial types, such as networks and scales, places and spaces, and how they position speakers and their agencies in time and place.

In his recent work, Blommaert (e.g. 2013) has emphasized how a sociolinguistics of mobility would benefit from being framed within complexity theory. He writes of the 'perpetual' chaotic dynamics of systems and of fields of permanent tension between the push of uniformity that seeks to standardize, homogenize and synchronize, on the one hand, and the pull of heterogeneity, and its centripetal effects, on the other. There is certainly much to be gained from looking at moving words through a lens that highlights complexity. However, the real issue is how we are to engage with the chaotic dynamics that create complexities. What does it mean to speak of linguistic practices as complex? How are we to account for overlap, mixture and crossings-over of the multiple registers that we inhabit daily? Bare notions of 'complexity' stop short of engaging fully with the processes of push and pull behind the chaotic dynamics of complex systems. An arguably more productive notion with which to capture mobile dimensions of complexity is that of 'turbulence' (e.g. Cresswell and Martin 2012; Stroud forthcoming). Cresswell and Martin (2012) use 'turbulence' as an analytic concept to describe the local contingencies of encounters, the messy and the disruptive moments of 'disjunctive interplay' when "shifting registers of order and disorder, neither of which is permanently stable" (516) meet. The authors use a shipwreck to illustrate this turbulence. They sketch a picture of events unfolding on a ship, heavily overloaded with bulky containers, which is traveling through the night, well above its safe speed. It is caught up in a storm in dangerous waters, hits rocks and ultimately sinks. Its contents are washed up in disarray across the beach, creating new orders of complexity—new transport networks (legal and illegal) to (re)move the debris to new places of storage, as well as media teams reporting on the event, insurance agencies and all the structures of forensic analysis and clean-up.

A post hoc analysis of the sequence of events may suggest that the shipwreck could have been foreseen, but it could not. A forensic investigation reveals that some of the overarching politics (and logistics) of mobility that brought it about—financial greed, for example, that led to the overloading of the ship in the first place. The wreck investigation also revealed *multiple small* problems *over a long period* of time that together contributed to the final, unavoidable catastrophe. The precise choreography and outcome of the shipwreck was the result of a 'confederation' of factors of "unexpected kinship" (Webb 2000): many disjunctive phenomena at different levels of scale and across different spaces—the caprices of friction and the contingencies of turbulence—came together to wreak change and ultimately wreck the vessel, generating a whole new set of orderings and events in the process. By choosing such a vivid example of a concrete and paradigmatic instance of turbulence, Cresswell and Martin succeed in bringing across the complexity of disjunctive factors that come together in the moment of encounter to *re*-structure orders and events.

However, turbulence doesn't just describe ship wrecks or hurricanes. It is a way of considering "an event in the production of transitory order(ings)" (Cresswell and Martin 2012, 517). Turbulence is a perspective we have some difficulty appreciating, partly because of our Durkheimian legacy that emphasizes social cohesion and the resolution of conflict, and partly because of our sociolinguistic heritage—Bakhtin notwithstanding—that leads us to foreground coherence and consensus instead of conflict and chaos. But if we cleave more closely to Bakhtin, or Foucault, or indeed to Marx, we might regard 'turbulence' not as something inherently or necessarily negative and disruptive but as a source of production in the achievement of transitory orderings.

In what follows, I will offer the perspective of turbulence as a way of thinking about each of the book's chapters, and organize the turbulent rereadings of each chapter in terms of three sections: turbulent ontologies, turbulent historiographies, and a turbulent politics of language.

TURBULENT ONTOLOGIES

In the illustration of the shipwreck, we saw how the parameters of turbulence were:

- *juxtaposition* (between orders and events across different spatiotemporal frames);
- *mobility* and trajectory (of the ship);
- *place* and its characteristics (rocky and rough waters);
- *postitionality* (the coordinates of the ship at the time);
- *scale* (the overarching politics of commercial container shipping, the economics and logistics of transport); and
- *networks* (of customer demand and supply chains, including transnational, contractual obligations to deliver on time).

We can think of these features of turbulence in terms of the idea of a *turbulent ontology*, a notion referring to the types of objects, and artifacts and their confederations that make up a turbulent world, together with the sorts of processes and events that such 'turbulent entities' undergo or initiate. A feature of this ontology is that entities and events change and evolve over time, at one moment entangled with one other, at other times discrete. Language and literacy practices are well suited to analysis within a turbulent ontology.

Collins and Slembrouck's chapter illustrates a fundamental feature of turbulent moments, namely that any single event is the result of the juxtaposition of small 'singularities' (DeLanda, 2006) across multivalent forms of spatial organization, where no one single spatiality (e.g. scale, network, positionality or place) is sufficient to account for the outcome (Leitner et al. 2008). Their chapter gives an account of a cross-national exploration of the complexities and contradictions of migrant-driven encounters with institutional orders of health provision at different levels of scale (local, state and federal). The authors' early reference to Touillot's point on the dissolution of the state in late modernity into an "open field with multiple boundaries and no institutional fixity" (2001, 127) sets the scene for a turbulent reading of the analysis. Focusing on the language intermediaries that "inhabit and instantiate interscale relationships", the authors provide a rich account of how migrants are classified as eligible or not for health provisions according to scale-specific categorizations (with sometimes both federal, state and local criteria applying simultaneously). The way in which these categorizations were juxtaposed in the moment of language mediation gives rich insights into how new, and unpredictable, categorizations arise from seemingly incommensurable regimes of ordering and classification. The unpredictability of migrant categorizations is further compounded by their site and situation specificity. When read through the lens of turbulence, attention to the role of the language mediators in negotiating and ferrying migrants across the seams of different institutional orders reveals the importance of the bifurcation and coming together of factors in entanglements of 'uncertain kinship'. It is in the *seams* of the encounter where cumulative processes generate new entanglements and new structures, and where *novelty*, *unpredictability* and *uncertainty* are produced.

Suresh Canagarajah's chapter on South African literacy classrooms picks up the theme of simultaneity and merging of different regimes of order in spaces of encounter. Canagarajah's concern was to account for how both teachers and learners in the school he studied succeeded in displaying knowledge of, as well as some proficiency in, nonlocal norms and genres of literacy, despite their peripherality and lack of socioeconomic and symbolic resources. His chapter can be read as starting from a notion of scale but progressively introducing a more complex array of factors and processes at different levels of spatiality. Canagarajah develops an account of social space where scales are multiple and open for renegotiation and reconstruction, comprising 'zones of contact' (Pratt 1991, 31) where "texts and talk are not constituted by any one indexical order or norm" and where "norms are creatively renegotiated in diverse social spaces".

Canagarajah's chapter is to all intents and purposes an account of turbulent mobility; we recognize from the example of the shipwreck the *unpredictable* interaction between 'scales' and a specific place: the classroom, with its rich semiotic ecology, and occasional eruptions of high literacy, on the one hand, and networks and positionalities of pupils and teachers within and without the school context, on the other (see also Deumert and Pennycook's chapters, and Jan Blommaert's 2013 notion of 'layered simultaneity'). We also note the odd, chance occurrence of this particular school at the time hosting a number of young English teacher trainees, and the possible implications this might have had for the pupils' register expansion. As in Collins and Slembrouck's chapter, Canagarajah's analysis highlights processes of destabilization and restabilization, ways of upsetting and meshing different orders and regimes. And like these authors, Canagarajah's chapter shifts the focus *away from* any one spatial-temporal frame of reference (be it scale, place, positionality or network) as the prime epistemological frame, emphasizing instead how words move across complex juxtapositions of *different* forms of spatial organization.

A third chapter, by Catherine Kell, complements an account of how meanings are propelled across spatialities by focusing on the complex arrays of artifacts and assemblages that carry meanings across modes and modalities, situations and contexts. An important notion for Kell was that of 'text trajectory' (a notion that, as she herself proposes, is a much more mobile notion than the more 'bounded' one of literacy practice). 'Text trajectory' captures the emergent, dynamic and temporally extended processes through which meanings become recontextualized as they travel and become re-embedded in different event spaces with their distinct participant frameworks. Kell stresses the *contingent* juxtaposition of actors, artifacts and the webs of relations that her informants are able to access relative to the power with which they are able to move words effectively along uncertain mobile trajectories. In her analysis, we are given some idea of the processes that must have been at work in Canagarajah's classroom to allow what appeared to be 'scale-bounded' phenomena to travel.

The processes that Kell isolates are fundamental features of how order emerges more generally in turbulent encounters over time. Turbulent events are the outcome of a confluence of events and practices of 'uncertain kinship', and in Kell's chapter, we see how texts enter into such relationships with a wide array of communicative modalities, semiotic systems and ecological resources.

The first three chapters offered an account of turbulent meaning making in terms of 'travel' across emergent 'co-implications' of spatialities, the juxtaposition of unlike forms in unlike spaces, carried in artifacts and assemblages of very different types. This is the core of a turbulent ontology, a world that emphasizes confederations of unrelated kinds undergoing processes of emergence, entanglement and reorderings at different levels of spatiality with often unpredictable outcomes as a consequence. Clearly, the unfolding, momentum and unpredictability of turbulent reorderings require forensic audits that can identify and trace the entities and processes involved in the emergence of a state of affairs, a turbulent historiography.

TURBULENT HISTORIOGRAPHIES

Looking at language from a standpoint of turbulence, that is providing an account of emergence of order in a turbulent world, requires a turbulent historiography that will trace the emergence of a phenomenon, a practice, a metapragmatic statement, through processes of conflict, contest and entanglement across seams of different orders. Park and Wee's chapter offers such a perspective on English as lingua franca. The authors' analysis is suggestive of ELF as a set of practices constituted *in* and *through* mobility, contradiction and encounter, where, in face-to-face encounters, "resources and materials associated with distinct spatial and temporal scales converge and are melded together" (Lampert 2011, 138) resulting in hybridity and variation. A turbulent perspective on ELF as something in itself "tension-ridden" encourages attention to how speakers creatively deploy contamination, conflict and antagonism as productive semiotic resources. As with Canagarajah's injunction to rethink the idea of linguistic competence through the lens of mobility (see also Blommaert and Bachus 2011), a turbulent stance on language brings conflict and disjuncture into the very core of its workings (see also the chapter by Collins and Slembrouck).

Thus, ELF could be paraphrased turbulently as a set of semiotic practices for breaking out of, or transcending, the constraining parameters of a particular place. They are a repertoire of practices that allow speakers to negotiate a multiplicity of contexts, and to engage with difference. An implication of such a view is that attempts to standardize or 'synchronize' authentic features of 'authentic' speakers of ELF, will ignore, or disable, the very processes that ensure the mobility of its users, namely the fluid, contingent and momentary processes that reorder speech practices in conflicts of encounters.

Rajend Mesthrie's study provided yet another scenario of how turbulence permeates the very crevices of linguistic structure. His study is concerned with the Indian diaspora in South Africa, which is one clearly reaping the fruits of a third space—a space, as Mesthrie argues, where Indian languages and Indian English 'survive' and even thrive. In this space, *instability* and *variability* in linguistic forms are the norm, and collisions of incompatible, decorative orthographies and diacritics are used for the styling of selves and playful crossing, demonstrating novelty and creativity. Languages, Mesthrie reminds us, are not located, stable systems, and neither are "orthographies . . . straightforward standardized forms of reading and writing". Fundamental here is the unrest, variability and multiplicity of forms, and heteroglossia in the system that reflect "the complex sociocultural and linguistic resources coexisting in the community". In like manner to Park and Wee, Mesthrie highlights how variability and flux, uncertainty and unpredictability, rather than stability and stasis, conformity or fixity is what gives linguistic continuity and coherence to South African Indian English.

Two further chapters in this section also suggest how contemporary linguistic practices may be seen as products of turbulent histories. Ben Rampton's chapter describes the case of two individual speakers who use features previously conventionally associated with social class and ethnicity to locally manage interaction and alignments of footing. These features are broken out of the ruptured social categories of class and ethnicity, and 'redeployed' as 'scalar hybridity and heterogeneity of discursive interaction' (Lampert 2011; see Park and Wee). Rampton is able to trace the development of this 'coalescence' back to the 1980s, when young adolescents—migrant and native—upset orderly mappings of social class categories onto linguistic practices, in their fusing of ethnic and social markers in performances of styling and crossing into 'registers' of solidarity. Thus, over this period of time, and under new sociopolitical conditions (of superdiversity), 'scaled' categories such as social class and ethnicity have come to coalesce.

In a similar way, unsettled histories (as well as conflict-ridden presents) are highlighted in Rhakesh M. Bhatt's chapter, which deals with the sociolinguistic complexities of the Kashmiri diaspora and the politics of language survival. His chapter traced the violence of the Kashmiri expulsion, the many religious and sectarian tensions between proponents of different orthographies, the contradictory pronouncements on language ideological matters across overlapping networks of linguistic alliances and the competing loyalties and complications of living and growing up in more than one place with distinct linguistic loyalties. The consequence today is multiple norms that are reproduced across both spoken and written forms of Kashmiri, and that are echoed and amplified in metalinguistic debates. What Bhatt has shown in his chapter is compatible with a turbulent state of affairs where a variety of unstable, (often) unrelated and contingent features of events, running in tandem but not necessarily in contact, at some point converge—often with unforeseen implications.

Cécile Vigouroux's chapter on marabouts' flyers as collectors' items, the objects of display circulation and value judgments on websites specifically designed for cognoscenti of the genre, provides yet another historiography of how turbulent encounters inform contemporary stances on language and their speakers. The flyers, written in a form of French most likely intended to give the marabouts a commercial edge by evoking associations to 'African authenticity', are represented by the collectors as an infantile form of French and a salient marker of African linguistic inability. In this way, the flyers are constructed as contemporary instances of colonial tropes of African inferiority that ultimately serve to reproduce colonial identities of the incompetent African central to contemporary representations of France. The analysis draws our attention to how the act of metalinguistic labeling is one of transgression—an act of accented recontextualization where language forms designed for one marker of indices are relocated to another, more powerful and coercive. The process is strikingly reminiscent of the first French colonial encounters with Africans, and of the resulting taxonomies or regimes of knowledge about the African and his/her linguistic competences that such encounters gave rise to. The peddling of linguistic stereotypes differ only in the material means of production and circulation. The internet replaces the museum, and the extended metalinguistic commentary takes the place of handwritten cardboard captions on glass cases.

In all of these cases, contemporary forms or practices of language, their significance or indexical value and the politics they elicit from their speakers can be understood through narratives of turbulent emergence. The historiographies highlight the conflicts and resultant entanglements and reorderings of linguistic features, and the ideological reframings attached to the circulation of linguistic forms. As with the chapters in the previous section, underlying turbulent historiographies of language are the turbulent ontologies that frame how words travel and what they become along the way.

TURBULENT POLITICS (OF LANGUAGE)

In the two preceding sections, we suggested that attending to how words travel across turbulent ontologies and understanding the key constitutive character of histories of turbulent encounter layered into linguistic forms and practices shifts our gaze on language to the productivity of its everyday disorderliness. Given the prevalence of turbulence, what would a politics of linguistic disorderliness and turbulent reordering look like? Many of the papers in the volume have touched on the practical-political implications of their analyses in one way or the other. For example, Collins and Slembrouck's engagement with the emplaced and networked practices of multilingual mediation provided the authors with an entry point into unraveling the workings of groups and organizations at different time-space scales, and to chart the heterogeneous trajectories of health seekers. Canagarajah's analysis, prompted the author to take issue with the idea that speakers from 'local communities' on the periphery of the world order may be 'locked into' or 'stuck' at "one-scale level", unable to negotiate the indexical orders and literacy regimes of higher scale levels. Park and Wee's chapter alerted us to how procedures to standardize and homogenize contact languages run the risk of delegitimizing their speakers by masking what may be productive and flexible practices in situations of encounter. In ways similar to debates on ELF (see Park and Wee's chapter), Bhatt's local activists saw turbulent practices of Kashmiri as contamination and as destructive moments in their attempts to determine the boundaries of a pristine and homogeneous Kashmiri that could serve to rally the diaspora around a clear-cut sense of identity. Mesthrie, in his chapter, notes how for the South African Indian diaspora "hybridity can develop patterns of its own that speak to the personal and community management of multilingual resources and threads even in the face of language shift". Bhatt's chapter suggests that the identities or identifications available to speakers of necessity will comprise temporary or transitory moments of conflict, ambiguous and contradictory alliances. Two chapter in particular, however, provide more explicit focus on what might comprise a turbulent politics of language.

Ana Deumert's study on the introduction of mobile phone 'literacy' into a traditional literacy classroom as a way to radically reorganize traditional or conventional literacy teaching (see also Pennycook's and Canagarajah's chapters). As all literacies are localized resources with their specific associated practices and participant frameworks, introducing novels written in isiXhosa via mobile systems into conventional English literacy classrooms carries the potential to organize communication into networks of a very different order to scaled classroom discourses. Deumert notes how mobile phones create intimate spaces of 'meetingness' and 'emotional proximity' (gossiping, rumor mongering, catching up) that unsettle, challenge and contravene more conventional understandings of notions of public and private space, and encourage forms of creativity and play around text. These spaces stand in stark contrast to the highly normative and propositional orientation to text found in conventional literacy classrooms. The intervention was thus not just about introducing a 'technology'; it was about opening up a very different order of semiotic circulation.

The example of the shipwreck illustrates how turbulent readings can reveal the *fault lines* on which semblances of order are built. Turbulent readings draw our attention to the workings of institutions and infrastructures that attempt to establish or reinstate order in the wake of disorder and continual disruption. Deumert's analysis of this intervention reveals the potentially turbulent effects of introducing mobile phones into conventional classroom practices, and the fault lines of order on which they rely. Her chapter is a lucid account of the strategies used to reinstate the status quo by striating, reordering and using censorship; mobile phone practices were reordered or reconfigured into traditional, teacher-led classroom exercises, thereby defusing their potential to change participant frameworks and regimes of language and literacy teaching.

Alastair Pennycook's chapter proceeds from the question of how to counteract linguistic stasis—the dominant use of English—in informal contexts of literacy education for the children of Tongan-speaking Pacific islanders. He recounts an intervention in which spaces of informal literacy learning were infused with stories, songs and dances in Tongan. These linguistic and literacy materials have been layered for years in the diasporic circuits of generations of Tongan islander migrants, and have moved along with the mobile communities becoming significant cultural and networked capital—firm points of network anchorage in a world of shifting relationships.

As with Deumert's examples, these linguistic resources are organized in ways that are not naturally found in conventional classroom spaces that are structured hierarchically in regimented orders of permitted genres and languages. The possibilities opened up by the introduction of these resources can be seen in Kell's terms as new event-spaces and participant frameworks with alternative interactional styles, and different practices of school literacy that provide for "a wider form of engagement through play and talk in both English and Tongan".

Pennycook's intervention realigned the scales of the diasporic and transnational with the local classroom, thereby bridging or reordering the disjuncture of language and literacy events and practices residing in different spatialities, scales and networks (see Collins and Slembrouck and Canagarajah). Significantly, it involved moving bodies (Tongan caregivers) into places where they have not traditionally been thought to belong, a turbulent event similar to the actions of social movements that attempt to bring about change through (re)aligning emplaced bodies through marches, sit-ins and die-ins, all recognizably turbulent events. In a similar way, there is a moment of turbulent disruption in Pennycook's classroom, where the comfortable contours of conventionally inhabited spaces need to shift to accommodate the presence of other corporealities.

Attending to turbulence as a pervasive aspect of any linguistic practice, be it in the form of a classroom intervention (or the fall-out or collateral effects of such interventions) or as a complex condition of existence that language revivalists need to struggle with suggests that we might need to rethink ideas on the possibilities and limits of speakers' political agency. Given the "perpetual, chaotic dynamics of systems and the uncertainty and unpredictability of emerging turns or event", we need to recognize with Woodward that "however empirically and epistemologically privileged the position of the subject may be, it is ontologically insufficient for discerning a site's multiple-yet-specific politicalities" (Woodward et al. 2012, 206).

CONCLUSION

In the opening chapter of this volume, Kroon, Jie and Blommaert note how our conception of language in society needs to emphasize "permanent instability and dynamics rather than structural transparency and stasis" as well as "radically different notions of 'order'". Their chapter illustrates how the 'English' signage in China that they study can be understood in terms of "an unstable system of allocations of specific semiotic resources" that spread unevenly across the production circuit of the sign. The analysis is a good illustration of the contingencies of 'chaotic' encounters and how 'order' is the outcome of a miscellaneous and unpredictable 'thrown togetherness' rather than (always) emanating from grand or immaculate design. In this afterword, I have wanted to suggest how a notion of turbulence as an extension of the turn to *mobilities* in sociolinguistic language and literacy research could advance even further our insights into language and literacy as moving words. Turbulence suggests a number of mobile metaphors, and it alerts us to the discordant and competing processes through which moving words move, are temporarily ordered, as emplaced or mobile inscriptions or practices of speech. Turbulence draws our attention to disruptive happenings in the local moment of an 'encounter', seeking explanatory force in the contradictory everyday contingencies of 'meetingness', where things come together in unexpected ways. Taking a turbulent perspective requires an ontological framing where practices and their reorderings across spatial forms of organization participate in confederations with elements of unlike kind. Furthermore, taking a turbulent perspective on language suggests accounts that privilege an understanding of contemporaneity in terms of turbulent historiographies of conflict, contest and resulting entanglement and reordering. And finally, a turbulent perspective suggests a vocabulary for rethinking political interventions around language that recognizes the enormous complexity of bringing about change and the relative insignificance of agency among the myriad evolving and emerging dynamics of complex mobilities.

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