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Anthropology of Language Contact and its Sociocultural Contexts

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Introduction

Language contact is not just about language. It extends to a whole complex set of sociocultural and historical formations that characterize life in intersecting communities of language users. It is a space of linguistic as well as sociocultural reproduction and transformation. Early anthropologists and linguists focused narrowly on how languages, understood here as structural codes, influence each other, producing lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic changes. The discipline of linguistics has largely continued this line of inquiry and focused on issues of variation and structural change. In conducting empirical ethnographic studies, sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have exposed the constructedness of the static, bounded notions of "languages" and "communities" of monolingual speakers. They have also increasingly emphasized the embeddedness of language in its sociocultural and historical context (see Foundational Texts). Anthropology of language contact, accordingly, investigates changing practices of language use, unequal acquisition, socialization, and development of linguistic norms. This article highlights the dynamic relationship between the use and conceptualization of language. It includes works on multilingual and dialectal practices (see Multilingual Practices and Discursive Construction of Identity), and how linguistic differences function, produce, and perpetuate forms of social inequality (see Linguistic Differences and Social Inequality). It also addresses the historical, sociocultural, and interactional contexts of encounters and power dynamics. As such, we examine the context of colonialism and missionization (see Language and Colonialism) and the rise of nation-states in which standard language has been taken to be coterminous with the polity (see Language Contact and Nation-Building). Nationalism based on an association between nation and language is important in understanding the processes of language endangerment and revitalization (see Language Endangerment, Documentation, and Revitalization). This article also covers the flow of people and commodities, as well as industrialization, urbanization, and the introduction of new technologies (see Language Contact, Migration, and Globalization). Such flows and movements occur at different scales, from face-to-face interaction to global trade, and transform boundaries between languages (or what counts as such) and the communities that use them. Notwithstanding the fluidity of global communication, the school has been the most important site of the reproduction of standard and monolingual ideologies, closely connected to the process of nation-building, colonization, and the reproduction of privilege and inequality (see Education and Social (Re)production). The final section gathers works that highlight the poetic function of language and individual creative choice in multilingual verbal arts (see Verbal Play and Aesthetics of Contact).

Foundational Texts

The foundation of linguistics and anthropology of language contact was set in the 1950s with Weinreich 1953 and Haugen 1953, both of which are on multilingualism and language shift. For Uriel Weinreich, the locus of language contact is the language-using individual. Languages are in contact insofar as they produce interference on each other when individuals use them. He broke away from the previous scholarly preoccupation with typology and classification of languages and foregrounded the psychosocial reality of individual speakers. Following this, Labov 1963, a study of Martha's Vineyard,

introduced quantitative, sociolinguistic, variationist methods and focused on phonological features. The author also highlighted the ability of speakers to employ linguistic variables in systematic ways; in this particular case, in dialect contact situation. LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985 also emphasizes individual creativity, choices, and psychosocial factors in sociolinguistic variations. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, which produced a renewed interest in language contact among linguists, understands all linguistic features and levels as being involved in contact-induced changes, and highlights social factors as the most important variable in determining linguistic consequences of contact. It might not be an overstatement to say that with this work, contact linguistics became an established field of study within linguistics. With the introduction of ethnography of speaking (communication) in the 1960s, led by Dell Hymes, sociolinguistic studies of language contact took on producing ethnographic studies. In this context, language contact came to be understood as a site for struggles over linguistic inequality and power (Hymes 1992). The concept of the speech community in Gumperz 1968 grounded the discussion of language contact on verbal interactions and social relations. The author emphasized dynamic, frequent interaction and shared norms as the basis for understanding changing use in multilingual (and dialectal) communities. Gal 1979 was the first significant ethnographic work on language shift that became the model for the study of multilingualism and language change among the subsequent generation of scholarship on language contact. Finally, Bakhtin 1981, although on literary criticism, has influenced ethnographic works on languages in contact. Bakhtin's concepts of heteroglossia and polyphony have been taken up by sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists to highlight ideological forces of unification and differentiation in changing communities as well as in concrete utterances of individual actors.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. Discourse in the novel. In *The dialogic imagination*. By Mikhail Bakhtin, 269–422. Edited by Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.

A seminal literary criticism text that has been particularly influential in linguistic anthropological works on languages in contact. In particular, it examines the social and ideological bases of discourse practices, including bilingual and multilingual narratives. Dialogism, heteroglossia, polyphony, and centripetal versus centrifugal forces of language are among the concepts that have been taken up in analyses of multilingual discourse and linguistic diversity.

Gal, Susan. 1979. *Language shift: Social determinants of language change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.

This work is the first substantial ethnographic work on social factors of language shift and bilingualism. Gal explains how speakers' language choice in a German Hungarian bilingual town in Austria is largely determined by who their interlocutors are, while a sociolinguistic hierarchy leads shifting loyalty toward German, especially among young women.

Gumperz, John J. 1968. The speech community. In *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*. Edited by David L Sills, 381–386. New York: Macmillan.

Rather than starting from languages as a unit of analysis, Gumperz advocates studying verbal behaviors and repertoires of a speech community—"human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage" (p. 381).

Haugen, Einar. 1953. *Norwegian language in America*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press.

A classic sociolinguistic study rich in social history of the maintenance and loss of Norwegian language among immigrants in the United States, focusing on bilingual speech behaviors among Norwegian Americans in the Midwest. This work represents the early language contact research, along that by Weinreich.

Hymes, Dell. 1992. Inequality in language: Taking for granted. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* **8.1: 1–30.**

Hymes states that languages are equal only in their potential state, but not in actual state. He calls for a recognition of social conditions of communities that make language use unequal.

Labov, William. 1963. The social motivation of a sound change. *Word* **19.3: 273–309.**

In this early sociolinguistic variationist study of sound change in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, Labov investigates patterns of variation in pronunciation of /ay/ where middle-aged fishermen are rejecting the ongoing shift away from the local island dialect toward the standard form. Labov interprets this as a marker of local identity and resistance to American English. This study highlights the ability of speakers to employ linguistic variables in systematic ways.

LePage, R. B., and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity***. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.**

A classic sociolinguistic work on Atlantic Creoles, on the basis of a longitudinal fieldwork study in Belize, St. Lucia, and immigrant communities in London. The authors' influential "acts of identity" model of language describes how individuals create the patterns of linguistic behaviors and project their group identities and how the linguistic behaviors vary depending on social and psychological motivations.

Thomason, Sarah G., and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics***. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.**

This is an influential work that surveys the nature of language contact scenarios and their linguistic consequences. It led to a surge in research on language contact in the 1990s. Thomason and Kaufman argue that the presence or absence of "imperfect learning" by a group commonly predicts the kinds of contact-induced change, but given the right social conditions, any linguistic element can be borrowed.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in contact: Findings and problems***. The Hague: Mouton.**

With this work, the modern study of language contact began. Weinreich focuses on the influence of bilingualism on grammar but argues that language contact is part of the larger sociohistorical contexts. He introduces the term "interference" to describe bilingual behaviors as "deviations" from the monolingual norms of either language. The term "interference" is increasingly being replaced with other terms such as "transfer" due to the prescriptive bias implicit in the former term.

Multilingual Practices and Discursive Construction of Identity

Studies of multilingual practices followed the development of ethnography of speaking (communication). Once regarded as a secondary, uninteresting, and even not normal phenomenon, multilingual practices have become central to sociolinguistics and anthropology of language contact. This is now a field that recognizes the complexities of social phenomena, where cultures, languages, and social worlds are not self-contained units but porous entities that constantly influence each other. Studies of multilingual practices privilege ethnographic methodology and highlight the role of social meaning, agency, and practice. They examine interactional uses of languages by closely attending to changing social meanings of language varieties, identity formation and performance, and larger ongoing social change. As Kulick 1992, Patrick 2003, and Tsitsipis 1998 show,

sociolinguistic change, such as language persistence and shift, is a nonlinear process that manifests in the dynamic and sometimes contradictory construction of communicative repertoires. Understanding multilingualism ethnographically has proven crucial for the theorization of identity and socialization practices (Fader 2009, Garrett 2005, Jackson 1983, Mendoza-Denton 2008, Pujolar 2001, Rampton 1995). This scholarship has provided ethnographic material that also enriches a multitude of other disciplinary fields, including globalization studies, language policy, and the sociology of language. Multilingualism can be understood as a force that counteracts the process of standardization and ideologies of authenticity (Rodriguez 2012). Furthermore, new linguistic distinctions can emerge and produce or reproduce social differentiation and hierarchy within a single social context. Inoue 2006, combining ethnographic and historical approaches, examines the patriarchal discursive construction of "Japanese women's language" which embodies the notion of femininity to regiment the idea of woman in a modern nation-state.

Fader, Ayala. 2009. *Mitzvah girls: Bringing up the next generation of Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

In this ethnographic study of Hasidic women from Boro Park in Brooklyn, New York, Fader describe how young girls learn to navigate the relationship between their nonliberal, Yiddish-speaking community and the English-speaking world that surrounds it. Young women become more fluent in Hasidic English, while boys become more fluent in Hasidic Yiddish for religious studies. Fader explores the gender and moral dynamic of this kind of language contact.

Garrett, Paul B. 2005. What a language is good for: Language socialization, language shift, and the persistence of code-specific genres in St. Lucia. *Language in Society* 34.3: 327–361.

Children in St. Lucia learn how to curse and assert themselves using a creole language that they are otherwise discouraged to use. Garrett argues that understanding such code-specific genres is crucial to understand contact-induced phenomena such as language shift and language socialization.

Inoue, Miyako. 2006. *Vicarious language: Gender and linguistic modernity in Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press.

This book analyzes the regimentation of an imagined women's speech form, which played a crucial role in the formation of the patriarchal social order in modern Japan (Meiji era). The author combines historical and ethnographic evidences to provide a semiotic interpretation of the role of language in the conformation of gender inequality and identity.

Jackson, Jean E. 1983. *The fish people: Linguistic exogamy and Tukanoan identity in northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Jackson's ethnography addresses the process of group and individual identity formation, kinship, and marriage in the Vaupés region of Colombia in northwestern Amazonia. This is the first work that examines the pattern of linguistic exogamy, prevalent in this multilingual area, as an integral part of the social structure.

Kulick, Don. 1992. *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self, and syncretism in a Papua New Guinea village*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This ethnography investigates language shift from Taiap to Tok Pisin (the national creole) in the Gapun community in the Sepik River region and how it is tied to the local conceptions of the self, in particular the gendered notions of *hed* and *save*.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma. 2008. *Homegirls: Language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

In this engaging sociolinguistic ethnography of Latina students of a Bay Area (northern) California high school, Mendoza-Denton describes how the speakers construct and claim their social identities and peer-group membership through their use of Chicano English and other symbolic practices. It combines linguistic-anthropological and variationist-sociolinguistic approaches to examine the intersections of ethnicity, race, class, gender, nationality, and language.

Patrick, Donna. 2003. *Language, politics, and social interaction in an Inuit community*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

This ethnography asks how the Inuktitut language has persisted until now in the Great Whale River quadrilingual community in Arctic Quebec in spite of the colonial and postcolonial pressure to shift to French and English. Patrick provides a historical and ethnographic analysis of the linguistic markets involving missionaries, traders, government agents, and local community members that have allowed this indigenous language to continue to be of everyday use.

Pujolar, Joan. 2001 *Gender, heteroglossia and power: A sociolinguistic study of youth culture*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

This ethnographic work compares two groups of Barcelonan youths, mostly children of "Castilian" families, the Rambleros and the Trepas, to understand how they perform and construct their gender, class, and ethnolinguistic identities. The Rambleros men in particular prefer to articulate their masculine working-class identity through Andalusian Spanish varieties, while rejecting Catalan as feminine. The Trepas, on the other hand, are more politically conscious about gender equality and also open toward Catalan as part of their linguistic repertoire.

Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London and New York: Longman.

Rampton examines the practice he calls language crossing—use of someone else's language—among young adolescent students in urban multiethnic schools in the United Kingdom, where speakers mix Panjabi, Caribbean Creole, and Stylized Asian English and negotiate their identities and social relations.

Rodriguez, Juan Luis. 2012. The interplay of greetings and promises: Political encounters between the Warao and the new indigenous leadership in the Orinoco delta. *Pragmatics* 22.1: 167–187.

This paper analyzes the political and cultural contradictions behind the greetings and promises both in Warao and Spanish as used by indigenous leaders from the Orinoco delta in Venezuela to address their political constituents. It argues that while performance of greetings in Warao is important for the authorities' public image, promises must be performed most of the time in Spanish so that both Spanish-speaking authorities and the Warao public can create agreement about their relationship in the future.

Tsitsipis, Lukas D. 1998. *A linguistic anthropology of praxis and language shift*. Oxford: Clarendon.

A theoretically rich ethnographic and linguistic work on contact between Modern Greek and Arvanitika, and language shift toward the Modern Greek language in two communities—one isolated conservative, and the other modernized—in southern Greece. Tsitsipis analyzes narratives, conversational interactions, and ideologies, in particular complex coexistence of "congruent" and "contradictory discourse," and expressions of ambivalent attitudes toward language in shift where terminal speakers engage in distancing, subversive acts.

Linguistic Differences and Social Inequality

Ethnographic works on multilingual practices and communities have also highlighted the close interconnection between language ideologies and the reproduction of social inequality. As Judith Irvine and Susan Gal (Irvine and Gal 2000) argue, linguistic similarities and differences are produced through semiotic ideological processes that authorize the construction and representations of particular linguistic differences (for example, the status of Macedonian as dialects of Greek as opposed to Bulgarian). Discriminatory actions are based on these ideological constructions to create and maintain social hierarchies. For example, Heath 1983 examines literacy and other language socialization practices of three communities, families, and schools in the Carolina Piedmont and demonstrates how children from working-class African American and poor white communities face difficulties in formal schools, which privilege and evaluate them according to a different set of language and education ideology and practice. Standard language ideologies are also examined in works on racial and ethnic minorities such as Puerto Ricans (Urciuoli 2013), Asians (Reyes and Lo 2009), African Americans in the United States (Alim and Smitherman 2012), and Afro-Mexicans in the state of Guerrero, Mexico (Githiora 2008). Works in the United States have highlighted the hegemony of the monoglot standard-language ideologies (Silverstein 1996). Furthermore, as Hill 2009 argues, social inequality rests upon everyday forms of relatively unconscious speech patterns that reproduce racial and other hierarchies.

Alim, H. Samy, and Geneva Smitherman. 2012. *Articulate while black: Barak Obama, language, and race in the U.S*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

This book's title refers to then senator Joe Biden famously calling fellow senator and presidential contender in the 2007 Democratic primaries Barack Obama a "mainstream African American who is articulate." The book analyzes how President Obama managed his political image and career in the racialized linguistic environment of American presidential politics. It shows the president adjusting to the various linguistic expectations in linguistically demanding situations.

Faudree, Paja, and Becky Schulthies, eds. 2015. *Special issue: The social life of diversity talk*. Language & Communication 44 (September): 59–71.

This special issue brings together essays on how discourse of diversity frames specific contexts ranging from European Union language policy discussions and British interfaith dialogue to Pan-Arab entertainment programs in the Middle East. It critically engages with the concept of "superdiversity" and the intersection of migration, inequality, and what counts as a language community.

Githiora, Chege. 2008. *Afro-Mexicans: Discourse of race and identity in the African diaspora*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

This book is about the discursive forms and everyday talk of the African diaspora in Mexico. The author uses the concept of footing to analyze racial distinctions and linguistic practices among Afro-Mexicans in Guerrero, Mexico.

Heath, Shirley B. 1983. *Ways with words: Language, life, and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This groundbreaking work examines the literacy and language socialization practices of three communities in the United States. Heath addresses the implication of dialect contact in the educational experiences of children, and the relationship between standard and nonstandard English for the reproduction of racial and class hierarchy.

Hill, Jane. 2009. *The everyday language of white racism*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

This book is a powerful critique of the persistent discourse of white racism, which works by recruiting folk theories of racism that essentialize and erase nonwhite speakers and disguise prejudicial practices. For example, Mock Spanish uses pieces of anglicized Spanish in English utterances in ways that construct negative stereotypes of Latino or Hispanic speakers while presenting the speakers as cosmopolitan and interculturally savvy.

Irvine, Judith, and Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities and identities*. Edited by Paul Kroskrity, 35–84. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

In this well-cited work, Irvine and Gal describe three interrelated semiotic processes that operate in ideologies that construct linguistic differences, creating perceptions of social differences: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. They illustrate these processes with discussions from southern Africa, West Africa, and southeastern Europe.

Reyes, Angela, and Adrienne Lo, eds. 2009. *Beyond yellow English: Toward a linguistic anthropology of Asian Pacific America*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

This collection analyzes how Asian Americans are racialized in the United States and are often considered ethnic "model minorities" but "forever foreign" even though they speak mostly Standard American English (p. 7).

Silverstein, Michael. 1996. Monoglot "standard" in America: Standardization and metaphors of linguistic hegemony. In *The matrix of language contemporary linguistic anthropology*. Edited by Donald Brenneis and Ronald H. S. Macaulay, 284–306. Boulder, CO: Westview.

This is a widely read and quoted essay in which Silverstein addresses the centrality of ideas of language standardization in modern American society. He expounds how a monoglot standard ideology presents itself as the natural state of affairs in America as a linguistic community in spite of the obvious diversity of linguistic practices in everyday life.

Urciuoli, Bonnie. 2013. *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race, and class*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland.

In this ethnography, originally published in 1996, Urciuoli explores the workings of language use and prejudice and how they

contribute to processes of exclusion and social boundary making, on the basis of ethnographic fieldwork among Spanish English, bilingual, working-class Puerto Ricans in the Lower East Side of New York City. She argues that Puerto Ricans are racialized (racially marked) and face significant prejudice, and that their bilingual practice is stigmatized in public.

Language and Colonialism

One of the major consequences of colonialism is the development of creole languages, which is studied from an evolutionary perspective in Mufwene 2001. Another major repercussion of this historical process has been the creation of colonial subjects and the impositions of hierarchies and regimes of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Colonial administrations not only imposed new colonial languages but also appropriated local and indigenous language varieties for their own goals. Colonialism has continued to transform languages and speech communities and still characterizes postcolonial hegemonic relationships between the West or Global North and other areas of the world. Linguistic knowledge has formed the core of our conceptual apparatus to understand the colonization, (re)production, and reimagination of colonial subjects. In this characterization, language contact is a site of coercion, contention, anxieties, struggle, and reclamation involving symbolic and economic resources, and political power. Errington 2008 explores the synergy between the Western scientific study of language and the colonial forces that produce them and use them as justification for their projects. Christian missionaries (both European and local) have worked closely with colonial administrations in the "civilizing" projects, providing linguistic knowledge and tools for colonial administrations and academic institutions at once. Fabian 1986 brought this line of critique to the concrete history of Swahili language and its appropriation by the colonial administration in the Belgian Congo in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Hanks 2010 argues that Spanish colonial administration initially created what the author calls Maya *reducido*, a new, culturally appropriated form of the local language, in order to take control of the medium of representation and communication among the Yucatec Maya. A number of other works have examined processes of linguistic and cultural production of colonial subjectification in Southeast Asia (Rafael 1988), the Americas (Durston 2007, Mannheim 1991, Rodriguez 2008), and the Pacific (Handman 2014, Makihara and Schieffelin 2007). As such, early-21st-century linguistic anthropological and historical works emphasize power relations and the transformation of indigenous communities through the displacement of local control over governance, trade, and even intimate everyday social life. Calls for decolonization such as that by Thiong'o Ngugi Wa and Linda Tuhiwai Smith have influenced our discussions of power and linguistic subjecthood. This literature has produced a more politically engaged scholarship aimed not only at understanding the colonial situation but contesting it.

Durston, Alan. 2007. *Pastoral Quechua: The history of Christian translation in colonial Peru, 1550–1650*. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press.

Durston examines the complexities and controversies surrounding the translation of Christian texts into Quechua and Aymara. While it does not detail the nature and form of the linguistic change involved, the book offers a rich social history of this process of translation and missionization.

Errington, J. Joseph. 2008. *Linguistics in a colonial world: A story of language, meaning, and power*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

A history of linguistics that critically examines how agents of colonial and imperial linguistic projects made speech ways from around the world into objects of knowledge, as they "reduced" or wrote these languages down since beginning in the 16th century. Errington also discusses how these colonial linguistic activities and their legacies brought and continue to bring political consequences.

Fabian, Johannes. 1986. *Language and colonial power: The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo,*

1880–1938. **Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.**

Fabian describes the process by which Swahili became the main form of communication in the African Belgian colonies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He argues that appropriating and elevating one particular form of local language was central to colonial control.

Handman, Courtney. 2014. *Critical Christianity: Translation and denominational conflict in Papua New Guinea*. **Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.**

This ethnography traces the translation of the New Testament into Guhu-Samane, a language of the Waria valley in Papua New Guinea. Handman describes how this translation by the missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics sparked a local form of modernity and produced social and religious schisms in the area. Religious conversion, translation, and modernity are highlighted in how linguistic contact produces a form of profound cultural and social transformations.

Hanks, William. 2010. *Converting words: Maya in the age of the cross*. **Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.**

Hanks argues that Maya was transformed into a "revised and reordered language fitted to the discursive practices of an emerging community of Christian Indios" (pp. 5–7). In other words, Maya language underwent a process of transformation parallel to and in conjunction with the process of sociohistorical transformation in the area.

Makihara, Miki, and Bambi Schieffelin, eds. 2007. *Consequences of contact: Language ideologies and sociocultural transformations in Pacific societies*. **New York: Oxford Univ. Press.**

The editors argue for the centrality of language and ideologies to constructions of self and social reality in Oceania. Eight studies examine the linguistic outcomes (such as semantic changes) as well as social contexts of contact (missionization, colonialism, tourism, labor migration, the development of nation-state, capitalism, and formal schooling). They demonstrate how "language is conceptualized, objectified, and manipulated" (p. 21) differently in early contact, as well as in long-term colonial and postcolonial situations.

Mannheim, Bruce. 1991. *The language of the Inka since the European invasion*. **Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.**

This book describes the process of subordination of Quechua under colonial and postcolonial rule in the Andes. It is one of the most important works in the history of language contact in the region.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. **Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.**

In this provocative work on the development of creoles and other aspects of language change, Mufwene proposes a biological and ecological approach to language change in which language is compared to the biological species. He argues that all language development involves interspeaker contact, and thus an important site of contact is at the ideolectal level. He also argues that creoles are not abnormal or radically different from the development of new varieties of languages.

Rafael, Vicente L. 1988. *Contracting colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion in Tagalog society under early Spanish rule*. **Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.**

The main focus of this book is the relationship between translation and conversion to Christianity between the 16th- and early-18th-century Philippines. It is one of the most cited works about the Philippines, translation, conversion, and the transformation

of Tagalog language.

Rodriguez, Juan. 2008. The translation of poverty and the poverty of translation in the Orinoco delta. *Ethnohistory* **55.3: 417–438.**

This article analyzes Catholic missionary efforts at translating Warao into Spanish, and the Warao's own representations of the linguistic encounter as miscommunication. Rodriguez argues that while the missionaries engage in linguistic translation in order to preserve the Warao language and incorporate them to Venezuela's national economy, the Warao saw the failure to communicate with Spanish-speaking authorities as the original condition for their poverty.

Language Contact and Nation-Building

The nation-state is one of the most important contexts in which language contact occurs. Nation-building has been grounded since its beginning on ideas of cultural and linguistic unity, standardization, and authenticity. Such regimes have resulted in displacement of languages that are considered not suitable for the kind of modernity that the nation-state represents. Hill and Hill 1986 analyzes the long history of contact between Spanish and the indigenous Mexicano language, which must take into account the context of expanding capitalism, urbanization, and religious life. Makihara 2004 describes the transformation of sociolinguistic hierarchies and practices, or what the author terms "colonial diglossia," on Easter Island after its incorporation into the Chilean national economy. Minoritization involves an establishment of sociolinguistic hierarchies that is based on language deficit models and ideas about standardization. The unity of the nation depends on a form of modernity that is in constant production, and in which those who do not comply with its demands are considered as lacking competence as modern subjects. In this process, the most-important knowledge is considered to be the standard national language, based on the model of one nation, one language, and one people. The struggle over the meaning of national modernity and the reclamation of minoritized languages to be recognized in such imagined community has produced some of the most important work on the anthropology of language contact. A number of works have examined these processes in European context (Heller 2006; Jaffe 1999; Lane, et al. 2018; Urla 2012; Woolard 2016), Mexico (Dick 2018), India (Mitchell 2009), and Indonesia (Kuipers 1998).

Dick, Hilary Parsons. 2018. *Words of passage: National longing and the imagined lives of Mexican migrants***. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.**

This linguistic ethnography analyzes talk about migration in a small town in the centrally located state of Guanajuato, Mexico, and how words shape material lives and the process of nation-building. Drawing in particular from interviews with those who are "left behind" and other media discourse such as politicians' speech in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. Dick examines the intersection of nation-building and the production of class and gender inequality.

Heller, Monica. 2006. *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography***. London and New York: Continuum.**

This is an ethnography of a French-language school in largely English-speaking Toronto, Canada, in which there is an emphasis in maintaining a distinct, "authentic," French-speaking identity while at the same time preparing students for social integration and mobility. Heller portrays the search for modern ethnolinguistic identity among immigrant youth in everyday school life.

Hill, Jane H., and Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano: Dynamics of syncretic language in central Mexico.*

Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press.

One of the classic sociolinguistic works on language contact. It analyzes the five-hundred-year-old contact between Mexicano (Nahuatl) and Spanish, a creative process in what the authors call the "syncretic project" in Mexicano speech communities in the Malinche Volcano area of central Mexico. The authors highlight political economy and Bakhtinian "translinguistic" analysis in understanding various ways of speaking Mexicano and Castilian, as "power code" and "solidarity code."

Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in action: Language politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A linguistic ethnography of the politics of minority language maintenance in Corsica. Jaffe describes how the political-economic context and different ideas about language have led to competing strategies of resistance and standardization in language practices, activism, and policies.

Kuipers, Joel C. 1998. *Language, identity, and marginality in Indonesia: The changing nature of ritual speech on the island of Sumba*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This ethnography examines the process of marginalization of local language, in particular of once politically important ritual speech forms, in colonial and national regimes among the Weyewa people of Sumba Island in eastern Indonesia.

Lane, Pia, James Costa, and Haley De Korne, eds. 2018. *Standardizing minority languages: Competing ideologies of authority and authenticity in the global periphery*. New York: Routledge.

This edited book focuses on the role of social actors in the processes of minority language standardization, and the tension inherent in this process while advocating for the protection of language diversity and their minoritized languages. It brings case studies from Europe, America, and Africa to give a comparative perspective in the process of language standardization as a semiotic and social process.

Makihara, Miki. 2004. Linguistic syncretism and language ideologies: Transforming sociolinguistic hierarchy on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). *American Anthropologist* 106.3: 529–540.

This essay discusses changing bilingual practices on the Polynesian island of Rapa Nui and its relation with the Chilean nation-state. Makihara introduces the term "colonial diglossia" to describe a sociolinguistic hierarchy involving institutional compartmentalization of colonial and indigenous languages.

Mitchell, Lisa. 2009. *Language, emotion, and politics in South India: The making of a mother tongue*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

Emotional attachment to individual languages did not exist in India before the 20th century. It is only in the context of creating distinctive identities in the late colonial and postcolonial context that such emotional commitment arises and is articulated in ideas such as "mother tongues" and martyrs in the name of language. On the basis of archival, literary, and ethnographic research, Mitchell explains what it takes to die not for one's nation but for one's language in mid-20th-century India.

Urla, Jacqueline. 2012. *Reclaiming Basque: Language, nation, and cultural activism*. Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press.

An ethnographic study of Basque language activism, on the basis of twenty-five years of fieldwork. By examining individual, community, and institutional strategies in the context of strong language-revitalization activism in the post-Franco era, Urla

analyzes how language activism leads to changing use as well as understanding of language and the complexity of language revitalization.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 2016. *Singular and plural: Ideologies of linguistic authority in 21st century Catalonia*. **New York: Oxford Univ. Press.**

On the basis of long-term ethnographic research, Woolard analyzes the Catalan political independence movement, and the changing ideologies of linguistic authority of Catalan in Spain. The author argues that authority based on authenticity and naturalism is increasingly challenged by Catalan speakers and activists, whose linguistic practices establish Catalan as the language of anonymity and open and inclusive modern Catalonia.

Language Endangerment, Documentation, and Revitalization

Nation-building in postcolonial societies did not eliminate colonial inequalities. Colonial conditions continued, and colonial languages often became national languages of independent states. Following European national language models, many newly independent nations adopted colonial languages, while some created standard versions of local languages that were elevated to national status. Other local language communities continued to be marginalized and excluded from the national political economy and educational institutions. In the second half of the 20th century, resistance to colonial and national forces encouraged the development of language and cultural-revitalization movements (Fishman 1991). Oftentimes, such movements sought to resist and redress the loss of linguistic and cultural heritage in their communities. In such cases, language contact became a political and ideological preoccupation for local communities who seek different forms of cultural and political self-determination. Given this development, local communities began to participate in documentation of their own languages. Language documentation has had a long history since colonial times, including missionaries' works. This work has been important to preserve indigenous languages and set the ground for more-recent efforts in which indigenous peoples have taken the lead in the process of not only documenting but revitalizing their languages and cultures. Language revitalization, however, is a difficult task that goes beyond documentation and preservation of language, requiring community-wide interventions and changes in the social ecology, and language habitus of the community (Debenport 2015, Kawharu 2014, Nevins 2013). For example, the Maori people have been at the forefront of the process of language reclamation and revitalization, providing inspiration to other indigenous groups around the world (Kawharu 2014). Other indigenous leaders have also highlighted language storywork as an important tool in this process (McCarty, et al. 2018). Ethnographic studies have paid attention to the conflicts with outside influences as well as within local communities that need to be overcome (Meek 2010). Struggles over language rights and revitalization have also been studied ethnographically among other minoritized language communities in European nation-states (Dorian 1981, Duchêne and Heller 2007) and in the Americas (Kroskrity and Field 2009). There have also been some works that explicitly and reflexively examine the role of academic experts in the construction of discourse of endangerment that may produce unintended consequences harmful to the local struggles for language revitalization, and larger political projects of self-determination and empowerment (Hill 2002, Duchêne and Heller 2007).

Debenport, Erin. 2015. *Fixing the books: Secrecy, literacy, and perfectibility in indigenous New Mexico*. **Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.**

This ethnography discusses the politics of language documentation and revitalization, in particular the process of creating the San Ramon dictionary and pedagogical texts for a traditionally oral language community in New Mexico. Debenport examines the tension between the traditional culture and the documentation and revitalization of Keiwa language.

Dorian, Nancy. 1981. *Language death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. **Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania**

Press.

Dorian documents the demise of the East Sutherland dialect of Scottish Gaelic, on the basis of an ethnographic and linguistic study in fishing communities in northeastern Scotland. It is considered the first major work on the extinction of a language and pays particular attention to variation in the structure and speaker types (such as "semi-speaker") of the linguistic variety.

Duchêne, Alexandre, and Monica Heller, eds. 2007. *Discourses of endangerment: Interest and ideology in the defense of languages*. London and New York: Continuum.

This collection of twelves works, mainly from Europe and North America, argues how discourses of language endangerment are fundamentally political and ideological in nature, by examining institutional, governmental, and media discourses defending large and small languages. Many authors highlight the use of purism, neoliberalism, and essentialism in managing linguistic diversity in national and global contexts.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK, and Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman introduces a "Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale" (GIDS), with eight stages of language shift toward majority languages, to assess the status of language vitality and to provide a framework for efforts in reversing language shift (RLS). He presents sociological analyses of efforts in language maintenance or RLS in communities such as Irish, Basque, Frisian, Navajo, Spanish, and Yiddish, Maori, modern Hebrew, Quebec French, and Catalan and argues that languages can be revitalized.

Hill, Jane H. 2002. "Expert rhetorics" in advocacy for endangered languages: Who is listening, and what do they hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12.2: 119–133.

Here, Hill offers a warning to linguists and anthropologists on the basis of an examination of the rhetoric of advocacy for endangered languages, especially of its unintended consequences, which may undermine the goals of advocacy. She discusses three themes—universal ownership, hyperbolic valorization, and enumeration—and argues that they objectify endangered languages and possibly alienate endangered languages from their speakers and other members of communities.

Kawharu, Merata, ed. 2014. *Karanga mai! Te reo and marae in crisis?* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland Univ. Press.

This collection brings together perspectives from thirteen Maori scholars, including Merimeri Penfield, who reflect on the previous three decades of Maori identity formation, and language and cultural revitalization efforts in Aoteaora (New Zealand).

Kroskrity, Paul V., and Margaret C. Field, eds. 2009. *Native American language ideologies: Beliefs, practices, and struggles in Indian country*. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press.

The cases analyzed here come from a wide range of Native American linguistic communities with a long history of contact with English and other Native American languages. Kroskrity's chapter, for example, discusses the role that Rosalie Bethel, a Western Mono elder and language activist, played in transforming language ideologies of Mono communities to take action to revitalize their language in central California. Issues of language shift, death, and revitalization run in the background of theoretical discussions about language ideologies in this volume.

McCarty, Teresa L., Sheilah E. Nicholas, Kari A. B. Chew, Natalie G. Diaz, Wesley Y. Leonard, and Louellyn White. 2018. Hear our languages, hear our voices: Storywork as theory and praxis in indigenous-language reclamation. *Daedalus* **147.2: 160–172.**

This collaborative work brings together experiential narratives from indigenous communities and scholars—Chickasaw (Kari Chew), Mojave (Natalie Diaz), Miami (Wesley Leonard), Hopi (Sheilah Nicholas), Mohawk (Louellyn White), Navajo, and Hawaiian (nonindigenous scholar McCarty) to study and practice language reclamation. It highlights voice rather than language (abstract and impersonal) as the object of reclamation. Storywork helps reclaim indigenous voice by re-creating its link with their communities and histories.

Meek, Barbra. 2010. *We are our language: An ethnography of language revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan community.* **Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press.**

An ethnography of language revitalization among Kaska speakers in the Yukon, Canada. The book's main focus is on moments of sociolinguistic disjuncture, which the author identifies as "points of discontinuity and contradiction . . . that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought." (p. x). One important disjuncture that Meek analyzes is between the ideologies and stances taken by the territorial government and the local communities.

Nevins, M. Eleanor. 2013. *Lessons from Fort Apache: Beyond language endangerment and maintenance.* **Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.**

This linguistic ethnography of the White Mountain Apache tribe on the Fort Apache reservation in Arizona examines the diverse community voices surrounding indigenous language documentation and revitalization efforts, and their intersection with the global and expert discourse of language endangerment.

Education and Social (Re)production

As Paulo Freire made clear, schools are important settings where power, hierarchy, and inequality are crystallized and where categories of speakers are created and delegitimized through their verbal behaviors. Monoglot standard-language ideologies are often privileged in these institutional sites (García and Wei 2014, Zentella 1997). Various language ideologies, such as deficit theories and ideas of authorized competence and appropriateness, organize use and evaluation of standard and nonstandard features of verbal behaviors. The process often proceeds in a way that those features may change but racial hierarchies are reproduced (Philips 1993, Flores and Rosa 2015, Rosa 2016). In educational institutions, official identities are sanctioned and hierarchically organized, specific values are associated with them, and, more broadly, verbal behaviors enforced in these institutions construct and reinforce the image of nation-states in a globalized world (Charalambous 2013, Martín-Rojo 2010). These ideas and categories are contested through creative verbal behaviors, transborder identities, and solidarity. García and Wei 2014 argues for a recognition of "translanguaging" practices as resistance to national policies and ideologies of monolingualism and standard language and to be promoted in educational spaces. Early-21st-century inclusion of indigenous and other minority languages in national curricula is creating sites of negotiation of perspectives and identities, and further sociolinguistic transformations (e.g., Hornberger 2008; Newman, et al. 2013; Zavala 2015).

Charalambous, Constandina. 2013. The "burden" of emotions in language teaching: Negotiating a troubled past in "other"-language learning classrooms. *Language and Intercultural Communication* **13.3: 310–329.**

On the basis of an ethnographic observation of classroom interactions where Greek Cypriot students learn Turkish,

Charalambous explores the emotional dimension of language learning and its role in negotiation of the history of conflict in Cyprus.

Flores, Nelson, and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review* **85.2: 149–171.**

Here, Flores and Rosa take issue with appropriateness-based approaches to language diversity in education. They challenge the process by which racialized language learners are forced into a position in which their linguistic practices are considered deficient regardless of how close they follow the appropriate form.

García, Ofelia, and Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education.* **Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.**

Critical of the bias toward monolingualism found in modern linguistics and educational policy, García and Li argue for a paradigm shift in society, for a new model of language, and more concretely in educational context, for recognizing, legitimizing, and capitalizing on multilingual communicative competence and practices from learners and educators.

Hornberger, Nancy, ed. 2008. *Can schools save indigenous languages? Policy and practice on four continents.* **Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.**

This collection focuses on the role of formal school in indigenous language education, in particular the interactions between academic and institutional discourses in language policy and education practice in school and classroom. Bringing together studies from Africa, Europe, Latin America, and New Zealand, it formulates recommendations for indigenous language schooling yet foregrounds how school is just one institution among many for indigenous language revitalization.

Martín-Rojo, Luisa. 2010. *Constructing inequality in multilingual classrooms.* **Berlin and New York: De Gruyter Mouton.**

This linguistic ethnography examines multilingual classrooms in four schools in Madrid, Spain. Martín-Rojo shows how discourses of segregation, monolingualism, marginalization, and ethnicization work to unfavorably construct the learning environments for many immigrant students.

Newman, Michael, Adriana Patiño-Santos, and Mireia Trenchs-Parera. 2013. Linguistic reception of Latin American students in Catalonia and their responses to educational language policies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* **16.2: 195–209.**

On the basis of interviews with immigrant students and teachers and participant observation in "reception classes" at three secondary schools in the Barcelona area, Spain, the authors examine language policy implementation and language socialization process among Latin American students. Difficulties experienced stem partly from the lack of institutional support and the limited exposure to Catalan outside school. Positive responses come from individual teachers who make great efforts in engaging them.

Philips, Susan Urmston. 1993. *The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Reservation.* **Long Grove, IL: Waveland.**

In this work in ethnography of communication, Philips analyzes the difficulties the Indian children were having in school even

when their first language was English. She proposes that the cultural differences in interactional norms or what she calls "participant structures" greatly influence the children's learning experience in elementary school in the Warm Springs Reservation in central Oregon.

Rosa, Jonathan. 2016. Standardization, racialization, languagelessness: Raciolinguistic ideologies across communicative contexts. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* **26.2: 162–183.**

In this article, Rosa analyzes how ideologies of linguistic standardization result in the racialization of entire groups of people. In turn, racialization is the main factor producing challenges to these subjects' linguistic competences. Languagelessness occurs when individuals find themselves unable to fulfill, given their racialized position, the ideological demands of linguistic standardization in either of the languages that they use.

Zavala, Virginia. 2015. "It will emerge if they grow fond of it": Translanguaging and power in Quechua teaching. *Linguistics and Education* **32A (December): 16–26.**

This paper examines the application of language policy to expand Quechua instructions from rural to urban primary schools, where students are generally more likely to face discrimination for being Quechua speakers and are less likely to be highly competent in Quechua. Zavala focuses on one teacher's successful strategy in incorporating translanguaging (García and Wei 2014) in Quechua classrooms that empowers her students both as legitimate "teachers" and emergent bilinguals.

Zentella, Ana Celia. 1997. *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. **Oxford: Blackwell.**

Zentella offers an engaged researcher-activist work in what she calls "anthropolitical linguistics," an analysis of bilingualism in a community of Puerto Rican families in Spanish Harlem, New York City. It allows us to understand how code switching between English and Spanish, and code switching between varieties of speech styles, becomes a resource for the members of this community, and at the same time how they can be misunderstood and problematized in the wider monolingual American society.

Language Contact, Migration, and Globalization

Language contact has accelerated since the end of the 20th century with the spread of late capitalism, which depends on extreme financialization of the economy, labor displacement, migration, and outsourcing (Blommaert 2010, Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). This process has also implied a not-so-fluid movement of people, as new political economies of language lead to changing patterns of language acquisition, evaluation, and marketability (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Duchêne, et al. 2013; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013). Language spread and endangerment depend on these new political economies (Vigouroux and Mufwene 2008). Globalization and the spread of capitalist economic activities entail an expansion of the conditions of inequality across the globe. The challenge to the study of language contact is to unravel this process in its speed and complexity of multiple scales of interaction. Linguistic ethnographic studies of globalization have begun to unpack the complexities of the intersecting scales at which languages, commodities, and subjects are transformed (Das 2016, Goebel 2010, García-Sánchez 2014, Jacquemet 2015).

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

Blommaert uses the notion of superdiversity, introduced by social anthropologist Steven Vertovec, as referring to a new phenomenon of "diversification of diversity." He advances the idea that under the new conditions of the globalized world,

languages are highly mobile resources that circulate in urban centers of migrations.

Das, Sonia N. 2016. *Linguistic rivalries: Tamil migrants and Anglo-Franco conflicts*. **Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.**

An ethnography of the Indian and Sri Lankan Tamil-speaking diaspora in Montreal, Quebec. It describes the fractal reproduction of linguistic ideologies at transnational level, and how such reproduction explains the current rivalries in Indian diaspora in Canada.

Duchêne, Alexandre, and Monica Heller, eds. 2012. *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit*. **New York: Routledge.**

The editors argue that language and culture are increasingly associated with economic value ("profit") in globalized, neoliberal society. Language contributes to the branding (e.g., to authenticate local products) and to the global networks' building of producers and consumers. Ethnographic studies mostly from Canada and Europe illustrate various social experiences that reflect this transformation. Jacqueline Urla, for example, examines the "total quality management" strategy adopted by a Basque language advocacy group.

Duchêne, Alexandre, Melissa Moyer, and Celia Roberts, eds. 2013. *Language, migration and social inequalities: A critical sociolinguistic perspective on institutions and work*. **Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.**

With ten case studies, most of which are from urban settings in the West, this collection emphasizes linguistic ethnography to interpret local situations where language ideologies, discourses and strategies of control, selection, and resistance are related to the (re)production of social and linguistic inequalities involving transnational migrants.

García-Sánchez, Inmaculada M. 2014. *Language and Muslim immigrant childhoods: The politics of belonging*. **Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.**

This ethnography describes how Moroccan immigrant children navigate their everyday lives in Spain, where they at times confront discriminatory attitudes and surveillance as non-European, non-Christian youth. García-Sánchez highlights the experiences of six focal children across contexts, and how language use in interactions forms practices of social exclusion and belonging.

Goebel, Zane. 2010. *Language, migration and identity: Neighborhood talk in Indonesia*. **Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.**

On the construction of identities among members of two urban, multiethnic, and multilingual neighborhoods in Java, among migrants and long-term residents. In one neighborhood, non-Javanese women tend to use *ngoko* Javanese, while non-Javanese men tended to use Indonesian in interethnic interactions; in the other neighborhood, men use *ngoko* Japanese. Goebel explains this pattern as representing changing semiotic values of *ngoko* Japanese and Indonesian in settings of ethnically diverse contact.

Jacquemet, Marco. 2015. Asylum and superdiversity: The search for denotational accuracy during asylum hearings. *Language & Communication* **44 (September): 72–81.**

On the basis of interviews with asylum officers and records from asylum hearings in European states, Jacquemet analyzes the problematic nature of multilingual and multicultural institutional interactions among asylum seekers, state officials, and

interpreters. He argues that the lack of shared knowledge—a product of increasingly mobile peoples, languages, and texts—and the officials' overemphasis on denotational accuracy create communicative breakdown and unwarranted treatment of asylum seekers.

Pennycook, Alastair, and Emi Otsuji. 2015. *Metrolingualism: Language in the city*. **Abingdon, UK: Routledge.**

Drawing on data on urban linguistic interactions in Sydney and Tokyo, this book focuses on the mundane aspects of conviviality and linguistic resources. The authors challenge the conception of multilingualism as multiple monolingualisms in urban settings.

Pietikäinen, Sari, and Helen Kelly-Holmes, eds. 2013. *Multilingualism and the periphery*. **New York: Oxford Univ. Press.**

A collection of sociolinguistic studies in Europe and North America that examine different multilingual minority sites in public spaces, especially those in tourism, and how they are shaped by dynamics of peripheralization and centralization.

Vigouroux, Cécile B., and Salikoko S. Mufwene, eds. 2008. *Globalization and language vitality: Perspectives from black Africa*. **London: Bloomsbury.**

This collection examines the uneven trajectories of indigenous and colonial languages in eight different locations within Africa. The authors highlight how the dynamics of language spread, shift, and vitality depend on the aspects of globalization and colonization. For example, Christopher Stroud discusses the sociolinguistic situation of Portuguese and African languages in Mozambique, and Fiona Mc Laughlin the vitality of Wolof, which has become the national lingua franca of Senegal.

Verbal Play and Aesthetics of Contact

Although many early linguistic anthropologists considered the study of poetry and verbal art an important part of their work, the study of speech play and verbal art became prominent in the 1960s, after the appearance of ethnography of speaking and communication, and Roman Jakobson's work on the poetic function of language. This work was followed by an interest in the field of folklore and performance studies. In the 1980s, linguistic anthropologists expanded the field of ethnopoetics. Most of this work paid close attention to naturally occurring discourse in context and in particular to verbal art and political rhetoric. In this tradition, language and culture cannot be conceived as separate but as mutually constitutive. Playful artistic language generates culture at the most intimate and affective level, and in turn, culture affects the shape that linguistic form takes. As such, the creation of this intimate bond between language and aesthetic forms has important consequences for the sustenance and revitalization of indigenous languages (Faudree 2013). Attention to how speakers get attuned to aesthetic forms and the pleasure they produce is very important here. In contact situations, verbal artistry is put to the test and is an integral part in the negotiation of power relations (Barrett 2014, Cavanaugh 2009). It is also through verbal artistry that individual speakers create feelingful connections with their language (Webster 2015). A speaker in a contact situation finds language not only as a resource but as an intimate form that is cherished and memorialized (Basso 1981). The study of aesthetically pleasant language in contact has gained importance gradually. Puns, poetry, political oratory, songs, and other poetic forms are now studied closely. For example, Gaudio 2011 examines language contact in hip-hop as this genre circulates globally. The intersection of language contact poetics and language socialization has also grown (e.g., Minks 2013, Riley 2013, Tetreault 2015, Lytra 2007), and all these developments have expanded the scope of the study of language contact far beyond the narrow attention to codes of a century ago in anthropology.

Barrett, Rusty. 2014. Ideophones and (non-)arbitrariness in the K'iche' poetry of Humberto Ak'abal. *Pragmatics and*

Society 5.3: 406–418.

This paper describes the ways in which K'iche' poet Humberto Ak'abal takes advantage of linguistic arbitrariness to highlight the differences between K'iche' and Spanish.

Basso, Keith. 1981. *Portraits of "whiteman": Linguistic play and cultural symbols among Western Apache*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

This is a highly readable short book in which Basso analyzes the particular ways the Western Apache speakers in Cibecue in western Arizona imitate Anglo-American linguistic behaviors, and how such performances produce cultural intimacy. These speakers use what they consider to be the most-salient and different features of English and English speakers' characters and behaviors by exaggerating their communicative norms and contrasting them with their own ways of speaking.

Cavanaugh, Jillian. 2009. *Living memory: The social aesthetics of language in a northern Italian town*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

This book describes the aesthetic of linguistic practices in Bergamo, Italy. Poetry and beautiful language are believed to be central for language socialization and maintenance.

Faudree, Paja. 2013. *Singing for the dead: The politics of indigenous revival in Mexico*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press.

This ethnography analyzes the role of indigenous literatures, and in particular the creation of the Day of the Dead Song Contest, in the Mazatec language and the cultural-revival movement in Oaxaca, southern Mexico. In contrast to the unsuccessful initiatives from the local Mazatec Indigenous Church, Day of the Dead songs underscore the importance of singing and verbal artistry in language and cultural revitalization. The contest produces a recognizable cultural space to produce meaningful attachments to cultural traditions.

Gaudio, Rudolf. 2011. The blackness of "broken English." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 21.2: 230–246.

Gaudio describes the use and nonuse of Nigerian pidgin by Nigerian singers. He argues that the use of Nigerian pidgin as well as elements of African American and Jamaican English—many of which are stigmatized forms of English that are considered in national contexts in Nigeria, Jamaica, and the United States as "broken"—indexes a black Atlantic transnational connection.

Lytra, Vally. 2007. *Play frames and social identities: Contact encounters in a Greek primary school*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Using Erving Goffman's approach to frame analysis, John Gumperz's "contextualization cues," and Richard Bauman's approach to speech as performance, Lytra examines playful interactions among a group of Greek- and Turkish-speaking children in a primary school in Athens, Greece, and how minority students constitute their social identities.

Minks, Amanda. 2013. *Voices of play: Miskitu children's speech and song on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua*. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press.

An ethnographic work in which playful use of language is shown to help Miskitu indigenous children create a sense of self, identity, and inequality among themselves and the largely Spanish-speaking communities in which they live on Corn Island, off the coast of Costa Rica.

Riley, Kathleen C. 2013. L'idéologie hétéroglossique et l'identité dialogique à Montréal. In *Idéologies linguistiques et discriminations*. Edited by Cyril Trimaille and Jean-Michel Eloy, 59–83. Paris: Harmattan.

This article analyzes the code-switching practices, both playful and pragmatic, of multilingual youth in Montreal during the first decade of the 21st century. Given historical transformations in the language ideologies during this period from hegemonic to heteroglossic, these urban youth appeared to be using alternations between French and English in the service of forging newly dialogic identities.

Tetreault, Chantal. 2015. "What do you think about having beauty marks on your—*Hashek*!": Innovative and impolite uses of an Arabic politeness formula among French teenagers. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 25.3: 285–302.

This paper addresses the use of the Arabic expression *Hashek*. This expression is used in adversarial teasing and public criticism of peers. Tetreault concludes that in using *Hashek* in impolite ways, Algerian French teenagers transform this Arabic term to carry face-threatening acts among peers.

Webster, Anthony. 2015. *Intimate grammars: An ethnography of Navajo poetry*. Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press.

This book is based on the Sapirian premise that all grammars leak. They all produce slippage of meaning, and their forms become dear to their speakers even when they are subject to scrutiny and discrimination. In the works of Navajo poets, this potential is realized in their use of playful language across linguistic divides. Such crossing produces a site for the negotiation of language that is central to the individual Navajo poet as well as for his or her audience in performance.

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