Language and Space:
Theories and Methods

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Edited by

Peter Auer and Jürgen Erich Schmidt

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Introduction to the *Language and Space* series

In 1982 and 1983 the renowned HSK series was launched with a two-volume handbook, *Dialektologie: Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*. Even though this first handbook played a significant role in the subsequent success of the series and was out of print by the mid 1990s, early plans to publish an updated edition (as was done with other successful titles) were soon shelved. Consensus instead settled around the view that advances in the understanding of the object of dialectological study, along with fast-paced developments in the relevant disciplines and the need to adequately represent the rich findings of this global research effort, made a completely fresh start necessary.

Even though the variability of human language is in essential ways caused and constrained by the dimensions of time and space, and although most people today still speak with some form of distinct regional coloring, dialects isolated from supranational and standard varieties are increasingly becoming marginal phenomena, right across the world. Accordingly, a reorientation of research into language and space has begun − shifting from a discipline focused on the reconstruction of premodern language states (traditional dialectology) to approaches dedicated to a precise analysis of the dynamic processes at work within complex language systems and their explanation in terms of cognitive and interactive-cum-communicative factors.

This shift in emphasis towards embodied and evolving language has led to a blurring of the established boundaries between dialectology, sociolinguistics and language contact studies and to the adoption of impulses from geography, sociology and anthropology as part of a wider reappraisal of the relationship between geographical place and cultural space. Additionally, a way has needed to be found to take account of significant differences in how language is "territorialized". These range from traditional, sedentary settlement patterns to personally mobile and electronically delocalized postindustrial lifestyles, and from semiliterate, largely oral cultural traditions through, say, the formation and maintenance of immigrant communities and enclaves within multicultural and urbanized landscapes, to the inhabiting of pre-eminently social spaces in the increasingly fragmented and ad hoc milieus of contemporary society.

Against the background of this reorientation, the idea of a subseries within the HSK range entitled *Language and Space: An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation* developed out of intensive discussions between representatives from various research fields, the editors and publishers. Inaugurating this subseries are two "foundation" handbooks, canvassing international developments in theory and research methods and, for the first time, interrogating the theoretical and practical foundations of linguistic cartography. These cross-linguistic foundational volumes are to be complemented by a loose sequence of volumes that each analyze the full dimensions of spatial variation within an individual language or language group whilst remaining guided by a uniform structure.

This first introductory volume, *Theories and Methods*, directly addresses both the changes in the object of study (linguistic variation across "space") and the attempts within the relevant disciplines to adjust to the concomitant reconceptualization of its nature. As intimated by its subtitle, the volume is divided into two halves. The first of these, the theoretical wing, encompasses a transdisciplinary discussion of the notion of space together with critical evaluations of linguistic approaches to it plus several articles on the structure and dynamics of (and between) language spaces. The second, methodological wing details and showcases traditional and contemporary methods of data collection, analysis and presentation in linguistic geography and language variation studies, with special emphasis on the methodological problems within the individual structural domains (phonology, prosody, morphology, lexis, syntax and discourse) and a series of illustrative and multifaceted case studies.

The second volume, *Language Mapping*, addresses a striking deficit in the field of studies into language and space. To date there has never been a collected consideration of the many issues impinging upon the creation and use of maps in the investigation of language, its distribution and variation. Within various major languages, schools and traditions have emerged within which problems have been addressed and approaches have been refined, but there has been a dearth of exchange between these traditions. Starting from a thoroughgoing consideration of the conceptual, cognitive and cartographic fundamentals of committing languages to maps, the second foundational volume also explores the individual traditions, their origins, peculiarities and strengths, before considering numerous aspects of the revolutionary enabling impact of computing on language mapping and some of the intersections between the cartography of language and other fields of human endeavor. Naturally, given the topic, the volume will be accompanied by an extensive, separately bound collection of maps.

These two foundation stones are to be followed by a series of works that will, while oriented to a uniform structure, thoroughly explore the current state of research into the spatial dimensions of particular languages or language areas. Given linguists' increased awareness of the complexity of the relationship between language and physical space, and of the fiction of a single "authentic" variety per speaker, the volumes are focused on (groups of) languages rather than regions and attempt to chart their internal variational structure and dynamics, their interface with other languages and their distribution across physical, social and cultural space. Each volume will open with a section examining the history of investigation into the language(s) in question, the foci of current research and perceived deficits. Then the genesis of the (areal) linguistic constellations and variety spectra will be treated along with a complete anatomy of the language space. But the bulk of each volume will be devoted to a detailed description of linguistic subregions and domains including, obviously, those which transcend traditional bounded spaces as well as attitudes and social configurations, and to an exploration of aspects specific to the language (group), including its use in a range of locations as a postcolonial or an immigrant language, the roles of various media and the techniques and technology used to present results.

For the noble HSK handbook tradition, *Language and Space* thus represents the revisiting, after more than a quarter of a century, of one of the fundamental dimensions of human language in all its variety and flux. The new series attempts to draw together and take account of the advances in our understanding of this dimension, broaching the boundaries between disciplines, questioning but not abandoning established traditions, drilling down into the concept of space itself, in order to bring to its readers some of the excitement of the scientific hunt for that most immanent quarry – language itself.

Jürgen Erich Schmidt, Marburg (Germany)
19 June 2009

Introduction to this volume

Theory and Methods, the introductory volume of the *Language and Space* series, is appearing at a point in time when the theoretical and methodological reorientation of research into the interplay of language and space is in full swing. It is illuminating to see this current reorientation against the background of the major research tradition and developments within the disciplines involved, since this also reveals how the present handbook positions itself.

At the time when Georg Wenker and Jules Gilliéron were establishing linguistic geography (the late nineteenth century), other linguists were already struggling to gain a theoretically and methodologically adequate understanding of the variability of language and expressing surprisingly modern theoretical and methodological concerns. As early as 1880, for instance, the neogrammarian Philipp Wegener set out a program with which the "unendliche menge" of "sprachformen" ('infinite number of linguistic forms'; 1880: 465) of areally, socially and contextually determined linguistic variation should be approached, starting out from individual village dialects. In 1905 and based on detailed observations of numerous, carefully socially classified informants, Louis Gauchat undertook an analysis of linguistic variation within the village of Charmey (in Switzerland) before reaching the conclusion that "l'unité du patois … est nulle" ('the unity of the dialect is zero'; 1905: 222). The critical methodological insight to emerge from his work was that the alleged homogeneity of a village dialect was in fact an artifact (1905: 179, 222; vs. Zimmerli 1899). However, methodical and practical constraints long prevented these early insights into the complexity of linguistic variation from playing a key role in the shaping of research undertakings. Wegener failed to develop a methodology that was adequate to the task of dealing with the complex research goals, and while Gauchat's laborious methods were of use in providing a meticulous analysis of the linguistic dynamics in a single village (also cf. Enderlin 1910, who even employed covert data collection techniques), they were not suited to gaining an overview of the areal dimension of linguistic variation.

In hindsight, it therefore appears almost inevitable that, despite these efforts, robust, relatively simple to execute, yet also reductionist methods have dominated research for so long: introspection (in the neogrammarian paradigm of *Ortsgrammatiken*) and, even more importantly, surveys featuring translation and naming tasks (traditional dialect geography). With the help of these methods, an enormous effort over several generations of European researchers produced an abundance of relatively precise descriptions of the phonology, phonetics, lexicon and morphology of the dialects spoken in specific locations, alongside monumental dialect atlases that provide an accurate but partial account of variation in spoken language across space. The methodological standards of this epoch of language and space research increasingly aimed at establishing strict comparability across space with the highest possible density of survey locations. As a consequence, the heterogeneous groups of informants originally selected for the national dialect atlases (of Wenker and Gilliéron) were replaced in the later regional atlases by informants with identical social characteristics (elderly, sedentary men and women with little education and manual occupations), indirect survey methods based on the distribution of written questionnaires (Wenker) were replaced by direct (face-to-face) surveys conducted by phonetically trained fieldworkers, and so on.

The enormous wealth of data on spatial variation in spoken language accumulated in this way opened up fascinating possibilities for the analysis of language change; it allowed the study of the effects of both internal and external factors on language and reconstructions of the processes that may have produced the areal distributions discovered. For structuralists, it allowed the defining of systems of contrasts between broad dialectal areas. All this obscured the fact that the mainstream of dialectology had taken a reductionist turn, ignoring the fundamental problems Gauchat had astutely recognized so early on. The intrinsic heterogeneity of language and its embedding in a range of social and other factors was excluded, so that in the end only the spatial dimension remained.

While Wegener and Gauchat were confronted with the problem of how to develop adequate methods of data collection, later attempts to break away from the monodimensional and homogenizing approach of dialect geography suffered from the lack of appropriate analytic techniques; in the end, analysis was often replaced by pure documentation. The sound archives which began to be set up relatively soon after the emergence of viable recording technologies and which recorded "the individual language, at the same location, of persons of differing age, gender and social standing" (Wagner 1924–1925: 230; our translation) are one example. Another example is Hans Kurath's *Linguistic Atlas of New England*, for which, between 1931 and 1933, direct survey techniques were used to collect variants from six "types" of informants who differed in level of education, degree of social contact, age and general attitude ("old fashioned" vs. "modern").

Significantly, the decisive methodological breakthrough finally came from outside, namely from the sociolinguistics of urban life. The complex sociolinguistic reality of contemporary, urbanized societies could not be adequately captured using traditional dialectological methods (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 55–56). Borrowing quantitative methods from the social sciences, William Labov (1966) grounded a new discipline that was able to observe and precisely analyze the facets of urban language use of representative social groups. Aside from Labov, it was the pioneering work of linguists such as John Gumperz, Joshua Fishman, Leslie Milroy, Peter Trudgill and many others which led to the rapid development of an independent and extremely successful new discipline: sociolinguistics. With increasingly refined data collection and analysis techniques, it was finally possible to isolate the social, interactional and attitudinal factors that steer the complex language use of disparate social groups, to uncover the regularities behind the variational registers and styles of groups of speakers and finally, through the combination of apparent and real-time studies, to capture the dynamics of language change.

But, mirroring the origins of language and space research, it was the roaring success of sociolinguistics which – for methodological and practical reasons – at the same time led to a renewed narrowing of focus. Whereas traditional dialectology suppressed the complexity of linguistic variation beyond the areal dimension and favored the survey and analysis of rural informants' dialect knowledge to the exclusion of language usage data, sociolinguistics tended to ignore both variation across space and competence data. The amount of effort required to gain valid spontaneous speech data in comparable contexts made the systematic investigation of the full spread of linguistic variation across space appear an impossible task. It was also not clear how a valid analytic connection could be established between the new corpora of spoken everyday language and the data on dialect knowledge elicited by traditional dialectologists.

The separate developments in traditional dialectology and modern quantitative sociolinguistics (with its equally rigid methodology) thus led to the isolation of dimensions of language variation that were in fact intimately interconnected and to the creation of apparently incompatible data classes.

In comparison to the situation described above and documented in the earlier handbooks in this series on *Dialektologie* (1982–1983) and *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik* (first edition 1987–1988), i. e., 30 years ago, the current landscape has shifted fundamentally. The strict boundaries between sociolinguistics and dialectology have fallen, and approaches have been developed in which theoretical and empirical linguistics can be interrelated in promising ways. It should be immediately obvious why research on language and space has a significant role to play here. No other dimension of variation so fundamentally shapes the diversity of human language as does space, both across and within languages. The spatial, social and contextual dimensions are inextricably linked to each other, and language diversity and variability are related in complex ways to interactional and attitudinal factors. The problem that shaped the very beginnings of language and space research, namely how to obtain data on language use and language competence that are both reliable and comparable (across space), still awaits a workable solution. But nowhere else in the field of linguistics are we (or have we ever been) offered such a great opportunity to analytically combine a wealth of data about well-chosen sectors of the linguistic knowledge of areally distributed groups of speakers at different times with a wealth of well-documented data about sectors of the variable speech behavior of speakers in such a way that empirical explanations for the fundamental questions posed by a theory of language (change) can be found.

The *Theory and Methods* volume has set itself the goal of rendering the current methodological and theoretical reinvigoration of language and space research visible and, in so doing, of highlighting the innovative impulses this is bringing to the whole of linguistics. If we are right, it is the following lines of development which have characterized research into language and space over the last thirty years:

- A breakdown of interdisciplinary barriers, as a consequence of which a field of study emerges which reaches far beyond classical dialectology and sociolinguistics to also encompass language contact studies, linguistic and areal typology, theoretical linguistics and cognitive sciences and which draws in and adapts impulses from geography and anthropology.
- A turn to the exploration of the entire spectrum of language variation, in which the two fields of dialectology and sociolinguistics are being drawn closer together. On the one hand, traditional dialectology's monodimensional surveys of linguistic competence have been expanded to include competence data from different social groups (starting with Fujiwara's work in Japan, 1974–1976) and finally combined with the systematic collection of speech data across space (pluridimensional dialectology, cf. Thun in this volume). On the other hand, community studies centered upon specific locations have increasingly begun to take the spatial dimension of linguistic variation into account (thereby putting an end to the "sidelining of the spatial in early variationism", cf. Britain in this volume), so that – at least in Europe – the broad development of regional varieties can be sketched (cf. Auer 2005).

- The development of web-based resources which cross-connect data on the dialect knowledge of groups of speakers collected at different points in time with data from historical sound archives and more recent surveys of regional speech. This enables real-time analyses across space in which stability and change in regional varieties can be tracked and the effects of interactional and cognitive/linguistic factors accurately determined (Schmidt in this volume).
- The end of the traditional focus on monolingual, immobile speakers from small regions or specific locations. More recent language and space research asks about the linguistic foundation of spaces (and places) of all sizes: from those which have traditionally formed the focus of dialectological research (villages or regions) to politically defined territories (such as nation-states) which assume a (standard) language as their correlate and ideological justification, from global spaces called into existence by European colonial expansion (overseas varieties of European languages, pidgins and creoles) via supranational regions in which languages have converged (sprachbund) to transnational spaces emerging with the support of electronic media in the age of globalization.
- The emergence and development of folk linguistics, in which the subjective spatial structurings (including evaluations) that speakers develop are systematically investigated. It takes as its object those perceived differences between the ways in which people speak that enable them to locate conversation partners within larger frames of reference – frames which, however, are still dependent upon the "placing" participant's perspective, i. e., on his or her life-world (cf. Niedzielski and Preston 2000).
- The rapprochement between theoretical linguistics and language and space research. In the last decades, language and space research has begun to systematically reclaim the long-neglected research fields of areal syntax (e. g., *SAND* and *SADS*) and prosody. Given the importance of syntactical and phonological studies (OT, autosegmental phonology) for theoretical linguistics, this creates the preconditions for a systematic consideration of the areal dimension of linguistic variation in the ongoing attempts to theoretically model the cognitive processes supporting language.
- A focus on postmodern views of the language and space connection. In the wake of globalization, especially the increasing speed of communication and enlarged communicative reach, studies have set out to explore the consequent changes in the degree to which language is spatially bounded. At the forefront of these investigations is a focus on the dissolution of traditional ties to space on the one hand, and on new ways of symbolizing belonging in spatial terms (cf. place-making activities) on the other. We will discuss this highly productive development in more detail below.

The powerful impulses currently re-orienting language and space research are not exhausted by the empirical investigation of the relation of language to space in its full complexity. At the same time, the notion of space itself is no longer taken for granted and has become the object of theoretical reflection. Potential docking points are earlier and ongoing discussions in geography (cf. Johnstone 2004 and in this volume or Cresswell 2004 for a geographer's point of view) or Simmel's (1903) sociological theory of space, not to mention the phenomenological tradition spearheaded by Edmund Husserl (cf. Günzel 2006).

Any linguistic theory of space will need to acknowledge the central importance of the empirical fact of a multilayered relationship between language and space together with its historical development, the contours of which can be sketched as follows.

The primary form of the relationship of language to space is the product of millennia of exclusively face-to-face interactions leading to the development of commonalities and differences in linguistic systems in pre-modern times. Speakers' perception and recognition of language differences occurred within a spatial framework, which led to an evaluation of language in terms of the basic categories of *own* vs. *other*. Spatially differentiated speech therefore did not just provide the base medium for the interactive constitution of social and cultural systems, themselves perceived in relation to space. Rather, linguistic categorizations and evaluations were an integral part of these systems, and language differences an indexical (socially symbolic) expression of them.

In two important transformations, the nature of this pre-modern "language−body−place connection" (as Quist, this volume, puts it) has altered and become more complex. In a first, modern transformation, this connection was dissolved by the uniformitarian language ideology that the modern nation-state imposes upon its citizens: the individual no longer just belongs to the local *Gemeinschaft*, co-extensive with Schütz's "world within … actual and potential reach" (Schütz and Luckmann [1983] 1989: 166) and characterized by strong network ties based on face-to-face communication; beyond this local *Gemeinschaft*, there is the imagined community of the nation-state, which is beyond the reach of the individual subject. This community is symbolically present through its national standard language, a language variety which is by definition distributed evenly over the territory of the nation-state, although it is not evenly distributed across the social layers of the population. The invention of printing plays a central role here. It made linguistic interactions in the absence of direct personal contact possible, which in turn enabled the emergence of written norms across larger areas and laid the foundation for wide-scale (national) pronunciation norms.

The tension between the local vernacular (dialect) and a uniform state language established a new dimension of sociolinguistic variability; it became a motor and symbol of social differentiation and thereby defined a social space (Mæhlum in this volume), i.e., a vertical structure on top of the existing horizontal one. What used to be nothing more than the "natural" way of speaking in a given location ("first order indexicality" in the sense of Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006), now became, in the worst case, the language of the underprivileged classes who had no access to education, a variety that needed to be avoided in out-group situations, or, in the best case, a symbol of regional or local belonging ("second order indexicality"; Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006).

The second social and medial transformation which has untied the body−language−place connection is the post-modern one. Its wider context is the process of globalization, which accelerated during the last quarter of the last century, a period which Bauman (1998: 8) calls the "Great War of Independence from space". There has been not just an enormous increase in the speed at which capital and information flow freely around the world (beyond the control of the nation-state), but also, for expanding groups of speakers (especially migrants and elites), a fundamental shift in the spatial boundedness of life and language. As a consequence of the effective overcoming of distance (for both face-to-face and mediated communication), the individual's communicative reach is enlarged. Where people reside and where they are socialized can have less influence on their communicative practices than forms of communication that transcend spatial separation. Alongside the typical, historically anchored, complex, yet monolingual registers of groups of speakers, clusters of speakers can increasingly be observed whose linguistic repertoires are composed of variants typical of a region, urban speech forms that have arisen among linguistically heterogeneous peer groups and pan-ethnolectal forms originating from different contact languages, etc.

But not only has this untying of the language-body–space connection led to a complex, multilayered situation in which pre-modern and modern groups of speakers coexist with post-modern ones; it has also evoked counter-tendencies. The age of globalization has given rise to a new interest in symbolizing belonging in spatial terms, in turning abstract space into *places*, which are impregnated with meaning and which symbolize belonging. People living in a location – whether born there or (more often) not – may *choose* to construe a local identity for themselves. These place-making activities use the symbols of (local) language(s):

- multilingual street signs and graffiti (Auer 2009) colonize public spaces and symbolize their producers' claims to them;
- dialects and autochthonous minority languages are revitalized in order to mark local belonging;
- dialects and minority languages may also become folklorized and commodified; they then become part of the way in which a location presents itself to its inhabitants and to outsiders as "special", "genuine" or "authentic", in order to attract tourists, etc.;
- dialect stereotypes help to create identity-rich places (Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006 call this "third order indexicality"), usually reinforced by the media (cf. Androutsopoulos in this volume);
- fragments of both the international lingua franca (English) and some immigrant minority languages become available as resources for creating new regional ("glocalized") ways of speaking, new (supra)regional styles and lects.

Space still matters. The theoretical challenge for the future will be to analyze how, to what degree, and why it matters for language and how language matters for space. In order to do so, we need to model (a) the interactional and social bases of the spatial categorization of linguistic variation under pre-modern, modern and post-modern conditions, (b) the conversion of heterogeneous linguistic practices into consolidated language change in intergenerational transmission, (c) the relevance of ethnodialectological representations of language spaces and of place-making language-related activities for language change and (d) the relationships between large-scale (global, international), medium-scale (national) and small-scale (regional) spatial frames and language contact on all these levels. We offer up this volume in the hope that it will provide a rich foundation for the necessary theoretical advance.

Let us now turn to an overview of the structure of the handbook.

Vis-à-vis the relation of language to space, the first half of the handbook serves the dual goal of (comprehensively) documenting the theoretical achievements to date and offering impulses for necessary future development. The introductory part is dedicated to a transdisciplinary discussion of current conceptualizations of space. The concepts of "geographical space", "social spaces", "political spaces" and "transnational spaces" are examined in historical and theoretical terms with reference to the neighboring academic disciplines, whereby their constitutive and interactively mediated relevance to language is made clear. Insights from the "linguistic turn" in the social sciences are productively reflected back upon their source to reveal implicit economic and ideological dimensions, particularly in relation to territoriality, identity and standard languages. The extent to which place is a linguistic and cultural construct becomes manifest.

As a counterfoil, Part II introduces the impressive abundance of genuinely linguistic approaches developed over the long history of the study of the spatial dimension of language. These range from the foundation of an exact, empirically based investigation of linguistics (by the neogrammarians and in early linguistic geography), through the development of structuralism (including its generative variants) and variation linguistics, to those approaches which are currently shaping the ongoing theoretical development and refinement: social anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics, perceptual dialectology (folk linguistics) and the new linguistic dynamics approach, which attempts to integrate linguistic-cognitive and interactional explanatory factors. The discussion of these approaches is decidedly critical, i. e., the specific deficits of an approach are also made visible (e.g., the tendency towards an artificial isolation of an *Ortssprache* 'village variety' in the neogrammarian period or the virtually unexamined relation to space in generativist theories) and the question of potential ideological exploitation is also discussed (as with the *kulturmorphologische* approach).

Part III addresses the consequences that emerge from the critique of spatial monodimensionality in the classification of varieties and spaces. It attempts to provide insight into the anatomy and dynamics of variety formations. The concept of a language space here is construed broadly, i. e., as a complex experiential space constituted out of interactions in a particular language and its varieties. A catalogue of the basic dimensions of variation is followed by studies exploring the unfolding of the key recurrent dynamic patterns of development (horizontal and vertical convergence vs. divergence and stasis of existing varieties and the emergence of new varieties). Language spaces are generally perceived as contiguous but, due to past or more recent migration, they can also be discontinuous, a situation that is discussed in separate articles, as are languages which have developed into minority languages as a result of the horizontal diffusion of standard varieties.

The perspective shifts in Part IV. While the focus on confluent and divergent developments across time and space is maintained, in contrast to the concentration on the complex "internal" structure of a single dynamic language space of Part III, Part IV turns the attention outward, to the interplay between language spaces. In addition to foundation articles from the perspectives of language contact studies and areal language typology, there are contributions that explore specific consequences of migration and colonialism (pidgins and creoles, overseas varieties, new minorities) and the special case of nonconvergence in the face of continuing language contact.

The second major division of the handbook is devoted to the methods of language and space research. Since excellent discussions of the general methods of empirical research into language variation are already available in the HSK handbooks *Sociolinguistics / Soziolinguistik, Quantitative Linguistik / Quantitative Linguistics* and *Corpus Linguistics*, it has been possible to refrain from revisiting such topics here. Instead, given that the effectiveness of methods and the limitations of methodological approaches can only be properly assessed on the basis of concrete research findings, we have included a number of illustrative case studies. These represent the various schools (and traditions) that characterize the current research climate; they reveal the interplay between the differing methods and the concrete object of study and, taken together, offer a good overview of the entire span of contemporary research into language and space.

Part V takes as its topic the basic problems of data collection and corpus-building in areal linguistic research. The articles first address the problem of how to maintain empirical standards in traditional survey methods. Part V is then rounded off with an overview of contemporary methods for collecting linguistic and attitudinal data with varying degrees of (un)obtrusiveness, each assessed with respect to the linguistic observer paradox.

Part VI, "Data analysis and the presentation of results", can also be compact, since map-based data analysis will be the topic of a separate volume (*Language Mapping*). The focus is confined to developments with specific relevance to the investigation of language and space. For instance, there have been have marked improvements in the various methods for measuring dialectality in recent years, and these are now becoming something of a standard analytical tool. Advances have also been made in the modes of data presentation through linguistic atlases and dictionaries. The printed versions have been joined by internet-based counterparts that combine and integrate numerous sources and, by making it possible to directly compare different classes of data across time (dynamic atlases) and space (digital networks of dictionaries), open up new and more exact analytical possibilities. This part is rounded out by an article which attempts to draw together the entire sweep of analytical approaches from classical dialectology via traditional sociolinguistics to speaker-oriented interpretative social dialectology.

Part VII demonstrates the full spectrum of research topics and methodological approaches by means of exemplary studies. Three articles are devoted to different types of regional atlases. The Swiss German dialects are taken as an example with which to illustrate the potentially rich findings a theoretically informed analysis of the "static" maps of a classical monodimensional linguistic atlas can offer: the diffusion of innovations emerges as neither a random process nor one that is in any simple way reducible to the prestige enjoyed by groups of speakers. Far more decisive for the development and maintenance of regional types are language-internal structural constraints. The principles steering the transformation of the old European base dialects into modern regional dialects can be demonstrated using the example of the bidimensional atlas of the German dialects of the Middle Rhine, which systematically took account of social and areal dimensions. The effectiveness of pluridimensional atlases is demonstrated using the example of Portuguese varieties (*Fronterizo*) in the border regions between Uruguay and Brazil, where clear zones characterized by differing innovation rates and orientations can be seen to have emerged under the influence of the contact languages (Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese).

In contrast to these studies, all of which illustrate the ongoing development of genuinely linguistic geographic methods of data collection and analysis, three further contributions present exemplary studies of urban and transnational spaces that make use of methods developed in and adapted from sociolinguistics, social dialectology and anthropology. Taking small multiethnic groups of school pupils in Copenhagen as an example, the establishment of "communities of practice" and the social styles that shape them are illustrated. In contrast, a methodologically diverse Swedish project studying multiethnic groups of school pupils in different major cities reveals the problems raised in identifying higher order urban varieties, styles or practices on the basis of a wealth of differences at different linguistic levels. It also shows how the perception of linguistic differences is independent of observable language use. How and why ethnographic methods can be applied to the investigation of transnational language spaces is demonstrated using an example from the francophone world, in which the circulation of language, identities and resources on a global market are elucidated. This part of the handbook is rounded off by a résumé of various studies on the role of both the mass media and new media in the construction and perception of "linguistic locality".

While the investigation of phonetic/phonological, lexical and, to a more limited extent, morphological variation has been of central relevance from the very beginnings of dialectology, other linguistic levels were long neglected. There are various reasons for this: for instance, although the significance of prosody was recognized from the outset, there was a lack of widely accepted and manageable survey and analysis procedures. Research into areal syntax is yet another story. Here, traditional linguistic geography underestimated the degree to which syntactic structures played a role in the formation of language spaces and theoretical linguistics long overlooked the analytic potential which non-written areal varieties offered for syntax. The handbook thus concludes, in Part VIII, with a systematic consideration of the methodological problems specific to the various structural domains. On the one hand, this makes apparent the advances that have been made in the field since the 1982 *Dialektologie* handbook was published. In phonology and morphology new analytic procedures have been developed that are capable of being applied alongside established methods; research into areal syntax has evolved into an international hot topic from which landmark publications continue to emerge. On the other hand, it has also become apparent where deficits and unfulfilled wishes remain; for instance, although areal prosody studies have profited from the by now manageable tools of instrumental analysis and the outlines of a consensual descriptive system have been developed, we are still far from an even sketchily complete description of prosodic spatial structures (but cf. Gilles 2005 and Peters 2006). More markedly, the investigation of areal variation in discourse structures has yet to progress beyond the stage of initial excursions into this field of study. It remains to be hoped that, precisely through the explication of such specific research problems and the detailing of deficits and desiderata, the necessary impulses for future research efforts will become clear.

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Peter Auer and Jürgen Erich Schmidt[1]

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I. Introduction: Language and space

1. Language and geographical space

1. Introduction

My goal in this chapter is twofold: to encourage readers to think critically about terms such as "geography" and "space", and to provide an overview of the ways in which geographers have used these terms and others like them. Linguistics and geography have ridden the same political and intellectual currents over the past two centuries. During that time, linguists concerned with variation and change have imagined our object of inquiry − language − in various ways, as structure or process; as relatively orderly and predictable or fundamentally stochastic and unpredictable; as autonomous or distributed; as a cognitive or a social phenomenon. We have paid less and more belated attention to defining the variables we use to account for the distribution of linguistic forms across time and space, variables such as "society", "gender", "age" or "region". Investigating how geographers have imagined the object of their inquiry enriches our sense of the conceptual possibilities suggested by the phrase "geographical space". Thus this chapter traces the history of geographical inquiry with a particular eye to the parallel history of dialectology and sociolinguistics. Where there are explicit, cited links between sociolinguistics and geography, I point to some of them, although I do not claim to be tracing all of the ways in which geographers and sociolinguists have drawn on each other's work.

2. "The science of empire": Geography to 1918

In British and American geography departments, the principal division is between "physical" and "human" geography. Physical geographers overlap with geologists, ecologists, hydrologists, biologists, chemists and physicists in their interest in landforms and the flora and fauna they support. Human geographers overlap with archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists and economists (and occasionally with linguists) in their interest in how humans interact with the environment, shaping "the world" as the world shapes us. I concentrate in this chapter on human geography. But the two branches have common origins.

The sixteenth-century European transition from feudalism to capitalism both enabled and was enabled by the development of a trading system linking Europe with resources in Africa and the "New World" (Heffernan 2003; on the history of geography in general, see also Livingstone 1992; Dunbar 2002). This became possible in the context of advances in navigation technology. Early Modern geographers helped develop such technology as well as techniques for map-making and systems for describing the flora, fauna, geology and peoples of the rest of the world, some of which would become economic resources.

In Britain, geography began to acquire credibility as an academic discipline during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Geographers began to present their work in more scientific ways, and they played a role in the intellectual conversation of the day about the relative merits of societies and civilizations. Geography was no longer seen as just a by-product of navigation. The origin of this shift in focus is sometimes dated to 1769, the year of James Cook's first Pacific exploration (Heffernan 2003). But academic geography was bound, often tightly, to the imperial project (Godlewska and Smith 1994; Bell, Butlin and Heffernan 1994).

The link between academic geography and the aristocracy was forged in part through the rise of the aristocratic "grand tour" of the world, which often included observing, describing and sometimes collecting artifacts and people. The grand tour helped spark the development of geographical societies which institutionalized and underwrote journeys of exploration. These societies were founded by wealthy businessmen with economic interests in the findings of such journeys, in collaboration with aristocratic amateur scientists and academic geographers. The first such society was the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, founded in London in 1788. This was followed by the Société de Géographie de Paris in 1821, the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin in 1828, and, in 1830, the British Royal Geographic Society (RGS), which became especially influential. The Royal Geographic Society's "fellows" were mostly amateurs, although some professional scientists were included. The society provided funding and equipment and set goals for the journeys they sponsored. The Royal Geographic Society was involved in all of the major nineteenth-century journeys of exploration in Africa. The maps and other results of these journeys fuelled the later nineteenth century European rush to colonize Africa, both as a way of getting access to new raw materials at the lowest possible cost and as a way to gain political influence in Europe.

During the nineteenth century, as part of the shift from often amateur *Wissenschaft* or knowledge-building to expert "science" (Woolgar 1988), geography was institutionalized in academia, particularly in Germany and France. One argument for this was that training in geography would help inculcate patriotism. Nineteenth-century geography was exemplified by the German Alexander von Humboldt, who "sought to establish a systematic science of geography that could analyse the natural and the human worlds together" (Heffernan 2003: 7). He was the brother of Wilhelm von Humboldt, whose linguistic theory was linked with nineteenth-century Romanticism and nationalism in similar ways. Like his brother, Wilhelm von Humboldt sought to describe the essential link between peoples, landscapes and language by virtue of which shared language was seen as one of the "pillars" of nationalist theory. According to Wilhelm, each language has its own elements of *innere Sprachform*, "a peculiar property of the nation or the group that speaks it" (Robins 1979: 174–175).

By the end of the century, British geographer Hugh Robert Mill could claim that geography was "absolutely essential for our well-being, and even for the continuance of the [British] nation as a Power among the states of the world" (Mill 1901, quoted in Mitchell 2000: 17). Such a claim was based on the environmental determinism suggested by the von Humboldts and further developed in neo-Lamarckian thought. Neo-Lamarckism was based on geneticist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck's theory that acquired characteristics could be inherited by an organism's offspring. In geography, this idea was used to argue that environmental conditions create habits which are biologically transmitted to subsequent generations. Neo-Lamarckian environmental determinism holds, in other words, that there is an organic relationship between people and place, such that the natural, inherited ability of a people to better themselves, shaped by their physical environment, determines the ability of a state to prosper. Since European and European-American peoples came from climates and continents that were particularly likely to produce positive behavioral traits, their intervention in parts of the world with less advantageous climates and physical environments (hotter, more tropical places, for example) was thought to be justified, if not morally imperative.

Environmental determinism (or "scientific racism", as its detractors label it) continued to shape geography in the early twentieth century. In the United States, geographer Ellen Churchill Semple (1911) articulated the theory most influentially. But by the 1920s the theory collapsed, in part because it failed to provide an accurate account of variation across space, and partly because it was no longer needed to justify imperialism and colonization (Mitchell 2000: 19).

3. Region and culture

At the end of the nineteenth century, with the "blank spots" on the European and Euro-American maps of the Earth mainly filled, intellectuals feared that the twentieth century would bring a new era of conflict. World War I fulfilled some of those fears. The organic relationship between peoples, places and languages was called into question by attempts by nation-states to conquer others, and the brutality of the war made many feel that human life was essentially disorderly. Geographers played important roles during the war, particularly in developing maps for intelligence work, and geography played a larger role in British and American school curricula after the war than it had before. Post-war disillusionment with the idea that the nation-state was the natural condition for global peace led to a new concern with region.

One approach, called the "science of regions", is associated particularly with Richard Hartshorne (1939). This descriptive approach to physical geography continued the nineteenth-century and earlier tradition of cataloguing the characteristics of "undiscovered" places, and it both developed from and created links between geographers and their colleagues in geology and other physical sciences. In response to the failure of environmental determinism, another group of geographers turned to culture to explain regional variation in human behavior. This approach was pioneered by American Carl Sauer in *The Morphology of Landscape* (Sauer 1925). For Sauer, "culture, working with and on nature, created the contexts of life" (Mitchell 2000: 21). Human life ways are not shaped directly by nature, as environmental determinists claim. Rather, by means of agriculture, architecture and other activities, humans shape places into the landscapes that form the environments for their lives and the object of study for geographers. The activities that shape landscape are cultural activities, determined by human societies' ideas about how to use and live in nature. Landscape is thus a manifestation of the culture that produced it; to find out about local culture, geographers read the landscape. So while it is important to describe the processes that create the natural (i. e., pre-human) environment, this is preliminary to the job of exploring cultural landscapes, which should be the primary task of geography.

Mitchell (2000: 22–23) links Sauer's work with that of nineteenth-century German linguist Johann von Herder. Herder attributed the unique characteristics of languages not directly to nature but to the expression of the "spirit of a culture" (Mitchell 2000: 23); cultural variation was due not to the physical environment but to the relationships people created with places as they interacted with them. Thus the authentic roots of the nation-state can best be seen in vernacular practices such as folklore, folk music, folk poetry and fairy-tales. The influence of these ideas can be seen clearly in nineteenth-century European dialectology, particularly in the form of people like the Grimm brothers, who were both folklorists and students of language change.

But Sauer and his students were motivated less by nineteenth-century Romantic nostalgia for the authentic, unitary roots of the natural nation than by the sense that Western civilization was destroying what was particular about places and peoples, erasing the differences that would allow geographers and others to trace human history though the distribution of human artifacts and traditions. Influenced by anthropologists Boas and Kroeber, Sauer claimed that the job of geography was to "[chart] the distribution over the earth of the arts and artifacts of man, to learn whence they came and how they spread" (Sauer 1952: 1, quoted in Mitchell 2000: 25). Sauer's rejection of "causal geography" and his focus on the landscape, an object of study that no other discipline claimed, helped make geography more respectable as a science (Mitchell 2000: 26–29).

Like his colleagues in anthropology, Sauer went beyond the description of landscape. He attempted to explain the natural and cultural processes that create the meanings of human environments. For Sauer, cultural landscapes are constantly created and recreated, and geographers seek to trace their histories by describing such things as human artifacts, population patterns, building types, systems of production – and systems of communication. Geography textbooks thus often mention the work of the dialect atlas surveys about regional differences in lexicon as they reflect differences in culture and its interaction with nature. Just as do regional patterns of barn-building (Ensminger 1992), regional patterns of word usage track differences in how people interact with the physical environment.

Other regional geographers were less concerned with the processes of divergence and change that underlay regional differences, and their work sometimes consisted of descriptive compendia of observations about regions and their landscapes. This gave rise to one critique of Sauerian regional geography: it was too concerned with material artifacts and too mistrustful of modernity, hence overly focused on the rural, the primitive and the archaic. Similar anti-modernist sentiment can be said to underpin (explicitly or not) the American dialect atlas projects of the twentieth century, which are vulnerable to the same critique. For example, both the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States* in the 1930s and 1940s and Ensminger's exploration of Pennsylvania barn types were published as or well after the kinds of regionally based cultural differentiation they describe were beginning to break down due to such influences as radio, motorized vehicles, urbanization and the standardization of agricultural practices and vocabularies.

4. Superorganicism and social-scientific geography

Another critique of Sauer's approach had to do with its use of the concept "culture". Because he was in the end more interested in the effects of culture than with the processes that led to these effects, Sauer relied on a common-sense, uncritical understanding of this idea (Mitchell 2000: 29). This critique was addressed in Wilbur Zelinsky's (1973) work, first published in the early 1970s. Zelinsky, a student of Sauer's, attempted to define "culture" more systematically. For Zelinsky, culture could be seen as (1) "an assemblage of learned behavior", or, more abstractly, (2) "a structured, traditional set of patterns for behavior, a code or template, for ideas and acts", or, more abstractly yet, (3) a totality which "appears to be a superorganic entity living and changing according to a […] set of internal laws" (Zelinsky 1973: 71). The idea of culture as superorganic, existing "both of *and beyond* its participating members" (Zelinsky 1973: 40), means that individual behavior does not predict culture or vice versa.

To describe culture in this sense is to describe what unifies it, the "internal laws" which operate behind the diversity in behavior that can actually be observed. Zelinsky acknowledged that modernization tends to make individuals freer to decide how and where to live and that "spurious" or "synthetic" regions created by sports fans or public relations professionals, like "the Steeler Nation", "Chicagoland", or "Pennsylvania Dutch Country", can sometimes seem more real than more authentic regions do. However, Zelinsky's model of culture as superorganic fits best with the "traditional region", the region into which people are born and in which they live their lives and in which "an intimate symbiotic relationship between man and land develops over many centuries, one that creates indigenous modes of thought and action, a distinctive visible landscape and a form of human ecology specific to the locality" (Zelinsky 1973: 110).

Critical geographer Don Mitchell (2002: 30–33) suggests that Zelinsky's view of culture as superorganic was a liberal reaction to the conflict and fragmentation of the 1960s, an attempt to reassert a fundamental unity underlying differences in behavior. Critiques of superorganicism point to how, by reifying culture and making it agentive, the theory positions the individual as an automaton. Critics like James Duncan (1980) ask how culture is constructed through human activity. Echoing many sociolinguists, they wonder how culture actually works in human society and life.

With increased state regulation of national economies and the increasing professionalization of business in the post-World War II years, many academic disciplines also "professionalized", making new connections with government, industry and the military in return for new sources of research funding (Woolgar 1988; Johnston 2003; see Johnston 1997 on geography after 1945). The time was right for the emergence of new ways of working that could produce "scientific" information about human behavior, and disciplines like economics, political science and sociology became more influential as they turned increasingly to quantitative "social-scientific" methods, and to the research questions such methods could best answer. Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, some geographers began to re-orient their work towards social science. They liked the rigor of social scientific methods and thought that scientific rigor required quantitative methods (Gregory 1962). They also realized that quantitative research would raise geography's status.

The quantitative approaches to geographical inquiry that became dominant during this period were known as "locational analysis" or "spatial science". They drew on models from economics and other social sciences, including assumptions like the principle of least effort and that of rational choice – the assumptions, that is, that people will do the things that require the least effort and best serve their interests. Widely used textbooks that brought such ideas into geography from economics, sociology and the like included Haggett (1965) and Morrill (1970). One influential theory that drew on social-scientific models was "central place theory" (Christaller [1933] 1966; see also Berry 1967). Central place theory assumes that potential consumers moving through space want to minimize their time and effort and business owners want to maximize consumers' spending and the rate at which the consumer population turns over. The resulting model describes the ideal arrangement in space of smaller and larger central places that function as business and service centers.

Sociolinguists have drawn explicitly on models of spatial flow and diffusion from quantitative human geography. (For a useful overview of this work, see Bailey et al. 1993.) The most influential model from the point of view of sociolinguistics has been that of Torsten Hägerstrand ([1953] 1967). Location theory is concerned with the simulation and modeling of processes of change across space, and it has been applied to various patterns of change, including the spread of disease. Hägerstrand's "gravity model" of hierarchical change was adopted by Trudgill (1974) in his work in Norway and by Callary (1975) in a study of the spread of urban speech forms in Illinois, USA. Bailey et al. (1993) and Horvath and Horvath (2001) have also used elements of location theory to account for "contra-hierarchical" patterns of change and for "space effects" and "place effects".

In Hägerstrand's view, "innovation spreads in a community through a network of face-to-face interpersonal communication such that the likelihood of adoption at a given site is higher when it is close to a site of previous adoption" (Yapa 1996: 238). The assumption underlying this model is that interaction becomes less frequent as a function of distance. Diffusion can also be blocked by such things as economic and class differences or geographical factors that make face-to-face communication less likely. There are also amplifiers of diffusion, such as tightly knit social networks or population density. In general, according to Rogers (1983), the factors that influence diffusion across space include the phenomenon itself (for a phonological change, this might include whether it is a merger or a split), communicative networks, distance, time and social structure. One effect of the need for face-to-face interaction is that innovations can either move from cities to suburbs to rural areas, or bypass the rural areas near cities, "cascading" to further-away urban centers where city dwellers are more likely to have contacts. Both are types of "hierarchical" diffusion, models of the spread of change that begins in "central places".

The social-scientific, quantitative "revolution" in geography was codified by David Harvey in a 1969 textbook (Harvey 1969). But by the 1970s, Harvey, along with other geographers, had begun to look to Marxist theory for a better understanding of the social inequality that so often serves as a barrier to spatial diffusion (Harvey 1973: 1982). Location theory paid too little attention, it was thought, to social structures and social systems. As Johnston explains it (2003: 62), "By reducing all decision-making to economic criteria, subject to immutable "laws" regarding least-costs, profit-maximization and distance-minimizing, geographers, it was claimed, were ignoring (even denigrating) the role of culture and individuality in human conditioning and behavior". One of the most influential critics of social-scientific, quantitative geography was Derek Gregory (1985), who pointed out that location theory presupposes that each member of a society has the same likelihood of adopting change, assuming contact with it. In particular, quantitative geographers' "laws" were thought to describe, and thus help perpetuate, the capitalist status quo.

One important reaction to the critique was L. A. Brown's (1981) "market and infrastructure perspective", a method for paying systematic attention to differences in access to resources. Studies taking this more socially conscious perspective came together with studies of the diffusion of modernization from anthropology, sociology and political science. One such model is that of Lakshman Yapa (1996), who proposes a way of talking about innovation based on the idea that what spreads from place to place is not simply information but a "nexus of production relations and biased innovations" (Yapa 1996: 232).

5. The 1960s onwards: Towards new paradigms

Just as in many other social-scientific and humanistic disciplines, quantitative approaches began to be questioned during the later 1960s and 1970s. New or newly discovered strands of philosophy and social theory were brought to the table, many with origins in nineteenth and earlier twentieth-century European philosophy and political theory. Geographers skeptical of the static, consensual quality of social-scientific models began to explore Marxist and neo-Marxist social theory, with its focus on power, class struggle and change. Feminist geographers including Gillian Rose (1993) and Suzanne Mackenzie (1989) moved beyond describing how capitalism pins individuals into places along an economic axis, describing "positionality" along multiple social dimensions including that of gender and theorizing identity in terms of performance rather than social determination. Feminists' attention to the hybridity, mutability and particularity of identity led to a more generally postmodern geography (Gregory 1989; Soja 1989; N. Duncan 1996). Others turned to the discourse-centered philosophy of Michel Foucault, exploring how place and space are socially constructed via a variety of knowledge-building practices. Methodologically, all these approaches suggested that qualitative, particularistic research aimed at describing social process and practices needed to supplement or even replace quantitative work aimed at making generalizations about the outcomes of such processes.

In the two sections that follow, I focus on two of the post-1960s approaches to geography that have found direct application in work about language and place: Marxist and neo-Marxist geography and humanistic geography. I then touch on their common concern with the ways in which places are created and their meanings shared through discourse, sketching some current approaches that draw on Foucauldian thought.

5.1. Marxist-influenced geography

In the UK, Marxist and then feminist "cultural studies" (first institutionalized at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) began to influence geographers in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Jackson 1980; Cosgrove 1983). What Denis Cosgrove called "radical cultural geography" required increased attention to issues such as race, gender, power, dominance (for geographers, often enacted in the control of space), and the production of "social space". It also encouraged renewed interest in landscape in the Sauerian sense, but with a more direct focus on diversity and conflict in the creation and regimentation of landscape.

Edward L. Soja (1989) traces the beginning of "critical human geography" to the work of the French Marxist scholar Henri Lefebvre ([1974] 1991). According to Lefebvre, the production of space is a consequence of modern capitalism. Space is *produced*, in Lefebvre's sense, when it is the result of labor; the production of space is contrasted with its creation by nature. When a space is a product, it can be reproduced and it takes on the characteristics of an object. For example, it can be bought and sold. Spaces that are produced may bear traces of how they were produced – how the original, natural raw material was modified. "One might say", according to Lefebvre, "that practical activity writes upon nature, albeit in a scrawling hand" (Lefebvre 1991: 117). But such traces tend to fade, and produced spaces eventually tend to become detached from the conditions under which they were produced, including the labor involved. The processes that "naturalize" produced space Lefebvre calls "forgetfulness" or "mystification". People forget, for example, what residential neighborhoods looked like before they were developed; various practices at home and at school encourage children to think of the neighborhood as the natural environment for life and discourage them from wondering about its history. Eventually, physical traces of the neighborhood's production out of farmland or forest – flattened hills or artificial contours, non-native trees and flowers, new roads and driveways – become invisible, part of a new "natural" background. The study of the history of space, then, looks at how the "spatio-temporal rhythms of nature" are transformed by "social practice" (Lefebvre 1991: 117).

Space can be "appropriated" or "dominated" by human activity. The appropriation of space occurs when space is minimally modified to serve the needs of humans. This may result in a structure – a hut or an igloo, for example – whose form stays close to what the raw materials dictate. Space is dominated, on the other hand, when it is transformed by modern technology which introduces new forms, which are often rectilinear, closed, emptied and sterilized. A fort or a highway would exemplify the domination of space via technological modes of production. Lefebvre claims that most appropriation of space in the modern era also involves its domination (Lefebvre 1991: 164–168).

The terms *space* and *place* and their derivatives have had many uses in geography. In general, space is seen as the raw material for the construction, by human societies, of landscape, or, more abstractly, place. But geographical theories differ on whether it is possible to speak of space independent of human activity. For those who carry social constructivism to its extreme, everything we observe is seen through one cultural lens or another, so it makes no sense to try to describe pre-cultural spaces. Geographers like Soja (1989) and J. Nicholas Entrikin (1991) come down in the middle, claiming that humans' space (or, for Soja, "spatiality") is always interconnected with the "physical space of material nature" and the "mental space of cognition and representation" (Soja 1989: 120). Entrikin similarly speaks of the "betweenness" of place, partly physical, but always also partly the result of social activity. The focus of Marxist geography is, however, on the social process through which human spaces are created, maintained, struggled over, and for Marxists, these processes are massively shaped by economic relations and their historical residue.

Sociolinguist David Britain (1997, 2005) draws on the work of Marxist-influenced geographers to add explanatory detail to the more abstract model of social networks that Lesley Milroy (1987) and others have used in describing processes of language change. Research by geographer John Urry (1985) for example, shows how social relations and spatial structures are connected in different ways depending on the local economic and political system. Nineteenth-century capitalism, in England, led to the foundation of towns near natural resources like coal and iron. These towns attracted laborers, who needed inexpensive housing near where they worked; the resulting row houses led to new social relations among members of the working class, including, perhaps, denser, more multiplex social networks than they experienced in the countryside where they came from.

Beginning in the 1980s, critics of "radical" Marxist geography began to claim that Marxist approaches were too deterministic and too dependent on a static model of social structure as shaped by an unchanging set of economic relations between labor and capital. These geographers "reemphasized the need for more sophisticated conceptions of the forces shaping people's subjective experiences, of the role of these experiences in shaping people's practices and struggles, and of the significance of subjective knowledge in scientific accounts of social change" (Chouinard 1996: 389−390). Doreen Massey's (1984) "critical realism" is considered a classic formulation of this position. According to Massey, there are general tendencies, in a capitalist economic system, for socio-spatial relations to take certain forms, but the particular processes that lead to these relations are implemented by individuals. As a result, both the situation and the individual actor are changed. In other words, there is a continuous interplay between "structure" and "agency", terms drawn from sociologist Anthony Giddens (1984), who calls this dialectic process "structuration". Methodologically, for Massey, this means that a geographer can explain particular locational events but not make general laws. Geographers Allan Pred (1984, 1990) and Nigel Thrift (1991) were particularly influential in bringing structuration theory into geography.

Drawing on social theorists like Zigmunt Bauman (1992), who suggest that the mass media are now among the main technologies for the production and distribution of culture, some neo-Marxist geographers have explored how the media function in contests over the meaning of space. Robert D. Sack (1988, cited in Entrikin 1991) shows how advertising can make strategic use of (and help perpetuate) nostalgia for neighborhood, community, or region. Sociolinguists have begun to notice that linguistic forms people think of as local can be used in such advertising, and in other planned attempts to capture the "heritage" or "authentic" aspects of places (Beal 1999), and that these uses may have ramifications for the trajectory of linguistic change.

Critics of Marxist-influenced geography included feminists such as Mackenzie (1989) and Rose (1993), who pointed out that humans are positioned not only in an economic system but along many other axes as well, one being gender. They encourage attention to the hybridity and particularity of identity and of people's relations with space and place. They advocate new methods of interpretation, sometimes less theory-driven ones such as text analysis and the analysis of narrative. For Courtice Rose (1980), doing geography is more like reading than like traditional scientific work. Sociolinguist Greg Myers (2006) draws on Massey's (1994) feminist work in his discourse analysis of how members of focus groups "formulate place" (Schegloff 1972) as they introduce themselves and support their positions. The turn away from the formulation of general laws about how economic systems shape space and how it is experienced is encapsulated by Margaret Rodman (2003: 208), "It is time to recognize that places, like voices, are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places. The links in these chains of experienced places are forged of culture and history".

5.2. Humanistic geography

Another new approach with origins in the 1960s and 1970s draws on the phenomenological strand of German philosophy. Like Marxist, feminist and other critical approaches, it originated as a reaction to the "old" cultural geography and the abstract law-finding of quantitative social-scientific geography. Humanistic geographers, drawing on phenomenologists such as Heidegger, are concerned with how individuals experience and "inhabit" the world, describing human interactions with the environment from the humans' perspective, in other words our "senses of place". Key humanistic geographers include Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), Entrikin (1976), Edward Relph (1981) and Anne Buttimer (1993).

According to humanistic geographers, the physical aspects of place are always mediated by subjective experience. We experience a house not as a set of geographical coordinates or a particular arrangement of building materials or furniture, but as a set of smells, sounds, scenes and emotions that are shaped by repeated ways of interacting with houses. We "inhabit" a house, making it our own, by experiencing and/or manipulating it in a variety of ways − walking through it, touching the walls, looking out the window, turning the water on and off, rearranging the furniture, maybe even writing a poem about it. We experience a region, sometimes, partly through the sounds of a dialect (Mugerauer 1985). Physical places are sometimes designed with particular human experiences in mind, as when people build structures or post signs that make places more distinctive and memorable or make sure a house is well-lit and fresh-smelling before showing it to a potential buyer. Such manipulations have become more obvious in the past few decades as attention to "heritage" and "authenticity" in the marketing of place has led to the increasing commodification of senses of place: shopping malls that incorporate elements of the industries that once occupied their sites, towns designed to feel "like home", with nostalgic street names like "Cherry Lane". Technological developments like satellite navigation and online mapping systems have also changed how we experience space.

A sense of place comes both from immediate experience and from more abstract modes of knowledge. Spatiality is constructed directly through bodily experience that results from motion and sensation: vision, smell, touch and hearing (Thrift 2000; Urry 2000). Among the indirect sources of knowledge about places are art (for example, landscape painting, travel writing, television documentaries), education (school lessons, guide books, maps and brochures and so on) and politics (debates over urban redevelopment or public transit, for example) (Tuan 1977: 161−164). These make places visible and encourage people to see them in common ways, or make them aware that they see them differently.

5.3. Discourse and place

Neo-Marxist and humanistic approaches to geography, as well as other strands of postmodern geographical thought, have in common the idea that spaces become human places partly through discourse. “Discourse” in this sense (Foucault 1972: 1980) refers to talk, writing and other practices involving language, as well as to the ideology that is produced and reinforced through talk. In other words, it is through ways of talking that arise from and evoke particular linked sets of ideas that people come to share or attempt to impose ideas about what places mean and how to behave in them. The “linguistic turn” to which Marxist, Foucauldian and feminist theory gave rise has shifted many scholars’ focus throughout the humanities and social sciences, and geography is no exception. As Bridge and Watson (2000) put it in connection with urban studies, “Cities are not simply material or lived spaces – they are also spaces of the imagination and spaces of representation” (Bridge and Watson 2000: 7). Among the “technologies” (Benjamin [1936] 1968) or “practices” (de Certeau 1984) that shape how places are offered to the imagination are the mass media, with their particular economic goals and technical constraints, as well as linguistic practices like narrative, which arise in particular social and situational contexts.

Students of language and space have begun to draw on humanistic and discursive geography (Johnstone 2004). For example, they explore how storytelling and other genres of discourse can evoke and shape the meanings of places and ways of speaking, encouraging people to experience them the same way and learn the same lessons from them (Johnstone 1990; Modan 2007). Recent work on the “enregistration” of dialects, drawing on the semiotic theory of Michael Silverstein (1993, 2003) and Asif Agha (2003), explores how sets of linguistic forms that are hearable or visible in an area can coalesce, in people’s minds, into “dialects”, and how dialects get linked with cities and regions through practices like newspaper feature-writing (Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski 2002; Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson 2006), the telling of travel stories (Johnstone 2007), and nostalgic online chat (Johnstone and Baumgardt 2004). Interrogating how linguists ourselves construct dialects and places as we talk about them may add a much-needed layer of reflexivity to our work.

6. New concerns

It has been argued that economic and cultural developments have diminished the relevance of place in human lives. The threat to meaningful places in the modern world is often said to be the result of rapid change and mobility. Edward Said (1978: 18), for example, speaks of the “generalized sense of homelessness” experienced by the globally mobile.

According to Giddens (1991), the dynamism of modern life has the effect of separating place from space, removing social relations from local contexts via “abstract systems” such as currency, therapy and technology (Giddens 1991: 14–21). Once social life becomes “disembedded” in this way, “place becomes phantasmagoric” (Giddens 1991: 146); an individual’s experiential world is no longer the physical world in which he or she moves. The electronic media are often associated with a sort of liberation from place, and new attention to what happens on the borders and at the boundaries and to heterogeneity and adaptiveness calls into question the idea that “cultures” in the traditional sense ever existed (Bhabha 1994; Urciuoli 1995).

But local, space-based community may still have a role to play. People sometimes attempt to “re-embed the lifespan within a local milieu” (Giddens 1991: 147), via such activities as attempts to cultivate community pride. Cultural geographers who focus on traditional cultures and traditional aspects of culture recognize the continued persistence and importance of traditional sources of meaning such as localness (Entrikin 1991: 41). Local contexts of life may be tied to human identity in more immediate ways, too. As Stuart Hall points out (1991: 33−36), "the return to the local is often a response to globalization". Face-to-face community is knowable in a way more abstract communities are not. Anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1996: 26−27) proposes that the local may still be an important source of continuity, because "everyday life" is local. People's earliest experiences usually take place in a local context, and local encounters tend to be face-to-face and long-term. Furthermore, the local is sensually immediate and immersive in a way that more distanced forms of experience are not. Thus the principal vehicles for the production and transmission of culture may still be local ones.

Geographers come down on both sides of this debate about whether place still matters. For Castells (1966), economic, political and cultural globalization mean that "flows" are replacing places and geography is in danger of losing its traditional object of inquiry. Castree (2003) argues, to the contrary, that the role of place in human life has changed, but not vanished. To be sure, geographers can no longer think of the world as a mosaic of bounded places, each of which can be studied on its own. For contemporary human geographers, places are both unique − the result of particular, small-scale interactions and experiences − and the same − shaped by the same large-scale global forces. The identities of people and places are thus "glocal" − both global and local. Global forces play out differently in different sets of local circumstances, because particular local circumstances constrain how such forces are experienced and dealt with.

Sociolinguists are likewise noticing how the larger-scale leveling effects of language and dialect contact can be counteracted by particular regional loyalties and patterns of interaction, media consumption and such, which can lead to the preservation of variant forms and the development of new differences. Like sociolinguists, geographers are now being reminded of the importance of scale, of thinking about change not as a singular process but as a series of incremental shifts in patterns that emerge at different grain sizes (Herod 2003). Like sociolinguists, geographers are thinking about identity, power and resistance (Katz 2003) and about the technology that standardizes space as well as the local ecological systems that such technology can disrupt (Simmons 2003).

7. Conclusion

In choosing to organize this chapter chronologically, I mean to highlight the variety of ways in which "geography" and "space" have been imagined over time. I do not mean to suggest that subsequent approaches have always displaced earlier ones or that chronology necessarily represents progress. Geographers today do many different kinds of work; different research questions call for different conceptions of space and its role in human life and different methods for answering these questions. The same is true of linguists exploring language and space. We can learn from several strands of geography, and I hope this chapter has provided a framework for doing so.

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Barbara Johnstone, Pittsburgh (USA)

2. Language and social spaces

1. Introduction

> *Language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power. A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished.* (Bourdieu 1977: 648)

The main topic of this article is the *indexicality* of language in a social and cultural space. Language functions as a sign system with reference to significant sociocultural features and qualities. Hence, the use of a specific variety, or any given variety, in social interaction will serve as an indicator of the interlocutors' social standing and identity.

The relationship between dialect on the one hand and standard spoken language (henceforth called *the standard* for short) on the other, is one of the core contrasts in modern linguistics. These two opposites have constituted a core linguistic axis in socio-linguistic research from the 1960s up until today, and a substantial part of the present discussion in sociolinguistics revolves around this dichotomy. At the same time, the contrast between dialect and standard may serve to illustrate some of the complex ways in which we experience social space − in contrast to geographical space. As will be discussed in close detail below, the distinction between dialect and standard was originally a geographical one, but in many contexts it is interpreted primarily as an expression of *social* identity. The use of dialect, or of certain dialect markers, is often conceived of as an indicator of a specific social position rather than as an indication of geographical origin. In this respect, the sociocultural references of language cannot be seen as detached from or independent of the geographical dimension (cf. Johnstone in this volume). In other words, the territoriality of language is intimately connected and subtly interwoven with other aspects of language which are often regarded as expressions of certain social features and characteristics.

This article covers three general topics, which successively support each other and which partly overlap. The first theme addressed is the conventionalization of linguistic practices, and this section introduces a key term and metaphor – the linguistic market. Next follows a description of some of the most prominent values associated with two of the "products" on this market – dialect and standard, respectively. A crucial point in this context is how these contrasting social values can ultimately be related to the dichotomy between tradition on the one hand and modernity on the other. The third and final section is a discussion of how these sociohistorical and sociocultural dimensions can be used to elucidate and explain the dialect leveling we have witnessed over the last decades – a development which primarily involves a shift from the traditional dialects towards more standardized spoken varieties.

2. The conventionalization of linguistic practices: The linguistic market

> *Discourse is a symbolic asset which can receive different values depending on the market on which it is offered. Linguistic competence (like any other cultural competence) functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market.*
> *(Bourdieu 1977: 651)*

The role of language as a sociohistorical phenomenon serves as the theoretical basis of the present discussion. A given language community, with specific, given linguistic practices, is a historical product of a complex set of social, cultural and political conditions. In this regard, the linguistic choices made by the individual language users can be treated on a par with a number of other social practices in any given society, and consequently language practices can be subjected to the same analysis as other social phenomena, such as lifestyles, leisure activities, general style preferences, etc. However, the various linguistic expressions cannot be regarded exclusively as a reflection of society's social structures; language in itself is a *constituting factor* in the social stratification.

This juxtaposition of language and other social forms of expression is among the core ideas in Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theories of culture (see, e.g., Bourdieu 1977, 1994, 1995; for a more comprehensive account of Bourdieu's ideas about language, see Bourdieu 1991). The present exposition, and also the terminology employed, is very much inspired by Pierre Bourdieu and his theoretical works.

Bourdieu's notion of *conventionalized* social practice constitutes a focal part of the present theoretical approach. We all take part in various communities of practice –

communities with unique discourse traditions. To a community of practice the repetition of certain patterns is a vital factor in the establishment and maintenance of structures, routines, and norms. Linell describes this dialogistic shaping of linguistic practice as follows (1998: 59–60):

> [L]inguistic structures, cultural routines, norms etc. do exist prior to interactions (but only in and through the interactants' being acquainted with them). At the same time, however, these structures, routines and norms are interactionally generated, traded down and reconstructed. That is, they exist prior to individual interactions, yet would not exist without a living historical continuity of interactions. Social structures are (re)created, tried out, tested, negotiated and modified every time they are instantiated or drawn upon. Habit is modified by accommodation, while accommodation is enabled and constrained by habit.

As members of a community we share preferred social representations, stereotypes, and discursive practices; these, in turn, become the backdrop against which the individual experiences and perceives the world and which ultimately influence her actions in this world. Put differently, every person is an actor who interprets and acts – both at the same time. In this context Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" (cf. Thompson 1991: 12) is of central heuristic value. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of the term as Bourdieu uses it, and it will suffice to say that it is related to our collectively acquired and habitual patterns of cognition, including evaluations, social preferences and concrete actions – as these are acquired in the process of socialization:

> Endowed with this habitus, which consists in universal schemas of perception and cognition, principles of interpretation and evaluations, we live our lives. We ascribe meaning to what we experience and we act "adequately". Our habitus generates a form of structurally adapted "practical knowledge" which works perfectly in all aspects of everyday life. But we are not alone in this. Since we share the habitus with other people in the same class and class fraction, we also become class members and social agents. Our individual actions become parts of the social practices of classes and class fractions. This constitutes the basis for the social process of recreation. (Rosenlund 1991: 28; my translation)

Consequently, we may say that habitus consists of a set of dispositions that make us inclined both to "[…] act and react in certain ways" (Thompson 1991: 12). These dispositions steer our actions and preferences in a certain direction; however, they do not predetermine them, "It gives them [i. e. individuals] a 'feel for the game', a sense of what is appropriate in the circumstances and what is not, a 'practical sense' (le sens pratique)" (Thompson 1991: 13). The practical implication is that through socialization, the various dispositions become *internalized* in each individual, at the same time as the internalized dispositions constitute the premise for the individual's *externalized* actions. Through these largely conventionalized practices, society is "constructed", and can be perceived as an objective reality that exists more or less independently of the people who "construct" it. In other words, society is created by human beings, at the same time as human beings are created by society; cf. Berger and Luckmann's (1967: 61) statement that "[…] society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product".

It is within these theoretical frames that all forms of linguistic interaction take place – and are conventionalized. Certain verbal conventions are often preferred in the context of particular social activities, or social fields, and as such these conventions are intimately connected with the social categories that are associated with or dominate the various fields. Through these processes the various codes are assigned a symbolic value on the linguistic market:

> Linguistic utterances or expressions are always produced in particular contexts or markets, and the properties of these markets endow linguistic products with a certain 'value'. On a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others; and part of the practical competence of speakers is to know how, and to be able, to produce expressions which are highly valued on the markets concerned. […] For different speakers possess different quantities of 'linguistic capital' – that is, the capacity to produce expressions *à propos*, *for* a particular market. Moreover, the distribution of linguistic capital is related in specific ways to the distribution of other forms of capital (economic capital, cultural capital, etc.) which define the location of an individual within the social space. (Thompson 1991: 18)

In other words, a condition of hegemony develops in a particular market, regardless of whether it is a local or global market, whereby one variety attains a certain social authority, legitimacy and prestige, while other varieties are situated lower in the hierarchy. Naturally, there will be an intimate connection between this language hierarchy and the historical and sociopolitical structures of the society in question. Recognition of the existence of linguistic hierarchies, together with knowledge about the social values attached to the different codes, is usually part of the sociolinguistic competence of the actors that operate in a linguistic market. In other words, such knowledge is part of the actors' habitus and contributes to sustaining a relative consensus within a given social community about whether the use of certain language codes is a symbolic asset, with the prospect of future social gain, or alternatively a social disadvantage.

Over time, the values and connotations associated with different varieties often come to appear "natural", i. e. obvious and incontestable. In other words, they become part of the *doxa* of a speech community, that is, part of the cultural ideas that are taken more or less for granted and thus normally not subject to reflection or critical discussion. Conceptions concerning the relationship between dialect and standard are examples of a doxic field.

The concept "linguistic market" should primarily be understood as a metaphor for forces and mechanisms that apply within a socially defined community. The key issue is how the social interaction that takes place in the metaphorical market can be described by the use of economic terminology – a form of analogy typical in Bourdieu's theories. Following this train of thought, all language use will be part of the "economy of everyday living", in which language – on a par with the goods on offer in other markets – is continuously assessed in terms of values, investments, profits and capital. One particularly important dimension of the conditions of linguistic production is what Bourdieu refers to as "reception envisaged" and "self-censorship":

> In reality, the conditions of reception envisaged are part of the conditions of production, and anticipation of the sanctions of the market helps to determine the production of the discourse. This anticipation, which bears no resemblance to a conscious calculation, is an aspect of the linguistic habitus which, being the product of a prolonged and primordial relation to the laws of a certain market, tends to function as a practical sense of the acceptability and the probable value of one's own linguistic productions and those of others on different markets. […] In the case of symbolic production, the constraint exercised by the market via the anticipation of possible profit naturally takes the form of an anticipated

> *censorship*, of a self-censorship which determines not only the manner of saying, that is, the choice of language […] or the 'level' of language, but also what it will be possible or not possible to say. (Bourdieu 1991: 76–77)

In other words, the mechanisms operating on the linguistic market presuppose a certain consensus about the linguistic "economy" and the symbolic dominance that some varieties have over other varieties on the linguistic market, and these *expectations* about the sanctions that accompany certain language choices are a critical factor in the overall picture of the conditions of linguistic production. On a more or less conscious but often automatic level, the individual language user will make "calculations" based on those experiences that constitute the habitus and that have implications for the values and acceptability of the various codes in the market.

The symbolic relations of power and dominance that are outlined here are intimately connected to the historical, political and sociocultural conditions of society. Therefore, it must be stressed that these structures and mechanisms are by no means static or even necessarily the same across different societies. On the contrary, what we are dealing with are values, attitudes and patterns of action that can be negotiated and renegotiated at any point in time. This implies that the linguistic market is not invariable and constant; rather, it is dynamic and changeable, depending on varying sociopolitical conditions (see, e.g., Kerswill 2007 for a discussion on language and social class, and Wolfram 2007 on ethnic varieties).

3. The dialect user versus the standard user – a matter of the polarization of values

> *'The vulgar and the refined', 'the particular and the general', 'the corrupt and the pure', 'the barbaric and the civilized', 'the primitive and the arbitrary' were socially pervasive terms that divided sensibility and culture according to linguistic categories. The baser forms of language were said to reveal the inability of the speaker to transcend the concerns of the present, an interest in material objects, and the dominance of the passions. Those who spoke the refined language were allegedly rational, moral, civilized, and capable of abstract thinking.* *(Smith 1984: 3)*

"Only before God and linguists are all languages equal", states a sociolinguistic adage. This is particularly valid for the relationship between dialect and standard, a relation that is colored by asymmetry, incongruence, and hierarchical structures. That is to say, the contrast is typical for how the dialect user and the standard language users are *perceived* – in different linguistic market places.

Before examining what these conceptions consist of, and exploring their basis more closely, we need a basic definition of the terms "dialect" and "standard variety". It is important to note that we are dealing with these concepts as idealized concepts, as two extremes that primarily exist at the level of ideal norms. The actual development of spoken language over the last decades in fact demonstrates variable forms of interference between dialects and a standard variety. The relationship between the two is first and foremost a matter of degree and extent (see, e.g., Auer and Hinskens 1996 and Berruto in this volume).

In this context, the term "dialect" will be used in the traditional meaning of "geolect" – that is, as a variety that has a specific geographical basis. A dialect is thus to be understood as a language system that is found within local, regional or otherwise defined territorial boundaries – a language system which is unique to a certain geographical area within a national state. A "standard variety", on the other hand, is a variety that serves as a norm or ideal standard for a larger speech community, usually a national state, and which is often codified – that is, given a standard definition in grammar books and/or dictionaries. One crucial premise for assigning the role of supra-regional – that is, supra-local – role to a speech variety is that the development of a spoken variety is accompanied by the development of a written standard for this variety.

The difference referred to here in terms of the geographical affiliation of the two varieties is, however, often understood as a social and cultural difference. The very essence of the relation that conventionally exists between dialect and standard is that the latter – compared to other varieties – is the most prestigious variety at the national level, and it is the language that is most likely to be associated with social elites – groups or persons with higher levels of education, authority and status. Consequently, the standard language is often associated with domains of society that are connected to authority – for example within universities, the media or the public scene in general.

Before we continue to investigate which values are usually ascribed to dialect and standard language in more detail, let us first look briefly at the historical conditions for the emergence of the social asymmetry between the two.

Standard speech is based on a national written standard. In addition, it usually originates historically from a regional vernacular:

> Naturally the spoken national standard is not a mere copy of the written language. One of the main requirements is a geographical concentration of people from the higher classes of society in administrative and/or ideological centers. With the introduction of the monetary economy, these centers became our capitals. (Teleman 1979: 43; my translation)

The continuous dialectic between the written standard and its spoken variant in politically and culturally dominant regions, often in and surrounding the capital, has made it possible for varieties that were initially considered *dialects* to attain the status of spoken standard language. The key issue is the process by which certain regional language features are "decoded" and attain a geographically unmarked, but socially marked, value. In other words, the emergence and codification of a standard spoken language is historically a *sociopolitical* process: "Successful standardisation involves the creation (or acceptance) of a variety as the most prestigious one, on account of its use by those who have status and power in the society" (Mesthrie et al. 2000: 21). The fact that one particular variety is "chosen" also necessarily implies that this variety stands in a hegemonic relationship to all other varieties. This hierarchy of prestige is subsequently confirmed and enhanced through different social conventions; the hierarchy becomes part of the habitus of the language users and appears as incontestable and "natural":

> If the dominant group expects to remain dominant, then its members will assume, without even thinking about it, that subordinate-group members will make any necessary linguistic adjustments. As a result, they will speak their own prestige language or dialect in the normal fashion without attempting any convergence. (Fasold 1984: 190)

Accordingly, the relationship between speakers of a standard variety and speakers of a regional variety will be regarded in several contexts as an asymmetric social relation. However, the exact nature of this contrast between the standard variety and a dialect will vary a great deal across different national communities, much as different dialects within one national community may signal highly deviating values. Still, there are good reasons to assume that several of the basic aspects of the dialect−standard opposition are to a large degree universal and shared by most language communities. Historically, all processes of standardization are motivated by certain selection mechanisms, which in turn are the outcome of certain sociopolitical conditions. And these basic structures undoubtedly give rise to some premises that give the dialect−standard relation a universal symbolic content, which is contingent to only a minor degree on the individual language society (see, e.g., Joseph 1987; Milroy and Milroy 1985; Milroy 2007; Mugglestone 1997).

How can we describe the more concrete sociocultural values that dialects and standard varieties, respectively, represent? One model that attempts to illustrate this contrast has been developed by Maurand (1981, see below). He provides a schematic overview of the distribution of standard French on the one hand, and Occitan on the other. In this context it must be noted that the sociolinguistic stratification in France is known to be extremely hierarchical and rigid, and thus the contrasts that appear in this model are likely to be more prominent than in other language communities. Nevertheless, as a model, which gives a schematic, idealized image of reality, it reflects some fundamental connotations which can be connected more or less universally to the dichotomy dialect−standard (see Figure 2.1, next page).

Occitan is primarily associated with the rural − with primary industries and small-scale communities, and it is often seen as old-fashioned and associated with older people − primarily elderly men. Standard French, on the other hand, is associated with urban culture, higher education and public, modern society, and it also signals values connected to youth and femininity.

One indication of the currency of these sets of values can be found in what was for a long time the dominant methodological approach in dialectology in the western world:

> Perhaps the most typical feature shared by all of the major projects in dialect geography is the type of informant selected. No matter how diverse the culture, how discrepant the socioeconomic climate, and how varied the topography, the majority of informants has in all cases consisted of nonmobile, older, rural males [… i. e.] NORMs […].
> (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 33)

A slightly modified version of the ideas presented in Maurand (1981) is presented as Table 2.1, next page (following Mæhlum 2007: 57). In this approach, the geographical origin of the two codes is the primary concern (cf. the first point), followed by a set of contrastive social and cultural values. Again, it is important to note that we are dealing with idealized and stereotypical values − for example, the model does not explicitly

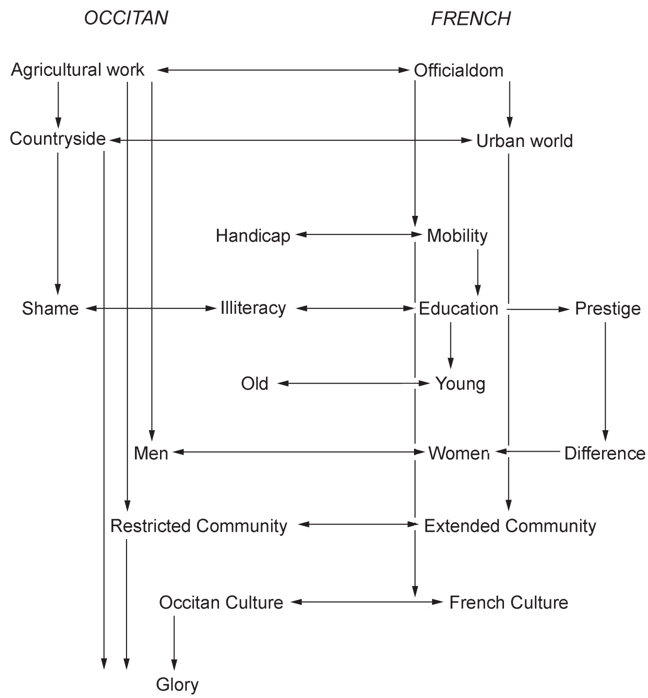

Fig. 2.1: Maurand's model (1981), English version adopted from Grillo (1989: 80)

Tab. 2.1.

Dialect	Standard
specific geographic origin	supra-regional; geographically neutral
stigmatized; not prestigious	prestigious
informal, plain, everyday	formal, official
rural, remote	urban, central
traditional	modern

show that there are actually a number of different *urban* dialects (cf. especially the penultimate point).

The table gives an overview of the "market value" which on fairly general and somewhat simplified grounds may be ascribed to dialect and standard, respectively. The strength of conventionalized representations is first and foremost the sociolinguistic patterns that emerge from them. These patterns seem to apply more or less independently of speech communities and are especially relevant in relation to questions like who do we traditionally assume to be dialect users, and who do we generally assume uses a standard variety? And in which contexts is it generally regarded as most appropriate to use dialect or standard, respectively? Indeed there is great variation across national speech communities (see below); nevertheless, the tendencies are so pervasive and compelling that they should be considered as general. The extent of dialect use tends to be inversely proportional to the social status and prestige of the language user. Consequently, the higher the position in the social hierarchy, the more powerful the social expectations, and hence also the probability, that one uses a standard variety. The second basic principle, which follows almost as a consequence of the first, relates to contextual variation: The more formal or official the situation, the stronger the expectation that one uses a standard variety.

A selection of examples from the Norwegian speech community can give us an indication of how strong and above all how internalized such expectations are. Sociolinguistically speaking, dialects are known to have an exceptionally high status in Norway. The use of dialect is not confined to local or private spheres but extends to a number of different public arenas (see, e.g., Wiggen 1995; Jahr and Janicki 1995). However, a study of attitudes towards different Norwegian dialects in the capital Oslo (Strømsodd 1979) shows that the use of dialect was generally far more acceptable among typical low status workers than among people in more prestigious professions. One of the arguments used to support this line of reasoning was that, for example, it would be necessary for a lawyer "[…] to use the standard variety since it is not possible to accommodate dialects to judicial language and legal terminology […] and to theoretical subjects that demand a high level of abstraction" (Strømsodd 1979: 86; my translation). The notion that dialects are "best suited" for people with a lower social status is in fact justified by the argument that the extent of dialect use stands in an inverse relationship to the degree of theoretical abstraction (see also the quotation from Smith 1984 at the beginning of this section).

The subjects of Strømsodd's study were largely users of a variety which is close to what is considered the standard variety in Norway. Similar attitudes – or acknowledgement of such common attitudes – are found among people who are socialized into a different dialect community. The following quotation is from an autobiographical essay by the Norwegian author Karin Sveen (2001) in which she talks about moving to the capital to embark on university studies. Sveen's linguistic background is a dialect which is very much associated with the rural and rustic and which is traditionally grouped among the less prestigious Norwegian dialects:

> I had left my home and I was now in academia, where a different language law applied, the law of the placeless language, the language with universal validity. I was on a new 'linguistic market', in Bourdieu's terms, and on this market my language was not in demand. It was good currency at the laundrette and on the street corner, but not 'here'. The solution at the time was not to integrate these language economies, but to separate them, and there is no doubt as to which one had to yield in order for me to win back the command of speech.
> (2001: 212; my translation)

This exposition is a striking example of how linguistic varieties that originally signal geographical identity on certain linguistic markets are indexed with values that are explicitly social in nature. In other words, the use of dialect can be perceived of as a *class marker*.

A number of studies have been concerned with how dialect users or speakers with a regional vernacular on the one hand and speakers of standard varieties on the other tend to be associated with completely different personality traits (see, e.g., Edwards 1985; Garrett 2007, both with rich bibliographies). People who use a standard variety usually receive high scores in intelligence and competence, which are both classic high-status qualities. Dialect or regional vernacular speakers, on the other hand, signal personal integrity, friendliness and dependability – qualities associated with loyalty and solidarity.

4. Tradition–modernity: A nexus between geographical and sociocultural space

> *Language shift occurs as the result of choices made by individuals, […] in accordance with their own motivations, expectations and goals which they may or may not share with other members of their community. Taken together, individual choices form collective choices that impact on the future of a speech community and its language. It lies in the nature of collective choice that the individuals involved in it do not overlook all consequences of their acts.*
>
> *(Coulmas 2005: 168)*

Up until now the main focus has been on social mechanisms that influence language use *here and now* – that is, at a synchronous level. Another crucial dimension throughout the argumentation has been how these mechanisms must be regarded as *historical* products, that is, as products of certain social, cultural and political conditions. Within such conventionalized social frames, some structures seem more or less natural, and partly because of this collective habitus, certain linguistic practices are used repeatedly, and in this way gain social currency. In the following we will explore this explicitly diachronic dimension. An important question in this context is how the values related to the dialect–standard dichotomy can contribute to explaining linguistic changes that appear to take place along the dialect–standard axis. Or to put it in another way, how do the changes that have been documented in dialect landscapes worldwide over the past decades connect to more fundamental changes in the corresponding social spaces?

A characteristic and basic aspect of dialect development throughout the western world over the past decades is the phenomenon of dialect leveling (see, e.g., Hinskens 1996; Røyneland 2005, and in this volume). Dialect leveling refers to the fact that language features that have a limited geographical range, or that for some other reason are considered as marked, are replaced by variants that have a wider range of use. As a result, the leveling processes contribute to the emergence of varieties that either conform to the standard variety or that are at least closer to the standard than the traditional dialects used to be. What we witness here are different processes of linguistic homogenization. They lead to the abandonment of local differences and make the language users – partly within a specific region, partly at the national level – appear more similar than was the case one or two generations ago.

At a more fundamental level, these processes imply that language features that indicate *tradition* are replaced by those that are regarded as *modern*. Which social changes can be held responsible for this development? The following quotation from the Norwegian dialectologist O. T. Beito (1973: 225) provides an indirect answer to this question:

> The development from dialect to standard must be seen against the background of and in connection with the more general cultural development. […]. Dialects are linguistic expressions for local cultural communities, and it seems a reasonable development that differences related to dialect level out after the boundaries for these tiny cultural units burst and are erased (my translation).

The focus here is on small-scale local communities and to the boundaries – linguistic and other – that contribute to defining and sustaining these sociogeographical units as frames for people's lives. This brings us to the crux of the matter: Which sociogeographical units function as the primary basis of identification in today's modern world? What is the significance today of what Beito refers to as small "cultural units"? Does the literally *local* environment still serve as a primary sociogeographical frame of reference for the modern language users, or is this function taken over by other unities – at a regional, national or at a global level?

Needless to say, there are no simple or definite answers to these questions (see, e.g., Johnstone 2004 for a detailed discussion). However, it is still possible to identify some general tendencies in the development of societies, especially in the industrialized part of the world. One of the most prominent developments is that local communities have become more integrated into a supra-local society than was the case only one or two generations ago. Two terms that are often used more or less as analogous to the pair local society–greater society, going back to Ferdinand Tönnies, are *Gemeinschaft–Gesellschaft*. This idealized dichotomy refers to the small-scale community, or local society, as opposed to a bureaucratic, modern, urban and industrial society (for a detailed discussion, see, e.g., Pløger 1997). The opposition *Gemeinschaft–Gesellschaft* is often linked directly to the rurality versus urbanity distinction (see, e.g., Thuen 2003: 72).

One of the anticipated consequences of this integration of the local communities will be, at one level, social and cultural homogenization. Traditional local differences and distinctive features – material and immaterial – tend to be eliminated through these processes, giving way to cultural elements from a shared national or global universe of consumption and meaning. However, at a different level, the same forces are socially and culturally differentiating. An important factor in this context are the processes that contribute to the merging of local elements into new, synthesizing forms of cultural expressions in which different supra-local dimensions constitute an important component. The term "glocalization" is often used to express this ambiguity, but then it refers to the tension between the local on the one hand, and the global on the other. The crucial aspect for us is the social and cultural process of diversification that has taken place in particular local communities, a process that can take place when the supra-local is made relevant within a local context. This development has caused an increased differentiation of the local communities into many different social segments – cultures that co-exist, with their respective lifestyles and value systems, within the frames of the same local society. The Norwegian sociologist A. Hompland (1991) has coined the term "rurbanisation" to describe a striking demographic and sociocultural outcome of these processes. "Rurbanisation" refers to a special synthesis of the rural and the urban; an urbanization of lifestyles, business and consumption patterns without the concomitant rise of the cities. The effects of these processes are so diverse, both in terms of their strength and nature, that they contribute to an increase of social and cultural diversification.

Under such conditions, each individual is exposed to a number of competing norms and must constantly choose between alternative forms of practice. The individual becomes a participant in a number of different arenas – at a local and supra-local level. Accordingly, the social freedom of choice is far greater today than it was a few generations ago. We are not tied to the same extent by loyalty and obligations to the local communities we are born into. "We have fewer attachments, weaker supra-individual control and more freedom. The rural community does not inhibit us as it used to do", to quote Hompland again (1991: 62; my translation).

This brings us to the kernel of our argumentation: the relation between tradition and modernity. Because of their range and complexity, a general consideration of the meaning of these two terms is beyond the scope of our present discussion. In what follows the relation of tradition–modernity will be explored in relation to language and language change only, with the focus on those aspects that can widen our understanding of the connection between dialect and standard. This analytical approach will also help us to see language change in a general sociohistorical perspective.

Tradition refers to the inherited, local practices that are passed down through the generations. A "local tradition" refers to any process in which customs, beliefs and values and social forms of practice are associated with a specific geographical location – a *place*. The term modernity, on the other hand, can almost be defined as the opposite of inherited and place-bound values. Modernity transgresses what is specifically local and refers to practices whose historical origin is either absent or irrelevant. What characterizes modernity is a breach with the past – a breach with the more or less unconscious commitments to tradition and traditional ways of living. Accordingly, one of the most important corollaries of modernity is what Giddens (e.g., 1990) refers to as "disembedding", by which he means the "[…] 'lifting out' of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" (1990: 21). The modern ways of living have distanced us from the traditional "order"; the traditional ties of time and space loosen and social relations become increasingly disconnected from local codes of conduct and practices. In this way modernity may give rise to processes such as individualization and de-localization.

If we compare this to the focal semiotic values that are usually associated with dialect and standard (cf. the figure and table above), some interesting patterns appear: Originally a dialect is associated with a geographically defined community, and the use of a dialect signals belonging to a specific local, traditional culture. A standard variety, on the other hand, is often associated with a supra-local and geographically unspecified culture, and hence it can be interpreted as a severance from local and traditional contexts. This de-localization is in itself an important precondition for the standard variety's intrinsic potential to signal values that are perceived as modern.

The connection between these two axes may thus contribute to explaining the changes that have taken place in a number of dialect landscapes throughout the world: The general shift from dialect toward a standard variety must be seen in close connection with those changes in society which have transformed most parts of the western world from a traditional society to an increasingly modern society. As an integrated – and at the same time constitutive – aspect of modernity, language users have altered their speech in a direction that is perceived as more modern; or, put differently, as less traditional.

On a social macro level, the shift from dialect to standard can therefore be interpreted as part of a set of collective mechanisms that have influenced the "winding up" of traditional society. However, on a social micro level we need to focus on other aspects in relation to the consequences of these social and cultural "disembedding" mechanisms. At the individual level, modernity firstly involves more freedom of choice. The individual language user may choose to distance herself from local norms and practices in a manner that was not previously possible to the same degree. This increased acceptance of a break with tradition multiplies the number of possible linguistic choices, as Coulmas has argued (2005: 31):

> Postmodern societies are more mobile, have fewer class markers and are more tolerant of heterogeneity. […] Variation is acceptable and identities are multidimensional. Dialects in postmodern society are not distributed in the same way as in modern industrial societies where patterns of covariation of class and non-standard speech forms are relatively clear-cut.

This also applies to the traditional forms of expressions, such as dialects. Within the frame of modernity the use of dialect does not exclusively express affiliation with traditional values and ways of living. In many local communities today the local dialect is one among several codes available from a wider selection of choices, much as traditional and modern cultural features coexist in other areas as well, with boundaries between them that aren't always intuitive (see Røyneland 2005 for a discussion). Because of our increased freedom to choose and combine different forms of expression, there is no longer a contradiction between being "modern" and at the same time using a dialect.

5. Concluding remarks

The values ascribed to the various language varieties on the linguistic market is, as has been emphasized in the preceding sections, the result of certain historical, political and sociocultural conditions. These values are important components in the mechanisms that regulate linguistic interaction in a given speech community. Because they are part of the doxa of the community, and as such are taken for granted, they have a *conserving* function – that is, they contribute to consolidating current conditions and practices.

Nonetheless, these values are still subject to social negotiation. The limits of what is considered appropriate, or what will potentially yield social gain, are constantly challenged – and transgressed. Modernity has at least to some extent released us from traditional ideas and practices and given us room for individual choices. The freedom that modernity represents therefore functions as a counterbalance to the forces that still bind us to inherited, traditional value sets. This is the source of a continuous conflict for the individual language user which requires a significant amount of strategic consideration and "socioeconomic" calculations. As such, modernity's liberating potential is in constant battle with the conserving forces of convention.

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Brit Mæhlum, Trondheim (Norway)

3. Language and political spaces

1. Introduction

Speaking overcomes distance: We communicate across stretches of space, relying on sound to travel. Linguistic messages go considerably further when they are written or transmitted through ever more sophisticated media. Yet speaking also seems to be anchored in territory, that is, in geographical space as mediated by political practices. Many forms of cultural logic link political claims to language and to territory. The most widespread of these in the contemporary world is that of the nation-state, with its presumed ethnolinguistic unity. In this hegemonic political form, speakers are considered authentic members of nations by virtue of their linguistic competence, and nations are supposed to be distributed over territories that are organized politically into states. Whatever specific political system a state adopts, its linkage to a posited nation is most often established through the medium of a standardized language with a literary tradition, a norm of monolingualism and the assumption of linguistic homogeneity in the polity. This presumed cultural-linguistic connection is a fundamental feature of the state's legitimacy. Nation-states of this type are the political *ideal* in the contemporary world. Rarely do actual states show the full form. There are also many other cultural configurations – either long-standing or newly emergent – that draw on different links between linguistic forms and political space. In describing these less familiar patterns, we find differences in the cultural definitions of 'polity' 'language' and even 'space.' Thus, I argue that the relation of language to political spaces is always mediated by cultural systems – language ideologies – that define the very terms we are discussing.

To make this case, the second section examines the cultural assumptions about language and location embodied in the nation-state, ones that also underlie eighteenth and nineteenth-century linguistic science. The internationally conventional language map is built on the perspective of the contemporary nation-state as a political form. This becomes clear when we consider the linguistic phenomena omitted by such maps. Maps are constitutive of cultural notions of space. When taken to be objective representations, they help to construct the linguistic world they claim merely to reflect. Nation-state maps remain persuasive representations of the ethnolinguistic world even when their elisions are revealed because there are many other practices that buttress or produce the configurations such maps display. Section three discusses some of these practices – standardization, purification, authentication – as institutionally orchestrated semiotic processes. Even the exceptions to nation-state imagery provide evidence of the current international strength of these ideas: When state boundaries and linguistic territories do not match –

as is often the case around the world – the result is political tension, or the threat of political mobilization.

Nevertheless, there are limits to this hegemony. Section four discusses alternative ways of thinking about space and language by presenting cartographies that are motivated by strikingly different political perspectives and cultural values. Finally, section five takes up cases where perspectives clash and definitions of what counts as language are explicitly contested among speakers, analysts and governments. At stake in these conflicts is the perception of "place" or locality. The study of locality highlights the sensuous, experiential aspects of places – rather than abstract spaces – and how their structures of feeling and belonging are constituted by linguistic form.

2. Language ideologies and spatial representations

It is customary to trace the language ideology of ethnonationalism to German philosophy in the late eighteenth century. Johann Gottfried Herder was perhaps the most influential of the many who argued that each language is unique in its poetic expression; each has the capacity to express all the human capacities, including feeling, reason and will. For Herder, the most salient contrasts among linguistic forms are those based on cultural inheritance and that differentiate national languages. They are the means of giving expression to the distinctive spirit of a people, its *Volksgeist.* He assumed uniformity of speech among the Volk when he equated one people, one fatherland, one language. Herder feared that the verbal traditions of Germans were increasingly endangered by the incursions of French among the aristocracy and by the tendency of ordinary peasants and simple city people to forget their past. Traditions must therefore be safe-guarded by a special sort of intellectual, one who shuns foreign models and is specially attuned to the artistry of "his" *Volk*. Herder's views invoke the past to authorize current nationalism in which language and folklore become key symbols of identity, unity and persistence (Jankowsky 1973: 20: 53). These ideas about language continue to be characteristic habits of thought in Europe, among elites and the general populace (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998).

Recent historical scholarship has stressed a further point: When Herder's philosophy is seen within its historical context as a language ideology – a metadiscourse about discourse on language – its emphasis on intertextual links with a known or imagined past stands in direct contrast to the language ideology of John Locke, over a century earlier. For Locke, political unity rested on reason used for public discussion, which was made possible by the inherent properties of language. These included the primacy of referential over emotional meaning, the arbitrariness of signs in the service of philosophical expression and the rigorous precision necessary for rational discourse in politics and science. These properties were corrupted by appeals to history. Thus for Locke, political legitimacy depended on severing intertextual links with the past. To be able to use language in this way required certain forms of character and education.

It is these two opposed positions, one authorizing the nation through links to "tradition" in the linguistic past, the other locating political authority in the timeless-placeless systematicity of language itself, that constitute the tense ideological formation we now call "modernity" (Bauman and Briggs 2003: 190–196). Although Locke's theory argues that all languages are the same in their semiotic potential, and Herder's theory stresses the differences between languages in the spirit and vision they impart, the two theories agree that a viable polity must be based on uniformity of linguistic practices among speakers, and the guidance or mediation of properly inclined and trained intellectuals. In this, both contribute to legitimating the ethnolinguistic perspective characteristic of the modern nation-state. As we will see in section 3, the nation-state is a product of "modernity" in a further sense: it relies for authorization as much on Herderian authenticity as on Lockean universal reason.

2.1. Locational technologies

Herder considered geography to be an influence on national language, but how space as an abstract notion came to seem significant is a more complex story. Though often credited to Herder, the connection between language and nation had been stressed earlier by French, Spanish and English as well as other German philosophers. Most scholars agree that it was well established in European intellectual circles by the early eighteenth century (Aarsleff 1982); others give it a much older, even biblical origin (Olender 1992; Trautmann 1997). Leibniz and then Condillac explicitly noted that language was the repository of a people's history and character. The famous English contribution came later, during Herder's lifetime. Speaking from his post in British colonial India, William Jones announced in 1788 the discovery of similarities between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. From these correspondences he deduced "family" relations among these languages and – presuming the language/nation equation – among the peoples who spoke them. Since the parallels Jones announced had long been known, the intellectual excitement came rather from Jones's explanation of these similarities. He constructed a single story of kinship and geographical movement for Indo-European peoples that would later be shaped into the Stammbaum theory of historical linguistics, providing a model and evidentiary basis for the study of language change more generally.

To do this, Jones relied implicitly on three "technologies of location," that is, three frames of cultural assumptions guiding a project of mapping, ones that define abstract representational spaces and then show how entities are situated within those spaces (Trautmann 2006: 2–21). First, Jones assumed the mapping of the surface of the earth according to latitude and longitude, a Ptolemaic practice from the second century AD that – though often challenged – has survived the vast changes in geographical knowledge since that time. Indeed, the power of the framework lies in its invisibility. Despite their small size, their flatness, their lack of relief and paucity of other information, we have come to take such maps to be faithful pictures of geographical space itself. Second, like most thinkers of the period, in presenting new ethnological material from the colonies, Jones had recourse to biblical categories. His terminology – Hamites, Jasephites, Semites – invoked the schema of kinship in the first book of the Hebrew Bible that charts the relations among the male descendants of Noah after the flood. The patrilineal logic of these relations predicts a continual segmentation of branches over time, so that new and related tribal units are formed. The dispersion of such patrilineal segments, when projected onto Ptolemaic geographical space, created a concrete image of migration (Trautmann 2000: 6–9). Finally, the early and simple word list, initiated by Leibniz, was a technology for the spatial redefinition of language itself. Drawing on Locke's notion of complex words built on earlier and simpler ones, it imagined language as having a center and a periphery. It divided the lexical stock into what was taken to be core elements as opposed to others that, because they were supposedly later developments, could be ignored in comparative research (Aarsleff 1982).

In sum, the scenario of a family of nations with a single source, their different branches increasingly dispersed geographically, each with its own core language, relies on the lamination of these three locational technologies, and ultimately allowed their projection onto contemporary linguistic evidence as well as ancient textual sources. Assumptions about language, kinship and space – each coming from different historico-political contexts – contributed to discussions in philosophy, comparative philology and language history. These intellectual endeavors in turn have been in constant engagement with political projects, and contributed to the idea of nation-states as ethnolinguistic units, as well as of supranational units based on linguistic "kinship" that have authorized political movements such as pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism.

2.2. Language maps and their limits

The culturally apprehended relationship between language and political space was further transformed by another locational technology: the nineteenth-century census. Meanwhile, global maps of latitude and longitude had accommodated new ideas about sovereignty. In contrast to feudal kingship, which was organized around a center, the modern nation's sovereignty is "fully flat, and evenly operative over each square centimeter of a legally demarcated territory" (Anderson 1991: 19). Maps represented this conception iconically with solid lines marking boundaries and spaces within these lines filled with contrasting colors to show the extent of states and their colonial holdings. The new census created a form of information that could "exist" within those colored spaces. But language has been an enduring problem for this technology.

Early European census categories did not include language at all. Their purpose was tax assessment. They distinguished among categories such as merchant, serf, aristocrat, Jew, German, thereby putting into a single series a set of classifications we would now consider to be on contrasting dimensions (occupation, social status, religion, nationality). By the early eighteenth century there were attempts, such as the famous *Völkertafel* of Styria, to organize a consistent chart of European national types and their characteristics: clothing, favorite activity and mode of religiosity (Stanzel 1999). In contrast to these earlier forms, the great innovation of the nineteenth-century census was to focus not on types but on individuals and to include every individual regardless of tax-status. Each person was made "visible" as the intersection of a set of bounded, non-overlapping classifications representing whatever social dimensions the state recognized. As a result of such a grid, each person could be enumerated as an instance of each exclusive category. Operating as a paper-and-pencil panopticon, the census grid aspired to distinctively locate anything – regions, people, products – in terms defined by the administrative interests of states. When disseminated through print capitalism, this model enumerated populations that stretched from metropoles to their colonies, and were organized for bureaucratic surveillance and control (Anderson 1991: 163–185).

The attempt to include language within such a totalizing grid – and to represent it on maps – produced technical difficulties and political battles for the many state-sponsored statistical bureaus created in nineteenth-century Europe (Hobsbawm 1990). In a world that assumed language = national spirit = political autonomy, multilingual empires were deeply threatened by evidence of linguistic diversity within their borders. Aspiring movements for independence were reliant on the same evidence, to be placed before sympathetic international audiences. Such information remains crucial today for regional and migrant populations soliciting support from the European Union (Urla 1993).

Closely related, and no less problematic, were the technical difficulties: what would "count" as a language statistic. Dialectologists had amply documented that linguistic forms do not have neat spatial boundaries; even borders between nation-states are crossed by dialect chains, and social strata differ even though located in a single space. Census-takers argued bitterly over whether and how to formulate questions about language. Should speakers register their "mother tongue", "community language", "language of the home", "Verkehrssprache", "Umgangssprache", or some other category? Each of these would produce results with different political implications. The concept of standard language got a boost from its compatibility with the census: ideally homogeneous, spoken by everyone in a polity, commensurable with all other standards, bounded, deliberately non-overlapping, one-to-a-person, easy to count.

To see how language maps work, let us consider an excellent, indeed exemplary, minority-friendly and technologically advanced case published by the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages, the major clearing house for information about minority, regional and immigrant languages in the European Union. The EBLUL map recognizes regional and even some immigrant languages, and marks areas of bilingualism by using stripes of two colors. It does not presume that language areas ("Sprachgebiet" "area linguistique") are isomorphic with nation-state boundaries. Yet, much of linguistic reality is erased. For example: colors operate like those that represent "evenly operative" sovereignty in modern political maps, giving the impression that languages show no internal differentiation, and that speakers are evenly distributed across territory without variation in language(s) used. Yet we know the density of speakers varies importantly, as does the density and type of bilingualism: do the striped segments represent bilingual speakers or territories inhabited by monolingual speakers of two languages? Also invisible are degrees and modalities of linguistic competence (fluency, literacy, pronunciation), their relative prestige and the situational distribution of the languages. Knowledge of English and French by educated speakers of other languages is not represented; nor is knowledge of Latin, Arabic, Church Slavonic and Hebrew by clerics. The map provides little information about the place of a language in public life, nor speakers' often varied stances towards the standard languages they encounter or are said to speak.

Like any representation, this map is inevitably partial. Judging by what it omits, and despite efforts to the contrary, it presents more a vision of what ethnolinguistic diversity should look like from the eye-view of a nation-state or through a European supra-state's standardizing gaze, than a picture of actually existing linguistic practices.

3. Standard languages in national space

Language maps remain remarkably believable despite their elisions because many social institutions support the sociolinguistic picture displayed in such maps. As Bakhtin (1981) argued, heteroglossia − diversity of varieties, a centrifugal proliferation of styles, accents, registers, languages – is ubiquitous, the ordinary condition of linguistic life. The centripetal, standardizing processes, however, require active construction by state-related institutions. To be sure, print capitalism has been crucial in spreading books and newspapers written in standardized orthography and creating a public to read them (Anderson 1991). But at least as significant has been the work of centralized school systems and curricula, unified labor markets, and legions of language planners, linguists, teachers and poets who have created dictionaries, academies, grammars and literatures. The resulting corpus of standardized texts is indispensable to the process. But even more consequential has been the creation of a set of naturalized beliefs about standard language. Cultural workers have inculcated in speakers the notion of respect for standard forms of "correctness," and indeed an entire ideology of the standard that has had effects on how speakers use language, what they accept as ideal models of speech, and what the existing differences in pronunciation, grammar, lexicon and prosody come to signal for interactants in face-to-face interaction and in mass mediated talk. Standardization does not happen by itself, nor simply through the magic of a capitalist market.

Nation-states have differed in the timing and rate of standardization. They vary in how strictly their pedagogical systems are centralized, how thoroughly they penetrate the whole country, and how stringently they inculcate and enforce the standard. But the semiotic processes of language ideology that authorize one linguistic variety as the "standard" are more uniform across cases and as important as the institutional histories. In general, semiotic processes consist of sign relations that link linguistic forms to social facts; the signs are interpretable within cultural presuppositions about language, i. e. language ideologies (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994). Such sign relations include indexicality (a pointing to or assumed contiguity between the sign and its object), iconicity (resemblance between sign and object), fractal recursion and erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000; Silverstein 2003). There are several ways in which sign relations create standardization by drawing on political geography and on abstract spatial metaphors.

First, in standardized regimes, linguistic variation is visualized – by ordinary speakers and often by linguists too – as an abstract space in which the standard "covers" other varieties, is superimposed on them, and therefore imagined to be located "above" them. Other forms are not simply different, or typical of different geographical regions and social strata. They are seen to be "lower," and therefore worse. These judgments are inscribed in the workings of institutions such as schools. Students may fail to learn the forms designated as standard by language planners. But they invariably acquire the disposition to accept that some forms are "better" than others. They are taught that the standard forms have greater intrinsic, linguistic value – e.g., that they are more rational, more precise, more beautiful. But, in a sociological view, these values are cultural endowments, not inherent in linguistic form (Bourdieu 1991). Because linguistic varieties are indexical signs of those who speak them and of the situations in which they are used, devaluing a form means devaluing its speakers. Therefore, those who accept the high value of a standard language that they do not themselves control usually find that they devalue themselves. This is a process Bourdieu has called "linguistic domination." One aspect of standardization seen in semiotic terms is exactly this switch in perspective: seeing oneself from the viewpoint of judgmental others.

A second kind of spatialization concerns the specific indexical significance of linguistic varieties. Meanings associated with linguistic form are far more elaborate than differential acceptance or prestige. Linguistic varieties also come to index what Bakhtin

(1981) has called "chronotopes": cultural categories identifying a nexus of space-time and person. "Modernity" is one such chronotope, usually associated with standards, which are among the many insignia of modernity that nation-states are required to display if they are to be acceptable members of the contemporary international community of states. Anthems, flags, national airlines and – in the nineteenth century – even statistical bureaus, were among the many such signs, forced on states as the price of recognition by national ideology and its "coercive isomorphism." By contrast with the standard language's modernity, regional and "non-standard" forms are assigned a chronotope of rural distance and historical past, sometimes inflected as authenticity and old-fashioned simplicity, at other times as country bumpkin ignorance. Hence the supposed discovery of "Elizabethan English" in the isolated mountains of Appalachia, or the nostalgic attractiveness for urban Germans of touristic visits to the villages of German-speakers in rural Hungary.

Although chronotopes of tradition/modernity are common, there is a more complex world of meaning, a "culture of standardization," particular to each standardized speech community (Silverstein 1996). In the United States, for instance, standard English is seen as neither too precise nor too lax, neither emotional nor rational; just right for communicating political truths. It is believed to be a product of skill, achievable through costly training, and – like American commodities in advertisements – sold as the means to improving one's life chances. The regional and socially marked forms are seen, in contrast, as lacking this balance, and often stigmatized as emotional or lazy, old-fashioned commodities ready to be traded in. On another dimension, American and British English are thought to be welcoming of foreign words and phrases, just as the countries are "open" to migrants (Crowley 1989). The French standard is also seen by its speakers as clear, rational and pure, but to retain its special clarity – so the ideology goes – standard French should not accept foreign words, or only after considerable domestication. This is an attitude that contrasts with the American and, as it turns out, echoes long-standing French immigration policy. In each case, borrowing – that is, the defense and policing of linguistic boundaries – is regimented by ideology, and thereby constrains linguistic structure. In each case, cherished national self-images are iconically projected onto the standard language and its speakers; internal differentiation carries the stigma of negative self-images.

The recursive nature of standardization provides a third way in which it is connected to spatialization. Because standards are tied to nation-states as linguistic emblems, standard ideology creates expectations that standard languages will be evenly distributed over the state's territory, just as modern sovereignty is. Contrary to this commonsense view, however, standardization creates not linguistic uniformity within a state but even more, and hierarchical, heterogeneity in speech. The creation of a standard necessarily recasts the relation among existing varieties, bringing all forms into a unified field of judgment and surveillance. Every attempt to standardize a regional form – e.g., to create a standard Friulian, Basque, or Corsican – will require picking out and regularizing a newly standard register. That step will bring with it the stigmatization of other forms used among the very speakers whose regional linguistic practices the new standardization was supposed to valorize. To be sure, what is seen as stigma from the perspective of the standard and its institutions can be re-evaluated. Novel regional or class-based forms (anti-languages) are often created and celebrated as resistance to standards. Because standardization is fractally recursive in this way, it brings not homogeneity but more heterogeneity (Gal 2006).

Dialectologists working in countries with standardized regimes (now virtually everywhere), can no longer simply track regional differences in speech, because "regionalism" itself is created as a contrast with standard. How people define and evaluate regional, non-standard, local or indeed any socially-marked linguistic form will depend, in part, on how the standard is viewed. The indexical significance of the standard – like that of any linguistic form – emerges as the product of a cultural project: intellectuals of all kinds, politicians and pedagogues actively label and analyze the significance of linguistic differentiation as supposed clues to the character, intelligence and other qualities of speakers. Given these omnipresent efforts to lend meaning to variation, it is not geographical or social distance between speakers that creates differentiation. On the contrary, differentiation arises from the juxtaposition of contrastively valued linguistic varieties within a single person's repertoire, or the interaction of neighboring speakers whose different forms signal social position. Even single sounds gain contrastive significance as indexical and iconic signals of identity or social situation. Thus linguistic change is best understood as a consequence of intimate contact among speakers rather than distance (Irvine and Gal 2000).

Standards display a fourth kind of spatialization. Although historical accounts often show that a nation-state's major administrative center is the source of many linguistic features adopted later as standard, the locus of the "best" and most admired linguistic forms is not necessarily a major urban center. Often it is some particular region of the countryside that is designated as the repository of authentic and "historically national" speech. As with the cultural meaning of linguistic variants, so too in the location of the "best" forms, there are cultural brokers involved in creating and sometimes changing the ideals. The region seen as the source of the best American speech was deliberately re-located in the early years of the twentieth century to the rural Mid-west of the country when elites stigmatized the cities of the East Coast as corrupted by the presence of foreign immigrants (Bonfiglio 2000). Similarly, the recent debates about the polycentric nature of Hungarian are also arguments about what regions should be considered the "center" or norm of Hungarian-speaking, and for what historical-political reasons (Lanstyak 1995).

Finally, the forms of authority granted to standards can be understood as the result of conflicting spatializations. As exemplary modern phenomena, standard languages are simultaneously credited as both "traditional, authentic" and "universal," even though (or because) these values are both present, though usually opposites, in modernist ideology. The apparent contradiction is resolved by spatially distinct, comparative contexts. When compared to regional or class dialects or minority languages internal to the nation-state, the standard language is understood to be a universal solvent: it is the means of translation among the other forms; it is the variety in which everything can be said clearly and truthfully. By contrast, in the larger comparative context of other national standards, emblems of other nations, the standard language is heard as specially authentic to its nation, providing ways of expressing supposedly untranslatable, culturally specific concepts.

4. Other models, other maps

Standard ideology is now a common phenomenon across the globe. Nevertheless, there are alternate visions of political geography and linguistic practice that rely on different cultural values. As with the other representations we have discussed that claim simply to describe the world – kinship charts, word lists, latitude/longitude maps, census grids – these too are performative: creative, prospective models for, as well as partial models of, the systems they describe. It is illuminating to consider some of those that are the product of long-standing cultural principles as well as others that are relatively novel schemas in active competition with nation-state maps. Given the acceleration in economic globalization, it should not be surprising if some of these mappings are visions born of migration and displacement.

4.1. Southeast Asian polities

A striking contrast to contemporary European maps is the Southeast Asian "galactic polity" (Tambiah 1985), for which the *mandala* provided the basic schema. According to Indo-Tibetan cosmology, part of Hindu-Buddhist thought, a mandala is composed of two elements, the core (*manda*) and the container or enclosing element (*la*), with satellites of increasingly complexity around a center. Across Southeast Asia up to the twentieth century, this general model organized activity in virtually every cultural domain. Architectural projects and textile decoration were shaped as mandalas; the cosmos was understood in myth as constituted by Mount Meru in the center surrounded by oceans and mountain ranges. At a philosophical and doctrinal level, the relation between consciousness and perception was supposed to be organized like a mandala, as was the heavenly, spiritual order. Mandalas were geometrical, topographical, cosmological, societal blueprints for polities.

In fact, the physical layout of political units, on the ground, often looked astonishingly like mandalas, with the most powerful ruler located in the geographical center, surrounded by his feuding sons or heirs who were themselves surrounded by lesser rulers. The constant conflict among rulers precluded firm boundaries, but produced an oscillation of disintegrating and reconstituting politics, each fractally replicating the central one in organization and activity, and arranged in mandala shapes. In each region, the most powerful court, the "exemplary center" (Geertz 1980), gained and legitimated its power over lesser courts and their hinterlands not by military or administrative means, but through the elaborate display of the key value of "refinement" in pageantry, festivals and theatrical self-presentations. This demonstrated the court's ever more precise imitation of the delicacy, civilization and perfection of the celestial, supernatural order and thereby justified and demonstrated that court's worthiness and ability to rule.

Most important for our purposes, the linguistic aspect of exemplary political centers was crucial to legitimate governance. In the cultural system that created power of this kind, refinement, civilization and minute gradations of power were expressed and reproduced primarily through linguistic and other expressive distinctions that required the complex ritualization of everyday interaction. The higher the lord, the more refined, perfect and elaborate was his verbal etiquette, his comportment and sartorial display, all of which then proved his capacity to rule. Although there was usually only one named language involved in any one court, the rulers of Java, Bali and the lesser kingdoms of Southeast Asia created and elaborated linguistic distinctions now called "speech levels" that are characteristic across all the languages of this region. Errington (1988) reports as many as five-to-seven such speech registers in Javanese. Lexicon and morphology distinguished "levels" that precisely marked each utterance for very fine degree of politeness or refinement. These distinctions created – and did not merely reflect – the hierarchical social order. Linguistic delicacy and the complex etiquette of displaying it increased as one moved from the peasantry who spoke simply, to the elaborations of ever higher-placed aristocrats.

4.2. A global constellation

The model of a galactic polity bears only superficial resemblance to a quite different "global language system" proposed some years ago as a theory of linguistic demography by a Dutch political scientist. De Swaan (2001) calls his model "a galaxy of languages" in which constellations or concentric circles represent the relationship between languages in an abstract, relational space. In contrast to the Southeast Asian model, the units charted here are (mostly) standard languages, not ritualized registers; the value at issue is profit, not refinement. If the galactic polity is a form with a long past, the global system is supposed to map and understand a global future. Though presented as a social scientific theory, de Swaan's model is recognizable as an ideological perspective that views economic globalization and the distribution of languages as parallel phenomena, both growing out of the presumed universal tendency of humans to maximize benefits.

The "language galaxy" model recognizes that there are thousands of rarely-written languages in the world, spoken by only hundreds of people each. These are termed *peripheral languages* and likened to the moons that travel around planets in a solar system. Examples would be Sulawesi, Sumba, Bayak and Javanese in Southeast Asia. More like planets are the c*entral languages,* those that have writing systems, literatures, many more speakers, official status in states and participate in the workings of international organizations (i. e. standards). In Southeast Asia, Indonesian and Chinese would be such languages. Finally the model proposes that there are *supercentral languages,* with even more speakers, that are like suns in a solar system, around which the planet languages revolve. In this view, Arabic, Russian, English and French (in some parts of the world), Spanish (in other parts), are among the 12 such languages of the world. And finally there is a single center – English – for the 12 solar language systems. English with its huge number of (mostly second language) speakers is the hub of the linguistic galaxy as described by de Swaan.

According to this model, speakers try to learn languages that are further in towards the center orbits than their native tongues, but do not learn languages further out. Bilingual individuals connect the orbits of moons to planets, planets to suns, so there is a key but limited role for multilingualism. Those at the center (i. e. the sun) of each solar system speak to each other in English. Although the model/scheme is hierarchical, as well as demographically and functionally oriented, and "constellation" is largely a metaphor, the system is not entirely abstract. There is a geographical factor, in that different parts of the world can be mapped by specifying which languages fulfill each of the hierarchically organized functions in a region.

This model erases much of what the jigsaw map and the galactic polity highlight. It ignores nation-states and their boundaries, elides the problems of defining language, linguistic difference and the significance of indexical signals. It is uninterested in the ritual modes, genres and values (such as refinement or correctness) by which communities of speakers, within cultural systems, organize and evaluate their practices. In this vision, all languages are merely denotational codes, all speakers are individual decisionmakers, and languages have chiefly instrumental, economic value. Speakers make rational choices in language learning, within what their circumstances allow. This is a social scientific schema, to be sure, but one written from the lofty perspective of transnational corporations and their aspiring executives, whose presumed career goal is always to move closer to headquarters, to the center. The model projects – and celebrates – a neoliberal world in which businesses and their mobile employees make choices in ideal-type free markets.

4.3. Diverse diasporas

Migrant populations are likely to have different visions of space, politics and language than do nation-states, which can imagine mobile people only as problems, unless they assimilate. However, it is not deterritorialization that migrants envision, but rather novel, spatial connections. A case in point is the language and spatial ideology of Hadrami men, who are merchants and traders with origins in the region that is now Yemen. They have been part of a centuries-old migratory pattern around the Indian Ocean (Ho 2006). Since the 13th century and continuing today, Hadrami traders have made their way southwest, down the coast of Africa, spreading Islam and commerce, marrying the daughters of local leaders, establishing families and often becoming local political elites. Others in the same lineages moved to the east, through the southern coast of present-day India and to Malaysia and Indonesia. The merchants retained individual and familial memory of where they and their male kin came from, retaining as well a tradition of ideal return, and a set of practices – including Islam – that tied them to others from Hadramawt.

Other practices that maintained ties among merchant families included circum-Indian Ocean visiting, business relations and the careful ritual tending, in Hadramawt, of the graves of returned migrants. Most informative for our purposes is the custom of keeping genealogies, which were always written in Arabic, the language that has continued to be the sacred if not the everyday usage of these multilingual traders. In the calligraphically elaborate genealogical charts, written in Arabic, each man's name is followed by the name of his place of death (also in Arabic). One genealogical tree reproduced by Ho (2006: xvi) names male relatives over six or seven generations – fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and cousins of a single lineage – who died in places as diverse as India, Say'un, two different parts of Java, the Sawahil (East Africa) and Mocha (Yemen). The values inscribed here are tellingly selective: the vast and diverse territories around the Indian Ocean are represented simply as points of death, unified by a single written language (Arabic), a single lineage and the locational practice of genealogical representation.

For other populations, different visions of language and space create connection in diaspora. The island of Mauritius is a predominantly Mauritian Creole-speaking society, but over two thirds of the population are of Indian origin, mostly Hindu. Although Hindi is officially recognized by the state as the "ancestral language" of Indo-Mauritians, their everyday usage consists mostly of Mauritian Creole. Some, however, speak Bojhpuri, which is a northeastern Indian variety that – although part of the long dialect chain of northern India – is quite different from Standard Hindi, which drew on western dialects and in any case was regularized well after the ancestors of Indo-Mauritians left their homeland. How then do Indo-Mauritians come to recognize Hindi as "their" ancestral language? Politically and religiously motivated efforts to establish diasporic

Hindu identity in Mauritius depend on strengthening culturally imagined ties to mainland India. These rely on a number of spatio-linguistic practices quite different from those of the Hadrami merchants.

Of central importance is the annual pilgrimage to a mountain lake in the southwest of Mauritius on the occasion of the Hindu festival of Shivratri. The event is heavily attended and state-supported. Through the shape and location of the temples around the lake, and the rituals enacted there, Indo-Mauritians spatially and performatively create a sacred geography closely resembling that of Hindu pilgrimage sites on the sacred river Ganges in North India. The continuity with a sacred Hindu landscape in India is emphasized in legends that claim the lake is a tributary of the Ganges itself, the water coming through subterranean sources across the ocean. In 1972 a vessel of water from the Ganges was deposited in the lake, thereby officially consecrating the lake as a part of the Ganges. Equally important is the use of Hindi in the religious events at the pilgrimage site, which are understood as re-enactments of what the ancestors did at the site. But since Hindi is not a part of the daily repertoires of Indo-Mauritians, the use of it during the pilgrimage relies on schooling in the "ancestral language" and on the use of Hindi in associations that organize temple activities at villages around the island (Eisenlohr 2006).

Yet the usage in each of these contexts is not what would be recognized as Hindi by speakers from the subcontinent. Rather, what characterizes these contexts is the use of everyday Bhojpuri that is purified of Creole lexical elements, which are replaced by sanskritized Hindi items. Many grammatical and phonological changes also appear, so that the effect, for speakers of Bhojpuri, is a new and purified register of Bhojpuri, one that is used to signal the start of Hindu genres of moral discourse. This register has the effect of blurring the boundaries between Bhojpuri and Hindi, making persuasive through recurring linguistic usage the connection between Indo-Mauritians and Hindi-speakers. It also makes the ancestral Hindi taught in schools and used in sacred performances more accessible for Indo-Mauritians (Eisenlohr 2006: 66−110).

The Hadrami merchants created a diaspora by picturing their patrilineage as an Arabic-Islamic web connecting disparate spaces. On their genealogies, they reduced the conventional space of longitude-and-latitude to points made significant by family members' lifespan. By contrast, Hindu Mauritians created a diaspora by replicating a revered model. Indo-Mauritians become diasporic Hindus through representing events in such a way that they bear a close, iconic similarity to events elsewhere. Through the pilgrimage and through a hindiized register of Bhojpuri, experiences of the "homeland" become available on Mauritius, further verifying the constructed fact that Indo-Mauritians are indeed Indians. Spatial and linguistic replications operate as parallel synecdoches: a piece of Mauritian landscape recreates India's sacred geography, just as India's linguistic materials are recreated in Mauritian linguistic practice.

5. Locality in places

The discussion so far has foregrounded representational practices in order to highlight that a vision of space is always constructed from some imagined or actual physical point or social perspective. Most human schemas of orientation are ego- and event-centered, as is suggested by the universal presence of deictic systems in the languages of the world. In English, for instance, "here/there" and "now/then" refer not to any clock time or geographical space but rather to a point of time/space defined in relation to the speech event in which these terms are uttered. Tense is temporally indexical in this way. Like tense, deictics of space can be transposed from the speaker onto objects in the physical and narrative surround. So we can talk not only about our own "front" and "back" but also that of trees, toasters and trucks; "here/there" can be centered inside the story we tell, as well as in the event of telling the story.

Some cultural groups, such as the Guugu Yimithirr of Northern Australia have – in addition to such event-centric forms – what are called 'absolute systems of coordinates.' Instead of instructing a child to go to the left of a tree, they will tell him to go south or east of it (Haviland 1993). The invention of absolute space in the European tradition was a disputatious affair, linked to but not identical with the cartography of latitude and longitude discussed earlier. It has been singularly effective. Relying on the scientific tradition since Newton, most educated westerners assume an absolute abstract space which is believed to be "out there" as a constant set of fixed points, and to pre-exist our interactions and our representations. Phenomenologists, sophisticated Whorfians and most social scientists, by contrast, think that absolute space is itself a projection from deictically anchored, "origo-centered", relative space (Levinson 1996). Terminologically, "space" is most often used – as it has been in this essay – to talk about these relatively abstract notions and their instantiation in semiotically organized cultural objects such as pictures and charts. By contrast, "place" is the term employed for the more immediate apprehension or experience of locality as a structure of feeling, mediated by bodily, ritual and – most ubiquitously – by linguistic practices (de Certeau 1984).

Two questions arise from these distinctions: First, how do people project a deictic "origo" ("here") of face-to-face interaction onto a more fixed physical location that is then considered their center, the "place," and thus social home from which they look out on the rest of the world? Although this emplacing is not necessarily political, in the guise of "making community" it has surely functioned as the first step in many political projects. Second, how is a sense of locality sometimes displaced, so that the speakers consider themselves to be not at the center but at the margin or periphery of some social world to which they orient (either positively or negatively)? This second is surely a political-economic effect, the result of domination. By starting with the second question, we can see how linguistic ideologies and linguistic practices are crucial to both.

5.1. Displaced centers

Linguists have long designated as "local" those languages or dialects that are demographically small, seem geographically isolated, culturally remote or exotic. Yet, the fact of "locality" in the contemporary world is not a matter of scale, space or strangeness in itself, but is a relational and contextual issue. No matter how remote, a linguistic form is reproduced by its practitioners with a self-aware sense, perhaps even an explicit theory, of what it is produced "from, against, in spite of, and in relation to." In short, the local – while fragile and always in need of careful tending to assure its survival – is never separate or alone. It is always created by becoming the object of comparison to some "elsewhere" or center which is itself culturally apprehended. "Locality" emerges as a social fact in a national or globalized world (Appadurai 1996: 178, 184). We have already seen one example of this process as part of standardization, in which speech varieties are made "regional" or "deviant" once they are subsumed as the chronotopically distant or bottom of a standardized (metaphorical) space of linguistic varieties.

In this same process, geography is always involved, as is political economy, but with surprising results. For many centuries, Europeans have perceived the continent as a cultural territory on which prosperity, progress and civilization are distributed in a gradient: concentrated in the west and decreasing as one moves east. Arguably, the political economic relations between European regions over the last three hundred years created the inequalities reflected in this gradient. The Cold War division of the continent solidified the differences. Currently, the cultural image itself has political and economic consequences. In the realm of language, the imagery helps to explain exceptions to the general rule that minority languages are indexical of local solidarity but less prestigious than the national languages of the states in which the minority is located. Through their code-switching practices in the 1970s, the German-speaking minority in Romania demonstrated that for them Romanian was not a prestige language, although it was the language of state. Viewing themselves and their languages not from Romania, where they lived, but from the perspective of the political-economic-cultural gradient to which German-Romanians were finely attuned, they were persuaded that German trumped Romanian in prestige (Gal 1987).

A more complex case comes from Indonesia. The Weyewa-speaking villagers on the island of Sumba were settled until the 1970s in village clusters. Each such cluster had a geographical center at which the greatest of rituals were performed, the ones at which the voice of ancestors would be heard through men's performance of a complex genre of ritual speech. Spreading out from these centers like spokes on a wheel were other settlements that were increasingly less efficacious as the location of rituals, and at which only minor genres of ritual speech were performed. In the late nineteenth century, the largest of the rituals fell into disuse when the arrival of Dutch colonialists led to an increase in population, and a consequent dispersal of people away from the large central villages. The people found themselves removed from their own ceremonial centers. The net result has been a decrease in the importance and sheer presence of ritual speech, especially the most important kinds. An orientation to Dutch administration easily followed. The language itself, which was in the past considered "perfect" and "a source" of skill and knowledge, has been devalued because it is now seen as incomplete, lacking in elaborate ritual genres which were understood to be its most powerful and essential characteristics (Kuipers 1998).

5.2. Place-making through linguistic practices

Locality is not simply relationality, however. It is important to analyze as well how people make a physical location or social group into a "place" that – in comparison to an "elsewhere" – is phenomenologically dense with meaning, familiar and legible for its inhabitants. The creation of places in this sense implies the making of subjects with patterns of action, ritual performances, ways of speaking and constructing events that are recognizable for others who are thereby identified as local subjects in the same place. The practices that make places are always in part linguistic, indeed a chronotope, and often named or ceremonialized. We can see in retrospect that the ethnography of speaking was concerned to document the linguistic details of just those everyday routines that "emplace" their practitioners (Bauman and Sherzer 1974).

It is noteworthy that varied definitions of language are crucial in constituting place. In the example of Weyewa-speakers in Indonesia, ritual speech was defined as the most perfect Weyewa, the form without which the language was incomplete. In Northern California, among Native American Tolowa-speakers, the structural patterns that linguists consider the building blocks of language are of little importance. Recognition of each other as Tolowa-speakers, and the making of a dense and meaningful Tolowa "place," comes from speakers' knowing the Tolowa names of geological and geographical features in the landscape. Native speakers, linguists and government agents charged with maintaining this endangered language are in continual conflict because of these diverse definitions. Despite an ostensibly shared aim of maintaining the language, they work at cross-purposes (Collins 1998). Similarly, for the Western Apache, the names of features in the landscape are important as evidence of knowing the language. But even more significant are the specific narratives linked to landmarks, which operate as a communal, unwritten memorial of past activities and personages. It is the knowledge of these stories and the ability to judge when and how to tell them that constitute the knowledge necessary to be a complete person. The notion that "wisdom sits in places" (Basso 1996) is an explicit ethno-theory of the relationship between language and landscape that lends significance to everyday life, makes the social group visible to itself, and stands implicitly against American nation-state imagery. It is an exemplary case of "making place."

Knowing what to call a place is as an aspect of belonging, one that makes people members of a social group, recognizable as local persons. In the same way, the choice of designation for all those cities and regions in the world that have names in many languages (e.g., Bratislava, Pozsony, Pressburg) immediately signals one way of telling history as opposed to others and thereby a political stance for the speaker in a world of contrasting positions. This occurs in less obvious ways too, through the indexicality of reference that is a fundamental feature of all languages. Two English-speakers exchanging stories of their winter vacations must select lexical items to identify where they have been. The words – which need not be place names or even nouns – must be chosen from among the huge number that can accurately achieve reference. Has the speaker been "in the mountains", "skiing", "in Obergurgl"? The selection creates solidarity for interactants, or it can exclude. The first choice presumes the hearer and speaker know together which mountains count; the second conjures a world divided into practitioners of contrasting sports. The final one creates a "place" of connoisseurship which can either invite the other to celebrate a shared expertise or humiliate the hearer as ignorant (Schegloff 1972).

Although place names are not indispensable for place-making, the loss of words for places can index political changes and show how dense, ritualized and embodied senses of place – as distinct from geography – can be erased. After the Second World War, land was collectivized in Hungary as part of the communist era. There were rarely any occasions on which to use the centuries-old proper names – specific to particular villages – for sections of arable land, meadow and woods. The names were remembered in the communist era by the men and women who had participated as youth in rituals of inheritance to which these names were crucial for identifying parcels of land. The names were also significant as archaic sounds suggesting an ancient rural continuity. Knowledge of the names identified elder generations who were able to evoke, through the casual use of them, their own former selves, values, customs and sense of place. The villages have remained, agriculture has continued and private property in land was restored at the end of communism. Men and women younger than 80 may have heard the archaic terms but cannot use them to refer to the land that has now regained its value. Those names index a profound political shift in the countryside, one that separates the "place" of the elders from that of co-resident, younger generations. The present owners of the land (often the same families) are creating place in novel ways.

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Susan Gal, Chicago (USA)

4. Language and transnational spaces

1. Introduction: Media and migration
2. Deterritorialized spaces: Indexicality
3. Reterritorializated spaces: Preservation vs. recombination
4. Digital spaces
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1. Introduction: Media and migration

One of the most significant aspects characterizing late modernity has been the high degree of space-time compression caused by the increasing mobility of people, commodities, texts, and knowledge (Giddens 1990; Appadurai 1996). This compression has transformed the geography of social relations and communication, leading many scholars to focus their studies on the transnational nature of late-modern communicative environments. These studies have linked the emergence of transnationalism with the post-industrial wave of migration, a wave characterized by people able to forge and sustain multistranded social relations across geographic, cultural, and political borders. Transnational migrants sustain a multiplicity of involvements in both home and host countries, a multiplicity made possible by their networks of interpersonal relationships. In a transnational space, social and symbolic ties reach beyond face-to-face relationships, connecting people who are involved in distant interaction through the same faith, class, ideology, ethnicity, or nationality (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Faist 2000; Fist and Özveren 2004).

As Pries (1999) pointed out, transnational spaces are characterized by triadic relationships involving the host state, the sending state, and the migrants' networks. Structured by social networks, transnational spaces are multidimensional and multiply inhabited

(Jackson, Crang and Dwyer 2004). Their inhabitants develop a "triadic geography of belonging" (Vertotec 1999) composed of their relation to place of residence, their creation of myths of homeland, and their imagination of the diasporic community. Transmigrants thus develop their sense of a place not only by engaging in their own surroundings (developing cultural and communicative competencies in relation to these surroundings), but also by activating wider flows and circuitries (allowing them to stay in touch with distant social realities and alternative social imaginations).

Moreover, transnational spaces are experienced differently by people in different social groups and classes. As Massey (1994) discussed, transnational spaces can be imagined as articulated, hierarchical moments in networks of power relations and social understandings. The globalization of social relations is yet another source of geographically uneven development, giving rise to what Massey called a "global sense of place," that is, the sense that one's spatial-temporal coordinates are constantly redefined by economic, political, and socio-cultural relations which are stretched out over the planet at every different scale, from the local to the global.

But how are the "global sense of place" and the "triadic geography of belonging" enacted, produced, and reproduced? In order to answer this question, we need to explore the communicative regimes in charge of injecting sense into the transnational situation. New research is needed that focuses directly on the development across transnational territories of communicative practices produced (and reproduced) by two social actors: the transnational migrants themselves and the local and global media.

Global communication, and in particular electronic media, is much more than an enabler of people's interactivity and mobility: it alters the very nature of this interactivity, transforming people's sense of place, belonging, and social relations. Furthermore, electronic media provide people with distinct ways of expressing themselves – "media idioms", in other words, which have yet to be fully explored in transnational studies.

But it is not only transnational studies that have neglected this phenomenon. Language studies have also been slow to respond to the challenge of examining transnational media idioms, although the literature on language and migration is well-developed (and growing). The study of electronic media has been left to the socio-cultural anthropology of media (the product of a serious rethinking of the field of visual anthropology; see Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002) and to the more "ethnographic" approaches to cultural studies (which emerged out of the encounter between sociological analysis of the media and textual analysis, see Baudrillard 1984; Gitlin 1983; Mankekar 1999). However, Spitulnik's critique (1993) still stands: these studies suffer from inattention to linguistic details and an overdependence on textual criticism. These studies, as well as the study of the Internet in diaspora, which has attracted considerable interest in media and cultural studies, had paid little attention to sociolinguistic issues (Androutsopoulos 2006a, 2006b). Even linguistically oriented media analysis, which focuses principally on the lexical components of media messages, has neglected to analyze the indexical/pragmatic aspects of media communication and the global spread of media idioms.

It is only in recent years that language studies – spurred by the growth of cultural studies (Bhabha 1994; García Canclini 1995; Hannerz 1996; Jameson and Miyoshi 1998; Tomlinson 1999; Nederveen Pieterse 2003) – started to engage with some of the concepts developed by the analysis of globalization and produced some significant scholarship (Woolard 1999; multiple contributions in Coupland 2003; Aravamudan 2006; Pennycook 2007). Unfortunately, even in this more recent scholarship, the link between media and migration is still poorly understood.

In this article, I seek to remedy this situation by proposing a research paradigm that can account for both migrants' communicative practices and media idioms. After discussing the three basic characteristics of transnational spaces (deterritorialization, reterritorialization, and digitalization), this article introduces the concept of *transidiomatic practices* to describe the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously in a range of communicative channels. This focus on transidiomatic practices leads to a discussion of the social indexicalities and semiotic codes structured by (and structuring) the social zones of late-modern communication.

2. Deterritorialized spaces: Indexicality

In the 1990s, the anthropological notion of "culture" gradually moved away from identification with a naturally contiguous territory or society and towards an association with social environments freed from the constrictions of face-to-face interactions in the localities of pre-modern societies. This move allowed anthropologists and social scientists to study social relations stretched across time and space by the movement of people between places, institutions, and groups (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 1997; Giddens 1990). This anthropological turn was heavily influenced by the philosophical concept of *deterritorialization* developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1983, 1987). The notion of deterritorialization provided an alternative vision of the subject that contrasted with the dominant understanding of subjectivity as contained within the territorial confines established by centralized powers. Deleuze and Guattari explicated the displacement and dispersion of a subjectivity unrestrained by territorial control. Deterritorialization served as the cornerstone of a "nomadic" theory, in which the "nomad", "migrant" and "gypsy" became the figures for a generalized poetics of displacement.

This concept has been criticized for its metaphorical, universalistic bias (Mignolo 2000) as well as for its inability to account for transnational power relations and its indulgence in nostalgic, colonial fantasies about nomadic movements (Spivak 1988; Kaplan 1996). Nevertheless, it remains a powerful metaphor for representing globalization's central social fact, the dissolution of the supposedly "natural" link between a geographical territory and cultural practices, experiences, and identities. As such, the concept of deterritorialization has been adopted by social theory to account for the cultural dynamics of people and practices that either no longer inhabit one locale (finding themselves in borderlands, diasporic groups, or mixed cultural environments) or inhabit a locality radically transformed by global cultural phenomena (Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc 1994; Hannerz 1996; Clifford 1997; Tomlinson 1999a and b).

Through the synergy of mobile people and electronic media, the vast majority of the planet is confronting new rules and resources for the construction of social identity and cultural belonging. As Appadurai (1996) pointed out, when the rapid, mass-mediated flow of images, scenarios, and emotions merges with the flow of deterritorialized audiences, the result is a recombination in the production of modern subjectivity. When Moroccan families make videotapes of their weddings to send to relatives who migrated to Italy (Jacquemet 1996), when Hmong refugees in the United States produce documentaries about their "homelands" by staging them in China (Schein 2002), or when Pakistani taxi-drivers in Chicago listen to sermons recorded in mosques in Kabul or Teheran (Appadurai 1996), we witness the encounter of mobile media practices and transnational people. In this encounter, a new, deterritorialized social identity takes shape, light-years away from the corporate logic of the nation-state. This new identity coagulates around a sentiment of belonging that can no longer be identified with a purely territorial dimension.

The media, by operating in the interface between global forces and local processes, have produced an intense acceleration in the dynamics of social interaction – an acceleration that does not progress along straight lines, but follows the centrifugal, rhyzomatic, and chaotic interweaving of multiple channels, voices, and audiences. What is most impressive in the cultural/linguistic landscapes of late modernity are the communicative practices, such as those described above, of people engaged in simultaneous interactions across a multiplicity of technologically mediated sites.

In the deterritorialized world of late-modern communication, interlocutors can no longer take the spatio-temporal contexts of an interaction for granted, as a result the indexical information of any message becomes problematic. By indexicality, I mean the existential relationship between a sign (called index) and its referent, based upon a physical link of "spatio-temporal contiguity" between the two. Indexes, in order to be interpreted, need a clear spatio-temporal context, and it is only thanks to context that we can process statements such as *pass me that book*, since the demonstrative pronoun "points" to a book nearby. This context-dependent property of an index is not only found in demonstratives, personal pronouns, and temporal and spatial expressions, but also in sociolinguistic markers such as phonological variations (pointing to a particular relationship between speaker and socio-economic position) or pronominal choices (the T/V, informal/formal system pointing to contextually relevant social coordinates of respect, politeness, and hierarchy). The central property of indexicality is thus this ability to "point" communication toward the spatio-temporal contexts and the socio-cultural environments, to direct an addressee to attend to speech settings (for a more detailed discussion, see Silverstein 1976; Hanks 1990).

In this logic, long-distance phone calls require a realignment of the caller's indexical ground in order to match the time zone of the called to avoid embarrassing, face-threatening acts (such as waking the called in the middle of the night or interrupting morning prayers). This adjustment of one's phenomenological field carries consequences for one's sense of place, in some instances producing radical reframings of what constitutes "being here." These translocal requirements have been complexified by the widespread diffusion, starting in the 1990s, of mobile telecommunication technologies (especially cellular technology), which have the capacity to produce a simulacrum of interactional contiguity no longer depended upon physical proximity. Nowadays, a considerable amount of interactional work must be spent in aligning the indexical maps of interlocutors, i. e., their spatial references contextualized in the particular environments occupied by the speakers. Consider, for instance, the case of calling a cellular phone, in which the precise location of the call's recipient is obviously problematic. The caller's typical opening move (*where are you?*) in this case is not a simple request for territorial information, but the start of a sophisticated process of matching indexical maps. It also initiates a communicative negotiation in which the caller seeks to find out whether the environment of the called is conducive to talk, thus avoiding potential face damage if the call has intruded either upon a private, "back-stage" area not usually open to interaction, or upon public space where the recipient's talk would be limited by social rules. It must be noted that the "public/private" divide is rapidly being transformed by mobile technology, which stretches the range of permissibility and possibility for phone calls, as anyone who has taken a train next to a babbling cellularized individual knows (see Cameron 2000 on the demise of Goffman's "civil disattention" caused by cell phones). This in turn has created new codes of conduct and new rules for the use of cellular phones (including their banishment from concert halls, lecture halls, and some restaurants).

The hermeneutical implications of the link between indexicality and deterritorialized communicative practices are even more dramatic if we consider the phenomenon of reading texts accessed through the Internet. Let me relate a recent experience that I had while reading the on-line version of the Italian newspaper *Il Manifesto*. An article by the paper's US correspondent on a socialist scholars' conference held in New York discussed similarities between American and Italian debates over the conference topics:

> La discussione sulla crisi della forma partito, sull'egemonia dell'ideologia del mercato, sulla latitanza dei movimenti, tutto risuona in un ritornello tante volte sentito al di qua dell'Atlantico.
> 'The debate over the crisis of the party-structure, on the hegemony of market ideology, on the lack of social movements, all this sounds like a refrain heard many times on this side of the Atlantic.' (my translation, M. J.)

As an Italian-speaking transmigrant working and living in the San Francisco Bay Area, I felt a deep sense of estrangement when I attempted to anchor the phrase *on this side of the Atlantic* within his spatial environment. The article assumed the location of writer and audience to be in Italy (even if the writer was reporting from New York). It also assumed the location of the medium: Italian-language media were produced in Italy to be consumed locally by an Italian public (very much in line with Anderson's [1983] understanding of the role of media in the construction of the nation-state as an imagined community). A transmigrant's reading of this article in a location outside of Italy (let's say an office on a U.S. campus) problematizes this easily taken-for-granted connection between territory, language, and media – resulting in a serious case of indexical vertigo.

This sense of vertigo is intrinsically related to the nature of reading on-line. The consumption of foreign newspapers is not a recent development of globalization, but the cultural practice of accessing them through "traditional" means (going to a specialty newsstand carrying foreign journals, locating the newspaper, checking its date – usually at least a day earlier – buying the newspaper, holding it at eye level, leafing through the pages) evokes a physicality that allows the reader to participate in the media event "as if" one were still in Italy – and thus able to process "on this side of the Atlantic" easily and without confusion.

On the other hand, the consumption of online newspapers transforms the phenomenological condition of "being here." The fact that the reader could be located almost anywhere in the world (at least, anywhere with reliable Internet connection) produces a different processing of spatial and temporal locators. The online versions of newspapers come with their own modalities of reception that clearly differentiate them from the printed versions (which are, in many cases, also available for downloading as pdf files from the papers' websites, to make things even more confusing). By relying on specific techniques, such as the use of hyperlinks to other publications, websites, blogs, or image and video banks; by providing comment space for on-going discussion among readers;

and by using specific markers, such as providing the time of the last update (usually given in GMT), online newspapers alter the taken-for-granted relationship between reader and text and project a globalized but language-specific audience, able to access the text from virtually anywhere in the world. Moreover, given the global dominance of American operating systems (such as Windows, which in 2006 had a 84.7 percent share of all computer operating systems, and Internet Explorer, which had a 78 percent share of Internet traffic), even non-English e-journals accessed from an English-based environment are entextualized within English frames. These frames shape the phenomenological appreciation of on-line texts. In sum, online media allow the experience of reading to be purely deterritorialized from any point of geographical reference, and thus problematize indexical understanding of electronically produced and disseminated textual materials.

Practices of communicative deterritorialization, such as cellular phone calls or online reading, are usually found at the nexus of mobile people and mobile texts. The most important new phenomenon facing the study of late modernity is, as Appadurai (1996) discussed, the encounter between media and migration – an encounter that provides an ideal entry point for studying the social and cultural mutations of the contemporary world.

Ethnographers of communication, in particular, have much to gain and to contribute by turning their attention to processes of deterritorialization, especially those produced by the interaction of mobile people and electronic media. A linguistic analysis of media communication would provide new evidence of the indexical dynamics of such phenomena as multi-channeled communication (such as a cellular call to a radio talk show about events which the caller is experiencing directly, Scollon 1998: 2001), asynchronous interactions (such as voice-mail, email, or cellular messages), the linguistic ideology of media idioms, metacommunicative techniques (as in the use of techno-political devices in broadcast interviews), intertextuality and the construction of audiences, and the creolization of media idioms.

Finally, a focus on deterritorialization should prompt linguistic studies to examine electronic media in the context of the late-modern human condition, and confront the phenomenon of people whose allegiances and sense of belonging are divided between multiple places – and whose linguistic practices reflect their experience with multiple, transnational sites. At the same time, a focus on processes of deterritorialization should be combined with attention to parallel processes of reterritorialization.

3. Reterritorializated spaces: Preservation vs. recombination

The most important social implication of deterritorialization is not the dissolution of identities, cultures, or nation-states in a global environment (as some critics of globalization theory would lead us to believe; see Held and McGrew 2000; Lechner and Boli 2000), but the interplay between global and local processes and the reconstitution of local social positionings within global cultural flows (a phenomenon labeled "glocalization," see Robertson 1995). People are continuously involved in practices of reterritorialization: the anchoring and recontextualizing of global cultural processes into their everyday life (Tomlinson 1999). These practices have a broad range of social effects. At one extreme, they can produce an ideological hardening of the local, "indigenous" identity/

code/language in opposition to translocal phenomena. At the other, they can just as well initiate a much more creative process for the production of recombinant identities.

Social groups faced with transnational flows of people and cultural practices not easily accepted locally may react with an ideological hardening of the social boundaries of their "community." Locally dominant ethnic groups strengthen in-group identities by raising the membership bar through practices of intolerance and exclusion. As noted by García Canclini in his ethnography of Tijuanians, "the same people who praise the city for being open and cosmopolitan want to fix signs of identification and rituals that differentiate them from those who are just passing through." (1995: 239). Among the most pernicious practices is the imposition by socially dominant groups of limits on the linguistic rights of transnational, lower class, or minority subjects. From the English Only movement to the worldwide phenomenon of eradicating minority languages in favor of national ones, we find a motley crew of different forces and groups animated by the desire to resist globalization. Their resistance takes various and at times antagonistic forms, such as preserving "a common language," avoiding ethnic strife, imposing a sense of national unity and civic responsibility, or exploiting a national mood of isolationism and xenophobia. An interesting example of this process of linguistic chauvinism by nation-states is offered by Singapore's initiatives for a perfect society: the "Speak Good English Movement" and the "Speak Mandarin" campaigns to eliminate Singlish, "a patois that has spread through our nation like a linguistic virus" according to Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's senior minister (quoted in the *New York Times*, July 1, 2001). In particular the "Speak Mandarin" campaign has become a serious class struggle pitching Singapore's middle class and state bureaucrats against the working poor, and is causing the shift in most domains, in particular the home, from other Chinese languages to Mandarin, producing a generation of children not being able to understand their grandparents (Ansaldo and Lim 2006).

Meanwhile, minority groups may respond to globalization fears with a strategic retreat to ideologically defensive positions, such as re-identification with cultures of origin, reliance on symbolic membership in strong counter-ethnicities, revival of cultural integralism and traditionalism, and defense of the "purity" and "integrity" of the local language (Hill and Hill 1986).

In all these cases, we find people who, feeling threatened by the diversity (among other unsettling changes) brought about by deterritorialization, activate an exclusive linguistic ideology to raise the membership bar (Anderson 1983; Crowley 1989; Crawford 1992; Silverstein 1996; Errington 2000).

On the other hand, there is some evidence that global/local interactions may also produce a new form of reterritorialization that gives rise to recombinant identities, usually produced through encounters between global and local codes of communication.

Anyone present in transnational milieus, whose talk is mediated by deterritorialized technologies and who interacts with both present and distant people, will find herself immersed in practices of recombinant identities. Diasporic and local groups alike renegotiate their identities whenever they engage in maintaining a simultaneous presence in a multiplicity of sites or participate in elective networks spread over transnational territories. These recombinant identities are based on multi-presence, multilingualism, and decentered political/social engagements.

Consider, for instance, the growing phenomenon of customer call centers located thousands of miles away, multiple times zones apart, and in different nations from the serviced area, such as the call centers in South Asia, in particular in India, that serve customers in the United States or United Kingdom. The key to the success of Indian calling centers is, for the most part, the phone operators' ability to reterritorialize their cultural and communicative practices to match the callers' expectations of being served in a nearby location by a peer. In a quest for seamless connection with clients, these operators – most of whom are young college graduates – are required by their managers to study American or British popular culture, including food, habits, and popular TV shows in their customers' areas (one reported exercise consists of listening to the soundtrack of the American TV-show *Friends* and the like, and then reconstructing the dialogue). Most importantly, operators' talk must be contextualized and experienced within the spatio-temporal environment of their customers. For instance, operators' computer screens show not only a customer's time zone but also the local weather and traffic report, so that each call can be answered with the appropriate temporal greeting ("good afternoon" when India is already in the dark) and with small talk about, for instance, the miserable snow storm and the resulting horrible commute (Landler 2001). At the same time, Indian operators interact with co-workers in the next cubicle, take breaks to eat local food, and may occasionally check local news and personal email. This mixing of multiple languages and simultaneous local (with co-workers) and distant (with clients) interactions binds these subjects to a world of recombinations of their communicative, cultural, and social practices.

Many other countries have followed in India's footsteps and developed such call centers. In spring 2001, the *New York Times* published an article about how Ireland was becoming the phone message center for many German firms. Germans (from East Germany, where there is still high unemployment) went to Ireland to work and answer phone calls from German customers. Since it was too expensive to pay Germans German wages in Germany, firms paid workers Irish wages in Ireland, and saved money. America Online, on the other hand, currently prefers an Asian country with an English-educated population: the Philippines. Its voice hotline (800 number) takes you to an office somewhere in the Philippines, where all questions are answered by local people. (On the other hand, a more recent development reported in the press in 2007 is India outsourcing its economic model to countries like the Czech Republic, Morocco and China).

While individual creativity must be acknowledged in this process of recombination, I do not want to idealize phone operators' agency (both social and communicative) in working tasks which are imposed upon them by managers, together with often substandard and cramped working conditions. The imperative to speak proper English still points to the linguistic dominance of this language over many local languages, as contemporary capitalism pushes further into all areas of production worldwide. Political, social and cultural supremacy is in the hands of transnational governmental bodies, multinational companies, international relief organizations and churches, and various multinational military forces – in other words, in the hands of a globalized governmentality characterized by "mobile sovereignty" (Sassen 2001; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Ong 1998; Hardt and Negri 2000).

Mobile sovereignty is tied to the emergence of two new layers in the international division of intellectual labor: a class made up of cosmopolitan elites (such as multinational corporate executives, UN bureaucrats, the staff of international NGOs, and international media producers) and a class made up of the local workers (phone operators, secretaries, computer technicians, interpreters, local politicians, and so on) under the elites' direct or indirect control. Phone operators still occupy the lowest echelon in the hierarchy of cognitive labor: they are the "chain workers" of the information system, servicing the needs of others under the direct supervision of "symbolic analysts," the "brainworkers" in charge of the production of immaterial goods and services (Reich 1992; Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1996; Ritzer 1996; Escobar 2001). Among the skills most desired in these chain workers, knowledge of global languages takes center stage. Such linguistic knowledge constitutes the best – and sometimes the only – opportunity available to many bright people (especially the youth in the global south) for social and geographical mobility.

Nevertheless, these phone operators represent a new, moving frontier in class, language, and power relations. As such, their communicative practices have a significant impact on their everyday life and in the lives of people with whom they interact, both near to them and in the deterritorialized environments of the virtual economy. They, like many other workers involved in cognitive labor, are at the frontline of contemporary capitalism's advance upon local environments, and on the cutting edge of the creation of new ways of speaking and communicating. Their communicative practices are an example of how new discourses and modes of representation are reterritorialized within the local environment and situated amid the hierarchies that structure the global political economy.

In this light, the concept of reterritorialization provides a valuable perspective on intercultural communication in the transnational spaces of late modernity.

4. Digital spaces

The third, and most neglected, dimension of transnational spaces is situated not in specific territorial sites but in the virtual reality of mediascapes. The transnational sensibilities and multilingual communicative dynamics that we have explored so far in this paper are made possible by global media and digital technologies. This section addresses communicative implications of three types of digitally-mediated interactions: virtual meetings, digital navigation systems and online social networking.

Although a rich literature on virtual teams and their role in transnational spaces has emerged in recent years from the field of organization studies (Hinds and Kiesler 2002; Marquardt and Horvath 2001), very few studies have focused on the communicative aspects of these virtual interactions, in particular on the communicative dynamics of *telepresence* in videoconferencing or video calls. In the late 1980s, Virilio introduced the concept of telepresence to account for the spacializing role images would have in long-distance video communication (1988, 1990). Interactive, live transmission of video images over great distances becomes in itself a new kind of place. The experience of being in this place is what Virilio called telepresence, which supersedes in real time the real space of objects and sites. Telepresence is the experience of the continuity of real time overcoming the contiguity of real space. The impact of fiber optics, monitors and video cameras on our vision and on our surroundings is far greater than that of electricity in the nineteenth century. "In order to see," Virilio observes, "we will no longer be satisfied in dissipating the night, the darkness of the outside world. We will also dissipate time lapses and distances, the outside world itself" (1990: 72).

In consonance with Baudrillard's understanding of the new informational landscape, Virilio advanced the notion that we no longer inhabit or share a physical public space. Our domain of existence or socialization is now the public image, with its volatile, functional and spectacular ubiquity. For Virilio, one of the most important aspects of the technologies of digital imaging and of synthetic vision made possible by optoelectronics was the "fusion/confusion of the factual (or operational) and the virtual," the predominance of the "effect of the real" (1988: 128) over the physical world. The shortest distance between two points is no longer a straight line, as it was in the age of the locomotive and the telegraph. Today, in the age of satellites and fiber optics, the shortest distance between two points lies in real time transmission of information between the two points.

The concept of telepresence has been picked up by the computer industry to describe the latest innovation in videoconferencing. In this virtual environment, users scattered around the planet communicate live via integrated voice, video and data networks, at a speed and quality of transmission paralleling face-to-face interactions. High-definition, multi-panel video screens reproduce the actual size of conference participants. This technology creates the illusion that the two (or more) parties to a conversation are not continents apart but at opposite sides of the same table. Initial reports suggest that participants in such meetings very quickly forget, or at least stop caring, that they are not in the same room. In order to achieve this telepresence effect, rooms in remote locations are equipped with matching conference tables that face wide screens, as well as matching décor, so that the local table blends seamlessly with the remote table projected on the screen. The rooms are equipped with multiple cameras and speakers, supported by enormous computing power, so that meeting participants can make eye contact and overlap or interrupt each other (in order to do so, the delays in audio and video transmission must be negligible, i. e., below 250 milliseconds, the threshold at which the human brain starts to notice the delay, see Cisco 2007).

While meetings that make use of telepresence video conference technologies may be the wave of the future, many virtual meetings that take place today combine use of teleconferencing with the Internet to facilitate collaboration on shared projects, but do not simulate face-to-face interactions. Participants are still present to each other, nonetheless, as voices on the phone – and thus experience a form of telepresence. The only ethnography of communication to date that has explored telepresence focused on this sort of teleconferencing. Wasson (2006), in her study of the meetings of virtual teams in a corporate workplace, analyzed how participants in such teleconferences multitasked in more complex ways than they would during face-to-face interactions. As in face-to-face interactions, a central situational focus was maintained within the interactional space of the virtual meeting, but participants were also simultaneously located in their local spaces. In their local spaces, they were often simultaneously engaged in other activities unconnected to the meeting. These multitasking skills seem to be a common theme of all digitalized environments, pointing at the complex communicative practices occurring simultaneously in the transnational space created by local and virtual environments.

A second type of digitally-mediated interaction is the use of digital communications to provide directions for spatial navigation. Digital navigation has given rise to a new way transnational agents can move in unknown territories and thus acquire the appropriate indexical pragmatics. Since 2000, in-dash navigation systems using Global Positioning System (GPS) technology have become either standard or optional features in many car and truck models, and third-party systems have become widely available for all vehicles. Portable units have been developed that could be moved from car to car, and navigation software can now be added to laptop computers. Navigation systems read digital maps on a CD-ROM, DVD or hard disk and display on a screen one's current location on a street map in real-time. Using GPS devices mobile, mobile people, and in particular transnational ones, no longer need clear knowledge of the territory in which they move – knowledge that was, until recently, one of the signs of belonging to a "home" territory. Now cellular communication allows them to rely on remote, digital interlocutors to provide the pertinent information. This offers great advantages to deterritorialized subjects. Consulting maps or obtaining directions in advance is no longer necessary. Instead, drivers can count on real-time directions while driving. A digital navigator can match its knowledge of the territory with the driver's progress through it – duly described to her by voice (currently available only in "global" languages) or via a graphic interface.

A related technology, mobile positioning, allow services to pinpoint the location of a mobile caller or vehicle in transit. These location-based services (LBS) are used for emergency purposes as well as enhanced business applications such as location-sensitive billing, traffic updates, fleet management and goods and people tracking. This technology is also expected to become ubiquitous, in particular in conjunction with cellular telephone communication. For instance, a person could be notified by cell phone of a sale going on in a store he is walking by, find out whether any of his friends are in the area, or track the location of his children's cell phones. In particular, the use of such technologies for social networking should become an area of concern for scholars interested in social interaction, and in particular in human-machine interactions.

A third type of digital communication has an especially powerful impact on transnational spaces: the social interactions taking place in social networking sites (such as *MySpace* or *Facebook*) and virtual worlds (such as *Second Life*).

Social networking sites are becoming one of the primary communication channels for many young adults, and the numbers are staggering: in summer 2007 *MySpace* counted 200 million users, and the rapidly expanding *Facebook* reached the 40 million mark, having added 36 million users in just over a year (one of the fastest rates of growth ever recorded by an online service). In these environments, people, mostly young, learn to expand their cultural and communicative capacities by constructing online subjectivities in an open-ended process of becoming. These virtual communities are sites for the expansion of the cultural, communicative, and subjective capacities of their users, who are engaged in an exponential expansion of discrete nodes of both affect and affinity. They do so by allowing users to communicate with people worldwide through the creation of their personal space, where users can personalize their profile pages as they wish with texts, images, music, varying layouts and various other items (such as links to other websites).

According to Gamble (2007), the communicative world of the Internet and other digital domains is doing much more than just developing in a manner that replicated communities of practice based on speech patterns: the communicative practices played out in these virtual communities are advancing into the domain of speech in the physical world. It is now possible to determine which speaker has an active digital life merely by exploring his/her vocabulary and sentence construction. In other words, the digital domain's contribution to the evolution of language does much more than just blending the virtual world with the physical one (as suggested by Dubé, Bourhis and Jacob 2006):

digital communication is now a home base for the development of language for a broad section of the general population.

This is clearly visible in the communicative practices emerging from *Facebook's* communities. *Facebook* is proving to have a great impact on the offline world through its offer of communicative tools, such as the "wall" and the "poke". The wall is a space on each user's profile page that allows friends to post messages for the user to see. One user's wall is visible to anyone with the ability to see their full profile, and different users' wall posts show up in an individual's News Feed. Many users use their friends' walls for leaving short, quick notes, whereas more private communication is produced in a different environment, called "Messages", where notes are visible only to the sender and recipient(s), much like email. The act of constantly browsing through friends' pages, pictures and walls, but doing so without posting a comment is referred as "creeping". In July 2007, *Facebook* allowed users to post attachments to the wall, whereas previously the wall was limited to textual content only, thus increasing the multimodality and digital complexity of the communication. The "poke" feature, on the other hand, allows a user to attract the attention of another one. Friends often engage in what is known as a "poke war", where the poke is exchanged back and forth continuously between two users by using the "poke back" feature. The user who neglects to return the poke promptly while still remaining an active user of *Facebook* is said to be the loser (Wikipedia 2007). It is now frequent to encounter uses of "poke", "wall posts", or "creeping" in youth speech patterns which could be understood as markers of cultural belonging to this online community.

Online gaming and its capability to produce real time virtual communities deserves a closer look. Every day millions of pc gamers log in to online worlds to play and interact within a virtual community. Massively multiplayer online role playing games (MMORPGs) – such as *Second Life*, *Ultima Online*, *World of Warcraft*, or *Everquest* – allow people to don online personalities, or *avatars*, and duke it out in make-believe environments. These environments typically appear similar to those in the real world, with similar rules for gravity, topography, locomotion, and communication. Communication has, until recently, been in the form of text, but recently real-time voice communication via the internet has become available. For instance, in the simulation game *Second Life*, not only can entrepreneurs buy and sell digital real estate, create their own lines of avatar clothing and accessories, and hold virtual concerts, lectures, and sporting events; but in addition many users have come to see these games as an enhanced communications medium for staying in touch with friends and to make new connections. The creation of elective communities spread across continents and able to interact in real time in the virtual confines of cyberspace is pushing the limits of what constitutes social interaction and group communication.

While by now the study of computer-mediated communication (CMC) is a well established field (Herring 1996, 2003; Crystal 2006), the indexical-pragmatic functions of CMC in transnational spaces have been largely overlooked. Moreover, existing research on CMC has focused almost exclusively on emergent practices in English whereas, as Danet and Herring (2007) pointed out, roughly two-thirds of Internet users are non-English speakers (one notable exception is the study of code-switching among expatriate South Asians on Usenet in Paolillo 1996, see also the edited volume by Danet and Herring 2007).

What are the communicative practices taking place in transnational, digitally-mediated environments, from virtual meetings to social networking sites? Ethnographicallybased, linguistically-oriented fieldwork of digital transnational spaces is still quite sketchy and lacks in-depth analysis. As a result we are left to speculate on the complex communicative dynamics people activate when engaging in digital interaction. As Jones (2004) pointed out in his study of the shift from face-to-face to virtual interaction "traditional sociolinguistic conceptualizations of the terms of interaction and the contexts in which it takes place may need to be radically rethought in light of new communication technologies" (Jones 2004: 21). This awareness of a transformed context must inform our investigation of these spaces.

The lenses we usually adopt in looking at language must be significantly altered to accommodate for communicative phenomena produced by people present in transnational contexts, whose talk is mediated by deterritorialized technologies, and who interact with both present and distant people. We need to study the communicative practices of these subjects, even if these communicative practices cannot be recognized as part of a single linguistic standard. To elucidate a different approach to the study of language in transnational space, the next section will introduce the concept of *transidiomatic practice* to study precisely this intersection between mobile people and digital communication.

5. Transidiomatic practices

One of the most significant breakthroughs in language studies in the late twentieth century was the introduction of the notion of *communicative practice.* Under the influence of European political philosophers such as Foucault and Bourdieu, language and communication scholars adopted the notion of practice to deal not only with communicative codes and ways of speaking (some of the rallying concepts of the first wave of the ethnography of communication), but also with semiotic understanding, power asymmetry and linguistic ideology. By focusing on the "socially defined relation between agents and the field that 'produces' speech forms" (Hanks 1996: 230), a practice-oriented approach can then explore speakers' orientations, their habitual patterns and schematic understandings and their indexical strategies. Hanks defined *communicative practice* as constituted by the triangulation of linguistic activity, the related semiotic code or linguistic forms and the ideology of social indexicality. He invoked a poetic image of practice as "the point of conversion of the quick of activity, the reflexive gaze of value, and the law of the system" (1996: 11).

This triangulation of linguistic activity, semiotic codes and indexicality needs to be complexified to account for how groups of people that are no longer territorially defined, think about themselves, communicate using an array of both face-to-face and long-distance media, and in so doing produce and reproduce social hierarchies and power asymmetries. I propose to use the term transidiomatic practice to describe the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different languages and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant.

Transidiomatic practices are the result of the co-presence of digital media and multilingual talk exercised by deterritorialized/reterritorialized speakers. They operate in contexts heavily structured by social indexicalities and semiotic codes that produced relatively stable power asymmetries and cultural hegemonies. Anyone present in transnational environments, whose talk is produced by both biological and digital means, and who interacts with both present and distant people is engaged in transidiomatic practices.

Given the nature of economic globalization, many contemporary work environments – from the offices of international organizations to airport lounges, from international call centers to the board meetings of multinational companies – can be classified as transidiomatic. In addition, a great number of social settings – from living rooms to hospital operating rooms to political meetings – experience a translocal multilingualism interacting with the electronic technologies of contemporary communication. The world is now full of settings where speakers use a mixture of languages in interacting with friends and co-workers; read English and other "global" languages on their computer screens; watch local, regional or global broadcasts; and listen to pop music in various languages. Much of the time, they do so simultaneously.

Moreover, transidiomatic practices are no longer solely restricted to areas of colonial and post-colonial contact, but flow through the multiple channels of electronic communication and global transportation, over the entire world, from contact zones, borderlands, and diasporic nets of relationships to the most remote and self-contained areas of the globe. These communicative resources are activated by people needing to operate in multiple, co-present and overlapping communicative frames. The language they use to communicate depends on the contextual nature of their multi-site interactions, but is necessarily mixed, translated, "creolized" (Hannerz 1992: 1996). Transidiomatic practices usually produce linguistic innovations with heavy borrowing from English (a reminder of the global impact of contemporary English – see Pennycook 2003 and 2007; Crystal 1997; De Swaan 2001), but any number of other languages could be involved in these communicative recombinations, depending on specific processes of reterritorialization in which the speakers are engaged.

Through transidiomatic practices, diasporic and local groups alike recombine their identities by maintaining simultaneous presence in a multiplicity of sites and by participating in elective networks spread over transnational territories. These recombinant identities are based on multi-presence, multilingualism, and decentered political/social engagements.

While individual creativity must be acknowledged in this process of recombination, I do not want to idealize the agency (both social and communicative) of most people involved in transidiomatic practices. These practices are still inserted into a global indexical order which assign superior values to certain systems of communication at the expenses of others. The fact that most aspiring musicians feel now compelled to have a presence on *MySpace*, that managers will soon have to endure interminable videoteleconferencing with long-distant bosses, or that the lack of knowledge on how to compose a proper e-mail message could restrict people's work opportunities (Shipley and Schwalbe 2007) are all indications that communicative inequalities will continue to shape power relations in the age of globalization. On the linguistic level, we will still encounter a stratified, layered ideology of what to consider a legitimate communicative code; and this legitimacy will be in the hands of the mobile sovereignty discussed above, which is already increasingly preoccupied in assessing what kind of transidiomatic practices are welcomed (such as those of Indian phone operators forced to speak the local English of the area they serve) and what are considered "broken English" or gibberish.

An area of particular sociolinguistic interest for the study of transidiomatic practices resides in tracing the transnational flow of particular discourse markers from one communicative environment to another. Elsewhere (Jacquemet 2005), I called such discourse markers *transidiomatic floaters.* In that article, I traced the drift of the transidiomatic floater *don't worry* over multiple nation-states: from its English context to Italian advertising language (where it was manipulated into representing a testimonial for a website called "Don Uorri," who had the typical features of a Mafia Don), then to an Italian telenovela (where Don Uorri was in charge of the romantic troubles of Albania immigrants in Italy). Later, in partly thanks to the broadcast of this Italian show in Albania, it jumped the Adriatic sea to be used in interactions between Albanians and foreigners (drivers who lost the way, restaurateurs dealing with hungry pleas during a black out, or local staff of international NGOs responding to the distressed calls of their supervisors). In little more than five years, *don't worry/don uorri* came to play a major role in the inter-cultural repertoire of Albanian stranger-handlers. More recently, this floater seems to have reached St. Petersburg, where it is colloquially used in the expression "*dont vori bi v kepi*" ("don't worry, wear a kepi" − a word play with the refrain *don't worry, be happy*, pointing to the penetrating power of American pop music and the pervasive influence of Bobby McFerrin's rather annoying vocalizations into Eastern Europe) (Anna Yatsenko 2007, personal communication at Reed College).

The world is traversed by such floaters: Pennycook (2003) analysis of the expression *by the way* as used in English-Japanese rap points to the symbolic efficacy of such terms for Japanese rappers (and it would be interesting to compare it to the use of the online expression *btw*, which has also drifted into a multiplicity of discourse contexts). Similarly, Aravamudan's (2006) discussion of the uptake of the term *karma* by Westerners (especially by practitioners of Eastern philosophy, such as the Beatles studying transcendental mediation) could be considered another transidiomatic floater now enjoying world wide recognition.

The transidiomatic practices and floaters of both global elites and local/transnational semiotic workers represent a new, moving frontier in class, language, and power relations, and as such, they have a significant impact not only on the everyday life of these mobile agents but also in the lives of people with whom these mobile people interact, both near to them and in the deterritorialized environments of late-modern economy. These practices, especially the floaters, found themselves at the frontline of contemporary capitalism's deterritorialized advance, on the cutting edge of the creation of new ways of speaking and communicating. They are instances of how new discourses and modes of representation are reterritorialized within the local environment, and as such must be taken into account in any assessment of the impact of transnational spaces on languages.

6. Conclusions

In this article I have argued that our notion of transnational space must be expanded to take into account the emerging communicative geographies of the twenty-first century: international call centers, online social networking, multilingual chat rooms, videoconferencing, or Web 2.0 cellular telephones are all communicative environments which are poorly understood. As such, they deserve our full attention.

A serious investigation of these communicative environments will necessarily problematize our taken-for-granted, common-sense knowledge of what is a "language" (Jacquemet 2005). It is now time to examine communicative practices based on disorderly recombinations and language mixings until now ordinarily overlooked. We should rethink the concept of communication itself, no longer embedded in national languages and international codes, but in the multiple transidiomatic practices of transnational flows. This will allow our imagination of linguistic exchanges to take shape within the discourse of local cultural becoming, social mutations, and global identities.

This linguistic shift in turn entails a reconceptualization of what constitutes a "place." People's relationships to places are primarily interactional: the sense of being in a place is created through the interaction between the physical setting and the person experiencing it. We know that spatial perception is intrinsically tied to language, the primary tool shaping our understanding of space (Hanks 1990; Basso 1996; Gumperz and Levinson 1996). Transidiomatic practices, as much as any single territorialized language, alter perception of such constructs as "home", "local community" or "public place". Places are no longer defined in terms of scale and size, but instead in terms of interconnections and networks. Places become interactional hubs, charged with the linguistic organization of social and cultural flows in the context of global capitalism (Castells 2007).

The synchronic, granular and multimodal characters of transidiomatic practices allow people to experience places no longer confined in local territories but rather constructed from the wider flows and circuits of contemporary transnational mediascapes. While transidiomatic practices will have necessarily lost some of the basic communicative characteristics we associate with locality and rootedness, they nevertheless force us to focus our attention on the communicative role of transnational networks – and in particular on the role of these practices in connecting multiple transnational nodes in the discontinuous space of late modernity.

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Marco Jacquemet, San Francisco (USA)

II. Linguistic approaches to space

5. Language and space: The neogrammarian tradition

1. The neogrammarians

Neogrammarian (a misleading translation of the German term, *Junggrammatiker* 'young grammarian') was the name adopted by a dynamic group of brilliant philologists and linguists originally based in Leipzig in the 1870s. The original group included Karl Brugmann, 1849−1919; Berthold Delbrück, 1842−1922; August Leskien, 1840−1916; Hermann Osthoff, 1847−1909; and later, Wilhelm Braune, 1850−1926; Hermann Paul, 1846−1921; and Eduard Sievers, 1850−1926, among others (see Jankowsky 1972 for an overview). The neogrammarians were the dominant force in linguistic science for over four decades until the ascendancy of various forms of linguistic structuralism, particularly following the publication of Saussure (1916). Although the neogrammarians are probably now best known for their claim that sound change is governed by laws that admit no exception (Osthoff and Brugmann 1878: xiii) − a heuristic that still plays an important role in the historical comparative reconstruction of languages and language families − their enduring contributions are also found in the many historical grammars of the earlier stages of the Indo-European languages that they produced, many of which are still in use in revised editions (for example, Braune's [1880] *Gotische Grammatik*, twentieth edition published in 2004), and in the numerous detailed dialect grammars that have been written under a neogrammarian rubric.

Anyone writing about the neogrammarians must pause and reflect on Lehmann's (1967: 257) warning that "students will derive greater profit by reading the outstanding works of the neogrammarians and their predecessors than by reading about them." There are many factors leading to Lehmann's comment, and the issues are complex. We can only note here that the neogrammarians did not form some rigid scholarly monolith, but rather formed a relatively loose collection of scholars who did not necessarily agree on all points, and whose ideas and perspectives did not remain stagnant but rather evolved over decades of scholarship (see Putschke 1969: 20). We are also faced with the legacy of a polemical exchange − sometimes devoid of any intellectual rigor − in which rival scholars could be criticized not only for things they had never claimed, but even for things they opposed. It is only in such an atmosphere that a linguist publishing an attack on the neogrammarians in the journal *Language* could state: "It is true that several [most? – see Jankowsky 1972: 234, RWM] of the opinions here attributed to the neogrammarians have never been openly asserted by them, and have even been sometimes strongly denied" (Bonfante 1947: 377, note 23).

In an attempt to provide a well-grounded coherent overview, the present *Handbook* entry draws directly on the work of a few neogrammarian scholars in discussing the theoretical backdrop for the neogrammarian approach to the study of dialects in time and space: particularly Paul ([1886] 1920), a codification of the neogrammarian approach that includes extensive discussion of language change and dialects, and Sievers ([1876] 1901), which lays the foundations for the science of phonetics and provides the basis for the detailed dialect studies of the period.

2. The neogrammarians and their approach to contemporary dialects

In spite of earlier claims to the contrary, *evolution, not revolution* seems to be the appropriate characterization of both the rise and fall of the neogrammarians (see Koerner 1981). The early period is best viewed as an attempt to formalize and give methodological rigor to the best practices of the period (Putschke 1969: 21). Indeed, even one of the neogrammarians' own contemporaries and one of their most outspoken critics, Hugo Schuchardt, argued that there was nothing new in the neogrammarian approach. In his view, "the exceptionless operation of the sound laws is the only proposition the so-called neogrammarian school can consider to be its very own" (1885 [1972]: 41), but, according to Schuchardt, the proposition is false. With waning influence at the end of their period, it is often stated that structuralism – beginning with Saussure and developed in various streams such as the Prague School, American Structuralism, etc. – represented a dramatic shift away from neogrammarian theory. In fact, however, the foundations for structuralism are explicitly evident in works such as Paul (1920) and, especially, Sievers 1901 (see Putschke 1969: 20), as well as in the dialect descriptions, particularly in seminal works such as Winteler (1876) and Heusler (1888). In addition, of course, many neogrammarian positions were also accepted by the structuralists, for example, the insistence on the study of spoken language.

In one respect, however, it is fair to say that the neogrammarian approach *did* represent a dramatic departure from most past practice; namely, in the importance that was placed on the study of contemporary spoken dialects. In the German-speaking world from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, linguistic discussion tended to focus on the development of a standard language, a *Schriftsprache*, and in this discussion dialects played, at best, a marginal role (Knoop 1982). Although the production of dialect dictionaries was a common activity during this period – and even as early as 1680 Leibniz argued that a developing standard language could be enriched through the incorporation of vocabulary from the dialects (see Schirmunski 1962: 57) – dialects generally came to be denigrated and even conceived of as degenerate forms of an idealized standard language.

With the publication of the first edition of Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* (1819) came the foundations of historical linguistics and the basis for a historical understanding of dialects, but Grimm's grammar was primarily a work of philology that did not draw