



# Responsibility and Language Practices in Place

Edited by  
Laura Siragusa and Jenanne K. Ferguson

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## Introduction. Language and Responsibility: a relational and dynamic approach

In autumn 2010, the Finno-Ugric media centre, *Finugor.ru*, launched a competition among Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic peoples to vote for the Seven Wonders of the Finno-Ugric World. The ‘Wonders’ fell into different categories, such as ‘Nature’, ‘Culture’, ‘Monuments and Constructions’, and ‘Holidays’. The representative groups were allowed to suggest a candidate per category on all categories, and many Veps (a Finno-Ugric Indigenous minority of the Russian Federation) participated. My (Laura’s) friends—both Vepsian and Russian—did not wait long before pointing out that, despite having candidates under each category, Veps had voted quite unanimously for the ‘Nature’ division, where they had uploaded ‘Izchezayushchee Shimozero’ (literally, ‘the disappearing Shimozero’) (Fig. 1). This is a karst lake found in the Vologda Oblast, near the settlements where Veps traditionally live. From time to time, its waters along with the fish go underground to only come back at often unpredictable times (Fig. 2). For this reason, this lake is also referred to as ‘Chernaya Yama’ (R. ‘Black Hole’). According to a local legend, the ‘underground disappearance’ of the lake is due to a card game between Lake Onega and Lake Shimozero.<sup>1</sup> If Lake Shimozero loses the game, it gives over its waters and fish to settle its debt. Once it wins, the waters and fish come back to the surface. By indicating that Veps had mostly voted for Lake Shimozero as their strongest identify marker, my friends wanted to emphasize the strong connections between this Indigenous group and the land where they have lived for thousands of years, and how these connections are narrated by the locals. The dynamicity of the waters and of the environment are framed as dialogic and relational; for us, they are also somewhat symbolic of the various ways in which language practices, place, and responsibility for both language and the place are continuously negotiated and reshaped in relation to changes in the ecology. Here, ecology refers to the lake’s natural environs—but we wish to extend this as a metaphor for a linguistic ecology (Haugen 1972; Hult 2009; Mühlhäusler 1995) as well, in capturing how languages interact with each other in the specific places where they are spoken (or written).

Indeed, this small fieldwork vignette introduces the main theme of our volume on the connections between language practices and place, both physical and virtual, and to what extent people take responsibility for them. In this case, acts of responsibility are conveyed by sharing stories, voting online, and providing an interpretation for the choices people have made in

1 <http://vologdaregion.ru/news/2018/7/14/5-interesnyh-faktov-o-vologodskih-vepsah>.

their virtual votes. What should also be mentioned is that the nearby village of the same name, Shimozero, underwent a massive depopulation during the Soviet assimilation policies in the 1950s–60s. A contemporary Vepsian writer, Petukhov (1992) remembered how he moved to Siberia and in 1956 received a letter from his mother stating that everyone had abandoned the village. Thus, this brief anecdote about Lake Shimozero is all the more paramount to us as it also introduces some of the complex relations between migrants and their land of origin, and how they may creatively and relationally find ways to reconnect with that place (both literally and figuratively) through their language practices. In this volume, we aim to problematize these connections and relations between place and language further, bringing into this dialogue heterogenous scholarship from different parts of the world.

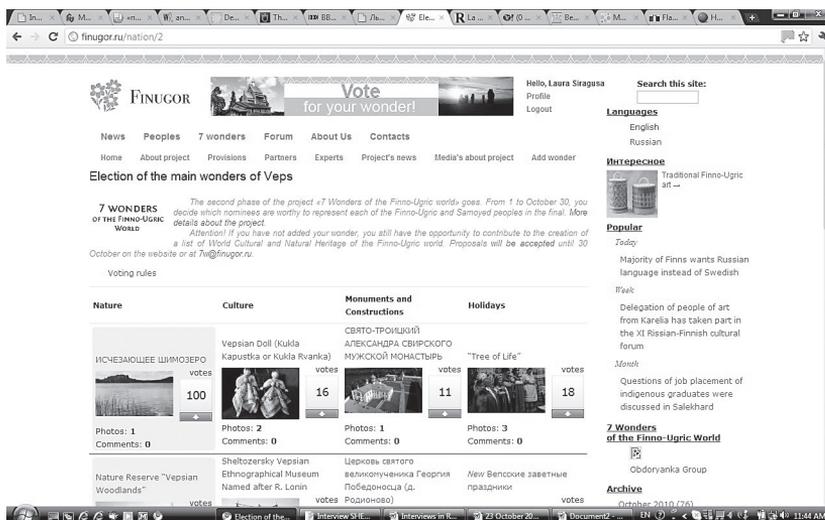


Figure 1. October 2010. Snapshot from Laura’s computer depicting the ‘7 Wonders of the Finno-Ugric World’ competition.



Figure 2. Chernaya Yama. Picture taken from <https://yanka-geo.livejournal.com/12709.html>.

The present volume brings together scholars from the Humanities and Social Sciences in order to investigate how speakers demonstrate responsibility for language practices in relation to both physical and virtual places. The authors have gathered through several conference panels held at the International Congress of Arctic Social Scientists (ICASS IX) in Umeå (2017) and the European Association of Social Anthropologists' conference in Stockholm (2018), each focusing on themes related to language, responsibility, mobility and place. Out of the discussions arising from these presentations, we have sought to answer a variety of questions. Beginning with the concept of responsibility, we wanted to understand the extent to which people take responsibility for the ways they speak or write in relation to a place, be it one they have long resided in, recently moved to, or left at some point in their lives; we sought to understand what social and cultural implications this entails. These papers all explore acts of movement, revealing the ways in which mobility affects the ways that individuals relate to a place, as well as to a language or languages. What we have found is that conceptions of responsibility are also heavily bound up in the ways speakers relate to both language and place; a variety of social or performative acts—linguistic or otherwise—can come to convey or index 'responsibility' for a language. These senses of responsibility are shaped by the myriad social and political dynamics that play into these engagements and relationships, which are often unequal; the agencies that are invoked in these ways of speaking and construction of place are often human, but may be more-than-human as well. From these broader conclusions, several threads and thematic groupings emerged, as we identified different spaces or places in which these processes were occurring.

The focus on responsibility, language, and their links to a place is highly topical at the moment, given the present debate on linguistic 'superdiversity' in urban settings (Arnaut et al. 2016; Blommaert and Backus 2011; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Vertovec 2007), which reminds us to account for the multitude of ways speakers of multiple different languages choose to speak and transmit these ways of speaking in different spaces. We also look to the growing use of virtual space and its potential for linguistic creativity (Akkaya 2014; Dovchin et al. 2017; Hillewaert 2015; Vasquez 2019; Zappavigna 2013), the increase in people's movement from place to place both within and between nation-states (Canagarajah 2017; Duchêne et al. 2013; Gal 2006, 2018; Heller et al. 2015), coupled with committed and renewed attention to indigenous ways of speaking in relation to aspects of the environment (Martin 2010; Meadows 2009; Reo et al. 2019; Webster 2014). However, for inspiration, we have also looked to another collection that emerged almost 30 years ago from the time of our writing; in 1992, Jane Hill and Judith Irvine's volume *Responsibility and Evidence in Oral Discourse* appeared. A successful and influential collection that covered a variety of speech communities and languages, it relied primarily on the use of discourse analysis to reveal the co-construction or articulation of responsibility and agency through conversation. However, in the intervening years, some of this interest has faded, or perhaps surfaced in slightly different iterations and forms. We think that it is time to revisit and revise conceptualizations

of responsibility in relation to language, given its relevance to other key topics in (linguistic) anthropology such as those we have just mentioned: ‘superdiversity’, migration, indigeneity, and both physical and virtual places.

Hill and Irvine (1992) and the contributors to the volume primarily looked at responsibility and agency as co-constructed through specific types of speech and thus employed close discursive and linguistic analysis to the texts and dialogues presented in the chapters. Many of the contributions dealt with reported speech in particular and its relationship with culturally situated ideas of agency and intentionality. Our approach is slightly broader; we too engage with how responsibility and agency are defined discursively in a variety of settings, but with varying degrees of attention to linguistic form and structure. The authors in this volume also consider numerous domains beyond spoken discourse, bringing online textual practices, linguistic landscapes and literary works to the forefront. In order to highlight each thematic strand, we have sought to frame our approach according to three different spaces that reveal the relevance and immediacy of these themes for those aforementioned current debates in linguistic anthropology. Thus, we investigate language practices and responsibility in urban and rural spaces, in virtual spaces, and in institutional or national spaces.

One approach we hope to take to investigating ‘responsibility’ in and through language practices is inspired by the roots of the (English) word itself: the *ability to respond*, or mount a response to a situation at hand. It is thus a ‘responsive’ kind of responsibility, one that focuses not only on demonstrating responsibility *for* language, but highlighting the various ways we respond *to* situations metalinguistically. Our contributors analyse these practices at various levels, from that of phonological alternations and syntactic structures to broader discursive and generic features. This sort of responsibility may be individually instigated, but it is also always co-created relationally; it is shaped by the interlocutors in dialogue, grounded in the language ideologies they each hold. While we can see individual agency and responsibility present in the linguistic practices we discuss, we also consider how responsibility may be shared and assessed collectively by speech communities as well.

Why has discussion involving responsibility and language stalled? We believe that Hill and Irvine (1992)’s analytic approach perhaps appealed to cognitive linguistics with a focus on intentionality above all, even though many of the papers in the volume were ethnographically rich. As mentioned, however, we see multiple ways to tie in the vital concerns and concepts they explored into broader anthropological questions which have emerged in the last decades, such as that of nonhuman agency. With growing work in anthropology turning attention to the ‘more-than-human’ world as well (to name a few, Descola [2006] 2013; Viveiros de Castro 1998, Willerslev 2007), in our approach we explore and acknowledge how ontologies, ideologies, and discourses regarding language shape and are shaped by the place where humans and nonhumans meet. The ‘nonhuman’ does not only include ‘other-than-human persons’ (Hallowell 1960), that is nonhuman animals and spiritual entities, which are attributed a soul and with whom humans interact and co-construct space, but it may also comprise new technologies

as well. In some recent work, Pennycook (2017; 2018) has attempted to highlight some of the approaches we might take to understand what he terms of a ‘posthumanist’ linguistics, in order to attend to better understanding life in the Anthropocene.<sup>2</sup> As he writes, ‘[we] need to rethink the relations between languages, humans, and objects: there is no longer a world ‘out there’ separate from humans and represented in language but rather a dynamic interrelationship between different materialities’ (Pennycook 2018:449). As we discuss agency beyond the human, intentionality becomes more difficult (if not impossible) to talk about since we only experience it filtered through our human perspectives (cf. Kohn 2013; Solomon 2010:149). Nevertheless, the ways in which language, both spoken and written, virtual and physically embodied, circulates with mobile speakers reflect how different kinds of agency affect language practices and consequent interactions with a place.

Place, then, is another major lens that we wish to look through when considering language and responsibility. Discourses on place within anthropology have long called for researchers not to solely focus on one single, static place, but the connections between places as they are *lived* by those people (and other beings) that inhabit them, in order to shed light on how these relationships between places are both created and maintained (Anderson 2000; Ingold 2000; see also Basso 1996 for a focus on relating to place through narrative). Recent philosophical approaches to place, such as Ingold’s (2009:33–34) envisioning of places as entwined trails, or ‘knots’ in ‘meshworks’ of individuals always in motion, or Adey’s (2009:75) idea of places not as ‘simple immobilities but as relative permanencies’ remind us that places are both always connected to other places through the movement of people, and that places themselves are also in flux (cf. Gal 2018). As Alastair Pennycook (2010:128) has written in regard to the tensions between globalization and localization, which necessarily impact language, ‘Everything happens locally. However global a practice may be, it still happens locally’. Much depends on what speakers of a language will face in a new place they enter in terms of the sociopolitical forces in the linguistic ecologies present there, and how they may exert agency to enact responsibility for the language(s) they speak. As stated by Blommaert (2010), the phenomenon of globalization should not be regarded as a separate phenomenon from language, since language practices change along with changes in the broader ecology. That means acknowledging how language practices are continuously aligned with cultural, social, political, and historical transitions. This comprises the introduction of new technologies as well as how people engage dynamically through emergent language practices. We hope to add to the recent discussion on online and offline language usage and on how speakers and writers circulate semiotic resources

2 According to Davis and Todd (2017), this geological epoch in the history of Earth begins with the much earlier than many Euro-Western scholars claim, noting that major shifts—both physical and philosophical—began with the intensification of colonial and imperial activity five hundred years ago. Thus, contemporary cultural and linguistic practices for adapting to these conditions took root much earlier than the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Zalasiewicz et al. 2019).

in their communicative practices (Dovchin et al. 2018) by asking to what extent they do so as to embrace responsibility for, by, and through language.

Despite the acknowledgment that people (and their languages) are moveable and mobile, language still remains strongly linked to place (or land, more generally) in many Indigenous ontologies (see Basso 1996 on Western Apache; Merlan 1981 and Povinelli 1995 on various Aboriginal Australian communities; Rosborough and Rorick 2017 on Kwak'wala and Nuu-chah-nulth, Schreyer 2016 on Tlingit, among many others). Or, as Lewis Cardinal (Cree) puts it, 'The land is paramount for all Indigenous societies. Their relationship to that land, their experience on that land shapes everything that is around them' (Wilson 2008:87). Whitney-Squire (2016:1160) discusses how among Haida speakers and many other indigenous peoples, 'language is bound to place, meaning that language is born of a people's experience; the land shapes the language and in turn, the language shapes them.' From these words, we see how language and responsibility link together then in that people 'hold relationships' (Wilson 2008:80) with land and language; they engage in responsible and responsive ways with land through speaking in certain ways or in certain languages.

Relationships with both language and land are thus mutually maintained or (re)negotiated, even as speakers move. Language is also invoked to (re)-create a sense of 'place' in virtual spaces—either as a re-emplacement of physical places and networks or the creation of a new kind of spaces reflecting new relationalities. Bonds move fluidly between the physical and virtual realms of connection, and linguistic features or forms become indexical or iconic of places. Virtual spaces, brought into being through both mobile telephony and computer usage, are also a key space for the maintenance of indigenous languages especially in situations of increased or rapid mobility and migration. Virtual spaces are also milieux for the reification and performances of identity stances (many of which link to ideas of belonging to or with physical places) but also to enact stances of responsibility for a language's continued maintenance.

Thus, in looking at 'place' we consider both the physical and the virtual spaces we inhabit; this increased use of online spaces (e.g., Androutsopoulos 2015; Dovchin 2015; Hillewaert 2015; Smith and Barad 2018; Sultana 2019) cannot be overlooked. Growing attention to the role of language in shaping and constituting these spaces calls for work on attending to these phenomena in different languages, especially those with smaller speaker populations than 'world languages'. How are key senses of belonging to physical places—especially those connected to land and territory—transformed or re-created through language practices and discourses in virtual spaces online or in metaphorical spaces evoked by modernity? Identifying links between indigenous languages and virtual spaces also allows us to move beyond characterizations linking indigenous practices primarily with the 'past' and give credit to the novel ways they are contributing to expanding social domains for Indigenous language use (cf. Davis 2018 for the case study of Chickasaw language revitalization in multiple domains; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998 on traditions being dynamic and continuously reinvented; Perley 2011, 2013 on the importance of recognizing the emergent vitalities of

Indigenous languages; Wagner 2017 for an overview of how new technologies are supporting language revitalization).

As the collection 'Native on the Net: Indigenous and Diasporic Peoples in the Digital Age' (Landzelius 2004) showed, many indigenous groups adopted the Internet early on as a productive space for language usage and the renewal and recreation of offline bonds across vast physical distances. The studies collected in that early volume, along with other studies of that era (e.g., Christensen 2003 on Inuit Internet usage) occurred prior to the full emergence of Web 2.0 and the proliferation of participatory networking platforms happening just as those books were being published. Here, our interest in indigeneity (and indigenous languages) overlaps with conceptions of place and the influences of increased mobility and migration among many communities in an era of unprecedented opportunities for online interconnection; as mentioned above, the use of certain language varieties, in fact, may also be part of the 'place-making' process, or the ways in which diasporic groups recreate or reconstitute a sense of place and belonging elsewhere, in this case online instead of a new physical location (see, among others, Bernal 2005; 2014 regarding Eritrean online diasporic spaces).

Many of the chapters also seek to explore how different senses of (linguistic) belonging are also transformed and/or reconstituted through physical migration. Ideas about place, emplacement and belonging are conversely always shaped by mobility, due to the role that power and inequality play in determining or influencing patterns of migration and human movement. All speakers move along 'linguistic trajectories' (Wyman 2012), moving 'toward' or 'away from' different languages in their repertoires over the course of their lives; trajectories may be investigated both over the course of one individual's life, or over multiple interconnected generations. The sum of speaker trajectories, shaped by social, economic and political forces, may also point towards language shift—the movement away from speaking (and transmitting) a language by its speakers. At any point along these trajectories, we find chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981)—the specific crystallizations of time and space—in which a speaker's language(s) are being spoken (or not spoken) in relation to a variety of internal and external factors within their linguistic ecologies. Shifts in linguistic trajectories thus often occur in response to physical movements—the migration from rural to urban spaces, from region to region, or across national borders—meaning that speakers are faced with new configurations of language-in-place to navigate. Even without major migrations, however, trajectories can shift, too, as sociopolitical movements set in force new patterns of revalorization or devaluation of particular languages, shaping those chronotopic snapshots in and between which speakers and their languages are always ensconced.

Our question then turns to the lived experiences of these linguistic trajectories. How do speakers negotiate responsibility and agency in these new spaces through language practices? How do they perform responsibility by and through language, while navigating tensions arising from unequal relations between actors? In other words, we are interested in how responsibility to both language and to places are entwined both for indigenous people, migrants, and/or tourists. For indigenous groups

migrating from rural to urban, the native or heritage language may serve as a medium through which recreate both a sense of place and place-based relationships; for migrants across borders language is also a way to reconnect and manifest relationships to others and to one's homeland, as well as create new senses of belonging. We investigate a responsibility to speak and the continued use of language in a new linguistic ecology, where a language may be minoritized and subject to new ideologies and policies from a majority-language standpoint. Finally, a more subtle relationship with place has been identified by the contributors of this collection, that is, how locals and tourists interact in a specific place (cf. Pujolar and Jones 2012). Tourism becomes a medium of connection to place not always necessarily rooted in economic schemes/market value (though in many cases, the profit connection is certainly there; cf. Duchêne and Heller 2012), but rather rooted in confrontation, separation and unity; this may manifest through identifying outsiders and insiders linguistically when claiming ownership of a place.

We have organized our work in three sections, where we take the multiple relations between responsibility, language practices, and place into account. The first section entitled, *Speaking and Writing 'Responsibility' in Urban and Rural Spaces*, investigates oral and written practices in three different cities and villages in order to appreciate what social and cultural implications (moving to) a place entails and the kinds of power relationships that are implicated in these processes. In her chapter, *Language Diversity Indexing Cosmopolitan Agencies: the Case of Francophone African Migrants in Lyon*, Accoroni reflects on the relationship between language and migration, in that it understands the former as a communication tool, but also and most importantly, as cultural difference, a vision of the world and a negotiation of values. As international circulations have transformed today's migrant into a hybrid category defying earlier understandings of the phenomenon, sociological research is now faced with the quandary of paradigm shifts that have moved the debate from issues of integration to those of interaction, while relationships have become increasingly more cosmopolitan and complex. In this light, Accoroni brings to the fore the linguistic dimension of the francophone migrant interlocutors in France, whose literacy, different cultural affiliations, and metaphors are ontologically inherent to their migratory journey, as well as being negotiated across and beyond language.

In her chapter, entitled *The Tool, the Heart, and the Mirror: About Emotional Aspects of Language in Transcultural Contexts*, Breier approaches mobility and migration through language and emotions. In her study on Germans and their descendants in contemporary Helsinki, Breier aims to answer the following questions: How did and does language influence their self-identification and feeling of belonging? At what points of their lives did language become particularly important, possibly even conflictual, and something to reflect upon consciously? How did they explain those processes and negotiations as part of their life-narratives? Thus, she demonstrates that in the context of mobility and migration, language may serve as a way to maintain ties to the homeland, both in forms of social networks, of open options, and last, not least of emotional connectedness. In these processes

and negotiations, speakers make responsible decisions, as these may affect not only them, but also their children. Responsibility is thus attached to a conscious language choice, which connects to different places.

Although not explicitly, Esposito also hints at emotion and affect when in her chapter, *Unheard Voices of a Rebel City: re-Appropriation of Rights through the City Walls*, she shows how people respond to a sense of expropriation in the written form through the use of graffiti. She shows how mainstream narratives around tourist cities rarely offer a critical view of mass tourism, while alternative perspectives around this phenomenon do not always find their place or niche in the public discourse. Short-term mobility in the form of mass tourism affects the social environment of local communities, which do not possess the powerful tools to make their needs heard in this changing context. Therefore, Esposito sheds light on linguistic processes taking place in a Neapolitan district dealing with a recent wave of mass tourism through the analysis of its Linguistic Landscape and shows how city dwellers express their needs within a contested space and how they take responsibility for the kind of society they are proposing. Thus, she focuses on the agency of graffiti, in the attempt to re-shape the society starting by the city walls.

In her chapter, *Tomorrow is not (only) in Humans' Hands: Responsibility for the Future as 'Shared Business' in Vepsian Ways of Speaking*, Siragusa turns to a rural space, and suggests re-thinking about future sustainabilities and security in conjunction with nonhuman agencies and thus pose a challenge to an often solely human-centred approach to change and adjustment. This claim emerges from observing how Vepsian villagers in Northwest Russia engage with nonhuman beings, be they territorial masters or 'wild' and 'domestic' animals, and the environment itself. Her chapter shows how Vepsian ways of speaking, such as *verbal charms* and *omens*, expressed in certain morpho-syntactic structures of the language, reveal a relationship with the environment and future occurrences, which humans accept to only partly control. Thus, they share 'responsibility' for the future, or better, attend to and share a forthcoming 'business' together with both other humans, and nonhuman beings.

We again return to the theme of tourism in the next section, *Performing Responsibility and Indigenous Languages in New Spaces*, wherein Yamasaki investigates the relations between globalization, increased mobility of speakers, and intensive use of electronic media in Yucatan. She presents the social complexities of a gradual shift from Yucatec Maya to Spanish, along with an increase indigenous labour migration, and how those factors affect both language practices and relations to a place, be it physical or virtual. In her chapter, *Yucatec Maya Language on the Move: Considerations on Vitality of Indigenous Languages in an Age of Globalization*, Yamasaki offers a general framework for considering vitality of indigenous languages in the present age characterized by mass migration and electronic mediation and shows how globalization processes can, in fact, contribute to the expansion of the language beyond the community boundaries. This is seen, for example, in the speakers' increased reference to 'Maya' as a self-identity, which is capable of transcending geopolitical and social divisions between spaces.

The agency of virtual space is also a theme that Kaartinen touches in his chapter, *Ownership, Responsibility, and Agency in Language Revitalization*. He describes the continuing effect of this linguistic ideology on cultural strategies and revitalization practices among present-day Bandanese. In urban and national settings, code switching and ‘glossing backward’ from Indonesian risk erasing Bandanese as a distinct domain of producing meaning, but speakers persist in maintaining grammatical and phonetic differences between Bandanese and the national language of Indonesian. By insisting on Bandanese as a distinct linguistic form, the Bandanese continue to project a linguistic otherness to their immediate neighbours, including those relatives who fail to acquire fluency in the language. While this impairs the transmission of the language from parents to children within the same locality, interest and competence in Bandanese continues to be fuelled by long-distance interactions that involve family visits, large-scale congregations, child-borrowing, and smartphone communication.

In ‘Don’t write it with “h”’: *Standardization, Responsibility and Territorialization when Writing Sakha Online*, Ferguson explores how the responsibility both for and through language may be expressed and performed in online spaces, with a focus on illuminating the direct and indirect invocations of responsibility for one’s linguistic choices, and how they are linked to senses of place-based belonging for speakers. The question of continued maintenance is one facing many speakers of minority languages, who are often confronted increasingly by the question of how exactly they should be engaging with practices that engage with responsibility for language (Bauman and Henne-Ochoa 2015). Increased accessibility to the internet in Russia’s Far East has afforded more and more Sakha speakers the opportunity to use the language online. However, when paying attention to the employment and reception of particular regionally-associated non-standard dialect features that are not represented or sanctioned by top-down linguistic policy, tensions emerge concerning who should take responsibility for the language and how they should be doing so.

The final section, entitled *Language and Responsibility in Cultural and Institutional Space*, investigates the intersections of top-down and bottom-up language policies and practices within institutional as well as broader national communities to which these institutions belong. In her chapter, *Language Ideologies in Gao Xingjian’s Literature: a Linguistic Anthropological Study of Chinese Diaspora Literature in Europe*, Peng demonstrates that language ideology not only denotes the speakers’ feelings towards language(s), but also more importantly those realizations and judgments of language(s) that are connected with a different aspect of speaker/author’s personal agency. Inspired by Samuel Beckett’s attenuation of language, the French Nobel Prize laureate Gao Xingjian has conducted various language experiments in his literary creations in the past two decades. Gao’s literary works, as Diaspora literature, have received extensive attention from European readers due to their Western modernist literary style, the author’s anti-institution attitude, and the classical Chinese genres pursued in his literary creations. Therefore, in her chapter, Peng examines how the classical Chinese genres and the influences of European modernism and French postmodernism

*Responsibility and Language Practices in Place* investigates ‘responsibility’ in and through language practices as inspired by the roots of the (English) word itself: the ability to respond, or mount a response to a situation at hand. It is thus a ‘responsive’ kind of responsibility, one that focuses not only on demonstrating responsibility for language, but highlighting the various ways we respond to situations discursively and metalinguistically. This sort of responsibility is part of both individual and collectively negotiated concerns that shift as people contend with processes related to globalization.

This volume includes chapters by junior and senior scholars hailing from Europe, Asia, North America, and Oceania, all of whom seek to understand the social and cultural implications surrounding how people take responsibility for the ways they speak or write in relation to a place – whether it is one they have long resided in, recently moved to, or left a long time ago.

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