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Edited by

Kingsley Ugwuanyi and Chinazor Nwoda

School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics
SOAS University of London
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Editorial note

As in previous volumes, this edition showcases the work of SOAS graduate students, faculty, alumni and associates. The six papers in this volume explore various linguistic fields, including syntax, language documentation, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics—from language attitudes to language policy. This volume features a wide range of languages, with African languages (Ndau and Nairobi Swahili) discussed in two papers, one paper focusing on Chinese, specifically analysing the grammatical structure "被" (bei), and another on the Sonsorolese languages of the Republic of Palau.

The first paper by Thomas Jelpke examines the wide-ranging use and functions of distal demonstratives "-le" in Nairobi Swahili, particularly in relative clauses where they function as either pronominal head nouns or modifiers of the head noun. In the second paper, Scott Williams investigates the relationship between perceptions of Basingstoke English and the London heritage narrative, with interesting findings on the complex relationship between London heritage and the English-speaking identity perceptions of Basingstoke residents.

The next two papers focus on language policy and planning. First, Talent Mudenda and Kingsley Ugwuanyi's paper assesses the status of the Ndau language in education, reflecting on its progress ten years after its official recognition in Zimbabwe. Among other outcomes, the study found that despite the officialisation of Ndau in Zimbabwe, there remain a wide range of factors inhibiting its full implementation in the classroom. On the other hand, Vasiliki Vita's paper explores grassroots language action and legislative efforts for the Sonsorolese languages, one key finding of which was that to assert Sonsorolese linguistic rights, speakers engaged in meta-documentation while surveying and identifying speech community attitudes and desires in the process of documenting Sonsorolese languages.

In the fifth paper on discourse analysis, Pei-Yu Liao examines the power dynamics in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement using the lexicogrammar "被" (bei). The paper explores the bi-directional power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement, showing how the discourse reflects the ideology of the general public and the power structures in Taiwanese society.

Finally, Alia Amir's review of Eduardo D. Faingold's (2023) *Language rights and the law in Scandinavia: Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland* offers critical insights into the field of language legislation, specifically the rights of minority communities in Scandinavia, as well as practical recommendations for both academics and practitioners.

As with previous volumes, each contributor provided feedback on another submitted paper, and we also used external reviewers to ensure the quality of each paper. We would like to express our gratitude to the reviewers for their insightful feedback. Our sincere thanks go to Ross Graham, Moses Melefa, Godswill Chigbu, Nahida Ahmed, Folajimi Oyebola, Sopuruchi Aboh, Mathias Chukwu, and Mayowa Akinlotan for generously

offering their time and expertise.

SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics remains an unfunded, volunteer-run, open-access publication. We are deeply grateful to the contributors for their sustained efforts through multiple rounds of comments and proofreading and for their understanding and patience throughout the editorial and formatting process.

The call for the expression of interest for the 22nd volume of the *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* was made in November 2023, with a target to publish the volume in 2024. So, we are quite pleased to have accomplished this goal. At the time of publication, both editors (Kingsley Ugwuanyi, a postdoctoral researcher, and Chinazor Nwoda, a doctoral researcher) were undertaking research at SOAS.

Kingsley Ugwuanyi and Chinazor Nwoda
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Distal demonstratives in Nairobi Swahili: An emerging relative particle?

Tom Jelpke
tomjelpke@gmail.com

Abstract
This paper investigates the use of the distal demonstrative *-le* in relative clauses (either as a pronominal head noun or modifier of the head noun) in Nairobi Swahili. It has previously been suggested that the demonstrative functions as a kind of "pseudo-relativiser" (Shinagawa 2019) in Sheng (a youth variety of Swahili spoken in Nairobi), partly because of its frequent use in relative clause contexts and partly because there are demonstrative-based relative particles in other Bantu languages. In this paper, I argue that the demonstrative does not at this stage function as a relative particle but rather co-occurs with relative clauses because both constructions are used for focus. That being said, it may be on its way to grammaticalising as per Van de Velde's Bantu relative agreement cycle (2021), especially given the pragmatic origins of many grammaticalisation processes (Traugott 1988).

Keywords: Relative clauses, demonstratives, grammaticalisation, information structure, Swahili, Bantu

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the use of prenominal distal demonstratives in relative contexts in Nairobi Swahili, arguing that these demonstratives may be in the early stages of grammaticalizing into relative particles via Van de Velde's (2021) Bantu relative agreement cycle. I use the term relative "particle" as an umbrella term for relativiser, relative pronoun, and relative complementiser, partly because there is no consensus on terminology in the literature and partly to avoid the controversial debate around the form of demonstrative-based relative particles in other Bantu languages (Henderson 2006). I also use the term Nairobi Swahili to encapsulate the varieties of Swahili spoken in Nairobi, which are characterised by code-switching and multilingualism. This, then, includes the more extensively documented Swahili-based youth language Sheng, which I follow Githiora (2018) in conceptualising as one point on a continuum of Kenyan ways of speaking Swahili.

The feature in question is evidenced in (1).[1] Here, the distal demonstrative *ile* modifies the head noun of the relative clause *college* 'college' which is directly followed by the main verb of the relative clause *nilienda* 'I went'. In Standard Swahili, such a construction would be ungrammatical, as a pre-verbal relative particle or relative marker affix on the verb would be necessary (see Section 3.1.1.). Such a construction, then, could be analysed either as a null relative (lacking any relative particle) or with the demonstrative functioning as the relative particle.

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper (taken from Oxford Guide to the Bantu Languages): 1, 2, 3, etc.: noun class numbers, 1SG, 2PL, etc.: person and number, APPL: applicative, ASS: associative marker, CAUS: causative, COND: conditional, COP: copula, DEM: demonstrative, DIST: distal, EXI: existential, FUT: future, FV: default final vowel, HAB: habitual, INF: infinitive, NEG: negation marker, OM: object marker, PASS: passive, PERF: perfect, POSS: possessive, PRS: present, PREP: preposition, PROX: proximal, PST: past, REF: referential, REL: relative, RM: relative marker, SM: subject marker, and SBJV: subjunctive.

(1) I-le college ni-li-end-a ni y-a driving
9-DEM.DIST college SM1SG-PST-go-FV COP 9-ASS driving
'The only college I went to was a driving college'

Examples such as this have led to the description of this prenominal distal demonstrative as a "pseudo-relativiser" in Sheng by Shinagawa (2019), who labels it so because of its frequency and similarity to demonstrative-based relative particles in other Bantu languages. Under my analysis, however, the demonstrative is not functioning as a relative particle but rather cooccurs with relative clauses for pragmatic reasons, as both demonstratives and relative clauses are focus constructions that "indicate the presence of alternatives" (Krifka 2007: 6, based on the alternative semantics of Rooth (e.g.,1992). Despite this, the potential for this demonstrative to grammaticalise into a relative particle is clear, especially given the pragmatic origins of many grammaticalisation processes (Traugott 1988).

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: First, the methodology is briefly outlined in Section 2. Following this, the background to the study is presented, outlining the different relative clause strategies and uses of demonstratives in both Standard Swahili and Nairobi Swahili; thirdly, an analysis of the structural and pragmatic role of demonstratives in relative contexts is offered; and, finally, the data is considered in light of Van de Velde's Bantu relative agreement cycle (2021).

2. Methodology

The data presented here comes from my corpus of spoken Nairobi Swahili, which was collected for doctoral research in 2022/2023 using sociolinguistic interviews about language practices and attitudes. All the data was naturally occurring (in the sense that it came up spontaneously in discussion, not from elicitation). In total, I interviewed 57 participants for around 20 minutes each. Interviews were conducted in Nairobi Swahili, though it is worth noting that my being a white, British researcher may have prompted a more formal variety of Swahili than is otherwise used (although my corpus data reflects my observations of natural speech between Kenyans during my time there). At the time of writing, 44 out of 57 participants' interviews have been analysed. The corpus contains 658 relative clause tokens, 79 of which feature the prenominal distal demonstrative as in (1). These tokens have been analysed qualitatively, with a further round of quantitative analysis planned for the near future.

3. Background to the study

Across the roughly 300-500 Bantu languages, there are both broad typological similarities and extensive variation (Gibson et al. 2024), and this is just as true of relativisation strategies (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982; Henderson 2006). In order to contextualise the analysis presented in Section 4, this section outlines variation in relativisation strategies and demonstratives' forms and functions in Nairobi Swahili and, where relevant, Standard Swahili and Bantu languages more generally.

3.1. Relativisation strategies in Standard Swahili and Nairobi Swahili

There are a number of different relativisation strategies across varieties of Swahili, with at least three strategies in frequent use in both Standard and Nairobi Swahili, with only one common to both.

3.1.1. Relativisation strategies in Standard Swahili

There are three well-attested relativisation strategies in Standard Swahili, two synthetic and one analytic. The analytic structure makes use of a relative complementiser *amba-*, which, according to Lipps (2011: 16), is historically related to a verb *-amba* 'say, tell', a cross-linguistically common source of complementizer (Russell 1992), which is still found today in its applicative form as *-ambia* 'tell'. The complementiser takes a suffixed noun class-specific pronominal relative marker (relative concord in Schadeberg (1992) that agrees with the head noun, as in (2):

(2) M-tu amba-ye a-na-ku-l-a
1-person REL-1 SM1-PRS-INF-eat-FV
'Someone who is eating' (Mohamed 2001: 181)

In the synthetic strategies, the same agreeing pronominal relative marker is affixed to the main verb of the relative clause. The difference between the two strategies is that one is tensed (3), in which the relative marker is affixed pre-stem, and the other is tenseless (4), in which the relative marker is affixed post-stem.

(3) M-tu a-li-ye-kw-end-a
1-person SM1-PST-RM1-INF-go-FV
'The person who went' (Keach 1980: 35)

(4) M-tu a-m-pend-a-ye Juma
1-person SM1-OM1-love-FV-RM1 Juma
'The person who loves Juma' (Keach 1980: 36)

Several theories have been put forward to explain these different strategies. It is first worth noting the tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) restrictions. The tenseless affix is restricted in its use to talking about things without a specific tense, in a way that may be recurring or generally the case (Lipps 2011: 19). There are also restrictions on the tensed affix strategy, in that it can only be used with the simple past, present, present negative, and future tenses (and apparently the perfect *-me-* tense in the early 19th century (Russell 1992: 123)). The *amba-* strategy, on the other hand, has no TAM or negation-related restrictions attached to it.

There is little agreement on whether the strategies vary in terms of syntactic distribution relating to the grammatical function of the head noun in the relative clause. Russell (1992: 123) suggests that *amba-* facilitates relativisation of NPs lower in Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, though it appears that all three can serve at least in subject and object relative clauses.[2] There are also other structural constraints that determine which strategy is used. While Mwamzandi (2022) finds that, in general *amba-* is more flexible with word order, Lipps (2011: 23) claims *amba-* "may only be separated from the head noun by arguments and adjuncts of that noun," so an adverb, for example, could not intervene as in (5a), but it could in the case of a tensed relative as in (5b). Mohamed (2001) has claimed that this is also true

[2] Mwamzandi (2022) suggests though that the use of *amba-* in object relatives would be unsurprising given that it has a simplifying effect on the relative clause, and object relative clauses are predicted to be more complex in Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy (1977).

after *amba-* within the relative clause, though Lipps (2011: 24) notes that corpus data calls into question such a strict constraint.

(5) a. *M-tu jana amba-ye a-li-kwend-a
1-person yesterday REL-RM1 SM1-PST-arrive-FV

b. M-tu jana a-li-ye-kwend-a
1-person yesterday SM1-PST-RM1-go-FV
'A person yesterday who went' (Keach 1980: 66 in Lipps 2011: 24)

Ashton (1947: 309–311) also notes a preference for *amba-* in longer sentences to keep the complementiser closer to its head noun and not violate word order. This is backed up by Mwamzandi's (2022) corpus analysis, which also found a preference for *amba-* in longer relative clauses. Russell (1992: 125) claims that *amba-* is preferred in cases of ambiguity, for example, where the subject and object belong to the same noun class, though this is disputed by Mwamzandi (2022). Meanwhile, Ashton (1947: 310) states that *amba-* must be used with non-restrictive relative clauses, with the identificational *ni* copula, and when the relative is governed by a preposition.

Pragmatic factors are also relevant, as Ashton (1947: 13) notes that *amba-* draws attention to the head noun. This is echoed in Mwamzandi's (2022) study, where he found that *amba-* was preferred in cases of topic shift between the matrix and relative clauses, where the tensed affix strategy was preferred in cases of topic continuity. He also found that, while both *amba-* and tensed relatives were possible with both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, they differed in the kinds of information they provided about the head noun, and where the head noun was a proper noun, the tensed strategy was preferred.

3.1.2. Relativisation strategies in Nairobi Swahili

There are also three relativisation strategies in common use in Nairobi Swahili, with only the *amba-* strategy common to both Standard and Nairobi Swahili. The other two strategies, one using a pronoun *-enye* and the other a null construction, are not grammatical in Standard Swahili. Strikingly, none of the common strategies in Nairobi Swahili are synthetic, supporting Shinagawa's hypothesis that isolating-analytic structures are preferred in Sheng (2007). In my corpus, the most frequent strategy makes use of a relative pronoun, *-enye*, which takes a noun class agreeing prefix. In Standard Swahili, *-enye* is a possessive adnominal stem meaning 'having' as in *mwenye nyumba* 'landlord' (lit. 'having house'), but has become a relative pronoun in Sheng (and Nairobi Swahili) (Ferrari 2012; Githiora 2018; Shinagawa 2019), and is perhaps a more recent phenomenon as it is not mentioned in Myers-Scotton's (1979) description of Nairobi Swahili. It is also attested in other inland varieties of Swahili, including Lubumbashi (Ferrari, Kalunga, & Mulumbwa 2014) and Kisangani (Nassenstein 2015), both in the DRC. Examples (6-7) show the use of *-enye* in subject and object relative clauses, respectively.[3]

[3] Example (6) features an interesting auxiliary 'jaai' which is common in Nairobi Swahili. It is the combination of the negative perfect tense marker *-ja-* 'not yet' and the verb *-wahi,* 'manage to' which have auxiliarised together to create a new tense marker, which means 'have never'. *-wahi* has also merged with the perfective *-sha-* 'have already' tense marker to be used in questions like *ushaai enda?* 'Have you ever been?'.

(6) There are certain groups w-enye ha-wa-ju-i Ki-swahili vi-zuri
There are certain groups 2-REL NEG-SM2-know-NEG 7-Swahili 8-well

so tu-na-onge-a English
so SM1PL-PRS-speak-FV English
'There are certain groups [of friends] who don't know Swahili well so we speak English'

(7) U-na-end-a ku-meet new people hata w-enye hu-ja-ai
SM2.SG-PRS-go-FV INF-meet new people even 2-REL SM2.SG.NEG.PERF-never

pat-a
get-FV
'You go to meet new people that you've never even met before'

Shinagawa notes that *-enye* has replaced *amba-* in Sheng, perhaps because of an overall prefixing preference in the language (2019: 135). It is also different to *amba-* in its ability to form headless relatives (i.e., those lacking a head noun), which *amba-* is not able to do, at least in Standard Swahili (Lipps 2011: 36). This can be observed nicely in (8), where the first relative *wenye wako kwa service ya mwisho* 'who are at the final service' has no head noun and uses the *-enye* relative pronoun, while the second *watu ambao ni wazee* 'people who are older' has the head noun *watu* 'people' and uses the *amba-* relative complementiser.

(8) U-na-pat-ang-a w-enye wa-ko kwa service y-a mwisho ni
SM2.SG-PRS-get-HAB-FV 2-REL 2-LOC PREP service 9-ASSlast COP

wa-tu amba-o ni wa-zee
2-person REL-2 COP 2-old person
'You find that those who are at the final [church] service are people who are older'

Also frequent in Nairobi Swahili are null relative constructions, where there is no relative particle. These are also common in my corpus, and have previously been noted in both Nairobi Swahili (Myers-Scotton 1979) and Sheng (Ferrari 2012; Shinagawa 2019). Examples (9-10) show the null relative construction with subject and object relative clauses, respectively:

(9) A-ki-j-a m-tu a-na-onge-a Kizungu basi, na-korog-a
SM1-COND-come-FV 1-person SM1-PRS-speak-FV English then PRS.1SG-mix-FV
'If someone comes who speaks English then I just mix [languages]' (KASMB36)

(10) I think kuna ujanja wa-na-tumi-a
I think EXI.COP magic SM2-PRS-use-FV
'I think there is some magic they use' (RIRMA32)

It is possible that this null strategy is a contact influence of English, which is also widely spoken in the city. In most varieties of English, the null strategy is only possible for object relatives (Andrews 2007), and in my corpus of spoken Nairobi Swahili, I find that while it is possible for both subject and object relatives, it is more common in the case of the latter. In terms of Kenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy (1977), if we take the null strategy as a

simplification process as suggested by Shinagawa, it is unsurprising that such a strategy would be used more with object relatives, which are predicted to be more complex by the hierarchy.

3.2. Demonstratives in Nairobi Swahili

As in Standard Swahili (Ashton 1947), Nairobi Swahili exhibits three demonstrative forms. I use the same terms as are commonly used in Standard Swahili for the forms in Nairobi Swahili, which are proximal (11), referential (12), and distal (13). Variation in the use of the different forms in Standard Swahili has been thought of at least in terms of deictic distance (Ashton 1947), discourse distance (Wilt 1987), "noteworthiness" (Leonard 1985), and givenness (Mwamzandi 2014).

(11) Hii ni eneo l-a Dagoreti South
9.DEM.PROX COP 5.area 5-ASS Dagoreti South
'This is the Dagoreti South area' (KWGMB03)

(12) Hi-yo ni generation amba-yo i-me-pote-a
9-DEM.REF COP generation REL-RM9 SM9-PERF-be lost-FV
'That is the lost generation' (KWGWB40)

(13) Asilimia kubwa ni y-a wa-le amba-o ha-wa-ju-i
Percentage big COP 9-ASS 2-DEM.DIST REL-RM2 NEG-SM2-know-NEG

lugha ya mama
mother tongue
'A large percentage [of children] is those who don't know their Mother Tongue'

As with Standard Swahili, all three forms of demonstratives in Nairobi Swahili can be used either as a pronoun (11-13) or as an adnominal modifier (14-16):

(14) Hu-ta-ski-a hi-i Sheng y-enye u-na-ski-a kwa slums
SM2.SG.NEG-FUT-hear-FV DEM.PROX-9 Sheng 9-REL SM2-PRS-hear-FV in slums
'You won't hear this Sheng that you hear in the Slums'

(15) U-na-pat-a wa-tu w-engi amba-o wa-na-zungumz-a iyo
SM2.SG-GET-get-FV 2-person 2-many REL-RM2 SM2-PRS-speak-FV 9-DEM.REF

lugha
9.language
'[In that area] you find many people who speak that language'

(16) I-le lugha tu-na-pend-a ku-tumi-a ni Ki-swahili
9-DEM.DIST 9.language SM1PL-PRS-love-FV INF-use-FV COP 7-Swahili
'The language we like to use is Swahili'

When used as adnominal modifiers, demonstratives in Standard Swahili (Ashton 1947) and Bantu (Van de Velde 2005) generally occur in the post-nominal position,[4] though their word

[4] Though Mwamzandi's (2014) corpus analysis of 20th century Swahili literary texts found that the distal demonstrative was more frequently used in the prenominal position.

order is flexible and can be determined at least in part by information structure (Mwamzandi 2014). Mwamzandi (2014) finds that the order of demonstrative nouns in Standard Swahili relates to referential givenness (Gundel & Fretheim 2006), in particular the "activation status" in the common ground (after Chafe 1987) of the entity in question. Mwamzandi argues that the postnominal demonstrative "signals to the hearer that the referent is "activated," while the referents of prenominal demonstratives are "semi-active" or "inactive" (2014: 61).

It has also been noted in Standard Swahili that the use of demonstratives in the prenominal position functions as a definite article (Ashton 1947: 181). The use of a single word to express both 'the' and 'that' is also common cross-linguistically (Schachter & Shopen 2007), including in Gĩkũyũ and other Bantu languages (Kimambo 2018: 68). The use of a demonstrative as a definite article might also be expected given that most speakers of Nairobi Swahili, which otherwise has no articles, also speak English, which features extensive use of articles.

As is common cross-linguistically (Comrie 2000 in Mwamzandi 2014: 71), demonstratives can also be used for focus in Swahili (Leonard 1985; Mwamzandi 2014). They exhibit at least a simple focus (indicating the presence of alternatives) in the sense that they restrict the reference of an NP among a set of alternatives (Hawkins 1978). In (16), the demonstrative is restricting the reference to the head noun *lugha,* 'language', indicating that there are alternative languages to which the predicate does not apply.

Having reviewed the various forms and functions of relativisation strategies and demonstratives in Nairobi Swahili, the next section interrogates structural and pragmatic factors relevant to the use of the prenominal distal demonstrative in relative clauses.

4. The distal demonstrative – a relative particle?

When assessing whether or not the distal demonstrative is a relative particle, the task, essentially, is to uncover whether the demonstrative is syntactically part of the head noun NP or the relative clause, a task that has long proved problematic in Bantu linguistics (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 25). In his paper on Sheng relativisers, Shinagawa refers to the prenominal distal demonstrative as a "pseudo-relativiser" and "practically the sole stable construction that is used for non-subject relatives" (2019: 130). In my own corpus, this form frequently cooccurs with relative clauses, such as (17), where the grammatical function is subject, and (18), where it is an object:

(17) wa-le wa-toto wa-na-za-liw-a siku i-zi, kabisa
2-DEM.DIST 2-child SM2-PRS-birth-PASS-FV 10.day DEM.PROX-10 completely

hawa-pend-i
SM2.NEG-like-FV.NEG
'The kids that are born these days, they really don't like [speaking mother tongue]'

(18) Lazima mu-onge-lesh-e i-le lugha a-na-ski-a
Must OM1-speak-CAUS-SUBJ 9-DEM.DIST 9.language SM1-PRS-hear-FV
'You must speak to him in the language he understands'

Shinagawa (2019: 131) notes that there are two possible analyses of this construction: either the demonstrative functions as some sort of relative particle, or it is a null relative and the

demonstrative is just modifying the head noun. Shinagawa's final justification for treating the distal demonstrative as a relativiser is that through its frequency, it is recognisable as a stable pattern separate from the null construction, though he recognises that further analysis is needed.

In examples (17-18), the demonstrative is used as an adnominal modifier, but there are also many instances of it being used pronominally in relative contexts, which may support its analysis as a relative particle. In examples (19-20), the demonstrative is being used pronominally, and two analyses are possible. If the demonstrative is analysed as some kind of relative pronoun/particle, then the relative clause is headless (as there is no other candidate for head noun). Alternatively, the demonstrative is functioning as a pronominal head noun of a null relative clause, as there is no other candidate for a relative particle. These constructions also mirror other headless relatives in Nairobi Swahili that take the *-enye* relative pronoun as in (21).

(19) Kuna wa-le wa-me-som-a, na kuna wa-le
COP.EXI 2-DEM.DIST SM2-PERF-study-FV and COP.EXI 2-DEM.DIST

ha-wa-ja-som-a
NEG-SM2-NEG.PERF-study-FV
'There are those who have studied, and there are those who haven't studied'

(20) Wa-ki-onge-a na akina mama ha-wa-elew-i
SM2-COND-speak-FV with group 2.old woman NEG-SM2-understand-NEG

ki-le wa-na-sem-a
7-DEM.DIST SM2-PRS-say-FV
'If they speak [English] with old women they don't understand what they're saying'

(21) Kuna w-enye wa-na-ju-a Lingala na i-zo lugha z-ingine
COP.EXI 2-REL SM2-PRS-know-FV Lingala and DEM.REF-10 10.language 10-other
'[In DRC] there are those who know Lingala and those other languages'

Such examples also mirror the pronominal use of demonstratives in relative constructions in other Bantu languages (such as (22) from Lingala). This pronominal use in relative contexts has been taken as proof of their status as relative pronouns by Zeller (2002 in Henderson 2006: 45).

(22) muye Poso a-tind-aki
5.REL Poso 3SG-send-PST
'The one that Poso sent' (Henderson 2006: 44)

In fact, "[u]se of the demonstrative as a pronominal form introducing relatives is attested by a very high number of Bantu languages" (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 3, translated), where it serves as a link between the head noun and relative clause, and in a high number of languages is essential for the proposition to have the grammatical status of relative (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 3). The presence of this strategy in Gikuyu and contact languages cross-linguistically (Romaine 1988 in Shinagawa 2019) is another of Shinagawa's motivations for analysing the demonstrative as a relativise particle in its own right.

However, there are reasons for not analysing the demonstrative as a relative particle. The first reason is that there are ample examples of relative clauses (either null or featuring *-enye* or *amba-*) that do not have a demonstrative, so if it is a relativiser, it is not obligatory (at least not at this stage or for all speakers). Secondly, while there are Bantu languages (such as Nyilamba and Zaramo) in which the demonstrative relative particle can be placed before or after the relativised noun (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 23), the position of the demonstrative in the demonstrative relative strategies of potential contact languages (Gikuyu and Gusii (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 23)) is post-nominal, a point which is noted by Shinagawa (2019: 131). Finally, in those potential contact languages, the demonstrative is only optional in order for the clause to have the status of relative (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 23).

While this does not necessarily exclude the analysis of the demonstrative as a relative particle, it does call into question what the syntax would look like, particularly regarding the external vs. internal heading of relative clauses. Taken as any kind of relative particle (pronoun, relativiser, or complementiser), the prenominal position of the demonstrative would mean that relative clauses of this type are internally-headed, as the relative particle (the demonstrative) would signal the start of the relative clause and the head noun would therefore exist within the relative clause itself. This is illustrated by examples (23-24), with the relative clause in square brackets:

(23) [wa-le wa-toto wa-na-za-liw-a siku i-zi], kabisa
2-DEM.DIST 2-child SM2-PRS-birth-PASS-FV 10.day DEM.PROX completely

hawa-pend-i
SM2.NEG-like-FV.NEG
'The kids who are born these days, they really don't like [speaking mother tongue]'

(24) Lazima mu-onge-lesh-e [i-le lugha a-na-ski-a]
Must OM1-speak-CAUS-SUBJ 9-DEM.DIST 9.language SM1-PRS-hear-FV
'You must speak to him in the language he understands'

In (23), the relative clause, initiated by the demonstrative relative particle *wale*, would be *wale watoto wanazaliwa siku izi* 'the kids who are born these days', with the head noun *watoto* 'children' occurring inside the relative clause. In (24), the relative clause, initiated by the demonstrative relative particle *ile,* would be *ile lugha anaskia* 'the language s/he understands', with the head noun *lugha* occurring inside the relative clause. The other strategies in Nairobi Swahili are externally headed, as exemplified by (25), where the relative pronoun *-enye* signals the start of the relative clause, which comes after the head noun *lugha* 'language', making it externally headed and post-nominal.

(25) English ni lugha [y-enye u-na-ez-a tumi-a]
English COP 9.language 9-REL SM2SG-PRS-can-FV use-FV

u-ki-end-a like u-ko nje
SM2SG-COND-go-FV like DEM.REF-RM17 abroad
'English is a language you can use if you go abroad'

While analysing the demonstrative construction as an internally-headed relative clause strategy is entirely possible, it is at odds with all other relative clause strategies in Standard Swahili and Nairobi, all Bantu languages listed in WALS, and all other languages that could be conceived as having a contact influence on Nairobi Swahili (English, Luo, Somali, and more remotely Maasai, Turkana, Nandi), all of which use externally-headed (and post-nominal) relative clause strategies (Dryer 2013). Furthermore, as the other relative strategies present in Nairobi Swahili are externally-headed, it would mean the language has both external and internal relative strategies, which is rare cross-linguistically (15/824 languages on WALS (Dryer 2013)).

A more potentially plausible analysis, then, considers the demonstrative to be functioning purely as a modifier of the head noun (17-18) or as the head noun itself in pronominal cases (19-20) with a null relative clause. This is illustrated by a reanalysis of (17-18) (repeated below as 26-27), where the relative clause consists only of the main verb, and the demonstrative is just functioning as an adnominal modifier of the head noun:

(26) wa-le wa-toto [wa-na-za-liw-a siku i-zi], kabisa
2-DEM.DIST 2-child SM2-PRS-birth-PASS-FV 10.day DEM.PROX completely

ha-wa-pend-i
NEG-SM2-like-FV.NEG
'The kids that are born these days, they really don't like [speaking mother tongue]'

(27) Lazima mu-onge-lesh-e i-le lugha [a-na-ski-a]
Must OM1-speak-CAUS-SBJV 9-DEM.DIST 9.language SM1-PRS-hear-FV
'You must speak to him in the language he understands'

While analysing the demonstrative construction as an internally-headed relative clause strategy is entirely possible, it is at odds with all other relative clause strategies in Standard Swahili and Nairobi, all Bantu languages listed in WALS, and all other languages that could be conceived as having a contact influence on Nairobi Swahili (English, Luo, Somali, and more remotely Maasai, Turkana, Nandi), all of which use externally-headed (and post-nominal) relative clause strategies (Dryer 2013). Furthermore, as the other relative strategies present in Nairobi Swahili are externally-headed, it would mean the language has both external and internal relative strategies, which is rare cross-linguistically (15/824 languages on WALS (Dryer 2013)).

A more potentially plausible analysis, then, considers the demonstrative to be functioning purely as a modifier of the head noun (17-18) or as the head noun itself in pronominal cases (19-20) with a null relative clause. This is illustrated by a reanalysis of (17-18) (repeated below as 26-27), where the relative clause consists only of the main verb, and the demonstrative is just functioning as an adnominal modifier of the head noun:

(28) a. Kuna [wa-le wa-me-som-a], na kuna
COP.EXI 2-DEM.DIST SM2-PERF-study-FV and COP.EXI

[wa-le hawa-ja-som-a]
2-DEM.DIST SM2.NEG-HORT-study-FV

b. Kuna wa-le [wa-me-som-a], na kuna
COP.EXI 2-DEM.DIST SM2-PERF-study-FV and COP.EXI

wa-le [hawa-ja-som-a]
2-DEM.DIST SM2.PERF.NEG-study-FV
'There are those who have studied, and there are those who haven't studied'

The fact that the demonstrative can be used pronominally in combination with another relative pronoun, as in (29), suggests that the analysis of (28b) is a better fit: the demonstrative is functioning as a pronominal head noun with a null relative clause.

(29) wa-na-tumi-a Ki-ingereza na ku-tafsiri kwa wa-le w-enye
SM2-PRS-use-FV 7-English and INF-translate for 2-DEM.DIST 2-REL

ha-wa-skik-i
NEG-SM2-understand-NEG
'[At church] they use English and translate for those who don't understand'

Furthermore, evidence for the status of demonstratives as relative particles (i.e., being syntactically part of the relative clause rather than the modifiers of the head noun) in other Bantu languages is not readily available in Nairobi Swahili. In many languages the demonstrative is at a further stage of development into a relativiser as an affix (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982; Henderson 2006), which is not the case in Nairobi Swahili. In other languages there is a tonal change in the demonstrative when used in a relative context (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 25), but Nairobi Swahili is an atonal language.

Other languages exhibit word order restrictions on demonstratives in relative contexts (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 25), and while the strong preference for the prenominal position of the demonstrative in relative contexts may superficially support its analysis of a relative marker, it is more relevant in illuminating the pragmatic relationship between demonstratives and relative clauses. If we take Mwamzandi's analysis that the demonstrative is used postnominally for "active" referents, a restrictive relative clause, whose purpose is to restrict the reference of an NP, would be redundant as the referent in question is already clear (so it doesn't need restricting). In contrast, semi-active, inactive, or accommodated referents taking a prenominal demonstrative may require some further restriction in order to be accepted by the hearer, which would explain their use in combination with restrictive relative clauses.

There are, then, reasons to doubt that demonstratives are functioning as relative particles in Nairobi Swahili. Firstly, as in Gikuyu, its use is only optional and not necessary for the interpretation of a clause as relative. Secondly, if analysed as a relative particle, the construction would be internally-headed, which is at odds with the other strategies in Nairobi Swahili and relevant contact languages. Thirdly, its nominal function (whether analysed as a head noun or relative pronoun) also rules out its description as a relativiser. Finally, evidence for the relative

particle status of demonstratives in other Bantu languages is unavailable in Nairobi Swahili, and its prenominal word order preference can be explained by pragmatic factors.

In addition to these reasons to doubt the demonstrative's status as a relative particle, there are also well-evidenced and compelling factors that explain its cooccurrence with relative clauses. Firstly, demonstratives may be used as definite articles prenominally, and their expanded use in Nairobi Swahili could be a contact influence from English. The information structure considerations are still more compelling. Both demonstratives and relative clauses work to restrict the reference of an NP and, in doing so, indicate the presence of alternatives (simple focus). It is therefore unsurprising that they should be used so frequently together.

At this stage, then, it seems that the cooccurrence of demonstratives and relative clauses is better explained by pragmatic factors than it functioning as some sort of relative particle. However, it is both possible and plausible that it is at the early stages of becoming one, given that pragmatic strategies are known to evolve into obligatory grammatical patterns (i.e., the early stages of grammaticalisation) (Traugott 1988; Wald 1997). The next section considers this in relation to Van de Velde's Bantu relative agreement cycle (2021).

5. The Bantu relative agreement cycle

In his paper on the Bantu relative agreement cycle, Van de Velde (2021) charts the three-stage process through which 1) new relativisers emerge, which 2) are subsequently integrated into relative verbs, before 3) replacing the original subject agreement prefix. In stage one, he argues that first, an element functioning as a nominaliser or linker (usually a pronoun, demonstrative, or augment) emerges between the head noun and the relative clause and is then reanalysed as a relativiser. This element also tends to be a target for agreement with the relativised NP (the head noun).

In Nairobi Swahili, the demonstratives agree with their head noun, so that criterion is satisfied. The issues around their prenominal position syntactic function are also of less concern at this early stage, partly because there are languages attested in which a prenominal demonstrative has become a relative particle (Nsuka-Nkutsi 1982: 23) and partly because there is at least a pragmatic link between relatives and demonstratives and grammaticalisation processes are known to have pragmatic origins (Traugott 1988; Wald 1997). In Bantu languages like Eton (Cameroon), where a prenominal demonstrative has become a relative particle, the demonstrative was obligatory in modifying the domain nominal before being integrated into the head noun to create a construct form that introduces relative clauses:

(30) Eton; Cameroon

a. kòpí í-nə̀ ɲól î=kpə̀m
[9]coffee IN9-be [9]color CON9=[9]cassava.leave
'The coffee is green.'

b. í-kôpí í-nə̌ ɲól î=kpə̀m
CSTR-[9]coffee IN9-be.REL [9]color CON9=[9]cassava.leave
'green coffee' (lit. 'coffee that is green')
(Van de Velde 2008: 347 in Van de Velde 2021: 997)

Van de Velde also notes that stage one is often reinitiated through the use of the new form with an existing relative particle. He states that this has been claimed to add emphasis or contrastive focus to the clause, again linking the use of relatives to information structure. This is something

also seen in my own corpus, as in (29), where the demonstrative is used together with the relative pronoun *-enye* (repeated here as (31)):

(31) wa-na-tumi-a Ki-ingereza na ku-tafsiri kwa wa-le w-enye
SM2-PRS-use-FV 7-English and INF-translate for 2-DEM.DIST 2-REL

ha-wa-skik-i
NEG-SM2-understand-NEG
'[At church] they use English and translate for those who don't understand'

In stage two of the cycle, "the relativizer is reinterpreted as part of the relative verb form and morphologically integrated to become a bound marker that indexes the head noun" (Van de Velde 2021: 985), before the two agreement prefixes (one for the head noun and the other for the subject of the verb) are reduced, resulting in languages in which the main verb of the relative clause either agrees with its subject or the head noun (both are well attested in Bantu). These stages do not seem to apply to Nairobi Swahili at present, and the demonstrative may well be blocked from ever being reanalysed as part of the main verb by its prenominal position.

It is also interesting to note that Traugott (1988: 410) finds a semantic-pragmatic tendency of grammaticalisation cross-linguistically to be that "meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude towards the situation." Demonstratives are well known to be used for "emotional deixis"[5] (Davis & Potts 2010), and therefore seem a good candidate for grammaticalisation processes based on Traugott's tendency. This could also be said of the focus use of demonstratives (and pragmatic phenomena in general), as through focusing on an entity, the speaker is expressing its increased importance/unexpectedness/contrast, which is based on a subjective belief-state or attitude.

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of demonstratives in relative contexts, specifically addressing Shinagawa's claim that the prenominal distal demonstrative is functioning as a pseudo-relativiser in Sheng (2019). I argue that the demonstrative does not function as any kind of relative particle but rather cooccurs with relative clauses for pragmatic reasons. Despite this, it is possible that the demonstrative may be in the process of emerging as a new relative particle in Nairobi Swahili via Van de Velde's Bantu relative agreement cycle (2021), especially considering that many grammatical processes have pragmatic origins (Traugott 1988).

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[5] For example, English speakers may be more likely to use 'this' for things they like and 'that' for things they don't.

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Variety and heritage: An investigation into the relationship between perceptions of Basingstoke English and the London heritage narrative

Scott Williams
712536@soas.ac.uk
ORCID: 0009-0005-8412-9470

Abstract
The link between language and identity has been extensively studied, whether it is the link between language and nationalism, or the relationship between an individual and their languages. One aspect understudied, however, is the relationship between perceptions of language varieties and local identity narratives. This study examines the relationship between the perception of a Basingstoke variety of English and local narratives of London heritage. An online questionnaire completed by 90 participants was used to collect relevant data. The findings indicate that the relationship is a lot more complex than expected. First, London heritage narratives seem to play a less central role than other factors, such as age, in the perception of Basingstoke English. Further, the local variety of English is viewed as a source of pride. Local language attitudes were also linked with broader social prejudices in the 'correct' use of language.

Keywords: Basingstoke, folk linguistics, language attitudes, identity, London, construction, emotion

1. Introduction

Basingstoke is a town in the south of England. It is commonly called a 'commuter town' due to the large number of people who live in Basingstoke and work in London. In the period following the Second World War, Basingstoke's population grew dramatically, going from 13,000 people at the start of the war to 185,000 in 2021 (ONS 2022). Basingstoke is home to people from all over the world but one common narrative that binds the community together is the 'London heritage' story. The town, by design, was rapidly changed by planners in the postwar period to accommodate people leaving London, which naturally affected Basingstoke's demographics. Many families (including the author's) can trace their heritage back to the London boroughs. This narrative is often a source of pride and, like all heritage identities, an extremely personal and powerful force. One way in which this identity has materialised is in what many describe as the 'Basingstoke twang.' This expression describes the local variety of English that carries with it an echo of the London varieties, especially those of East End London. An investigation into attitudes surrounding this perceived variety and its connection to the London heritage identity will shed light on the power of linguistic construction of identity and how it can shape people's worldview.

It seems necessary at this point to briefly unpack what I mean by 'London heritage narrative.' As I have mentioned, many residents in Basingstoke can trace their family roots to London, with many being first, second or third-generation internal migrants from London. The London heritage narrative refers to a discourse that roots a resident's self-identity construction as being, or having family from, London.

The study found that participants with London heritage did not overwhelmingly identify with a Basingstoke variety of English, as was initially assumed. It also found that residents viewed the local variety of English with pride while simultaneously showing some negative attitudes

consistent with wider social prejudices, such as that of class or age. It also showed that the age of participants had a strong impact on their attitudes. The results of this study serve as a reminder of the complex interwoven factors that shape people's perceptions and attitudes towards language varieties.

2. Language and identity

2.1 Conceptualising language and identity

The main focus of this study is to examine the relationship between language attitudes and identity. Identity has been conceptualised as a social construction; that is, from the point of view of a story we tell ourselves and others tell us. These narratives can be split into individual and group/social identities. While they are both linked, this study will focus on the latter, social identity. Scholars such as Evans (2018) have argued that identity is socially constructed, active and ever-changing. Evans also makes the interesting point that identity construction should be understood as the process underlying discourse and power relations. Another important aspect of identity construction is that "we have multiple identities, so our language can be expected to be variable to allow us to construct these different aspects of our identities as we speak" (Cheshire 2002: 19). This is a postmodern social constructivist approach which has been contested by essentialists.

There is debate in the linguistic academic community between the postmodern and essentialist approaches as to how identity is formed and conceived. The postmodern approach is concerned with social construction. Postmodernists argue that identity is fluid, shaped by our interpretation, and engagement with social reality (Collin 1997). On the other hand, essentialists believe that there are innate and unchanging aspects of a person's identity that come from the individual themselves (Oyama 2000, quoted in Sverker and Kurlberg 2020). This study attempts to reconcile this dichotomy by accepting the validity of emotion in the essentialist approach from the postmodern position.

2.2 A theory of identity: Between two traditions

There is a tendency by postmodernists to treat humans as blank slates, androgynous beings absolutely at the mercy of the forces of socialisation around them. While they do place emotions in a social context, discourses of identity (especially those relating to people's uniqueness) are downplayed in pursuit of more universalist applications. On the other hand, essentialists tend to believe, as mentioned earlier, that identity comes from within an individual and is unchanging. They believe that a language is the idealised representation of this unchanging identity (Tupas 2016). In the essentialist tradition, emotions are often treated as a source of empowerment, and this has been especially true in post-colonial struggles which can also be seen in language policy and planning (Tupas 2016). This study will take a compromising stand between these two positions which are too often framed as absolutely irreconcilable.

As researchers, when our participants share their inner or emotional positions in their identity construction, it is crucial we respect these emotional positions as valid. None of us are robots and it is important to remember how powerful emotions are to an individual's identity. It is for this reason that this paper attempts to find a common ground between these two positions. It recognises identity as a social construction while taking into account the importance of emotion in the construction of an essentialist identity. In relation to language and variety, this emotional factor is important in understanding the experience of a community of language speakers using a language variety.

The postmodern and essentialist positions can be reconciled when we consider the role of language varieties. Edwards (2009: 54) uses the analogy of language being used to "protect an important vehicle of culture and tradition." He explains that language can be understood beyond its systematic and communicative features to include the identity or symbolic function of language (Edwards 2009). This essentialist argument can be reconciled here with the postmodern belief pointed out by Onuf (2012) who emphasises that it must be recognised that humans are fundamentally social beings. The diversity of identities between communities does not undermine their socially constructed nature. Another interesting point Edwards makes is that there is a strong emotional or what he calls a 'symbolic' relationship between people and language (2009). This can be understood if we take the perspective that every particular language and variety encodes a unique human experience which includes cultural knowledge and a social/cultural legacy. This ties in with Anderson's 'imagined community' (1983), which is discussed in the following section.

2.3 Imagined communities

Anderson's idea of the 'imagined community' is central to the arguments of this study. Benedict Anderson argued that the nation should be understood as an 'imagined community,' one in which, although it would be impossible for all members to personally know one another, they are sure of each other's existence through social, cultural, and linguistic identities (Anderson 1983). In framing the nation as a shared project of the imagination, Anderson tapped into the extremely personal and emotive side of nationalism. It is also worth noting the emphasis Anderson placed on the role of language in the shaping of national imaginations. He places particular emphasis on the role of vernacular language combined with access to print media as awakening the national consciousnesses of Europe (Anderson 1983). Others, such as Song (2012), have applied Anderson's ideas to the even smaller scale of the familial. Anderson's postulation forms the basis of this study as the central focus is on language users' perceived or 'imagined' English variety and its relationship to the narrative of London heritage. I believe that Anderson's framework is especially helpful in shedding light on an imagined community in Basingstoke that does not have obvious objects of common imagination, such as a national flag.

3. Studies in folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology

The fields of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology have been interested in the relationship between language attitudes and social phenomena but the connection between perceptions of dialect and self-identity construction has not been extensively addressed. Some scholars such as Büdenbender (2013), Winke and Ballard (2017), Gold (2015), Alford and Strother (1990) and Lai (2005) have used perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics to investigate the role of language variation in different kinds of discrimination. However, these studies are all centred around the participants' perceptions of the 'other' and not of how they view language variation in their own identity construction. Peters (2016) investigated the role of language attitudes and emotion words on identity construction in multilingual environments. The study found that the self-constructed identities of individuals are constantly in flux, reflecting an increasingly globalised and multilingual world (Peters 2016). The present study builds upon Peter's work and methods while applying them to a more conventionally monolingual (if multidialectal) setting.

Basingstoke[1] does, of course, have other languages than English being used (such as Shona and Polish, among others mentioned later in the paper); however, for the purposes of this paper, the Basingstoke English variety is the object of interest and the main variety of English used in the area. A future study of the other languages of Basingstoke would be interesting and would surely help challenge the widely held belief that Basingstoke is a monolingual community.

Another related study by Lonergran (2016, cited in Cramer and Montgomery 2016) investigated real and perceived variation in Dublin English. Using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to test if the participant's perceptions of the Dublin variety matched the 'real' or measurable varieties in the city, the study found that the perceptions did not match the measured varieties. Lonergran concluded this was due to a range of sociolinguistic factors, such as social class and the common use of inaccurate and complex identity labels, such as 'northside' and 'southside' (Lonergran 2016, cited in Cramer and Montgomery 2016).

Lonergran's study has been extremely informative to the present study. Its scale on the city level is the same as mine and the complex social factors behind perceptions in the study are similar to mine. However, both studies are dissimilar in some respects. For instance, my study is not interested in measuring a *real* Basingstoke English variety as Lonergran measured the different Dublin English varieties. This is because my study is concerned with the factors that trigger variety perception. It would be interesting, however, for future research to test Lonergran's methods in Basingstoke but this is not the primary focus of my study.

3.1 Relevance of the study, and research gap

Prior research has investigated how communities and individuals imagine themselves as relating to each other, exploring the relationship between language attitudes and discrimination on the basis of race and nationality, among others. The literature has also looked at the role language attitudes and emotions play in identity construction in multilingual environments. Finally, existing literature has looked at language attitudes and the perception of language varieties in a city-level context. My research builds on the existing literature by applying certain methods of previous research to a different under-researched language community. The present study also focuses on language attitudes and self-identity construction as opposed to attitudes of the perceived 'other', although these two are often closely linked. Based on this gap, the following research questions are formulated for this study:

1. Does the perception of the Basingstoke variety of English have a relationship to the narrative of London heritage in the identity construction of Basingstoke residents?
   a) Is the variety a source of local pride?
   b) Does the bonds/emotional power of the narrative affect the perceived strength of the variety?
2. Do people perceive the variety as being distinct from Standard British English?
3. Is there a generational effect on the perception of the variety?

[1] I have used the term 'multidialectal' here to recognise and validate the fact that even in communities where one language is primarily spoken, there are always multiple dialects or 'varieties' which reflect the different individual's experiences and usage of the language. To paint a community as just 'monolingual' is problematic as it presents a false reality of linguistic homogeneity which in the real world does not exist.

4. Methodology

4.1 Questionnaire

This study is a mixed quantitative and qualitative analysis of a questionnaire, containing both closed and open-ended questions, completed by 90 Basingstoke residents. The questionnaire consists of fourteen questions, in addition to an additional section for information on the participant's age and gender identity. The first section asked for informed consent, while the second part obtained information on the participant's relationship with Basingstoke. Section three asked the participants to indicate how and if they use English, and what variety they identify with etc. The next section covered issues relating to participants' London heritage. The final section covers the participant's attitudes towards the Basingstoke variety of English. For the design of the questionnaire, the terms 'dialect' and 'accent' were used instead of 'variety,' so as to accommodate views from participants who might not consider Basingstoke English as a separate variety of English. Open-ended items were included in the study because they provided more subjective and qualitative data for analysis, which is an important aspect of folk linguistics. This choice helped the study give the participant as much active role as possible within the research framework. This was then complemented with basic statistical analysis of the quantitative data generated through the closed items.

The questionnaire was selected as a research method because of its ability to collect relevant linguistic data. While some prior studies (e.g., Preston, 1989; Inoue, 1996) in folk linguistics or perceptual dialectology have used dialect perceptual map, this approach is considered insufficient alone in gathering more substantial perceptions of the Basingstoke variety and identity. Since this study is concerned with very personal subjective experiences of identity and language perception, it is important to use an approach that is comprehensive but also crucially open to collect a wide range of participant's answers. The research design draws on the foundation of prior research on dialectology. For example, Chambers and Trudgill (1998) focused on the collection and documentation of linguistic dialect data through direct and indirect questionnaires. The present study builds on the questionnaire used in Chambers and Trudgill (1998), adapting it to include the socially constructed world of identity and language perception unique to my study population.

4.2 Design rationale

One challenge with the research design is eliciting true and honest self-reporting from participants. One way that others have avoided this problem has been through targeting participants based on certain criteria. Stoeckle (2011), when sampling younger participants, specifically targeted those with "communication-orientated professions" with the aim of getting more accurate or linguistically interesting dialect mapping data. While it would be very interesting to break down the 'folk' in folk linguistics into a constructed hierarchy of what could be called 'linguistic awareness' (where presumably linguists would sit at the top and those with absolutely no or very little interest in linguistics would be at the bottom), we would run into two main problems. First, through an increasingly hyper-specific sample targeting certain groups in our new social hierarchy, we would be diluting the central idea of folk linguistics of laypersons. While I do not believe there is anything necessarily wrong with studying groups who are more linguistically aware than others, we must not then make generalisations that these targeted groups represent the broader population. The second problem comes from an ethical position. As researchers in sociolinguistics, it is important to remember that our data is very human. Constructing a linguistic hierarchy in our methodology opens the potential for further disempowerment of our participants through the very labelling of them as linguistically unaware.

This study will avoid the pitfalls of targeting participants who are perceived as linguistically aware by taking a more conventional stance of attempting to survey participants without any consideration of linguistic awareness. That being said, in order to elicit relevant data from participants, the questionnaire has followed a particular order to get participants thinking about the relationship between the Basingstoke dialect and their identity. It could be criticised as leading. However, I believe that since research designs are a working compromise instead of a perfect art, the benefits of getting more relevant data outweigh the drawbacks of being slightly leading.

4.3 Positionality

It is considered important in research to provide a positionality statement, which allows the researcher to reflect on contextual or personal factors that can potentially bias the findings of the research. I am from Basingstoke and consider it to be my home in every sense of the word. Some of the most important people in my life, including my family and friends, are from Basingstoke. I owe almost all of what I have and have done to the town. It is this connection to the town which has triggered my interest in local language attitudes and the identity narratives of the people of my town. While my closeness to the participants can be seen as a weakness, as there is an inherent interest and an impossibility of a completely detached objective study, I would argue that my insider status comes as a benefit to my work. I have been able to establish the work in the first place based on conversations I have had with people in the town. I believe that my positionality has come as a benefit to the research as it has provided me with insider knowledge of the research context. Nevertheless, I am aware of this relationship, and have taken it into account in the interpretation of my results.

5 Results and discussion

5.1 Quantitative data

The questionnaire was completed virtually by 90 participants. I used Google Forms to prepare the questionnaire which I sent to participants via social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Instagram. I also posted it on the community page 'Spotted Basingstoke.' Every participant gave their informed consent for their answers to be included in the study.

I will now present an overview of the results of the questionnaire, including general information about the participants. Out of the 90 participants, 84 reported being residents of Basingstoke, while 52 participants reported being born in Basingstoke. Out of the 38 participants who stated they were born elsewhere, 26 of them reported being born in the South of England and London. Other noticeable birthplaces included Wales, the Midlands and Scotland, while 4 participants reported being born abroad, including Poland, Malaysia and Zimbabwe. The survey also demonstrates a healthy distribution of ages of the participants (see Figure 4 further below). The survey provided a fair spread of years of residency in Basingstoke, as seen in Figure 1.

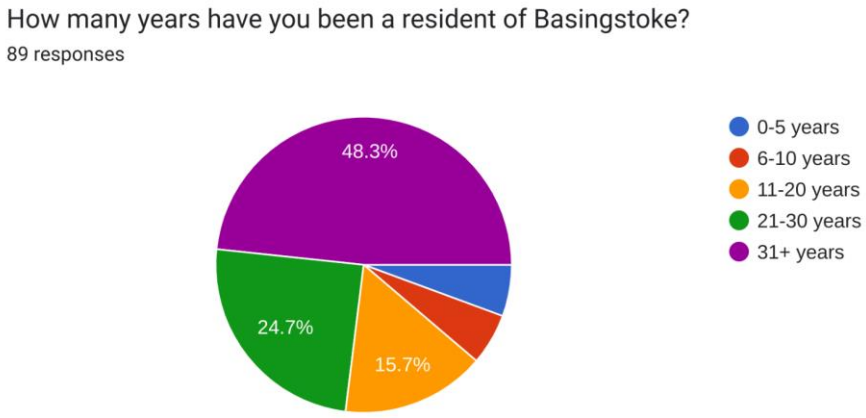

Figure 1. Length of residency in Basingstoke

Of the 90 participants, only 27 self-reported as having London heritage, which was very surprising: as was discussed earlier, Basingstoke is a commuter town which had its population boom in the post-war period when people moved away from London. These 27 reported their family as coming from areas across London, including Fulham, South London, the East End and Teddington, which was not unexpected. Apart from Teddington, these areas were primarily working-class neighbourhoods. The generational breakdown of those with reported London heritage showed that most were second or third-generation (see Figure 2). Again, a healthy spread of generations was expected when researching a migration that happened many decades ago.

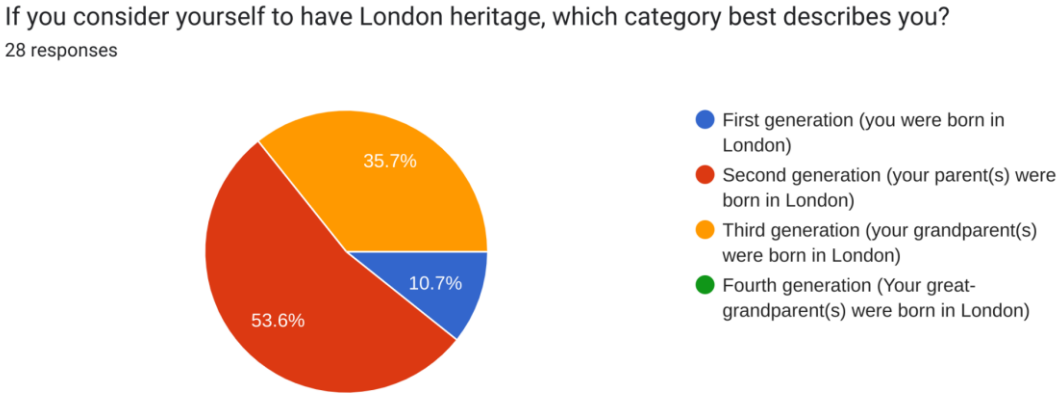

Figure 2. London heritage

With regard to language, 81 of 90 stated that English was their first language. Other reported first languages included Polish, Shona, Bengali, and Welsh. A total of 68 participants reported speaking a Southern British English dialect, while 16 of them mentioned that they speak a London English dialect. The crucial question on Basingstoke variety perception gave a mixed response, as seen in Figure 3.

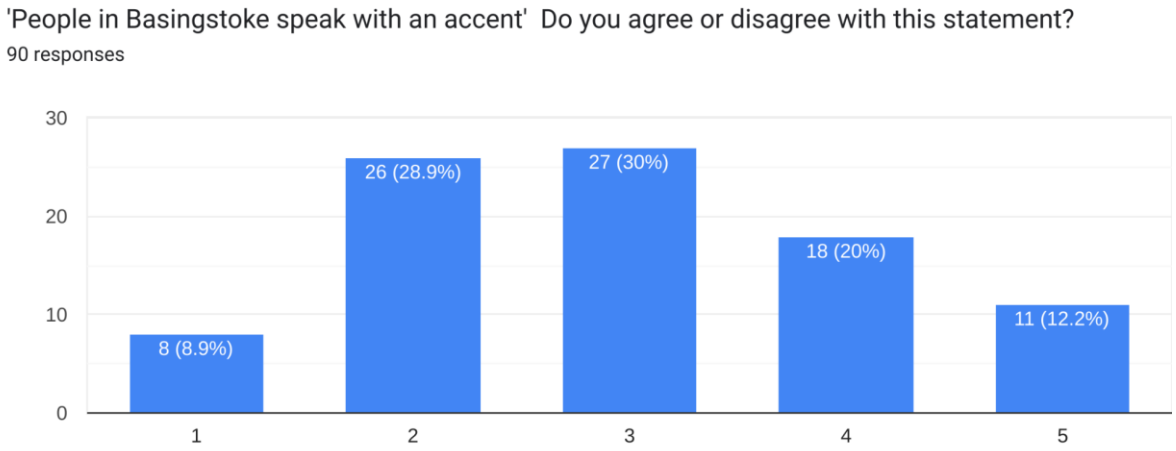

Figure 3. Accent in Basingstoke
Legend: Value 1 = 'Strongly Agree, 3 = No Opinion, 5 = Strongly Disagree)

Finally, I will give an overview of results related to language attitudes. Most participants felt that the Basingstoke variety was similar to the English variety in the surrounding towns. The top three descriptions that participants associated with the Basingstoke variety were friendly (30), uneducated (12), and educated (9). When justifying their choice, participants often tried to explain their judgement of the Basingstoke variety of English. For example, one of the participants remarked that "people from London think I sound like a farmer, but people from the country [i.e. Basingstoke] think I sound like I'm from London." I think this example perfectly represents the perception and hybridity of not only the English variety but also the identity of the town itself. The majority of participants stated that the strongest accents (where the difference is most noticeable from Standard British English) came from the poorest areas which are also commonly perceived as the 'roughest.' For example, "Popley, they talk like chavs." As expected, the opposite is true of areas with the 'weakest accent' where respondents commonly linked this to wealth and age. For example, "Old Basing - sounds more like 'BBC English'." This connection between perceptions of language variety and wider socio-economic associations is found elsewhere in the literature, such as in Lonergran (2016, cited in Cramer and Montgomery 2016), among others.

Interestingly, most participants were female (70%). This can be due to factors concerning how the questionnaire was deployed. Since it was not a completely overwhelming percentage, I do not believe the disproportion negatively impacts the validity of the study. Instead, it helps to amplify the responses of the population which have historically been overlooked. There was also a good mix of age ranges reported by participants, as seen in Figure 4, which strengthens the validity of the study as it makes the questionnaire more representative of the town at large.

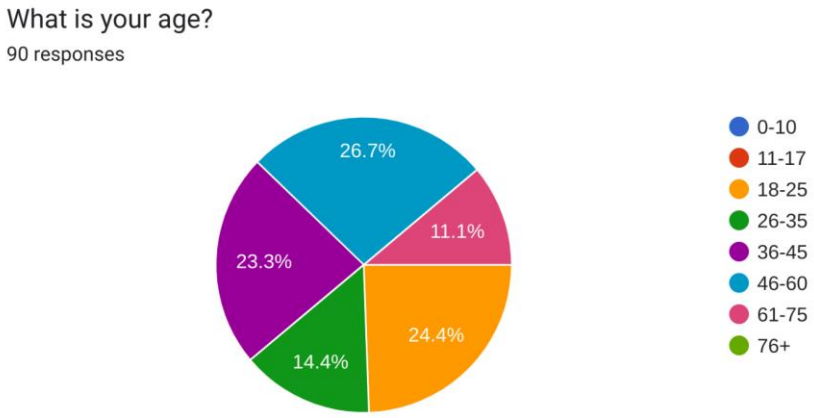

Figure 4. Age

The main aim of this study was to examine the relationship between London heritage and the perception of a Basingstoke variety of English (RQ1). I hypothesised that participants with London heritage would be more likely to believe a Basingstoke variety of English exists. The analysis of the data, however, demonstrated that this link is perhaps more complicated than expected. The survey found that participants who considered themselves to have London heritage were comprised of all ages. Table 1 shows the distribution of participants with London heritage (27) with their answers to the question 'People in Basingstoke speak with an accent.' At first glance, it appears to be proportional to the wider result of that question, disregarding the London heritage factor, as we can see in Figure 3. The result is slightly weighted to the 'agree' side but only by a small margin. The split is 11 for the side of 'agree' and 8 for 'disagree'. However, we can see a more weighted side on 'agree' with a 9/2 split as opposed to the 5/3 split on the 'disagree' side. This indicates a stronger belief in favour of the statement by participants. Ultimately, the data does support my hypothesis but only by the slimmest of margins, so I would argue it would be misleading to generalise the results of 27 people and that more data is needed. It would seem that the London heritage has some effect on folk perceptions of a Basingstoke variety of English.

Table 1. Participants with London heritage recognising a Basingstoke variety of English

Age	Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Total	2	9	8	5	3
18-25	0	3	1	2	1
26-35	0	0	0	1	2
36-45	0	3	3	0	0
46-75	2	3	4	2	0

For the second part of the first research question (RQ1A), we have a mixed result. Table 2 shows the distribution of language attitudes in general and then by participants with London heritage in particular. For RQ1A, we can see that the local variety does seem to be seen in a good light by participants, while there remain many participants who view the variety negatively, as well as a sizable minority who hold no strong feelings either way. The residents then are broadly proud of their variety. The second part of Table 2 investigates RQ1B. Broadly, it is proportional to the general result in the first column. Table 2 supports part of my first hypothesis: that residents with London heritage would see their variety as a source of pride. This is an interesting finding because it would seem that while residents with London heritage tended to have mixed feelings when identifying whether Basingstoke has a variety of English, they demonstrated a mostly positive feeling towards their variety. Perhaps this is further evidence of a broader phenomenon of speakers not self-identifying as having an accent.

Table 2. Language attitudes of participants

	Positive	**Negative**	**Neutral**	**No variety**
Total Responses (90)	47	23	13	7
Responses to London heritage	15	5	5	2

There was a mixed result for RQ2. It can be seen in Figure 3 that participants had a small bias towards identifying a Basingstoke variety of English by a small margin. The distribution is that 34 think there is a Basingstoke variety of English to varying extents, 27 being neutral and 29 think there is no Basingstoke variety of English, again to varying degrees. Again, it is important to remember that these are self-reported questionnaires and people tend to believe that they do speak with an accent different from Standard British English.

Interestingly, my second hypothesis would seem not to have been supported as participants tended to perceive the greatest linguistic difference occurring inside of town between the people who live in the more commonly imagined poorer neighbourhoods (who were claimed to have the strongest linguistic differences) and more affluent areas (who were claimed to have the weakest differences or used a variety closest to Standard British English). The construction of perceptions around linguistic differences along social and class lines, while not wholly unexpected, was a lot stronger than I had imagined. As discussed earlier, this would support the findings of the wider literature in folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology in particular that language attitudes often correlate with wider social categories and prejudices. Language attitudes seem to reflect or reinforce the other social attitudes individuals hold of their peers.

5.2 Qualitative data

It is also worth breaking down some of the open-question responses related to the perception of the Basingstoke variety. As discussed previously, Table 2 shows the distribution of opinions categorised as being broadly positive, negative, neutral or as not recognising a distinct variety. As mentioned before, there seems to be a strong and established link between language attitudes and other existing prejudices, such as classism or even racism (Giles & Billings 2004).

The data from the open-ended items in the questionnaire support this link. I will now present some of the responses to Question 10, asking participants to pick a word or write in a word that best describes their attitude towards the Basingstoke variety of English. Here are some interesting responses.

"I think we have a broken Hampshire accent."

The concept of a language variety being 'broken' is often found when individuals are discussing languages or varieties that they do not consider to be the true or correct form of a language. This has historically been true of the way some people discuss creoles and pidgins. In this example, it appears the respondent considers the Basingstoke variety of English to be a form of Hampshire (rural) English that has been 'broken' by people moving to the town.

"Most people sound very chavvy in bstoke" (bstoke standing for Basingstoke).

In the above example, we can see another case of language attitudes being connected to wider societal judgments. In this case, we can see that the respondent describes the Basingstoke variety of English as 'chavvy,' a derogatory term for a working-class person.

"The older generation of this town speak as tho they are well educated. Unlike many of the younger ones."

In this statement, we can see that the respondent ties language attitudes to attitudes and assumptions about different generations as well as education. The respondent associates the variety of English of the elderly with education and thus we can assume it is the correct form of English. They hold an opposite view of the language of the youth, who by assumption are perceived as being uneducated and, therefore, the English they use as being incorrect.

These short responses help build a more detailed picture of the attitudes Basingstoke residents have toward their variety of English. It also brings to light prejudices some residents seem to hold and associate with the English language use(d) in the town.

The connection between language attitudes or perceptions of the Basingstoke varied and wider social prejudices is a theme which continues when respondents are asked to name areas in the town where the variety is the strongest and the weakest, as can be seen in the excerpts below.

"Popley, Brighton hill, most areas with more crime and wording to match"

"Beggarwood lots of new basingstokers from london"

"Old Basing - more of a posh area and more educated people"

The above responses are similar to ones discussed earlier. They all touch on the connection between the perception of language variety, class, crime, and migration. It is also worth mentioning the association of what respondents consider the 'strongest' or most 'noticeable' Basingstoke variety as being closely linked to London. This helps to support my claim that this variety is perceived as being a combination of London English and the rural Hampshire variety.

Similarly, other respondents stated:

"Old basing - sounds more like 'bbc english'"

"Chineham as it is seen as a friendly place and has no one talking in a different way to come across intimidating."

"Chineham, New Hatch Warren, Kempshot. Because these are not the original estates of the 60's where Londoners were moved out to. The older estates housed London origin families."

The above responses support the ideas previously discussed by confirming their opposite. The assumption that 'broken' English is associated with the working class requires that the upper classes speak the 'correct' way. These responses also touch on some provoking ideas. One response claims that Chineham is friendly because people speak in the same way and do not speak differently, which this respondent claims is done to be intimidating. 'Friendliness' is a tried and tested way of measuring solidarity between speakers and communities. A future study could be interested in unpacking statements like this. Finally, these respondents again link the Basingstoke variety to London. By unpacking these written responses, we are able to better understand respondents' attitudes, and even more telling, emotions towards the Basingstoke variety. They also provide a deeper insight into RQ1B because they provide personal, open responses that can shed light on their attitudes and feelings.

RQ3 was concerned with the generational factor in perceptions of variety. In Table 1, we can see the distribution of Basingstoke variety perception by participants with London heritage subdivided by the age range of the participants. Predictably, we can see an age bias. Generally, those who are younger are less likely to recognise a Basingstoke variety than those who are older. One linguistic theory that can help explain this finding is the idea of language shift, where, over time, an individual's linguistic repertoire changes. We can apply this on a societal scale, so that those who are closer to the original London English variety are more likely to perceive its echo in the Basingstoke variety than those who are removed by time and generation from their London heritage. Even more interesting is the possibility, of course, that the older participants think that they can recognise a Basingstoke variety because they want to. Future research interested in the role of nostalgia and self-identity construction could shed more light as to whether this is the case with these results. Ultimately, however, this age bias was expected and supports my hypothesis.

6. Conclusion

The findings of this study have challenged my understanding of the relationship between identity and dialect perception. It seems that this relationship is far more complex than envisaged, as a myriad of factors are involved in influencing whether an individual recognises a language variety. I had assumed that participants with London heritage would overwhelmingly identify a Basingstoke variety. This is a reminder that the London heritage is the discursive origin narrative of people in Basingstoke who themselves or their family moved to Basingstoke from London. While the results showed a slight bias in this direction, it was only by a slim margin, as discussed earlier. Despite this, residents still strongly claimed that their local variety was a source of pride, identifying it with positive labels. However, there were also negative language attitudes which participants linked to wider social prejudices. Finally, age and generational factors played a role in the respondents' perceptions of their variety of English.

I hope this study has helped highlight the linguistic richness of Basingstoke. It is not just another grey commuter town. Future research could look at the role of other factors, such as gender, in variety perception or perhaps the influence of perceptions of certain estates within the town. It would also be interesting to place the London heritage narrative in Basingstoke with the broader national and international migrations happening at the time, such as the Windrush migration. Future studies could take into account multiple staged migrations and how they might affect perceptions of language varieties.

Every research has some limitations and challenges. The biggest challenge I encountered was respondent attrition. My questionnaire was completed online using Google Forms, which allowed me to track the number of participants who had completed each section. I know, for example, that a total of 90 people took part in the survey but only 66 answered question 12, which invalidated most responses because question 12 was central to the study. On reflection, I strongly suggest any future study makes questions mandatory to ensure that participants answer the most important questions.

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Evaluating the status of the Ndau language in education ten years after its official recognition

Talent Mudenda
talentmudenda@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-4639-1783

&

Kingsley Ugwuanyi
ku1@soas.ac.uk or kingsley.ugwuanyi@unn.edu.ng
ORCID: 0000-0002-6480-0352

Abstract

The 2013 constitutional changes in Zimbabwe recognised Ndau as a distinct language, alongside other minority languages, to promote linguistic diversity. Before this, only Ndebele and Shona were national languages, and English was the sole official language, marginalising many indigenous languages. Despite the policy change, Ndau education still faces challenges, particularly in Chipinge and Chimanimani, where it is predominantly spoken. This study investigates these challenges through interviews and document analysis. The findings indicate that Ndau is often perceived as a Shona dialect, leading to its replacement by Shona in some schools. Additionally, the study uncovered other challenges, such as the lack of trained Ndau-speaking teachers, instructional materials, and positive attitudes towards the language. The study discusses the broader social, political, and educational implications of these issues and offers recommendations for improving the teaching and learning of Ndau.

Keywords: Ndau, minoritised languages, language policy, teaching and learning, Zimbabwe, Chipinge and Chimanimani

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the challenges facing the teaching and learning of Ndau in the Chipinge and Chimanimani districts in the Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe, following the 2013 changes in the language policy that recognised Ndau as a distinct language. The 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution has been praised for recognising the country's linguistic diversity, a significant shift from previous constitutions that recognised only two indigenous languages. In Section 6(1) of the Constitution, it is stated that the "following languages, namely, Chewa, Chibarwe, English, Kalanga, Koisan, Nambya, Ndau, Ndebele, Shangani, Shona, Sign Language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa are the officially recognised languages in Zimbabwe." This constitutional provision has accorded official language status to these previously marginalised languages, including Ndau. Before these changes, "English was the only recognised national official language, i.e., the official language, while Ndebele and Shona [were] the official national languages, i.e., national languages" (Ndlovu 2013: 14). Six languages (namely Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Venda, and Shangani) were regarded as the official minority languages, with the rest just referred to as minority languages.

Despite this official recognition, Ndau's role in key domains such as government, media, technology, and particularly education, remains limited over ten years later. This study seeks

to understand why Ndau has not gained substantial traction in the education sector despite its official status. One reason that might be explained is the government's lack of support for Ndau (Sithole 2017). Before the 2013 constitutional change, Ndau was regarded as a dialect of Shona. This classification was influenced by factors such as former President Robert Mugabe's belief that Zimbabwe's future and unity would be best guaranteed through a single language, Shona, leading to the suppression of Ndau (Mlambo 2013). Additionally, the colonial government grouped many ethnolinguistically diverse groups together for ease of administration, a situation that resulted in some languages, like Ndau, being subsumed by others (Dube 2016).

The colonial and postcolonial language policies in Africa, including Zimbabwe, often favoured linguistic centralisation, viewing multilingualism as a problem (Bamgbose 2000). Such policies led to linguistic assimilation, linguistic loss, and discrimination against linguistic minorities (Eades 2006). In Zimbabwe, English became the language of power, administration, and education, further marginalising indigenous languages and eroding the cultural identities of their speakers. The 2013 Constitution was a response to this historical marginalisation, recognising minority languages as part of nation-building and cultural revival efforts.

Among the historically marginalised languages that were accorded official status in the 2013 Constitution, Ndau is the only one that was "promoted" from the status of a dialect to a full-fledged language, as the rest were hitherto recognised as distinctive languages. Recognising Ndau as a language rather than a dialect can encourage the development of educational and policy initiatives that support the language, which has the added advantage of potentially leading to greater social and economic opportunities for speakers. Additionally, the official recognition of the language can boost research and documentation efforts, which will help in the revitalisation and maintenance of the language for future generations. One implication of this is that more resources might be needed to be developed in Ndau than in other languages, which has implications for the teaching and learning of the language. Thus, the present study examines the current status of Ndau in the Zimbabwean classroom and the challenges facing the teaching and learning of Ndau in Zimbabwe ten years after its officialisation.

Given that studies on the classroom success of Shona and Ndebele, such as those by Bernsten (1994), Nyaungwa (2013), Viriri and Viriri (2014), and Gora (2015) for Shona, and Mugore (1995), Ndhlovu (2006), and Matsa et al. (2018) for Ndebele, are well-documented, this study addresses the gap in research regarding Ndau's implementation in education after its official recognition. By exploring the challenges of teaching and learning Ndau ten years after its officialisation, this study contributes to the broader discourse on the role of minority languages in African education, thus addressing Makoni's (2011) observation that scholarly work in this area remains sparse.

1.1 Ndau language

Ndau is a cross-border Bantu language spoken by a combined population of about 1.5 million speakers in Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Eberhard et al. 2024). According to previous studies, the language varies geographically, with two main dialects, Shanga (spoken in the Sofala Province) and Danda (predominantly spoken in Manica Province) in Mozambique, and three dialects in Zimbabwe: Ndaundau and Garwe (spoken in Manicaland province) and Tonga (spoken in Masvingo province) (Mutonga 2017).

Ndau exists in a multilingual society where it is spoken alongside other languages like Shona, Ndebele, English, and Shangani in Zimbabwe, as well as Portuguese, Sena, and Ute (Tewe) in

Mozambique. Such multilingual environments often present a linguistic hierarchy where the more prestigious languages are used in official domains, while the minoritised ones are relevant only in the more private domains, such as family, community, and religious circles. As a result, the minoritised languages often tend to be under-documented and understudied because they rarely have standardised orthographies, grammars, dictionaries, and other materials to enhance their enforcement in high-order domains. This is the situation of Ndau in both countries. Ndau is labelled a minority language in Zimbabwe for two reasons: speaker population and the language policy that has for 82 years characterised it as a dialect of Shona. With a speaker population of about 800,000 in Zimbabwe (Eberhard et al. 2024), Ndau cannot be compared with Shona, which boasts about 9 million speakers or Ndebele, with over 2 million speakers.

Sithole (2017) indicates that Ndau speakers (especially among the younger population) no longer see any incentive to develop proficiency in the language as it plays no functional role in their essential day-to-day lives apart from interpersonal communication. Instead, they concentrate on getting and becoming fluent in prestigious languages like Shona and English in Zimbabwe or Portuguese in Mozambique. According to Batibo (2005), this gives rise to both language shift and language death, as the number of speakers of minority languages diminishes from generation to generation.

2. Indigenous languages in education in Zimbabwe

Language choice in the context of education is a hotly debated issue in highly multilingual societies (Muchenje et al. 2013). While the 2013 Constitution has given official recognition to Ndau and other minoritised languages, scholars maintain that Zimbabwe still needs an official language document that focuses explicitly on using African languages in education (Chivhanga & Chimhenga 2013). The language-in-education policies currently implemented in Zimbabwean classrooms are inferred from education and language-related laws and acts. For example, the 2013 Constitution simply listed the languages that are "officially recognised" without specifying their roles in education. There is, therefore, no doubt that the lack of a clear language policy in education would affect the teaching and learning of Ndau in schools, as different schools might interpret related laws differently.

According to the 1987 Education Act of Zimbabwe and the 2015 Curriculum Framework for Primary and Secondary Education (Government of Zimbabwe 2015), indigenous languages should be used as media of instruction in primary schools up to Grade 2, while they should be taught as school subjects in areas where they are predominantly spoken from Grades 3-7. Incidentally, the only two indigenous languages recognised for this purpose in the 1987 Act were Ndebele and Shona. However, there are many other areas where neither Ndebele nor Shona is the first language of the majority of people (Makoni et al. 2006). In such places, people are compelled to learn and use either Ndebele or Shona, either of which is not their first language (L1), making these languages feel alien to them. For instance, in Hwange, Ndebele is taught as a school subject and is used as the medium of instruction, yet Nambya is the language of the majority of the people. In fact, in many contexts, English is predominantly used as the language of instruction across levels of education (Mlambo 2013). To maximise the benefits of learning in one's first language (Cook 2001) and ensure greater linguistic inclusivity, all Zimbabwean children should learn in their first languages (Viriri 2003; Viriri & Viriri 2013).

Makoni (2011) argues that most African parents prefer their children to be taught in English rather than indigenous languages because they believe that speaking/learning (in) comes with

some additional benefits, such as upward social mobility (Chabata 2008; Chivhanga & Chimhenga 2013). Such language preference for English tends to lead to social stratification as well as undermine the advancement of indigenous languages in education. Kadenge and Nkomo (2011) suggest that the increased role of English in education is at the expense of other indigenous languages, which is further exacerbated by the prominence of English in the global linguistic market (Chivhanga & Chimhenga 2013) that tends to negatively influence the attitudes of learners towards indigenous languages in the context of education (Phiri et al. 2013).

In Zimbabwe, as much as in other postcolonial contexts, the history of language choice in education is steeped in colonialism (Makoni 2011). Magwa (2010) points out that during the colonial era, education in Southern Rhodesia was significantly conducted through the medium of English and that at the end of primary-level education, children were expected to speak the English language fluently, while local languages were perceived as only relevant for private communication. Hence, Magwa (2010) posits that Zimbabwe simply inherited from Rhodesia a racially structured system of education that marginalised local languages.

Another major factor that shapes attitudes towards the role of indigenous languages in education in Zimbabwe is the inclusion of such languages in the public examinations. Given that the Zimbabwean education system is examination-driven (Mufanechiya 2012), any languages not examined in the public examinations are not regarded as useful. From the students' point of view, the indigenous languages are considered unimportant because most of them are not examined in the public examinations. Consequently, most schools do not see any need to teach these languages. A further consequence of this attitude is that there are often limited instructional materials for the teaching and learning of these languages (Muchenje et al. 2013).

A number of studies have investigated the roles of indigenous languages in the Zimbabwean education system. For instance, Makoni et al. (2008) use archival evidence in the form of annual reports by administrators to show how Tonga, one of the historically minoritised languages in Zimbabwe, is successfully being promoted as a language of instruction in Tonga-speaking areas by community members. Specifically, the study found that Tonga language activists were instrumental in lobbying for the promotion and development of Tonga in their community, a finding that underscores the role of stakeholders such as community activists in the promotion of minority languages in education.

Similarly, Mutasa (1995) identified orthography as a significant obstacle to the teaching and learning of Tonga in the classroom, based on which the author argued that the availability of codificatory materials such as dictionaries, grammar, orthographies, and other materials contributes to the adoption of a language in the classroom (Crystal 1997). In other words, languages that lack these materials are less likely to be adopted in the classroom. This point is relevant to the present study as Ndau might not have sufficient codificatory materials when compared to Shona and Ndebele due to many years of marginalisation in public domains, including the classroom. Part of the focus of the present study, therefore, is to investigate the extent of the availability of these codificatory materials in Ndau and their implications for teaching and learning the language in Zimbabwe.

Maphosa (2021) examines the use of Kalanga in primary schools in Zimbabwe. In specific, the study investigated the environmental factors affecting the implementation of Kalanga in language-in-education policy. The study argues that most times people tend to look to outside factors that impede the adoption of minority languages in education, emphasising that linguistic ecological factors such as institutional support and resources, language ideologies, modernisation, language contact, and ethnolinguistic identity, among others, shape the adoption of Kalanga and other minoritised languages in the Zimbabwean classroom.

Chivhanga & Chimhenga (2013) highlighted the relationship between Zezuru, Karanga, and other Shona dialects in the teaching and learning of Shona in Zimbabwean schools. The study focused on how Zezuru, as a Shona dialect, has influenced the performance of students sitting for ordinary-level Shona examinations in secondary schools. The current Shona orthography does not include many elements from other Shona languages, making it difficult for students who speak marginalised Shona languages (such as Ndau) to perform well in such public examinations.

3. Methodology

In order to understand the perceptions of education stakeholders regarding the teaching and learning of Ndau in Zimbabwe, the qualitative approach was considered sufficient to collect relevant data. Since Ndau is spoken predominantly in Chipinge and Chimanimani districts of Zimbabwe, a purposive sampling technique was adopted in order to select schools in this region where it is expected that Ndau should be used as the language of instruction or taught as a school subject. Four primary schools (two each from each district, with one in the urban area and one from the rural area) were purposively chosen: Ngangu and Nyangu primary schools in Chimanimani, and Bangwe and Charuma primary schools in Chipinge. Participants were drawn from among teachers (5), students (5), parents (4) and Ndau linguists (2). These four categories of participants were considered the relevant stakeholders involved in the teaching and learning in the region. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes and one hour.

The semi-structured interview was the primary instrument used for data collection, which allowed the study to burrow into the feelings, attitudes, and thoughts of the participants about the adoption of Ndau in the classrooms in regions where they are spoken. The use of semi-structured interviews offered us the flexibility to explore unexpected issues while maintaining a focus on specific research questions, which provided in-depth, richer insights that are unlikely to emerge in more rigidly structured methods or surveys. Another reason for the choice of semi-structured interview is that scholars have established its usefulness in investigating minority languages in education (Gu 2018). The interview guide included items that were fairly broad enough to allow the interviewer to pursue the lines of thought and ideas emanating from the interviewees' responses.

Interviews were complemented with the analysis of relevant policy documents in order to nuance our understanding of the situation. Since useful insights about beliefs, agendas, and ideologies can be gleaned through documents (Makoni et al. 2008), the study included data related to language policy from the 2013 Constitution, which officially recognises 16 languages, including Ndau, and the 2015 Education Curriculum. Document analysis was a crucial method in this study as language provisions and policies, which form the basis of Ndau's teaching and learning, are contained in the documents. The multi-method approach to qualitative analysis, involving description, interpretation, and explanation, was adopted for the

analysis. Data from both data sources were presented thematically, aggregating the statements into themes.

4. Results and discussion

As stated earlier, the purpose of this study was to examine the role of Ndau in Zimbabwean classrooms. In specific, the study attempted to identify factors affecting the teaching and learning of Ndau in primary schools. The general findings regarding the teaching of Ndau are presented first before delving into the specific factors mentioned in the dataset.

4.1 The teaching and learning of Ndau in primary schools in Chipinge and Chimanimani

Overall, our analysis of the interview data revealed that respondents were in agreement that Ndau is not offered as a school subject in the primary schools in Chipinge and Chimanimani districts. All the respondents stated that Shona is the only indigenous language taught in schools. One respondent attributed the situation to teachers' lack of interest in teaching Ndau. While wide-ranging reasons were mentioned as to why Ndau is not being taught in schools (which will be discussed in full below), many tended to focus on the teachers. For example, two other respondents stated thus: "I do not know the reason; maybe teachers cannot communicate in Ndau" and "Maybe there are no specialised teachers to teach the language." One recurrent point is that the respondents believed that the situation of Ndau in their classrooms is a concern. As one respondent put it, "Ndau is not taught…if it was taught, I would be happy because it is our mother tongue; it would enhance my proficiency," which underscores the need to teach Ndau in schools as speakers not only recognise it as a separate language but see it as a marker of their identity.

However, 5 respondents unanimously mentioned that few Ndau speakers who are activist teachers have attempted to teach Ndau, but their efforts were fruitless, as they encountered many challenges. It was also found that some teachers had incorporated some Ndau lexical items in their Shona classrooms, arguing that Ndau is just a dialect of Shona. Despite the fact that many government policies (such as the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe, the Education Act of 2020 (as amended), the 2015-2022 Education Curriculum of Zimbabwe, and the National Development Strategy 1) contain statements that directly or indirectly encourage the teaching of the 16 indigenous languages of Zimbabwe in schools, especially in regions where they are spoken, the above findings indicate that this is not the case, particularly with regard to Ndau. Among other factors, this could be attributed to the historical marginalisation of Ndau.

The 2015 Education Curriculum Framework identifies languages as one of the eight areas constituting the curriculum at primary schools. According to Section 4.4.1, "the language learning area comprises indigenous, English, and foreign languages." Some scholars (e.g., Magwa 2010) have argued that the specific mention of English in this policy but not any other indigenous language automatically gives English a higher premium and, by the same token, marginalises all the indigenous languages. It may be argued that English might as well be subsumed under the umbrella of "foreign languages" since none of the indigenous languages were mentioned, not even Shona and Ndebele. The prominence of English has resulted in Englishised classrooms where English has become the sole language of instruction in many schools, including in some places where Shona or Ndebele could easily serve as the language of instruction.

Section 4.4.1.1 further states that "at junior school level, indigenous languages remain important; the introduction of a second language and its alternate use [should coexist] with indigenous language in the learning." While this section maintains that as a second language (i.e., English) is introduced at the junior school level, it should be taught side by side with the first language (an indigenous language) in primary schools. In line with this policy, it is expected that Ndau should be the language of instruction (or at least taught as a school subject) in primary schools in Chipinge and Chimanimani districts. However, our findings show that the opposite is the case. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that this policy statement is unclear about how both a second language and the indigenous language can be alternately used as a medium of instruction in the classroom. In other words, there is no bilingual pedagogical framework that provides the strategies for the simultaneous implementation of two languages in the classroom, without which the use of two or more languages for teaching is bound to fail (Hansell & Björklund 2022). This situation justifies Bamgbose's (1991: 11) claim that language policies are often characterised by "…avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness."

The 2006 Education Act was further amended in 2020 to allow it to align with Section 6 of the 2013 National Constitution that recognised 16 indigenous languages. Thus, Section 12 of the Amended Education Act of 2020 provides as follows:

> (1) Every school shall endeavour to—(a) implement the teaching of all official languages; (b) ensure that the language used in class for instructions be the one that is examinable; (c) ensure that early childhood education shall use the mother tongue as the language of instruction.
>
> (2) School curricula will showcase the cultures of the people in every language being taught.
>
> (3) Language use in terms of subsections (1) and (2) shall be subject to—(a) the State to avail all required resources; and (b) to avail trained personnel, that is, teachers, examiners, textbooks, and other materials needed to enhance teaching.

The recommendations are clearly worthy of commendation, as they clearly make allowance for the use of all officially recognised indigenous languages in the classroom. However, the broad findings presented above show that these recommendations are yet to be implemented. The results presented in the next section will show whether the government has fulfilled its obligations regarding the policy, as well as highlight other factors influencing the (non-)implementation of the new policy in primary schools in Chipinge and Chimanimani districts of Zimbabwe.

4.2 Factors affecting the teaching and learning of Ndau in Chipinge and Chimanimani

Having outlined the general findings in the previous section, this section discusses the specific factors affecting Ndau in the classroom, as emerged from our analysis of the interview data.

4.2.1 Lack of instructional materials

The lack of instructional materials is a significant factor affecting the teaching and learning of Ndau in primary schools. The lack of teaching materials can result from inadequate corpus planning, which has implications for spelling, grammar books, dictionaries, and literature. Interviews held with teachers (most of whom are native speakers of Ndau) showed that they have the desire to teach Ndau to their students but are inhibited by the unavailability of

grammar books, dictionaries, standard orthographies, or literature to support their teaching. According to one teacher, the only materials they have access to are the Ndau Bible and other Christian texts like hymn books from the United Church of Christ and Reformed Church of Zimbabwe: "We have no material for us to teach Ndau; what we have are bibles and hymn books."

While some of the teachers indicated that these religious texts helped them in their efforts to teach aspects of Ndau, they are inadequate as they were designed for religious purposes and not for pedagogical purposes. It has been widely acknowledged that one of the "most widespread and commonly recognised challenge[s] for minority language education is the availability of high-quality teaching material" (van Dongera et al. 2017: 7). There is, therefore, an urgent need to design instructional materials to enhance the teaching and learning of Ndau.

However, the teachers acknowledged that there have been pockets of efforts geared towards developing teaching and learning materials in Ndau. They pointed out that these efforts have been uncoordinated as they are merely individual efforts made by Ndau language activists rather than by experts in corpus planning and materials development. On many occasions, materials in minoritised languages tend to be developed by activists whose only 'skill' is their passion to see the language survive in the classroom, thus impacting the quality of the materials (van Dongera et al. 2017). Clearly, this is also an indication of the government's lack of support. However, while it is absolutely important that the government provide support for the language from corpus planning to instructional materials, relying completely on that might be defeatist. Since there are individuals who have started some work and there are teachers and linguists who have the necessary skills, Sithole (2017) has proposed that there is an urgent need for these stakeholders to synergise in order to achieve their aims.

4.2.2 Unavailability of trained teachers

The analysis also revealed that another factor that affects the teaching and learning of Ndau in primary schools is the lack of trained teachers who have both the knowledge of the language and the pedagogical competence to teach Ndau. It was reported that most teachers in regions where Ndau is spoken are not proficient in the language. In other words, even if these teachers wanted to teach the language, there is no way they can do so since they do not speak the language fluently, thereby making it difficult for Ndau to be taught as an academic subject, let alone used as the language of instructions in primary schools within Chipinge and Chimanimani districts of Zimbabwe where the majority of community members speak Ndau as their first language. As one parent lamented, "We don't have teachers; they are nowhere to be found. The government must train Ndau teachers. Our children are troubled with Shona in schools."

Research has shown that teaching learners using their native language as a medium of instruction is important because it helps learners not only to understand and conceptualise what they are taught but also to think in their language and feel at home with the learning process (UNESCO 2022). UNESCO presents compelling arguments that, for effective learning to take place, it is better for young learners to be taught in their home language, which is often the language they think in.

The interview findings show that the government had set up a teacher training programme at the Great Zimbabwe University to train teachers in indigenous languages and make it possible for indigenous languages to be taught in primary and secondary schools. However, it was found

that due to the historical mainstreaming of Ndebele and Shona, trainee teachers tend to be interested in enrolling in them. Perhaps they might be easier to teach since there are instructional materials available. As a result, other minoritised languages, such as Ndau, are not included in the university's teacher training programmes. There is no doubt that having more fluent speakers of Ndau who are trained specifically to teach it in schools will contribute to the increased presence of Ndau in Zimbabwean classrooms.

Moreover, responses from some of the teachers indicate that few of them who have attempted to teach Ndau as an academic subject in primary schools did not undertake any training as language teachers. In fact, some of them are teachers of subjects who depend solely on their intuition to teach Ndau to their pupils. It was found that most of the teachers are speakers of Shona, some of whom hold strong views that Ndau is a distinct language. For these ones, only the teaching of Shona matters. This flawed perspective might be attributed to the lack of training, as it's believed that someone who spent years learning (the pedagogy of) Ndau is better positioned to know that Ndau is a different language with its own structure and grammar, which has long been established in the literature (Sithole 2019).

4.2.3 Non-inclusion of Ndau in public examinations

Our results indicate that the non-inclusion of Ndau as one of the languages examined in Grade 7 of the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) examinations affects its adoption as a school subject in the region. Teachers indicated that most parents wanted their children to learn a language they could write in the public examinations, which in this case is Shona. Zimbabwe is an examination-driven society (Mufanechiya 2012), so most people might consider the non-inclusion of a language in public examinations as an indication that the language has low prestige. As a result, parents and perhaps even schoolchildren themselves tend to want to be associated with more prestigious languages such as English and Shona. Some of the teachers who have attempted to teach Ndau maintained that their efforts failed because the pupils aspire to write Ndau in the Grade 7 examinations. In other words, the schoolchildren and their parents do not see any value in spending their resources learning a language that is not available for them to write in public examinations. One of the teachers put it this way: "Why will they learn Ndau and when it's not being examined at Grades Seven and Four?"

Even though there is an ongoing debate about whether the inclusion of minoritised languages in public examinations contributes significantly to their maintenance, there is emerging evidence that children indeed feel empowered when they know they are going to write an examination in their language. While preparing for these examinations might help to deepen their proficiency in the language, perhaps a great value is that it gives them a sense of recognition. As Marzena Henry (a teacher who campaigns for the inclusion of minority languages in public examinations) puts it, "in terms of children's self-development and resilience, it's very important for them to be able to take exams in their own language" (Marzena 2023: n.p.). This factor clearly links with the previous challenges of inadequate instructional materials and the lack of qualified teachers. It will amount to putting the cart before the horse to include Ndau as an examinable subject in ZIMSEC Grade 7 when there are no adequate arrangements to teach it in the classroom.

4.2.4 The dynamics of language attitudes

Related to the above factor is the issue of language attitudes among Zimbabweans. Interviews with students, teachers, and parents indicated that there is a general negative attitude towards

indigenous languages in general and towards Ndau in particular. According to Magwa (2010), the attitudes of education stakeholders, such as students, parents, and teachers, towards the use of indigenous languages greatly affect the teaching and learning of these languages. Teachers, including those who speak Ndau as their first language, maintained that it was more beneficial to the students to learn in English and Shona instead of Ndau, as many of them considered Ndau of less value to them. A negative attitude towards Ndau-by-Ndau speakers inevitably means that Ndau will likely continue to play second fiddle to English and Shona despite being officially recognised in the Constitution.

Other teachers further maintained that Ndau is not of importance as their pupils proceed to high schools or tertiary institutes where Ndau is neither used as the language of instruction nor offered as a school subject; thus, it is considered fruitless to teach Ndau as it is not relevant to future academic studies. One of the teachers, a native speaker of Ndau, also mentioned her experience at a tertiary institute, where, during a presentation, other students laughed at her because of her Ndau-influenced accent when speaking English and Shona. Hence, the teacher maintained that it was better to teach English and Shona as they are more acceptable in society and other learning institutes beyond areas where Ndau people reside. Another respondent confirmed that Ndau speakers are mocked in public when they speak their language: "I was laughed at when I first came to UZ [University of Zimbabwe]. When I wanted to speak to others, everyone would laugh at me and mock me by saying Ndau speakers are witches and wizards, and some [of them] eat other human beings. I don't want my sister to learn it. Where will she use it?"

Another respondent corroborated the point that speakers of other languages use demeaning metaphors to characterise speakers of Ndau: "Those who see it [Ndau] as bad feel that they are witches, as seen from referring to the language as the language of Ndunge (the late renowned witch doctor). Such negative attitudes affect the children who should learn the language."

Attitudes such as these have a significant role to play in pupils' self-esteem and confidence in their mother tongue. In some contexts, languages like Ndau may be associated with certain socioeconomic and cultural stereotypes, which can impact individuals' identification with such languages. According to Popkins (2024: n. p.), "[i]t's common for majority groups to denigrate minority languages and–by implication–their speakers and communities–as primitive, backward, worthless, gobbledygook, of no use, dead…the list of insults goes on." As shown in the interview excerpt above, the respondent does not want her sister to learn the language, perhaps not only in school but also outside the school environment.

Interviews with parents also revealed that parents' views significantly impact the teaching and learning of Ndau. Some parents indicated that while their children could learn Ndau as an academic subject, English remained a priority for them. This attitude clearly results from the high prestige English enjoys in the wider society. English is often associated with opportunities for upward socioeconomic mobility, unlike Ndau, which is used in informal domains and restricted to areas where Ndau speakers reside.

The significant role of language attitudes in shaping the motivation to learn minoritised languages has been well discussed in the literature (Rosiak 2023). In fact, attitudes are so important that they can shape the implementation of language policies. Even if the government has provided all the necessary institutional support (such as instructional materials) and there

are well-trained teachers of Ndau, negative attitudes of speakers will continue to impede the successful teaching and learning of the language in schools (Nyaungwa 2013). Hence, perhaps more than anything else, there should be increased investment in creating awareness regarding the value of using indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

4.2.5 Lack of government support

The last factor affecting the learning and teaching of Ndau, as revealed by our respondents, is the lack of commitment from the government. While the government has been praised for enacting laws and policies that, in theory, encourage the promotion of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe, most of our respondents think that the government is only paying lip service to the situation as it has not backed any of the policies with actions. Some might argue that official recognition is the necessary first step towards the promotion of minoritised languages. However, mere recognition not backed up by implementable actions does not change anything.

Ten years after the 2013 National Constitution awarded previously marginalised languages official status, the government has yet to set aside any budgetary allocation towards the provision of instructional materials and the training of teachers in the minoritised languages. One of our respondents, a teacher, put it quite directly: "It is the government's role to provide a platform for the training of teachers and provision of materials." Another interviewee, a former university lecturer, decried the situation in the following way: "I used my own funds to publish Grades 1 and 3 Ndau textbooks. I did not receive any funding from the government. To make matters worse, publishers are so hesitant to publish Ndau material because there is no market for the books." Language activists believe that the government recognises minority languages only for political expediency (Dube 2013).

While it is hoped that the "government will have to honour language policies in place and the new Constitution that places an obligation on government to promote local languages" (Dube 2013: n. p.), Thomas Sithole, a language rights activist, encourages local groups to mount pressure on the government by lobbying for government intervention in promoting their languages (Dube 2013). While it is true that local communities play significant roles in sustaining their languages, the government should still perform its role by providing the necessary institutional support that enables minoritised languages to thrive in society, including in the classroom. In sum, it has been established that "institutional support is necessary, for example, for the production of teaching material, language planning, language courses, awareness raising, (in-service) teacher training, and information on educational methods in all levels of education, to mention but a few areas" (van Dongera et al. 2017: 26).

5. Conclusion

This study has shown that despite various government policies advocating for the inclusion and promotion of indigenous languages, Ndau remains marginalised in the educational landscape. Factors such as the absence of Ndau as a school subject, scarcity of instructional materials, shortage of trained teachers, non-inclusion in public examinations, negative language attitudes, and lack of government commitment collectively contribute to the current state of affairs.

The findings underscore the urgent need for concerted efforts to address these challenges and promote the teaching and learning of Ndau. It is imperative to develop comprehensive instructional materials tailored for Ndau to support effective teaching. Moreover, initiatives to train proficient Ndau-speaking teachers should be prioritised to ensure quality language

education delivery. Additionally, advocating for the inclusion of Ndau in public examinations can enhance its perceived value and motivate students to learn the language.

Addressing negative language attitudes towards Ndau is crucial for fostering pride and acceptance of indigenous languages among Zimbabweans. Public awareness campaigns highlighting the cultural and linguistic value of Ndau and its importance in national identity can help shift perceptions positively. Furthermore, governmental commitment is essential in providing necessary resources and implementing policies that support the promotion of Ndau and other indigenous languages in education. In sum, concerted efforts from various stakeholders, including government bodies, educators, parents, learners, community groups, and language activists, are indispensable in realising the full potential of Ndau in Zimbabwean classrooms.

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Grassroots language action and legislature for Sonsorolese[1]

Vasiliki Vita
675802@soas.ac.uk
ORCID: 0000-0002-7913-5869

Abstract
As more and more linguists are shifting towards recognising and documenting linguistic ecosystems, multilingual, and/or translanguaging practices (Di Carlo, Ojong Diba, & Good 2021), the question remains as to how these practices are navigated and represented at the policy level. The Young Historians of Sonsorol (YH) are a youth group focusing on the preservation of the Sonsorolese language and culture in the Republic of Palau. Sonsorolese is a language in the Republic of Palau, spoken in the Outer Islands of the Republic, Sonsorol, Fanna, Pulo Anna, and Merir, and only has official status within the State of Sonsorol. This paper aims to answer the following questions: How did speakers of the Sonsorolese assert their linguistic human rights at the policy level during the youth-led language documentation and maintenance initiative (Vita et al. 2023)? What was the role of the initiative? I answer these questions by discussing a) volunteer and general audience's reactions to the activities and Sonsorolese languages, b) the impact of youth initiatives on the State Legislature within the timeframe of October 2022 to January 2023 and of the 11th Regular Session of the Sonsorol State Legislature in January 2023; and c) its potential implications concerning language variation within the State of Sonsorol. The process involves YH engaging in meta-documentation (Austin 2013), and in particular sociolinguistic documentation (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014), as well as with policymakers and, finally, YH sharing results in various ways and environments following local norms and practices.

Keywords: Language documentation, language policy and planning, meta-documentation, Sonsorolese, Micronesia

1. Introducing[2]

> "*Emohô*[3] [good] ask some questions that you can keep for, I really like this cause you gonna like make a document for this and can keep for a long time", "and I don't know who's going to learn [to] cause everybody here and only one go down". "I want to make my own document; I will go to Sonsorol and then start". (sn_sb_dec_09_22)[4]

Laturi Matalô[5] of the *Dongosarô*[6] municipality was excited to speak about his duties as one of the chiefs of Sonsorol when we asked for an interview. Our wayfinding journey takes us to the

[1] A first draft of this paper was presented at BAAL SIG Language Policy and Planning Conference at SOAS, University of London in June 2023. I would like to thank Julia Sallabank, Candide Simard, Tom Jelpke, Dean Terry, Lazarus Okurut, the two anonymous reviewers, and the audience at my presentation for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts. All remaining mistakes are my own.
[2] The active verbs in the titles are used to emphasise agency (Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech 2021) in the processes of language policy and planning described in this paper.
[3] The spelling for the local names used in this paper is based on results from Vita & Pedro (2021) and after meetings and workshops with YH in October 2022 and March 2024.
[4] You can find some of the recordings cited here at our Endangered Languages Archive collection (Vita et al. 2023)
[5] The chief responsible for welcoming arrivals on the island.
[6] Local name for Sonsorol island.

Farauri State Government.[7] Here, we mainly interacted with the municipalities and *Fani Hahori Farau*,[8] where we learnt about the local political structure and its history and more about how decisions are made.

Table 1. The purposes, goals, and duties of The Young Historians of Sonsorol State | Wonoula Lei Hatinapa Ri Faruya

Purposes	**Goals/Duties**	
	Short-term	**Long-term**
To collect and preserve the history (culture, custom, heritage, etc.) of Sonsorol State (Dongosaro, Fanna, Puro, and Melieli) for every youth of every generation.	To document and to collect data (pictures, videos, documents, etc.) through research and interviews.	To publish Sonsorol history book for youth.
To help educate Sonsorol State Youth about our culture, our customs, and our heritage.	Present collected data to the youth through forums, seminars, and/or workshops.	To publish children's story book with illustrations.
To create programmes that will provide the teaching of our traditions, customs, and history.	To record the family tree for every hamlet, clans, and island. To conduct Youth Cultural Projects on our islands on Summer Trips or whenever possible	To build our own museum to store, preserve, and display our collections such as history books, story books, pictures, audio recordings, and artefacts, and many more that contribute to our history. To publish Sonsorol history book for youth.

When I use "we," I refer to the Young Historians of Sonsorol (YH, Table 1), a youth group in the Republic of Palau, as no work presented here was done on my own. Our journey is one that "cannot be viewed as belonging to any one person, and wayfinding is never done on one's own" (Iosefo, Harris & Holman Jones 2020: 21). Wayfinding is a form of critical autoethnography, "an embodied, practical, adaptive, and relationally driven practise, … [that] calls on researchers to immerse themselves in journeys of discovery and transformation that value [indigenous] cultural knowledges and acknowledge [their] blind spots" (Iosefo, Harris & Holman Jones 2020: 23). This critical autoethnographic framework entails self-refection for the westerner to navigate the Pacific, declining "the hegemony of 'official' and objective knowledge by telling stories that are located, engaged" (Iosefo, Harris & Holman Jones 2020: 21) and in alliance with others.

The discussion of the journeys here is from my perspective as a non-indigenous volunteer working with the group for the past six years (see also Vita & Pedro 2021). This means that the

[7] Sonsorol State Government.
[8] Sonsorol State Legislature.

evaluation of research findings here comes from my inherently western perspective. I started my journey under a western definition of volunteering, that is, "engaging in activities that benefit someone or something else such as a person, organisation, or cause" (Estes et al. 2023: 2) in order to "give back" (Woodbury 2011) to the speakers who helped me with my MA dissertation (Vita 2020). Currently, engaging with Pacific research protocols (Smith 2012), I learn and un-learn how to be an ally (Davis et al. 2022) in a more holistic community engagement and community-centred approach (Estes et al. 2023) as part of the *warî*,[9] following Sonsorolese values of respect and relationships.

The active verbs in the headings also represent our participation in various aspects of social life in Koror, Palau, where many speakers of Sonsorolese currently live (Walda-Mandel 2016), within the timeline of October 2022 to January 2023. This timeline coincides with a YH initiative funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) (Vita et al. 2023; Vita, Nestor & Marino 2023). Documentation of community engagement occurred through surveys (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014), semi-structured interviews (Skinner 2012), participant observation (Shah 2017), and visual ethnography (Pink 2013). Austin (2013) calls this process 'meta-documentation', particularly in relation to language documentation initiatives. Considering there are limited descriptions of practices that connect the results of grassroots language (meta-)documentation work and how they may influence language policy processes,[10] I follow Estes et al. (2023) and frame the action of meta-documenting as part of a more holistic approach where the documentary linguist is actively participating in community (or volunteering), leading to wider impact, from individual wellbeing to democratic participation. By focusing on the specific YH language documentation initiative and its impact on the speech community, the paper aims to answer the following questions:

- How did speakers of Sonsorolese assert their linguistic human rights at the policy level?
- What was the role of the youth-led language documentation and maintenance initiative in doing so?

[9] Vehicle.
[10] An exception might be Sallabank's research (Sallabank 2010; Sallabank 2012; Sallabank & King 2022).

2. Wayfinding...

2.1 *Beluu er a Belau*[11]

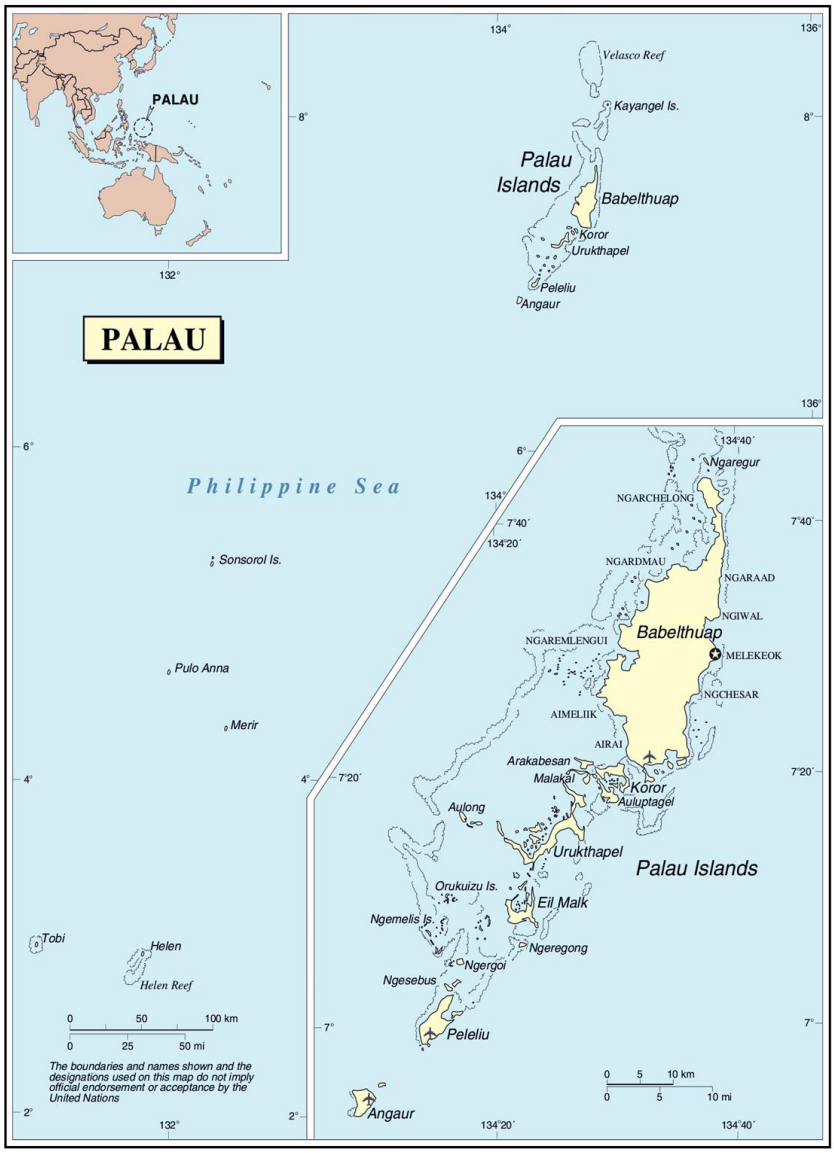


Figure 1. Map of Palau (Available at: http://www.vidiani.com/maps/maps_of_australia_and_oceania/maps_of_palau/large_detailed_political_map_of_palau_with_cities_and_airports.jpg)

The Republic of Palau is a small archipelago nation in Micronesia in the Philippines Sea (Figures 1 & 2). It became independent from the United States in 1994, and its population does not exceed 17000 (Matsumoto 2020). Nowadays, it comprises 16 states, 14 of which are considered ethnically similar. Only the two outer states of Hatohobei and Sonsorol, in the Southwest area of the Republic, are diverse. The State of Sonsorol comprises the islands of *Dongosarô* (or Sonsorol), *Fannâ* (Fanna), *Melielî* (or Merir) and *Ppurô* (or Pulo Anna). Each island has its own traditional council headed by a chief who is supported by advisors. The titles of the chiefs and their advisors vary depending on the island. Currently, there are around 20 people who live on Sonsorol, around 15 on Pulo Anna, 2 on Fanna, and none on Merir.

[11] Republic of Palau

Inhabitants move back and forth from the islands to Koror, one of the bigger islands of Palau, to acquire resources, such as food and gas, and to see family members. Trips to and from the islands occur every three months.[12]

The national language is Palauan (ISO 639-2 pau), but both English and Palauan have official status. That is, official texts and administrative issues are conducted in English, while Palauan is used in everyday, informal, and local contexts, exemplifying arguably a case of diglossia (Britain & Matsumoto 2015). The Republic has had a diverse history of language policies with diglossic situations starting with Palauan-Japanese (Matsumoto 2020) transitioning to Palauan-English when the country became a Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which the United States administered on behalf of the United Nations from 1947 to 1978. The Republic still relies heavily on US funding, with its economy focusing on the tourism industry, with visitors coming primarily from Japan and China.

Matsumoto (2020) states that in the last twenty years, there have been changes in both national and family language policies in Palau. In the past, only elite Palauan families primarily used English. However, nowadays, more and more Palauans are increasingly using English to raise their children, particularly in urban Koror. This has led to increasing worries about the status of Palauan, leading to the creation of the Palauan Language Commission in 2009 to preserve, standardise, and encourage the use of the local language. Matsumoto (2020) suggests that corpus planning might not be enough to preserve Palauan. On the contrary, local policymakers should focus on status and prestige planning by politicians and celebrities.[13]

2.2 Sonsorolese languages

Sonsorolese is a nuclear Micronesian language belonging to the Chuukic dialectal continuum of western Micronesia, different from Palauan (van den Berg 2014; Tibbetts 2019). According to Eberhard, Simons & Fennig (2021), there are less than 400 speakers of Sonsorolese.[14] In the past, the islands were densely populated, but for economic and environmental reasons (e.g., typhoons), their inhabitants migrated to the bigger islands of Palau and specifically the Echang hamlet in Koror. This has led to the emergence of a vibrant community in Koror where islanders mix Sonsorolese, Tobian, English, and Palauan. Tibbetts (2019: 7), when discussing Tobian people and their connection to their island, mentions that they were accepted by Palauans, even if that was in the form of a minority community, engaging in a "dually fluid society" between Palau and their home island of Hatohobei. Walda-Mandel (2016) also speaks of the Sonsorolese as having “their home island on them at all times: an internalised home away from home,” ‘carrying’ values, history, and identity, with language being an important aspect of Sonsorolese identity both in migration and on their islands.

[12] See Walda-Mandel (2016) for a more detailed description.
[13] See also Okayama (2015) for an analysis of language policy and planning for Palauan.
[14] There is no census data regarding this, or the exact numbers of speakers per regions around the world. Furthermore, there is currently no study regarding competency levels.

Figure 2. Map of Palau with a focus on Sonsorol (Available at: https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/palau)

Sonsorolese youth have expressed the desire to document and transmit traditional knowledge and heritage, leading to the creation of YH. Despite the official status of Sonsorolese in the state of Sonsorol, its official use remains arguably symbolic, as it is mainly used for announcements and invitations only. Official documents are written in English (Taborosi et al. n.d.). Speakers still use the language in the community, but there are concerns about language shift.[15] YH, being a group aiming at documenting and teaching Sonsorolese history, culture, and tradition, are not a language-only focused group. Daphne Nestor (Vita & Nestor 2023), the vice-chairwoman of the group, notes that:

> "We're trying to capture the language through our research and documentation of the Sonsorolese culture, custom, and heritage. To learn the culture is how we plan to preserve the language of Sonsorolese".

3. Documenting...

3.1 endangered languages

Languages are ideological constructions, historically tied to the nation-state of the nineteenth century, associated with particular national, territorial, and social groups (Romaine 2006). Multilingualism nowadays no longer views languages as separate bounded entities (Ndhlovu & Makalela 2021), but rather as resources employed by social actors to achieve communicative

[15] I discuss narratives of endangerment in my upcoming PhD thesis.

goals (Blackledge & Creese 2017; Heller 2007). Multilingual language policies change language environments, creating ideological and implementation spaces for a diversity of languages (Hornberger 2002). In the context of endangered languages, multilingual policies can encourage people to re-imagine (Achebe 2019) their languages with confidence, pride, and self-esteem (Soria 2015).

The field of language documentation has long included individual researchers who reached out to communities in order to elicit language data for linguistic descriptions.[16] However, nowadays more and more communities wish to not only be included in language documentation projects symbolically, but also to reinforce ownership of their own linguistic heritage, with aims that are quite different to those of linguists. Usually, community aims focus on the creation of pedagogical and maintenance materials (Grenoble, Rice & Richards 2008). For this reason, more and more language documentation projects are collaborative, and a call for more applied linguists to be involved has been extended (Dobrin & Schwartz 2016; Leonard & Haynes 2010; Fitzgerald 2020; Leonard 2012).

Theorisations of what makes a language "worthy" of documentation, how languages are described and discussed, and its products constitute other forms of colonisation (Leonard 2018). The current shifts in the field aim to change different aspects of the practise, one of them being representations of the language(s), the people who claim it/them, and their political sovereignty. Arguably, one way of practically doing so for western researchers is by appreciating and respectfully engaging not only with the language(s) and speakers, but the culture itself by recognising and acknowledging one's epistemological orientation (Iosefo, Harris & Holman Jones 2020). Another way could be by engaging in meta-documentation (Austin 2013) and sociolinguistic documentation (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014), documenting relationships, attitudes, and ideologies towards the languages and the documentation process itself.

3.2 following the YH way

Working with YH and considering the importance of relationships, respect, and adaptability, we tried to involve everyone in our language documentation activities, and this was YH's desire from the beginning. We created teams of volunteers, me included, with local team leaders and invited three advisors who throughout the process provided guidance, support, and promotion of our activities. The advisors are active members of the community: a *Fani Hahori Farau* legislator and education specialist, a local businesswoman, and a nurse whose mother is the eldest woman in the community. We also worked with volunteers who live in *Dongosarô,* and communications happened via the *Farauri State Government* radio.

[16] See Crippen & Robinson (2013) for a defense of the "lone wolf" model in language documentation.

Figure 3. Jayten Andrew, Jerry Ngiraremiang, Chelsea Pedro & Isaac Theodore talking about *hosô* and evaluating their praxis (sn_hs_nov_21_22).

Participants in our activities included *Farauri State Government* officers and workers (Figure 4), Sonsorolese elders, Sonsorolese youth aged 11– 45 (Figure 3), traditional island chiefs, *Fani Hahori Farau*, local parishioners, businesspeople, and islanders on *Dongosarô*, such as teachers, nurses, fishermen, road and ground workers, as well as, people in Echang who do not identify as Sonsorolese, but self-report that speak or understand the languages to an extent. Participation occurred at different degrees and modalities, with some having contributed words for the dictionary database, others their knowledge of traditional practices (Figure 4), and others sharing their opinions about their languages and their future both in person and online.

Around 200 speakers of Sonsorolese currently live in Koror. Approximately 100 of them shared their opinions and ideas about their languages with us in the form of a survey and semi-structured ethnographic interviews. An adaptation of the Third National Indigenous Languages Survey found on the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) website was used.[17] Snowball sampling, interviewing as many speakers as possible during the timeline of my fieldwork, was implemented. Speakers' opinions are presented with direct quotes.[18] Thematic analysis of the data so far has shown that participants in our activities and the village in Koror agree that using Sonsorolese languages is closely related to the

[17] I discuss limitations of the tool used for data collection in my upcoming PhD thesis with similar findings discussed in Di Carlo (2023). The data is currently not anonymised and cannot be shared as the analysis is still in progress.

[18] Quotes, especially those coming from written responses to the survey, have not been edited.

preservation of Sonsorolese cultures, their sense of pride as a unique people, and their sense of belonging in their surroundings.[19]

Figure 4. Lucy Pedro working on the WeSay dictionary database at the *Farauri State Government* office (sn_dc_jun_28_23).

4. Impacting...

4.1 individuals in terms of...

The idea that languages and cultures exist outside holistic interwoven networks as separate, bounded entities is a result and effort of the colonial system, and counterintuitive for many speakers (Pennycook 2023). In the Pacific, this manifests in a narrow functionalist view where tradition, cultural renaissance, agency, tribal wisdom, and grassroots solutions are taglines for developmentalists and educationists (Quanchi 2004). "Programmes" usually do not include remote villages and outer islands. Indigenous epistemologies, and by extension languages and cultures, are situated in their own context – a collection of entities that pass the knowledge from one generation to the next, with practices for this constantly changing. Ideas and definitions about culture, custom/kastom (Akin 2004), identity, and tradition are dichotomised instead of being accepted as fluid.

4.1.1 culture

Trans-indigeneity recognises the cultural connections of indigenous peoples to specific places, while highlighting the importance of relationships, not only of islanders who speak the same language, but also across Oceania. Pacific languages enable exploration, celebration, and

[19] Terms such as culture, pride and belonginess used for the impact at this level are not defined. Apart from culture, which was used in the prompt of the Likert scale, the other two terms were identified during thematic analysis of responses.

deepening of relationships through which cultural identity is constructed, strengthening connections (Kennedy 2019), and ensuring wellbeing by increasing self-confidence and a sense of belonging (Matika et al. 2021). In Palau as well, Soaladaob (2010) notes that Palauan knowledge—language, culture, and custom, is connected to practice and participation, with identities being connected to it and, by extension active, engaged, and involved. For our participants, as well, Sonsorolese cultures cannot survive without Sonsorolese languages (Figure 5).

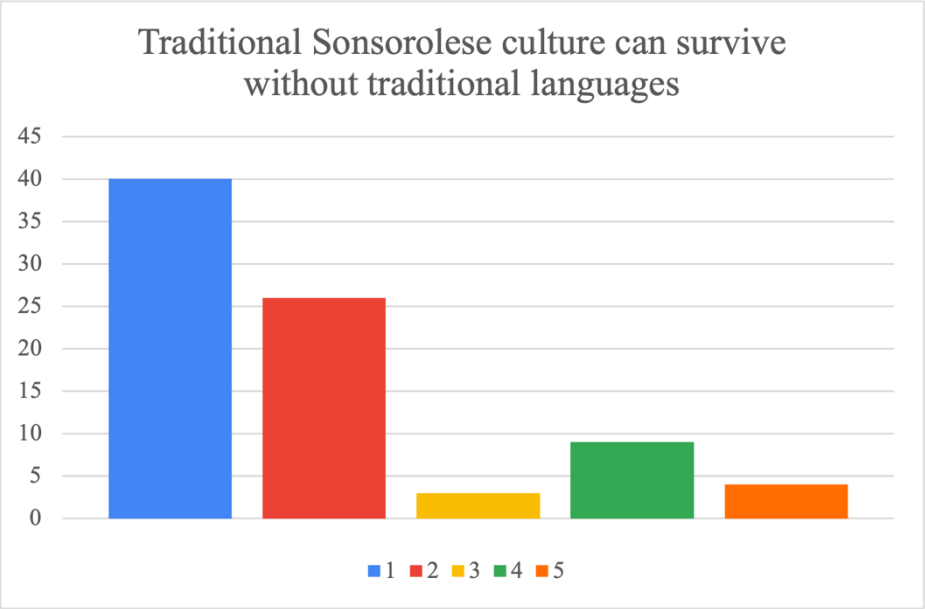


Figure 5. Traditional Sonsorolese culture can survive without traditional languages.[20]

Sonsorolese languages and cultures seem interconnected "because you have to know the language so you can understand the culture and everything." Culture seems to be strongly connected to respect and in

> "the way we speak there is custom and culture. The way you were raised we choose that we are a different people by speaking a language. There is respect in the language how we use it the way we address talking to other people and how we behave in community, so I think the language really expresses the culture".

Walda-Mandel (2016: 106) also notes that for speakers of Sonsorolese, respect manifests "in the bowed down posture when a younger one passes an older Sonsorolese, as well as when in discourses or debates the younger ones do not talk back to the older ones and instead usually are quiet".[21] For ethnic Palauans, respect, sharing, cooperation, and participation in social life are central parts of what it means to be Palauan (Soaladaob 2010). For speakers of Sonsorolese, "our language tells us who we are and where we came from".

4.1.2 pride

> "The use of my traditional language us my identity and I am proud and happy to acknowledge my character as an individual from a small island and I take pride in it :P".

[20] In all Figures 1 signifies Strongly Disagree and 5 Strongly Agree.
[21] Henne-Ochoa (2018) discusses how it is important to consider aspects of communication like the one presented here when engaging in language revitalisation and maintenance.

Respect, relationships, and participation are all elements of the Sonsorolese cultural identity (Walda-Mandel 2016) manifest through language and impact speakers' wellbeing (Figure 6). When asked how speakers of Sonsorolese feel when they speak their language, self-confidence and pride come up repeatedly: "deep down, I would feel great because I am confident and proud where I came from." Not only that, but "I feel proud I have a language I can speak that is other than English." Multilingualism is recognised and seen as a positive attribute emphasising the importance of trans-indigeneity in relationships not only of islanders who speak the same language but also across Oceania and globally (Kennedy 2019), with a speaker noting, "It's more like a pride and proud to speak many languages." In short, "knowing your heritage, culture, and traditions affects your wellbeing, [and] gives you a sense of belonging and pride."

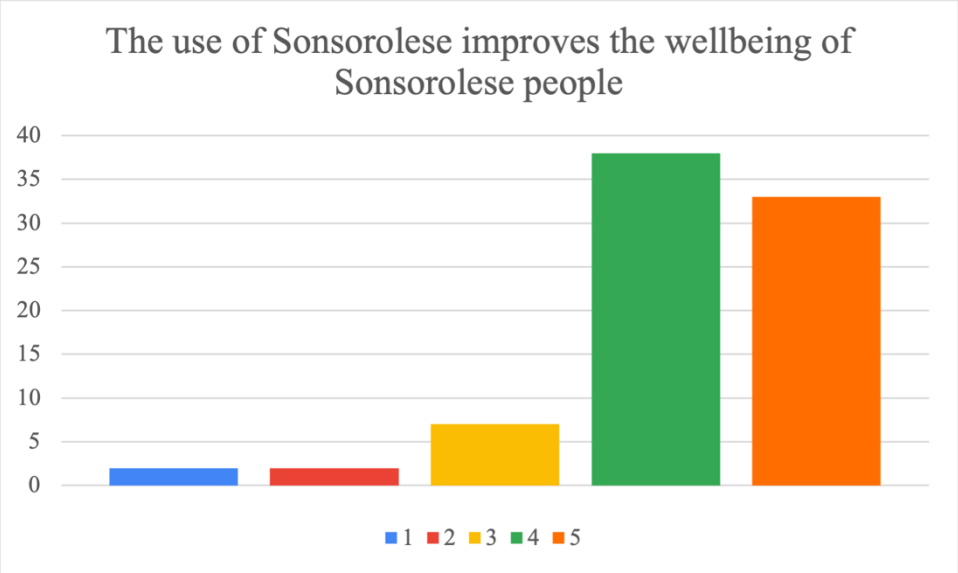


Figure 6. The use of Sonsorolese improves the wellbeing of Sonsorolese people.

4.1.3 belongingness

> "Language and culture is the identity of people that makes them unique. That uniqueness and sense of belonging and respect is important for the security of individuals. Such feeling can mean emotional, mental and spiritual health for individuals in the group. The weight of meaning behind one's language is much different than hearing the same meaning in other languages. Therefore, the expression of thoughts and feelings is better expressed and communicated through one's own language".

Language, culture, wellbeing, belongingness, pride, and their connection to the land of the Sonsorolese are other examples of interwoven networks of inseparable, boundless entities that traverse locations and time (Walda-Mandel 2016), evidence of perseverance and resilience (Thomas, Mitchell & Arseneau 2016).

Relationships are important, not only with individuals, but also with the land. "[Speaking Sonsorolese] gives me a strong sense of belonging, as in a close relationship in a family. Our traditional language certainly identifies us as a unique community of people." Language and multilingualism, as mentioned in 4.1.2., are seen as important for establishing and maintaining meaningful connections with a variety of people. Speakers highlight the connection between language and land with "I feel like I'm truly from there, like you belong there," with evidence

supporting the benefits of speaking and learning the language by reconnecting with the natural environment where it grew from (Hermes et al., 2021; Schick, 2022; Willie, 2021).

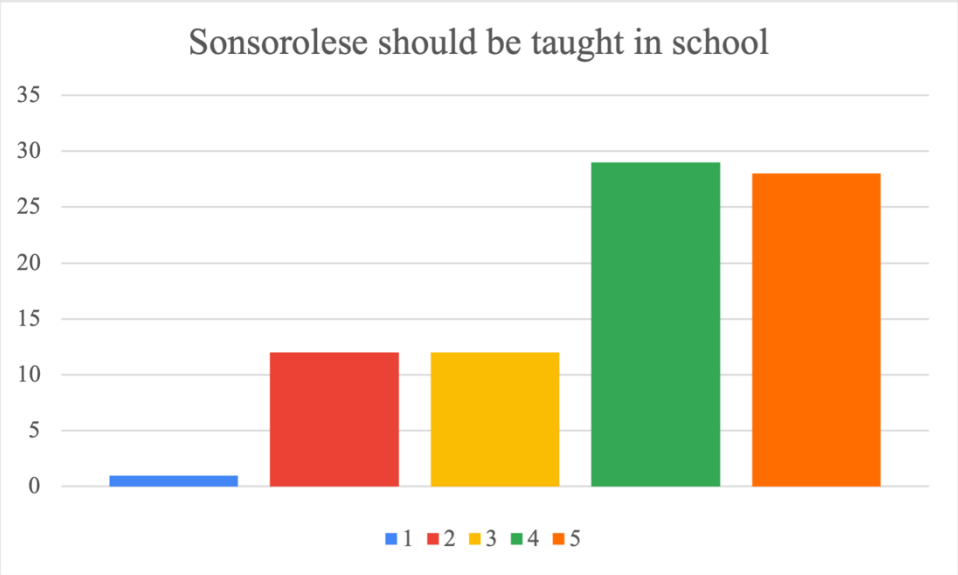


Figure 7. Sonsorolese should be taught in school.

At the same time, views on this are conflicted. Although many speakers agree that Sonsorolese should be taught in school (Figure 7), the location and who should learn them are controversial.[22]

> "I don't know if it really has to be. I don't know. I like it to be taught in a school setting, but I don't know if we should really like make it in school. I don't know... I want it to be taught but cause I'm thinking like... because if it's in school it's gonna require other non-speaking... you know like... without like... not necessarily a descent of these islands to learn it. And maybe that's OK or maybe it's not OK for parents or other people. But I think for me my focus is for the people of these islands that it it stays with us. Because I think when it... my fear is... that it goes and then it becomes something else. I don't know".

Although many speakers of Sonsorolese are proud of speaking multiple languages and being able to connect with many people (Walda-Mandel 2016), there is hesitation for other people to learn Sonsorolese through schooling against their will. Thus, it is acceptable to teach the languages.

> "In our schools in Sonsorol, then yeah, but in, you know, in Koror and other school I don't think there's a need to for other people to learn the language cause you know Sonsorolese is not Palau's national language".

These ideologies perhaps are a result of the influence of different power interrelations, whether that is, colonial powers with the enforcement of schooling in general, and Japanese and later English learning in particular, enforced on Palauans and Sonsorolese through the various language policies, to more recently the enforcement of Palauan in the school system (Okayama 2015). Currently, it might be difficult to influence national policy in Palau, but what about

[22] I do not unpack tensions regarding opposing views about teaching Sonsorolese in schools in this paper. My upcoming PhD thesis deals with this in detail.

locally? Would it be possible to translate these feelings and ideologies documented from our activities with YH into concrete actions asserting Sonsorolese language rights?

4.2 the state and...

To communicate our findings, both from the sociolinguistic documentation, and meta-documentation we organised events where we showcased our work (sn_fys_feb_11_23 and sn_cd_mar_18_23), discussed them with family and friends at night after work,[23] in meetings with our advisors, and attended sessions of *Fani Hahori Farau* concerning language, culture, education, and island development (sn_leg_jan_03_22 and sn_leg_jan_09_22). *Fani Hahori Farau* is responsible for monitoring and supporting all aspects of the political structure of the *Farauri State Government*, with the local municipalities falling under the *Farauri State Government,* which works with the National Government. Regarding language, Article XIII, Section 1 (1983) notes that

> "English and Sonsorolese (the dialect spoken on each island in Sonsorol State) are the official languages of the State. The English and Sonsorolese versions of this Constitution shall be equally authoritative; in case of conflict, the English version shall prevail".

4.2.1 *Fani Hahori Farau*

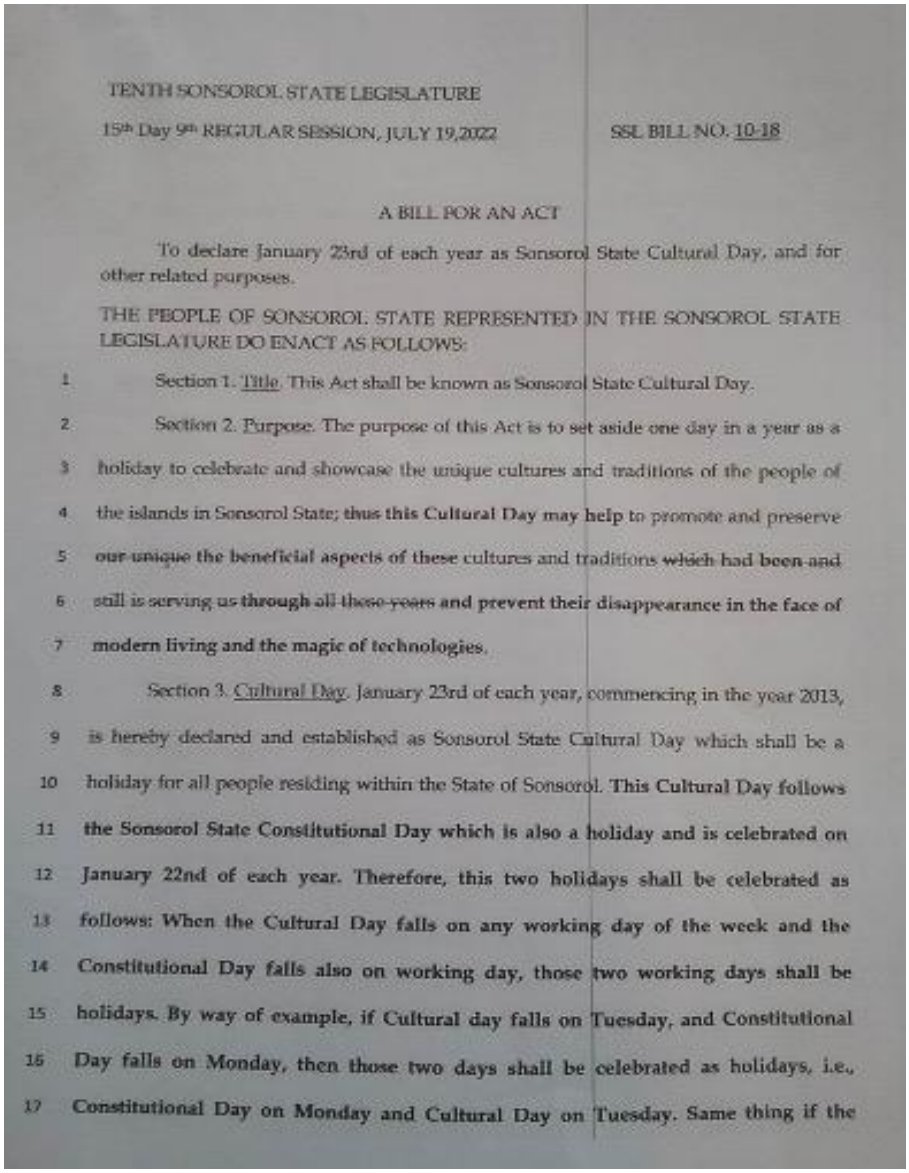
In the *Farauri State Government,* there is no pressure to adopt one variety over the other, as everybody recognises that they are all changing. On the contrary, there is pressure for solidarity when Southwest Islands-related topics are discussed,[24] and being clear about the languages of the *Farauri State Government* having the name Sonsorolese over Echangese. That is, the languages are related to the physical spaces of the islands of the *Farauri State Government*, much as they are for other Palauans as well (Soaladaob 2010). These ideas might be representative of Western dichotomies of "us versus them," or as expressed by many participants, "we have our language, they have their own".[25] Despite that, speakers of Sonsorolese learn Palauan at school (Matsumoto 2020), and through intermarriage, increasing numbers of Palauans are learning Sonsorolese (Walda-Mandel 2016).

In July 2022, *Fani Hahori Farau* proposed SS-Bill-No.-10-18. SS-Bill-No.-10-18 focuses on celebrating and showcasing the cultures of the islands of the *Farauri State Government*, perhaps constituting efforts for maintenance and preservation with symbolic value rather than revitalisation with use in mind (Figure 8). However, there seems to be a desire for the promotion and preservation of what is described as the 'beneficial aspects. Arguably, this relates to the topics documented and events organised by YH, considering that when SS-Bill-No.-10-18 was to be signed, YH was invited to assist with the organisation of the first Sonsorol State Cultural Day in 2024 (Figure 10).

The final version of SS-Bill-No.-10-18 (Figure 9) was proposed in January 2023. In this version, after the amendments, there seem to be specific activities and celebrations, including songs, teachings of cultural taboos, dances, and fishing competitions. Language is not specifically mentioned; however, it is a central element in all of them (see Nestor's comment in 2.2.). Teaching, learning, performing, and celebrating happen in the context where the

[23] Walda-Mandel (2016) also discusses this practise.
[24] See Walda-Mandel (2016) for a discussion on the interaction of different peoples in Echang.
[25] See Chikasha & Beukes (2021) for similar findings in Zimbabwe with the division being one of the motivations for reclamation.

languages developed (Hermes et al., 2021). This is an example of grassroots language initiatives directly influencing language policies, with the speech community taking ownership of which aspects are to be revitalised, maintained, and celebrated.



TENTH SONSOROL STATE LEGISLATURE

15th Day 9th REGULAR SESSION, JULY 19,2022 SSL BILL NO. 10-18

A BILL FOR AN ACT

To declare January 23rd of each year as Sonsorol State Cultural Day, and for other related purposes.

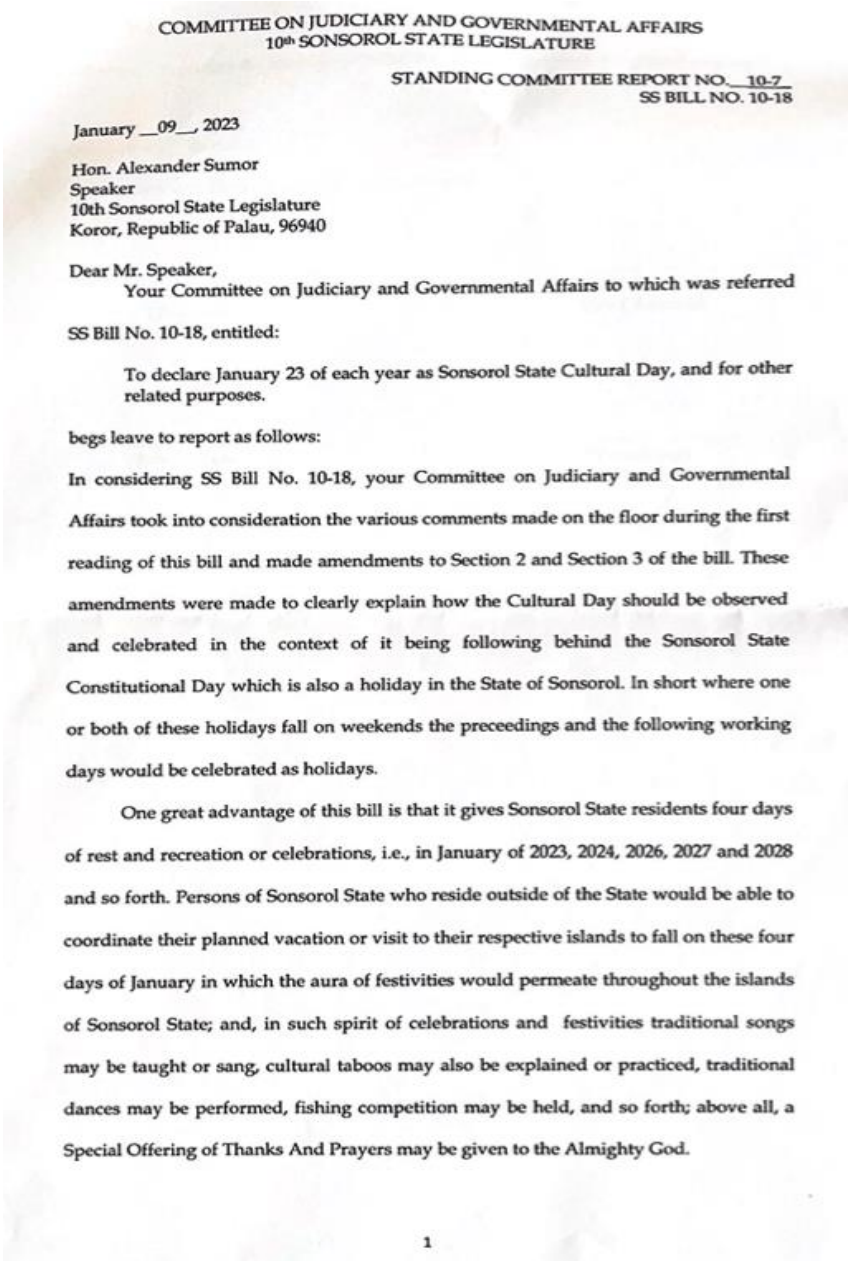
THE PEOPLE OF SONSOROL STATE REPRESENTED IN THE SONSOROL STATE LEGISLATURE DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

Section 1. Title. This Act shall be known as Sonsorol State Cultural Day.

Section 2. Purpose. The purpose of this Act is to set aside one day in a year as a holiday to celebrate and showcase the unique cultures and traditions of the people of the islands in Sonsorol State; thus this Cultural Day may help to promote and preserve our unique the beneficial aspects of these cultures and traditions which had been and still is serving us through all these years and prevent their disappearance in the face of modern living and the magic of technologies.

Section 3. Cultural Day. January 23rd of each year, commencing in the year 2013, is hereby declared and established as Sonsorol State Cultural Day which shall be a holiday for all people residing within the State of Sonsorol. This Cultural Day follows the Sonsorol State Constitutional Day which is also a holiday and is celebrated on January 22nd of each year. Therefore, this two holidays shall be celebrated as follows: When the Cultural Day falls on any working day of the week and the Constitutional Day falls also on working day, those two working days shall be holidays. By way of example, if Cultural day falls on Tuesday, and Constitutional Day falls on Monday, then those two days shall be celebrated as holidays, i.e., Constitutional Day on Monday and Cultural Day on Tuesday. Same thing if the

Figure 8. SS-Bill-No.-10-18.



COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
10th SONSOROL STATE LEGISLATURE

STANDING COMMITTEE REPORT NO. 10-7
SS BILL NO. 10-18

January 09, 2023

Hon. Alexander Sumor
Speaker
10th Sonsorol State Legislature
Koror, Republic of Palau, 96940

Dear Mr. Speaker,
Your Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Affairs to which was referred SS Bill No. 10-18, entitled:

To declare January 23 of each year as Sonsorol State Cultural Day, and for other related purposes.

begs leave to report as follows:

In considering SS Bill No. 10-18, your Committee on Judiciary and Governmental Affairs took into consideration the various comments made on the floor during the first reading of this bill and made amendments to Section 2 and Section 3 of the bill. These amendments were made to clearly explain how the Cultural Day should be observed and celebrated in the context of it being following behind the Sonsorol State Constitutional Day which is also a holiday in the State of Sonsorol. In short where one or both of these holidays fall on weekends the preceedings and the following working days would be celebrated as holidays.

One great advantage of this bill is that it gives Sonsorol State residents four days of rest and recreation or celebrations, i.e., in January of 2023, 2024, 2026, 2027 and 2028 and so forth. Persons of Sonsorol State who reside outside of the State would be able to coordinate their planned vacation or visit to their respective islands to fall on these four days of January in which the aura of festivities would permeate throughout the islands of Sonsorol State; and, in such spirit of celebrations and festivities traditional songs may be taught or sang, cultural taboos may also be explained or practiced, traditional dances may be performed, fishing competition may be held, and so forth; above all, a Special Offering of Thanks And Prayers may be given to the Almighty God.

1

Figure 9. Final SS-Bill-No.-10-18.

4.2.2 re-representations of language

Various studies from psychology and life sciences (Zavaleta-Cortijo et al. 2023; Watson et al. 2022; Thomas, Mitchell & Arseneau 2016) underline the connection between language, culture, and resilience. Results from the COVID-19 pandemic show that indigenous holistic approaches and practices that consider humans and their sociocultural environment by understanding and honouring relations, original languages, and ceremonies are more effective at facing health crises, the climate crisis, and achieving sustainable development. Leonard (2018) underlines that it is a common way for speech community members to define 'language' in reference to culture. By involving as many individuals in our activities within the language ecology (Mühlhäusler 2000), speakers and non-speakers, they, and by extension we, shared the language practices and attitudes with the audiences most concerned (4.2.). By showcasing the younger generation's desire to preserve language, culture, pride, and their sense of belongingness by documenting them and working with a policymaker as an advisor, led to the

voting of a policy that promotes and celebrates the Sonsorolese islands' cultures and Sonsorolese peoples' sovereignty over representations of their languages.

Figure 10. Team Habwang Leader, Legislature Speaker, Team Bwirihî Leader, Sonsorol State Governor, and Legislator (from left to right) signing SS-Bill-No.-10-18 on the 40th *Farauri State* Constitution Day.

Instead of limiting representations of a language, particularly when its representations are a 30-hour audio and video documentation project, we tried to avoid them becoming representations of the people who claim it, and by extension also of their political sovereignty (Leonard 2018). For example, although the initial funding proposal focused on the variety spoken on Sonsorol Island, while documenting speakers of other varieties, they requested to participate, eventually switching the title of our project to Sonsorolese rather than just *Ramari Dongosarô*.[26] Daphne Nestor shared that we should not talk about Sonsorolese as Echangese, which is the name of the hamlet many speakers reside in Koror, because this further promotes the ideology that Sonsorolese is a lesser dialect of Palauan that Palauans do not understand, rather than a completely different language (Vita & Nestor 2023).

Political sovereignty in the case of SS-Bill-No.-10-18 seems to be exercised by facing misrepresentation of Sonsorolese languages and cultures that are either seen as one, that is, the variety spoken on Sonsorol island, or as a dialect of Palauan spoken in the Echang hamlet in Koror. These misrepresentations are arguably the result of internal dichotomies that arise because of Western structures (Romaine 2006), in this case, bringing the four islands together under the political umbrella of *Farauri State*. By celebrating the cultures and traditions of the Sonsorol islands, SS-Bill-No.-10-18 celebrates the diversity, the same diversity that is also

[26] See Oda (2007) about differences between the *Ramari Dongosarô* and *Ramari Ppur*. You can also find annotations from both varieties on Vita et al. (2023). Elizabeth Ureriwao Yangowemau uses *Ramari Ppur*.

represented in YH's initiatives,[27] rather than a homogeneous Sonsorolese identity[28] that is assumed because of the hybrid[29] political structure of *Farauri State Government*. It is also worth mentioning that SS-Bill-No.-10-18 represents not only the multilingual ideologies of Sonsorolese speakers, but also does not deal with education policy specifically, being considerate of speakers' conflicting ideologies about schooling once again. At the same time, SS-Bill-No.-10-18 is a representation of the Sonsorolese interwoven network where languages are not seen as bounded, separate entities (Pennycook 2023), but rather as parts of a network of culture, practices, performances, education, relationships, and nature.[30]

5. Discussing holistic language documentation

In our journeys, we travelled in various settings: islands in the Pacific, offices, fields, gymnasiums, houses, the Internet, and many people speaking many languages joined us (Figure 11). Recent developments in documentary linguistics aim to recognise these networks and work within them in various ways. Relationships can be documented through sociolinguistic documentation of the linguistic ecology (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014; Mühlhäusler 2000). This is oftentimes not central in language documentation projects, and the means used are inadequate. However, by learning about relationships,[31] practitioners[32] can identify the various goals speakers might have for their languages individually and how they are connected to each other, in an effort to conduct language documentation ethically (Dobrin & Schwartz 2016). Although it is not recommended for linguists to engage with local political institutions as it is seen as social work rather than linguistic work (Cameron et al. 1993), in the Sonsorolese case, it would have been difficult to create an accurate language documentation record without actively participating in community life as a YH volunteer, or involving individuals who occupy political roles. Despite the criticisms of collaborative work, especially in terms of evaluation (Crippen & Robinson 2013), it is more and more accepted that collaborative language documentation initiatives are impactful, especially for language maintenance (Fitzgerald 2020).

[27] Results from Vita & Pedro (2021) highlight that many speakers of Sonsorolese disagree with a standardisation of all varieties and would prefer recognition of the various languages of the islands.

[28] Walda-Mandel (2016) discusses the multiplicity, fluidity, and adaptability of Sonsorolese identities in Palau and the world.

[29] Here by hybrid, I mean a combination of western and indigenous structure (see Quanchi (2004) for a discussion on this).

[30] Discussing how policy may shape on-island use at this point is arguably irrelevant considering that the focus of this paper is on the impact the documentation initiative has had on policy and not of the policy on language use. This bill is recent and has not yet been implemented in any way to discuss enduring impact. Regardless, it would be interesting to follow its impact on language use considering that for some scholars working in Micronesia (Okayama 2015; Kupferman 2013; Soaladaob 2010), language policies implemented through schooling have been tools in further colonising the region in recent times, especially after the 60s.

[31] By relationships, I refer not only to relationships between individuals, but also "relationship" to the land, in the Sonsorolese case, the island that speakers identify with (see Good (2018) for a brief discussion of this).

[32] I use the word practitioners here to describe anyone that might get involved in language documentation activities.

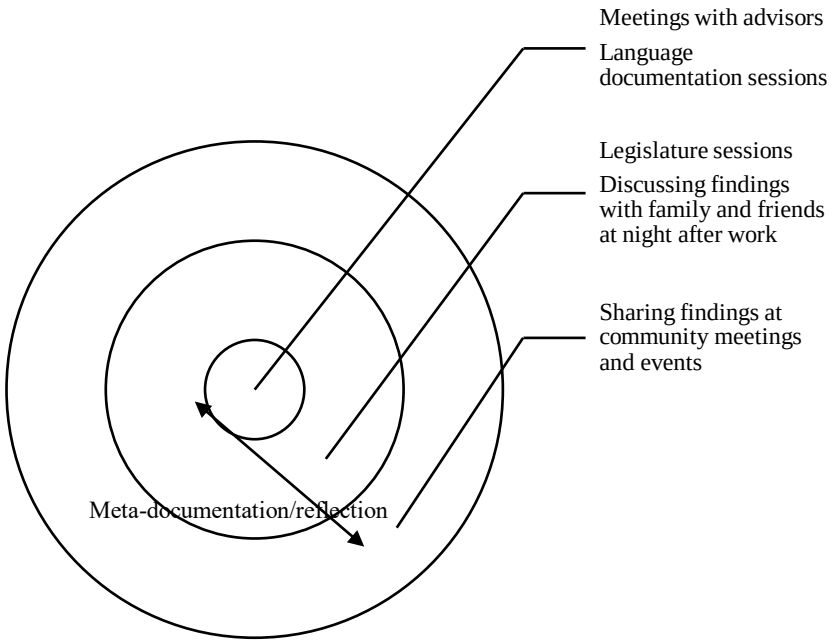


Figure 11. Representation of YH interactions

By conducting meta-documentation (Austin 2013), we managed to engage with participants holistically (Estes et al. 2023); a) navigating conflicting desires and ideologies about Sonsorolese; b) involving as many speakers as possible (Leonard & Haynes 2010), as well as c) non-speakers (Davis et al. 2022); d) both in the context where the languages developed (Hermes et al. 2021), but also e) in the various environments that speakers find themselves. By engaging holistically through documentation of relationships, language practices, attitudes, and ideologies and sharing those with speakers, we a) shed light on speakers' desires for their languages and how these could potentially translate to action (Oduor 2023; Charity 2008) and democratic participation (4.2.), and b) impact speakers' self-confidence and wellbeing (4.1.).

6. Concluding

In conclusion, using Wayfinding (Iosefo, Jones & Harris 2020), I present the impact of our initiative documenting and preserving Sonsorolese cultures and languages with the Young Historians of Sonsorol (YH) at the policy level and show how speakers of Sonsorolese asserted their linguistic human rights at the policy level, and the role of the youth-led language documentation and maintenance initiative in doing so. I started by introducing *Beluu er a Belau* and the languages of *Farauri State* (2.). Then, I shared our workflow with YH and how it relates to recent developments in documentary linguistics (3.). Local impact includes feelings of pride and belongingness when speaking Sonsorolese languages and a connection between languages and cultures (4.1.). After sharing these opinions with policymakers, SS-Bill-No.-10-18 was passed, re-representing the Sonsorolese languages, leading to an impact in terms of democratic participation (4.2.). I finally discussed how we holistically engaged (Estes et al. 2023) in language documentation by consciously including regular meta-documentation (Austin 2013) in our workflow (5).

Once again, in relation to the questions I set to answer, to assert Sonsorolese linguistic rights, first, speakers, and particularly YH, engaged in meta-documentation, surveying and identifying speech community attitudes and desires while documenting Sonsorolese languages. Everyone was involved in making recordings, and I interviewed speakers about their attitudes and desires,

dividing the work among YH team members. Second, we engaged with a variety of stakeholders, including policymakers as advisors, language consultants, and supporters (3.2.). To navigate these relationships, we followed local values of respect and relationships. This meant sharing our findings in community meetings and events, at night after work when chatting with family and friends, and attending legislature sessions concerning language, culture, education, and island development (4.2.). This engagement that was initiated because of the language documentation project led to access to more speakers that hold specific types of knowledge (e.g., sn_ey_dec_13_22, sn_sb_dec_09_22, sn_hs_nov_21_22), working directly with potential users of the materials produced (i.e., teachers, sn_dc_jun_28_23), and re-representations of language (4.2.2.). This engagement also led to potential plans for further using the materials produced, that is, as part of Cultural Day activities (4.2.1. and sn_leg_jan_03_22).

Going back to 4.1.3., currently it might be difficult to engage with national policy in Palau, primarily because of the ambivalent desires of speakers of Sonsorolese about their languages, but that is not impossible. Palauans' ideologies and attitudes towards Southwest Islanders' languages are changing (Walda-Mandel 2016), while our work has reached national agencies that are interested in supporting it further (sn_bchp_jan_08_24 and sn_plc_jan_08_24). Thus, at least in our case, engaging in meta-documentation led to a) the identification of more meaningful ways of engaging in language documentation initiatives that can have a wider impact, from individual well-being (4.1.2., 4.1.3.) to democratic participation (4.2.1.), and b) new theories of language (4.1.1., 4.2.2.) (Good 2018). It is understandable that engaging in meta-documentation adds to the work of the documentary linguist, and it could be argued that it is only possible when speaker numbers are small, but is this not another argument for collaboration?

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Examining the power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement discourse using the lexicogrammar “被” (bei)

Pei-Yu Liao
630029@soas.ac.uk
ORCID: 0009-0006-1418-6434

Abstract
This study examines the power relations shown by the lexicogrammar “被” (bei) through the analysis of the corpus of the Sunflower Movement discourse. Preliminary findings show that the Chinese character “被” (bei) is frequently used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement. Among the top 100 clusters of “被” (bei), the highest percentage are verbs, which account for more than 50% of the total number of the top 100 clusters. This study further highlights the doer, the recipient and the collocated verbs in the sentences using “被” (bei), examining the relationships between text, discourse and the Sunflower Movement. Analysing the bi-directional power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement from a discourse analysis standpoint, the study explores how the discourse reflects the ideology of the general public and the power structures in Taiwanese society.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, corpus linguistics, sociolinguistics, power dynamics, Sunflower Movement

1. Introduction

On the 17th of March 2014, the Kuomintang[1] (KMT) legislator Zhang Qing-Zhong (張慶忠) hastily announced the passage of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA), causing an outcry from the public. The CSSTA was a trade agreement between Taiwan and China. The public suspected that the government was working in a black box operation, which was why Zhang Qing-Zhong (張慶忠) had made such a hasty announcement. In addition, people were also dissatisfied with the pro-China stance of President Ma Ying-jeu’s government. Therefore, the hasty announcement of the passing of the CSSTA aroused strong public opinions and debates in Taiwanese society (Fell 2017). The next day, on the 18th of March, hundreds of university students stormed the National Legislature (Legislative Yuan), occupying the chamber and the podium. Lin Fei-Fan (林飛帆) and Chen Wei-Ting (陳為廷) from the student movement group known as “The Black Island Nation Youth Front (黑色島國青年陣線 Heise Daoguo Qingnian Zhenxian)” were the spokespersons of the group. The students requested to have a dialogue with President Ma while making four key demands[2] to the government. Lin Fei-Fan (林飛帆) claimed that the future of Taiwan should be decided by students in particular and the Taiwanese people in general, and not the black box operations of the government (Ho 2019). While the students occupied the National Legislature, a large number of people

[1] Kuomintang, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party and abbreviated as KMT, is one of the major political parties in Taiwan (Republic of China).
[2] The four major demands of protesting students included: sending back the CSSTA, legalising the Cross-Strait Supervisory Mechanism, convening a constitutional meeting of citizens, and legislating the CSSTA before examining it.

protested outside the National Legislature in solidarity with the students who were inside the National Legislature.

The protest continued to gather momentum over time. On the 23rd of March, President Ma Ying-jeou made a speech about the protest but failed to reach a consensus with the students. In the evening of the same day, some protesting students attempted to occupy the Executive Yuan[3] which caused a violent and bloody conflict with the police. This clash led to an escalation of the conflict between the police and the public, as Executive Yuan President Jiang Yi-huah (江宜樺) ordered the protesters to be expelled. On the 30th of March, students staged an anti-CSSTA parade on Ketagalan Boulevard. Hundreds of thousands of Taiwanese people joined the parade, dressed in black, and the crowd swelled like a tidal wave into Ketagalan Boulevard, hence the name "Black Tide (黑潮 heichao)". About a week later, on the 1st of April, Zhang An-le (張安樂), also known as the "White Wolf" (白狼bailang), mobilised hundreds of people to surround the Legislative Yuan, threatening the students and the police and confronting them for several hours before leaving. Zhang An-le (張安樂) is the President of the Chinese Unification Promotion Party (CUPP) and one of the founding members of Taiwan's well-known gang, the Bamboo Union. His public support of the CSSTA made the protesters suspect that the government utilised both police and the gang as tools to restrict or disband the students. The actions of Zhang An-le aroused further debates in Taiwanese society as to who he and his group are working for. On the 6th of April, the President of the National Legislature, Wang Jin-pyng (王金平), entered the National Legislature to talk with student representatives. He promised to review the CSSTA, and then negotiate it with the government (Ho 2019). Wang Jin-Pyng and the students finally reached a consensus in terms of the CSSTA legislating procedure,[4] causing the students to withdraw from the National Legislature on the 10th of April. The student group announced that they would leave the congress to "*plant democratic seeds in society*" (出關播種 Chuguan Bozhong), an action that ended the 585-hour protest in the National Legislature. This campaign was codenamed the Sunflower Movement.

The Sunflower Movement marked its 10th anniversary in 2024, and this special milestone provided a chance to look back on this social movement that mobilized the whole of Taiwan to defend its democracy. Within the Sunflower Movement, discourse played a very important role. Discourse recorded the passionate discussions of the Sunflower Movement and Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement[5] (CSSTA) issues among the general public and governmental organisations in Taiwan in the form of Taiwanese Chinese language, poster texts, newspaper and magazine texts, internet postings, and audio-visual recordings, among others. The confrontation between the protesting students (along with the social workers) and the government at that time was also reflected in the discourse. By observing the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, it is possible to observe the top-down power relationship from the

[3] The "Executive Yuan" is the executive branch of the government of Taiwan. It is similar to the cabinet in other countries and is headed by the Premier, who is appointed by the President. The Executive Yuan is responsible for implementing policies, administering government affairs, and overseeing the various ministries and agencies within the government.

[4] Wang Jin-Pyng announced that, before passing the CSSTA Oversight Bill into law, no party caucus meetings related to the CSSTA would be convened to review the agreement.

[5] The Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) is a trade agreement signed between Taiwan and China in June 2013 under Article 4 of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). The people of Taiwan are concerned that the agreement might subject Taiwan to greater political and economic manipulation and influence from China. Additionally, public dissatisfaction with the KMT government's pro-China policies led to controversies over the agreement, birthing the Sunflower Movement. Following the Sunflower Movement protests, the CSSTA was suspended, so it is yet to be ratified.

government to the people, and the bottom-up power relationship from the people to the government. Such a two-way power relationship created power dynamics, and it also gave the researcher a chance to explore the structure and pattern of the Taiwanese Mandarin discourse in the democratic society of Taiwan. In this study, the passive word "被" (bei) is used as the departing point to analyse the power dynamic between words as reflected by it. This study provides a linguistic analysis of the discourse of modern democracy in Taiwan, and considers the power dynamics in the social hierarchy that can be generated through discourse.

To address the above broad aim, the following research questions are proposed: (1) How is the lexicogrammar "被" (bei) used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement to establish power relations? And (2) What are the power dynamics in the Sunflower Movement?

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was introduced in the 1970s to study the correlation between discourse, power and ideology. It is particularly applied to issues such as social justice and discrimination, exploring how power can be established and strengthened through discourse, and how social problems can be dealt with effectively (Fairclough 2009). Scholars of CDA often focus on the integration of discourse, discursive practices and social contexts (Wodak and Meyer 2009; Van Dijk 2009; Fairclough 1992), as well as examining the relationship between power and social order as reflected in discourse (Van Dijk 2006; Fairclough 1995). This paper adopts the Dialectical-Rational Approach (DRA) proposed by Norman Fairclough. This approach emphasises the relationship between discourse and social injustice, particularly the display of power and ideology (Fairclough 2009). By employing this approach, this study aims to (1) examine the discourse of this social movement as actions taken against social injustice, and (2) analyse the relationship between power and ideology within the discourse.

CDA views language as a social practice (Blackledge 2005), given that people use language to communicate and interact. CDA focuses on the use of language in social activities and everyday life. This approach to linguistic analysis emphasises that language is important in determining the relationship between power and society (Fairclough 1995). One example of this is the phenomenon of hegemony: the demonstration of power over society based on economics, which leads to social hierarchies and relations of dominance and subordination (Fairclough 2013). For example, to the protesting students and the masses supporting the protests in the Sunflower Movement, the Ma government's compulsory passage of the CSSTA was a manifestation of hegemony. Because the government, as the leader of social operations, wields power over the people, its legislative and law enforcement methods, behaviours and attitudes will be scrutinised by the public. The content of the CSSTA, as well as the manner in which it was read out in the legislature, made many people feel that it was "undemocratic." In other words, the government demonstrated "hegemonic" behaviours in a situation where the power between the government and the public is already unequal.

Hegemony is also embodied in ideology, as ideology establishes a link between language and society. Ideology is a complex concept related to discourse and power. Ideology manifests itself in discourse as the hegemony of power. CDA researchers investigate world events involving inequality and injustice by looking at people's beliefs, power and language choices (Mertz 1998). Fairclough identifies three characteristics of ideology: social practice as matter, the mutually claimed subject and the ideological state apparatus (Fairclough 1992). In addition, van Dijk defines ideology from a societal perspective: ideologies are social "ideas and beliefs"

that are fundamental or axiomatic and relatively stable (van Dijk 2006). From both Fairclough's and van Dijk's points of view, ideologies are formed in society and can be used to demonstrate certain powers or beliefs. The Sunflower Movement is, to some extent, an acknowledgement of social inequality and injustice. It challenged the policies that the government planned to implement in Taiwan, forming a top-down power relationship between the protesters and society. At the same time, it involves the actions of the protesting students against the government, forming a bottom-up power relationship. Such a bidirectional dynamic of unequal power relationship underscores quite a complex ideology. By exploring the ideologies revealed in the discourse, it is worth reflecting on how the hegemony in the social and linguistic structure extends or is limited by social events (i.e., the Sunflower Movement). It is also worthwhile to think about how the people of Taiwan managed to achieve more refined linguistic communication and reconciliation.

2.2 The lexicogrammar "被" (bei)

Coined by Michael Halliday, "lexicogrammar" is a term used in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to emphasise the interdependence and coherence between the lexicon (vocabulary) and the syntax (grammar) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2013). It indicates a word that also serves a grammatical function. The term "lexicogrammar" has both semantic and pragmatic ramifications. The meanings and grammatical functions of the lexicogrammar "被" (bei) are exemplified below.

a) The lexicogrammar "被" (bei) is used in a sentence to show passivity.

「表被動性，用在動詞前構成被動詞組。」[6]

"It is used before verbs to form passive phrases."

b) It is used to emphasise the action performed by the doer on the recipient. For example:

「水被我弟弟喝了。」

"The water was drunk by my younger brother."

c) In some cases, the extent of the action performed is added. For example:

「水被我弟弟一口氣喝了。」

"The water was drunk by my younger brother in one gulp."

From the above examples, it can be seen that the use of "被" (bei) demonstrates the power of the doer. The actions performed by the doer on the recipient fully demonstrate the use of power in the discourse. Therefore, by examining the use of "被" (bei) in discourse, it is possible to observe the power dynamics in the Taiwanese Mandarin-dominated discourse of the Sunflower Movement.

[6] *Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary*. https://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/dictView.jsp?ID=185&q=1&word=%E8%A2%AB#order1 (26 November 2023)

Since the expressive and communicative functions of a language are carried out in a specific cultural and social context (Gledhill 2011), by observing the structure of a language, linguists can observe how the language is used by a particular group of people at a particular time. One of the ways to observe language structure is to collect a large amount of a given corpus to investigate its linguistic structure and logic (Tucker 1998). Therefore, this study analyses a large amount of data on the word "被" (bei) and observes how the word "被" (bei) was used in the speech or conversation of the public at the time of the Sunflower Movement.

3. Methodology

3.1 Corpus data

In the last two decades, the hybrid approach combining corpus linguistics and CDA has flourished in CDA research (Cheng 2013; Baker 2006), forming another relatively macroscopic perspective on CDA. Baker (2010) and others (e.g., Hardt-Mautner 1995; Baker et al. 2008) have advocated that CDA researchers should adopt a mixed-methods approach, combining CDA with corpus linguistics methods in order to promote a dialogue between quantitative and qualitative methods. Corpora provide a large amount of corpus data for CDA, which enables CDA to interpret and analyse a wider range of discourses more accurately. With the rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT), corpus-assisted discourse analysis has attracted increased academic attention. The purpose of adopting corpus-assisted discourse analysis methods in the present study is to expand from qualitative to quantitative research methods.

In order to faithfully reflect the discourse features of the Sunflower Movement, this study collected six categories of Sunflower Movement texts, including online newspapers (United Daily News and Liberty Times), Facebook fan pages of supporters and opponents of the Sunflower Movement, PTT discussing pages of FuMao (服貿版 fumao ban), statements from the Ma government, the protesting students and the social groups, lyrics of songs sung during the Sunflower Movement, and Sunflower Movement documentaries. Except for the documentaries and the lyrics, all other texts were produced within 24 days (i.e., from 18th March 2014 to 10th April 2014) of the students' occupation of the Legislative Yuan. This aims to ensure the consistency of the time of discourse production. The total number of characters in the corpus is 17,960,144, excluding English, dates, and non-text symbols.

3.2 Data analyses: Statistical and Critical Discourse Analyses

The corpus is statistically analysed by AntConc. Specifically, the data were subjected to word frequency, cluster[7] and KWIC (keyword in context) analyses of the lexicogrammar "被" (bei).

The sentences in the KWIC analysis of "被" (bei) are also categorized in terms of doers and recipients, as well as the verbs used to perform the action.

As stated previously, this study adopted the Dialectical-Rational Approach proposed by the CDA scholar Norman Fairclough. After the initial quantitative data analysis, a Critical Discourse Analysis is conducted to perform a qualitative analysis of the data. The steps of the analysis in CDA were taken:

[7] A small collection of the smallest units of meaning in a language (usually 1-2 in Chinese language/Mandarin) that do not yet constitute a sentence is called a 'cluster'.

(1) Textual analysis: The analysis was based on the cluster of lexicogrammar "被" (bei), including three categories (i.e., noun, personal pronoun and verb) to observe the usage of "被" (bei).

(2) Analysis of discourse practices: Analysis of the relevance of the text and the discourse, and the interpretation and explanation of the possible reasons behind the relevance. In this phase, the relationships between sentences and their explicit or implicit meanings were examined through the KWIC analysis of "被" (bei).

(3) Social practice analysis: this step explored how the discourse of "被" (bei) was put into practice in the Sunflower Movement, explaining its relevance to power dynamics.

4. Findings

4.1 Cluster proportion analysis

The first step in the corpus analysis is word segmentation. After completing the word segmentation, a total of 4,526,682 tokens[8] were obtained, and "被" (bei) was ranked 26th (minus "reply" (回覆) which was originally ranked 26th[9]). Ranking 26th out of more than 4.5 million tokens, it can be seen that "被" (bei) appears highly frequently in the corpus. The total occurrence for "被" (bei) was 13,986, which means that it occurs 13,986 times in the whole corpus. This general result shows that "被" (bei) is used a lot in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, which suggests that there are a lot of power relations operating in the discourse.

The clusters of "被" (bei) were observed and classified into two categories: *"被" (bei)+ token* and *token + "被" (bei)*. There were 100 clusters; each category was listed and categorised according to their lexical properties. The categorisation results are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

[8] Token refers to the word that appears within the text.

[9] The word "reply" (回覆) is the set word for replying to a Facebook post (i.e., same as "comment" in the English version of Facebook), so there is a large amount of "reply" in the text that is not explicitly related to the content of the text. Therefore "reply" (回覆) is excluded from the calculation, and "被" (bei) is moved up one position to 26th.

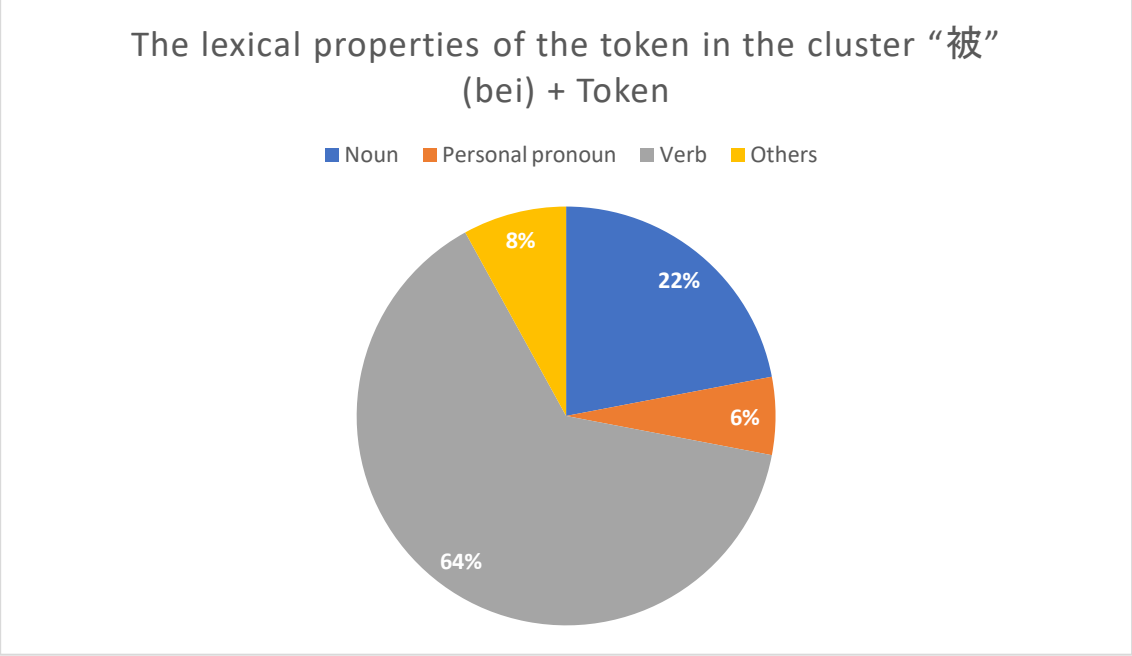

Figure 1. The lexical properties of the token in the cluster “被” (bei) + token

The result in Figure 1 shows that when the cluster structure is *“被” (bei) + token*, the proportion of token as a verb is very high, reaching 64%. This result indicates that the Chinese structure *“被” (bei) + verb* is heavily used in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, in which the ‘recipient’ is acted upon by the ‘doer,’ and these actions may contain specific power relations. In Figure 1, the share of nouns is 22%, which is second among the four categories. But there is a difference between its obvious share and that of verbs. The proportion of nouns in the second place indicates that the Chinese structure *“被” (bei)+ doer* is also widely used, emphasising the ‘doer.’ Therefore, knowing who the ‘doer’ is may be able to show the nature of the power relationship. On the other hand, the category of personal pronouns has a 7% share, which is not far from the 6% share of other categories, but a personal pronoun is another way of presenting the name of the ‘doer.’ The use is that the name ‘doer’ has already appeared in the previous speech or text, so the subsequent sentence is replaced by the personal pronoun. Another possibility is that the name of the ‘doer’ can be derived by implication from the words in the discourse, which suggests that it is not necessary to mention the name in the discourse. However, whatever the possibility, a personal pronoun can be an alternative pronoun for nouns to a certain extent, which would make the proportion of the structure *“被” (bei) + doer* as high as 29%. However, verbs were the most frequently occurring lexicon properties in the structure *“被” (bei) + token.*

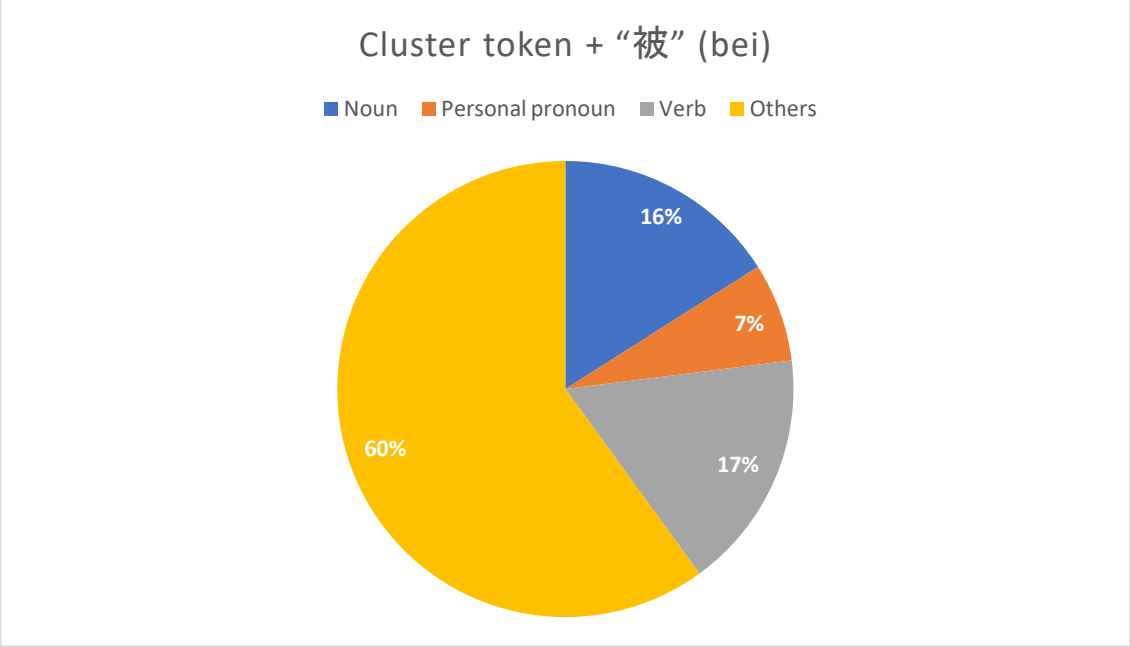

Figure 2. The lexical properties of the token in the cluster token + “被” (bei)

Figure 2 explores the structure *token + “被” (bei)*, which contradicts the results presented in Figure 1. In Figure 2, the highest percentage is that of “Others” (i.e., other lexical items) is 60%. This result may be attributable to the Chinese grammatical structure token + “被” (bei). The reason is that the word “被” (bei) can be preceded by different adverbs or very long clauses or nouns, in which case: firstly, adverbs are not included in the scope of this study, and secondly, the statistical system is unable to read longer clauses or nouns. However, none of these two reasons is consistent with the notion of cluster composition (i.e., a set of 2-3 meaningful minimal units of Chinese characters). Apart from Others, second place in the category in Figure 2 is the Verb category, with 17%. The Noun category follows closely behind with 16%, which is only 1% different from the percentage of the Verb category. However, since the attributes of verbs in the grammatical structure *verb + “被” (bei)* may be different from those in *“被” (bei) + verb*, it is necessary to explore this further in the next stage of analysis. The cluster *noun + “被” (bei)* clearly shows the role of the ‘doer’ and the power relationship that may exist in the text. In Figure 2, the category of personal pronouns is the least represented, with only 7%. As in Figure 1, the category of Personal Pronoun is a substitute for the noun category, and thus can be regarded as the ‘doer’ to a certain extent and classified as the same as the Noun category. In this way, the proportion of ‘recipient’ in the cluster *token + “被” (bei)* is 24%, which is nearly one-quarter of the total.

4.2 Cluster and KWIC analyses

This study analysed two different kinds of tokens, namely “verb” and “noun,” according to the structure of *“被” (bei) + token* and *token + “被” (bei)*. Tokens with a frequency of more than 50 were selected to form a table (See Tables 1 and 4).

Table 1. The token of the cluster “被” (bei)＋ token

The token of the cluster *“被” (bei)＋ token*

Verb	a. **Hand-related action:** beat打 (freq. 271), face-slap打臉 (freq. 78), grab / take away抓 (freq. 63), lift抬 (freq. 60), b. **Political-related:** unify 統一 (freq. 101), sell賣 (freq. 66), occupy佔領 (freq. 57), c. **Behaviour with negative effects:** lie騙 (freq. 90), brainwash洗腦 (freq. 89), incite煽動 (freq. 85), exploit利用 (freq. 67) d. **Non-physical binding, exclusionary or aggressive behaviour:** blame罵 (freq. 78), evict驅離 (freq. 68), force逼 (freq. 64), lock/ imprisonment關 (freq. 52), marginalise邊緣化 (freq. 86) e. **Others:** view as視為 (freq. 66), speak / say說 (freq. 50)
Noun	a. **Occupation:** police警察 (freq. 191), media媒體 (freq. 173), student(s) 學生 (freq. 132), police警方 (freq. 119) b. **Name of country:** China中國 (freq. 176), Mainland (China) 大陸 (freq. 59) c. **National Executive:** government政府 (freq. 72) d. **Political parties:** Kuomintang (KMT) 國民黨 (freq. 56), Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) 民進黨 (freq. 55), Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 中共 (freq. 54) e. **Name of person:** Ma馬 (freq. 50) f. **People:** people人 (freq. 116), Internet users網友 (freq. 51)

In Table 1, there are five types of verbs: "hand-related actions," "political-related," "behaviour with negative effects," "non-physical binding, exclusionary or aggressive behaviour," and "others." From Table 1, we can see that in the language of the Sunflower Movement, the Chinese structure *"被" (bei) + verb* was frequently used to refer to physical or non-physical aggressive behaviours, which may cause physical or mental harm. The actions related to physical aggression are all related to the hands: beat, face-slap, grab/take away, and lift. In this context, the term "face-slap" does not refer to actual face-slap, but rather to slap oneself in the mouth, indicating the inconsistency between one's words and actions. The term face-slap was popular at the time, indicating the use of a figurative physical action as a metaphor for the

inconsistency of someone's words and behaviours. Among the action tokens of "hand" in Table 1, "beat" appears most frequently, up to 721 times, which shows that it is often used in the text and discourse. This result may be related to the protesting students' clash with the police at the Executive Yuan on 24th March 2014:

Table 2. The KWIC analysis of "被" (bei)＋ beaten (打, da)

1	WS_text all...	. 114 . 34 . 152 . 248 03 / 24 00:28噓 yaieki :	被 打	的 人 根本 沒 抵抗 為什麼 還 要
2	WS_text all...	他們 現在 爽 的 哩 03/26 00:07推 feelike : 那些	被 打	的 人 都 忍 了 外面 的 我們
3	WS_text all...	學妹 也 被 打 了有 沒 有 人 要 收集	被 打	的 人 名單一一 驗傷 驗完 給 律師團 提告打躺
4	WS_text all...	身 上 有 什麼 傷痛， 完全 不 知道 影片 中	被 打	的 人 就 是 他 。 （ 突發 中心 / 台北
5	WS_text all...	吃下來 了其中 有 幾 個 警察 失控 動 了 手，	被 打	的 人 流 了 幾 滴 血衝突 流
6	WS_text all...	邊， 可以 想象 這些 人 該 有 多 邪惡 。這些	被 打	的 人 還是 被 大眾 關注 的 維權
7	WS_text all...	分享 並 留言 。 留言 的 部分， 在 現場 被 抬 、	被 打	的 人 能 提供 第一手 消息 最好， 透過
8	WS_text all...	滅 暴力 警察？ 說真的 不 是 323 那 天 被 噴水 、	被 打	的 人 沒 資格 說 這 句 話 。
9	WS_text all...	00:26→ Now Qmmmmmmmm : 那 昨晚 我 面前	被 打	的 是 我 眼睛鬼 遮眼？03/25 00:26噓 Waitaha : 0
10	WS_text all...	如 他們 自己 所 講 的 這樣 親密 .如果 今天	被 打	的 是 你 的 家人，你 的 朋友，
11	WS_text all...	是 要 去 郊遊 的 喔！ 回覆 7 年Ching Hulk Hulk那	被 打	的 是 你 你 覺得 呢 ?打 你
12	WS_text all...	卡其 可以 聽進去 。回覆 8 年李瞳璿同理心 啦 如果	被 打	的 是 藍 的 你們 會 怎樣！ 而且

The KWIC analysis of *"被" (bei) + beaten (打, da)* shows that there is an obvious power relationship in this Chinese cluster (i.e., "the person who is beaten" is the one who has no power or weak power). Below are the sentences marked in yellow in Table 3:

BD1.「***被打***的人根本沒有抵抗（，）為什麼還要 … …」

*"The person who **was beaten** did not resist at all. Why did you do that?"*

BD5.「… … 其中有幾個警察失控動了手，***被打***的人流了幾滴血 … …」

*"...where a couple of cops got out of hand and the guy who **was beaten** shed a few drops of blood...."*

BD12.「… … 如果***被打***的是藍的（，）你們會怎樣！ … …」

*"...what would you do if they were the Blue (KMT) who **was beaten**! ..."*

(Note: "BD" is the code created for the KWIC list *of* ***"被" (bei) + beaten (打, da)*** in the corpus.)

In BD1, the speaker described the lack of resistance on the part of the "person who was beaten" (i.e., the person who was assaulted). To enhance the tone, the speaker also used the adverb "at

all" (根本, genben) to emphasise the innocence of the "battered." Here, it can be seen that the speaker wanted to emphasise the victimization of the battered and that the power of the "batterer" is much greater than that of the "battered."

In BD5, the speaker points out that the "batterer" was the police. The speaker described the state of the "beaten person" after the beating as "shedding a few drops of blood," showing that the person who was beaten suffered from unequal power and injuries.

Finally, in BD12, the speaker uses a hypothetical tone and asks, "What would have happened to 'you' if the person who was beaten was "blue." The "blue" here refers to the KMT (Kuomingtang), while "you" may refer to the government, the police, or government supporters. Whichever way, they were the ones who held the power at the time of the Sunflower Movement.

In Table 1, apart from "beat," other words (including categories b-e) show very strong unequal power relations. Examples include "grab/take away," "sell," "exploit," "force," "lock/imprisonment," and so on. Due to the limitation of space, it cannot be discussed in depth here. But Table 1 shows that under the language structure of *"被" (bei) + token*, the recipient is often the one who does not have the power or has less power than the doer.

The second category in Table 1 is that of a noun. There are several categories of tokens in nouns: "Occupation," "Name of the country," "National executive," "Political parties," "Name of person" and "People." From the results of the analysis, it can be seen that there are many categories of tokens with name attributes, which means that there are many different doers in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement. Firstly, from the category of occupation, it can be seen that police appear very frequently and in two forms: "police" (警察, jingcha) as a general title, while "police" (警方, jingfang) is a written title. The police and the students can be described as occupying opposing roles, so supporters on both sides have been known to refer to the opposing side as the "doer." The media, on the other hand, is a third party, but it is also a "doer." This shows that in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, voices are criticising the media, and there are quite a lot of them. Apart from occupations, other types of tokens are politically charged. For example, "China," "government," "KMT," "CCP" and even "Ma" (i.e., Ma Ying-jeou). Other more neutral tokens are people and netizens.

Since police officers were quite central to the discourse of the movement, the KWIC analysis of police officers is presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3. The KWIC analysis of "被 (bei)＋police (警察, jingcha)

34	WS_text all...	折磨 著 我！ 我 拿出 家 中 的 錄影 證明	被	警察	暴力 毆打， 更 證明 警察 完全 無 任何
35	WS_text all...	)5.111.36 (03/26 01:17)推 Douglas T: 這些	被	警察	暴力 對待 的 應該 要 集體 用 刑事告
36	WS_text all...	三 那 晚 大部分 民眾 只是 去 行政院 靜坐， 卻	被	警察	暴力 對待， 還 被 扣上 「 暴民 」 的 大
37	WS_text all...	。」陳 先生 強調， 他 三 次 回到 現場， 都	被	警察	暴力 對待， 「 第一 次 警察 揮拳 打 我
38	WS_text all...	非常 抱歉台聯 立委 周倪安 在 佔領 行政院 當天	被	警察	毆打 受傷， 送醫 治療 。 （ 資料 照， 記者 王
39	WS_text all...	報導 〕 台聯 立委 周倪安 在 佔領 行政院 當天	被	警察	毆打 受傷， 警政署長 王卓鈞 3月 25日 時 曾
40	WS_text all...	李恩惠 再 也 受不了 從 網路轉播 上 看到 學生	被	警察	毆打 流血 的 尖叫 與 畫面， 她 衝到
41	WS_text all...	李恩惠 再 也 受不了 從 網路轉播 上 看到 學生	被	警察	毆打 流血 的 尖叫 與 畫面， 她 衝到
42	WS_text all...	， 遭遇 知 多少 」 文章， 描述 自己 親身 經歷	被	警察	毆打 的 過程， 指 警察 先 把 媒體
43	WS_text all...	架， 沒有 像 大人 拿起 槍枝 拿起 刀子 砍 人，	被	警察	毆打 還 被 稱做為 " 暴民 " . . . ?爸 媽 以前
44	WS_text all...	00:36→ litt lechili : 怎麼 看到 躺 在 那邊 的 人	被	警察	用 盾牌 打 . 223 . 142.94.83 03/ 24 00:36→
45	WS_text all...	回覆 · 7 年楊雅珍我 兩 位 學姊 剛 在 行政院 那	被	警察	用 盾牌 敲頭 . . . 我 好 難過 . . . 拿 手機
46	WS_text all...	學生 沒有 激烈 反抗， 只是 蹲坐 在 現場， 卻	被	警察	用 無情 棍棒 對待 、 甚至 打到 滿 頭

BJ36.「那晚大部分民眾只是去行政院靜坐，卻**被警察**暴力對待，還要扣上『暴民』的大 ... ...」

*"That night, most of the people just went to the Executive Yuan for a sit-in, but were treated violently **by the police** and even labelled as 'mobs'..."*

BJ40. 「... ... 再也受不了從網路轉播上看到學生**被警察**毆打流血的尖叫與畫面，... ... 」

*"...couldn't stand to see the screams and images of bleeding students being beaten **by the police** on internet broadcasts anymore..."*

BJ46.「學生沒有激烈反抗，只是蹲坐在現場，卻**被警察**用無情的棍棒對待、甚至打到滿頭 ... ... 」

*"The students did not put up a fight, but just sat on the spot and were mercilessly beaten **by the police** with clubs and even beaten all over their heads..."*

(Note: "BJ" is the code created for the KWIC list *of **"被" (bei) + police (警察, jingcha)*** in the corpus.)

From the above examples, it can be seen that the word 'police' as 'doer' was used with many different perpetrating verbs. However, regardless of the verb, it demonstrates a tendency for their power to be far greater than that of the protesting students. This power may be the public authority given by the position, the fact that they are older than the students, or a gender issue (i.e., most of the police officers on duty in the Executive Yuan at that time were male). All of these reasons may be the core factors that contributed to the power of the police officers to oppress the protesting students, which ultimately led to the outbreak of a bloody conflict. For example, in BJ36, the speaker emphasised that the people were just going to sit in, emphasising

that the word “just” (只是, zhishi) is used to show innocence, and then uses “but” (卻, que) at the beginning of the next clause to create a power gap. Finally, the speaker added “even” (還要, haiyao)’ to the next clause: the protesting public was labelled as a mob. Another example is BJ40, where the speaker used the phrase “can’t take it/stand anymore” (再也受不了, zai ye shoubulaio liao) followed by the student being beaten by the police to emphasise the continuous nature of the police’s use of power, reinforcing the inequality of power. This is followed by a description of the extent of the beating: bleeding and screaming. This description reinforces the unequal power relationship between the police and the protesting students. Finally, in BJ46, the word “but: (卻, que) is also used to create an inequality of power between the first clause (i.e., students) and the second clause (i.e., police). These texts use a great deal of contrasting and descriptive text to present the unequal power relationship, fully demonstrating the state of the recipient “be” (被, bei) subjected to the doer’s power action.

Table 4. The token of the cluster token + “被” (bei)

The token of the cluster *token + “被” (bei)*	
Verb	**a. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (affirmative):** will會 (freq. 958), be是 (freq. 535), want要 (freq. 214), have有 (freq. 102), want想 (freq. 94), can可以 (freq. 59) **b. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (negation):** don’t不要 (freq. 181), don’t不 (freq. 180), won’t不會 (freq. 134), don’t別 (freq. 99), can’t不能 (freq. 56) **c. Structural verbs in Chinese grammar (doubt):** 會不會 (freq. 50) **d. Internal feeling:** afraid怕 (freq. 119)
Noun	**a. Occupation:** student(s) 學生 (freq. 174) **b. Name of country:** Taiwan台灣 (freq. 82), **c. National Executive:** Executive Yuan行政院 (freq. 64) **d. People:** people人 (freq. 144)

In Table 4, it is obvious that the categories and tokens of verbs are completely different from Table 1, and it can be seen that there is a difference in the collocations before and after the word “被” (bei). In Table 4, the discussion is about the recipient, which is the party with weak power. Due to the constraints of Chinese grammatical structures, most of the tokens in the structure

token + "被" (bei) are basic and important structural verbs. Most of these verbs are neutral and can only be categorised in terms of affirmative, negative and doubtful sentence types to identify power issues. In this study, the highest ranked "will" (會, hui) is used as an example for text analysis:

Table 5. The KWIC analysis of "will" (會, hui) + "被" (bei)

18	WS_text all...	比較 難 抬， 掙扎 的 話 有 施力點 一下子 就	會 被	抬走 。 不要 正面 被 抬， 請 大家 被
19	WS_text all...	因為 他們 知道 「 斤斤計較 於 太陽餅 和 蛋糕 」	會 被	媒體 放大 播送 、 報導， 甚至 轉移 焦點； 這
20	WS_text all...	是 能 理解 的， 畢竟 可能 出 一點 亂子 就	會 被	媒體 放大 檢視 . . . 希望 你們 都 能 互相
21	WS_text all...	被 記者 問 問題 的 時候 回答 不 出來 更	會 被	媒體 利用說 現場 學生 根本 不 知道 自己
22	WS_text all...	運動 與 議題 04/08 10:54→ cloud wolf : 最後 都	會 被	媒體 刻意 導向 藍 綠 對決 意識 形態
23	WS_text all...	人 太少 . . . 沒 氣勢 沒 聲勢 " . . . . " 場面 很 難看	會 被	媒體 寫 得 很 難看 "人 夠 多 "
24	WS_text all...	Neo: 大家 在意 的 不 是 媒體， 在意 的 是	會 被	媒體 影響 的 群體 04/04 01:57推 Gal Le 5566 : 抓
25	WS_text all...	在 學生 反而 回頭 擔心 衝 行政院 等 行動 危險 、	會 被	媒體 抹黑， 回頭 提出 彈劾 等 「 出路 」， 「 在
26	WS_text all...	養家活口 感恩回覆 8 年孫建巧一定 要 付錢 , 否則	會 被	媒體 拿來 作 文章回覆 8 年李尹祭不， 彼此 的 信任
27	WS_text all...	ng【 注意 】「 千萬 不要 」 喊 警察 打 人 ！ 否則	會 被	媒體 操作 有 「 雙方 」 衝突 ！ 警察 若 進場，
28	WS_text all...	j 04/08 06:48推 dreackes : 他們 的 任何 行動 都	會 被	媒體 洗成 藍 綠 惡鬥 這樣 還 有
29	WS_text all...	始自終 都 在 議場 外， 想當然 爾， 不消 幾日 就	會 被	媒體 淡化 處理掉， 對 人們 來 說 也
30	WS_text all...	· 回覆 · 7 年黃子 覺不要 接受 黨團 提供 的 物資，	會 被	媒體 炒作· 回覆 · 7 年Happy Melody政府 不要 抹黑

HB18.「掙扎的話有施力點一下子就**會被**抬走。不要正面被抬，… … 」

*"If you struggle, (you) **will be** lifted in a second if there's a point of application. Don't be lifted head-on..."*

HB27.「『千萬不要』喊警察打人！否則**會被**媒體操作有『雙方』衝突！」

*"Don't ever yell 'the police is beating people'! Otherwise, it **will be** made to look like there was a 'two-way' confrontation by the media!"*

HB28.「他們的任何行動都**會被**媒體洗成藍綠惡鬥 … … 」

*"Any action they take **will be** labelled by the media as a fight between blue and green..."*

(Note: "HB" is the code created for the KWIC list *of* ***"will"(會, hui) + "被" (bei)*** in the corpus.)

In the cluster of *"will" (會, hui) + "被" (bei),* it is obvious that what is to be followed is the action that the recipient is going to do. For example, in HB18, the students were discussing

what kind of posture should be used when being carried away by the police. Another finding of the study was that 'media' appeared in this sentence structure a lot, and was often accompanied by negative words: magnifying, deliberately orientating, manipulating, discrediting and so on. Such a result shows that the media is often in the position of a doer in the role of the Sunflower Movement. In other words, the media is also a party with power. For example, in sentence HB27, the speaker used "don't" (千萬不要, qianwan bu yao) when appealing to his/her peers, indicating a strong and intentional emphasis. The speaker further said, "Otherwise, it will be made to look like there was a 'two-way' confrontation by the media!" This statement suggests that media manipulation was a common practice in the Sunflower Movement or other events in Taiwanese society, and the speaker has to call out and warn his peers to avoid such a situation. Another example is HB28, in which the speaker emphasises the media's tendency to manipulate the event into a blue-green struggle (i.e., a political struggle between the KMT and the DPP). Interestingly, instead of directly talking about manipulation, the word "wash" (洗, xi) is used here to emphasise the media's ability to shift the focus of news, which is a form of irony. Here, the power of the media is even more obvious, as the resources at their disposal give them the power to manipulate the information received by the public. This is a demonstration of power inequality, causing the protesting students to loudly urge their peers to be wary of the media because they have the power to manipulate the focus of public opinion.

In addition to the difference in verbs, the noun categories in Table 4 are not quite the same as in Table 1, and the number of times the word frequency exceeds a token has been sharply reduced. Basically, there is only one token for each category, the noun group. Among the noun categories, "student(s)" has the highest frequency of 174 times, while "people" has 144 times, which is also a relatively high amount. Below the 100-frequency mark is "Taiwan" with 84 occurrences, and the "Executive Yuan" with 64 occurrences. Interestingly, in the cluster *token + "被" (bei)* results, "Taiwan" is the only country with more than 50 occurrences. While in the cluster *token + "被" (bei)*, the most frequent are "China" and "Mainland (China)." From this comparison, we can see that Taiwan plays the role of the recipient in the discourse of the Sunflower Movement, while China plays the role of the doer. The power relationship between the two is directly demonstrated in the discourse position.

Regarding the analysis of example sentences of nouns, this study analyses the most frequent noun: "student(s)." Table 6 details the results.

Table 6. The KWIC analysis of "student(s)"(學生, xuesheng) + "被" (bei)

50	WS_text all...	人 至少 研究 了 服貿 一 年 多， 她 不忍	學生 被	抹黑， 才 在 臉書 po文， 同時 也 暗喻
51	WS_text all...	佔領 國會 的 " 大人 們 " 難道 不用 負責 嗎 ? ?	學生 被	逼到 轉而 佔領 行政院 被 無情 的 暴力
52	WS_text all...	佔領 國會 的 " 大人 們 " 難道 不用 負責 嗎 ? ?:	學生 被	逼到 轉而 佔領 行政院 被 無情 的 暴力
53	WS_text all...	一舉 殲滅 學運， 將 不 是 這些 手無寸鐵 的	學生 被	逼到 牆角， 反而 是 他們 被 全 國
54	WS_text all...	10號 被 佔， 到底 會發生 什麼 事 呢 ？ 看到	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 打， 畫面 當然 憐 怵目驚心， 但是
55	WS_text all...	了 。 。 。 回覆 8 年Mandy Tang已經 有 一 位	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 打 流血 了 ！ 臉部 流血 ！ 剛才
56	WS_text all...	鎮壓 。 透過 現場 錄影 的 還原， 我們 看到	學生 被	鎮暴 警察 用 警棍 瘋狂 追打， 一 個
57	WS_text all...	紀錄片 導演 李惠仁 到場 拍攝， 與 其他 三 名	學生 被	依 妨害 公務 現行犯 逮捕， 四 人 成為
58	WS_text all...	紀錄片 導演 李惠仁 到場 拍攝， 與 其他 三 名	學生 被	依 妨害 公務 現行犯 逮捕， 四 人 成為
59	WS_text all...	嗎 ? (不過 沒 人 那麼 傻 要 霸工 , 只有 少數	學生 被	利用 了)六 . 成立 網路 軍隊 - 對 有
60	WS_text all...	與 媒體 批露 之下， 更 堅決 相信 這 是 場	學生 被	利用 在 反對 政策 的 戲碼 和 培養
61	WS_text all...	社會人 會 同情 受 壓迫 的 那 方， 但 現在	學生 被	媒體 呈現出 " 強勢 批鬥 "" 造反 有 理 " 的
62	WS_text all...	「 暴民 之 歌 — 聞 318 佔領 立法院 反 服貿	學生 被	媒體 與 立委 指為 暴民 」， 並且 親自 到

XB53.「將不是這些手無寸鐵的**學生被**逼到牆角，反而是他們被全國……」

*"It is not these unarmed students who will be pushed into a corner, but rather **they** will **be** pushed into a corner by the whole country ..."*

XB60. 「與媒體的披露之下，更堅決相信這是一場**學生被**利用在反對政策的戲碼……」

*"With the revelations in the media, it is even more strongly believed that this is a charade in which the **students are** being used to oppose the policy ..."*

(Note: "XB" is the code created for the KWIC list *of* ***"student(s)"(學生, xuesheng)*** + ***"被" (bei)*** in the corpus.)

XB50 and XB60 portray the perspective of the student as a recipient, whether it is "will be pushed into a corner" or "are being used to oppose the policy," reflecting that the student is in a very vulnerable role. However, it is also worth thinking about how students are in a very vulnerable role. However, it is also worthwhile for us to think about this: are students completely powerless? Is it a reversal of power that the students succeeded in securing the government's commitment at the end of the Sunflower Movement? Is it true that the flow of power in the Sunflower Movement was not unidirectional, but has always been bidirectional?

5. Conclusion

This study has undertaken a corpus-based Critical Discourse Analysis of the discourses of the Sunflower Movement. Among other outcomes, a key finding indicates that there was indeed a clear demonstration of top-down power in the Sunflower Movement, and the body of evidence is quite large. However, it is worth thinking about what kind of power motivated the students to successfully reach an agreement with the government in the Sunflower Movement, which also accomplished the flow of power from the bottom to the top. In the discourse, we can feel the power of the government and the media, which have considerable resources, but it should

not be underestimated that the unity of the students behind the Sunflower Movement and the public is an even stronger force, which also displays the power of democracy. The students' call to their peers and the public's support can be seen in the discourse, and it is this force that has helped to complete the flow of power in Taiwanese society. The significance of this study lies in (1) using corpus CDA to analyse the relationship between power and ideology as exhibited in Taiwanese Mandarin discourse within Taiwanese social movement, with a focus on the word "被" to discuss the power dynamics in society, and (2) analysing power dynamics and highlighting the characteristics of democratic discourse in Taiwanese Mandarin that resist social injustice. However, this study was slightly constrained by a few conditions. For instance, the study did not use a comprehensive corpus for comparative analysis; therefore, the results may only reflect the usage of the word "被" during the period of the Sunflower Movement. Further analysis is, therefore, required to explore the usage of "被" in the wider Taiwanese society.

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Book review: *Language rights and the law in Scandinavia: Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Greenland* by Eduardo D. Faingold (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023)

Alia Amir
aa235@soas.ac.uk
ORCID: 0000-0002-4624-5535

This book highlights relevant debates for readers seeking a deeper grasp of language policies and language legislation in Scandinavia. In the aftermath of the Black Lives Matter movement in the US and its impact on anti-racism movements globally, this contribution is significant for the field of language policy and migration, offering substantial learning opportunities for policymakers. Constituting eight chapters, six of which examine the language policies and laws of the four Scandinavian nations and Denmark's autonomous territories of the Faroe Islands and Greenland, the book focuses on the linguistic ecology of Scandinavia. The eight chapters are spread over 303 pages, encompassing language legislations across wide-ranging domains, such as work, immigration, the public sector, and education.

In the opening chapter, the book argues that official language policies emerge through the enactment of linguistic laws, often enshrined in the constitutions and legal statutes, including language regulations that promote the protection of minority linguistic rights within a given nation-state. These language policies play an important role in educational curricula, as well as in the public and official linguistic landscape. In this background, this book holds considerable importance as it discusses the legislation of the immigrant languages given that although complete volumes have been dedicated to exploring the policies of Sweden and Finland (see, e.g., Kaplan and Baldauf 2005), there has been a considerable gap in the literature regarding immigrant languages. Secondly, this chapter establishes that while English has been the subject of numerous publications, a comprehensive study of the ecology of all language-related laws, which is covered in this book, has been lacking.

Stepping into the realm of Swedish legislation, Chapter 2 reveals that language tests are not required for naturalisation. After 1995 EU accession, Sweden recognised five minority languages, which followed the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 2000 by the Swedish Parliament, triggering debates on the status of Swedish in relation to English, minority, and immigrant languages (Milani 2008), because of which a parliamentary committee was set up (Norrby 2008). In 2009, Sweden promulgated the Language Act with stipulations for the Swedish language, the official minority languages, and Swedish Sign Language. The law puts emphasis on learning, developing, and using Swedish, Swedish Sign Language and other minority languages. However, it does not specifically mention any immigrant languages. The dominant languages of higher education are Swedish and English, whereas the immigrant languages are at the periphery, with the official minority languages completely absent. The law also provides the right of access to the courts and government services for all linguistic minorities in Sweden. Lastly, on Sweden, the chapter explains that the Education Act (Ministry of Education and Science 2010) protects the right of all minority children to receive language support for Swedish, Swedish Sign Language, official minority languages, and immigrant languages. However, it is acknowledged in the book that this right is constrained by the School Ordinance (Ministry of Education and Science 2011), which limits mother-tongue instruction.

With a focus on Denmark, Chapter 3 provides essential historical background to the current linguistic situation in the country. From 1397 to 1523, the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were joined under the Kalmar Union. From the 16th century, Denmark-Norway was a multilingual confederation. However, during the Napoleonic wars, Denmark lost Norway but retained Greenland, the Faroe Islands, Iceland and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The latter two were later lost to the army of the Prussian-Austrian alliance. This left Denmark to become a more ethnically and linguistically homogeneous country in which Danish became the predominant language, with German spoken only by a small minority. This scenario changed when the guest workers (defined in this context as foreign nationals who live and work temporarily in a host country, Parry 2013) from Turkey, Pakistan and Yugoslavia arrived in Denmark in the sixties. However, subsequent migrations in the eighties also led to a sixfold increase in the number of foreign-born residents, bringing the immigrant population of Denmark to 10%. However, immigration from non-western countries is viewed negatively in Denmark, and a large section of the Danish population feels threatened by the arrival of immigrants as they fear that it will negatively impact the language and culture of Denmark. This, in turn, has hampered the language rights of immigrants in terms of naturalisation and education as the Danish laws promote Danish language and culture in the educational system but completely disregard the widely spoken minority languages of the immigrants, such as Urdu, Arabic etc. Moreover, some Danish laws completely ban or restrict mother-tongue education for immigrant children from non-Western countries. The chapter mentions that there are also no constitutional provisions for the German-speaking minority.

In the Norwegian context, Chapter 4 shows that applicants for Norwegian residence and citizenship must pass a language and citizenship test. Norwegian legislation provides the right of linguistic minorities to have access to a qualified interpreter in encounters with the law and healthcare systems, but qualified interpreters are often unavailable. Another aspect peculiar to Norwegian law is that the construction industry created Norwegian-only regulations that can hinder immigrant workers from obtaining permanent employment because the use of immigrant languages in the workplace is believed to compromise safety and security standards. Moreover, another right that the Norwegian law provides is the right of Sámi children to learn their language. The law also recognises the value of Norwegian Sign Language in kindergarten. Preschool regulations also mandate fostering linguistic and cultural diversity, yet these regulations do not offer an explanation or detailed information on this term. Finally, Norwegian law also protects the use of Norwegian dialects (Bokmål and Nynorsk), Sámi, Kven, and Norwegian Sign Language in schools. At the grassroots level, there are very few municipal programmes or classes taught in Norwegian Sign Language. Moreover, teachers in mainstream schools are not expected to acquire even a minimum knowledge of Norwegian Sign Language, where many of the deaf children end up. The main languages used in higher education are Norwegian and English, whereas Sámi is the principal language used at the Sámi University of Applied Sciences in Kautokeino. Kven language and culture classes are offered at the University of Tromsø, while Norwegian Sign Language and sign language interpreting programmes are available at universities across Norway.

Discussing Iceland in Chapter 5, the author addresses the language rights of the native Icelandic-speaking majority with respect to Icelandic Sign Language users and a growing non-Icelandic immigrant population. In Iceland, language nationalism and a linguistic protectionist culture promote the use of Icelandic above all other languages and in all domains of language use, which influences laws and regulations that may hamper the prospects of immigrants to become naturalised citizens and avail themselves of the necessary services. However, it is acknowledged that while the Icelandic parliament and government authorities have put into

place many linguistic laws, regulations, and policies to promote the rights of Icelandic Sign Language users to equal access to public services, there remain no legal provisions providing the financial backing to guarantee the enforcement of these rights.

In the changing demographics of the Faroe Islands, Chapter 6 shows that there is an expanding community of non-Faroese-speaking immigrants who do not have to pass a Faroese language test to obtain a permanent residence permit. Faroese authorities and employers have favourable positive attitudes towards immigrants and immigration, an attitude that helps protect the language rights of immigrants. Faroese has been adopted as the official language of instruction in the Faroe Islands from elementary school to high school since the passing of the Home Rule Act in 1948. However, Danish and English remain the main languages of instruction in Faroese higher education due to the lack of proficient lecturers in Faroese and the lack of regulations to support the use of foreign languages in higher education. To this end, however, Faroese education legislation does not have any provisions which support the language rights of immigrant children who do not speak Faroese.

In the context of Greenland, Chapter 7 discusses the language rights of the indigenous Greenlandic Inuit majority, foreign nationals, and the Danish-speaking community, explaining that a language test is not needed to obtain residency in Greenland. The Language Policy Act of 2010 protects the rights of both Greenlandic speakers and Danish speakers to be able to use their languages in government and legal settings; however, Danish is the language of public administration and the judiciary. The Language Policy Act also provides the rights of organisations and businesses to create their own language policies. Another critical aspect of Greenland's language policy is that Greenlandic-speaking students with low proficiency in Danish are at a disadvantage when acquiring higher education either in Greenland or Denmark.

One key argument of this book is that despite the fact that English was not implanted in Scandinavia through colonisation, it dominates in domains such as higher education. Though the encroachment of English is questioned in local debates, it does not have the same racist undertones associated with immigrant languages. The Scandinavian languages are also seen as a resource which opens doors for academics to serve on external review committees in academic institutions across the region. These are positive aspects of policy developments at higher educational institutes; however, it further shows which languages are considered pragmatically viable and which languages are deemed worth nurturing at higher education, which may not fully reflect the actual linguistic communities of a nation-state. Lastly, the book shows that immigrant languages are not explicitly mentioned in the legislation of any of the Scandinavian countries.

The book is a valuable addition to the scholarship on Scandinavian language policies and legislations. It also deals sufficiently with popular discourses. However, the variations in language policies practised at the grassroots level are not touched upon, but that could be a next step in this series. The book would be of value to anyone wanting an overview of Scandinavian language legislation.

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