

CHAPTER 1

Multilingualism and the Periphery

SARI PIETIKÄINEN AND HELEN KELLY-HOLMES

This book is an exploration of the ways in which core-periphery dynamics shape multilingualism. This exploration focuses on peripheral sites, which are defined as such by a relationship (be it geographic, political, economic, etc.) to some perceived centre. Viewing multilingualism through the lens of core-periphery dynamics helps to bring forth the language ideological tensions which are evident in issues of language boundary-making, language ownership, commodification, and authenticity. It also highlights the ways in which speakers seek novel solutions in adapting their linguistic resources to new situations and developing innovative and creative language practices.

The sites of concern to us in this volume involve complex multilingualism and minority languages—the minoritization of languages being part of peripheralization processes—and as such are subject to the dynamics of renegotiation and contestation characteristic of the centre-periphery relationship. In this volume, we explore multilingualism in minority language sites in order to examine how the dynamics of core-periphery relations might shape language practices, and how these practices might, in turn, have wider resonance beyond the sites under investigation. We see these peripheral contexts as ‘crucial sites’ (Philips 2000) for understanding the current sociolinguistics of globalization (Coupland 2003, 2010; Blommaert 2010), although they are often neglected sites in sociolinguistic research, with the focus predominantly on urban spaces for understanding the linguistic dimension to contemporary globalization (cf. e.g. Block 2005; Harris 2006; Rampton 2006; Mac Giolla Chríost 2007; Pennycook 2010).

Core-periphery dynamics—and how they are imagined—have a significant impact on the way that multilingualism in minority language contexts is conceptualized and practised. An unstable model of core-periphery calls for a reassessment of what linguistic and cultural peripheries are, under globalization, and an exploration of how people evaluate and work discursively with these reconfigurations. Minority

language sites are subject, by necessity, to various—and often conflicting—language ideologies, norms, and practices. These are spaces where tensions between various language ideologies are often made explicit, and their logics and borders are being tested (see e.g. da Silva, McLaughlin, and Richards 2006; Jaffe 2009; Pietikäinen 2010). Despite the fact that linguistic minority sites are often constructed from the centre as linguistically and culturally homogeneous, and while they may also be constructed internally in this way in order to pursue particular rights and economic benefits, the everyday language practices tend to be mixed, flexible, and diverse. What we want to explore in this book is the evolution of language practices which, on the one hand, challenge and disregard the centrist ideology and the normativity of parallel monolingualisms (cf. Heller 1999, 2003, 2006; Jaffe 2006), whilst, on the other hand, relying on it as a necessary resource (Moore, Pietikäinen, and Blommaert 2010; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011).

In consequence, this volume is concerned with processes of *peripheralization* and of *centralization*, since the core–periphery relationship is never fixed, but instead constantly renegotiated and mutually constitutive. Key to this examination is the problematizing of two clashing perspectives on multilingualism in relation to minority languages: the standard language perspective, which is still largely informed by a view of languages and speech communities as bounded entities, so-called segregational linguistics (cf. Harris 1996); in contrast with the heteroglossic or polynomic perspective (e.g. Dufva 2004; Jaffe 2007; Zarate, Levy, and Kramersch 2008; Pennycook 2010; **Dufva and Pietikäinen, forthcoming**), which emphasizes hybridity, fluidity, partial repertoires, and communities of practice. Given the complexity of contemporary multilingual processes, we see an inherent problem in adopting either of these approaches exclusively, and we see the peripheral perspective as a way of highlighting this and moving forward our thinking on multilingualism. Furthermore, the current globalizing processes call for examination of the different ways in which peripheralization and centralization happen, forcing us to ask how a particular kind of multilingualism in a particular kind of site becomes constructed as peripheral or as central, with what kind of consequences, driven by whom, and with effects for whom.

FRAMING PERIPHERAL MULTILINGUALISM

The current volume is embedded in and further develops a number of key interdisciplinary concepts and literatures. First of all, there is the concept of core–periphery and the dynamics between core and periphery; secondly, there is the concept of multilingualism, and the rethinking of multilingualism, particularly in relation to the sociolinguistics of globalization; thirdly, the notion of language ideologies, particularly in relation to a changing conceptualization of language as system to language as practice (cf. Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2010, Pietikäinen 2010; Kelly-Holmes and Milani 2011) and the implications of this for the concept

[2] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

of minority languages. We will now examine each of these to show how the volume both derives from and contributes to expanding these three areas.

Core–Periphery

Core–periphery is a common spatial metaphor used to describe and explain the unequal distribution of power in the economy, society, and polity. The core–periphery is metaphorized, for example, in the division of the nation states of the world into First, Second, and Third worlds, and in emphasizing the difference between ‘South’ and ‘North’, or in describing ‘West’ or ‘urban cities’ as power bases (cf. Ang and Stratton 1996; Potter 2001; Vanolo 2010). Also communities and groups from the ‘margins’ of nations—or as Graburn (1976) describes it ‘engulfed by the nations’—have employed this metaphor in constructing an alternative view of the core–periphery relations, using concepts such as ‘Fourth World’ or ‘First Nations’.

The core is typically defined in terms of its advancement, metropolitanism, and political, economic, and trade power, while the periphery is characterized as marginal, the opposite of the core, the boundary or outer part of it. Johnston et al. (2000: 48) conclude that ‘the core dominates whilst the periphery is dependent, and this dependence may be structured through the relations of exchange, production or evaluation between core and periphery’. The use of the core–periphery metaphor is common in political geography, political sociology, and studies of labour markets to explain both the concentration and the dispersion of mainly economic activity (Friedmann 1966; Centre–periphery model 1998; Andrew and Feiock 2010); but it is also used in history, cultural studies, and education to describe and explain disparities in uneven development (cf. e.g. Chakravorty 2003; Hayter 2003).

The core–periphery model is also implicated in various types of world-system theories. Its first major articulation, and a classic example of this approach, is associated with Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980, 2004). His world-systems theory provided a model for understanding both change in the global system and the relationship between its parts, referred to as core, semi-periphery, and periphery. Wallerstein conceptualized a world system, comprised of centres and the periphery, which are tied together by a network of economic exchange processes (Goldfrank 2000). His work has had a major impact on sociological and historical thought and triggered numerous reactions, and inspired many to build on his ideas (cf. e.g. Blommaert 2010; Schubert and Sooryamoorthy 2010).

At the current moment of globalization, the fixed core/periphery divide that was relatively clearly identifiable in the period of modernity, has become problematic. As, for example, Appadurai (1990: 6) points out, ‘The global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models.’ To capture this transition, concepts such as ‘flow’, ‘networks’, ‘rhizome’, and ‘translocality’ have been used to describe and explain movement and circulation

(cf. Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Appadurai 1996; Pennycook 2007) of resources, including languages, in the contemporary era. Importantly, from this point of view ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ (as well as locality, authenticity, tradition, and other key terms in this volume) are not given, but are instead understood as discursive constructs, products of social interaction, reflecting the circumstances and dynamics of their construction (see e.g. Pennycook 2010). The core–periphery relationship is thus always constructed and subject to complex, socio-political and economic processes and practices. By no means a one-way relationship, it is both reciprocal and dynamic, and rarely stable or predictable in its nature or effects (Burke 2000; McCulloch and Lowe 2003).

However—and importantly from the point of view of this volume—these flows and shifts are not constituted randomly; mobility and circulation do not take place in empty space, but always in already constituted space. Moreover, space itself, as Lefebvre (1991/1974) tells us, is a complex and dynamic social construction, produced and experienced in human interaction (see also e.g. Scollon and Scollon 2004; Pennycook 2010; Thurlow and Jaworski 2010; Pietikäinen, forthcoming.) This means that the historical and cultural situatedness of spaces crossed by these flows has a great impact on current processes and practices. Past structures and ideas remain powerful elements in the present-day trajectories of cultural flows and emerging practices. From this point of view, Ang and Stratton (1996: 28) argue that ‘we should perhaps not so much replace the centre/periphery structure with that of flow, but rather articulate the two, to account for the ongoing, always shifting, multidimensional, heterogeneous and ambiguous relationalities which constitute our current global predicament’.

In this volume, we want to examine this theoretical transition from the notion of a fixed core and periphery to notions of fluid, negotiated, and reconfigured ideas of cores and peripheries in relation to multilingualism. We suggest that this transition does not perhaps so much eliminate old bases of relations between core and periphery, but rather situates them in a new, more complex configuration (cf. Ang and Stratton 1996). Consequently, the idea of the ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ are still powerful; they are both the organizing factors in a system of global power relations and the organizing concept in a whole way of thinking and speaking (cf. Hall 1992). Peripheries could move to become part of the core, and vice versa, as core sites and locations became less dominant, they would move to the periphery of the system. As the cases in this volume show, some of the peripheral sites have already had their ‘days of glory’ while some sites are on the brink of being the core themselves. There is an on-going dynamic between what is perceived as a periphery and what is perceived as a core. Also in our understanding of peripherality, rather than changing over time, relative peripherality is changing constantly, so that one location, practice, or process can be at one and the same time both peripheral and central. Sites, areas, and processes which may be peripheral in one sense (e.g. distance from a national capital, large economic centre, or urban population centres or from established norms) may be central in others (e.g. in terms of their role and importance

[4] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

for national and international tourists, niche markets, and specialized industries, language and cultural politics and policies, etc.).

It is this simultaneous, shifting and ambiguous position between peripherality and centrality, and the tensions that arise from these transformations that make the examination of peripheral sites interesting and revealing. It is the contradictions and tensions between these two tendencies—on the one hand, the fact that core/periphery relations are both multiplying and no longer fixed, and, on the other hand, the continuing discursive power of the ‘core’ as the all-powerful centre—which have important implications for the sites, processes, and practices under study in this volume. We want to explore this further by focusing on regions, spaces, communities, and practices that are simultaneously perceived to be *peripheries for particular cores and cores for particular peripheries, or on the move from one to the other*.

Peripheries are, we argue, ambiguous and interesting spaces; they are spaces of transformation and negotiation, rendering them novel and revealing spaces to examine contemporary complexities in multilingualism. While the role of cities and urban centres in the globalized world system has been widely examined, as mentioned above, the peripheries are rarely examined in terms of their contribution to globalization; instead, they are often seen to follow rather than lead. We would like to examine the potential for peripheral sites to become cores of normativity rather than places to which norms are disseminated. In this way, we hope that the book provides an original perspective to the relationship between ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ in general, and in relation to multilingualism in particular.

Multilingualism

In this volume, we start from the premise that changing core–periphery relations play an important role in understanding and reconfiguring multilingualism in minority language spaces. A concern with core–periphery relations is, of course, nothing new in sociolinguistics or in understanding multilingualism. For example, Kachru’s (1996) model of the three circles of English involves an inner circle (a core), which is both norm defining and controlling, and disseminates norms and practices to the outer circle of countries with English as a second language, and also to the expanding circle of countries with English as a foreign language. The three circles model has been challenged by increasing focus on hybridity and polycentric normativities (cf. Park and Wee 2009; Pennycook 2010) in both the outer and expanding circles, and the two-way flows between the three circles, which characterize the contemporary world. Another sociolinguistic thesis that uses the central–peripheral model to explain multilingualism is de Swaan’s (2001) world language system, which also focuses on mobility and sees the more central languages as the more mobile. In his model, de Swaan categorizes languages across the globe as central, supercentral, or peripheral. Central languages are those which are the official languages of countries and which have the greatest communicative power in those countries, but less

mobility between countries. Supercentral languages are modern-day lingua francas, with use and power beyond the borders of the countries in which they are located. English has special status as a hypercentral language, which holds the system together. At the other end of the scale are peripheral languages, which are the least mobile of the languages in the system and which generally have the least power and may not have a written form, and so on. Like Kachru's model, there are problems with de Swaan's system, since it is hard to classify many of the languages discussed in this volume in terms of this system. For example, where would regional minority languages which have official status (e.g. Welsh and Irish) be located? These are privileged, minoritized languages—peripheral and minoritized in some contexts and domains, and privileged and central in others. Furthermore, neither languages nor their speakers 'stay' in these categories but rather there is constant movement between and across categories: for example, regional minority languages may gain worldwide mobility through genres (hip-hop, advertisements) and practices (tourism, cultural production). The lived reality and actual everyday practices are far messier than these models suggest.

The current era of globalization has further challenged us to rethink multilingualism. For example, Dor (2004: 97) argues that

most writers view today's linguistic world as a site of contestation between the *global* and the *local*: the spread of English as the lingua franca of the information age is viewed as the linguistic counterpart to the process of economic globalization; the causal factors working against the process of Englishization are thought of as locally bound and are equated with patterns of local resistance to economic (and cultural) globalization. This conception also determines the structure of the discourse on linguistic human rights: the need for *negotiated multilingualism* and the rights of speakers to resist global pressures and to use, maintain, and develop their local languages. (97)

This interest in global and local languages (echoing the core–periphery distinction) has resulted in a wealth of studies on English as a lingua franca and linguistic imperialism, on the one hand, and an extensive literature on language endangerment, loss, and linguistic rights (e.g. Crystal 2002; Freeland and Patrick 2004; García, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Torres Guzmán 2006; Jenkins 2007; May 2007; Ostler 2010.)

From the point of view of multilingualism, the current era of globalization can be seen as a new kind of order, impacting on how languages and their relations are constructed and are resulting in emerging ways of organizing and exploiting linguistic resources (Coupland 2010). Contemporary globalization also impacts, we argue, on what kind of multilingualism is perceived as 'central' (i.e. normal, desirable, and valuable) and what is considered 'peripheral' (i.e., marginal, devalued, and useless). With this view, the volume engages with the recent upsurge in language and globalization studies (see e.g. Coupland 2003; Heller 2003, 2011; Canagarajah 2005; Fairclough 2006; Heller and Duchene 2007; Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2010). Further, contemporary globalization processes, particularly changing

[6] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

economic conditions and increased mobility, both open up new opportunities and create novel types of opportunities and restrictions for multilingualism and new multilingual spaces where individuals, communities, and institutions adapt to these changing conditions. One example of this, we argue in the volume, is the current valorization of certain types of bilingualism and the commodification of the periphery as a site of authenticity. In this context, the periphery has come to have a new value, perceived to offer experiences of authenticity, slow(er) lifestyle, solitude, and living with the challenges and opportunities afforded by the local environment. In this process, cores are constructed as predictable and unremarkable, whereas peripheries are seen as different, exotic, and other-worldly. The core–periphery tension together with reconfigurations and mobilization of linguistic resources has led to novel types of diversity and tensions in peripheral sites under examination in this volume, with several contradictions and complexities which can then result in creative crossings. Further, the circulation and emergence of language practices show how fluidity and hybridity are part of language use and make it necessary to rethink and redefine many key concepts of language studies as these clearly acquire new meanings under new circumstances (cf. Canagarajah 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Dufva and Pietikäinen forthcoming). Indeed, the current conditions have put to the test the conceptualizations of languages as unified, bounded entities separate from the social world (cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003). These notions have been challenged both from the inside by the integrational linguistics of Harris (1981), and by studies of language ideologies (Blommaert 1999; Kroskrity 2002; Woolard 2004) and heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981; Dufva 2010), which aim to understand how language and multilingualism may be understood differently in different contexts.

Language Ideologies

The reconfiguration of core–periphery relations is, of course, a process taking place wherever people are mobilizing and reorganizing linguistic resources. It is for this reason, that the current volume examines centralizing and peripheralizing processes in changing and evolving multilingual minority language sites. Such a focus allows for the analysis and juxtaposition of sites where struggles, tensions, and innovations between various language ideologies are often made explicit, and their logics and the borders they attempt to create and maintain are being tested (see e.g. Jaffe 1999; Busch 2006; da Silva, McLaughlin, and Richards 2006; Pietikäinen 2010). Being named and categorized as a minority language is a result of centralizing and peripheralizing processes. To unpack these complexities, we draw on language ideological work on multilingual contexts (Blommaert 1999; Irvine and Gal 2000; Kroskrity 2000; Gal and Woolard 2001; Hill 2002; Gal 2006; Heller 2006; Jaffe 2007) and understand language ideologies as discursive constructs of the nature and meaning of language that are historically embedded and locally appropriated. Language ideologies carry and convey articulations and beliefs about the nature,

value, and functions of languages and are, at the same time, embedded in actual language practices of individuals and communities. This conception emphasizes the diachronic nature of any particular language ideology, its situational manifestation, and the impact it has on actual language practices.

The idea of a language ideological struggle implies the simultaneous existence of various language ideologies, particularly in contemporary evolving multilingual situations where language boundaries and norms are often dislocated, in flux, or renegotiated (cf. Nevins 2004; Meek 2007; Jaffe 2009; Pietikäinen 2010). This makes multilingual minority language sites a complex space for various ideological conflicts and contestations (cf. Lytra and Martin 2010), and consequently, important and revealing sites for examining the evolving notions of language, multilingualism, and other related concepts. As mentioned earlier, being considered and classified as a minority language is itself a result of language ideological processes and directly related to periphery/centre hierarchies. By their very existence, minority languages undermine the prevailing ideology of monolingualism and its message of ‘one country, one language’. This language ideology is, of course, nurtured particularly within the context of the nation state and national identity (cf. Wright 2000), which involves creating a strong core with its own norms and clearly defined peripheries. Minority language sites also provide evidence of what has been ‘won’ by minorities from the core. This evidence typically consists of some central institutions that the core has brought into the peripheries, and which function either fully or partly in minority languages and through the minority language community. This combination of economic, political, geographic, and ideological processes, as well as other factors, has meant that minority language sites ‘have always had to invest in one form of multilingualism’ (da Silva, McLaughlin, and Richards 2006: 185).

We can identify at least two language ideological formations that have structured our understanding of multilingualism and consequently have had an influence on how individuals experience ‘languages’ and talk about them. One powerful conceptualization, born and bred within the ideological framework of nation states and national languages, has been the idea that languages are autonomous and unified entities—often described as formal linguistic codes—with an ‘essential’ or natural relationship with a particular territory or the collective identity of a particular group, and essentially ‘different’ and ‘separate’ from each other (Heller 2006; Jaffe 2007). At the same time, we have also documented an alternative ideological formation—that manifests itself, for example, in discourses of plurilingual identities and competencies or ‘polycentric’ and ‘polynomic’ languages and language practices (Zarate, Levy, and Kramsch 2008; Jaffe 2009; Pietikäinen 2010). Also, as Bakhtin (1981) suggests, language can be imagined in terms of coexisting socio-ideological ways of speaking that, on one hand, emerge in a situated fashion, but, on the other, echo the past history. This heteroglossic perspective sees language as a practice, highlighting its expressive and communicative functions as opposed to linguistic form (cf. Dufva 2004; Heller 2006; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Pennycook 2010; Dufva and Pietikäinen, forthcoming). It can be argued that this perspective also captures the

[8] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

experiences of many multilingual speakers more appropriately by recognizing the inherent diversity and hybridity that characterizes multilingual living (Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Kramsch 2009). Further, this understanding of language seems to be in accord with—or perhaps even grow from—the various material and ideological shifts associated with processes of multilingualism under globalization.

The tensions between these two ideologies provide the dynamics of the core–periphery relationship. While the core has traditionally been seen as the source of norms to be adopted in peripheries, contributors to the volume explore how the dynamics of the core–periphery relationship might instead lead to the derivation of new and multiple normativities; and to various tensions which emerge from the dialectics between existing and emerging practices (cf. Heller 1999, 2006; Jaffe 2006; Kelly-Holmes, Moriarty, and Pietikäinen 2009; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011). Peripheral sites allow the examination of the shift from a core-driven system of norms to fragmented and constantly changing systems of normativities. Norms were—and still are—generally the preserve and under the control of centres, with language policy being oriented towards, as well as formulated and implemented by, powerful centres (Wright 2004). The contemporary era has, however, witnessed a shift from these centrally controlled norms to polycentric normativities (Pennycook 2010; Pietikäinen 2010). In the ‘practice turn’ (Pennycook 2010; Kelly-Holmes and Milani 2011; cf. also Rampton 2006), normativities are now also seen as the outcome of various communities of practice and as such they are more fluid and situational than norms which were linked to fairly well-established and territorially bounded speech communities. Thus we see a shift from one centre which controls and decides norms, to multiple centres of normativity decided according to needs, situations, conditions, etc. Previously, it was—at least to a great extent—the core, with its large bureaucracy and complex network of institutions that decided, encoded, propagated, and policed norms. Even in areas where there was no explicit process, because of the dominance of the centre, what happened was invariably what was proper in a *de facto*, implicit (Schiffman 1996) or covert (Shohamy 2006) way. However, peripheral sites can themselves become the centres of new norms—deciding and showing what is and is not acceptable (Bourdieu 1991), at least within the local judgement of the community of that particular site. These processes may lead to innovative combinations of global and local resources, which bring forth tensions that we would like to explore in the volume. The practices and normativities that emerge from centre–periphery relations can be seen as part of a wider process in sociolinguistics of rethinking multilingualism (Heller 2006; Jaffe 2006; Rampton 2006; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Blackledge and Creese 2009; Blommaert 2010; Coupland 2010; Pennycook 2010).

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The contributions to the volume examine the variability and complexities of the processes and practices of peripheralizing and centralizing tendencies in

multilingualism in a wide range of economic, cultural, political, and physical peripheral sites and spaces (tourism, education, minority language rights and politics, airports, gender relations, marketing, websites) in different geographic locations (Austria, Canada, Corsica, Catalonia, Finland, Ireland, Patagonia, Spain, Slovenia, United States, Wales). All contributions demonstrate how the constantly changing core–periphery relationship plays an important role in understanding and reconfiguring multilingualism in current conditions of localized and lived aspects of globalization, particularly in relation to mobility, minority language spaces, and authenticity. The contributors draw on ethnographic, discursive, and sociolinguistic methods and share a common interest in ‘big issues’ (markets, mobility, economy, identity, etc.) as manifested in local language practices and experiences. The contributions to this volume show the impact of globalization, particularly in terms of (new) economic conditions, processes, and mobilities. By examining a range of cases of multilingualism in peripheral minority language sites in a variety of locations, the volume aims to provide a major insight into the various, emerging ways whereby centrality and peripherality are both created, maintained, and contested by the current flows and circulations, resulting in emerging ways of organizing and exploiting linguistic resources.

In Chapter 2, Monica Heller takes Francophone Canada as an example and examines the historical development of multilingual peripheries as a process of internal colonialism. She links this development to the rise of the nation state and its colonial expansion. With an ethnographic approach she examines some of the ways in which those peripheries now change position in a globalized new economy in which multilingualism is an asset rather than a problem to be controlled. The analysis shows how these changes and negotiations call into question common-sense ideas about language and identity, as well as notions of centres and peripheries.

Mireille McLaughlin also deals with Francophone Canada in Chapter 3, but she focuses on *Acadie*, the transnational Canadian and American linguistic minority, peripheral to many cultural and political centres. She adopts a concept of ‘multilingual capital’ and uses it to explore Acadian cultural production (in literature, comedy, music) in the globalizing economy. Her ethnographic analysis shows how Acadian artists mobilize local forms of multilingualism to index their peripheral cultural position, in order to present themselves as counter-cultural and to construct Acadian identity as cool for global niche markets.

In Chapter 4, Joan Pujolar examines the intersection of heritage, gender, and peripherality in the context of Welsh tourism. He argues that in this site, the concept of heritage is indexical of peripherality within the framework of modernity. By using a multi-sited ethnographic approach, he analyzes the different dimensions of peripherality constituted by dichotomies such as gender and nation, gender and tourism, and tourism and nation. He emphasizes how multilingual practices in such contexts reflect and contribute to constructing these articulations, in which ideologies of modernity play a key role.

The fifth chapter, by Sari Pietikäinen, focuses on indigenous Sámi heritage tourism in Finnish Lapland, a geographical periphery but simultaneously a cultural centre for the Sámi community. Using discourse analytical and ethnographic approaches, she examines what gets constructed as authentic in this context and what kind of tensions and creativity the economic capitalization of authenticity generates. Applying Bakhtinian concepts of centripetal and centrifugal forces, she shows how the dynamicity between standardized and flexible authentication practices creates a polycentric environment for multilingual and indigenous language practices and thus problematizes what is perceived as ‘central’ and what is perceived as ‘peripheral’.

In Chapter 6, Alexandra Jaffe and Cedric Oliva examine how linguistic boundaries and statuses are negotiated through Corsican and other languages in commercial and tourist spaces in Corsica. Their ethnographic analysis shows how continuity with dominant, monolingual ideologies of language and identity is articulated within a historical, Corsican-French oppositional relationship. The findings suggest the ways in which Corsican may be repositioned as a form of ‘added cultural value’ in the tourist market, and the possibilities and tensions in terms of identity that this new market framework presents for speakers of the minority language. The findings also problematize the notions of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’, showing them not so much as places, but as stance objects evoked in discourses and practices.

Chapter 7, by Helen Kelly-Holmes, is concerned with the tensions between centralizing and peripheralizing practices, policies, and ideologies of individual commercial actors in sites of peripheral multilingualism. The particular site is Dingle in the Corca Dhuibhne *Gaeltacht*, which is a minority language site and designated Irish-speaking/bilingual area, as well as a major tourist destination in South-West Ireland. Using the website of a local pottery workshop, she examines how individual actors in sites of peripheral multilingualism attempt to centralize or peripheralize Irish in their practices and whether individual commercial actors in sites of peripheral multilingualism adopt centre/centrist practices and ideologies (e.g. norm-driven, standards, parallel monolingualism, modernist concepts) or peripheral practices and ideologies.

In Chapter 8, Nikolas Coupland takes the trajectory of Welsh tea as an example of the mobility between variously perceived ‘centres’ and ‘peripheries’. His analysis illustrates how shifting historical and geographical circumstances have variously positioned Wales and the Welsh language as more or less autonomous, and more or less peripheral, within particular cultural economies. The analysis demonstrates how core–periphery relations are always relative and subject to radical transformation from one national or international configuration to another.

Chapter 9, by Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow, examines airports as particular spaces of mobility and multilingualism. The semiotic landscapes of Cardiff Airport and Seattle-Tacoma International Airport are analysed in order to show how various discursive practices, including multilingual displays, are organized around different spatial norms and how they are shaped by the polycentricity of airports.

The analysis emphasizes how the mobility of languages, people, and objects reconfigures our understanding of centres and peripheries.

In Chapter 10, Brigitta Busch takes the region of Southern Carinthia in southernmost Austria as a site to examine how the seemingly static relationship between language and territory is dislocated. With an analysis of language practices, as well as discursive and spatial practices, she shows how changes at the economic and political macro level are translated into linguistic manifestations in the representational space at a micro level. The analysis also highlights how irony challenges the traditional bipolar and asymmetrical language regime and gives expression to growing linguistic diversification.

Finally, the concluding chapter reflects on the contributions to the volume and assesses the opportunities and challenges presented by adopting a peripheral multilingualism approach.

As all contributions to this volume show, the complex interactions between individual practices and institutional norms and ideologies, between language as system and language as everyday life, are seen as necessary and inherent to the novel practices that are emerging, and challenging us to rethink and re-image what language means. We are living in a time of transition in understanding and conceptualizing language: we are already witnessing a shift to a view of language as a heteroglossic resource (Busch 2006; Pietikäinen 2010; Dufva and Pietikäinen, forthcoming) and as repertoire (Hymes 1974; Blommaert 2010); as a local practice (Pennycook 2010) and as the emotional and performative individual practices of subjects (Pavlenko 2005; Kramsch 2009; Blackledge and Creese 2010). Sites of peripheral multilingualism, we argue, provide important and revealing spaces to explore the processes, practices, and consequences of reinventing and reconfiguring the borders and values of linguistic and other semiotic resources, linked to the new economy of local resources and to the mobility and circulation of people and products.

REFERENCES

- Andrew, Simon A., and Richard C. Feiock. 2010. Core–peripheral structure and regional governance: Implications of Paul Krugman's new economic geography for public administration. *Public Administration Review* 70 (3): 494–499.
- Ang, Jen, and Jon Stratton. 1996. Asianing Australia: Notes toward a critical transnationalism in cultural studies. *Cultural Studies* 10 (1): 16–36.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7: 295–310.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bauman, Richard, and Charles L. Briggs. 2003. *Voices of modernity: Language ideologies and the politics of inequality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[12] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

- Blackledge, Adrian, and Angela Creese. 2009. Meaning-making as dialogic process: Official and carnival lives in the language classroom. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* 8 (4): 236–253.
- Blackledge, Adrian, and Angela Creese. 2010. *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Block, Andrew J. 2005. Language policy in the Basque Autonomous Community: Implications for nationalism. *Michigan Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 5–65.
- Blommaert, Jan, ed. 1999. *Language ideological debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Burke, Peter. 2000. *A social history of knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Busch, Brigitta. 2006. Changing media spaces: The transformative power of heteroglossic practices. In *Language ideologies, practices and policies*, ed. Clare Mar-Molinero and Patrick Stevenson, 206–219. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Canagarajah, A. Suresh, ed. 2005. *Reclaiming the local in language policy and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, A. Suresh. 2007. Lingua franca English, multilingual communities, and language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal* 91 (5): 923–939.
- Centre-periphery model. 1998. *A dictionary of sociology*, ed. Gordon Marshall. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chakravorty, Sanjoy. 2003. Urban development in the global periphery: The consequences of economic and ideological globalization. *Annals of Regional Science* 37: 357–367.
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2003. Introduction: Sociolinguistics and globalisation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 465–472.
- Coupland, Nikolas, ed. 2010. *Handbook of language and globalization*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Da Silva, Emmanuel, Mireille McLaughlin, and Mary Richards. 2006. Bilingualism and the globalized new economy: The commodification of language and identity. In *Bilingualism: A social approach*, ed. Monica Heller, 183–206. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. 1987. *A thousand plateaus*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- De Swaan, Abram. 2001. *Words of the world: The global language system*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dor, Daniel. 2004. From englishization to imposed multilingualism: Globalization, the internet, and the political economy of the linguistic code. *Public Culture* 16 (1): 97–118.
- Dufva, Hannele. 2004. Language, thinking and embodiment. In *Bakhtinian perspectives on language and culture: Meaning in language, art and new media*, ed. Finn Bostad, Craig Brandist, Lars Sigfred Evensen, and Hege Charlotte Faber, 133–146. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dufva, Hannele. 2010. Reclaiming the mind: Dialogism, language learning and the importance of considering cognition. In *Proceedings of the Second International Interdisciplinary Conference on Perspectives and Limits of Dialogism in Mikhail Bakhtin*, June 3–5, 2009, ed. K. Junefelf and P. Nordin. Stockholm: University of Stockholm.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2006. *Language and globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Freeland, Jane, and Donna Patrick, eds. 2004. *Language rights and language survival: Sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspectives*. Encounters Volume 4. Manchester and Northampton: St. Jerome Publishing.

- Friedmann, John. 1966. *Regional development policy: A case study of Venezuela*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Gal, Susan. 2006. Contradictions of standard language in Europe: Implications for the study of publics and practices. *Social Anthropology* 14 (2): 163–181.
- Gal, Susan, and Kathryn Woolard, eds. 2001. *Languages and publics: The making of authority*. Manchester: St. Jerome's Press.
- García, Ofelia, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, and María Torres Guzmán, eds. 2006. *Imagining multilingual schools: Languages in education and glocalization*. Series *Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Goldfrank, Walter L. 2000. Paradigm regained? The rules of Wallerstein's world-system method. *Journal of World-Systems Research* 6 (2): 150–195.
- Graburn, Nelson H. H., ed. 1976. *Ethnic and tourist arts: Cultural expressions from the Fourth World*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Hall, Stuart. 1992. New ethnicities. In 'Race', culture and difference, ed. James Donald and Ali Rattanasri, 252–260. London: Sage.
- Harris, Roxy M. 2006. *New ethnicities and language use*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Harris, Roy. 1981. *The language myth*. London: Duckworth.
- Harris, Roy. 1996. *Signs, language and communication*. London: Routledge.
- Hayter, Roger. 2003. The war in the woods: Globalization, post-Fordist restructuring and the contested remapping of British Columbia's forest economy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96: 706–729.
- Heller, Monica. 1999. *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Heller, Monica. 2003. Globalization, the new economy and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 473–492.
- Heller, Monica, ed. 2006. *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, Monica. 2011. *Paths to Post-nationalism: A critical ethnography of language and identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, Monica, and Alexandre Duchêne. 2007. Discourses of endangerment: Sociolinguistics, globalisation and social order. In *Discourses of endangerment*, ed. Alexandre Duchene and Monica Heller, 1–13. London: Continuum.
- Hill, Jane. H. 2002. Expert rhetorics in advocacy for endangered languages: Who is listening, and what do they hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12: 119–133.
- Hymes, Dell. 1974. *Foundations of sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity, 35–83. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in action: Language politics on Corsica*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 2006. Minority language movements. In *Bilingualism: A social approach*, ed. Monica Heller, 50–70. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 2007. Discourses of endangerment: Contexts and consequences of essentializing discourses. In *Discourses of endangerment*, ed. A. Duchene and M. Heller, 57–75. London: Continuum.
- Jaffe, Alexandra. 2009. The production and reproduction of language ideologies in practice. In *The new sociolinguistics reader*, ed. N. Coupland and A. Jaworski, 390–404. New York: Palgrave.
- Jaworski, Adam, and Crispin Thurlow. 2010. Introducing semiotic landscapes. In *Semiotic landscapes: Language, image, space*, ed. Adam Jaworski and Crispin Thurlow, 1–40. London: Continuum.

[14] *Multilingualism and the Periphery*

- Jenkins, Jenifer. 2007. *English as a lingua franca: Attitudes and identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnston, R. J., Derek Gregory, Geraldine Pratt, and Michael Watts, eds. 2000. *The dictionary of human geography*. 4th edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kachru, Braj. 1996. World Englishes: Agony and ecstasy. *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 30 (2): 135–155.
- Kelly-Holmes, Helen, and Tomasso Milani. 2011. Thematising multilingualism in the media. *Special issue of Journal of Language and Politics* 10 (4): 467–489.
- Kelly-Holmes, Helen, Máiréad Moriarty, and Sari Pietikäinen. 2009. Convergence and divergence in Basque, Irish and Sámi media language policing. *Language & Policy* 8: 227–242.
- Kramsch, Claire. 2009. *The multilingual subject: What language learners say about their experience and why it matters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. ed. 2000. *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Kroskrity, Paul V. 2002. Language renewal and technologies of literacy and postliteracy: Reflections from Western Mono. In *Making dictionaries: Preserving Indigenous languages of the Americas*, ed. William Frawley, Kenneth C. Hill, and Pamela Munro, 171–192. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lytra, Vally, and Peter Martin. 2010. *Sites of multilingualism: Complementary schools in Britain today*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham.
- Mac Giolla Christ, Diarmait. 2007. *Language and the city*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Makoni, Sinfree, and Alastair Pennycook. 2007. Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*, ed. Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook, 1–41. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- May, Stephen. 2007. *Language and minority rights*. London and New York: Taylor and Francis.
- McCulloch, Gary, and Ron Lowe. 2003. Introduction: Centre and periphery: Networks, space, and geography in the history of education. *History of Education* 32 (5): 457–459.
- Meek, Barbra A. 2007. Respecting the language of elders: Ideological shift and linguistic discontinuity in a Northern Athapascan community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 17 (1): 23–43.
- Moore, Robert E., Sari Pietikäinen, and Jan Blommaert. 2010. Counting the losses: Numbers as the language of language endangerment. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 4 (1): 1–26.
- Nevins, M. Eleanor. 2004. Learning to listen: Confronting two meanings of language loss in the contemporary White Mountain Apache speech community. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 14 (2): 269–288.
- Ostler, Nicholas. 2010. *The last lingua franca: English until the return to Babel*. London: Allen Lane.
- Park, Joseph S., and Lionel Wee. 2009. The three circle redux: A market-theoretic perspective on World Englishes. *Applied Linguistics* 30 (3): 389–506.
- Pavlenko, Aneta, ed. 2005. *Languages and emotions in multilingual speakers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2007. *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2010. *Language as a local practice*. London: Routledge.
- Philips, Susan U. 2000. Constructing a Tongan nation-state through language ideology in the courtroom. In *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics and identities*, ed. Paul V. Kroskrity, 229–257. Santa Fe, New Mexico: SAR Press.

- Pietikäinen, Sari. 2010. Sámi language mobility: Scales and discourses of multilingualism in a polycentric environment. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 202: 79–102.
- Pietikäinen, Sari. forthcoming. Spatial interaction. *International Journal of Bilingualism*.
- Pietikäinen, Sari, and Helen Kelly-Holmes. 2011. Gifting, service, and performance: Three eras in minority-language media policy and practice. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 21 (1): 51–70.
- Pietikäinen, Sari, Riikka Alanen, Hannele Dufva, Paula Kalaja, Sirpa Leppänen, and Anne Pitkänen-Huhta. 2008. Linguaging in Ultima Thule: Multilingualism in the life of a Sámi boy. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5 (2): 79–99.
- Potter, Rob. 2001. Geography and development: ‘Core and periphery’? *Area* 33 (4): 422–427.
- Rampton, Ben. 2006. *Language in late modernity: Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffman, Harold. 1996. *Linguistic culture and language policy: The politics of language*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Schubert, Torben, and Radhamany Sooryamoorthy. 2010. Can the centre-periphery model explain patterns of international scientific collaboration among threshold and industrialised countries? The case of South Africa and Germany. *Scientometrics* 83 (1): 181–203.
- Scollon, Ron, and Suzie Wong Scollon. 2004. *Nexus analysis: Discourse and the emerging internet*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Shohamy, Elena. 2006. *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Thurlow, Crispin, and Adam Jaworski. 2010. *Tourism discourse: Language and global mobility*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Vanolo, Alberto. 2010. The border between core and periphery: Geographical representations of the world system. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 101 (1): 26–36.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The modern world-system, Vol. I: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*. New York and London: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1980. *The modern world-system, Vol. II: Mercantilism and the consolidation of the European world-economy, 1600–1750*. New York: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2004. *World-systems analysis: An introduction*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 2004. Codeswitching. In *A companion to linguistic anthropology*, ed. Alessandro Duranti, 73–94. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Wright, Sue. 2000. *Community and communication: The role of language in nation state building and European integration*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Wright, Sue, ed. 2004. Multilingualism and the Internet. *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 6 (1). pp. 183.
- Zarate, Geneviève, Danielle Levy, and Claire Kramersch, eds. 2008. *Précis du plurilinguisme et du pluriculturalisme*. Paris: Editions des Archives Contemporaines.