

## Encountering Complexity

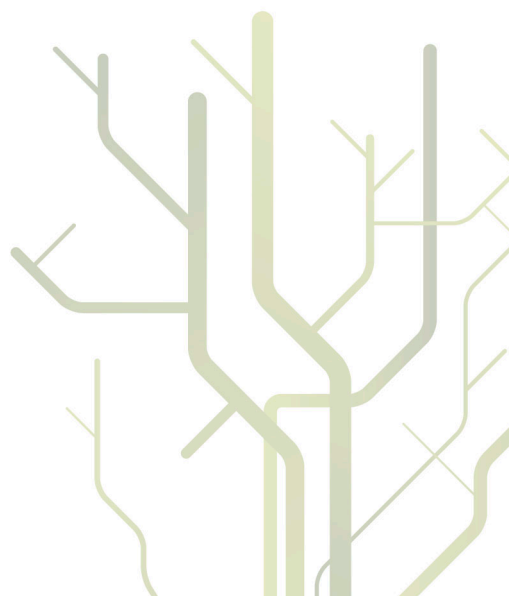
### Hybrid Discourse and Individual Management of Multilingualism and Social Meaning



**Florian Hiss**

A dissertation for the degree of  
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A thesis submitted for the degree of Philosophiae Doctor  
University of Tromsø  
Faculty of Humanities, social Sciences and Education  
Department of Language and Linguistics

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## 1. Introduction

“[...] to say something *is* to do something, or *in* saying something we do something, and even *by* saying something, we do something.” (Austin 1962: 95)

In this study I investigate the agency of individual actors within complex sociolinguistic settings, and the communicative choices they make to manage for themselves and others the complexity and challenges of the situation they find themselves in. The contextual background of this study is the current situation of Sámi in Northern Norway, including various actors' engagement in the Sámi heritage language and in multilingualism issues.

Will the Sámi languages die out? Will strengthening Sámi change local identities? Who is responsible? And what does it mean to the (wo)man on the street? These are some of the questions that individual actors engage in. In an activity-focused, discourse analytic perspective, I shed light on the linguistic implementation of speakers' and writers' individual engagement, participation, and self-organization in a number of specific communicative settings: research interviews in a local community setting, a public debate in the regional capital, and the local media's reports on global assessments of the Sámi languages' current situation.

Against the background of Sámi-Norwegian multilingualism, language shift, and, in particular, the current on-going process of linguistic revitalization, I apply linguistic perspectives on the social and interactional positioning of identities, the negotiation of attitudes and personal stances, and the handling of people's own and others' responsibilities. In six case studies, I investigate the multiple ways in which individuals express their engagement in the preservation of their endangered Sámi heritage language, in the positioning of individual, social, and institutional interests, and in the defence of their established language ideological views. The analyses combine a perspective on the social and situational contexts with close text analysis and focus on the contextualization of contents, experiences, ideas, and participants in linguistic interaction. The main issues are:

- **The handling of risks and uncertainty.** In spite of strong engagement in linguistic preservation and revitalization, language loss remains a realistic risk and a challenge that local language users, experts, researchers, or global institutions encounter and assess in different ways. In the face of permanent change and uncertainty, language offers tools for individuals to explain the

situation, to contextualize it with past experiences and other ideas, and to account for their own assessments of the developments.

- **Responsibilities.** Language revitalization efforts require responsible action. Responsibilities are assigned to various roles, such as institutions, authorities, speech communities, individual speakers, and researchers. As responsibly acting agents, actors who engage in language revitalization processes take and reject responsibilities and assign responsibilities to others. By the use of language, they account for their own actions and stances and hold others accountable.
- **Ideological conflicts and language attitudes.** The empowerment of the Sámi minority and the making of public language policies involve ideological conflicts for all those who hold established ideological views about the social values of different languages in the community. Individuals use linguistic evaluation to defend their own ideological views, to express their opinions, to take stances vis-à-vis diverging positions, and to claim authority in conflict-loaded encounters.
- **Identity and individual positioning.** Identity and positioning run like a thread through all these activities. Speakers and writers position themselves, others, their engagement, intentions, attitudes, and responsibilities in relation to contexts that become relevant in the situation. At the same time, by making use of these contexts, they (re-)position them in the here-and-now settings of communication.

The means by which speakers implement these actions is first and foremost language. As various scholars have stressed, language is the most important tool for us to do what we do in social life (cf. Lakoff 2000; forthcoming 2013; Ochs 1996). Without the linguistic tools of expression and contextualization, we would not have the possibility to negotiate meanings and social relationships, take personal stances, position ourselves and others, take responsibility, or avoid responsibility and allocate it to others. Language enables us to encounter the complexities that surround us.

### **1.1. Both/and! – Agency vis-à-vis Complexity**

The multilingual, sociolinguistic situation in Northern Norway has frequently been characterized as complex (cf. Lane 2010; Sollid 2009; Johansen 2009; Mæhlum

2007; Todal 1998). Factors that give rise to this portrayal are the region's linguistic diversity, multiple social factors that influence decisions for language shift and language choice, shifting attitudes and political preconditions, and the complex interrelations of macro- and micro-level social and sociolinguistic processes.

'Complexity' implies that phenomena are not "either ordered or disordered, either stable or unstable, either organised or disorganised, but could paradoxically be both *at the same time*" (Shaw 2002: 20, emphasis in the original). Complexity – in multilingual settings and any situation of social human life – therefore demands a perspective that stresses both/and-complementarities rather than either/or-dichotomies.

The sociolinguistic context shows multiple forms of variation in relation to time, space, social relations, attitude, and ethnic and local belonging, and it offers options for identification and social positioning with consequences for groups and individuals. None of these options is an either/or-choice. Complexity arises not only from linguistic diversity, the multitude of actors, local settings, and contact situations with quite different preconditions, but also essentially from the actions of all individuals involved, their intentions, and positions in an ever-developing and permanently forward-moving process.

Individual actors take actions and organize for themselves and for their co-participants the complexities, options, and challenges they encounter in these contextual surroundings. This individual agency and self-organization is (consciously or unconsciously) intentional and goal-oriented. Complexity is also a descriptive property of this individual agency and individual actors' management of the situation. I will argue that their discursive engagement can be described as structurally and interactionally hybrid and multifaceted (cf. Sarangi 2000; Sarangi and Roberts 1999).

The linguistic and communicative tools employed in these discursive activities include social and interactional roles and contextual frames, narratives, stance-taking, and metaphor (cf. Sarangi and Candlin 2011; Fairclough 1992; Bamberg et al. 2011; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Goatly 2011; Semino 2008; Schwabenland 2012; Jaffe 2009b; Martin and White 2005).

## **1.2. Aims**

This study investigates how individual engagement and active, individual agency involve with, respond to, and relate to the complex, contextual surroundings and

challenges. The general research question can be formulated as follows: How do individual actors encounter and manage for themselves the complexity of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic situation they find themselves in?

Acting on the assumption that language is the most important and powerful tool to implement these actions, I scrutinize this question and ask how language is used to do this. In more detail, the more specific research questions are:

- How do individuals in their discursive activities position themselves, their identities, and other agents in time and space, vis-à-vis the world and constantly changing contexts?
- How do they encounter the risks and uncertainty of future language development (including the question of language loss vs. continuity)?
- How do people assess diverging language attitudes, and how do they view the relevance of different languages in their worldviews and ideologies?
- How do individuals in these contexts account for their choices/actions/stances, take responsibility, and assign responsibilities to others?
- How do people contextualize the languages of their community and make language-and-society relationships relevant to their actions and decision-making?

### 1.3. Six Case Studies

The study encompasses six case studies which shed light on a variety of aspects of three general cases in different contextual surroundings. The six case studies are included as separate articles in the appendix.

The first two papers deal with functional aspects of the global discourse on language endangerment in its encounter with local interests in Norwegian Sámi media:

- Case study 1: *The metaphors and metafunctions of endangerment discourse*  
 In a number of newspaper texts on the endangered situation of Sámi, I analyse the metaphorical and lexicogrammatical treatment of 'language'. I show that the choice of metaphors supports a tendency to materialize and to present language as a 'thing'. But the analysis also reveals the interpersonal and textual functionality of the use of metaphors in this context. They serve to structure the discourse textually and intertextually and to manage responsibilities for successful language revitalization efforts.

Case study 2: *Sosiale roller og lokale og globale interesser i vurderingen av språksituasjoner ('Social roles and local and global interests in the evaluation of language situations')*

This study analyses how different evaluations of the situation of Sámi emerge in three very similar media texts on the same topic. I show how journalists make relevant the relations between different social roles on the local and global level in their representations of the language situation, how small linguistic choices can change perspectives from optimistic to pessimistic, and how these assessments of the language situation involve different interests.

Case studies 3 and 4 are concerned with the language management and positioning of local stakeholders in research interviews. As in case studies 1 and 2, these papers deal with the management of uncertainties and risks and the negotiation of individual and social responsibilities.

Case study 3: *Managing sociolinguistic challenges. Storytelling about language loss and continuity in the case of Sámi*

The study describes a number of individual informants' assessments of the situation and future prospects for the Sámi language in a local community of Northern Norway. By means of storytelling, the informants counter negative perspectives, involving personal experiences and the common, local history in their assessments.

Case study 4: *Engagement in Sámi language revitalization: Responsibility management in a research interview*

In case study 4 I analyse and discuss an informant's performance of a long and elaborated narrative during a research interview. The informant uses narration as a goal-oriented means to stress the importance of language preservation efforts, to assess responsibilities within the local community, and, drawing on the interview setting and the roles involved in it as a resource, to involve the researcher.

Case studies 5 and 6 deal with language ideologies and strategies of attitudinal positioning during a public debate on Sámi language and identity in the city of Tromsø. The background here is the suggestion to make the municipality of Tromsø part of the administrative area for the Sámi language, which resulted in a public, language ideological debate about ethnic identity and local belonging.

Case study 5: *Tromsø as a "Sámi town"? – Language ideologies, attitudes, and debates surrounding bilingual language policies*

The study analyses the mechanisms of evaluative meaning-making and personal engagement in the controversy about the Sámi language, ethnicity, and local identity in the city of Tromsø. I show how people in their comments anchor their stances to underlying language ideologies, how they create and reinforce ideological boundaries around the Sámi and Norwegian languages, and how they at the same time seek to construe bonds with their respondents.

Case study 6: *Tromsø som samisk by? – Språkkideologier og mediens rolle i språkdebatten ('Tromsø as a Sámi town? – Language ideologies and the media's role in the language debate')*

In face of the strong ideological tenor of the debate about Sámi language and identity in the city of Tromsø, I discuss the role of the local media as a broker and fighting arena during the debate. I show how journalists position

themselves in relation to the multitude of voices in the debate, and I discuss how journalistic practices centrally contribute to the ideologization of the issue in the public and to reinforcing ideological boundaries.

These case studies cover a relatively wide range of different instances of linguistic engagement. All of them present linguistic actions of different qualities and in different contextual frames that are directly focused on Sámi language and multilingualism.

#### **1.4. Outline**

In this framing text, I proceed as follows: In chapter 2, I begin with an overview of the general, socio-historical and linguistic backgrounds, sketching the current socio-political and sociolinguistic situation of Sámi in Norway and its inherent challenges. Embedded in these general background frames, I introduce the three sites of fieldwork, their most relevant contextual frames, and the collection of data.

In chapter 3, I discuss the relationship between action and context, and I explain the theoretical basis for a context-oriented, functional analysis as an approach to individual agencies within the complex sociolinguistic settings. Chapter 4 ties in with the theoretical explanations in chapter 3 and discusses identity, storytelling, stance-taking, and responsibility as four concrete discursive activities that are carried out through the use of language, and I present linguistic and analytic tools to approach and investigate these activities.

Chapter 5 presents the outcomes of the separate case studies and contextualizes them beyond what was the focus of the single articles. The final chapter 6 presents a concluding discussion and generalizations, and it gives concrete answers to the research questions posited in this introductory chapter.



## **2. Sociolinguistic Background**

The background for this study is the on-going process of maintenance and revitalization of Sámi language and culture in Northern Norway. The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the situation and the languages involved in this process, and to sketch a number of processes and factors that fundamentally shape the complexity and challenges inherent in the situation.

### **2.1. A Multilingual Region**

Multilingualism has a long tradition in Northern Norway, which has been culturally and linguistically characterized by the meeting of Germanic and Finno-Ugric languages.

Northern Norway is part of the North Calotte region, which in the widest sense of its definition encompasses the northern (arctic) parts of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, and the Russian Kola Peninsula (cf. Kulonen et al. 2005). About 30 per cent of the land area in Norway, Sweden, and Finland can be counted as belonging to the North Calotte region, but only 5 per cent of the countries' total population live here. Cultural and linguistic contacts and the living environments of different ethnic groups have historically existed in the region beyond the borders of the nation-states. Compared to the very small overall population, the linguistic and cultural diversity has been very rich. Though several of the traditional languages of the region are in danger of disappearing, the North Calotte region is still the home of speakers of a multitude of traditional languages (cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2010). Besides the national languages Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian, one counts several different Sámi languages, Kven (in Norway), and Meänkieli (in Sweden) as autochthonous languages of the region (Lindgren 2009; Huss 1999; Huss and Lindgren 1999). In Norway, Sámi is formally acknowledged as an indigenous language, and it is protected through the Norwegian constitution and the ILO-convention no. 169. Kven was accepted as a national minority language of Norway in 2005. It is legally protected through the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Also some of the nation-states' national languages are in use beyond the national borders, in addition to a larger number of immigrant languages (Bull and Lindgren 2009). English, too, has come to play an increasingly important role in the everyday lives of many people (e.g. Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Bull and Swan 2009).

Thus, also in spite of a widespread bias that considers monolingualism the norm in the nation states, the region and many of its inhabitants traditionally have been and still are multilingual in various ways.

### *2.1.1. The Sámi languages*

The group of the Sámi languages is considered the westernmost branch of the Finno-Ugric language family (Sammallahti 1998; Abondolo 1998). Within the genetic model, their closest Finno-Ugric relatives are the Finnic languages (including amongst others Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Kven, and Meänkieli). Today's Sámi languages bear also many traces of long-term contact with the neighbouring Indo-European languages (cf. Korhonen 1981; Aikio 2006; Magga 2005a). Nowadays, one normally counts ten different Sámi languages in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia (from the Southwest to the Northeast): South Sámi, Ume Sámi, Pite Sámi, Lule Sámi, North Sámi, Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi, Akkala Sámi, Kildin Sámi, and Ter Sámi (e.g. Sammallahti 1998). Other Sámi varieties such as Kemi Sámi have been extinct for more than a hundred years. The same holds true for many coastal Sámi dialects in Northern Norway. The estimated total number of Sámi speakers varies between approximately 25,000 and approximately 35,000, where the major part of Sámi users speaks North Sámi (20,000-30,000 speakers) (cf. e.g. Lewis 2009; Moseley 2010). The other Sámi languages have considerably fewer users. Some are considered almost extinct. All numbers are, however, very vague. In their recently published Sámi language survey, Solstad et al. (2012: 12) admit that the most accurate information about speaker numbers they can provide are "qualified guesses". Magga (2005b) states that any discussion about the position of the Sámi languages in society needs to be mostly based on personal estimate and discretion, because accurate data are missing.

The traditional Sámi language area stretches from Dalarna in western central Sweden and Hedmark in eastern Norway in the Southwest up to the Russian Kola Peninsula in the Northeast. Originally, the Sámi languages are said to have formed a continuum of dialects. Language maps of the Sámi varieties cover major parts of Fennoscandia. Language contact and language shift have, however, led to a situation where mostly small Sámi speaking communities are spread over large areas with long distances in-between. Though most scholars have agreed on speaking about different Sámi languages, there is still a discussion of whether the Sámi languages are to be

considered as different and independent languages or as dialects (e.g. Todal 1998: 356). Here, I follow a widespread linguistic practice and use the general term *Sámi* to refer to all these languages and to the particular varieties that are used and talked about in the respective settings.

Though the home of most speakers of Sámi has traditionally been in the rural regions of the North Calotte, many of them have also moved to urban areas, where some of them use and develop their heritage language in new, urban contexts (cf. Lindgren 2000).

The historical and currently on-going processes of language shift, language loss, maintenance, and revitalization are the most central background of this study, and they have strongly influenced the current language situation, linguistically and in terms of language use, numbers of speakers, and sociocultural value.

## **2.2. Language Shift and Revitalization**

The processes of language shift and revitalization are closely interconnected. Language shift and preservation have throughout the historical development gone on simultaneously. In spite of the nation states' severe assimilation policies and the radical language shift in many families and communities, users of Sámi have preserved their heritage language until today. At the same time, in spite of intensive revitalization activities, the irreversible disappearance of the Sámi languages is still an actual risk (cf. Magga 2005b). These two processes of language shift and maintenance that have permanently worked against each other have an essential impact on the current sociolinguistic situation – with respect to both the practical use of Sámi and speakers' metalinguistic views and attitudes. Below, I give a short overview of the historical development that has led to the situation we encounter today.

### *2.2.1. Assimilation and language shift*

The large-scale language shift from Sámi to Norwegian is a process that has been influenced by multiple social, cultural, political, economic, and ideological factors. On the individual level, to abandon their own Sámi or Kven mother tongue in favour of Norwegian was a personal choice of all those parents who decided not to pass their language on to their children (cf. Johansen 2009: 50; Lane 2010). However, such a

choice was motivated by social pressure from the majority society, from the church, the schools, and the state authorities.

Bull (1994; 1995) describes the process of language shift in an originally trilingual (Sámi, Kven, Norwegian) coastal community. The local community, where large parts of the adult population were at least to some degree trilingual around 1900, underwent a language shift to monolingual Norwegian within a few generations. In the 1990s, Sámi was only in use as a home language by the oldest generation. However, as a consequence of conscious or unconscious linguistic choices of the language shifters, a new Norwegian ethnolect emerged, which can be understood in terms of speakers maintaining some kind of linguistic identity marker, resisting total Norwegianization (Bull 1995: 133). In such cases, assimilation and language shift have not only resulted in majority-language monolingualism but also in the emergence of new linguistic forms with a specific sociolinguistic function and in greater sociolinguistic complexity. Johansen (2009) describes a similar, complex development in the local community of Manndalen in Gáivuotna/Kåfjord.

Using the methods of Nexus analysis, Lane (2010) shows that multiple, interacting macro-level social factors, like language policies and attitudes toward minorities, have an influence on the maintenance and loss of minority languages such as Kven or Sámi (p. 77), but she also stresses that it remains challenging to precisely identify the ways in which these macro-level factors directly or indirectly affect the individuals' choices. She sees language shift as a long-term outcome of many decisions and actions of individual actors, much more complex than a simple cause-effect relationship.

For many of the people who chose to abandon their own heritage language, this choice was closely connected with a wish for a better life, and a wish to escape the social pressure they were under. Many believed that if they taught their children Norwegian instead of Sámi or Kven, their children would not need to suffer the same pejorative treatment that they had experienced. In many schools, Sámi and Kven pupils were not allowed to use their mother tongues, not even during the breaks. Children's experiences of these assimilation practices are still frequently narrated, and they have become a symbol of the pressure that members of many Sámi and Kven families had to suffer.

The Sámi and Kven languages had become stigmatized symbols of poverty in the rural communities. Especially after World War II, the Norwegian national language was

considered the code which gave access to more economical prosperity, modern life, and participation in the advantages of the welfare state. Minority culture appeared to be associated with an out-dated way of life, poverty, and social inequality (Huss and Lindgren 1999: 305). At that point of time and in that socio-historical context, abandoning the heritage language and shifting to Norwegian was therefore seen as an achievement for many Sámi and Kven families and as an emancipation from an out-dated past (cf. Huss and Lindgren 1999; Johansen 2009).

These experiences exemplify the complex social processes and experiences of the assimilation period, and the central role of social values and meanings that were attached to the languages. The language shift to Norwegian remains a difficult topic in many communities and families, especially because many members of the younger generations nowadays see the language shift, which there and then was perceived of as an achievement, as a painful loss.

### 2.2.2. *Revitalization and maintenance*

Though the Norwegian state had abandoned its official assimilation policy already in the 1950s, the great ethno-political turning point did not come until some decades later, in the 1980s. Today, the Alta controversy, which arose from the protests against the construction of a dam and hydroelectric power plant at the Alta river (1978-1982) and culminated in massive protests by Sámi people and environmental activists, is seen as a landmark in the development of Sámi and indigenous politics in Norway and in the Nordic countries (cf. Pedersen and Høgmo 2012). As a consequence of the protests, a number of basic legal regulations to secure Sámi interests, language, and culture came into being. The Norwegian Parliament adopted the Sámi Act in 1987, which laid the foundation for the election of the Norwegian Sámi Parliament in 1989. A Sámi paragraph was added to the Norwegian constitution in 1988, which obliges the state authorities to make sure that the Sámi can secure and develop their language, culture, and social life. The language regulations of the Sámi Act were adopted in 1990, establishing the Administrative Area for the Sámi Language (*forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk*), which offers the inhabitants of a number of municipalities the right to equally use Sámi and Norwegian when they are in contact with public authorities, health services, the church, courts, the police, etc. All children living in the administrative area are also granted the right to school education in Sámi. In addition,

Norway was the first state to ratify the UN's Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (ILO-convention no. 169), officially recognizing the Sámi as an indigenous people.

These events constituted a radical shift in Norwegian Sámi politics. They have shaped today's official language policies, and they form the background of today's generations' understanding of Sáminess and ethnic belonging. The process of cultural and linguistic revitalization is closely connected to questions of identity. According to the social scientists Pedersen and Høgmo (2012: 59), Sámi revitalization deals with various forms of identification with Sámi culture and history, and it cannot be defined unambiguously. This identification has many forms of expression and varies in its force from quite diffuse feelings to clearly articulated affiliation to the Sámi nation. Sámi revitalization has many facets and refers to a continuous process within which Sámi identity is produced and reproduced. There is a multitude of conceptions of what it means to have a Sámi identity, and a large creativity that moves between tradition and new forms and contexts, especially among younger people. Linguistic revitalization is not separate from these issues of culture and identity. It reveals the same heterogeneity, multitude of perceptions, and modes of engagement.

Language revitalization processes are classically described as reversing language shift (cf. Fishman 1991; 2001; Huss 1999). Huss (1999: 24) understands revitalization as “a conscious effort to curtail the assimilative development of a language which has been steadily decreasing in use and to give it new life and vigour”. This process includes re-learning the language, increased literacy, and entering the language into new, prestigious domains of use. Language revitalization, as Huss describes it, and ethnic Sámi revitalization, as Pedersen and Høgmo (2012) describe it, are closely connected in the views of many individuals engaged in these processes. For many of them, language revitalization also means increased and openly articulated identification with the language.

Individual forms of engagement are grounded in different experiences from the assimilation period (personal experience or narrated experiences from previous generations), contacts with active users of Sámi and other social actors, their perceptions and attitudes, and they have to do with the practical challenges of learning the language and taking it into use in one's familiar surroundings.

In different local communities, language revitalization has started up under very different preconditions. In the coastal areas, where assimilation had started early, language shift had proceeded quite far before revitalization policies became effective. In

many local communities, one or more generations had not learned Sámi before interest in the language was renewed. Though the ethnic revival was very successful at some places, and Sámi identity has gained high prestige in many contexts, the linguistic revitalization remains very challenging and more complicated in these coastal areas. This process developed very differently in the inner Finnmark communities where language shift had just started when the ethnic revival sat in. For example, Todal (2002) describes the successful reversal of a beginning language shift in two families in Kárášjohka/Karasjokk within only 15 years between 1985 and 2000.

Both assimilation and revitalization involve attitudes and conceptions of value. Sámi revitalization in general entails, and is a consequence of, a large-scale shift of dominant language ideologies and a breaking-down of structures of inequality and the creation of circumstances more favourable to equality (Huss and Lindgren 2011: 2; cf. also Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003a: 3). Multilingualism is no longer considered harmful, but a positive advantage, and ethnic and linguistic diversity enhance democratic participation in a pluralistic society (Huss and Lindgren 1999). The Sámi language has become important and valuable for many individuals who wish to learn and preserve it. People feel an “affective need” for it (Rasmussen and Nolan 2011: 52). Beyond this, they see instrumental advantages, such as job opportunities in the Sámi speaking areas, connected to proficiency in Sámi (Todal 2002; Rasmussen and Nolan 2011). However, as I demonstrate in case studies 5 and 6 on the language political controversy in Tromsø, efforts to strengthen and revitalize Sámi still challenge and are challenged by established language ideologies.

The biggest challenge for the linguistic revitalization of Sámi is its practical implementation. While positive language attitudes and good official language policies enhance language choice and the use of Sámi, individuals and communities encounter multiple practical obstacles. The choice and use of Sámi is complicated by the lack of sufficient language proficiency and resources (cf. Solstad et al. 2012). Quite often, young parents have to learn Sámi together with their children (cf. Huss 1999: 103). This is, e.g., the case in many homes in Gáivuotna/Kåfjord (cf. case study 3). The language they know best, and for most of them the most immediate choice for communication in their familiar surroundings, is Norwegian. In these cases, families need a lot of pedagogical and practical support from the community, schools, kindergartens, and the municipalities’ language centres. Beyond the fundamental precondition of language skills, Rasmussen and Nolan (2011: 52) name precisely the lack of sufficient support

from the local communities and schools, lack of support within the family, and first of all the individuals' own defeatist attitude as typical obstacles. Further challenges for learners of Sámi can be found in language socialization, taking the language into use within the community and establishing social patterns of usage, the acceptance and integration of "new" speakers by first language speakers, and inexperienced speakers' encounter with normative language ideologies of the so-called "language police", experienced speakers who tend to correct and criticize new speakers (Solstad et al. 2012: 161; cf. also Robert 2009; McEwan-Fujita 2010).

Against the complexity of the developments and challenges, and contextual preconditions that I have described above, it is not easy to predict what the final results of the current revitalization efforts might be. Huss and Lindgren (2011) stress that such processes imply change, both in the social relationships of power (at all levels from international and national politics to individual linguistic encounters), and in language itself. Revitalization is definitely not the way back to a previous state. It is a forward directed development, loaded with multiple social meanings, which involves and responds to multiple contexts.

### **2.3. Speakers and the Language(s) – Complex Relations**

Language contact and the processes of language shift, maintenance, and revitalization have led to a sociolinguistic situation which best can be described as hybrid and complex. It is hybrid in that it not only mixes but in a complex manner combines and intertwines languages and social meanings, identity options, social structures and roles. The complexity that arises from the developments described above involves multiple interests of different social actors, stakeholders, and local and global institutions. A scholar encountering this situation is faced with a number of (methodological and other) challenges. For individuals involved, this complexity is not only a practical challenge, but it also offers identity options and meaning-making resources to manage social life and the possibility and requirement to position oneself.

Complexity arises, e.g., in the multiple relationships between the Sámi language, its users, and ethnic, individual, and local identity that often can be characterized by "both-and" rather than "either-or" attributes. There are practically no monolingual speakers of Sámi (e.g. Helander 2002). Sámi is part of multilingual repertoires, in which also the respective majority languages have an important place, in addition to other



languages such as English (Moore et al. 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). In addition, individual users' access to the Sámi language varies to a large degree.

The language can therefore have very different statuses in the everyday lives of its speakers. This is also reflected in the discussions with the informants I spoke with. One informant had learned the language during her childhood but did not feel safe enough to use it in everyday communication. Two informants had learned Sámi at school and in language classes and successfully managed to take it into use in everyday encounters with other Sámi-speaking persons. Others had some competence from language classes and were strongly engaged in Sámi issues, but they were seldom using the language; and one person, who had grown up with Sámi and Norwegian, uses both languages actively in her everyday life along with English and Finnish.

This diversity of speaker-language relationships also affects the role of Sámi as a mother tongue. The academic view (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981; 1988) that one can consider Sámi as a mother tongue, even though Sámi is not the language one has learned first, knows best and uses most, has also reached Sámi communities. Many speakers of Sámi are conscious of having more than one mother tongue. During my fieldwork, one informant reported how he had found out that his ancestors' language, Sámi, actually was his mother tongue, too, which he had taken back by learning it in language classes. Other informants also discussed the idea that Norwegian could be considered a Sámi language, because many Sámi speak it as a mother tongue.

Since quite a number of people who identify themselves as Sámi have no or only little competence in the language, there is a large diversity of conceptions of Sámi as an identity marker, and of what competence of Sámi is necessary for identification. For some, the language has a purely symbolic, but nevertheless important, value. The role of the Sámi language as an identity marker varies both diachronically (from assimilation policy and stigmatization to pride and engagement in language revitalization (Johansen 2009)) and synchronically between individuals, groups, places, inner, and outer views of identity and ethnicity. The here-and-now construction of Sámi identities also very often draws on the past and on previous generations' experiences, but the revival of Sámi language and identity does not only take back old traditions. It also develops completely new forms of expression.

Through the processes of assimilation, discrimination, ethnic awakening, and revitalization, Sámi identity and culture have become redefined as something that is in the making and that emerges out of the people's actions and cultural activities. This

includes the possibility that ethnicity can be adopted both through socialization and personal choice. This view of ethnicity as dynamic, constructed, and shaped in cultural interaction contrasts the also widespread essentialist conceptions of ethnicity.

## 2.4. Fieldwork Sites and Data

As outlined in the introductory chapter, the six case studies deal with particular instances of individual agency and social interaction in three different sites. In this section I present these three different sites with their respective contextual surroundings and relate them to the general sociolinguistic and socio-historical contexts I have described above. All data represent specific instances of communication.

First, case studies 3 and 4 are based on interview material from the municipality of Gáivuotna/Kåfjord. I briefly sketch the local sociolinguistic development, its contexts, and current situation in section 2.4.1.

The second geographic site I am looking at is the town of Tromsø, where I analyse the language ideological debate surrounding the intention to introduce the administrative area for the Sámi language (case studies 5 and 6). I give a short description of the town and its contexts in 2.4.2.

Third, in case studies 1 and 2, as well as in case studies 5 and 6, I work with texts from different Sámi and Norwegian media, in particular from local and regional newspapers. Case studies 2 and 6 highlight the role of these media as an arena, broker, and communicator in metalinguistic contexts. Therefore, I consider it useful to take a closer look at the (Northern) Norwegian media landscape and the role of these media in society (2.4.3).

### 2.4.1. *Gáivuotna/Kåfjord*

All informant interviews are recorded in the municipality of Gáivuotna/Kåfjord in Troms County. The municipality is officially bilingual and officially uses both versions of its name: *Gáivuona suohkan* in Sámi and *Kåfjord kommune* in Norwegian. In normal language practice, speakers would use only one version of the name. The municipality is one of the six municipalities that were part of the administrative area for the Sámi language when it was established in 1992. At that time, it was the only municipality outside Finnmark County that belonged to the administrative area, and the most norwegianized one (Pedersen and Høgmo 2012: 22). Within the administrative area for

the Sámi language and thereby also in the municipality of Gáivuotna/Kåfjord, Norwegian and Sámi have a status as equally official languages. The regulations of the Sámi Act (cf. section 2.2.2) grant all inhabitants the right to use Sámi in encounters with public authorities and to encounter the Sámi language in public contexts. In addition, all pupils have the right to school education in Sámi. The municipalities must offer kindergarten and school education in Sámi.

Gáivuotna/Kåfjord is situated, about two driving hours from Tromsø, around the fjord of the same name (*Kåfjord* in Norwegian and *Gáivuotna* in Sámi; *vuotna* means ‘fjord’ in Sámi). Most of the municipality’s inhabitants live in the three villages Olderdalen, Birtavarre, and Manndalen. The major part of the interviews is recorded in the village of Manndalen.

In spite of its officially bilingual status that theoretically places Sámi on an equal level with Norwegian, the community faces larger challenges in the preservation and revitalization of the local Sámi variety. Johansen (2009) describes extensively the processes of linguistic and cultural assimilation that the local community of Manndalen went through in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the process of Sámi revitalization from the 1980s. She describes especially the shift of social meanings connected to local Sáminess from the stigmatization of all symbols of Sámi ethnicity, breach with the Sámi roots, and treatment of the topic as a taboo to proudness, continuity, and thematization. Sámi revitalization has particularly been successful with respect to culture and identity. Sámi symbols have become an integrate part of expressions of local identity. Today, the local history of assimilation and ethnic revival has come to play an essential role in local people’s accounts of their ethnic and local belonging. Sáminess and local ethnicity is interpreted and articulated in many different ways, e.g. on the annual *Riddu Riddu* festival of indigenous music and culture.

Linguistic revitalization proceeds, however, much slower in the community. Language shift had come very far before the ethnic revival started. Today, only members of the oldest generation have preserved the local Sámi language in their homes, but they did not pass on the language to their children. This means that today’s generation of parents, and in some families even the grandparents, have not learned Sámi in their childhood. There are thus one or two links missing in the chain of intergenerational language transmission.

Besides their own engagement, many individuals interested in learning, using, and preserving their Sámi heritage language thus have to rely on other resources such as

school education in Sámi, language classes, and support from the communal Sámi language centre in Manndalen (cf. also 2.2.2). In spite of a diversity of optimistic and pessimistic views on the future development of Sámi in the community, most informants describe the situation of the local Sámi language as vulnerable.

A major challenge to local revitalization efforts is to anchor the language back in the families' homes and everyday lives. The two interview extracts in Examples 1 and 2 illustrate these very practical efforts and challenges. The kitchen as a typical space of everyday private life can help to illustrate some important developments from the preservation of Sámi as a code purely used in private homes to the ethnic revival which brought the language out into public again (as stressed by Leif in Example 1). Nowadays, Sámi is accepted in public, but the challenge remains to also bring it back again into the kitchens, private homes and everyday lives of local families. Another informant, Ingrid, reports in Example 2 of local families' challenging attempts to establish routines of Sámi use in their homes and kitchens. She also highlights the question of responsibility for revitalization efforts, which case studies 3 and 4 shed more light on.

#### Example 1

Leif: *ting har jo selvfølgeli ændra sæ. osså må e si de som skjedde var vel at ((0,8s)) fra å være æ et fra ((0,7s)) å være kjøkkenspråk. asså de va bare inn i husan og kanskje så vidt på samvirkelagsbutikken så kunne de i hvert fall få lov å komme ut igjen å deportert offentli*

'Things have changed, of course. And I must say, the thing that happened was that from being a kitchen language, I mean it was only inside the houses and maybe scarcely in the co-op shop, it could come out again and was brought to the public.'

#### Example 2

Ingrid: *mange syns at skolen har ansvar og mange syns at barnehagen har ansvar så glømmer foreldrene litt at dem har jo et ansvar sjøl osså hjemme .. å de'kke så lett når du kommer hjem på ettermiddagen når du er trøtt og ska lage middag og ungan e ganske sur og lei og du sjøl og så skal du bynne me språk .. trening. man husker ikke på de når man ikke har de som morsmål. man tenker ikke på de .. men de og de-e-de at man e nødt til å .. man e nødt til å gjøre innsatsen .. hvis man ska få de til så må man .. så de koster litt. men ehm de der tenker e sånne språkplakata og ord og uttrykk rundt omkring de hjelp at du hiver et lite kort blikk på veggen så har du et ord .. så kan du bruke de .. litt sånne som eh små redskap. man må lage sæ sånne småe .. småe hjelpemidler sjøl .. og noen de gjør de de mest ivrige dem har klistra heile kjøleskape full me ord og uttrykk og på skapdøran og på stolan dem har overalt samiske ord. og de-e kjempe- de-e beundringsverdi .. de-e veldi tøft at dem gjør de ... de hjelper og man merker at de ungan osså lærer litt fortere da som har de litt hjemme*

'Many mean that the school is responsible and many mean that the kindergarten is responsible. So the parents forget a bit that they themselves also have a responsibility at home. And it's not that easy when you come home in the afternoon, when you are tired and have to prepare supper, and the children are crabby and bored, and you too; and then you should begin with language training. One can easily forget it if one doesn't have it as a mother tongue. One doesn't think of it. But that's what you need to do. You need to make that effort. If you want to succeed, you need to ... So, it costs a bit. But I think such language posters and words and

expressions everywhere around – it helps if you have a quick look at the wall. Then you have a word, then you can use it. Such small tools, you can make such small tools on your own. And some people do – the most eager ones have pasted the entire fridge full of words and expressions and on the cupboard doors and on the chairs, they have Sámi words everywhere. That's admirable. It's very tough that they do that. It helps, and you see that the children also learn a bit faster when they have a bit at home.'

When the municipality of Kåfjord became member of the newly established administrative area for the Sámi language in 1992 and officially adopted its Sámi name, *Gáivuotna*, this encountered a strong opposition among the local inhabitants, and the community went through a several-year conflict about ethnic and local identity (cf. Pedersen and Høgmø 2004; 2012). Many people felt being stamped as Sámi against their own will. Especially for those people who had learned during the many decades of ethnic assimilation policies that it was best not to be Sámi, their views of ethnicity were difficult to combine with the perception of suddenly being part of a "Sámi" community. The shooting of the new Sámi road signs with the municipality's Sámi name, *Gáivuona suohkan*, on it, has become a symbol of this conflict. This local conflict shares many of the same characteristics as the controversy that went on in Tromsø in 2011 (cf. case studies 5 and 6).

Also beyond that conflict, ethnicity remains an important issue in the local communities. The most important reference for identity and belonging is the local community. This means for many individuals in the community that also ethnicity is defined locally. It is not a choice between being Sámi, Norwegian, or Kven as alternative identity options. Rather, especially members of the younger generations see their ethnicity as culturally constructed, including elements of all these identity options. When they construe ethnic identities in interview conversations, they do not contrast local Sáminess versus Norwegianness (Hiss 2008).

Data collection in the municipality of Gáivuotna/Kåfjord was carried out as sociolinguistic fieldwork in the community. After a 4-weeks stay in the village of Manndalen in 2006, I collected empirical data for the studies at hand during three shorter visits in 2010 and 2011. During these visits, I had several informal conversations with local people and language workers, and I recorded seven informant interviews. All informants who participated in interview recordings are in one or the other way engaged in local language revitalization activities. Most of the interview conversations took place in the rooms of the local Sámi language centre in Manndalen. One interview was recorded at the informant's workplace. During the interviews, I did

not follow any a priori structuring, so that the conversations developed freely, and the informants could engage individually in the issues they found most important. I only had a list of topics that I used as a general guideline. The topics the interview conversations centred around, were the current situation of the local Sámi language and its future perspectives and challenges, the individual informants' use of Sámi, and their experiences with local multilingualism and language attitudes. The interview conversations lasted for about 45 minutes.

#### 2.4.2. *Tromsø*

Tromsø is the largest town of Northern Norway. Its population of currently approximately 70,000 inhabitants has been growing during the last decades. The biggest employers in the town are the University of Tromsø and the University Hospital of Northern Norway, which have had a large share in the town's urban development and population growth (Tjelmeland 1996: 297). Tromsø is often praised as "Paris of the North". The expression has its origin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when traders imported elements of international culture to Tromsø and the town developed a much more urban flair than travellers from the South would have expected from a town 350 km north of the Arctic Circle. Nowadays, the nickname is often used to highlight Tromsø's urban identity, history, and international orientation. The town increasingly attracts people from the rural regions of Northern Norway, from the South and from many other countries. About eight per cent of Tromsø's inhabitants come from foreign countries. In 2010, people from 144 different nations were registered in the town (Tromsø kommune 2011). At the election to the Sámi Parliament in 2009, 994 inhabitants of Tromsø were registered in the Sámi electoral register. This number equates to two per cent of all voters in the municipality (entitled to elect the Norwegian Parliament). According to the total number of voters in the Sámi electoral register, Tromsø is one of the municipalities with most registered Sámi. For many inhabitants of the town, however, Sámi language, culture, and identity are connected to rurality and a number of small, rural communities, and not to the urban centre of Tromsø.

In the case studies 5 and 6, I investigate the meaning-making practices in the public discussion of Sámi language and identity in Tromsø that came up as a reaction to some town politicians' plan to include the municipality in the administrative area for the Sámi language. I give a short overview of the issue in case study 5 and a more extensive

presentation of the public debate and its development in the local media in case study 6. Similar to the conflict that was carried out in Gáivuotna/Kåfjord in the 1990s, local and ethnic identity is also the central topic of the debates in Tromsø. In Tromsø, the perceived dichotomy of Norwegian and Sámi identity combined with views on urban and rural belonging. The two local newspapers were the main arenas of the debate.

In case studies 5 and 6, the two local newspapers, *Nordlys* and *iTromsø*, were also the main source for empirical material. Both papers are accessible in the newspaper database *Atekst*, which I used for quantitative research. For more detailed analysis (case study 5), I worked with a corpus of 30 letters to the editor and short contributions on the papers' discussion pages. All of these expressed a personal opinion about the issue of Sámi language in Tromsø. The collection of texts from the newspaper database was accompanied by observation in the town of Tromsø and visits at discussion meetings. As an inhabitant of the town, I had the opportunity to follow the debate and its contexts as a close-up observer.

#### 2.4.3. *The local and regional media*

The local media have a prominent status in Norwegian everyday social life. Local newspapers play important roles in the contextualization of news, events, social developments, and identities. The Norwegian media landscape sticks out in international comparison because of its very large number of local and regional newspapers. The total number of newspapers in Norway was 228 in 2011 (Høst 2012). Only Japan has a higher circulation of printed newspapers per inhabitant than Norway (Mathisen 2010). This internationally exceptional position is due to the important societal functions that the large number of small local and regional newspapers have in their respective communities. This means also that most of the papers first and foremost cover local topics and interests and present them to relatively small local audiences.

General statistics on media use in Norway in 2011 show that an average of 63 per cent of the Norwegian population between 9 and 79 years read newspapers on a normal workday. For Northern Norway, the number is 70 per cent and thus a bit higher than in the other regions of Norway. There is no significant difference between men and women. In Northern Norway, 57 per cent of the readers read regional papers, and 17 per cent read the local papers. Regional and local papers thus make up the major part of the

Northern Norwegians' newspaper consumption. Also this number is higher for Northern Norway than for any other region of the country. (Statistisk sentralbyrå 2012.)

In four of the case studies, I work with texts from the Tromsø local papers *iTromsø* and *Nordlys*, and from the Sámi papers *Ságat* and *Ávvir*. Both *Nordlys* and *iTromsø* are Tromsø-based newspapers which each publish six issues per week. While *iTromsø* presents itself as the local paper of the town of Tromsø, *Nordlys* claims to cover the entire region.

The Sámi papers *Ságat* and *Ávvir* are both based in Finnmark County. *Ságat* is published in Lakselv, and *Ávvir* in Karasjokk and Kautokeino. Besides their aim to address the entire Sámi population, they also function as local newspapers in their respective communities. The issues and topics of these papers are mainly of local and regional character and topics of a special Sámi interest. *Ávvir* is published in Sámi. Most of its texts are written in North Sámi. Sometimes, there are texts in one of the other Sámi languages or in the region's majority languages. *Ságat* is published in Norwegian, but it sometimes includes single texts in Sámi.

With respect to the contextualization of language and social relations in the Northern Norwegian society, the general role of the local media is interesting and important to consider. The social functions of these local and regional papers in a large degree exceed the classical transmission of news and information. Rather, the uses and gratifications that readers seek and obtain from the local papers include entertainment, social participation, and interaction within the local communities. The papers play an important role in the socialization of individuals in the local society and in the construction of imagined communities (Anderson 1983) and a sense of local belonging. The local newspapers have a strong symbolic value for the local. They symbolize local belonging and offer a feeling of security and community and the experience of being part of a larger context. (Mathisen 2010: 31.) Against this background it is not surprising that the local Newspapers became the main arena of the discussion in the conflict on Sámi language, ethnicity, and local identity in Tromsø.

The papers typically present personalized and locally anchored news stories and issues (illustrated with many pictures of persons), and the discussion pages at the end of each issue are vividly used by the readers as a mode of active, local participation. Many discussion strings are continued over several days or weeks. The local papers also actively promote their role in shaping a sense of community, connecting people, and providing an arena for issues and events relevant to the life of local community



members. News and public issues are made relevant in a local context and with respect to the social construction of community at the local and regional level. Also the texts I analyse in case studies 1, 2, 5, and 6 are embedded in these contexts.

The data material for case studies 1 and 2 is collected from the two Sámi newspapers *Ávvir* and *Ságat*, and from the website of the Sámi radio channel, *NRK Sápmi*. In the media coverage, the issue of the Sámi languages' current situation and the threat of language death of one or several Sámi languages usually came up in connection with concrete events such as a radio interview on the publication of the UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* or political meetings that dealt with Sámi language politics. Since the three Sámi media channels publish their texts in either a Sámi language or Norwegian, this metalinguistic topic was discussed and focused upon in different languages. Compared to the Norwegian majority media, the issue of the Sámi languages' situation aroused much more attention in the Sámi media. While the language issue occurred quite regularly in the Sámi media, it was mentioned only rarely in the Norwegian majority media, both on the regional and national level.

## **2.5. Summary**

In chapter 2, I have sketched the macro level societal development that forms the larger background of many individuals' personal choices, activities, and engagement. I have also described the processes of language shift and language maintenance and listed a number of challenges that have a large share in making the current situation of Sámi as complex as it is. Finally, I have embedded the research materials (interview conversations and media texts) within this contextual frame, and presented three specific sites of individual engagement: the local community in Gáivuotna/Kåfjord, its current sociolinguistic situation, and its efforts to preserve and revitalize the local Sámi language; the town of Tromsø and the public debates surrounding the intended introduction of the administrative area for the Sámi language; and the local print media as a common platform for exchanging and negotiating news and issues and construing common identities.

Individual engagement in these fields involves and responds to the backgrounds and contexts described above. My next step is to describe and discuss theoretical approaches to situated and context-related individual agency and engagement, how

people in these contexts pursue their interests, share their views, and how they manage the situation for themselves.

### **3. Theoretical Backgrounds**

This chapter addresses the question of how people articulate their engagement in Sámi language issues, how they interact with contexts and contextualize their experiences and actions, and how individual persons and institutions as producers of texts and oral talk interact linguistically and realize their individual agencies vis-à-vis the complex sociolinguistic situation which I have sketched above. As I have outlined in the introductory chapter and above, the separate case studies are based on different empirical materials from three different sites. In the separate analyses, I apply theoretical approaches from a number of different, overlapping fields of research on language, society, and communication, encompassing the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and systemic functional linguistics. Together, these provide a range of analytical tools to approach language and context from social macro-level context to grammatical choices in particular utterances. Though they have emerged in different schools and traditions, the theoretical frameworks and analytic tools I apply and make use of in this research do not stand in conflict with each other. The aim of this chapter is to theoretically clarify how the complex social and sociolinguistic conditions surrounding the current situation of Sámi are reflected in linguistic interaction and concrete discursive choices, and to present a set of analytical tools to approach this question empirically.

#### **3.1. Entering the Field: Approaches to Multilingualism and Society**

The official language policy for Sámi in Norway aims at the preservation and further development of the language and its revitalization where it is not or only little in use. Huss (1999: 24) sees revitalization as the conscious attempt to stop the assimilative development of a language that is regressive in use and to give the language new vitality. King (1999: 20) defines linguistic revitalization as the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an endangered minority language in order to increase the use of the language or the number of its speakers. Revitalization may affect both the structure of the language, its use, and its speakers. I have already discussed a number of aspects of this process in section 2.2.2.

We can approach these attempts from various perspectives. The difference is mainly a question of where we enter the field of events, activities, and contexts. Starting from the societal and political level, most approaches in the sociology of language move

the societal and political preconditions for language preservation and reversing language shift in focus (cf. Fishman 1972; 1991; 2001). They describe language and social structures, social and demographic reasons for language shift, language policies, and language planning.

In the six case studies, I enter the field through discourse, starting with a focus on the agency and engagement of individuals and consider their uses of linguistic and communicative resources by which they frame, contextualize, and manage social and societal contexts for themselves and within the specific settings they interact in.

The relationship between the different perspectives has a both/and-quality, rather than either/or. All perspectives are relevant, and they meet at some point. For example, in case study 5, I describe and analyse the encounter of official language policy making with many individuals' engagement in the defence of their language ideological views.

Researchers in the sociology of language have presented various models to describe and assess the situation of endangered languages and to offer guidelines for successful language planning in minority communities. Among these are, e.g., Fishman's (1991) *graded intergenerational disruption scale* (GIDS), which describes the situation of a language according to social factors in eight levels of endangerment (cf. also Huss 1999). For the specific case of Sámi, Hylthenstam and Stroud (1991) and Hylthenstam et al. (1999) present a model with factors on three levels. Listing a number of different factors on the level of society (e.g. political conditions, ideology, language legislation, economy, education), the group level (e.g. demographic conditions, language status, ethnicity, institutions, media), and the individual level (language choice and socialization), they try to assess which of these factors develop in a positive or negative direction, with respect to language shift or maintenance.

These models focus mainly on larger societal and group level structures and less on the individual level. For Hylthenstam et al. (1999: 50), individual language choices mainly reflect the general status of the language in the group and society. According to their model, what happens on the individual level is to a large degree decided by the factors on the group and society level. Different scholars in the field have, however, pointed out the central role of individual choices, e.g., in the process of language shift. In their studies of language shift in two local communities of Northern Norway, both Lane (2010) and Johansen (2009) state that, in the face of a strong public assimilation pressure, the choice to shift languages and to abandon one's own mother tongue was in the final instance made by each individual speaker, especially by parents who went over

to speak Norwegian with their children instead of their own Sámi and Kven mother tongues.

The question of individual choices and the making of such high-involvement decisions are centrally related to how individuals, groups, and societies contextualize the meanings, values, and influences involved. By moving individual agency into the focus of empirical analysis, I argue that an adequate understanding of the potential of individual engagement, positioning, and personal management of multilingual contexts, meanings, and social values is both useful and necessary in the context of multilingualism and language revitalization. The contextual relationship between individual choices and the societal and group level contexts exceeds by far the level of simple reflection of these contexts.

### *3.1.1. Managing multilingualism: linguistic ecology and economy*

The complex relations between social meanings, languages, and decision-making in multilingual contexts can be illustrated by the metaphors of economy and ecology. Spolsky (2009; 2004) develops an ecological model of language policies that correlates social structures and situations with linguistic repertoires. He outlines three categories that are essential to language policy: practices, beliefs, and management. Spolsky assumes that each of these three components constitutes forces that help to account for language choice. Language practices are described as the people's observable behaviours and choices, the chosen linguistic features and varieties used. Beliefs, or ideologies, about language assign values and statuses to named languages, varieties, and features. Language management is defined as "the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs" (Spolsky 2009: 4). According to Spolsky, language management presupposes a language manager who is an identifiable person or institution.

An economic, but less structured approach to explain the social backgrounds for language choices is represented in Bourdieu's (1982) metaphor of a linguistic market, which also has been adapted in sociolinguistics to capture the complex mechanisms of sociolinguistic relationships and the social values of linguistic diversity (cf. Irvine 1989; Mæhlum 2007). For Bourdieu, the metaphor of the linguistic market describes the distribution of social authority in certain linguistic practices and codes in

correspondence with the implementation of symbolic power. In sociolinguistics, the metaphor of the linguistic market is used to describe the differences in the evaluation and usage of languages and linguistic varieties by linking sociolinguistic practices to social and political power relations. The main idea is that not all linguistic varieties are equally valued in the market because of the social power and authority of the groups who use them. However, the market is an on-going process, its values are changeable, and power and prestige can be valued differently in alternative markets.

Instead of focusing on impersonal forces in sociolinguistic economy and language management, scholars have recently called for a stronger focus on the role of individuals, their agency, and the different roles of individual agents in relation to language use, attitudes, and language policies (Ricento 2000; Shouhui and Baldauf 2012).

### *3.1.2. Individual management of the complex sociolinguistic situation*

The most important means for individuals to engage in language and multilingualism issues, to manage their languages, the social structures and relationships for themselves and in interaction with others, is language. Using the means of language, individuals can position themselves, their experiences, ideas, needs, and emotions in relation to sociocultural contexts and vis-à-vis their actual respondents.

The complexity of the situation and individual agency are interconnected (in at least two interrelated ways). First, complexity results from the engagement, involvement, agency, and interaction of a multitude of individuals, groups, and institutions that are in various (role-)relationships with each other. Second, involved individuals navigate within a multitude of situational contexts and manage the situation for themselves by positioning themselves and their experiences in relation to other interactants, the community's social values, culture, and ideologies.

Though conflicts can arise, individual interests are not necessarily in conflict with each other or with common goals. Both language loss and revitalization are processes of change. There is a need for individuals to navigate vis-à-vis the ever-changing world they live in and vis-à-vis the (linguistic, temporal, spatial, generational, etc.) differences they experience and to manage the situation they find themselves in.

In the following sections I therefore discuss various means of contextualization and a number of aspects and strategies of how we can use language to position ourselves in society and in relation to complex contexts.

### **3.2. Context and Contextualization**

When speakers communicate information and subjective positions and interact with others, they can employ any resources that are available to them in the concrete situation. This relationship between the expression of meanings and the use of (in whatever way situated) communicative resources is basically a contextual relationship. Individual management of a complex language situation means to navigate vis-à-vis various contexts and to contextualize one's own and other's positions, languages, experiences, and ideas.

The methodological approaches I apply here highlight different aspects of text-and-context relationships: The systemic functional perspective on language sees the making of ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings as basically connected with its situational and cultural context (see 3.2.1). Sociolinguistic approaches have been centrally concerned with the social contextualization of language and, in turn, with the indexing of social meanings through linguistic variation (see 3.2.2). Various approaches in discourse analysis are concerned with power relations and dominant discourses that frame the people's social, linguistic interactions (see 3.2.3). Pragmatic perspectives, finally, encompass any resources of meaning-making in language use.

Context plays a central role in human communication. Malinowski (1923) recognized that it is not possible to understand the meaning of a message without taking into account the context of situation. Influenced by Malinowski's ideas, Firth (e.g. 1957) developed a theory of meaning where meaning is seen as function in context. Today, it is a basic idea in pragmatics that the mutual understanding of one another in social communication requires taking into account its contextual, situational, use- and user-specific conditions (eg., Meeuwis and Östman 2012). What we conceive of as context encompasses various aspects on different levels. On the level of language users it involves the utterer's and interpreter's many roles and voices. In the mental world it involves emotions, beliefs, conceptions, involvement, and engagement. In the social world it involves cultural norms and values, any kind of other persons, social relationships, social settings, and institutions. In the physical world, it involves aspects

of time and space and many other physical conditions that affect the utterer and the interpreter. The linguistic channel (e.g. spoken or written) and the linguistic context affect the ordering of information, textual coherence, and intertextual relations. (Cf. Verschueren 1999.)

Contextual relations can be implemented in discourse in various ways. These can be more or less subtle contextualization cues, such as code, dialect, and style switching, prosodic phenomena, lexical and syntactic options, formulaic expressions, conversational openings, closings, or sequencing strategies (Gumperz 1982a), indexical sign relationships (Silverstein 2003), roles and frames (Goffman 1981), linguistically structured registers and genres (Halliday 1978; Martin and Rose 2008), explicit references, metaphors, narratives, and discursive practices.

Through their individual agency, speakers and writers do not only react to and use given contexts of various kinds. They also operationalize and redefine contextual resources and actively take part in the construction of contexts, when they position themselves and take a stance, evaluate things, events, and other people, take or refuse responsibility and account for their views and opinions. Permanent re-contextualization and entextualization are part of the “natural histories of discourse” (Silverstein and Urban 1996). The insight that communicators actively construe the world of discourse as they go along rather than transmitting pre-coded meanings and simply reacting to a priori given contexts provides the basis for understanding the dynamics and creativity of communication (Harder 2009). For this reason, Auer (2009) suggests the use of the term *contextualization* rather than simply *context* in order to stress its nature as a process.

In the following subsections, I sketch the different analytical takes on language, social action, and context that I employ in my analyses. My goal is to highlight and discuss the relevance of context to the interactions and processes at issue and to lay the theoretical ground for the analyses.

### 3.2.1. *Context in systemic functional linguistics*

In particular case study 1 is based on the framework of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Also the appraisal framework, which I apply in case study 5, is based on SFL. SFL sees itself in the context-oriented, linguistic tradition of Firth and Malinowski (Halliday 1976; 1978; Fawcett 2008; Hasan 2009). Language is analysed as meaningful choice in social context. Context is seen as the ultimate stratum of linguistic



structure, and it is an integrate part of the model of a systemic functional grammar. Scholars in SFL have developed elaborate tools for the analysis of contextual relations within texts and of text in context (Halliday and Hasan 1976; 1989; Martin and Rose 2007).

SFL generally distinguishes between language as system and language as structure. This distinction is comparable to what elsewhere is called *paradigmatic* (system) and *syntagmatic* (structure). The system encompasses any potential choices of linguistic meaning-making within a certain language in its cultural context. Structure in SFL refers to how meaning is instantiated in any situation of language use (text) within a context of situation. Here, SFL has taken over Malinowski's concepts of *context of situation* and *context of culture*. The context of culture is seen as part of the system, which becomes instantiated in a context of situation. Culture and context are realized through the system and structure of language. The relationship between language and context is thus seen as a relationship of realization and instantiation. (Cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Hasan 2009.)

The concept of *register* plays a central role in the systemic functional conceptualization of the relationship between language system, text, and context. Halliday (1978: 36) defines register as the “configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a given situation type”. Register is thus “the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context”. In more simple terms, register is explained as variety according to the use, distinct from dialect, which is seen as variety according to the user (Halliday et al. 1964; Halliday 1978).

The use of language and the choice of linguistic meaning making resources is thus determined by the context of a given situation type. According to Halliday (1978), the situational context is semiotically structured. The semiotic structure of a situation type is described in the terms of three general concepts, *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. The concept of *field* encompasses the type of symbolic activity in a given situation and is concerned with the contents of linguistic interaction. *Tenor* represents the role relationships between the participants in the situation and towards the content. *Mode* is concerned with the rhetorical channel. In the systemic functional model of language, these three semiotic elements of situational context are realized by three metafunctions of language. *Field* is realized by the *ideational (experiential)* metafunction, which expresses experiences from the real world as content. *Tenor* is realized by the *interpersonal* metafunction, which determines the relationship between content, participants, and the

situational context, and it organizes the exchange of information, goods, and services by the means of language. The situational feature of *mode* determines the texture of meaning in its relation to the environment. This is realized by the *textual* metafunction, which encompasses cohesion, coherence, and information structure. The systemic functional framework ascribes different lexicogrammatical features to each of the three metafunctions of language. Any analysis of language structure in SFL relates to these metafunctions as linguistic realizations of semiotic features of context.

Also beyond the model of a systemic functional grammar (SFG) (Halliday 1976; 2002; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Fawcett 2008), Halliday's metafunctional model of language has been applied to map various aspects of language and language use. In case study 5, I use the framework of *appraisal* (White 2002; 2003; 2005; Martin and White 2005; Martin 2000), which describes the potential of evaluative language. Thompson (2005; *forthc.*; Thompson and Zhou 2000) maps conjunctive relations between clauses in a three-dimensional, metafunctional framework. Goatly (2011) proposes to view the functions of metaphor within these three dimensions (cf. case study 1).

The advantage of the three-dimensional, metafunctional model of language is that the analyst always is obliged to ask how a text accomplishes these three different functions (which relate to different contextual features). The model enables the analyst to consider different functional perspectives of any single text. The three-dimensional model may, however be challenged in practice. The three dimensions are basically theoretical concepts that are used to describe and analyse language use and function. For comparison, Hymes (1972) proposes a model in which thirteen variables determine the speaker's linguistic choices in a given communicative situation. Other approaches, such as Construction Grammar, prefer not to distinguish between such different dimensions, strata or modules in their attempt to attain a maximal coverage and understanding of the relationships between language structure, meaning, and use (cf. Fried and Östman 2004). Sociolinguistic, discourse analytic, and pragmatic perspectives can complement the view on language and context.

### 3.2.2. *Sociolinguistic contextualization and indexicality*

Also in sociolinguistics, context plays a central role. Coupland and Jaworski (2004) see the metalinguistic contextualization of language as a central concern of

sociolinguistics (cf. also Irvine and Gal 2000; Preston 2004). Other scholars focus, in turn, on the making of social meanings by the use of linguistic variables in social contexts (Eckert 2008; Irvine 2001).

With a traditional focus on language variation according to the user, sociolinguistics has been complementary to the SFL-perspective. Modern sociolinguistics is concerned with the processes of contextualization of linguistic differences (cf. Coupland and Jaworski 2004; Preston 2004; Gal and Irvine 1995; Irvine and Gal 2000), the emergence and use of indexical meanings of linguistic variables in social contexts (cf. Irvine 2001; Eckert 2008; Silverstein 2003), and the use of linguistic varieties in interaction (cf. Auer 1998; 1995). Sociolinguistics is clearly moving towards a comprehensive understanding of linguistic variation and difference as an integrate part of language as social practice (cf. Eckert 2000; 2008). Especially in case studies 5 and 6, I focus on the metalinguistic processes that link language, its variables and varieties with certain meanings and social values.

The relationship between language and certain contextual elements that particular linguistic choices can refer to, is described as *indexicality* (Silverstein 1992; 2003). The idea of sociolinguistic indexicality was inspired by Pierce's (e.g. 1996) distinction of three types of sign relationships, *iconic*, *indexical*, and *symbolic*. These three types of sign relationship correspond to what Pierce calls *firstness* (icon), *secondness* (index), and *thirdness* (symbol). An *iconic* sign refers directly to a quality of the denoted meaning itself. Iconic signs are likely to be intuitively understood. For example, the icon of a walking man on a traffic light invites pedestrians to walk over the road. *Indexical* signs rely on some existential relation between, or the co-occurrence of, the sign and the denoted object. Such a sign relationship is perceived between a language or linguistic variety and its speakers. The relationship between the use of certain linguistic variables and identity is thus an *indexical* relationship (cf. Johnstone 2010). *Symbolic* sign relationships rely on general conventions rather than on resemblance. This is the case for most words (except of some onomatopoetic expressions). To use Saussure's example, the word *tree* refers just by a general convention of language to the concept of 'tree'. Saussure (1916) describes this sign relationship as arbitrary.

Contextual relationships between language and speaker, language and group identity, language and ethnicity, language and place, gender, age, class, etc. are thus indexical sign relationships. However, these indexical relationships do not exist prior to social action. Rather, they rely on people's experiences and perceptions of this link.

Indexical relationships between linguistic form and context arise through processes of metapragmatic contextualization (Silverstein 2003). Johnstone (2010) gives a very simple description of how this process works:

People learn to hear linguistic variants as having indexical meaning by being told that they do, and they continue to share ideas about indexical meaning as long as they keep telling each other about them. (Johnstone 2010: 32)

This processing of indexical meanings is also part of the language ideological debates in Tromsø (case studies 5 and 6). In their conceptualization of the process of language ideologization, Irvine and Gal (2000) go even one step further. They state that language ideologization shapes *iconic* sign relationships and call this process *iconization*. Gal (2005), however, introduces the term *rhematization* which means in Pierce's terms that interpretants represent and understand a symbolic (or indexical) sign as iconic. The semiotic process of *rhematization* (within language ideologization) thus means that a Sámi text on a road sign in Tromsø, which is intended as a symbol of Sámi culture and identity, is interpreted as an icon, meaning that Sáminess is perceived as an intimate quality of Tromsø itself. This emphasizes the intimacy of the links between language and social values that people can perceive in their ideological views of language in society. In their semiotic model of language socialization, Irvine and Gal (2000: 37-38) name also two other processes that interact with *rhematization*: *fractal recursivity* and *erasure*. *Fractal recursivity* is the reproduction of ideological oppositions at various levels, e.g. between two groups and their languages, between single members of the groups, and between particular features of the respective languages. *Erasure* is the simplification of the sociolinguistic field by ignoring, not mentioning, or generalizing facts. A great internal diversity within a group can thus be perceived as homogeneous. These semiotic processes of the reproduction of language ideologies are the basis of many social evaluations. I take up the practical discussion of these processes of the ideological contextualization of language in case studies 5 and 6.

Finally, the indexing of social meanings can be seen as an integrated part of social practice (cf. Eckert 2000; 2008) and of meaning making in general (Johnstone 2010). As Auer 2012 discusses, the sociolinguistic relationships of variety and space (or ethnicity, group belonging, gender, age, etc.) rest upon a basic pragmatic principle. Both spatial indexicality based on the areal distribution of linguistic diversity, and spatial deixis serve in very similar ways to position social actors in the world – not only spatially but also socially. The same basic principle must be valid for social positioning

in general and social evaluation. This insight gives us the possibility to analyse the production of social meaning integrated with and on the same level as meaning in general.

### 3.2.3. *Ideology, and dominant discourses*

When highlighting individual agency and focusing on the ways in which individuals actively contextualize their activities, it is also important to be aware of the framing of communication by factors that remain in the invisible position of implicit and presupposed background (Harder 2009). Among these are concepts such as practice (Bourdieu 1972), knowledge (Foucault 1966), grand narratives (Lyotard 1984), and ideology (e.g. Thompson 1990). These take part in determining the relations of symbolic power and authority on the linguistic market (Bourdieu 1982). If one seeks to understand the processes of active agency and construction, it is also necessary to see these actions against such contextual backgrounds.

These *capital-D discourses* (Gee 1999; cf. also Bamberg et al. 2011) help us (as language users) to recognize appropriate and culturally accepted associations of ways of using language, thinking, valuating, acting, and interacting while we engage in talk or other linguistic interaction and agentively construct ‘who we are’ by the use of discourse (Bamberg et al. 2011: 180). In communication, such institutionalized social practices and a priori knowledge, including language as well as patterns of collective culture, serve an enabling as well as a constraining function, and they can be challenged by the acting individual (Habermas 1981: 149-150; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003b: 3).

The status of such capital-D discourses as given and ‘existing’ is not absolute, either. Though they have a status as presupposed in concrete here-and-now interaction, they, too, must be considered as constructed and changeable. No “dominant” discourse exists outside of history (Silverstein and Urban 1996). They emerge in history and through human activity. A good example is Anderson’s (1983) study on the origin and spread of the concept of nationalism. Through discussions of diverse historical events and periods, Anderson shows that the dominant, powerful, and far-reaching concept of nation has emerged in and through history. Also the dominant cultural discourse that led to the radical language shift from Sámi or Kven to Norwegian in many families and communities of Northern Norway has nowadays been replaced by a discourse that enhances the revitalization and maintenance of both language and culture. Bull (1994)

has documented that many parents' choice to abandon their own mother tongue and to educate their own children in Norwegian instead of Sámi or Kven was based on the belief that such a choice would lead to a better life. Lane (2010) uses narratives from two different points of time to analyse the different discourses that then and now influence(d) individuals' personal accounts of the choice to abandon the Kven language and to shift to Norwegian. Also all six case studies exemplify the contextualization and entextualization (Silverstein and Urban 1996) of different background discourses and texts in various here-and-now encounters.

While various kinds of dominant discourse practices – metalinguistic or other – surely can be criticized to have a restricting effect on our ways of thinking and on our discursive activities, they are also resources that enable us to position ourselves and others and to accomplish various social tasks.

#### *3.2.4. The vagueness and creativity of contextualization*

Finally, one needs to take into account one important property of contextual relations. Context is always vague. Silverstein (1992) stresses the vagueness of indexical sign relationships, including relationships of contextualization. He describes indexical sign relationships as a “radial or polar-coordinate” (p. 55) semiotic relationship with an easy to identify centre, namely the text or (indexical) sign. To explain the contextual relationship, he uses the picture of a semiotic arrow. The indexical sign that occurs in the here-and-now points towards its indexed object, which is situated somewhere in the unboundedly large space that surrounds the indexical sign. The link between a sign and its indexed object is therefore normally ambiguous and relates itself on other contextual conditions. For the analyst, this makes it almost impossible to concretely identify the indexed object or to objectify that part of the contextual relation. Auer (2009) also addresses the problem that it is often difficult to clearly distinguish between the text (or the ‘focal event’ (Goodwin and Duranti 1992)) and the context. Making such a clear distinction between text and context often already implies an interpretation.

Though contextualization cues can be misunderstood by language users (Gumperz 1982a), this is in most cases a problem of the analyst who tries to objectify context. For us as language users, this vagueness of context can also be a resource in our subjective

use of language, and it allows for creativity. In particular, case studies 3 and 4 demonstrate how informants can make use of this creativity.

The relationship between a text, focal event, or indexical sign and its context is a reflexive and dialectic one. Not only the focal event is interpreted against a given context, but also the context and the contextualization cues, or indexical signs, that make relevant, invoke, or maintain these contextual frames (Gumperz 1982a; Auer and di Luzio 1992; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Auer 2009). This dialectics between language use and metapragmatic discourse determines the emergence of the social meanings of language, and it is one of the core functions of people's management of their language situation. This fact becomes especially relevant when I discuss the role of language in the language ideological debates in Tromsø (cf. case studies 5 and 6).

Context and the various means of contextualization play an essential role when people express who they are, what they want, and how they position themselves and others (cf. Bamberg et al. 2011). If we see the individual management of social life and of the multilingual language situation as navigation between various cultural, sociolinguistic, individual, situational, ideological, textual, and interactional contexts, we need to take into account all these elements and perspectives on context.

#### 4. Activity, Self, and the World in Discourse

This chapter closely ties in with the above theoretical considerations on context and contextualization. I move the focus to the question of how linguistic and contextual resources can be used practically in concrete linguistic activities to accomplish specific communicative goals. Below, I focus on the communication and linguistic implementation of identity, storytelling, stance-taking, and responsibility. Together with my discussion of these discursive activities, I present a selection of analytic tools to approach them in discourse analysis.

##### 4.1. Identity and the Individual

Identity is a recurrent theme in all six case studies. Identities are manifested, indexed, challenged, construed, and situated in all kinds of encounters and vis-à-vis various contexts, giving speakers and writers the opportunity to define who they are in relation to specific contents, shifting contextual frames, co-participants, and other persons. Identity in language is a multifaceted phenomenon, with respect to the factors that play a part in the construction of identities, and with respect to the diversity of different conceptions of identity.

There is an enormous amount of literature on language and identity (e.g. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Fishman 1999; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2003b; Joseph 2004; Meinhoff and Galasinski 2005; Edwards 2009; 2010; Llamas and Watt 2010), which offers various perspectives on the topic. While there are few works in sociolinguistics that work without a notion of identity, Joseph (2004) even sees language and identity as ultimately inseparable. Especially in the research on the languages of ethnic minority groups, aspects of identity – particularly ethnic group identity – play a central role (Fishman 1998; 1999; Edwards 2010). The link between language and ethnicity is seen and experienced as vital and important for social organization and mobilization, both by group members and by outsiders (Fishman 1998).

The word *identity* is derived from the Latin word *idem* ('the same'). Thus, identity is centrally concerned with sameness, being identical. In practice, however, the questions of being the same and being different (cf. Edwards 2009; Bamberg 2011) are closely interconnected. Sameness is always challenged in the face of time, space, and other persons. The conception of who we are is always related to the idea of who or



what we are not. The ‘other’ is therefore considered to be constitutive in the construction of identities (Hall 1996). Below, I go through a number of (partly diverging) concepts of identity and scientific approaches that are reflected in the material or can be made analytically relevant.

#### 4.1.1. *The linguistic concern with identity*

As Auer (2008) notes, the linguistic concern with identity has its origins in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century’s discourses on nationalism, which saw languages as ‘natural’ reflexes of national identities. For example, for Schleicher (1861) the development of the Indo-European languages coincide with the development of the peoples that were supposed to have used them. Language names, such as *die indogermanische Ursprache*, *Graecoitalokelitsch*, or *Arisch*, are paralleled with the names of the peoples: *das indogermanische Urvolk*, *Graecoitalokelten*, *Arier*. Lapsius, another neogrammarian, even more explicitly reveals the same view of a natural and intimate relationship between language and national identity:

Die Kenntnis der Sprachen führt am sichersten zu dem tieferen Verständniss der Völker selbst, weil die Sprache nicht allein das Mittel jeder geistigen Verständigung ist, sondern auch, weil sie selbst der unmittelbarste, reichste und unveränderlichste Ausdruck eines ganzen Volksgeistes ist. Aus dem Verhältnis der einzelnen Sprachen und Sprachgruppen untereinander erkennen wir zugleich die ursprüngliche nähere oder fernere Verwandtschaft der Völker selbst. (Lepsius 1855: 1-2)

‘The knowledge of the languages leads us most reliably to the deeper understanding of the nations themselves, because language is not just the tool of any spiritual communication, but also because it is the most immediate, richest, and unchangeable expression of the spirit of a nation. From the relationship of the individual languages towards each other, we also see the original closer or more distant relationship between the nations themselves.’

This view of a natural relationship between languages and nations rests upon the monolingual bias of a one language-one people relationship, and it is never questioned in the works of these scientists. Though at least 150 years old, similar views of language and identity are still articulated by some actors in the debate in Tromsø (cf. case studies 5 and 6). Sollid (2009) shows how such ideological views of the language-and-identity relationship (ideologies of national unity and homogeneity, lately followed by ideologies of linguistic diversity) have had a large impact on both the development of Northern Norwegian ethnolects (the spoken varieties of Norwegian in areas of language contact) and on their scientific investigation in the field of Norwegian dialectology.

These views of language as the essential identity marker of nations as “unique quasi-beings” (Auer 2008: 2; cf. also Schleicher 1861) have changed pretty much

throughout the last century, and the scientific approaches to language-and-identity relations have shifted focus on identity as fluid and constructed in social interaction. The modern concern of linguistics with linguistic and communicative management of identities has its roots in the works on language and social identity edited by Gumperz (1982b) and in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) *acts of identity*. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller take a radical stance against the traditional view of intense relationships between groups and languages:

For Le Page it is essential to stress that groups or communities and the linguistic attributes of such groups have no existential locus other than in the minds of individuals, and that groups or communities inhere only in the way individuals behave towards each other.  
(Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 4-5)

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller strongly highlight the role of the individual as social actor, who is “able to make up the rules as one goes along” (p. 11). The basic principle for the *acts of identity* is,

the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.  
(Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181)

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) highlight the role of interactional communication in relation to the creation of identities. Against the customary assumption that social categories, such as gender, ethnicity and class, are given parameters within which social parameters are created, they argue, “these parameters are not constants that can be taken for granted but are communicatively produced” (p.1). Their goal is to understand how issues of identity “affect and are affected by social, political, and ethnic divisions” (p. 1).

These two approaches anticipate many points of later constructivist approaches (cf. 4.1.3.) to language and identity. Before I focus on these, I discuss the role of ideologies and dominant discourses that contextualize languages and identities.

#### 4.1.2. *Identity and language ideologies*

One of the main criticisms of Le Page's and Tabouret-Keller's view of language and identity is their quite extreme perspective on the active agency of individuals (cf. Auer 2008) and that it does not take into account people's habitualized practices and some kind of symbolic domination by certain groups that determines the value of particular languages and identities on a symbolic market (cf. Bourdieu 1972; 1982).

Therefore, many approaches to language and identity have placed language ideologies in the focus of their interest. Ideologies of language and identity determine in which ways speakers use linguistic resources of whatever kind to index their own and other person's identities and speakers' evaluations of other persons' linguistic choices and ways of speaking.

In 3.2.2, I have sketched three semiotic processes of the representation of language ideologies: *iconization (rhematization)*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure* (Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal and Irvine 1995). Through such semiotic processes of ideologization, language ideologies influence the ways in which people identify with languages and varieties and evaluate others' languages and identities. The power of language ideologies lies mainly in the fact that they are conceived of as commonly shared and self-evident and that they are seldom questioned (Irvine 1989; Bourdieu 1997; Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Verschueren 2012). In whatever ways ideologies of language and identity are constituted, expressed, or reproduced, they have a strong influence on people's social and linguistic behaviour, identification, language choices and engagement in language issues, and on researchers' positions and biases.

Language ideologies are not neutral. Many of them support the dominance of some (national or international) languages, the suppression of bilingualism and linguistic diversity, and the marginalization of particular individuals or minority groups. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003a), emphasize that negotiation is a logical outcome of the inequality which is inherent in many language ideologies. Groups and individuals can find means to resist these inequalities and to negotiate identities in and through linguistic practices.

Another challenge to established language ideologies and language-and-identity conceptions are the changing contexts (e.g. through globalization (Coupland 2003)). Östman and Thørgersen (2010) in their study of the ideology of a Nordic common identity find that the traditional ideology of history and identity is challenged by a rhetoric of rationality and practicability which focuses on the market value of one's actions and stances and often sees the use of global English as more fair and practical than Scandinavian.

These challenges to language ideologies, recontextualization, and the possibility of negotiating language-and-identity relationships leads us to an approach that embeds the making, negotiation, reproduction, and positioning of identities in discursive activity.

#### 4.1.3. *Who am I? The positioning of self and identity in discourse*

Ideology (or seemingly self-evident cultural values) and identities are not pre-existing or determined by factors outside of social structures and discursive activity. Rather, identities are analysed as manifested, contextualized, constructed, reproduced, and reacted to in discourse. With respect to language in general, and with a particular focus on language and identity, many approaches highlight the aspect of doing (Austin 1962; Habermas 1981; Antaki and Widdicombe 1998a; Agha 2007; Bucholtz and Hall 2010). Agha notices that language is

so exquisite an instrument for doing work – for acting and interacting, for making and unmaking, for imbuing objects (including discourse itself) with value that its products, or ‘works’, are more accessible to our everyday awareness than the instrument itself.  
(Agha 2007: 1)

These approaches have carried Le Page’s and Tabouret-Keller’s (1985) idea of the actively acting individual some steps further. The emphasis lies, however, not anymore purely on the autonomy of the individual’s *acts of identity*, but on the contextualization of individual agents’ activities. Ideologies of language and identity and other culturally shared values take part in this contextualization. Social activities are by the explicit and implicit means of language anchored to the culture, the self, and the respondents (cf. Östman 2005; Solin and Östman forthc. 2013). The concept of identity is made analytically relevant on the level of talk and interaction.

In this view, questions of identities are also highly relevant to the social activities I describe in the six case studies. In particular, identities are challenged by uncertainties and controversies, but they are also positioned anew in all specific encounters, vis-à-vis other participants, relevant contextual frames, and the contents of discussion.

Antaki and Widdicombe (1998b) and other contributors in Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a) see identity as something which is used in talk and which is part of the routines of everyday life. Identity in interaction can be related to interactional roles and framing (Goffman 1981), and it can be treated as an element of context for talk-in-interaction (Zimmerman 1998). In this interactional perspective, identities encompass both wider cultural categories of belonging (such as ethnicity or local belonging), more specific, situational identities, and temporary identities that are interactionally connected to specific stances and roles (Zimmerman 1998; Bucholtz and Hall 2010). All these become relevant within the situated here-and-now interaction.

Linguistic heterogeneity and variation are not the only parameters of linguistic expression that are analysed as indexes of identity. Rather, any communicative resource

at our disposal can be used to manifest, construe, and position the identities of self and others in relation to the multiple contexts of the actual instance of socially situated interaction.

To this interactional perspective on identity in language, Bamberg and others (Bamberg 2011; 2010; 2000; 2003; Bamberg et al. 2011) add a social psychological perspective of positioning the self (cf. also Davies and Harré 1990), guided by the very simple question, “Who am I?”. Speakers position themselves in their discursive practices, and they navigate between various identity options, among them biographic facts, co-participants, the contents of speech, and wider discourses of cultural sense-making (Bamberg 2011; Bamberg et al. 2011). Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 18) simply see identity as “the social positioning of self and other”.

Identity emerges and operates simultaneously at multiple analytic levels. However, the analytic focus clearly privileges the interactional level, because all components of identity (dominant cultural discourses, social relationships and belonging, interactional roles, contents of talk, etc.) gain social meaning in here-and-now social interaction. The central focus of this approach is thus the people’s practices in interaction. Bamberg (2000: 61) sees language, communication, and emotion intertwined in “how we construct ourselves in and through language practices”. Identity and any kind of events are not seen as something that is referred to by any kind of linguistic marker in a communicative situation. Rather, they are manifested in and arise from local talk. Dominant discourses and master narratives are not simply an external determining factor, but interacting individuals can handle them as a resource for whatever purposes of communication or positioning.

Communicative practices can be meaningfully situated (and become recognized as such by others). Positioning is central for the understanding of how practices are meaningfully situated. When we talk about ourselves or about others, we position each other at the content plane in relation to what the talk is about, and we order our own and others’ positions vis-à-vis each other, in time and space, and in relation to other interlocutors, audiences, and respondents. This includes also that the speaker/writer is positioning him/herself even if he/she is not thematized in the talk or text. (Bamberg 2000; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008.)

The “Who am I?” question is connected to the dilemma of being the same in the face of constant change. This involves the construction of sameness and difference, the creation of categories of belonging, and the building of continuity and change (Bamberg

2011; Bamberg et al. 2011; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008). The positioning of self and others is seen as navigation in relation to these three aspects.

Any social engagement and activities that make claims, or can be interpreted as making claims, in relation to the “Who-am-I?” question requires choosing and implementing resources of (self-)identification from the speakers’ available repertoires that help to contextualize self and identity vis-à-vis varying social categories.

Finally, the expression of identity is not only part of the making of social meanings, but of meaning in general (Johnstone 2010). The positioning of the self and of others is therefore relevant to all other meanings expressed in the same context. In the case studies, I demonstrate that it takes fundamentally part in shaping individual engagement and in individual actors’ management of uncertainties, responsibilities, and diverging attitudes.

#### *4.1.4. Diverging metapragmatic conceptions of language and identity*

Folk views and conceptions of identity are diverse. The divergence of people’s conceptions of identity and language becomes especially visible in the language ideological debates we witness in Tromsø (case studies 5 and 6). Conceptions of identity are relevant to any experience of linguistic difference, especially in multilingual societies where the experience of linguistic heterogeneity and difference attracts people’s attention to language as (variable) identity option. They play an important role in people’s metapragmatic interaction, and in their management of the complex sociolinguistic situation at issue.

As I have outlined above (in 4.1.1), scientific conceptions of identity have been quite different at different points of time. In the case of Northern Norway, it is a fact that different people’s metapragmatic conceptions of identity (and in particular of ethnicity) are diverging. This general situation is influenced by the historical developments and specific situations in the local communities (though, there has yet been little research on conceptions of identity, language attitudes and ideology on the local community level in the region (cf. Sollid 2009)). Today’s views of Sáminess diverge over the whole range from essentialist perspectives to constructivist conceptions. Also the question of difference and defining the ‘other’ is interpreted in different ways.

Case study 5 reveals that identity (of the town and of social and ethnic groups) is viewed as an essential and stable core by many townspeople of Tromsø. Many participants in the public debate see this identity threatened by Sáminess. Writers who present themselves as ethnically Norwegian construe Sámi identity as the ‘other’ which is opposed to the townspeople’s Norwegian identity and national unity. At the same time, other writers present a more including view. For them, being Sámi and being Norwegian are not two opposite identity options.

The essentialist views of identity and ethnicity are contrasted by the views of many (particularly younger), actively engaged people in the municipality of Gáivuotna/Kåfjord, who describe their Sáminess as culturally and socially constructed and emergent. For them, their Sáminess is not opposed to also having a Norwegian identity. The ‘other’ in their conceptions of a local Sámi identity can be found in other Sámi communities, and in the distant Southern Norwegian culture, rather than in what some people conceive of as the “ethnically Norwegian” population of Northern Norway (cf. Hiss 2008; Johansen 2009). Pedersen and Høgmo (2012) partly see the breeding ground of identity conflicts in the encounter of such diverging essentialist and constructivist conceptions of identity and ethnicity. Such diverging metapragmatic conceptualizations of the language-and-identity relationship play a role in here-and-now social encounters and discursive activities.

Beyond the multilingual settings of Northern Norwegian communities, diverging metapragmatic conceptions of the language-and-identity relationship have turned out to play influential roles in many cases of language maintenance and revitalization. The problem is often connected with language socialization (cf. Ochs 1996), the acceptance of the language in the community and the integration of revitalized speakers by competent first language speakers of the language (cf. McEwan-Fujita 2010; Robert 2009), and general decision-making in language revitalization processes. Coupland and Aldridge (2009) and other contributors to the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*’s special issue on the revitalization of Welsh address these problems in their discussion of the social and linguistic *re-circulation* of the Welsh. McEwan-Fujita (2010) describes the challenging encounter of Gaelic language learners with different conceptions of speaker identities and language ideological boundaries. She also shows that speakers’ engagement can turn ideologies and restrictive conceptions of language use and users towards a more positive and inclusive vision of minority language use. By proclaiming the concept of *polynomy* and advertising the idea of unity in difference,

Corsican sociolinguists made an attempt to counter essentialist views of linguistic identity that threatened the situation of Corsican (e.g. Marcellesi 2003). In their conceptualization, a language has various modalities of existence, including variation in competence and various linguistic outcomes of language contact and shift, which should be equally tolerated. Jaffe (2003) reveals, however, that some very common sociocultural frames (such as classroom settings or frames set by the dominating majority language and culture) can set narrow limits to polynomic language practices.

As these examples show, metapragmatic conceptions of language and identity play important roles in situations of minority language revitalization. In addition, they often also interfere with situational settings and individual accounts of situated identities.

## **4.2. Storytelling**

Storytelling in everyday life is a central tool for positioning identities and encountering the various dilemmas of identity in everyday human life (Bamberg 2011; 2010; Bamberg et al. 2011; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou 2007). Following the perspectives on context, identity, and individual agency, I apply narrative analysis as a major analytic tool in case studies 3 and 4 to describe several individual informants' engagement in Sámi language issues. Narratives have the ability to contextualize narrated events and to shape coherence in time, space, and the social world. Through storytelling, narrators make there-and-then events relevant in any here-and-now situation of interpersonal encounter. By the choice of both content and linguistic means of narration, narrators can modify the relationship between the there-and-then event and the context of here-and-now narration and make their stories relevant to the situated management of questions of identity and the positioning of self. I provide a short description of my narrative approach in both case studies (3 and 4).

### *4.2.1. Narratives and fieldwork: Labov's model*

In sociolinguistics, narrative has in a large degree been connected with the work of Labov (1972b; Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1981; 1997). The sequential organization of narrative events, syntactically expressed through past tense narrative clauses, is central in Labov's structuralist model. Narrative clauses are considered to be ordered temporally in such a fashion that their sequence cannot be altered without



changing the interpretation of narrated events (cf. De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 28). The overall structure of a narrative is made up by some larger sections which in sequential order reflect the typical progression of a narrative: *abstract* (indicating the intention to tell a story and what the story is about), *orientation* (presenting place, time, situation, and acting persons), *complicating action* (what happened in the narrative), *resolution* (the result of the narrative, how the complication was solved), *coda* (connecting the story world and the present), and *evaluation* (expressing the narrator's point of view and guiding the listener with regard to the significance of the story).

The elicitation of personal stories played a central role in Labov's (e.g. 1972a) fieldwork strategies. Labov assumed that speakers would use the most natural and immediate way of speech in highly emotional situations. Therefore, he asked his informants if they ever had been in a life-threatening situation, and would motivate the informant's narration by follow-up questions such as, "and what happened then?". The elicitation of narratives is part of Labov's strategy to minimize the effects of observation on the collected data.

In my case studies, the preconditions for storytelling are basically different from Labov's classical approach. First of all, I did not directly elicit narratives from the informants. The narratives I analyse in the two case studies emerged from the informants' engagement in the interview situations and in the topics of discussion. For this reason, one question is highly relevant: Why does the informant choose to narrate this story about this topic in this way within the here-and-now situation? Further, narrative structures can diverge quite a lot from the Labovian model of narrative structure. The local situatedness of narratives and structural aspects are subject of the next two subsections.

#### 4.2.2. *Narratives, identity, and the management of social life*

The narrative approach suggested by Bamberg, Georgakopoulou, and others (Bamberg 2007; 2011; Georgakopoulou 2007; Bamberg 2010; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008) sees narratives as constructive means that are functional in the creation and organization of social life, identities, and in the positioning of the self. In their view, narratives in interaction do not just function as reflections on experiences but as parts of active interaction, positioning work and social practice. Telling a story is always a reaction to the immediate preceding past of the interaction, and it is oriented

forwardly, anticipating a response from the audience (Bamberg 2007: 167). This means that Storytelling is functional, makes sense, and draws on the meaning making resources available within the concrete situation of interpersonal interaction. In this local situatedness of narratives, the approach highlights tellership and narrative performance in the here-and-now situations of storytelling. It thus encompasses three facets of storytelling: content, form, and performance.

Narratives-in-interaction are conceptualized as the sites of engagement where identities are continuously practiced and tested out (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008). Through telling narratives, people are able to construct a sense of a continuous self, which fuses past and future orientation together into one's present identity (Bamberg et al. 2011). The ability to construct continuity is particularly relevant with respect to three aspects of identity: the construction of sameness and difference, the creation of categories of belonging, and the building of continuity and change (Bamberg 2011; 2010; Bamberg et al. 2011).

#### 4.2.3. *Narrative structures and functional uses*

In contrast to Labov's structural approach, it has turned out to be difficult, or almost impossible, to universally define a narrative by its structure (Ryan 2007; De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012). Especially in oral conversation (such as the interview material I analyse in case studies 3 and 4), narrative structures can deviate a lot from the Labovian prototype. Narratives can appear in elliptic forms, as short references to a story, retellings of shared stories, or even as refusals to tell (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012: 108). However, irrespective of their length or interactional function, narratives are well structured, and in their structure, they are always audience designed (Bamberg 2007). This may cause some theoretical challenges, particularly with respect to content-focused structuralist approaches.

One approach that has taken up and reworked the Labovian model is presented by scholars from the Sydney school of genre (Eggins and Slade 1997; Martin and Rose 2008). Martin (1985: 250) defines genre as "how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them". Reworking Labov's narrative structure, Eggins and Slade (1997) suggest a number of differently structured functional genres of narratives in conversation. For example, anecdotes are structured according to their goal of sharing

emotional reactions. They lack a *resolution* and leave space for shared laughter or an immediate reaction of the recipient. I discuss this purposeful use of narrative structure in case study 4.

Here, I want to direct special interest to the functions of *grounding*. Also the concept of grounding (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Wårvik 2004; 2011) has been developed on the idea of a sequentially ordered narrative structure. It has been proposed that some elements of narratives are foregrounded, while others are backgrounded. In a longer, sequentially ordered narrative, the foregrounded parts would normally signal the important turning points, i.e. those elements of a story content that are most salient to its general development. The phenomenon of foregrounding is therefore also discussed under the notion of *saliency* (Chvany 1985). Backgrounded information aims at more general features and conditions of the situation that are situated around the plot. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980; cf. also Chvany 1985), grounding corresponds structurally with high and low transitivity, i.e. with the intensity of an action represented in the transitivity structure of a clause. The claim is that foregrounded parts of a narrative are more salient to the understanding of the overall story than its backgrounded parts.

An extension of the focus from narrative content to narrative performance and identity management can result in some interesting theoretical implications about the functions of grounding. The analyses of grounding in some of the example stories in case study 3 give evidence that this relationship might be more delicate and complex. In the example stories (narrated by the informants Anne and Ingrid), foregrounding is used to highlight the most important events in the contents of each story, but within the specific contexts of storytelling, those issues that are most salient for identity construction, are presented in the background. Foregrounded information in these narratives rather fulfils a supporting function that attracts the listener's attention and guides it to the more salient background information. This information is used to frame further accounts of identity and of the local sociolinguistic situation. Foregrounding and backgrounding can therefore appear as hybrid strategies with multiple communicative functions.

### 4.3. Attitude and Stance

Another means of self-positioning vis-à-vis various contexts is stance-taking. Stance-taking (cf. Jaffe 2009b) has also been dealt with under the notions of attitude (Martin and White 2005), or evaluation (Hunston and Thompson 2000). When we take a stance, we evaluate things, persons, or events and position ourselves attitudinally. Through expressing one's personal stance and attitudes, speakers and writers show their subjective presence in their texts and utterances (Jaffe 2009a: 3; Martin and White 2005: 1). Individual stance-taking in relation to multilingualism, language ideologies, and other individuals' diverging attitudes is a central issue in case studies 5 and 6.

It is important to stress that stance, attitude, or evaluation fulfils multiple functions in social linguistic interaction. Expressing one's attitude about something or someone, or evaluating an object, does not only mean to ascribe some (positive or negative) attributes to that object. It also involves social relationships and implies the attitudinal positioning of the speaker vis-à-vis that object, the positioning of the respondent (or audience) vis-à-vis the speaker and the evaluated target, and the positioning of speaker, respondent, and object in relation to common, cultural values (of ideological, moral, or aesthetic correctness or adequateness). Since stance-taking includes all these perspectives, the expression of, e.g., a negative attitude about Sámi within an interactional context is a social act with impact on the position of the self, the respondent, and the cultural system.

Structurally, the expression of evaluation in text and discourse is not tied to the level of words or clauses. It can develop throughout larger patterns of text, and authorial stances expressed in a text can have large impact on the structuring of that text. Thus, stance-taking (evaluation, attitude) has multiple functions, both in social interaction and structurally in the text. Thompson and Hunston (2000) classify three main functions of evaluation in text (in line with Halliday's three metafunctions of language):

- (1) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
  - (2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
  - (3) to organize the discourse.
- (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6)

I apply the framework of appraisal in case study 5 to provide a systematic analysis of evaluative language use and personal stance-taking. An overview of relevant features of appraisal and their application is also presented in case study 5. In the following two sections (4.3.1 and 4.3.2) I give an outline of the most general features of appraisal, and

I briefly discuss the use and structuring of evaluative language in larger pieces of text and discourse.

#### 4.3.1. *The appraisal framework*

The Appraisal framework (cf. Martin and White 2005; Martin 2000; White 2002; 2005) analyses different semantic options for the expression of attitudes, their graduation, and the management of personal engagement in stance-taking. Appraisal was developed within the Sydney school of systemic functional linguistics. It describes the discourse semantic resources of uttering one's attitude as systems of choices. The systemic model implies that any linguistic choice can be analysed in relation to alternative, potential choices. Any chosen linguistic item can be seen in relation to what has not been chosen.

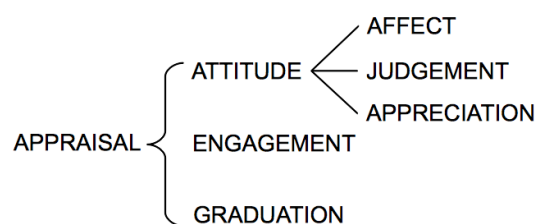


Figure 1: The basic system network of Appraisal (cf. Martin and Rose 2007: 59)

The basic semantic choices for Appraisal are three parallel subsystems: *attitude*, *engagement*, and *graduation*. The system of *attitude* encompasses the expression of affective, emotional, moral, or other value-oriented evaluations of people, things, ideas, events, or actions. The system of *engagement* describes the source of the evaluation and the resources by which the speaker or writer positions her-/himself towards the evaluation, targets, and respondents. This is normally done by the use of different voices (heteroglossia), by which speakers assign evaluations to other sources, or monoglossia, when the speaker only expresses authorial evaluations. The system of *graduation* serves to amplify evaluations by strengthening or weakening the force and focus of evaluative expressions.

The appraisal framework distinguishes three semantically different types of attitude. *Affect* (Example 3) is the expression of feelings and emotions. *Judgement* (Example 4) evaluates persons and their actions and attitudes, and *Appreciation* (Example 5) expresses an evaluation of things, events, and ideas. The three different types of attitude are distinguished due to their semantic properties. Each of the

semantically different types of attitude has different effects on the positioning of self vis-à-vis the evaluated object, the respondents, and the culture with its commonly shared systems of value. I present a more detailed explanation and discussion of the functional differences of these categories and of their application in text analysis in case study 5.

Example 3 (Affect)

*Som ansvarlig statsråd for samepolitikken, er jeg svært glad for at stadig flere kommuner ser hvilke utviklingsmuligheter det gir å være del av forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk.*

‘As the responsible minister for Sámi politics, I am very happy that more and more municipalities see which possibilities for development you get, when you are part of the administrative area for Sámi language.’

Example 4 (Judgement)

*For når politikerne slutter å lytte til folket, så mener jeg det heller mot diktatur.*

‘Because when the politicians stop listening to the people, I mean that leans toward dictatorship.’

Example 5 (Appreciation)

*Det ville være til det beste dersom Tromsø ble innlemmet i forvaltningsområdet for samisk språk.*

‘It would be for the best if Tromsø became was included in the administrative area for the Sámi language.’

#### 4.3.2. *Heteroglossia*

The appraisal framework deals with heteroglossia within the category of engagement. The concept of heteroglossia derives from the work of Bakhtin (e.g. 1981). It basically describes the coexistence of different voices within one single text. Bakhtin (p. 324) describes heteroglossia as “another’s speech in another’s language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way”. With respect to stance-taking, speakers, or authors of texts, can use other persons’ voices to frame their own stances or to position themselves vis-à-vis other persons’ attitudes. In media texts this can be used to construe a (seemingly neutral) journalistic voice (Martin and White 2005; White and Thomson 2008). In case studies 2 and 6, I employ the concept of heteroglossia to discuss how journalists manage different attitudinal stances, optimism, and pessimism in their texts, and how particular stances and views get related to different social roles.

#### 4.3.3. *Evaluation and discourse structures*

As I have mentioned above, evaluative language can serve to structure whole discourses (Thompson and Hunston 2000). Here, I want to call attention to the fact that stance-taking and people’s attitudinal positioning strategies stretch and develop over

linguistic structures that go beyond the clause-level. Texts, in particular those that represent strong personal involvement of people in an issue, can be structured through the evaluative meanings expressed in them. As Martin (2004: 270) argues, the powerful, structuring role of evaluation is perhaps most transparent in texts relating to highly charged political issues. In addition to larger textual patterns, interpersonal, evaluative meanings can be expressed in-between the clauses of a text by the means of conjunctive or disjunctive relations. One of the most important functions of conjunctive relations with interpersonal meaning is managing the recipients' expectations (Thompson and Zhou 2000). Thompson (2005) functionally categorises conjunctive relations according to Halliday's three metafunctions, experiential, interpersonal, and textual. It is characteristic of evaluative texts that they use a large amount of such interpersonal conjunctions. This is demonstrated in Examples 6 and 7. In both examples from the language ideological debate in Tromsø, interpersonal, evaluative meaning shapes logicosemantic conjunctions between the separate clauses.

Example 6

- (a) *Tromsø ligger nært opptil kjerneområdet.*  
'Tromsø lies near the [Sámi] core area.'
- (b) *Derfor er det merkelig*  
'Therefore, it is strange'
- (c) *at det skal være så mange fordommer i befolkningen.*  
'that there should be so many prejudices among the population.'

The three separate clauses in Example 6 are connected with conjunction markers. Semantically, they are connected with each other through the evaluative meanings they express. Clause (a) expresses the basis for the writer to express the appraisal in (b), and (c) presents the situation that the writer evaluates.

Example 7

- (a) *Dette ligner mer på borgerforakt!*  
'This resembles more to contempt of citizens!'
- (b) *Tromsø kommunestyre består av 43 personer, som i denne viktige saken er ute etter å overkjøre en befolkning på 67.861 innbyggere (per 1. juli 2010).*  
'Tromsø town council consists of 43 persons, who in this important issue intend to ignore a population of 67,861 inhabitants (by July 1, 2010).'

Example 7 works without explicit conjunction markers. But the conjunctive relation between (a) and (b) is obvious, because (b) presents the basis for the appraisal expressed in (a). Such conjunctive relations between clauses can express multiple interpersonal meanings, such as expectation and contradiction or affirmation (Thompson *forthc.*).

These forms of patterning evaluations and stances in text are basically reflected in all case studies. In particular, this is visible in the text contributions to the attitudinally loaded, political debate on language and Sámi identity in Tromsø (case studies 5 and 6), and in the varying journalistic assessments of the endangered situation of the Sámi language (case studies 1 and 2), where choices in text structure have a large share in transmitting the writer's stance. In case study 5, I demonstrate the interaction between appraisal resources and textual information structure (cf. Martin 2004; Hood 2009). Case studies 2 and 6 show the textual patterning of heteroglossia and its impact on stance (cf. White and Thomson 2008); case study 1 reveals the patterning effect of metaphor use in text (cf. Goatly 2011).

#### **4.4. Being Responsible and Taking Responsibility**

Individual agency and engagement, when we see it as social participation, implies responsibility (Hill and Irvine 1993). Being responsible and acting responsibly is central in the organization of social human life. It interacts with questions of identity and stance. Cases of responsibility can be manifold, e.g. legal and moral responsibility (Lakoff *forthc.* 2013; Solin and Östman *forthc.* 2013), role-related responsibilities (Arribas-Ayllon et al. 2008), or communicative responsibility (Hill and Irvine 1993; Lakoff *forthc.* 2013). Though responsibility relates to social relations and (psychological) feelings, the central means of doing responsible actions and managing questions of responsibility in social life is language (Lakoff *forthc.* 2013). When we organize our social and linguistic interactions with others, we use the linguistic and contextually situated communicative resources that we have at our disposal to express and negotiate our own and others' responsibilities.

Just as questions of identity and the expression of individual stances, issues of responsibility are pervasive in all communicative instances I analyse. I am concerned with the individual, social, and communicative responsibilities in the context of multilingualism and social life that individual actors in their texts and talk take, negotiate, reject, or assign to other actors. Especially against the prevailing risk of language loss, responsible action is necessary, and it is necessary for participating actors to negotiate and stake out what responsible action means to them.

Solin and Östman (*forthc.* 2013) see responsibility as anchored to three general categories: (a) sociocultural responsibility (related to societal and group ideologies,



values, practices, traditions, and history of the culture and the community) (b) interpersonal responsibility (vis-à-vis one's co-participants in a communicative setting, politeness, truth, and evidence in interpersonal interaction), and (c) responsibility to the self (in relation to one's internalized values, attitudes, personal feelings, views, and opinions).

(a) Sociocultural responsibility, in our case, relates, e.g., to responsibility for Sámi language preservation (as a commonly shared value, central element of communal history (case studies 3 and 4), or, if we take into account the global level, as part of the world's cultural heritage (case studies 1 and 2)), responsibility for the coherence of local identities, and responsibility vis-à-vis cultural views of social values and morally adequate behaviour (case study 5).

(b) Interpersonal responsibility becomes relevant in the face-to-face interactions of interview conversations (case study 4), in assigning responsibilities to co-participants, in accounting for the relevance, truth, and reliability of claims and stances (e.g. in personal assessments of the language situation (case study 3) and in the negotiation of language ideological positions (case study 5)).

(c) Responsibility to the self becomes relevant in individuals' accounts for their feelings and personal decisions for action-taking (case studies 3 and 4), and also in the anchoring of individual stances to socioculturally shared ideologies (case study 5). Responsibility is thus closely connected to the positioning of the self and to the "Who-am-I?" question of identity.

As Solin and Östman (forthc. 2013) point out, these different types of responsibility that operate on different levels of social organization can be made relevant simultaneously in discourse. This is typically done implicitly. This means also that there is normally no either-or decision between the organization of responsibilities of either type. Responsibility for the Sámi language, as it is organized in discourse, is not only sociocultural responsibility, but also interpersonal responsibility and responsibility to the self.

Responsibility on these three levels also concerns research ethics. Through our scientific engagement in the field, also we researchers have a position in this development and must take responsibility vis-à-vis various other actors such as our informants, the local communities, institutions, and the scientific community. I discuss this view to research ethics and the researcher's role in case study 4 and in section 5.2.2 below.

In section 4.4.1 I discuss the relation of responsibilities and social roles and the ways in which social roles are enacted and made relevant in discursive interaction. Finally, in 4.4.2 I present the multifunctional use of metaphor as a means by which responsibilities get assigned and contextualized in the discourse about language endangerment.

#### *4.4.1. Roles*

The notion of responsibility is closely connected to the notion of role, i.e. the roles of people as social actors in general, in institutional settings, in social interaction (face-to face or mediated), and in any individual's life-world. People's responsibilities in any type of social and interpersonal interaction are also defined by the roles they are situated in and the roles they enact in the particular situation.

In the material I analyse, we encounter the roles of local community members, informants, researchers, journalists, politicians, national, local, and global institutions, experts, and so on. An understanding of individual agency in this highly complex sociolinguistic setting requires that we take into account the diverse roles that individuals enact, and the multiple role relationships in which they engage.

Roles are hybrid, and role relations are normally multifaceted and complex. The reason for this is that single interactants normally enact and need to account for more than one role relation they participate in. Merton (1957; 1968) introduces the notion of role-set to describe the complexity of social role relationships, in which he basically remarks that each social status involves multiple role relations to other persons' roles. Merton uses the example of a medical doctor who has not only a role relation vis-à-vis his patients but also vis-à-vis his colleagues, nurses, medical secretaries, students, and members of the patients' families. All these roles relate to his status as a medical doctor. Transferred to, e.g., the role of a researcher doing sociolinguistic fieldwork, the role-set encompasses role relations to the informants, the local community where the research is conducted, colleagues at the university or research institution, supervisors, and editors of scientific journals. What Merton describes as role-set is basically different from the notion of multiple roles which means that every individual can have several roles, e.g. as a researcher, husband, father, and as a member of a church, club, or association.

In interpersonal interaction, speakers also adopt roles that are defined within and develop throughout the interpersonal encounter. Goffman (1981) problematizes the

simple notions of speaker and hearer and suggests a number of interactional roles that take part in shaping the footing of talk in social interaction (cf. also Levinson 1988; 1983: 68). A speaker can be acting in the role of an animator, an author, and a principal. Each of these roles implicates a different relationship between the speaker's activity and the content of speech. The role of an animator emphasizes the speaker's delivery and performance. The role of an author views the speaker as originator of contents. The role of a principal entails the authority of the speaker, whose participation is established and identified by his verbal activity. Zimmerman (1998) refers to such roles in discursive interaction as *discourse identities*, which he links with *situated identities*, an individual's situated, social identities independent from concrete cases of discursive interaction. Through verbal action, speakers' situated identities and social roles can be made relevant in discourse.

Focusing especially on the hybridity of role-sets in discourse and social interaction, Sarangi (2010) discusses these different notions of role and states that with all their complexity, hybridity, and multiple facets, social roles can be operationalized on the interactional level to achieve various goals and purposes (cf. also Arribas-Ayllon et al. 2008; Sarangi 2004). Especially this possibility to purposefully employ roles and role relations on various levels in one's discursive activities allows us as speakers to handle and manage various social responsibilities.

#### 4.4.2. *Metaphor*

From a purposeful operationalization of social and interactional roles in discourse, I shift the focus to the purposeful use of metaphors. In case study 1, I analyse the use of metaphors as a means of contextualization and for social actors in various roles to manage responsibilities in relation to linguistic diversity and the future development of so-called endangered languages.

Metaphor is a pervasive phenomenon in language. Semino (2008: 1) simply explains metaphor as "the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else". Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1999) demonstrated the presence and indispensable function of metaphors in our everyday language use and their elementary role in human life, thought and culture, laying a conceptual basis for cultural ways of thinking and understanding.

Metaphors are used to contextualize and manage the question of language endangerment. In particular, they connect language with ideas about biodiversity, life, and death. In case study 1 (cf. also case study 2), I analyse metaphor as a multifaceted communicative tool, and I show that the functions of metaphor use go beyond the conceptualization of language as a biological being.

Cameron (2010: 3-7) describes metaphor with the attributes linguistic, embodied, cognitive, affective, sociocultural, and dynamic. The idea of metaphor thus encompasses multiple aspects that all offer tools for sense-making and understanding people (Maasen and Weingart 2000; Semino 2008; Goatly 2011; Schwabenland 2012). The basic property of metaphors is polysemy. A term used in discourse and embedded in a grammatical structure transports a meaning which is not its lexical meaning and which belongs to another discourse. Through their polysemic properties, metaphors can connect discourses and contextualize utterances beyond the lexical meanings expressed. This property makes metaphor a suitable tool for complex thinking and organization, also in the face of discontinuity, multiplicity, and risk (Schwabenland 2012: 20).

Analysing metaphor use about language and endangerment in discourse, I basically consider three perspectives:

(a) Metaphor use is systematic and dynamic in discourse (Cameron and Maslen 2010). Metaphorical terms from certain semantic fields can build systematic patterns in discourse and interact with the topics of the discourse. The identification of such systematic connections can “open a window on the ideas, attitudes and values which may be active in speakers’ or writers’ minds at the time they engage in the discourse” (Cameron et al. 2010: 117).

(b) Metaphors are meaning-making devices that are embedded in and interact with grammatical structure. Whatever meaning is transported by a metaphorical vehicle term, it is expressed in the lexicogrammatical structure of its vehicle term. This property of lexical metaphors coincides with Halliday’s concept of grammatical metaphor (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

(c) Metaphors are multifunctional devices that take part in realizing ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning. They can contextualize the text and discourse in at least these three dimensions of linguistic meaning-making in social interaction. Goatly (2011: 153-177; cf. also Semino 2008: 31) suggests a functional perspective that relates the use and choice of metaphors to purposeful human activity within communication in social space. This perspective goes beyond the representational and conceptual

perspective on metaphorical meaning to a multidimensional perspective that orients the functions of metaphor along with Halliday's three metafunctions of language: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Metaphors in text and discourse are seen and can be analysed not only as ideational, descriptive devices that help us to understand the world, but also as tools for acting on and with others in the world, and as textually elaborated resources that signal the relevance of what is said, connect contexts, create textual coherence and intertextual relations.

In case study 1, I demonstrate how these functions of metaphor are used in journalistic texts to connect global and local context and to manage authority and responsibilities of different social participants.

#### **4.5. Summary**

Starting with a general perspective on context and contextualization and on the role of context in systemic functional linguistics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis (in chapter 3), I have in chapter 4 discussed identity, storytelling, stance-taking, and responsibility as discursive activities. These activities interact and overlap, and there is no simple linear relationship between social events and structures, individual agency and linguistic choices. Choices can be made on any possible level of structure, they may involve structural and socially determined options, and they can be conscious or subconscious (Verschueren 1999: 56; Kristiansen 2010). Linguistic choices can support various functions, and we can act on the assumption that any choice of linguistic expression makes sense in a here-and-now situation and within a concrete context.

Through their choices, speakers and writers make relevant various contexts in their texts and talks, when they act on contents and objects and interact with their co-participants, respondents, and the world around them. When positioning one's own identity, telling a story, assessing and evaluating events, persons, things, and objects, and accounting for one's own and others' responsibilities, choices of expression, contexts, contents, interpersonal and social relationships combine in complex ways. This property of discourse can be attributed as hybrid (Sarangi 2000; Sarangi and Roberts 1999).

Through these possibilities of expression and contextualization, language is an optimal tool for individuals to encounter and manage for themselves various complex contexts and social challenges.

## 5. Findings

In this section I present, discuss, and contextualize the empirical outcomes of the six case studies which I briefly introduced in the introductory chapter (section 1.3). I begin with a summary the findings of the separate case studies (section 5.1), followed by the discussion of some major traits that are recurrent in all particular cases and can be considered characteristic of the situation in general (section 5.2).

### 5.1. Findings of the Case Studies

In the following three subsections, I briefly recapitulate the findings of the separate case studies, which each can be found as appendixes. I subsume the findings of the six case studies in three sections, according to the material analysed in the respective studies: In section 5.1.1 I present the findings from case studies 1 and 2; section 5.1.2 summarizes the findings of case studies 3 and 4, and in 5.1.3 I present the outcomes of case studies 5 and 6.

#### 5.1.1. “Endangerment discourse” in Sámi media

This section resumes the findings of case studies 1 and 2. My analysis of language endangerment discourse in the Sámi media has its point of departure in the scientific discussion of global rhetoric practices surrounding linguistic diversity, endangered languages, and their preservation as a common global interest (cf. Moore et al. 2010; Blommaert 2001; Heller and Duchêne 2007; Muehlmann 2007; Hill 2002; Errington 2003). A general criticism is that the current practices of language endangerment discourse in numerous scientific works within linguistics and anthropology and by global organizations obscure the complex pragmatic and metapragmatic dimensions of language-in-use (e.g. Moore et al. 2010). Language is seen to be presented as a homogeneous and bounded unit outside of social life (e.g. Muehlmann 2007; Heller and Duchêne 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2007).

At the same time, I analyse these rhetoric practices as integrate part of language-in-use and meaning-making in social life. Local stakeholders and actors in various social roles can appropriate these rhetoric practices in their own discourses, when they express their accounts of the endangered language situation, necessary action-taking, and future perspectives. Focusing on reports and reactions to the publication of UNESCO’s *Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) and on

discussions of Sámi language politics in the local Sámi media, I propose a functional approach to the so-called endangerment discourse that moves the agency of local and global actors and their linguistic choices in the centre of interest.

In case study 1 (*The Metaphors and Metafunctions of Endangerment Discourse*), I first investigate the ideational representation of ‘language’ (particularly of the Sámi languages) in six media texts. In a second step, I discuss the interpersonal and textual functions of metaphor use in these texts. While most criticisms focus on ideational practices of meaning-making about language, the SFL-based, metafunctional analysis (ideational, interpersonal, textual) also highlights the opportunities of organizing interpersonal relationships (e.g. between writers and audiences) and texturing the whole discourse (internally and in relation to its contextual surrounding) that such metaphoric language offers its users.

Case study 2 (*Sosiale roller og lokale og globale interesser i vurderingen av språksituasjoner* (‘Social Roles and Local and Global Interests in the Evaluation of Language Situations’)) presents analyses of three texts stating, ‘Sámi will die out’, and, respectively, ‘the Sámi language will not disappear within a hundred years’. I emphasize the interplay of various different roles in the discourse, which create a high degree of hybridity. Actors in the discourse are Sámi speakers (who feel affected by predictions of the extinction of their own mother tongue), local activists, researchers and experts, public authorities, politicians, and global organizations such as UNESCO. The roles and role relations of all these different actors become relevant in the form of multiple voices in heteroglossic journalistic texts that each present an evaluation of the current situation of the Sámi languages. Their fundamentally different statements on the language situation result from the different ways in which the separate voices (of persons and institutions representing different roles) are mutually contextualized in the texts.

### *Authority*

Metaphors, in this particular case especially the metaphors of biodiversity, life, and death, establish contextual relations between the discourse at hand and the discourses which the metaphorical terms originally belong to. In this case, the metaphors relate to the well-established and globally respected discourse on the world’s biological diversity, endangered species, and life cycles. This discourse has attained



high authority and respect – also because it is encouraged by numerous highly respected persons, organizations, and institutions. In the Bourdieuan sense, we can say that the use of metaphors from these fields in the local Sámi discourse is an attempt to transfer symbolic power and authority to the local and national linguistic market where local stakeholders engage in the future development of their Sámi mother tongues (cf. Bourdieu 1982: 68). They use this metaphorical reference to enhance the validity of their claims to better support for language development and preservation from the state authorities. This strengthened authority is also given through the involvement of UNESCO as a respected global organization.

### *Responsibility*

The endangered situation of the Sámi languages demands responsible action. Stakeholders at the local level use the authority that is implicated in the global discourse to appeal to the responsibility of national institutions. In this case, they hold the Norwegian state accountable for the success of further development and claim better resources for school education. At the same time, by engaging in questions of responsibility, they also present themselves as responsible actors.

This way of managing responsibilities in relation to the safeguarding of the Sámi languages reveals the complex interconnections of roles on the local, global, and national level. The local reporters, stakeholders, commentators, and experts whose voices become visible in the local media texts, evaluate, recontextualize, and operationalize the global endangerment discourse and use it to enhance the authority of their own voices when they address the responsibility of the powerful state authorities.

The multitude of roles involved and the multiple meanings and functions that become relevant through the frequent use of metaphors and through heteroglossia in the media texts are characteristic features of the local media discourse on the issue. Metaphors from the global language endangerment discourse serve to connect contexts and roles. The global discourse on endangered languages and its articulation in local, Sámi surroundings are multifaceted and hybrid in their functions. The analyses show also that within this complexity, representations and perspectives can differ from each other according to different local and global roles.

### 5.1.2. *Responsibility and individual management of the language situation*

Let us move from the global discourses of language endangerment to individual engagement on the local level. Under this heading I summarize case studies 3 and 4, which both deal with the individual positioning of local community members from Gáivuotna/Kåfjord during research interviews. The two articles approach individual persons' accounts of the current language situation in their home community and their management of risks and responsibilities within specific, situational contexts.

In case study 3 (*Managing Sociolinguistic Challenges. Storytelling about Language Loss and Continuity in the Case of Sámi*), I analyse three diverging assessments of the risk of language loss and future perspectives for the Sámi language in the local community. With its ability to contextualize and to build coherence between contextual frames, storytelling is an effective and elaborate tool to encounter these challenges. To account for their views of the language situation, informants choose to tell small narratives about personal experiences, in which they in different ways fuse past and future and construe continuity. The study also discusses the choice of meanings and values that the informants make relevant to present their accounts, in relation to the local, situational context and to the sociolinguistic situation.

In a similar setting, case study 4 (*Engagement in Sámi language revitalization: Responsibility management in a research interview*) discusses how personal engagement and social responsibility for language revitalization efforts are construed in linguistic interaction in the encounter of informant and researcher in a sociolinguistic interview. Also this informant uses narration as a tool to position himself, to interpersonally assign responsibility to the researcher, and to account for his view of responsible action in the local community to support and maintain the Sámi language. Highlighting the active agency of the informant in the research interview, I describe in my analysis of a long and detailed narrative how the informant operationalizes different sets of social role relations in his talk, and how he manages to take advantage of the interview situation's meaning potential to communicate his view of the situation.

#### *Individual engagement and local continuity*

Both articles describe instances of individual engagement. The examples analysed in the case studies show purposeful linguistic choices, by which the individual informants express their engagement, position themselves and other participants

emotionally and attitudinally, and contextualize their positions in relation to the present situation of Sámi and to the historical and ever-changing sociolinguistic development.

In the specific settings I analyse here, storytelling proves to be an effective and elaborate tool to implement this personal engagement in discourse. The informants choose which contents they want to narrate, how they contextualize these contents in the here-and-now, and how they perform their stories in the interaction with the interviewer.

In their accounts for the current situation of Sámi in the local community, most informants choose to narrate episodes from their personal experiences or from the local history. In case study 4, the informant picks a parable story from a different region of the world – with evidently many parallels to the local situation – which he frames as part of a personal experience.

A common property of storytelling in these settings is that none of these narratives appears as a simple report of a there-and-then event. As storytellers, the informants purposefully contextualize their stories in relation to the stances they take and the points they want to make in their talk. For example, one informant in case study 3 (Anne) manages to narrate a negative personal experience of being mobbed because of her local belonging and ethnicity, as a funny anecdote, which arouses laughter from both participants. Through their choices in storytelling, informants use various there-and-then experiences (of real events, potential events, or fictional events) and make them relevant to the here-and-now situation within which their positioning and accounting takes place. The interviewer becomes regularly involved not only as a passive listener but also as a reacting participant.

Individual engagement in these interview settings draws on multiple contextual resources, including story contents and here-and-now frames, which through the linguistic means of narrative performance are assigned new relevance and get purposefully used by the informants to achieve their communicative goals. Situated engagement in the future development of Sámi unites the here-and-now and various past experiences, including negative attitudes.

These choices for contextualizing individual engagement are particularly remarkable (a) in comparison to the rhetoric of the global discourse of language endangerment, and (b) in the face of the historical development of attitudes and underlying language ideologies about Sámi in the local community.

(a) Particularly in case study 3, informants narrate stories of local continuity. Local relevance (with multiple facets) seems to be a common characteristic of the informants' arguments, rather than narratives of a global cultural heritage, biodiversity, or scientific value.

(b) Sáminess has earlier been a conflictive issue in the local community. It had been a tabooed topic for several decades after World War 2 (Johansen 2009; Pedersen and Høgmo 2012). When it first was articulated in public, the issue of ethnicity (and Sámi language as a marker of it) led to severe local conflicts. In the here-and-now of the interview conversations, references to this history are used and reinterpreted to argue for a positive future of both Sámi language and culture and local continuity.

#### *Individual accounting strategies and the research interview*

As in the case of endangerment discourse (5.1.1), both studies describe ways of accounting for the current endangered situation of the Sámi language and of managing individual and social responsibilities for activities that could improve the language situation. Accounting strategies and the management of responsibilities in the research interviews are connected with self-positioning, the participants' mutual role relations within the interview situation, and their social roles beyond the interview setting. Thus, the case studies reveal strategies of accounting and responsibility management in different relations:

(a) Speakers account for their own positions and actions. Case study 3 shows how informants use narratives to account for their own, individual assessments of the current language situation and their handling of uncertain future perspectives. In doing this, they choose to anchor their accounts to the local community's history and attitudinal development. Case study 4 shows how the informant accounts for the moral necessity of his own choice to actively use Sámi with other community members.

(b) Speakers account for others' actions and assign responsibilities to others, i.e. they assess responsibilities in society and culture and the handling of these responsibilities by other members of society (individuals, groups, institutions, or authorities). The informant in case study 4 evaluates the other community members' responsibilities to use and safeguard their Sámi language and compares these to what he himself conceives of as responsible action. He underlines his view of social and cultural

responsibility for the Sámi language by telling a story in which he illustrates the possible consequences of irresponsible action.

(c) Speakers appeal to the respondent's (i.e. the researcher's) responsibilities. Personal responsibilities are negotiated in the direct, interactional encounter of the two participants. The interview setting implicates an institutionalized role relation between interviewer and interviewee, and it involves role relations of each participant beyond the interview encounter. Case study 4 exemplifies the range of communicative resources and possibilities for assigning and managing interpersonal and social responsibilities that are inherent in and offered by the institutionalized setting of the research interview (cf. Sarangi 2004). The interview setting, with all its complexity and multiple frames, can function as a resource for the informant to manage responsibilities, also to place responsibility on the researcher and the professional, scientific community the researcher represents.

### 5.1.3. *Ideological involvement*

Individual management and agency are also attributes that fit the negotiation of attitudes and stances in the debate on the introduction of the Sámi administrative area in the town of Tromsø. In case studies 5 and 6, I investigate a number of local individuals' (many of them anonymous) personal engagement in defending diverging views of local identity and the social roles and values of Sámi and Norwegian in Tromsø. The two case studies on the controversies in Tromsø both depart from the analysis of individual writers' utterances in newspaper texts, framing different conceptions of communally shared values and language ideologies.

In case study 5, titled *Tromsø as a "Sámi Town"?* – *Language Ideologies, Attitudes, and Debates surrounding Bilingual Language Policies*, I analyse the expression of people's attitudes and stances in a number of letters to the editor and short comments on the discussion pages of Tromsø's two local newspapers, showing how these are semantically realized, and how personal stances are anchored to relations between the self, the recipients, and language ideologies.

While case study 5 is primarily concerned with the expression of attitudes in non-journalistic contributions to the public debate, case study 6, titled *Tromsø som samisk by? Språkideologier og medienes rolle i språkdebatten* ('Tromsø as a Sámi town? Language ideologies and the media's role in the language debate'), focuses on the

media's role as a broker and arena in the on-going negotiation of individual stances that reflect ideological values. I analyse how the journalistic voice is construed in newspaper articles on the topic, and how it uses the representation of other people's voices to construe a seemingly neutral but ideologically anchored position.

Below, I summarize three main findings of the two case studies: the relationship between ideology and the expression of attitudes, the simultaneous construction of bonds and boundaries, and the special role of (Sámi and Norwegian) language as a target of the so-called "language debate".

### *Ideology and attitudes*

I approach the language ideological positions in the debate through analysing the expressions of attitudes and their patterning in the discourses. Case study 5 combines the sociolinguistic perspective on language ideologies with a discourse analytic perspective on attitude (appraisal).

Language ideologies are anything than neutral. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2003a: 3) state that especially in multilingual societies, some languages and identity options are experienced as "more equal than others", with negotiation being a logical outcome of this inequality. The analysis of attitudinal stance-taking in the individual contributions to the debate reveals that many writers anchor their stances and legitimize their attitudes by anchoring them to (for them) self evident and communally shared ideological values. This is visible in Example 8 where the writer refers to a one nation-one language ideology to account for his negative evaluation of the introduction of Sámi road signs in Tromsø.

Example 8 (iTromsø 10.12.2010)

*Nå må en få stoppet galskapen. Sløsing av skattepengene til folk. Helt uhørt at en skal bruke penger på samisk skilting og alt som mer kommer i kjølvannet av et samisk språkområde i Tromsø. Et krav fra en liten kjerne av en minoritet, som allerede har mange særrettigheter.*

*Vi må kunne enes om ett offentlig språk i et lite land - så får hver og en især pusle med sine minoritetsspråk. Vi er én nasjon. Skjønner godt de mange protestene som er kommet på dette påfunnet. Og flere kommer nok. Legg ned Sametinget med det samme. Det skaper mer splid enn godt er mellom folk og en unødvendig offentlig pengesløsning. Samene er spredt over hele landet og de fleste er bosatt i Oslo. K.E.S.*

'Someone must stop this madness. The waste of people's tax money. It is completely unacceptable to spend money on putting up Sámi signs and on anything resulting from a Sámi language area in Tromsø. A claim from a small core of a minority that already has many privileges.

We should be able to agree on one public language in a small country – then everybody can busy themselves with their minority languages. We are one nation. I understand very well all the protests that come up against this claim. And there will surely be more. Close down the Sámi Parliament immediately. It causes more conflicts between people than it is good and an

unnecessary public use of money. The Sámi live spread all over the country, and most of them live in Oslo. K.E.S.’

Complexity arises from the multitude of individual positions and widely diverging views of who actually is treated “more equal than others”. Equality, as many participants in the debate in Tromsø see it, can rest upon very different points of view and ideological presumptions. For supporters of the idea of an official Sámi language area in Tromsø, equality means offering speakers of both Norwegian and Sámi the possibility to use their respective mother tongues in public life. In contrast, like the writer of Example 8, many opponents of the idea see equality in a one nation-one language ideology and claim a single official language for all inhabitants of Norway. A strengthening of Sámi would then mean a threat against unity and equality (=homogeneity) in the Norwegian nation.

Such underlying language ideologies are reproduced and communicated through the writers’ evaluations and stances. Evaluative language use (which is pervasive throughout the debate) generally reinforces the dichotomies and language ideological boundaries. Case study 5 shows that negative evaluations clearly dominate in the individual contributions to the debate. These are often person-focused and express judgements of other peoples’ behaviour that is not conform with the writers’ own ideological views of the roles of Sámi and Norwegian in the local society. Through these evaluative strategies, writers construe ideological boundaries.

### *Bonds and boundaries*

A central finding of my analyses describes a fundamentally hybrid property of these discourses, namely the simultaneous construction of interpersonal bonds and attitudinal boundaries. Writers of newspaper comments involve, refer to, and claim to have social identities that are defined by ideologies of linguistic and cultural difference. However, in their interactional engagement in the conflict they actively work on the construction of individual identities. When doing this, they do not only demark boundaries and differences, but they fundamentally seek to align with others and to build bonds with their recipients. Structurally, this is done by various ways of addressing the recipients interpersonally, appealing to their expectations, or arguing on the basis of common, positive values, such as the hometown.

*Language as a target of language ideology*

Language ideology is not only about language (Woolard 1998: 3). This statement proves true in the public, ideological debates on Sámi language and identity in the town of Tromsø. The analysis of evaluated targets in many writers' comments reveals that language itself only in very few of the cases is targeted by the writers (case study 5). Most evaluations focus on topics other than language. The few stances in the debate that mention the language are typically of the following type:

Example 9

*Når mer enn 300 personer daglig viser sin motstand mot vår kultur og vårt språk, [...]*

'When more than 300 persons each day express their opposition against our culture and our language, [...]

Example 10

*Språk og kultur burde ingen være redd for.*

'Nobody should be afraid of language and culture.'

Both examples (9 and 10) are utterances of supporters of the administrative area for the Sámi language in Tromsø. There are actually no tokens in the corpus which express stances that describe and evaluate the Sámi or Norwegian languages according to certain linguistic features, lexical items, or ways of linguistic expression. Example 11 is an extract from the novel *Dager i stillhetens historie* ('Days in the History of Silence'). The short extract from the novel presents a positive appraisal of the German language, which centrally focuses on aesthetic qualities of linguistic expression. No similar focused evaluations of language (Sámi or Norwegian) can be found in the corpus.

Example 11

Tysk er et språk der man tilsynelatende kan snakke et helt kapittel til ende, setning på setning, uten å sette punktum og røpe hvem og hva som blir snakket om, før de siste stavelsene. Selve innholdet er pakket elegant inn, som plommen i et egg, man knakker forsiktig mot en kant og innholdet renner, selvsikkert, seigt, men vakkert og fyldig, ned i bollen. Man sier at man har observert, man har gjort seg noen tanker om. Man hat sich Sorgen gemacht.

*German is a language where you seemingly can tell a whole chapter to the end, sentence after sentence, without putting a stop and revealing whom or what you are talking about, before the last syllables. The content itself is packed elegantly, pretty like the yolk in an egg. You carefully knock against an edge, and the content runs, self-confident, sticky, but beautiful and rich, down into the bowl. One says that one has observed; one has given thought to something. Man hat sich Sorgen gemacht. (Lindstrøm 2011: 91, my translation)*

In Example 11 the novel author refers to features of linguistic structure, and she even employs a sentence in German to construe and illustrate a positive, subjective assessment of the aesthetics of German. In contrast to this example, in the debates, I did not find any similar evaluations of either Sámi or Norwegian language that target



concrete linguistic features or properties. Here, evaluations focus mostly on originally extra-linguistic issues such as the political plan to join the Sámi administrative area, the Sámi people, politicians, and in general other people's actions, attitudes, and behaviour. However, the fact that both the media and many individual voices spoke of a 'language debate', and utterances such as Example 9 prove that the participants and audiences of the debate in Tromsø perceive language as the central issue of the debate.

This remarkable finding raises questions about the role of language in the "language debate": Was this a debate about language or not? The answer I suggest is both yes and no. So-called "core linguistic" issues play maximally a marginal role in the debate. There would therefore be no reason to claim that people anchor their stances to such linguistic facts. Here, it becomes clear that language ideological values emerge from metalinguistic contextualization (cf. Coupland and Jaworski 2004). The debate reveals an ideological contextualization of people's experiences of linguistic difference. We can say that the personal involvement of so many individuals in the debate is so strong, precisely because the ideological values they see in the languages are mainly concerned with social identities, societal orders, and relationships in their social world (cf. Woolard 1998; Gal and Irvine 1995).

## **5.2. Major Traits and Characteristic Patterns**

All six case studies reveal a (similar) complexity and hybridity at the level of discourse and linguistic interaction. These complexities can be described (a) in terms of agency, what people do, how they position themselves vis-à-vis the complex sociolinguistic situation, how they account for their actions and stances, and how they negotiate their own and others' responsibilities; and (b) in terms of how this is done linguistically and how multiple contexts are made relevant.

In all six case studies, I have traced individual agency, which was realized and instantiated in different ways. Individual agency in all cases influences the situation and the manner in which contexts and issues are managed. Agency permanently moves between the here-and-now settings and particular situational contexts and the larger societal frames. Individual agency as it takes place in the cases I have analysed can therefore not be described in an either-or fashion. Actions and causes can neither be assigned to purely individual acts of decision-making (cf. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985), nor are they simple reactions to (or reflections of) larger-scale social level

developments (cf. Hylthenstam et al. 1999). These factors all interact in a complex manner.

### *5.2.1. Agency and complex contexts*

The case studies reveal different modes of individual actors' discursive engagement in Sámi language issues, language revitalization efforts, and multilingualism. Social and interactional engagement, here, involves positioning of identities, stance-taking, and responsibility. This individual agency responds to and shapes complexity.

All individual agents do some kind of positioning work, in which they position themselves, their co-participants (or recipients), and others in relation to complex contextual surroundings and at the same time, in their texts and oral talk, make contexts relevant to their actions and permanently re-entextualize these (cf. Silverstein and Urban 1996). Options and contexts for positioning in the particular situations are normally ambiguous, and they differ according to the specific settings of each case study. We find contextual frames such as the global, local, and national levels (case studies 1 and 2), local history and uncertain future perspectives (case study 3), local engagement and institutional role-relations (case study 4), rural and urban identity categories and ideological conceptions of ethnicity and belonging (case studies 5 and 6).

Case studies 1 and 2 demonstrate how writers of media texts organize global and local contexts simultaneously and employ the global discourse of language endangerment to manage local and national responsibilities. Similarly, in case study 3, uncertainty about language loss or survival, personal feelings of hope, doubts, and emotional attachment, and a common goal to preserve the Sámi language are managed simultaneously, and in their narrative accounts of the local language situation, informants fuse past experiences and future perspectives. The informant in case study 4 contextualizes hybrid role relations and makes them relevant to his personal account of action-taking for the preservation of the local Sámi language. We see similar things happen when participants in language ideological controversies simultaneously construe ideological boundaries against, and interactional bonds with their respondents (case study 5). All these (complexly organized) activities reveal the complexity, multiplicity, and ambiguity of contextual surroundings and the individual agents' active participation in the construction of contexts.

Also the individual ways of accounting, taking, accepting, refusing, and assigning responsibilities in these specific cases reveal the complexity of the situation. Responsibility, here, is not only responsibility in relation to a single goal or intention, such as the successful revitalization and preservation of Sámi or the integrity of the town's identity. Rather, individuals take responsibility and account for their actions, views, and attitudes vis-à-vis multiple other interests in society and culture, they take responsibility when facing their respondents and co-participants, and they want to act responsibly in relation to their own feelings and experiences. With respect to responsibility, I briefly want to focus on the role relations that involve scientific research and the researcher.

### *5.2.2. Role relations: researchers, experts, stakeholders, individuals*

The case studies show that different social and interactional role relations become relevant in all of the settings analysed. Roles include informants, local stakeholders, journalists, politicians, state authorities, global organizations, experts, and researchers. The case studies reveal various ways in which these roles are enacted and made relevant in text and interaction and in relation to language issues.

Especially in the context of minority language groups, potential language loss, and language revitalization, the researchers' and experts' role is ambiguous and complicated (Huss 2008: 76-77). This includes, on the one hand, the question of neutral research versus active advocacy, which also is addressed by numerous critics of endangerment discourse (e.g. Hill 2002; Muehlmann 2007; cf. case studies 1 and 2), and, on the other hand, the interaction between researcher and informants (Sarangi 2004; Wertheim 2006; cf. case study 4). As Östman (2000) shows, these relations of necessity also address questions of research ethics and appropriation.

For example, in her discussion of the responsibility of Finno-Ugrian studies in the face of the challenges posed by the situation of today's minority languages, Laakso (2011: 29) points out the construal of a researcher-speaker relationship. Researchers of the positivist, objectifying traditions in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century used to select speakers of the so called "pure" language, normally individuals from the oldest generation who were as monolingual and non-mobile as possible, as their informants. Recorded samples were edited and "corrected" (Sarhima 2000: 201-202). By these methods, researchers constructed their own object of study. Analysis and interpretation

from a certain linguistic, scientific, or European point of view also means appropriation. Laakso and Sarhimaa illustrate that that such analyses can be problematic (cf. also Östman 2000).

From a discourse perspective, Sarangi (2004: 64) sees the problem in a possible gap between the accounting practices of the interview participants and the sense-making practices of discourse analysts in their interpretation and warranting of claims and findings. Research interviews are hybrid, multi-layered, and ambiguous in that they involve various role relations and frames, and the activity of interviewing allows for shifts between different institutional, professional, and lifeworld frames. The roles of the interviewer and interviewee are part of an institutional frame, but during interview interaction both can draw upon their lifeworld frames, and even the role allocation of questioner and answerer is open to variation during an interview (Sarangi 2004: 76; cf. case study 4).

Case studies 2 and 4 present a special focus on these role relations, and both reveal interesting modes of appropriation. The research perspective on individual agency in these role-encounters of local stakeholders (local journalists and audiences, the local informant) and researchers (global and local experts, the fieldworker) in quite different discursive structures reveals that also individual stakeholders can appropriate the researchers' and experts' discourses and make them relevant to their communicative goals: Case study 2 shows how local writers of media texts appropriate the global (UNESCO) and local experts' statements about language endangerment and on this basis present diverse individual assessments of the language situation. The informant in case study 4 appropriates the meaning-making potential of the institutionalized setting of the research interview, including the researcher's role, and appropriates it to give a personal account and assessment of the situation.

These findings stress the importance of considering the role relations of informants, local stakeholders, researchers, experts, etc. in such sociolinguistic settings as mutually related and to keep in mind the active agency, interests, and goals of all participants.

### 5.2.3. *Hybridity in discourse*

One major characteristic that stands out in all cases is hybridity, i.e. hybridity in the relations between text, context, and action (cf. Silverstein and Urban 1996; Sarangi

and Roberts 1999; Sarangi 2000). Within the complex contextual frames, individuals act and interact by using similarly hybrid and multifaceted discursive structures.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999: 62) describe discursive hybridity as the shifting of modalities at various levels, including identity, modes of talk, socialization into different communities, etc., but in an orderly and organized way. With a view to discursive activity, this means that language in discourse can be organized and structured to simultaneously fulfil several communicative goals, to address multiple roles and identities, and to position oneself vis-à-vis diverse contextual frames. Silverstein and Urban (1996) highlight the complexity and hybridity of text and culture through the permanent processes of entextualization and contextualization of texts into “new” contexts.

Such structural, interactional, and contextual hybridity is pervasive in the discourses at issue. We can identify characteristics of discursive hybridity in all analysed instances of discourse, both with respect to their linguistic structuring and with respect to interactive performance:

*The use of metaphors.* Through their polysemic properties and their multifunctional use, metaphors appear as multifaceted and hybrid organizational tools in the local media’s reports on language endangerment, including the construction of contextual frames around the situation of Sámi and the interpersonal communication of risks, uncertainties, and responsibilities (case studies 1 and 2).

*Heteroglossia.* In a Bakhtinian sense, heteroglossia, the involvement of multiple voices in a single text, describes discourse as fundamentally hybrid (cf. Bakhtin 1981). In case studies 2 and 6, I describe heteroglossia as a discursive tool by which authors of texts manage different views and perspectives on the language situation and on language ideological controversies, involving and appealing to different roles and identities within structurally organized patterns of text.

*Social role relations.* Role relations play an important role in various social encounters. In particular, I demonstrate the interplay of social roles within specific communicative settings in case studies 2 and 4, discussing the encounter of social roles in language endangerment discourse and during a research interview. Through their respective sets of social role relations, participants are socialized into a number of different communities of practice, local communities, groups, and institutions. When these different role relations within the individual persons’ role-sets are made relevant in discourse, such encounters automatically involve hybridity (Sarangi 2004; Sarangi

and Candlin 2011). By enacting and making relevant different social roles in talk and interaction, these become communicative resources that enable participants to manage complex contextual challenges and social responsibilities.

*Narratives.* I have presented storytelling as a complex tool by which individuals position themselves and navigate vis-à-vis multiple contexts (cf. Bamberg 2011; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou 2007). Narration can be described as hybrid in that it simultaneously brings in a there-and-then event, frames it in the here-and-now, and makes it relevant to specific communicative goals and a reacting audience. In this way, negative experiences can become funny stories (case study 3), or a third person story with complex internal structure and character relationships can be made relevant for accounts of social responsibilities in a specific real-world local setting (case study 4). Case study 4 shows that even structural aspects such as grounding can serve hybrid functions in the structuring of story content and in its use for identity positioning and other communicative goals.

*Stance-taking.* Also the analyses of strategies of stance-taking and expressing attitudes in the language ideological debates in Tromsø reveal hybridity (case studies 5 and 6). The analysis in case study 5 shows a complex and multifaceted combination of power struggle and confrontation in relation to collaboration and the building of interpersonal bonds. Using evaluative language to construe ideological boundaries around languages and social identities and to build social bonds at the same time, is a basically hybrid strategy.

All these discursive practices do not follow simple either-or schemes. We generally detect hybrid and multifaceted, however linguistically well-organized, communicative practices that offer their users the opportunity to involve, react to, and navigate within a multitude of quite complex contextual conditions. In addition, we see in the case studies that these strategies often combine with each other, and they construe identities within hybrid relations between self and other.

The ambiguity of hybrid discourse strategies also offers flexibility, e.g. in managing uncertainty and risks (cf. Sarangi and Roberts 1999: 69), encountering the dilemmas of social and individual identity (cf. Bamberg 2011), or when expressing disagreement and taking contradictory stances in controversies and conflictive situations. With respect to the complex social and sociolinguistic contexts and challenges of the situation at issue, discursive hybridity therefore appears as an ideal

tool of individual actors for coming to terms with these complex contexts and social challenges.

## 6. Conclusions

In the introductory chapter, I have formulated a number of research questions. Departing from the current sociolinguistic situation of Sámi and the multilingual region of Northern Norwegian, I have asked: How do individual actors encounter and manage for themselves the complexity of the socio-historical and sociolinguistic situation they find themselves in? The findings of the six case studies demonstrate that individuals through their language(s) have adequate linguistic, discursive, and interactional tools at their disposal to encounter and manage the complexities that surround them. We have seen how individual actors, in different cases and under different preconditions, make relevant sociocultural, sociolinguistic, personal, situational, textual, and intertextual contexts, with all their complexity, in specific communicative settings. Communication is the place where all kinds of contexts become relevant and are made relevant. At the same time, individuals contextualize these contexts, their experiences, and the world around them. The empirical studies have shown that answers to this research question are multiple, and that none of the research questions can be answered in a simple either-or fashion. Below, I briefly subsume the research questions I formulated in the beginning.

*How do individuals in their discursive activities position themselves, their identities, and other agents in time and space, vis-à-vis the world and constantly changing contexts?* Positioning takes place in all cases and as part of all discursive activities I have analysed. While carried out through varying linguistic strategies (e.g. storytelling, stance-taking, heteroglossia), the positioning of self always involves multiple contexts simultaneously, including the co-participants (or recipients) and relevant sociocultural frames. Identities that are made relevant in situational here-and-now positioning encompass social identities (e.g. ethnic or local), specific role relations that are involved in the situational frames, and interactional identities that arise in discursive activities. Identity, as it becomes relevant in the cases analysed, thus exceeds the idea of belonging to either-or categories. The identity of self is fluid and permanently contextualized in action and interaction, and, as we have seen, individuals find ways to face the challenges and dilemmas that arise in the sociolinguistic situation and to construe a sense of continuity and self vis-à-vis these challenges.

*How do they encounter the risks and uncertainty of future language development (including the question of language loss vs. continuity)?* The risk of language loss and uncertainty about the future of Sámi are a challenge to individuals' sense of continuity



and common identities. Therefore, encountering these risks and uncertainties involves positioning. There is no absolute and reliable answer to the question whether Sámi will die out in future that could be given in the here-and-now. Storytelling appears as an adequate means to manage these challenges. It enables individual speakers to fuse past and future to construe a sense of continuity. At the same time, the management of risks and uncertainty also involves questions of responsibility.

*How do individuals in these contexts account for their choices/actions/stances, take responsibility, and assign responsibilities to others?* There is no single or absolute way of acting responsibly in these contexts. Taking responsibility is multifaceted because it simultaneously involves self, culture, and co-participants. At the same time, it also involves questions of identity and positioning. Responsibility for the Sámi language is therefore contextually situated. In the cases analysed, individual actors account for their own behaviour, they assign responsibilities to other actors, and they negotiate responsibilities with their co-participants. The management of responsibilities is closely connected to social role relations. By the use of metaphors and through storytelling, individual actors contextualize different social roles and assign responsibilities (for the Sámi language) to state authorities, to researchers, and to local community members, while they at the same time account for their own responsible behaviour. Accounting for one's own position vis-à-vis co-participants is also important when people take stances and negotiate diverging views.

*How do people assess diverging language attitudes, and how do they view the relevance of different languages in their worldviews and ideologies?* We have witnessed a strong engagement of individuals in the public debates of Sámi language policies and local identities in Tromsø. People assess diverging language attitudes through stance-taking. In doing this, they anchor their stances to, for them, self evident ideologies of language and society and construe ideological boundaries around the Sámi and Norwegian languages and ethnicities. At the same time, they need to account for their stances and try to construe positive interpersonal bonds with their recipients. The negotiation of language attitudes and underlying ideologies therefore involves both bonds and boundaries.

*How do people contextualize the languages of their community and make language-and-society relationships relevant to their actions and decision-making?* All action I analysed is focused on language, multilingualism, and the current sociolinguistic situation of Sámi. Language, in the different settings, is contextualized in

multiple ways, not only by language ideologies. It is made relevant to the positioning of self and social identities, to attitudes, social relationships, personal stances, and to responsible action. In the different situational settings, language is narrated as experience, negotiated as a social fact, and presented as an affective need; it is metaphorically construed as a species, and considered as threatened as well as a threat. It is common to all these instances that language (i.e. Sámi, Norwegian, and other languages) is made relevant (on a metalinguistic level) to various, contextually situated actions, stances, identities, and responsibilities. Through the agency of individual actors in these different contexts and situations, the Sámi language (as well as Norwegian and other languages) gets contextualized and entextualized in multiple texts and contexts and acquires social meaning within these. The tool by which this is done is language.

The different discursive activities described overlap and combine in a both-and fashion. The hybridity of discourse enables speakers and writers to react to, make relevant, and navigate within rather complex contexts, to act and communicate in a both-and-manner. The complexity that becomes visible in all these single instances enhances the complexity of the overall (and permanently developing) situation. In the light of this complexity, it will be difficult to generalize findings beyond the basic principle of discursive hybridity and the complexity of context (as it becomes relevant in discourse). However, these case studies bring to the fore the enormous communicative potential that is inherent in the specific contextual settings and in the use of these contexts as resources. All six case studies show that language management is also carried out through individual actors' self-organization of complex contexts. They highlight the different individual actors' and individuals' opportunities to participate in the social economy of multilingualism and to accept, refuse, evaluate, and frame societal conditions, social power, authorities, responsibilities, or language policy-making by distinguished language managers.

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## **Appendixes**



## **Case study 1**

### **The Metaphors and Metafunctions of Endangerment Discourse**

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## Case study 2

### **Sosiale roller og lokale og globale interesser i vurderingen av språksituasjoner**

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## **Case study 3**

### **Managing Sociolinguistic Challenges: Storytelling about Language Loss and Continuity in the Case of Sámi**

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## **Case study 4**

### **Engagement in Sámi language revitalization: Responsibility management in a research interview**

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## Case study 5

### **Tromsø as a “Sámi Town”? – Language ideologies, attitudes, and debates surrounding bilingual language policies**

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## Case study 6

### **Tromsø som samisk by? – Språkideologier og medienes rolle i språkdebatten**

*‘Tromsø as a Sámi town? –*

*Language ideologies and the media’s role in the language debate’*

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