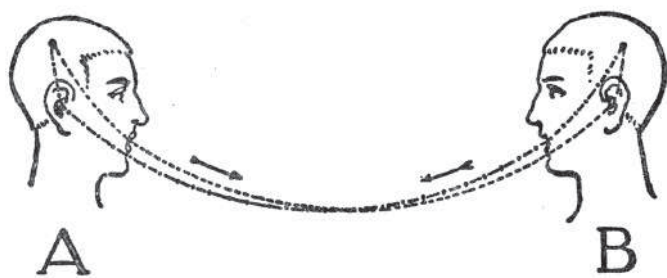


Noise After Babel
examines the multi-accentuality of language
as a potential ground for political engagement.
The general metaphor coupling the words

‘Babel’ and ‘noise’
– the phenomenon whereby a linguistic system of univocality
that functions without coercion has only one meaning assigned to it –
(Babel)

but which, after an intervention/change (loss of innocence),
is replaced by an unwanted and unbearable situation
(noise).



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Sezgin Boynik

Minna

L. Henriksson

Noise

After Babel –

Language

Unrestrained

Spector Books

“There are some black spots
in language.”

Michel Serres, *The Parasite*, translated by L. R. Schehr,
Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2007, p. 16.

“All that is not information,
not redundancy, not form and not
restraints – is noise, the only
possible source of new patterns.”

Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, New York:
Ballantine Books, 1972, p. 410.

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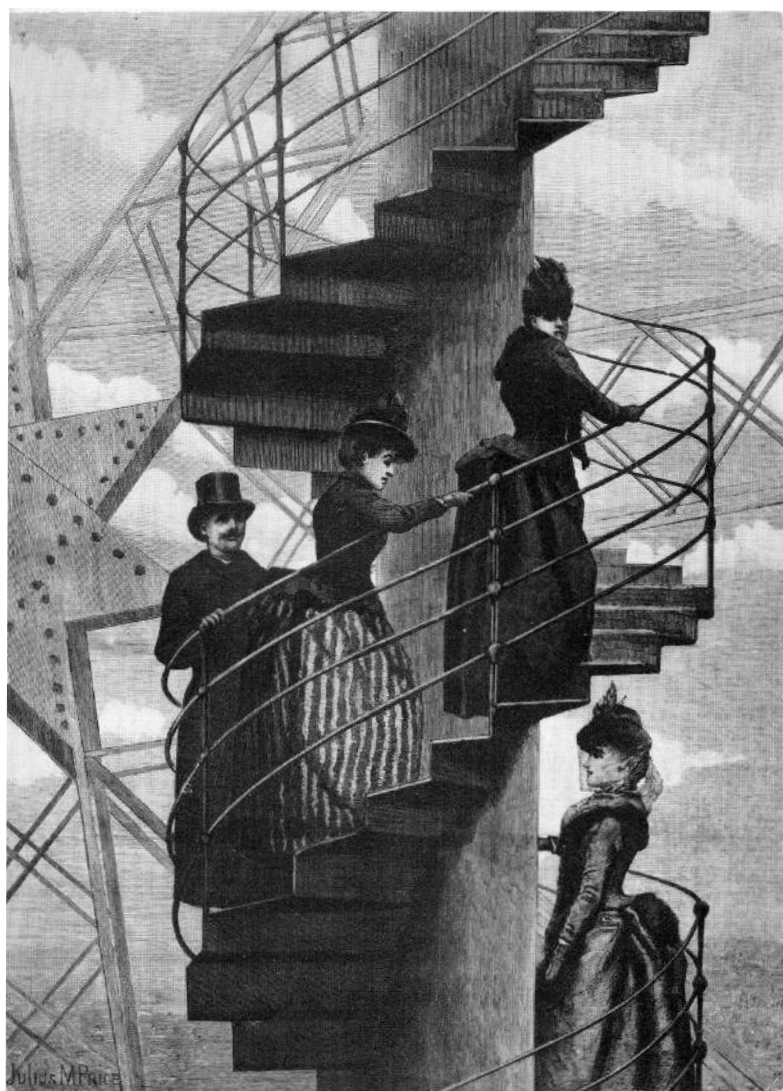
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Foreword

Language
and Art

This is a book about multilingualism and art. Such a book should start with a clarification of the words involved in this description:

Multiplicity

Language

Art

Aside from words as separate components, it is a relation that above all informs the description ‘multilingualism and art’. Here things are multifarious, and include what occurs at the interstices of different languages; it also comprises the relationship between language and art, and also that between many-languages and art. There is a question that needs to be answered here: “how are we to think all these intersecting relationships without reducing them to easily representable conventions?” The working concepts of our project are Noise and Babel. Our general reason for using these concepts and of coupling them together is based on the conception of a perfectly working univocal system, which functions without coercion (Babel), and that after any intervention/change (a ‘loss of innocence’) is replaced by an unwanted and unbearable situation (noise). To work on the issue of language and art through an antagonism such as babel – noise, places our engagement directly within the field of contradiction. Our starting point is that language is something that is inherently contested, riddled with conflict and antagonism. This generates the richness of language. But language paralleled with richness and inherent complexity is also a source of repression, of violence, inequality and exclusion that is a source of many types of constraints. Language is a machine of reproduction, but at the same time the most amazing transformations happen in it.

The leitmotif for our work is the description of ‘word’ that Roman Jakobson formulated when he referred to Charles Sanders Peirce: “The context is variable, and the particular meaning of the word undergoes renewal in each new context: herein lies the creative power of the verbal sign.

Through this creative force, the sign opens a path towards the indefinite future, that is, it anticipates, it predicts things to come.” In order to explode a word we want to unleash all these antagonisms surrounding language. Our model is that of removing the restraints placed on language as such. This is possible only by accepting the fact that work on language requires the acceptance of these relations (the relation between art and language and the relation between different languages) that are uneven and out of joint. Inequality is the driving force in the life of languages. In which terms then is a language to be defined in its relation to art? Since language is a property of every cultural expression, we can talk about the language of art in a similar manner as we talk about the language of money, the language of war, the language of buildings, the language of sex or the language of silence. But this way of conceptualising language is merely a metaphorical use of language. Every instance of language, whether it be silence or war, is mediated through language as such. There is nothing that is unrepresentable or unspeakable. Our starting point is this radical, secular and materialistic possibility. Language ties us to the world. As Raymond Williams wrote, “a definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world.” Whether that is a world of fantasised harmony or the world of class struggles, it is always through language that we are related to it. In a similar way, art is also the currency of language, even though art is usually portrayed as something beyond words. This contested relation between language and art deserves some attention. Our position regarding this question is simple: instead of accepting the ‘truth’ of art as something belonging to its inner realm, which can reveal itself only after laborious contemplation, as an experience of truth on its own, we would like to engage with another sort of relation. Our point of departure is that the language, both as a source of ideological reproduction and as an index of uneven struggles, is the richest material for art.

The simplest way to put this proposition is that instead of revelation we are for construction. Instead of experience we are for engagement. It is not a function of recovery or healing which art can offer to the antagonistically ridden noisy world. If anything, art should multiply such contradictions. Thus, language is a source and probably the most complex of all. Once we switch from the relationship between language and art to the field of multiple languages and art, we are also automatically multiplying these uneven characteristics and contradictions that reside at the heart of the matter. Multilingualism in itself as encounter or struggle between many languages amplifies any and all constraint. It is a real challenge and in itself a real risk to relate art to multilingualism. We are aware of this for there are many reactionary uses of language in art, such as in artworks trying to heal the wounds of experience by treating language as an obstacle to the fulfilment of the soul. There are also many artworks whose main agenda is to relate to multilingualism as a shield, a way in which to escape miraculously from such antagonisms. It is in this almost religious and superstitious relationship that art claims a utility or function. Here we have many forms that are simplifications, which mimic the management of multi-languages. This is anyway what an ideological apparatus does to multilingualism, either it represents it correctly as fitting to the imagination of perfectly co-existing languages, or it manages the discrepancies in this multifarious world. We think that art should do something more than this. Our aim here is not to represent noise, but to remove the constraints on language by means of art, which we use as a potentiality to work in this unpredictable field. The truth is that art is also speaking through language, even though this language is a language of fiction; that is to say, it always does this through contradictions, and we have no interest in concealing this.

As Roland Barthes said, method, too, is a fiction – a proposition already advanced by Mallarme when he

thought of preparing a thesis in linguistics: "All method is a fiction. [And] language appears as the instrument of fiction; following the method of language, of language reflecting upon itself."

Chapter 1

Constants/ Variations

The ways in which politics appears in language is an issue that can be traced in many different forms. In everyday normal language this politics is not necessarily visible. But if we assume that the ideological processes are part of the linguistic forms and procedures then a claim that politics is integral to everyday language is not an overestimation. The invisibility of politics in language is the guarantor of its ideological success. The less politics is visible, the more the manipulation or exploitation through language is likely to take place. Generally linguistics, which is interested in the laws and forms of syntaxes, or propositions or speech acts, treats politics as a non-linguistic factor. In these usual circumstances, politics is dismissed as external to language, to what is attributable to certain other properties, laws, rules, methodologies, and scholarly fields. Language for the linguists, politics for the politicians! The work of Noam Chomsky is often a good example of this: on one hand, there is his linguistic research on grammar that is devoid of history, and on the other, a radical politics that aims to critique the heart of capitalist institutions. Julia Kristeva opens her text on the ethics of linguistics with an allusion to this apparent contradiction. "One could thus account for the Janus-like behaviour of a prominent modern grammarian; in his linguistic theories he sets a logical, normative basis for the speaking subject, while in politics he claims to be an anarchist. Then there are scholars, quite numerous but not so well known, who squeeze into modern linguistic theory a few additional considerations on the role of ideology; or who go no further than to lift their examples out of leftists newspapers when illustrating linguistic propositions."¹

But there are examples where the political context of linguistic exchange is so central that it cannot be overlooked; then the register of politics in language takes different shape. One historical example should be sufficient to introduce this topic. Actually the selection of this example is not arbitrary, because the very act of this selection is

determined by our theoretical, practical and methodological orientation. Now we can go back to Makerere Hill in Kampala in Uganda in 1962, where an international conference on 'African Writers of English Expression' took place. According to the author Ngugi wa Thiong'o, who took part in this event (because he was hoping to meet Chiuna Achebe), the idea behind this cultural event was to reinforce "the fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English in African literature, culture and politics".² In de-colonised Africa, at the beginning of sixties, the reinforcement of the colonial language could not happen anymore through the force of repressive state apparatuses (with bayonets and gunpowder), now it had to be subtle, emphasising the supposed technical and scientific superiority of English.³

In this particular case we have all the properties of the contradictions that surround linguistic discussions: the issue of national identity, of representation, of class-consciousness, and of struggle and coercion. In order to proceed with this discussion on language as a site of political and cultural struggle, we have to clarify, as is always the case with language issues, the linguistic 'theory' that structures this particular position. Thiong'o claims that language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture.⁴ If the role of language only consisted of communication, then the function it has in society would be very limited. But, moreover, language in this reduced field would also have a pure arbitrary form: any intersection between politics (social codes) and language would be of an accidental nature. Language as a carrier of culture, in the theory of Thiong'o, simply means that apart from communication, language also forms the way in which we look at the world. On this issue there will be a lot more to say, but for now, we can claim that language, in its most technical sense, is also a tool for indexicality. This means that the reproduction of culture (viz. reproduction of national culture, or even national identity) is inseparable

from language. This clear-cut defence of the mother tongue is as Thiong'o precisely defines it "the collective memory bank of people's experience in history";⁵ but apart from this currency, language is also genesis, growth, articulation and transmission of culture from one generation to the next. Anyone who reads this statement, will feel uneasy with two aspects in it; firstly, that the discourse on language in this instance has striking similarity with any other nationalist and conservative discourse on the importance of the mother tongue; and secondly, the surprising correlation, almost homology between language and economics (bank, growth, transmission). Both of these aspects deserve further attention.

These two correlations, nationalistic and economic, can be misleading. The point of departure of Ngugi is radically different from normative understandings of language. Anyone who has read Frantz Fanon's book on the Algerian Independence struggle (*Dying Colonialism*) would know that during the de-colonisation process, all the components of cultural and political life are transformed, or better, they are diverted. Gender relations are not the same anymore, the use of radio has changed, the entertainment industry has transformed and every instance of daily life is diverted – de-colonised. The same is true for language. It is not for nothing that Thiong'o's book on language is called *Decolonising the Mind*. The reason for his insistence on maternal languages (he had two mother tongues, Gikuyu and Kiswahili) in his discussion on English should be considered as a procedure of diversion [détournement]; but the real reason for this insistence on a mother tongue is based on the political experience that the relation between colonised and coloniser is not a relation which is defined along symmetrical (equal) terms. This inequality of languages was a founding principle during colonialism; and it has not changed in post-colonialism. The practical outcome of this theoretical (political) position is that, the Gikuyu

and Kiswahili (and all the other African languages) have an asymmetric relation to the English language. The insistence on national language and culture (the mother tongue) in communicating with the English language is not due to the fact that there is a latent wish to communicate from similar points of view. It is precisely the opposite, it is the attempt rather to manifest and reinforce existing asymmetries: to make visible the conflicts and struggles within language. The claim for language, in writings of Ngugi, is on different terms from someone who is sitting at the board of a national policy organisation, and deciding for the amount of funds to be allocated for the preservation of some minority language. This is the difference that we intend to make visible: that the whole ideology and theory of multilingualism is based on this contradiction.

If we do not take into account all these discrepancies and the facts that the unity of language (national language) is constituted through the inclusion of such antagonisms ("They have to speak the united language of struggle contained in each of their languages" p. 3), then it is very easy to misunderstand Ngugi's claim as nationalist and essentialist:

Take English. It is spoken in Britain and in Sweden and Denmark. But for Swedish and Danish people English is only a means of communication with non-Scandinavians. It is not a carrier of their culture. For the British, and particularly the English, it is additionally, and inseparable from its use as a tool of communication, a carrier of their culture and history.⁶

To schematise this it is possible to say that two seemingly autonomous formations take place within language: the practical one, executed through the communicative aspect of language, and the ideological (i.e. cultural) one, which is realised through the transmission (as a carrier) of the indexicality of language. What is transmitted through language,

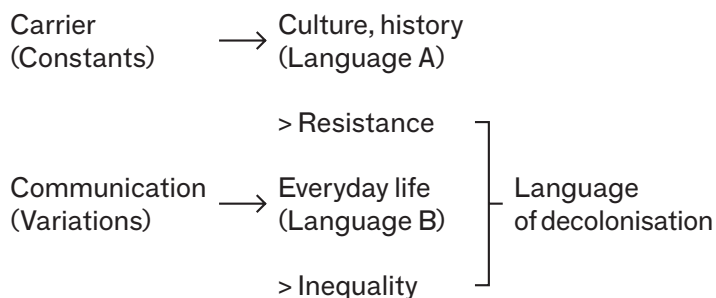
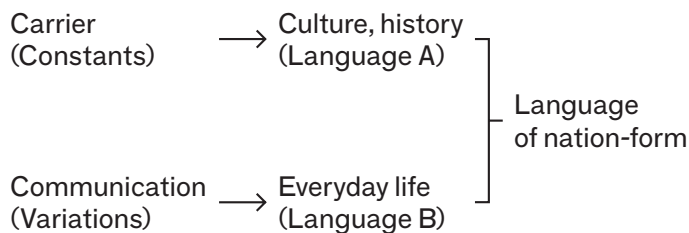
in this case of culture, is subject to a slower process (of long duration) and logically to slower degree of transformation; in contrast to a communicative aspect of language that can be seen as *ad hoc*, transitive and reactive to a context. This dichotomy in linguistics is known as the difference between constants and variations; it was, and still is, one of the main topics in the discussions surrounding sociolinguistics.

The advantage of Ngugi's schema is that it does not explain the 'constants' of language (the index of culture) through the normative elements of national identity. According to him, it is the 'resistance tradition' that is transmitted in the use of colonised language. The formal properties of a language in dominance and of a language of resistance are not the same. This is what Ngugi makes clear: the art produced by means of the language of resistance is not the same as the art produced by a dominant language of order. The reason for this is that the language of resistance as carrier (the index) of sedimented struggles and coercions is more complex in its variations than the language of order, which is trying to preserve the existing modes of production, exploitation and reproduction, i.e. the existing form of ideology.

This book, *Decolonising the Mind*, is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings, From now on it is Gikuyu and Kiswahili all the way.⁷

These are the last written words in English of a living man: the extreme position of this situation should be a riddle for all sociolinguistics.

This farewell, is not only to the English language as a source of culture, but also to the English (or French or Dutch) language of the elite class of Africa (the neo-bourgeoisie of post-colonialism) from which communities speaking Swahili, Zulu, Yoruba, Arabic, Amharic, Gikuyu and other African languages are excluded. The politics of



language theory of Ngugi has, as we see it now, also a class character. Here we can make a provisional statement that the class character in the politicisation of language is another instance of contradiction of theory and practice of multilingualism. This thesis is provisional because we have not yet established the conceptual parameters of how to discuss politics in relation to language; hence the inclusion of the 'class' issue into this correlation should be understood as conceptual. Thus, the question related to the exploitation of immigrants by the means of language has to be separated from the question of the exclusion of immigrants from the labour market by way of linguistic representation.

As a survey on the place of African languages in the former French sub-Saharan colonies concludes:

The myth of French as a neutral and precious unifying factor has faded and is today essentially an 'elite closure' indicator – a linguistic boundary which limits access to socioeconomic mobility and political power to those societal members who possess the requisite linguistic patterns of the elite and which especially results when the official language is by the elite in circumstances where a more widely known indigenous language would suffice... The use of the language of the former coloniser as a national and official language, a case of language policy by default for reasons of efficacy, is no longer tenable. How efficient can a nation be when 90 percent of its population, as we have just indicated, is illiterate in the official language?⁸

Notes

1. Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981, p. 23.
2. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, London & Nairobi: James Currey & Heinemann, 1986, p. 9.
3. This is what Karl Marx has described as the difference between real and formal subsumption of labour under capital. Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I*, Translated by Ben Fowkes, London: Penguin Books, 1990, pp. 948–1049.
4. Thiong'o 1986, p. 13.
5. Thiong'o 1986, p. 15.
6. Thiong'o 1986, p. 13.
7. Thiong'o 1986, p. 14.
8. Robert Phillipson and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, "Language Rights in Postcolonial Africa", *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*, Eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas & R. Phillipson, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, p. 341. Taken from Paulin G. Djite, "Les langues africaines dans la francophonie", *Language problems and language planning* 14:1, 1990, pp. 20–32.

Chapter 2

Two Imperialisms

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson are two researchers who did a lot of work to systematise the inequalities in language and discussed this issue as *linguistic imperialism*: an example of *linguicism*, which is defined as “ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language”. Linguistic imperialism, according to a book by Phillipson of the same title, is “a distinct type of imperialism, in order to be able to assess its role within an imperialist structure as a whole”. The asymmetries of unequal relations natural to imperialist conditions are no longer reproduced through coercion and the repressive state apparatus; the submission is real, and it is completed with consent, or as Phillipson writes, control is achieved by “means of ideas”. It is obvious that the inertia of economic-political imperialism is carried through to linguistic imperialism; but another, even more crucial component of linguistic imperialism is that it guarantees its power precisely by negating imperialistic domination, and furthermore by negating any political dimension to its hegemony. Linguistic imperialism is at its best when it manages to conceal the politics of its function. This was the case in ‘Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language’ held at Makerere College, Kampala in Uganda in 1961, where the non-political nature of the conference is asserted. According to Phillipson, the belief that English language instruction to post-colonial countries is of a technical and non-political nature “serves to disconnect culture from structure. It assumes that educational concerns can be divorced from social, political, and economic realities.”¹ This de-politicised aspect of the English language, as Phillipson argues, is the cornerstone of imperialist ideology because the knowledge of English is directly linked to certain class privileges that are a continuation of colonial policies. “The widespread legitimation for English

is to qualify people to build up the nation, to operate the technology that English provides access to, and which the State has decided to embrace. It therefore has an economic-reproductive function.”² At the heart of this thesis is Ngugu wa Thiongo’s radical view on the decolonisation of language; he argues that the exploitation which takes place in language and in the economy cannot explain each other, but that they are effects of larger ideological operations. A Ghanaian sociolinguist Gilbert Ansre, described this ideological operation in very convincing way:

The phenomenon in which the minds and lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. Linguistic imperialism has a way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society and preventing them from appreciating and realizing the full potentialities of the indigenous languages.³

The ways in which linguistic imperialism warps minds is our general issue in this book; but we are especially interested to know how this ideological distortion is related to language itself, as a ‘neutral’ category. Our point of departure is based on the thesis that without unleashing all of the contradictory aspects of language, it is impossible to address the contradictions of multi-lingualism. Before *language is unrestrained* from this ideological unfolding, there is no way to talk about the emancipatory potential of multi-language. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas is an activist linguist, a real fighter for linguistic human rights. The horizon of her linguistic activity is democratic and equal representation for

all languages. Looking at her scholarly and activist work we can see that in these harsh and aggressive neo-liberal conditions even the claim for 'human rights' is sometimes a radical political position. But the 'theory' of language ideology that we are proposing refuses to accept the terms of representative politics (even if it is a part of radical democracy). There are plenty of examples in Skutnab-Kangas's opus addressing various practices of language rights violations as an issue of misrepresentation. She wrote that the reason behind the disintegration of Yugoslavia was a revival of cultural demands from minority groups such as Slovenes, Kosovo Albanians and Croatian Serbs. This is a very confused definition of what a minority is; Albanians were a majority in Kosovo, Slovenes had their own republic during Yugoslavia, Serbs from Croatia were backed up by the central military machinery in the war. Also the explanation that she seems to propose for such disintegration, based on the awakening of the national drive in the supra-national socialist Yugoslavia is, if anything, a historical misunderstanding. It is not that the national feeling of minorities had been revived at the beginning of nineties (and, one wonders, is the role of linguistic human rights to strengthen these nationalist drives?), as such forces were active throughout the existence of socialist Yugoslavia. What happened in the nineties was that these drives (including linguistic drives) were translated and instrumentalised for the purpose of neo-liberalism.⁴

Robert Phillipson is one of the rare linguists to discuss issues of ideology, which he refers to as 'linguicism', without excluding the concrete political determinations involved in this operation. These concrete elements, by definition non-linguistic factors, are usually under-estimated in sociolinguistic scholarship. Phillipson does mention these non-linguistic factors as well; for example, he mentions that it is no coincidence if a linguist (Bernard Spolsky) describing himself as a 'liberal pragmatist' and drawing on CIA

documents as a credible source of information is severely criticising the concept 'linguistic imperialism'.⁵ There is some coherence between liberal pragmatism and linguistics devoid of politics. However it is important to underline that linguistic imperialism is not a phenomenon conceived behind the close doors of a briefing between intelligence agencies and multi-millionaires investing in the Third World; it is part of an ideological operation, which effects linguists, capitalists and the conditions of resistance. As Phillipson says, "we need to avoid conspiracy theories and any conspiracy of silence."⁶

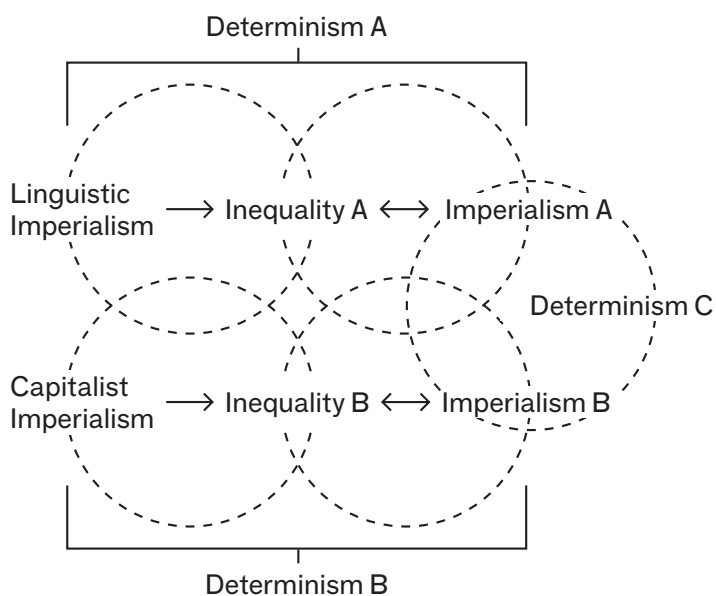
The essay by Amir Hassanpour on the exclusion of the political context in the linguistic studies of the Kurdish language has a revealing title: *The politics of a-political linguistics*. Hassanpour himself a Kurd from Iran, explains how it was impossible, as a linguist, to find a linguistic textbook dealing with what he experienced as a native speaker of a language subjected to state violence.⁷ As he writes, there are no theoretical and methodological foundations for such inquiry. When for example linguistic scholars study the grammar or syntax of the Kurdish language, they face the impossibility of conducting the research, as a result of severe sanctions for researchers dealing with this language in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria; he or she refers to the closure of the 'field' in de-politicised language that reduces it to mere accident, a simple technical problem of communication.⁸

This is another contradiction of multilingualism; even if there are all theoretical or methodological means to convey scientific research on the encounter between languages, or on the contact of languages, or similar issues which are crucial in understanding multilingualism, they can never be properly grasped if the politics which over-determinates linguisticism is excluded.

The 'political' in linguistic imperialism is also subject to historical variation; or to use a more appropriate term, we can say that the discussion of politics in linguistics is

part of a conjuncture as well. For example, in the follow up volume to his book, titled *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*, Phillipson does not refer to the work of Lenin (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*), which was crucial in his first book for explaining the theoretical/economic background of the reproduction of the relations of the capitalist means of production. In a recent follow up Phillipson refers instead to the work of liberal economist John Atkinson Hobson, whereas the current global economic-political situation (in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and elsewhere) is proof of Lenin's theses on imperialism.

The political conjuncture is only one problem in this conceptualisation; there is also a problem common to many other linguists who deal with highly political issues, such as Phillipson, the problem of cultural determination. How is language related to the political-economic context; in which way is language shaped by larger ideological and cultural determinants? Can we talk about such determination when we refer to language?⁹ These questions are of crucial importance when we address the issue of multilingualism, because in the theory and practice of multilingual discourse, it is automatically assumed that language is the carrier of cultural values and world-views. The so-called problem of multilingualism in the final analysis is always about the problem of co-existence, misunderstanding, tolerance, inequality, exclusion, etc., in other words, multilingualism is always extra-linguistic; it always means something more than language. The silent assumption of multilingualism is that language is not only a source of technical communication, and that language is directly coupled with the ideological determinants that shape our subjectivity. It is then necessary to start the conceptual discussion on multilingualism with the issue of determinism.



Notes

1. Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 67.
2. Phillipson 1992, p. 68.
3. Gilbert Ansre, "Four rationalizations for maintaining European languages in education in Africa", *African Languages* 5:2, 1979, p. 12.
4. R. Phillipson, M. Rannut and T. Skutnabb-Kangas, "Introduction", *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*, Eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas & R. Phillipson, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, pp. 1–22.
5. Robert Phillipson, *Linguistic Imperialism Continued*, New York and London: Routledge, 2009, p. 79.
6. Phillipson 2009, p. 80.
7. Amir Hassanpour, 2000, "The Politics of A-political Linguistics: Linguists and Linguicide", *Rights to Language: Equity, Power, and Education*, ed. R. Phillipson, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers: p. 37.
8. Hassanpour 2000, p. 34. Text by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Sertac Bucak, 1994, "Killing a mother tongue – how the Kurds are deprived of linguistic human rights", *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*, Eds. T. Skutnabb-Kangas & R. Phillipson, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 347–70, describe the level of this discrimination, especially as it is practiced systematically in twentieth century in Turkey parallel to that country's modernisation, and with admirable precision.
9. "Current class relations help to maintain the present language scenario: English is valued at least in part because it is a rung on the socio-economic ladder. Conversely, English presently acts as a class barrier, thereby helping to maintain current class relations. Transforming the status and role of languages in South Africa toward an equitable situation therefore entails transforming class relations, and vice-versa." Daryl McLean, "Guarding against Burgeois Revolution: Some Aspects of Language Planning in the Context of National Democratic Struggle", *Language and Society in Africa: The Theory and Practice of Sociolinguistics*, edited by Robert K. Herbert, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1992, p. 159.

U

Yksi mieti, vaikka kaksi kieltä.

Upeää ei ole ystävää.

7

3

3

Lirich

Ystävälliset sanat ja hyvät teot eivät
mene milloinkaan hukkaan.

David Livingstone, African tutsia.

One mind although
two languages

Friendly words and good deeds
are never wasted

Chapter 3

Relativism/ Determinism

Sapir-Whorf's thesis of linguistic relativity, in their own words:

It is the grammatical background of our mother tongue, which includes not only our way of constructing propositions but the way we dissect nature and break up the flux of experience into objects and entities to construct propositions about.¹

The world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds.²

Perhaps readers will catch what I mean when I say that the constituents put together in the sentences of Shawnee and Nootka suggest a chemical compound, whereas their combination in English is more like a mechanical mixture. A mixture, like the mountaineer's potlicker, can be assembled out of almost anything and does not make any sweeping transformation of the overt appearance of the material. A chemical compound, on the other hand, can be put together only out of mutually suited ingredients, and the result may be not merely soup but a crop of crystals or a cloud of smoke.³

It would be possible to go on indefinitely with such examples of incommensurable analyses of experience in different languages. The upshot of it all would be to make very real to us a kind of relativity that is generally hidden by our naïve acceptance of fixed habits of speech as guides to an objective understanding of the nature of experience. That is the relativity of concepts or, as it might be called, the relativity of the form of thought.⁴

The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently

similar to be considered as representing the same social reality... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.⁵

These are indispensable questions for multilingual theory and practice because according to this theory of linguistic relativity, the untranslatability of the experience of the world is the starting point of the misunderstanding between nations and cultures. It is then a policy of multilingualism to arrange these discrepancies. To put it clearer, the untranslatable in the Whorfian cosmos, or the noise of relativism, is what multilingualism usually addresses as a contradictory social dimension to its practice. Generally this discussion involves the following: if people have different conceptions of the world due to their languages, then in which conditions is it possible that different languages co-exist with each other? In this case the role of multilingual theory should be either to police the chaos of the multitude (which contradicts the main argument of multilingualism that languages should have their own right of expression); or it should be to find the adequate ways of representing this 'noise'. Our argument is that multilingual contradictions based on Whorfian postulates have three shortcomings that could be described as representational, material and deterministic.

The so-called Whorfian determinism is a real headache for any linguistic theory that addresses the issue of the social dimension of language. It is a wrong habit among some linguistic circles to consider Whorfian theses as a theoretical alibi for a materialist position in understanding the concrete social effects of language. According to Frederick J. Newmeyer, for example, Whorf's theses on language are Marxist linguistics put in practice.⁶ At the heart of these kinds of theses lies the assumption that the cultural theory of Marxism derives its strength from two parallel

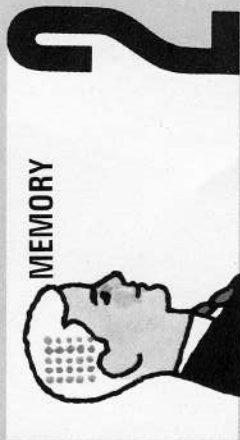
lines, determinism and materialism. It is often argued that Whorfian determinism is a reduction of his theories and that his explanation of the relationship between grammar and the world-outlook is more complex than it is usually presented by his admirers and adversaries; and also it is more often argued that the Marxist understanding of determinism cannot be reduced to the undisturbed relation (effect) between base and superstructure. Before dealing with the theses on determinism, it is useful to look at the materialist aspect of Whorf's postulates and to try and understand them in relation to Marxist discussions on social and historical formations.

In the Whorfian world, there is not much space for change; the issue of transformation and the issue of history are not addressed properly, if addressed at all. Even if temporality is crucial in discussing the index of language, Whorf is never addressing the issue of time as a historical category. In his later articles this temporality takes shape as some kind of sci-fi cosmology that is on the border of becoming a strange a-historical mysticism. Here is one quotation from Whorf, explaining the concept of relativity in a head-on psychedelic composition:

What surprises most is to find that various grand generalizations of the Western world, such as time, velocity, and matter, are not essential to the construction of a consistent picture of the universe. The psychic experiences that we class under these headings are, of course, not destroyed; rather, categories derived from other kinds of experience take over the rulership of the cosmology and seems to function just as well. *Hopi may be called a timeless language*. It recognizes psychological time, which is much like Bergson's 'duration', but this 'time' is quite unlike the mathematical time, T, used by our physicist. Among the peculiar properties of Hopi time are that it varies with each observer, does



Like the human brain, the computer must be given the problem and the information it needs to solve it. Feeding such data to the machine is called "input".



All the information a computer needs to solve a problem—and just how it is to use that information—is stored in the computer's memory units (*below*).



In processing, the computer solves its problem. Unlike a human brain, it acts only by rote, using logic provided by a human programmer (*next pages*).



The voice of the computer, its output, produces answers in many forms: punched cards, punched tape, magnetic tape, typewritten sheets of paper (*below*).

not permit of simultaneity, and has zero dimensions; i.e., it cannot be given a number greater than one.⁷

It is not that temporalities are different at a certain period of time, but that they are constituents of difference. Whites and Indians look at the world differently because they are using language which has a different grammar for organisation of time. In this conception of time (and language) there is no room for history. This is a very crucial difference to point out between Whorfian and Marxist materialism; in the former it is materialism without history, and reduced to procedures of technical observation. But for Marx (and for Benjamin and others) materialism is abstraction that is achieved by way of the detours of history (and transformation) that cannot be detected in the immediacy of empirical observation. The introduction of history to linguistics, we believe, is crucial for understanding the political aspect of language; its transformation, conflictual character, formation, etc. Looking at multilingualism from this point of view is also changing the perspective of the discussion from the issue of comparison to the issue of change and dialectics. Instead of discussing how Finnish people see the world differently from Somalis, due to their different use of syntax and grammar, we should ask how the Finnish people of today see the world differently from Finnish living thirty or forty years ago. (We could imagine a mental experiment, something like in Woody Allen's *Sleeper*, that depicts such a person who after participating in the march by Taistolaiset in the 1970s, hibernated for four decades, and was revived in 2014. He or she would be the most precious subject for the sociolinguists at Helsinki University who study linguistic variations, more precious than the last men of the Kven/Kveeni language community.)

Going back to Whorf's a-historical temporality, it is important to mention the criticism of Ferruccio Rossi-Landi who argues that the grammar ('the logic') in the thesis of

linguistic relativism determines the world-order in its totality. Even if relativism is acknowledged in the theory of Whorf, it is acknowledged only as the relativism between two separate entities; there is no relativism within language itself. The argument of Rossi-Landi is scandalously simple: "that different thoughts and conceptions have been developed in the same language, and that the same thought and conception has found expression in different languages".⁸ Following this it is possible to say that discrepancy, contradiction, or struggle and conflict are part of every language; they are its constituents. The strongest point in Rossi-Landi's argument is that Whorfian relativism does not include variations, which in reality are fundamental forces that enable language to function and to work.

This aspect of work and labour in language has a very distinctive feature in Rossi-Landi's theory; it is not just a metaphor for doing something. He argues that within language there are constants (as constant capital) and variations (variables, fluctuations, contingencies as in any economic formation) that are in continuous struggle. This struggle constitutes the very historical form of language and it does this in very strange way. Rossi-Landi, who complains that "language has not yet found its Ricardo and its Marx" (p. 23) offers contours for such a project through postulates of Wittgenstein! To sum up the thesis of Rossi-Landi, as developed in his beautifully written book *Language as Work & Trade*, we can say that he aims to introduce the radical Marxist humanist propositions into the field of linguistics. Unlike much of sociolinguistics, he advances this to the limit where a whole set of contradictions regarding language becomes apparent. It would perhaps be better to say that he gets everything he can from Marxist humanist postulates. Rossi-Landi's use of Wittgenstein is also part of this; he claims that Wittgenstein's break from the *Tractatus* offers a possibility to politicise his theses, which happened, covertly, in his next book *Philosophical Investigations*.

"In *Investigations* Wittgenstein moved from the ontological realism and logicism of *Tractacus* to a decided materialism, which on the one side, rejects thoughts as a process independent from speech, communication and action, while, on the other, it takes into account the real human circumstances in which meanings are formed."⁹ What happened is that Wittgenstein acquainted himself with the theories of productivity and labour as social relations, via the Italian economist Pierro Sraffa (there will be more to come about this strange encounter). Rossi-Landi takes this thesis one step further by looking at Wittgenstein's theses from the *Investigations* in light of Marxist theory. He looks in particular at Wittgenstein's concepts through the prism of the alienation of labour, and he draws a parallel with linguistic and economic alienation. Consequently, Wittgenstein's terms such as "language goes on holiday" directly represents this issue of alienation; but the strongest thesis of Rossi-Landi is that Wittgenstein discovered the 'collective' and 'relational (social)' nature of language practice.¹⁰ Corresponding to this discussion, what follows is the issue of ideology as social planning, capital and private property in language, the issue of constants and variations, exploitation and possibility of resisting alienation. Here is the conclusion of the book, which is surprisingly optimistic in the prevailing pessimistic tendency to pessimism in sociolinguists:

An essential of the new desire and of the new protest which characterize the youth movement throughout the world lies in the wish to give back a meaning to words, to set up new constructive mediations between the linguistic and the non-linguistic [...] to fight what Marcuse had called the 'political language of oppression' [...] forming a conflictuality directed against the alienation of language and communication. Linguistic disalienation, in fact, belongs to the future; it necessarily requires revolutionary praxis.¹¹

If language is discussed only as the property of constant capital, as Whorf does according to Rossi-Landi, then the speaker of that language is, philosophically speaking, alienated from the concrete relations of language use. It means that, language work minus variations is equal to the reproduction of the logic (the ground, or ideology) of constant capital. As Rossi-Landi put it: "the labour power of the speakers, that is the variable linguistic capital, is then used to impart an unnatural movement to the whole of production. In this way the speakers become 'spoken'."¹² But according to Rossi-Landi the conceptualisation of language through the economic logic of constant capital is not only the problem of linguistic (relativist) procedures; it has larger impact on the very foundation of our ideological understanding of the people who are subject to that form of language labour. It is to this linguistic logic that politics is automatically imparted, as in the case of relation between the destiny of Indians and the form of their language. Rossi-Landi does not spare words in his discussion of this matter: "[they are] the hidden motives of those who uphold linguistic relativity."¹³

In the case of the American Indians the situation is particularly clear and convincing; not for nothing has it been in the study of their languages that the most fascinating formulations of linguistic relativity were formed. The whites have deprived the Redskins of their world-views; now they are trying to 'compensate' them by recognizing that these views were 'naturally' part of their languages and constituted richer, better articulated, and more perfect constant capitals than ours. At the same time, linguistic relativity can in this way even involuntarily lend itself to the smuggling in of a subtle racist streak. The American Indians *are* different *because* their languages *make them* different. How wicked of us to massacre people *so different from ourselves*.¹⁴

Notes

1. Benjamin Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought, and Reality*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1956, p. 239.
2. Whorf 1956, p. 213.
3. Whorf 1956, p. 236.
4. Sapir 1924, in John A. Lucy, "Whorf's View of the Linguistic Mediation of Thought", *Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspective*, Edited by E. Mertz and R. J. Parmentier, Orlando: Academic Press, Inc., 1985, p. 81.
5. Edward Sapir, *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, p. 162.
6. Frederick J. Newmeyer, *The Politics of Linguistics*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
7. Whorf 1956, p. 216.
8. Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, *Ideologies of Linguistic Relativity*, The Hague & Paris: Mouton, 1973, p. 72. This sounds like Nikolai Marr's theory on the class character of national languages: when he claims that the poor people in Russia linguistically have more distance to rich people in Russia than they have to poor people in Scotland. Of course Rossi-Landi does not stretch his linguistic theses to this level of comedy.
9. Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, *Language as Work & Trade: A Semiotic Homology for Linguistics & Economics*, translated by Martha Adams & others, Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1983, p. 12.
10. Linguistic alienation is a "situation where [the speaker] does not know what he is doing when he speaks, why he speaks as he does speak; he belongs to the process of linguistic production that conditions him from the outset and that compels him to see the world in certain ways" (Rossi-Landi 1983, p. 64.)
11. Rossi-Landi 1983, p. 172.
12. Rossi-Landi 1973, p. 74.
13. Rossi-Landi 1973, p. 77.
14. Rossi-Landi 1973, p. 75.

Milena Solomun

On 10 September 2012 three asylum seekers from Afghanistan launched a hunger strike in front of the Parliament in Helsinki. The reason for their protest was that the men were denied asylum by the Finnish Immigration Services. According to different sources the hunger strike lasted for 71 or 72 days, with one of the men ending the strike after two weeks (KU 2.11.2012; HS 21.11.2012; Vapaa liikkuvuus-verkosto).¹⁵ From the start the hunger strike was extremely visible for different reasons: firstly, there is not much of a protest culture in Finland, so every protest, which happens in the public, becomes automatically visible. Hunger strikes usually happen behind locked doors in prisons, mental hospitals and facilities for refugees.¹⁶ A hunger strike in the public is thus hardly unnoticeable. Secondly, the protest was organised in one of the most visible spots in the centre of Helsinki, in front of the Parliament. By doing so, the hunger strikers made it clear that their protest was directed towards the policy of the Finnish state. However, later the men had to move across the street, because the police would not let them camp in front of the Parliament (HS 16.09.2012). The protest also gained visibility through several demonstrations, which were organised in support of the Afghan asylum seekers and their cause.

Although the asylum seekers' hunger strike was made visible in many ways, it was widely ignored by the Finnish media. Helsingin Sanomat, the biggest and most read newspaper in Finland, wrote very little about the protest, while it took place just outside the newspaper's headquarters. When Helsingin Sanomat did write about it, the journalists managed to leave out the political context of the protest, while concentrating on the physical conditions of the

hunger strikers as well as state officials' and doctors' opinions on the case. The first article dealing with the hunger strike was published on the website of Helsingin Sanomat on the sixth day of the strike, 16 September 2012, with the following headline: "Association: Hunger striking man fell ill in Helsinki".¹⁷ The newspaper's coverage of the hunger strike thus starts with the news that one of the strikers fell ill. This focus on the physical weakness and bodily reactions to the process of not eating runs through the whole hunger strike narrative. I use the term narrative when referring to the hunger strike story as a whole, formed by all articles published in Helsingin Sanomat on the case. All in all the newspaper published ten articles on the hunger strike, of which seven were published online, while three articles were printed in the actual newspaper. Five of the ten articles were short news stories from the Finnish news agency STT, as is the first article mentioned above. This article was also published online by Savon Sanomat, with the same body text (differing only in one word and a blank line). The headline in Savon Sanomat however sheds an entirely different point of view on the story: "Afghans in hunger strike in front of the parliament".¹⁸ This headline offers specified information about who is striking and where the hunger strike takes place – in front of the parliament – which again implies that the protest has a political background. In the headline "Association: Hunger striking man fell ill in Helsinki" on the other hand the given information is kept as unspecified as possible: 'association' for the political group Free Movement network, 'man' for Afghan asylum seeker, and 'Helsinki' for in front of the parliament. Further the focus is directed towards the fact that one of the men fell ill.

There are different reasons for the poor media coverage of the hunger strike, one however is directly connected to the way in which refugees and foreigners are depicted in the Finnish media in general. This general 'immigration talk'¹⁹ in the Finnish media enables and restricts the way in

which asylum seekers can be depicted in the news. Finland is a country very new to immigration as is the Finnish media image of the refugee.

According to Pentti Raittila the negative image of the Somalian refugee, which was created at the beginning of the 1990s, still haunts the Finnish Somali community.²⁰ In 1992 Outi Blomqvist wrote a master's thesis about the approach of the Finnish media towards the first groups of Somali refugees arriving in Finland. According to her analysis the Finnish media characterised refugees and asylum seekers as utterly passive from the very start. The most common news dealing with refugees were about groups of people being moved from one place to another. In these news stories refugees were constructed as faceless and voiceless passive crowds.²¹ Although the general tone of 'immigration talk' in the media did change over time, passivity as well as criminal activity still plays a central role in news reports about refugees and foreigners in Finland.²² Especially since the True Finns Party started gaining popularity in 2008, racism became more visible and accepted again, also in the media.²³ The image of the passive and voiceless refugee is part of this racist ideology.

Hunger strikers, on the other hand, are active participants in a political protest. They are acting outside the control of the Finnish state and are hardly fitting into the media image of a passive, controllable refugee. Therefore the Afghan hunger strike represents a challenge to the Finnish media, since it problematises the position of the text producer, in this case the journalist or rather the newspaper as a whole:

The position of the producer may be problematized as to *contents* where some discrepancy arises between the producer's common-sense (ideological) representations of the world, and the world itself. This may happen because of changes in the world, for instance, or when the producer's representations come into contact with other incompatible representations.²⁴

kä on viimeinen

lehet ovat olleet Helsingin keskustan teltassa syö-
lla asiaansa ajavat myös Naurun turvapaikanhak

on pimeä
sade ropi-
n. Ainoa va-
päälle ase-
ynttilä. Sen
ahdet väsy-

Gholam
ai, 36, ja Ja-
lettävät syö-
iltäa Hel-
assa Kansa-
la.
takkien alla
vatsasärky-
aa. Vieressä
i vaikuttaa
tta hankin

sisälläni ta-
ähän ja kas-
kaan."
o alkoi 10
lahi painoi
yi 75 kiloa
at olivat 50

zayi kieltäy-
oska heidar-
uksensa
in. Valitus
llinto-oikeu

miksi syn-
ika linnuksi
ämaän rajo-
patjaltaan
ovat, että he
ganistanissa
bdullahi sa-
on vihamie-
arjestö tale-
nossa ja et-
surmattiin.



Gholam Siddique Abdullahi kertoi Afganistanin vaaroista syömälakkoteltassaan He puhui vähemmän.

sistä pitää epätodennäköisenä
mutta mahdollisena, että täy-
dellinen syömälakko voisi ke-
stää 57 päivää.

"Jos on ollut äärimmäisen
hyvässä ravitsemustilassa en-
nen lakkoa, niin on se mah-

Abdullahi sanoo lisanneen-
sä Osmosal-annosta sen jäl-
keen, kun hän alkoi epäillä, et-
tä hänet yritetään saada edes-
vastuuttomana pakkohoitoon.

"Haluan pitää pääni terve-
nä, ettei se onnistu."

toisia paivy
reina joka y

Pitkään ja
ko käännyt
neiden kesk
naista. "Syö
on suhteell

keino

omättä pian kaksi kuukautta.
kijat ja Turkin kurdivangit.

KALLE KERVINEN HS



Helsingin keskustassa maanantai-iltana tulkin välityksellä. Vieressä makaava Javad Mirzayi

vystää telttanaapu-
yö.
jatkonut syömälak-
ytyspäätöksen saa-
skuudessa on harvi-
mälakolla uhkailu
llisen vleistä. ioba



FAKTA

Kylmyys vaikeuttaa syömälakkoa

■ Terve ihminen voi kestää
täydellistä näästoa ioba 1-3

■ Elimistö polttaa vararavinto-
na ensin rasvan ihon alta ja

Additionally a hunger strike is an interesting liminal case in itself: on the one hand it is understood as a right of the individual, on the other, once they have been labelled as 'mentally incapable', hunger strikers can be force fed. There is however a very strong myth of equality and individual freedom in Finland, which is greatly supported and sustained by the Finnish media. This myth is also evoked in the hunger strike narrative. In the article "Officials: Eating strike will not bring asylum to the Afghan men" it says that "officials can not end a hunger strike by force, even if it was life endangering, because a hunger strike is seen as a right of the individual."²⁵ The hunger strikers however say repeatedly that they fear being force-fed and that "there was already an attempt"²⁶ to do so.²⁷ The power relations between the Finnish state, the media and the hunger striking asylum seekers are therefore very complex. Helsingin Sanomat avoids shedding light on this complexity by leaving out information and casual relations within the narrative and further by ripping the hunger strike out of its political and historical context. By doing so, it is possible to render the asylum seekers passive and controllable.

According to Norman Fairclough, while analysing a text it is "also important to be sensitive to absences from the text, to things which might have been 'there' but aren't [...]" A more general absence which commentators have noted is an absence of historical context in most news stories: news is standardly constructed in terms of events which are treated as more or less isolated from prior or subsequent events – isolated from history."²⁸ In the hunger strike narrative of Helsingin Sanomat the isolation of the protest from its historical context starts with the choice of naming the hunger strike 'syömälakko' – eating strike.

Hunger strike versus eating strike

When referring to the asylum seekers' hunger strike, most of the Finnish newspapers use the word 'nälkälakko', which

is the exact translation of the English term hunger strike. Helsingin Sanomat, on the other hand, uses the word 'syömälakko'. 'Syömälakko' is a compound, which consists of the verb 'syödä' – to eat, and the noun 'lakko' – strike. The English equivalent would be 'eating strike', a term normally used when talking about babies, children or pets not wanting to eat. Also 'syömälakko' is used in the same context, for it primarily expresses the state of refusing to eat. 'Nälkälakko' and 'hunger strike' on the other hand indicate that the protest has a political background and that the strikers have political demands. The Afghan asylum seekers called their protest 'hunger strike'²⁹ and the Finnish political group Free Movement Network, who worked together with the men and supported them during the hunger strike, used the word 'nälkälakko' when referring to the asylum seekers' protest. The word is however not only used by political activists, but also by the media. Newspapers like *Kansan Uutiset* and *Savon Sanomat* as well as the tabloid *Ilta – Sanomat* use the word 'nälkälakko' in their articles about the Afghan hunger strike.³⁰ Further 'nälkälakko' is also a term used by the Finnish government: In 1991 the Ministry of Justice in Finland appointed a group of specialists to clarify the measures that are to be taken by officials when faced by a hunger strike in prison. This group was given the name 'nälkälakkotyöryhmä' – hunger strike committee.³¹ It is therefore striking that Helsingin Sanomat chooses a different term. In critical linguistics vocabulary choices are seen as playing a crucial role in processes of categorisation, while every choice in language is seen as potentially ideologically significant.³² Especially in media texts choices of words, grammar, syntax and text cohesion are very thought through and ideologically motivated.

In Helsingin Sanomat, the word 'syömälakko' (eating strike) is generally preferred: when searching for it on the newspaper's website, one gets 82 hits, while 'nälkälakko' brings up 35 hits.³³ This means, however, that the newspaper did not completely ban the term 'nälkälakko' from

use, rather it used it selectively. I would like to bring up two articles with the use of the word 'näлкälakko', which I find relevant in comparison to the term 'syömälakko' in the Afghan hunger strike narrative. One of the articles tells about the hunger strike of a Pussy Riot activist: "A member of Pussy Riot goes on hunger strike because of bad prison conditions".³⁴ The headlines provide information about the political reasons that led to the hunger strike ("bad prison conditions"). The political context of the strike is emphasised, because of which the word 'näлкälakko' seems more adequate. Another article from 1 May 2014 deals with a hunger strike organised by refugees in Berlin: "Hunger strike by refugees on Mayday brings Berliners to a halt".³⁵ It is interesting that a hunger strike organised by refugees in Berlin is called 'näлкälakko' and is described as having a strong effect on the population ("brings Berliners to a halt"). The protest of the Afghan asylum seekers in Helsinki on the other hand is described as being noticed by few only: "When people walk across Kansalaistori to the Music House, only a few notice the tent covered by dark green tarpaulin. Inside the tent the Afghan men Javad Mirzayi, 34, and Gholam Siddique Abdullahi, 36, have been protesting since the beginning of September after being denied asylum."³⁶ Here the journalists emphasise the invisibility of a protest they call 'syömälakko' – eating strike. Although there are a lot of parallels between the hunger strikes in Berlin and Helsinki, the stories are told in a different way. What makes these different approaches possible? The reason is most likely to be found in the connection to local politics: the protest in Berlin has nothing to do with the immigration policy of Finland, or, if a link exists, it is not mentioned.

The medicalisation of the protest

Because of its mere reference to the state of not eating, the term 'syömälakko' can also be seen as part of a medical

discourse. Helsingin Sanomat's narrative on the Afghan hunger strike is in fact full of names of body parts and organs, words referring to medical professionals, as well as expressions on bodily processes and physical weakness: 'sisätautilääkäri' – intern, 'elimistö' – organs, 'sydän' – heart, 'vatsasärkyjä' – stomach ache, 'psykoottiset episodit' – psychotic episodes, 'heikko' – weak, 'sairauskohtaus' – sickness, 'kunto' – physical condition; just to name a few. The most recurring word of this type is 'lääkäri' – doctor, which appears overall eight times in the hunger strike narrative. Helsingin Sanomat introduces doctors as experts on the topic of hunger strikes and further as taking care of the strikers. This care taking is constructed as a responsibility of the Finnish state towards the asylum seekers and in one of the articles it is mentioned that it's the state, who pays for the medical care of the strikers: "Last week the tent was visited three times by a nurse and one time by a doctor. The service was bought from a private health care centre by the refugee reception centre in Oulu, which is responsible for the health of Abdullahi and Mirzayi."³⁷ There are two more articles, in which the strikers are told to have been visiting doctors or ending up in a hospital.³⁸ The Afghan strikers are therefore constructed as patients, who cost the Finnish state money. At the same time the Finnish state is constructed as taking care of refugees, or its citizens in general. There is another dimension of identity construction in the narrative, which happens on the interpersonal level of the text. The articles are written for a certain readership, which means that the reader is constructed within the text.³⁹ In the hunger strike narrative the ideal reader is constructed as being interested in the medical dimensions of the strike. The reader is actually positioned very close to the doctor: as readers, we get information about how much the hunger strikers weigh, what kind of pain and health issues they are encountering, what kind of sicknesses they suffer from in general, up to what exactly they have been consuming since

the beginning of the hunger strike. Helsingin Sanomat are therefore constructing a dominant position for the reader, the position of a doctor, who has the authority to know about private 'health issues' of their patients. By making these issues public, the strikers are being exposed to the readership and constructed as patients not only within the story, but also in relation to the reader.

By repeatedly drawing on medical discourse, the hunger strike narrative is linked together through lexical cohesion: "Lexical cohesion is cohesion through the repetition of words, the linking of words and expressions in meaning relations such as synonymy or hyponymy or the linking of words and expressions which 'collocate', that is, belong to the same semantic domain and tend to co-occur."⁴⁰ In Helsingin Sanomat the medical point of view is the most dominant one and this dominancy is created through lexical cohesion. The only interviewee, who is repeatedly asked to give their opinion on the case, is the internist and nutrition scientist Aila Rissanen.⁴¹ In both articles, Rissanen offers a detailed list of facts on what happens inside the body when a person stops eating. One of the articles consists merely of these facts: "Doctor: Eating strike at worst inner cannibalism". In this article the hunger strikers are constructed as Others by combining medical with colonial discourse. At first the meaning of 'hunger strike' is cut down to 'not eating', so that the hunger strikers become mere patients and at the same time the focus is shifted from political to biological processes. The term 'inner cannibalism' however turns the bodies of the strikers into colonised bodies. In colonial practice the concept of cannibalism served as a moral justification for crimes against the Other:

Civility and cannibalism were born together in the colonial imaginary, insofar as the former made of the latter its absolute moral antithesis. For example, in Columbus' second voyage to the Indies (really an

invasion), cannibalism looms large in the invention of Carib 'savagery' – to be sure, a politics of displacing the truly savage intention of the invading forces: 'to tear out of the bowels of the land' by enslaving or exterminating the indigenous populace.⁴²

The term 'cannibalism' is thus strongly charged with colonialist ideology. Nevertheless the doctor's dreadful metaphor 'inner cannibalism' is highlighted in the article's headlines. Helsingin Sanomat is hence not merely 'quoting' a specialist on the case, but firstly choosing, who to interview, and secondly deciding on how to present the text to the reader. In this article, quotes from the doctor are represented as pure facts, without any further comments. Another interesting point is that the doctor does not actually mention the asylum seekers or their protest, but seems to be speaking about 'eating strikes' in general. She even uses the verb 'paastota' – to fast, which positions her text close to discourses around nutrition and health. It is however Helsingin Sanomat, that connects the statements of the doctor with the Afghan hunger strike through categorisation: the newspaper organises its online articles into topics, one of which is 'asylum seekers'. The article "Doctor: Eating strike at worst inner cannibalism" is categorised under this topic.⁴³ The Afghan protest is the only one in Helsingin Sanomat, where the term 'cannibalism' appears in connection to a hunger strike.

But haven't the men been eating anything at all?

Another construction within the hunger strike narrative is the possibility of a staged hunger strike. The first printed article "Hunger as the last resort" was published in Helsingin Sanomat on the 6 November 2012, almost two months after the hunger strike was launched. The article was published in the world news section of the newspaper, next to articles about 'eating strikes' in Turkey and on the island state of

Nauru. The story about the hunger strike in the centre of Helsinki is thus represented in a context of hunger strikes around the world, which again suppresses the local dimensions of the strike and its criticism towards the immigration policy of Finland. In the first half of the article the strikers are once again constructed as patients: they “complain about pain in the neck and stomach ache”, they say that they are “suffering”, their “faces look tired”, “they have trouble walking” and one of the strikers “doesn’t know what is happening inside of him”.⁴⁴ In the middle of the article the journalists however formulate a question, which casts doubt on the protest in a new way: “The men have been drinking water almost from the very start, but haven’t they been eating anything at all?”⁴⁵ The journalists consult the intern Rissanen, who says that it’s rather “unlikely, but possible, that an absolute hunger strike lasts for 57 days”.⁴⁶ The protesters on their part have to unfold what exactly they have been consuming while being on the hunger strike. The idea behind the enquiry is that the hunger strike is possibly a fake. In this article the journalists acquire at least two different roles: on the one hand they visit the protest site in order to ‘collect information’, while at the same time they call the authenticity of the hunger strike into question. In taking the role of a sceptic and inspector in relation to the hunger strikers, the journalists actually reinforce strategies usually deployed by immigration officials. The same kind of strategies probably led to Gholam Abdullahi and Javad Mirzayi being denied asylum. The decision of the Immigration Services is thus justified by following the same logic as state officials do.

Values in action

In their article “Values and modality in constructing social reality”⁴⁷ Pekka Sulkunen and Jukka Törrönen point out that “linguistic representations of social reality are build

on certain values and perspectives".⁴⁸ This means that a speaker does not only translate the world into a linguistic system, but also attaches values to the representations of the world while doing so. For example, when quoting other people, we value how true or false we believe their statements to be by choosing between different speech verbs: they knew, stated, lied, thought, believed and so on. In the hunger strike narrative the statements of different parties are positioned differently in relation to 'the truth'. The hunger strikers are repeatedly said to "*believe* to be in mortal danger in their home country".⁴⁹ In the article "Hunger as the last resort" the uncertainty of their statements is emphasised three times: "The men *themselves think*, that their life *would* be in danger in their home country."⁵⁰ The reason why the men need asylum is thus characterised as part of an uncertain and subjective story, that cannot be confirmed. If on the other hand the hunger strikers were said to *know* or to *confirm* to be in mortal danger, the fact that they were not granted asylum by the immigration services could be easily criticised. In one of the articles, an immigration service official also uses the verb 'katsoa' – regard/think, when talking about statements made by refugees: "We inspect the reasons of every applicant individually, why they *think* they would be prosecuted in their home country."⁵¹ The way in which immigration officials and Helsingin Sanomat position reports of refugees in relation to 'the truth' are thus identical. Furthermore there is no information whatsoever about the current situation in Afghanistan in the hunger strike narrative. Therefore the strikers are constructed as *thinking* to be in danger, while state officials and doctors are speaking 'the truth': 'poliisi vahvistaa' – the police *confirms*, 'maahanmuuttoviraston turvapaikkayksiköstä todetaan' – the immigration service asylum unit *states*, 'Rissanen arvioi' – Rissanen *evaluates*.

It is also interesting to look at how the action of protesting is coded in the articles. The activity of the asylum

seekers as *being in hunger strike* and *protesting against being denied asylum*, is repeatedly coded adjectivally, describing the subject or object of the sentence: “*Hunger striking* man fell sick in Helsinki”, “*Hunger striking because of being denied asylum* man fell sick”, “*Hunger striking* Afghan asylum seekers”, “*Food rejecting* asylum seekers”.⁵² In these examples the activity of the strikers is pushed into the background, while other processes, like getting sick and being supported by demonstrators is represented as the main action of the clause. On the other hand the hunger strikers appear as actors in clauses with verbs like ‘oleskella’ – stay, ‘majailla’ – lodge, ‘asua’ – live, and ‘viettää’ – spend time. Being in hunger strike is represented as a static and rather passive procedure like spending time in front of the parliament and living in a tent. Hence the activity of the strikers is diminished in many ways.

Conclusion

The hunger strike narrative of Helsingin Sanomat is thus more than one sided: Firstly the protest is widely ignored. Secondly it is deprived of its historical and political context, while at a later stage the asylum seekers are even accused of staging the whole hunger strike. The protesters are constructed as patients and their bodies are exposed to the reader. At the same time the reason why the men seek asylum is constructed as a merely subjective statement, while information on the current situation in Afghanistan is left out. On the contrary, state officials and doctors are constructed as telling the truth. Although a hunger strike is an active form of protest, Helsingin Sanomat portrays the protesters as passive.

However the fact, that there is such a small number of articles on the case as well as the many strategies of depoliticising the protest show that any active, politically aware and protesting asylum seeker is experienced by the Finnish media as a threat to the status quo.

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15. Author's note: *The acronyms I use for the Finnish newspapers are as follows: Helsingin Sanomat: HS; Kansan Uutiset: KU; Savon Sanomat: SaS; Ilta-Sanomat: IS, Lapin Kansa: LK.*
<http://www.vapaaliikkuvuus.net/category/nalkalakko/>

16. For hunger strikes in Finnish prisons see "Nälkälakkojärjestöjen mietintö" 1991; for hunger strikes organised by refugees and asylum seekers in different facilities in Finland see: HS 26.03.2008, HS 12.08.2010, LK 12.08.2010, HS 10.10.2011, HS 22.09.2012.

17. Original title of the article: "Järjestö: Syömälakkoillut mies sai sairauskohtauksen Helsingissä", with 'syömälakkoillut' being a verb derived from the noun 'eating strike'. Because this verb is not translatable into English, I have translated it as 'hunger striking'.

18. Original title: "Afganistanilaisia nälkälakossa eduskuntatalon edessä" (SaS 16.09.2012).

19. Loose translation of the Finnish word 'maahanmuuttokeskustelu', another possible translation would be 'immigration discourse'.

20. See Raittila 2002, p. 68.

21. See Blomqvist 1992, pp. 94–7.

22. See Raittila 2002 and Keskinen, Rastas & Tuori 2009.

23. Raittila 2002, p. 68.

24. Fairclough 1989, p. 170.

25. Original title: "Viranomaiset: Syömälakko ei tuo afganistanilaismiehille turvapaikkaa" (HS 22.09.2012) my translation.

26. In the original text, the action of trying to force feed is coded in passive, so that the agent stays unclear (passive in italics): "Vastikään Oulussa asianajajaansa ja traumalääkäriään tapaamassa käynyt Abdullahi kertoo tulkin avulla, että jo siellä hänelle *yritettiin* antaa väkisin ruokaa."
27. See "Nälkä on viimeinen keino" (HS 6.11.2012) and "Afgaanimiehet olivat syömättä 72 päivää" (HS 21.11.2012).
28. See Fairclough 1995, p. 106.
29. See photo in "Afgaanimiehet nälkälakossa 50 päivää" (KU 2.11.2012).
30. See IS 16.09.2012 and 7.11.2012.
31. See Nälkälakkotyöryhmän mietintö 1991.
32. See Fairclough 1995, pp. 25–7.
33. Viewed on 2.11.2014.
34. Original title: "Pussy Riotin jäsen aloitti nälkälakon huonojen vankilaolojen takia" (HS 23.09.2013).
35. Original title: "Pakolaisten nälkälakko vappujuhlien keskellä pysäyttää berliiniläiset" (HS 1.05.2014).
36. Original excerpt: "Kun Kansalaistorin poikki valuu väkeä kohti Musiikkitaloa, harva kiinnittää huomiota tummanvihreällä pressulla peitettyn telttaan. Sen sisällä afganistanilaiset Javad Mirzayi, 34, ja Gholam Siddique Abdullahia, 36, ovat vastustaneet kielteistä turvapaikkapäätöstään syyskuun alkupuolelta asti" (HS 21.11.2012).
37. Original text: "Viime viikolla teltalla kävi hoitaja kolme kertaa ja lääkäri kerran. Palvelun on ostanut yksityiseltä lääkärilasemalta Oulun vastaanottokeskus, joka on vastuussa Abdullahin ja Mirzayin terveydestä" (HS 6.11.2012).
38. See "Afgaanimiehet olivat syömättä 72 päivää" (HS 21.11.2012) and "Toinen mieltä osoittavista afganistanilaisista joutui sairaalaan" (HS 9.12.2012).
39. See Fairclough 1995, pp. 125–8.
40. See Fairclough 1992, p. 176.
41. See "Lääkäri: Syömälakko pahimmillaan sisäistä kannibalismia" (HS 22.09.2012) and "Nälkä on viimeinen keino" (HS 6.11.2012).
42. See Phillips 1998, pp. 192–3.
43. <http://www.hs.fi/kotimaa/a1305600849232>
44. My translation. Original quotes: "Mirzayi valittaa niska- ja vatsasärkyjä", "häinkin sanoo kärsivänsä", "väsyneet kasvot", "kävely on vaikeaa", "Abdullahi ei tiedä mitä sisällään tapahtuu" (HS 6.11.2012).
45. My translation. Original quote: "Vettä miehet ovat juoneet lähes lakon alusta pitäen, mutta eivätkö he todella ole syöneet yhtään mitään?" (HS 6.11.2012).
46. My translation. Original quote: "Professori ja sisätautien erikoislääkäri Aila Rissanen Hyksistä pitää epätodennäköisenä mutta mahdollisena, että täydellinen syömälakko voisi kestää 57 päivää" (HS 6.11.2012).
47. Original title: "Arvot ja modaalisuus sosiaalisen todellisuuden rakentamisessa".
48. See Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997, p. 72. Original quote: "Kielellistynyt sosiaalinen todellisuus rakentuu arvojen ja näkökulmien varaan" (my translation).

49. See "Järjestö: Syömälakkoillut mies sai sairauskohtauksen Helsingissä" (HS 16.09.2012), "Syömälakkolaiset: Emme jaksakaan enää odottaa" (HS 22.09.2012), "Afgaanimiehet lopettivat syömälakkonsa" (HS 20.11.2012).
50. Original text: "Miehet itse katsovat, että he joutuisivat Afganistanissa hengenvaaraan" (HS 6.11.2012).
51. Original text: "Tutkimme yksilöllisesti kunkin hakijan perusteet sille, miksi he katsovat joutuvansa vainotuksi kotimaassaan" (HS 21.11.2012).
52. My translation, with the focus on maintaining the word order and grammar of the original. Original text: "Syömälakkoillut mies sai sairauskohtauksen Helsingissä", "Syömälakolla kielteistä turvapaikkapäätöstä vastustava mies sai sairauskohtauksen" (HS 22.09.2012), "syömälakossa olevia afganistanilaisia turvapaikanhakijoita", "ruoatta olevia turvapaikanhakijoita" (HS 7.11.2012).

e

v

Ei suuret sanat suutar holkaise.

Ehtooda laiskat nimeäksii tulee.

M

m

Miehem sana om miehem kunnia.

Mimkai hyprini teet, sen edestasi löydät.

Big words do not slit the mouth

Man's word is mans honour

Chapter 4

Spontaneity as Necessity: Story of a Word

At the core of the linguistic theory of Ferruccio Rossi-Landi lies the homology between language and economy. This homology can contribute to an intensification of contradictions that reside at the heart of linguistic ideologies. And also it can demystify the terms and concepts that are usually used in discussing the ideological background of the language. Nevertheless these homologies are shortcuts of philosophical abstraction; the real relation between economy and language is far more complex and contradictory than equations based on the postulates of the linguistic model of homology.

The question regarding the relation between economy and language is actually our main problem in dealing with the theory and practices of multilingualism. What are the conclusions that Rossi-Landi arrived at via his shortcuts and what is the use-value of these observations today? One thing, which is also crucial for other understandings of the ideological functions of language, is the role of spontaneity in the construction of circularity, or the construction of conditions of reproduction. Rossi-Landi uses this shortcut from a rather unusual point: through engagement with Ludwig Wittgenstein's propositions on language games. This deserves particular attention, because in the final analysis we will show that the shortcut that Rossi-Landi engages with, is not a shortcut of the deterministic sort of relation between economy and language. He insists that language is tied to ideology in similar way as economy-politics is tied (attached, related) to ideology; through the reproduction of circularity which looks as if it is a spontaneous miracle. By magnifying this spontaneity (this miracle) we can see the real mechanism (or if we paraphrase Whorf, the real chemistry) behind this operation. Wittgenstein's break from ontological objectivism happened through the realisation that logical propositions in the field of society make sense only when we discuss them as the part and parcel to social necessity, and spontaneity. As an attentive reader of Wittgenstein, Rossi-Landi

would have known that “the logic takes care of itself, all we have to do is to look and see how it does”. This break happened on a train in 1932, when travelling with the Italian Marxist economist Pierro Sraffa. The story goes like this:

When Wittgenstein was insisting that a proposition and that which it describes must have the same ‘logical form’, the same ‘logical multiplicity’, Sraffa made a gesture, familiar to Neapolitans as meaning something like disgust or contempt, of brushing the underneath of his chin with an outward sweep of the finger-tips of one hand. And he asked: “What is the logical form of that?” Sraffa’s examples produced in Wittgenstein the feeling that there was an absurdity in the insistence that a proposition and what it describes must have the same ‘form’. This broke the hold on him of the conception that a proposition must literally be a ‘picture’ of the reality it describes.¹

The encounter between Wittgenstein and Pierro Sraffa is more interesting and strange than the invented encounter between Wittgenstein and Hitler, the story that was the topic of a bestseller and an art project.² Sraffa was an Italian Marxist, a friend of Gramsci, working on the fringes of classical economic science to show that without the Marxist concept of social relations, the concept of productivity will not make sense. His gesture to Wittgenstein had some considerable theoretical weight as well. The basic proposition about relations in the *Tractatus*, such as ‘x stands in relation, R, to y’ does not have any meaning once we apply it to the social context, because the variations in social context are more complex than the variations and relations in abstract logical language. Or, as Keiran Sharpe comments in his excellent article on Sraffa’s influence on Wittgenstein: “In every social situation, there are ever-widening circles of context, so that if a rule is to provide criteria for what is

the case it has to be an infinitely deep hierarchy of rules.”³ This infinite variation shows that the social field cannot be explained by the ordinary propositions of ontological realism; they have to include what is alien to the ‘logic’, which is commonly accepted rules (Wittgenstein would call superstitions) uniting these variations. These are spontaneities, and are understood as ideological components of social/linguistic interaction. “Agents (involved in communication, for example) must share the criteria if they are to understand each other. The upshot of all this is that the subjectivist/mentalistic conception of understanding of at least social fact is nugatory.”⁴ Once we set the terms in the style of Sraffa, then the background of relation between two elements in social action requires further clarification. It is about the background of this relation: “social acts are then understood by those who share in a common agreement of what constitutes the ‘background’ in each case” (p. 120). Take for example this statement, issued as a poster in public space by contemporary art group Superflex from Denmark in 2002: “Foreigners, please don’t leave us alone with the Danes!” If we want to analyse the background of this statement as a logical proposition, we will realise that the ‘logic’ of it is entangled in an innumerable amount of contexts. In which way is a foreigner to be defined, is the agency of Danish people different from foreigners, who are these ‘we’ of Denmark that makes this appeal to foreigners, what is it to be alone in society, is it a deliberate decision of foreigners to leave Denmark, etc.? These questions could be multiplied ad infinitum, depending how far we want to go in ideological deconstruction. But one thing is clear: the logical relation between foreigner, agency, the Danes and isolation is constructed through an ideological background, which could be summarised as foreigners make our life more interesting, we need them. Following this, we can claim that the simple question of the constitution of the background drags us immediately to the field of

ideology: "What are the criteria for some social relation being the case (*ibid*)?" Sraffa's research in economics has showed that the fluctuations in consumption, for example, cannot be explained with the arbitrary, or neutral terms, that the agents involved in the market have specific kinds of 'institutional arrangements' (p. 121). This is to say that they are determined by capitalism, which poses itself as a neutral/spontaneous relation, but actually is shaped by the specific criteria and background. It is this Marxist position, which Sraffa tries to prove with analytical mathematics (this was the reason why Gramsci criticised him for not being able to "rid himself of all the ideological residues of his democratic-liberal intellectual background").⁵ However, through this Wittgenstein woke up from his superstitious dream of ontological realism, and realised that in society laws are different than in logic; and that propositions of language, which are the property of this social life, should include these strange variations determined by non-arbitrary institutions. Wittgenstein, in his encounter with Sraffa, has seen capitalism as a force of inequality and ideology.

Thus, according to Rossi-Landi, the homology between economy and language has to be explained with the meta-semiosis (i.e. a spontaneous ideological operation) that designates both language and the economy. Similar to inequalities of class relations that are the driving force of capitalist economies, the inequalities of the multi-language (or simply, language) field are also a primary condition of the normative ideology of language. Ideological spontaneity, as it is often argued, is responsible for the circular form of social practices, whether they are linguistic or economic practices. For example, it is often spontaneously understood that the reason for corruption and poverty in post-colonial African states is a lack of the institutional structures that would grant the unremitted flow of capital. This spontaneously understood truth is the ideology of economism that silently reproduces the claim that progress

and development requires healthy capitalism. Understood in this way, the discrepancies of capitalist economic formations are concealed; for example, that inequality is the driving force of the capitalist means of production. In a similar way, the spontaneity of ideology shapes our understanding of language in African nations as well; that African nationalities need neutral-technical language (French, or English) so they can be united in the Babelian noise of their everyday communication practices. However, this claim conceals that class inequalities are reproduced through the use of this very technical language (the already mentioned observation that many poor people do not understand the technical Anglo-Saxon language, and that this language usually does not register the index of resistance and struggles of de-colonisation).

The shortcut to the homology between economy and language is thus a shortcut for describing ideological spontaneity. But the question is whether there is any philosophical or conceptual spontaneity in this operation of theoretical shortcutting? As we already pointed out, the issues of determinism and representation are important features in the Whorfian cosmos; the question is whether these features persist also in the theoretical domain that is decidedly anti-Whorfian, such as Rossi-Landi's critique of relativism. It is possible to speculate that once we agree to discuss the issue of linguistic ideology along the lines of Sapir-Whorf, then the ideological effects of this thesis would be part of the discourse.

Spontaneity in fact determines every act of our communication. This is the *sine qua non* of all sociolinguistic positions; the best example for it can be found in Lev Petrovich Yakubinsky's concept of 'apperceptive mass': "our reception and understanding of another's speech (and our perception in general) are apperceptive – that is, they are determined not only (and frequently not so much) by our actual momentary stimulation by another's speech but

also by the entire range of our psyche at the moment of listening. These mental contents constitute an individual's "apperceptive mass", which assimilates any external situation."⁶ Here is an example Yakubinsky gives for depicting this spontaneous determination:

On returning home from work, my hungry roommate fried some potatoes for himself and wanted to carry them into his room. Since I was hungry too, I asked, "Can I also fry potatoes?" (by which I meant to ask whether the stove was still burning). He answered no, probably judging by the first two words of my question ("Can I...") that I was asking for potatoes. All the while the stove was still burning. Hunger determined incorrect understanding...⁷

Anyone who has written about language, and has a little flair for the formal properties of language ideologies has sensed such spontaneity.

This purely instrumental 'continuum' of the spoken language or 'container of necessities' is unanalysable like all those things for which a beginning, a conclusion, or a moment of immobility cannot be established.⁸

Or in Michel Pecheux describing the ideological 'blind necessities':

How should one conceive the time (tenses, moods, aspects, etc.) and the space (localisations, determiners, etc.) which are the imaginary time and space of the speaking-subject in such a way that the evidentness of meaning and subject becomes a theoretical object for linguistics, no longer being blindly and spontaneously repeated in it in the form of the dual imperialism of subject and meaning? In short: how can one take

the linguistic consequences of the fact that ‘the unas-
serted precedes and dominates the assertion’?⁹

Yakubinsky’s potatoes bring us very close, from a very unusual perspective, to the issue of the homology between economy and language: during the time when Yakubinsky was writing these remarks, for Russian writers, Formalists, avant-gardes poets and artists, food was probably one of the most real things – stronger than any available metaphor.

I remember how at the very beginning of 1920, just before my trip to Revel, I was picked as a professor of Russian orthoepy, on the one hand in the First Drama Schools, and on the other in Serezhnikov’s Institute of Declamation. Anatolij Lunacharskij was invited as an honored guest to the opening of the Institute. They served some pirog. Pirog was then a rarity, and everyone attacked it. “Wait a minute, wait a minute”, Serezhnikov shouted, “the People’s Commisar wants some of the pirog! Pass the pirog to the People’s Commisar!” But they had already gobbled it all down.¹⁰

The ways in which hunger determines our understanding of communication could be a starting point for asking the famous Marxist question which haunts many socio-linguists; whether the economic base determines the linguistic superstructure.

It appears to us that the closest neighbors to onomatopoetic words are ‘words’ without concept and content that serve to express pure emotion, that is, words which cannot be said to exhibit any imitative articulation, for there is nothing to imitate, but only a concatenation of sounds and emotion – of a movement in which the hearer participates sympathetically by reproducing a certain mute tensing of the speech

organs. As examples I offer: "I stopped and stared at her face to face, and on the spot a name came to me I'd never heard before, a name with a smooth, nervous sound: Ylayali." (Knut Hamsun, *Hunger*.)¹¹

This is a fundamental question for many reasons; firstly, because it is through this relation between base and superstructure that we can handle the question of determinism posed in the style of Sapir-Whorf's fantasies, on concrete historical-materialist grounds; and secondly, it is a real challenge for any work dealing with language, to find appropriate conceptual instruments to apply the methodology of historical-materialism to the issue of linguistic ideology. Furthermore the question of superstructure is also crucial for any multilingual theory and practice; it is through this question (conceptualisation) that the policy (the politics) of multilingualism is constructed. It is not without reason that the first issue of the scholarly *Journal of Pragmatics: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly of Language Studies*, which aims to ask more practical, or pragmatic, linguistic questions than questions such as "what restrictions should be placed on deletion transformations in order for the set of generated sentences to be decidable?", starts with the discussion on superstructure:

Thus, when we say that language is a human product, we mean that it is a product of society, not of a man as a single, ahistoric individual. However, as easy as it is to see the necessary link between language and society, as difficult it is to specify those links as to their history, location, and qualities. On another level, if it is wrong to say that natural language simply is a superstructure on the socio-economic base (Stalin was right here), it would be just as wrong to maintain that the base has no direct effect upon natural language (and here Stalin was wrong).¹²

Famously Stalin gave two directly negative answers to the questions on linguistic determinations.

- Is it true that language is a superstructure on the base?
- No, it is not true.
- Is it true that language always was and is class language, and there is no such thing as language which is the single and common language of a society, a non-class language common to the whole people?
- No, it is not true.¹³

Roman Jakobson in his text “Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry” had referred to Stalin’s book, curiously just after he had expounded on one essay of Benjamin Lee Whorf. After pointing out that Whorf in his posthumously published text “Language, Mind and Reality”, had worked on certain abstract ‘designs of sentence structure’ as opposed to ‘individual sentences’ and to vocabulary, which is somewhat rudimentary and not a self-sufficient part of the linguistic order, and envisages a ‘geometry’ of form principles characteristic of each language. A further comparison between grammar and geometry was outlined in Stalin’s polemics of the 1950’s against Marr’s linguistic bias: “the distinctive property of grammar lies in its abstractive power”;

Abstracting itself from anything that is particular and concrete in words and sentences, grammar treats only the general patterns, underlying the word changes and the combinations of words into sentences, and builds in such a way grammatical rules and laws. In this respect grammar bears resemblance to geometry, which, when giving its laws, abstracts itself from concrete objects, treats objects as bodies deprived of concreteness and defines their mutual relations not as concrete relations of certain concrete objects but as relations of bodies in general, namely, relations deprived of any concreteness.¹⁴

Notes

1. Norman Malcolm 1958, p. 7–8, as quoted by Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, "Towards a Marxian use of Wittgenstein", in *Marx and Wittgenstein: Knowledge, morality and politics*, edited by G. Kitching and N. Pleasants, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 197.
2. Kimberley Cornish's bestseller book *The Jew of Linz* (1998) and the artwork *The Monument to the Birth of the 20th Century* by Michael Blum (2004) are responsible for the popular fantasy of the encounter between Wittgenstein and Hitler.
3. Keiran Sharpe, "Sraffa's influence on Wittgenstein: a conjecture", *Marx and Wittgenstein: Knowledge, morality and politics*, edited by G. Kitching and N. Pleasants, London and New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 118.
4. Sharpe 2002, p. 119.
5. Sharpe 2002, p. 115.
6. Lev Petrovich Yakubinsky, "On Dialogic Speech", translated by Michael Eskin, *PMLA* 112:2, 1997, p. 251.
7. Yakubinsky 1997. p. 252.
8. Piero Pasolo Pasolini, *Heretical Empiricism*, translated by B. Lawton and L. K. Barnett, Washington: New Academic Publishing, 2005, p. 61.
9. Michel Pecheux, *Language, Semantics, and Ideology*, translated by Harbans Nagpal, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982, p. 210.
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MIIKSI?

Spontaanipakolainen on ammattitermi

Pakolaisista keittovien kirjoitusten yhteydessä on esiintynyt hämmästyttävä termi spontaanipakolainen. Kielitoimiston mielestä sille pitäisi etsiä suomenkielinen vastine. Spontaan-sana tarkoittaa itsestään syntyvää, tahatonta, vaistomaista, omaloitteista ja omaehtoista.

Mistä termi spontaanipakolainen on lähtöisin, sisäasiainministeriön ulkomaalaiskeskuksen ylitarkastaja Pentti Vilsanen?

"Sana on ammattitermi. Teemme paljon pohjoismaista yhteistyötä ulkomaalaisasioissa, ja kaikissa pohjoismaalaisissa kokouksissa käytetään ruotsinkielistä termiä spontan flykting. Suomenkielinen termi on johdettu tästä."

Onko termi yleisessä käytössä?

"Kyllä."

Mitä sana spontaanipakolainen tarkoittaa?

"Sillä tarkoitetaan henkilöä, joka saapuu ilman ennakkoilmoitusta maan rajalle ja pyytää turvapaikkaa. Spontaan-sana viittaa siihen, että turvapaikan pyytäjien tulo on vastaanottajille ennalta arvaamaton. Kinttopakolaisten ottaminen on taas valtioiden ennalta suunniteltavaa."

Ollisiko joku muu termi kuin spontaanipakolainen sopivampi puhuttaessa yllättäen rajalle tulevista turvapaikkaa hakevista henkilöistä?

"Tietysti turvapaikan pyytäjä voisi olla oikea termi. Häntä voidaan kutsua kuitenkin spontanipakolaiseksi vasta sen jälkeen, kun hän on saanut turvapaikan. Turvapaikan pyytäjä ei siis ole vielä pakolainen, koska hän vasta pyytää pakolaiseksi luokittelemista."

En kyllä turvapaikan hakijoista koskaan käyttäisi sanaa pakolainen."

Voiko viikonloppuna Suomeen tullutta 80 hengen somalipakolaisryhmää kutsua spontanipakolaisiksi?

"Puhuisin kyllä turvapaikan pyytäjistä, koska turvapaikan saamista ei ole vielä ratkaistu."

Ollisiko sitten parempi etä spontanipakolainen-terminiä ei käytettäisi ollenkaan?

"Ehkä suuren yleisön kannalta on parempi, että sitä ei käytetä. Uskokseni siitä ei ole häiritsevää, jos käytämme sitä pohjoismaisessa yhteistyössä tai yleisessä kielikäytössä muiden vierasmaisten kanssa."

PAIVI HUOTARI

Spontaneous refugee is a professional term

In context of writings regarding refugees there has been a confusing term 'spontaneous refugee'.

The Institute for the Languages of Finland thinks that an equivalent in the Finnish language should be found for the term. Spontaneous means coming about by itself, unwilling, instinctive, self-initiated and self imposed.

Where is the term spontaneous refugee from; the Ministry of Interior's Immigration centre's superintendent Pentti Visanen?

The word is a professional term. We are collaborating with other Nordic countries in the immigration issues a lot and in all the Nordic meetings the Swedish language term spontan flyktning is used. The Finnish term has been developed from there.

Is the term in general use?

Yes.

What does the word spontaneous refugee mean?

It means a person that appears at the border without prior notification and asks for asylum.

The adjective spontaneous refers to the arrival of the refugees being unknown to the recipient.

Whereas, accepting quota refugees is pre-planned by states.

Would another term than spontaneous refugee be more appropriate when talking about people who come to the border without prior notification, seeking for asylum?

Of course asylum seeker could be a correct term. However, s/he can be called spontaneous refugee only after s/he has received an

asylum. Asylum seeker is not yet a refugee, because s/he is only asking to be classified as a refugee.

I would never use the word refugee for an asylum seeker.

Can we call the 80 member Somali-refugee group that arrived in Finland over the weekend spontaneous refugees?

I would speak of asylum seekers, as their asylum has not been yet resolved.

Would it then be better not to use the term spontaneous refugee at all?

Maybe for the large audiences it would be better for it not to be used. But as far as I believe, it doesn't do any harm if we use it in the Nordic co-operation or in other general language among other officials.

Päivi Huotari,
Helsingin Sanomat 26.07.1990

Haastattelu Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen Sanakirjaosaston johtaja Klaas Ruppelin, erityisasiantuntija Ulla Horstian ja erityisasiantuntija Liban Ali Hersin kanssa

13. lokakuuta 2014

Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen Sanakirjaosastossa on käynnistynyt maahanmuuttajasanakirjahanke, jonka puitteissa laaditaan parhaillaan sarjassaan ensimmäistä maahanmuuttajasanakirjaa, suomi–somalisanakirjaa. Sanakirjan somalinkieliset toimittajat ovat kaksi tulkkia ja kääntäjää, Abdi Musse ja Liban Ali Hersi.

Minna Henriksson Olette tekemässä sarjaa maahanmuuttajasanakirjoja. Ensimmäinen kieli on somalin kieli. Minkä muiden kielten sanakirjoja on suunnitteilla?

Klaas Ruppel Ymmärrän hyvin, että olet kiinnostunut seuraavasta sanakirjasta, mutta on hieman hankala kertoa tässä vaiheessa, mikä kieli on vuorossa seuraavaksi. Se riippuu useista tekijöistä. Päätimme tarkan harkinnan jälkeen, että aloitamme somalin kielestä. Moni tekijä vaikuttaa kielen valintaan ja järjestykseen. Ensinnäkin valintaan vaikuttaa eri kielten puhujien määrä Suomessa ja toisaalta kyseisen kielen sanakirjatilanne. Valintaan vaikuttaa myös, saammeko hyviä tekijöitä työstämään kyseistä sanakirjaa. Tilastokeskuksen tilastoista voi nähdä, mitkä kielet voivat tulla kyseeseen, ja huomata, että venäjän ja viron kielen puhujia on eniten. Mutta näiden kielten kohdalla sanakirjatilanne on hyvä, eikä näihin kieliin tarvitse tehdä nyt puheena olevia sankirjoja. Samasta syystä englannin tai saksan kielen sanakirjoja ei

Interview with the Director of the Dictionary Department, Klaas Ruppel, special expert Ulla Horstia and special expert Liban Ali Hersi at the Institute of the Languages of Finland ^{13 October 2014}

The Dictionary Department at the Institute of the Languages of Finland has started an immigrant-dictionary project, in the framework of which the first migrant language dictionary, the Finnish-Somali dictionary is underway. The Somali language lexicographers of the dictionary are two interpreters and translators, Abdi Musse and Liban Ali Hersi.

Minna Henriksson You are working on a series of immigrant-dictionaries. The first is in the Somali language. Which other languages are planned?

Klaas Ruppel I understand your interest, but it is a bit difficult to tell at this stage, which language will be the next one. It depends on many factors. It has been quite well thought through that we started with the Somali. There are quite a few factors that influence which languages are taken and in which order. It is influenced by how many speakers of the language are in Finland, and also what is the dictionary-situation with that language. Also it depends on whether we get good lexicographers to work on the particular dictionary. In a way, you can see from the statistics at Statistics Finland, which languages would be the ones of interest, and you can see that Russian and Estonian are the majority. But the situation with dictionaries regarding these languages is good. So we do not need to make them. For the same reason we do not need to make one from German or from English. In this

myöskään tarvitse tehdä. Kun näin käy eri kielet läpi, huomaa, että somalinkieliset ovat suuri ryhmä, eikä kyseiselle kielelle ole lainkaan sanakirjoja. Näistä syistä teemme nyt suomi – somali sanakirjaa.

Tällä hetkellä voin kertoa vain mistä kielistä on ollut puhetta. Olemme puhuneet arabiaista, vietnamista ja kiinasta. Kiina on rajatapaus, koska kiinaksi on jo olemassa sanakirja. Olemme myös puhuneet albanian ja kurdin kielistä. Olemme siis harkinneet useita eri kieliä. Meidän tehtävämme on katsoa, minkä kielen sanakirjatarve on suurin ja onko meillä mahdollisuutta tehdä kyseistä sanakirjaa, eli löydämmekö tekijöitä. Tällä hetkellä etsimme tekijöitä, koska voimme taas harkita uuden sanakirjan aloittamista. Mutta en koe tarkoituksenmukaiseksi juuri nyt pohtia sitä, minkä kielen sanakirjan teemme seuraavaksi, koska se on vielä epäselvää. Tämän takia joudun pyytämään kärsivällisyyttä.

M.H. Eli suomi – somali sanakirjan jälkeen aloitatte heti seuraavan tekemisen?

K.R. Voimme aloittaa seuraavan sanakirjan jo kun suomi – somali sanakirja on tekeillä. Mutta tarvitsemme siihen voimavaroja, eli esimerkiksi Ulla Horstian pitää pystyä koordinoimaan toimitustyötä.

M.H. Miten tähän asti on pärjätty ilman suomi – somali sanakirjaa?

Liban Ali Hersi Olemme pärjänneet suhteellisen hyvin. Ilman muuta on hieman hankala vastata, koska ei ole mitään mihin verrata. Sanakirja ei ole vielä ilmestynyt enkä tiedä, miten hyvin se palvelee yhteisöä. Mutta tähän asti on ollut huutava pula hyvistä sanakirjoista, varsinkin suomi – somali sanakirjasta. Uskon, että sen vaikutus tulee olemaan suuri. Tässä yhteydessä haluan vielä lisätä, että minulla on henkilökohtainen kokemus siitä, että myös kantaväestö, eli suomalaiset ovat

way we can go through different languages and we can see that Somali is a large group and there are no dictionaries. This was one of the paths that led us to work on this Finnish – Somali dictionary.

Now I can only say which languages we have been speaking about: Arabic, Vietnamese and Chinese. Chinese is a bit of border-case as there is already a dictionary. We have also been speaking about Albanian and Kurdish. So, we have been considering several languages. We need to see where the need is the biggest, and whether we have the possibility to make that particular dictionary, in other words, whether we find the people who can do it. But it is not appropriate to mention now which language dictionary we will make next, because it is still unclear. Thus, I have to request that there be patience in this regard.

M.H. So right after finishing with the Finnish – Somali dictionary you will start a new one?

K.R. We can start the next one already even while the Finnish-Somali dictionary is underway. But we need the resources, for example Ulla Horstia needs to be able to co-ordinate the lexicographers' work.

M.H. How have we managed so far without a Finnish-Somali dictionary?

Liban Ali Hersi We have managed fairly well. No doubt it is difficult for me to answer your question, as the dictionary is not out yet, and I do not know how much it will serve the community. But, until now, there has been a real shortage of decent dictionaries – especially a Finnish – Somali dictionary. I believe that it will have a great influence. And in this context I also want to add that I have the personal experience that the majority of the Finnish population are also interested in this, and of studying the Somali language and having a Finnish – Somali dictionary.

kiinnostuneita somalin kielen opiskelusta sekä suomi-somali-sanakirjasta.

K.R. Voin ehkä vielä mainita, että tällä sanakirja-hankkeella on kaksi tarkoitusta. Ensinnäkin tarkoituksemme on tukea kotoutumista. Ja toisaalta tarkoituksemme on myös, että nämä sanakirjat ovat työkaluja tulkkien ja kääntäjien työssä. Esimerkiksi auktorisoitujen kääntäjien tutkintojen järjestäminen on hankalaa, jos kyseiselle kielelle ei ole yhtään sanakirjaa. Ilman sanakirjaa syntyy myös epäselvyyksiä siitä, mitä tietty suomenkielinen termi merkitsee somalin kielellä. Ilman sanakirjaa saattaa helposti syntyä epävirallisia ratkaisuja. On olemassa erilaisia listoja käsitteistä, mutta niistä pitää olla tietoinen ja ne pitää tuntea. Meidän sanakirjaamme on tarkoitus kerätä keskitetysti tärkeimmät eri alojen termit.

M.H. Jos ei ole suoraa vastinetta tiedossa suomen kielen ja somalin kielen välille, käännetäänkö sanoja esimerkiksi englannin tai venäjän kielten kautta?

L.A.H. Sanakirjan tekeminen tapahtuu seuraavasti: ensin valitaan suomenkielinen hakusana, joka toimittajan täytyy ymmärtää somalin kielellä. Sen jälkeen kyseinen sana tulee tarkastaa englanti – somali – englanti sanakirjoista, yksikielisistä somalin sanakirjoista, venäjästä, arabista ja muista kielistä. Tärkein lähtökohta on ymmärtää, mitä jokin tietty sana suomen kielen näkökulmasta tarkoittaa. Kun me tarkistamme ruotsi-somali-sanakirjasta, miten jokin yksittäinen sana ymmärretään ruotsin kielessä, niin kyseisen sanan merkitys ei välttämättä ole sama suomeksi. Pyydämme usein Ulla Horstialta ja Kielitoimiston työntekijöiltä apua. Eli sanakirjan tekeminen vaatii laajan kokonaisuuden hallitsemista.

M.H. Nyt on valmisteilla pelkästään suomi – somali sanakirja. Miksi ei toisinpäin, eli miksi ette tee myös somali – suomi sanakirjaa?

K.R. We can perhaps also mention here that the dictionary-project has two purposes. First, our aim is to support integration. And on the other hand, the purpose is also that the dictionaries would be tools for interpreters and translators. For example, when the degrees of authorised interpreters are organised, and there are not any dictionaries, it makes the situation very difficult. And when there are no dictionaries, it is also unclear what a particular Finnish language term is in the Somali language. Personal solutions are easily created. There exist all kinds of lists, but one needs to be aware of those and one needs to know them. But in this dictionary the purpose is to have the most important terms of different fields, concentrated.

M.H. When there is no direct correspondence between the Finnish language and the Somali language, are words translated, for example, through English or Russian?

L.A.H. The dictionary work happens in the following way: there is the Finnish entry word, which the lexicographer needs to understand in the Somali language. After that we need to check the English – Somali – English dictionaries, the Somali monolingual dictionaries, from Russian, Arabic and other languages. In any case the most important starting point is to understand what a certain word means from the perspective of Finnish language. If we have the Swedish-Somali dictionary, the way some word is understood in Swedish is not necessarily the same in Finnish. Often we ask Ulla Horstia and the Language Policy Department specialists for help. Making a dictionary requires control over a vast area.

M.H. Now you are working on the Finnish-Somali dictionary. Why not the other way around, why not also from Somali to Finnish?

K.R. Se olisi aivan oma sanakirjansa. Käänteinen sanakirja ei synny nappia painamalla, kielet eivät toimi niin. Mutta totta kai mahdollistamme verkkosanakirjassa haun myös somalinkielisestä osasta. Hakua ei voi käyttää somali-suomi-sanakirjana, mutta jonkin tietyn sanan etsimisen apuna se on varmasti käyttökelpoinen haku. Somali-suomi-sanakirja olisi tosiaankin ihan toinen sanakirjahanke. Ja koska on kyse sanakirjasta, jonka tarkoitus on auttaa kotoutumisessa, on keskiössä tietysti suomen kieli. Edistetään somalinkielisten suomen kielen opettelua. Mutta samalla vahvistetaan myös somalinkielisten omaa äidinkieltä, koska he voivat aina tarkistaa, mitä sana merkitsee heidän omalla äidinkielellään. Sitä kautta tuetaan nimenomaan myös somalin kielen säilymistä ja kielenkäyttöä.

Ulla Horstia Kolmas tärkeä näkökulma on, että Suomessa alkaa olla jo aika iso joukko täällä syntyneitä somaleita, joiden äidinkieli on somali, mutta jotka eivät välttämättä osaa erityisen hyvin kirjoittaa somalin kielellä. Tämän sanakirjan tarkoitus on myös tukea heitä kirjoittamisessa. Tässä suhteessa meidän somalin kielen toimittajamme ovat aivan avainasemassa.

M.H. Millaisia haasteita on tullut vastaan projektin edetessä?

U.H. Sanakirjassa on hyvin paljon erityisalojen termejä. Se sisältää laajasti termejä opetusosalta, lääketieteestä sekä tietotekniikan alalta. Voi sanoa, että sanakirjassa termejä on kattavasti. Ja suurinta osaa näistä termeistä ei ole olemassa somalin kielellä. Liban Ali Hersi ja Abdi Musse tekevät urauurtavaa työtä, koska he laativat selittävät vastineet suomenkielisille termeille. Näistä vastineista käy lyhyesti selväksi mitä kyseinen termi tarkoittaa.

L.A.H. Mielenkiintoisia haasteita riittää. Haasteeksi voi kutsua esimerkiksi viimeisen parin kymmenen

K.R. That would be a completely different dictionary. This kind of reversible dictionary does not come about by the pressing of a button; languages do not function in that way. But of course, it is true that when this will become an Internet dictionary, it will be possible also to search words from Somali to Finnish. One cannot use it as a Somali-Finnish dictionary, but it will surely be useful as help in searching. But a Somali-Finnish dictionary would be another dictionary project completely. And when it is a question of a dictionary that is meant to help in integration, then the focus has to be the Finnish language. And with it the learning of the Finnish language by those with the Somali language progresses. But there their own mother tongue is also strengthened, because they can always look at what something means in their own language. This way the preservation and use of the Somali language is supported.

Ulla Horstia An important third point of view is that in Finland there is already quite a large group of Somalis, who were born here, whose mother tongue is Somali. But they do not necessarily know how to write very well in the Somali language. This dictionary is meant to support them in that. And here the lexicographers of the dictionary are very important people, in a key position.

M.H. What kind of challenges have you encountered in the project?

U.H. In the dictionary there are many terms from specialised fields, broadly from teaching, medicine, and information technology. One can say that there are terms encompassing the different fields, and most of these terms are such that there is no equivalent in Somali. So Liban Ali Hersi and Abdi Musse are doing ground-breaking work here, because they compose the explanatory counterparts to the Finnish terms, from which it shortly becomes clear what the term means.

vuoden aikana tapahtuneita muutoksia maailmassa, jonka johdosta suomen kieleenkin on tullut uusia sanoja. Somalin kieltä on muistaakseni huollettu edellisen kerran vuonna 1985. Tästä on olemassa dokumentaatiot. Meidän haasteemme on, että millä tavalla laadimme somalin kielellä näitä uusia sanoja. Ei ole selvää, miten jokin asia voidaan ilmaista. Ensinnäkin tutkimme, miten sana on käännetty muualla, kuten Pohjois-Amerikassa, muissa Pohjoismaissa tai Australiassa. Esimerkiksi, kutsutaanko tekstiviestiä 'sms:ksi' vai joksikin muuksi. Ilmaisun esiintymistiheyden kautta päädyimme ratkaisuun, joka on yleisin muualla maailmassa. Jos jokin ilmaisu on vain suomen kielelle erityinen, konsultoimme Kielitoimiston asiantuntijoita. Mutta kuten missä tahansa työssä, haasteita riittää ja ne ovat suurimmaksi osaksi erittäin mielenkiintoisia.

M.H. Mutta eikö suomalaisen kantaväestön tietämys somalialaisesta kulttuurista lisääntyisi, jos sanakirja olisi olemassa myös toisinpäin, eli somalista suomeksi? Eikö tämä olisi myös todella tärkeää?

K.R. Varmasti olisi, mutta kaikkea ei voi tehdä, kun on pakko toimia tiettyjen resurssien puitteissa.

M.H. Entä mistä aloite sanakirjan tekemiseen tulee?

K.R. Kotuksessa tehtiin vuonna 2010 evaluaatio, jonka seurauksena julkaistiin Kotus-raportti. Evaluointiin sisältyi suositus, että täällä tehdään maahanmuuttajakielten sanakirjoja. Sanakirjojen tekemiseen on myös saatu Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriöltä erillisrahoitusta. Jo Kotus-raportissa todettiin, että Kotuksen normaaliressursseilla ei näitä sanakirjoja voida tehdä, vaan tarvitsemme siihen erillisrahoitusta.

M.H. Te kerroittekin jo, että sanakirjaan on valittu sanoja tietyiltä yhteiskunnan osa-alueilta ja tietyistä ammattikunnista. Sanakirjan laajuus on 30 000 sanaa.

- L.A.H. I would say that there are plenty of interesting challenges. If one wants to call them challenges, in the last few decades the world has changed and also new words have entered the Finnish language. The Somali language has been assessed last time, if I remember right in 1985. There is documentation of it. The challenge is in what way are we composing new words in Somali. It is not so simple, how you can say something, but first you have to research how the word is translated in North America, in other Nordic countries or in Australia. Is 'tekstiviesti' sms or something else? On basis of incidence, we can come to the decision and on the basis of what is in use elsewhere in the world. If there is something that is only specific to Finland, then it is another case and then we need to consult the experts at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. But as in any work, there are enough challenges and mostly they are very interesting.
- M.H. But would it not increase also the Finnish majority population's knowledge of the Somali culture, if the dictionary was also the other way around, from Somali to Finnish? Would that not also be very important?
- K.R. Probably it would be, but one cannot do everything when there are limited resources.
- M.H. And where does the initiation for the dictionary come from?
- K.R. There was an evaluation made by the Institute for the Languages of Finland in 2010. As result of which the Kotus-report was published. That included that there will be dictionaries of immigrant languages made. We have received special funds from the Ministry of Education and Culture for the project. Already in the report it was concluded that it is not possible to do this with the normal resources of Kotus, but a separate funding is needed.

Mihin sanojen valinta perustuu, jos tietyiltä alueilta on erityisesti sanoja? Sehän tarkoittaa, että toisilta aloilta on jouduttu karsimaan.

U.H. Minä olen tehnyt valinnan. Olen tehnyt noin 20 vuotta työtä kaksikielisten sanakirjojen parissa jo ennen tänne tuloani. Hakusanapohjan luominen oli vuoden työ. Perustavana pohjana käytimme Kielitoimiston sanakirjaa, josta täytyi tyytyä vain hyvin pieneen osaan. Suomen kielen perussanat ovat pohjana hakusanapohjassa, mutta olemme pyrkineet valitsemaan myös erikoisalojen keskeisiä termejä. Valinta on minun harkintani mukaan tehty aikaisempaan sanakirjatyöhön perustuvalla kokemuksella. Minulla on ammatillinen tuntuma siihen, mitkä ovat keskeisiä sanoja, joiden on hyvä olla tässä sanakirjassa mukana.

M.H. Erityisesti maahanmuuttajille, vai yleisesti mihin tahansa supistettuun sanakirjaan?

U.H. Yritin hakusanapohjaa laatiessani miettiä millaisiin tilanteisiin maahanmuuttaja saattaa joutua, esimerkiksi sosiaalialan termien kohdalla. Teoksessa on myös termejä, joita Kielitoimiston sanakirjassa ei esiinny, kuten esimerkiksi 'aikuiskoulutustuki' tai 'imetysohjaus'. Tietenkin sanakirjaan sisältyvät keskeiset suomen kielen termit.

M.H. Entä oletteko erityisesti korostaneet jonkin ammattikunnan sanastoa?

U.H. Ei voida ajatella että olisi mahdollista keskittyä vain yhteen ammattikuntaan, vaan sanakirja on periaatteessa ihan yleissanakirja, jossa on erikoissanastoa aika runsaasti. Ajatuksemme on, että tästä sanakirjasta saa apua ihan kuka tahansa, niin maahanmuuttajat kuin myös kääntäjät ja tulkit, joilla ei ole tähän asti ollut mitään apuvälinettä työssään.

M.H. Voitteko kertoa, millä tavalla uusia sanoja syntyy suomen kieleen? Mistä ne saavat alkunsa, jotta ne

- M.H. You already told me, that words are selected especially from certain specialised societal and professional fields. The extent of the dictionary is 30 000 words. What is the selection of words based on, if there are words especially from certain fields? That means on the other hand that the scope of words is reduced from some other fields.
- U.H. I have made the selection. I had worked with bilingual dictionaries for approximately twenty years before coming to work here. It took a whole year to compose the entry-base. As the constitutive basis for the dictionary was the Institute for the Languages of Finland, only a small part could be included. The basic words of the Finnish language are there as the ground for the entry-base. But the aim was also to select central terms from specialised fields. It is my consideration that it is based on, with my experience of work with dictionaries. I have a feeling for what the central words are, and which are good to be included here.
- M.H. Especially for immigrants or more in generally in any condensed dictionary?
- U.H. When composing the entry base I tried to think of what kind of situations an immigrant might end up in, for example in the social sector and what kind of terms are used there. There are also terms included that do not appear in the dictionary of the Institute for the Languages of Finland. Among those are 'aikuiskoulutustuki' (support for adult education) or 'imetysohjaus' (breast feeding guidance). Of course also the central Finnish language terms are there.
- M.H. And is some particular professional field well represented by the selection of words?
- U.H. It is not possible to think that we could only focus on one professional field. But the dictionary is in principle a standard dictionary, where there is quite

lopulta päätyvät suomen kielen sanakirjaan? Ja toisaalta, millä tavalla sanoja katoaa?

K.R. Kun sanoja ei käytetä, ne katoavat. Kysymyksessäsi on kaksi osaa: miten sanat tulevat kieleen ja kuinka ne päätyvät sanakirjaan. Sanoja tulee kieleen erilaisia teitä, mutta sanoisin, että erityisesti lainaamalla. Lainasanoja tulvii paljon erilaisissa muodoissa. Nykyään niitä tulee eniten englannista tai saksasta, venäjästäkin, jos puhutaan yleiskielestä. Slangi on taas täysin eri asia, mutta pysytään nyt yleiskielessä. Erikoiskielten ja ammattikielten suhteen tilanne on täysin toinen, koska niistä tulee hyvin helposti niin sanottua 'raakaa lainaa', eli lainattuja sanoja ei käännetä ja mukauteta suomen kieleen, vaan käyttöön otetaan suoraan englanninkielinen tai muu vieraskielinen sana.

Mutta yleiskieleenkin tulee lainaamalla erittäin paljon sanoja. Ei tarvitse kuin kävellä kaupungilla, niin näkee kaikkea muuta kuin suomen kieltä yritysten ja kauppojen nimissä. Sanoja kuitenkin lainataan yleensä jonkin tarpeen takia. Esimerkiksi uuden tuotteen nimeä varten. Suomalaisilla esi-isillä oli aikanaan käytössä käsite 'pata'. Germaaneilla puolestaan oli jokin parempi laitos, ehkä paremmasta materiaalista tai paremman mallinen. Suomalaiset ottivat germaaneilta käyttöön sanan, jolla he 'patojaan' kutsuivat. Tämän johdosta suomen kielessä on myös sana kattila. Ja samalla tavalla kieli nykyäänkin toimii. Erityisesti suomen kieli on kunnostautunut siinä, ettei suoraan kielenkäyttöön sisällytetä vierasta sanaa. Suomen kielessä ei puhuta esimerkiksi 'radarista', vaan tilalle on keksitty tutka-sana vastaamaan alkuperäistä. Ei puhuta 'sms:stä', vaan puhutaan tekstiviestistä. Itse asiassa tämäntapaisia sanoja on aika paljon. Eikä niiden kohdalla usein tule ajatelleeksi, että kyseessä eivät ole suorat lainasanat, vaan ne ovat syntyneet paineesta löytää suomenkielinen vastine. Joskus ne

a lot of specialised vocabulary. But the idea is that anyone can find help in this dictionary and not only immigrants but also translators and interpreters, who up until now have had no tools for their work.

M.H. Can you tell me in what way words enter the Finnish language? How do they emerge so that they eventually end up in the dictionary? And on the other hand, how do words disappear?

K.R. When words are not used they disappear. In your question there are two parts: how do words enter the language and how do they end up in the dictionary. Words come into a language through many routes, but I would say that especially through borrowing. Borrowed words flood in through all kinds of forms. Nowadays they come mainly from English, but also from German or Russian if we speak about the standard language. Slang is a completely other case. But let us now stick to standard language. In specialised language, for example with languages of professional groups, it is another matter, as so-called raw borrowings enter very easily. This means terms are not translated and adjusted to Finnish language, but used directly as the word of the English or other language. But also very many borrowed words come into the standard language. One only needs to walk in the city and one sees everything but the Finnish language on the names of companies and shops. But in general, words are borrowed when there is a need for them. For example when there is a new product. As an example, our Finnish ancestors traditionally had a 'pata' (cauldron), but the Germans had some better facility, maybe of better material or of better shape. Then we took from the Germans what they called it. That is why we also have 'kattila' (pot). And it still works the same way really. The Finnish language is especially distinguished by not taking up foreign words directly, for example we do

mukailevat enemmän tätä esikuvaa, joskus vähemmän. Esimerkiksi 'tutka' ja 'radar' ovat täysin erilaisia.

Ja sitten erittäin suuri suomen kielen voimavara ovat yhdyssanat. Jos meillä on vanhastaan sana 'tieto' ja sana 'tekniikka', niin ne yhdistämällä luomme käsitteen 'tietotekniikka'. Yhdyssanoja muodostetaan melkein rajattomasti, jatkuvasti. Ja juuri yhdyssanat ovat sanakirjatyössä haastavia. Kun on kyse suppeasta sanakirjasta, joutuu kovasti miettimään, minkä ottaa ja minkä jättää. Kun yhden ottaa, niin sata pitää jättää pois. Mutta yhdyssanat ovat siitä hauskoja, että useimmiten ihmiset ymmärtävät jo osien perusteella, mitä sanat tarkoittavat. Yhdyssanat ovat käteviä.

Lisäksi on vielä se sananmuodostuksen mahdollisuus, että jo olemassa olevista sanoista muodostetaan uusia sanoja. Esimerkiksi sanasta 'rakentaa' voi johtamalla muodostaa sanoja *rakenne*, *rakennus* ja *rakentaja*. Mutta samasta sanasta tulee myös muoto 'rakenteistaa', joka on meidän ammattikieltämme. Sanakirjatyössä on tiedostolla tietty rakenne. Tässä rakenteessa on hakusanalla oma kenttensä ja vastineilla omansa. Tässä kontekstissa 'rakenteistaa' tarkoittaa työtä, jonka avulla luodaan kyseinen rakenne.

- M.H. Eli voiko sanoa, että kieli koko ajan paranee, tarkentuu ja kehittyy?
- K.R. En tiedä. Sanoisin, että kieli vastaa juuri niitä tarpeita joita meillä on. Jos meillä ei ole kauheasti tarpeita erottaa kattoiloita ja patoja, vaan pikemminkin bittejä ja megatavuja, niin kieli tarkentuu jälkimmäisen alueella. Mutta totta kai kieli on niin elävä ja taipuvainen, että sillä pystytään aina ilmaisemaan sitä, mikä on juuri tarpeen.
- M.H. Onko erityisesti jokin ammattikunta, jossa ollaan hyvin vaikutusvaltaisia tuomaan sanoja suomen kieleen? Kuka käyttää valtaa suhteessa siihen esitelläänkö

not speak about a radar, but we have invented a Finnish word, 'tutka', to correspond to it. We do not speak of sms, but we speak about 'tekstiviesti'. In fact there are quite a lot of such words, and one does not necessarily come to think that they are not borrowed words, but have emerged from a pressure to find a word. Sometimes they adapt to the example more, sometimes less. For example 'tutka' and 'radar' are totally different.

And then a very large resource is found in compound words. If we traditionally have the word 'tieto'(information) and we have the word 'tekniikka', then now we have 'tietotekniikka' (information technology). Compound words are composed endlessly, limitlessly. And it is the compound words that are challenging for a lexicographer. When you include one you exclude a hundred. But they are amusing words, because people mostly can guess already from the components what the entire word means. Compound words are handy.

In addition, there is the way that new words are formulated out of existing words. For example the word 'rakentaa' (to construct), which can be derived from words such as rakenne (structure), rakennus (building), rakentaja (builder). But then there is also the word 'rakenteistaa', which comes from our professional vocabulary. When we do lexicographic work, the file that is constructed has a certain structure, every entry word has its own field, and each correspondent word its own field. The work of creating this kind of structure is 'rakenteistaa'.

M.H. Can we say that the language improves all the time, becomes more precise and develops?

K.R. I do not know. I would say that language corresponds to the needs that we have. If we do not have much need to separate cauldrons and pots,

suomen kieleen uusia sanoja? Tai, voiko jonkun 'heitosta' tullakin sellainen sana, joka lopulta päättyy sanakirjaankin?

- K.R. Mehän elämme melko kaupallisessa tavaramaailmassa, joten uusien tuotteiden ja niiden ominaisuuksien kautta tulee uusia tapoja puhua. Meillä on ollut esimerkiksi keskustelua siitä, mikä tällainen laite [tabletti] olisi suomeksi. Tässä tilanteessa sitten päädyimme johonkin, oliko se 'sormitietokone'?
- L.A.H. Ruotsissa tabletti on muistaakseni 'platen', joka on kuin lautanen.
- K.R. Ja sana 'pyyhkäisy' on saanut täysin uuden merkityksen. Kieli kehittyy myös niin, että jokin sana saattaa saada täysin uuden sisällön ja merkityksen. On mielenkiintoista, että esität tämän valtakysymyksenä. Mieleni tekisi kysyä, miksi näet tässä valtakysymyksen. En hahmota sitä.
- M.H. Minun mielestäni myös kielenkäyttö ja sanavalinnat voivat olla vallankäyttöä. Poliitikkojen, esimerkiksi perussuomalaisten edustajien sanavalinnat ja heidän tapansa käyttää esimerkiksi sanaa turvapaikkashoppailu, voivat olla manipuloivia.
- K.R. Kielellä voi vaikuttaa. Totta kai.
- M.H. Mutta he myös tuovat suomen kieleen uusia sanoja, kuten maahanmuuttokriittinen, joka on eufemistinen sana rasismista.
- K.R. Nyt kun sinä mainitsit esimerkin, niin tietysti kielellä voi vaikuttaa. Mutta sehän on kaikkien kielenkäyttäjien asia, joko mennä siihen lankaan tai olla menemättä. Mutta periaatteessa jokainen voi vaikuttaa kielellä. Toisilla on suurempi yleisö, toisilla pienempi. Meillä ei ole kovin suuri yleisö. Poliitikoilla, kaupustelijoilla ja mainostajilla on paljon, paljon isompi yleisö.
- M.H. Lisäisin vielä, että myös toimittajilla.

but rather bits and megabytes, then the language becomes more precise in the latter field. But of course, language is so lively and flexible that we can always express what there is the need for.

M.H. Is there some particular professional field where they are very influential in bringing new words into the Finnish language? Who has the power to introduce new words, for example that someone's careless remark ends up as a word in the dictionary?

K.R. We live in a commercial commodity world. New ways of speaking come via products and their characteristics. We have had discussions for example about what to call a device such as a tablet in Finnish. In that case we ended up with some word, was it 'sormitietokone' (finger computer)?

L.A.H. In Swedish 'tablet' is 'platen', like a plate, if I remember right.

K.R. And the word 'pyyhkäisy' (wipe or stroke) has gained a completely new meaning. Language develops also so that the word gets a completely new content and meaning. It is interesting that you pose this as a question of power. I would like to ask, why you see this as a question of power. I cannot picture that.

M.H. I also think that the use of language and the choice of words can be analogous to the use of power. For example the choice of words of the representatives of the True Finns party, and how they use certain words, for example 'turvapaikkashoppailu' (shopping for asylum), can be manipulative.

K.R. Language can influence. Certainly.

M.H. But they also bring new words to the Finnish language such as 'maahanmuuttokriittinen' (critical toward immigration), which is a euphemistic word for racism.

K.R. Now that you mention an example, of course one can influence with language. But it is up to each user

- K.R. Tietysti myös toimittajilla. Mutta aina on kysymys siitä, sanommeko vastaan vai alammeko käyttää näitä termejä.
- M.H. Onko teillä ollut tilanteita, joissa sellainen sana, josta te ette välttämättä olisi pitäneet, tai olisitte mieluummin käyttämättä sitä, teidän täytyy silti hyväksyä se ja laittaa se sanakirjaan?
- K.R. Tämä on mielenkiintoinen kysymys, koska tätä me olemme pohtineet kovasti.
- U.H. 'Elintasopakolainen' oli muun muassa yksi esimerkki.
- K.R. 'Elintasopakolainen' oli yksi, ja 'ankkurilapsi' toinen, joita me olemme pohtineet. En konkreettisesti tiedä, päätyivätkö nämä molemmat sanat sanakirjaan. Sanojen valinnan taustalla on kuitenkin ajatus, että ne ovat sanoja, jotka maahanmuuttaja saattaa kohdata. Hänen pitää tietää mitä ne tarkoittavat, jotta hän pystyy arvioimaan tilanteensa oikein. Perustelun painoarvoa lisää se, että olemme huomanneet näiden sanojen esiintyvän myös viranomaisteksteissä. Sen takia emme tekisi esimerkiksi somalinkielisille palvelusta, jos pimittäisimme heiltä, että tällaisia sanoja on käytetty. Sama koskee esimerkiksi joitain kirosanoja, tai sukupuolielämään liittyviä sanoja. Niitä ei voi piilottaa, vaan ne kuuluvat kieleen.
- M.H. Mutta eikö ole tavallaan niinkin, että kun tällaiset sanat painetaan suomen kielen viralliseen sanakirjaan, ne tulevat legitimoiduiksi? Eli kun ne ovat sanakirjassa voi viranomainen katsoa, että sana löytyy sieltä, ja sen vuoksi sanasta tulee virallinen, eli sen voi laittaa kaavakkeeseenkin.
- K.R. On ihan oikein, että kysyt tuota. Mutta sen taustalla on eräs oletamus, joka johdattaa esittämään tuollaisen kysymyksen. Eihän tämä suomi – somali sanakirja ole mikään virallinen sanakirja, samalla tavalla kuin Kielitoimiston sanakirjakaan ei ole mikään

of a language whether one falls into that trap. But in principle everyone can influence with language. But some people have a bigger audience than others. We here at Kotus do not have a very large audience. Politicians, salesmen and advertisers have a much bigger audience.

M.H. I would also add journalists there.

K.R. Of course also journalists. But it always depends on whether we resist or if we start to speak with those terms.

M.H. But have you had situations, where a word, which you do not necessarily like, and you would prefer not to use, still had to be approved and included in the dictionary?

K.R. This is an interesting question, because we have been thinking about this a lot.

U.H. 'Elintasopakolainen' (living standard refugee) is an example of such a word.

K.R. 'Elintasopakolainen' was one, and 'ankkurilapsi' (anchor child) was another, which we have been pondering. Now I cannot say concretely, whether both of these ended up in the dictionary. But the background, why they are included is that these are words that the immigrant can encounter. He/she needs to know what they mean, in order to evaluate the situation correctly. And this justification becomes even weightier, because we have noticed that these words appear also in the administrative texts. That is why we would not do any service to for example speakers of Somali if we would hide that such words have been used. The same applies to swearwords or words relating to sexual life. You cannot hide them; they belong in the language.

M.H. But is it not in a way that once something is printed in the official Finnish language dictionary, it is legitimised? I mean, when they are in the

virallinen sanakirja. Ja tässä tullaan vasta sinun edellisen kysymyksesi toiseen osaan, eli miten sanat päätyvät sanakirjaan? Usein nimittäin Kielitoimiston sanakirjasta saamme palautetta, kuten "Milloin tämä hyväksytään suomen kieleen? Milloin se tulee Kielitoimiston sanakirjaan?". On väärä olettaus, että olisimme virallinen kielipoliisi, joka hyväksyy ja hylkää sanoja. Siitä ei ole työssämme kysymys, vaan me seuraamme elävää kielenkäyttöä: mitä sanoja käytetään. Meidän tehtävämme on kertoa, mitä nämä käytetyt sanat tarkoittavat. Sanan tarkoituksesta voi huomata, onko kyseessä sellainen sana, jota tulisi käyttää, vai sellainen, jota ei pitäisi käyttää. Mutta virallista sanktioasemaa meillä ei ole Kielitoimiston sanakirjassa eikä suomi – somali sanakirjassakaan.

M.H. Täytyy sanoa, että tavallisena kansalaisena minulle tulee heti mieleen Kielitoimisto-sanasta, että kyseessä on kielipoliisi.

K.R. Nimi on ollut aika pitkään, sodan jälkeisistä vuosista lähtien. Kun *Kotus* perustettiin vuonna 1976, käytiin paljon keskustelua siitä, pitääkö tämä nimi säilyttää vai ei. Silloin todettiin, että tämä nimi on hyvin iskostunut kansan mieleen. Sen takia nimi on pysynyt edelleen samana useiden organisaatiomuutosten jälkeenkin. Loppujen lopuksi otimme sen myös tämän sanakirjan nimeen mukaan.

M.H. Muistatteko sanaa spontaanipakolainen?

U.H. En ole kuullut.

L.A.H. En.

M.H. Tämä sana oli käytössä, kun ensimmäiset somalipakolaiset tulivat Suomeen. Silloin Suomessa olivat jo niin kutsutut kiintiöpakolaiset ja somalipakolaisten mukana tuli tämä uusi tilanne. Heitä kutsuttiin Suomen näkökulmasta spontaaneiksi pakolaisiksi. Termiä käytettiin silloin paljon, ainakin lehdissä ja ilmeisesti viranomaiskielessä myös.

dictionary, a civil servant can check that the word is found there, and therefore it is an official word and they can use it in their form.

K.R. It is completely right that you ask that. But there is one presumption, which leads you to ask such a question. This Finnish – Somali dictionary is not any official dictionary, in the same way as the dictionary of the Institute for the Languages of Finland is not an official dictionary. And here we come to the second part of your previous question, which is how do words enter the dictionary. Often we get feedback about the dictionary of the Institute for the Languages of Finland, for example, “When a word is accepted in Finnish language, when does it enter the dictionary?” There is the false presumption that we would be the official language police, which approves or rejects words. It is not a question of that, but we follow the living use of language, how words are used and our task is to tell what those words mean. It depends a lot on what is being told about a word. There one can see whether it is a word that is appropriate to use or one that is not. But we do not have any official sanction position here, and also not in relation to the Finnish-Somali dictionary.

M.H. I have to admit, that as a normal citizen when I hear the word ‘kielitoimisto’ (language bureau) I associate it with ‘kielipoliisi’ (language police).

K.R. The name has been in use for a long time, since after the war. When Kotus was founded in 1976, then there was a lot of argumentation about whether to keep the name or not. At the time the conclusion was that it had already been instilled in the minds of people, that there is the Language Institute (the literal translation of kielitoimisto is language bureau). That is why it has continued to have that name, and afterwards in new organisational restructurings the

Mutta 90-luvun puolivälin jälkeen se katosi. Tiedättekö siitä jotain? Miksi se katosi ja kenen aloitteesta?

- L.A.H. Olin silloin opiskelemassa suomen kieltä. Sen takia tämä on mennyt minulta ohi. Mutta tulee mieleen, vaikka tämä on ihan mututietoa, että kyseinen sana säilyi kielessä niin lyhyen aikaa, koska Suomelle tuli yllätyksenä, että tänne saapui tällainen määrä erivärisiä ihmisiä. Oletan, ettei Ruotsissa ole käytetty spontaanipakolainen-sanaa, koska kenties siellä on totuttu eri etnisiin ryhmiin. Suomen reaktio oli: "Nyt meillä on tällainen asia käsissämme. Missä ollaan, mikä maa, mikä valuutta?". Luulen, että spontaani-sanaa käytettiin sen verran kuin oli tarpeellista. Kuten itse totesit, sana lähti sitten käytöstä pois. Sana ei tule mieleeni, vaikka olin ammattikoulussa silloin.
- M.H. Minä en ole löytänyt sitä kielitoimiston sanakirjoista, vaikka olen katsonut eri vuosina ilmestyneistä. Enkä ole löytänyt sitä myöskään muista suomen kielen sanakirjoista.
- K.R. Se on osoitus siitä, että leksikografit ovat aikoinaan arvioineet, että kyseessä on ohimenevä sana eivätkä kelpuuttaneet sitä sanakirjaan. Arvio oli ilmeisesti oikein.
- M.H. Mutta siellä on tosiaan näitä ei-neutraaleja sanoja, kuten 'elintasopakolainen', 'ankkurilapsi', 'perheen kokoaja' ja 'venepakolainen'. 'Maahanmuuttokriittinen' ei taida olla sanakirjassa, eikä myöskään 'turvapaikkashoppaaja'. Miten nämä sanat ovat ilmestyneet suomen kieleen?
- K.R. Kuten jo arvasit, nämä sanat ovat tietysti ideologioita. Ne ovat vallankäytön välineitä, siinä olen ihan samaa mieltä kanssasi. Kun jokin asia saadaan esitettyä tietyllä konnotaatiolla, eli tiettyssä valossa, sillä voi vaikuttaa suhtautumiseemme.

name has always been kept. And in the end, it also appears in the title of this dictionary.

M.H. Do you remember the word 'spontaanipakolainen' (spontaneous refugee)?

U.H. I have not heard of it.

L.A.H. No.

M.H. This word was in use when the first Somali refugees came to Finland. So there was already the quota of refugees, and then came this new situation, refugees that were spontaneous from the perspective of Finland. It was used a lot, at least in the media and apparently in the administrative language as well. But after the mid-90s it disappeared. Do you know something about it, why it disappeared and who it was that initiated that?

L.A.H. I was studying Finnish at the time. That is why it has passed unnoticed. But it comes to my mind, and this is now completely a gut feeling, that the word endured in the language for such a short time because it came as a surprise to Finland that such an amount of people arrived of different colour. I presume that in Sweden the Swedish corresponding word for 'spontaanipakolainen' was not in use, because they had already got used to different ethnic groups. It was the reaction of Finland, that "Now we have this situation in our hands, where are we?"* I think that the word spontaneous was used only insofar as it was needed. As you stated yourself, it disappeared. Although I was in the vocational school at the time, I do not recall that word.

M.H. I have not found it in the dictionaries of the Institute for the Languages of Finland. And I have

* Here the popular expression in Finland 'Mikä maa, mikä valuutta' was used which could be directly translated as 'which country, which currency'. The phrase aims to indicate the confusion of Finnish people when in new places, i.e. in contact with other cultures.

- M.H. Mutta tekeekö Kielitoimisto jonkinlaista ohjausta esimerkiksi toimittajille siitä, millaisia sanoja olisi hyvä käyttää sen sijaan että käytettäisiin toisia?
- K.R. Kysymyksesi kohdistuu kielenhuollon alueelle. Sinun pitää kysyä sitä Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen kielenhuollon osastolta.
- M.H. Kysyin keväällä tämän kysymyksen kahdelta toimittajalta: kuinka tietoisia he ovat siitä, millaista kieltä he käyttävät ja toistavatko he rasistisia sanoja? Toinen toimittajista, Helsingin Sanomien kirjallisuuskriitikko, vastasi kysymällä, että vaadinko häntä olemaan poliittisesti korrekti. Mielestäni asiassa ei ole kyse poliittisesta korrektiudesta, vaan tietoisuudesta levittääkö ilmaisuja joilla manipuloidaan rasismiin.
- K.R. Nyt olemme ideologian temmelyskentällä. Ideologiasta riippuen on olemassa monenlaisia mielipiteitä, ehkä tätä on hieman turha tässä yhteydessä pohtia. Meidän kielenhuollon osastollamme on töissä ihmisiä jotka pohtivat juuri näitä kysymyksiä, jos haluat lisätietoa. Sanakirjan tekijän, leksikografin työ on kuvailevaa. Hän toteaa, mitä on, ja kuvailee sitä. Joskus sanotaan, että leksikografille kaikki sanat ovat samanarvoisia. Mutta tietenkin voi tehdä tietoisia ratkaisuja. Olemme sisällyttäneet tiettyjä sanoja, kuten esimerkiksi 'ankkurilapsi', sanakirjaan, ihan siitä syystä, että on perusteltua kertoa ihmiselle, joka tulee maahan eikä vielä osaa kieltä, mitä kyseinen sana tarkoittaa, eikä jättää sitä arvailujen varaan. Siihen sanakirja on yksi mahdollisuus.
- M.H. Olen erään taideteoksen yhteydessä perehtynyt sanaan 'murjaani.' Useissa sanakirjoissa sitä ei ole lainkaan. Mutta viimeisimmässä Kielitoimiston sanakirjassa se on, ja sen määritelmässä lukee 'halv.' eli 'halventavasti.' Se on sanakirjantekijän kannanotto.

checked the different editions. I have not found it in other Finnish language dictionaries either.

K.R. That indicates that the lexicographers have evaluated at the time that this is a passing word and did not accept it in the dictionary. It seems the evaluation was correct.

M.H. But there are some of these non-neutral words, like 'elintasopakolainen' (living standard refugee), 'ankkurilapsi' (anchor child), 'perheenkokoaja' (family uniter) and 'venepakolainen' (boat refugee). Some others, 'maahanmuuttokriittinen' (critical toward immigration) and 'turvapaikkashoppaaja' (asylum shopper) are not found in the dictionary. How have such words appeared in the Finnish language?

K.R. As you already guessed, they are ideological. They are a tool for the exercise of power – there I do agree with you. When you present something with a certain connotation, in certain light, you can influence how we relate to it.

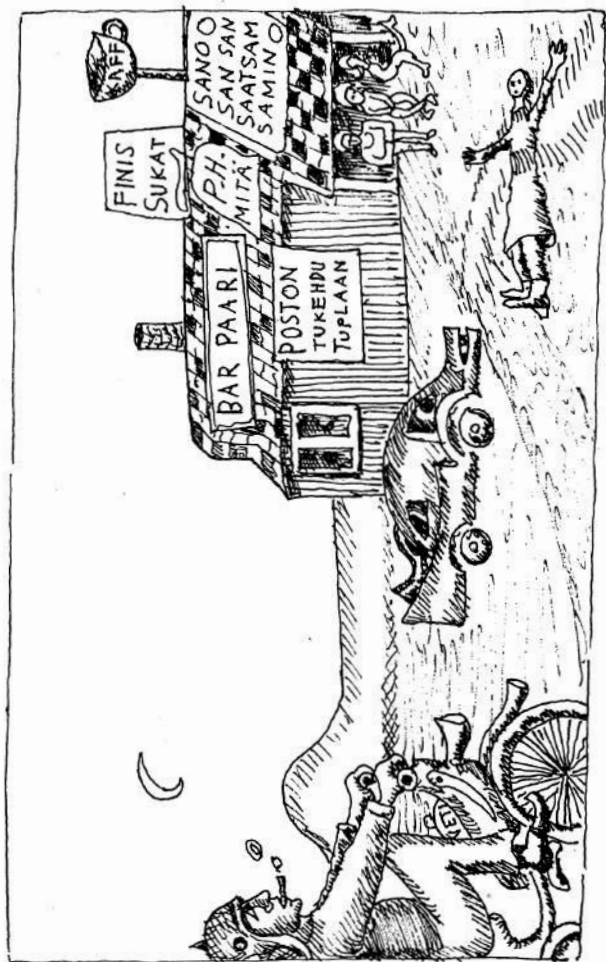
M.H. But does the Institute for the Languages of Finland instruct journalists for example on what kind of words would be good to use instead of using some others?

K.R. Your question goes to the field of language policy and it should be asked at the Language Policy Department of the Institute for the Languages of Finland.

M.H. I asked this same question in the spring to two journalists; how aware they were of what kind of language they are using, and whether they repeat racist words. One of the journalists, the literary critic of Helsingin Sanomat, answered by asking whether I was demanding her to be politically correct. I do not think it is a question of political correctness, but about awareness of whether they are propagating words that are conducive to racism.

- U.H. Olin juuri aikeissa sanoa, että kyllä sanoihin kuten 'elintasopakolainen' tulee tyylimerkintä. En muista, käytämmekö nimenomaan merkintää 'halv.' Myös somalin kielen vastineessa tulee ilmi, että kyseessä ei ole yleiskielen sana.

- K.R. Now we are in the field of ideology. Depending on ideology there are multiple opinions and it is a bit unnecessary to try to think of that here. If you want to think about these issues, we have people in house, who are engaged with these particular questions at the Language Policy Department. A lexicographer describes, s/he states what is and describes it. Sometimes it is said that to be a lexicographer all words have equal significance. But of course one can make conscious decisions. We have included certain words in the dictionary, such as 'ankkurilapsi'. This is because it is good to tell people what it means when they enter the country and do not know the language yet, and cannot judge what is meant with such kinds of words. A dictionary is one possibility for that.
- M.H. In context of an artwork I have looked up the word 'murjaani' (black face). In most of the dictionaries it does not exist. But in the latest dictionary of the Institute for the Languages of Finland it does, and in the definition of the word it says 'halv.' (halventavasti = derogatorily). There the lexicographer clearly took a position.
- U.H. I was just about to say that the words such as 'elintasopakolainen' receive a style marking. I do not remember whether there was 'halv.'. But it also becomes clear in the Somali counterpart that this is not a word existent in the standard language.



KOSKA AURINKO OLI KORKEIMILLAAN TULI MATKAMIEHEN JANO
 JA PIAN NÄKYI RAUHALLINEN PIENI MAJATALO TIEN
 SIVUSSA PAIKALLA OLI MUUTAMIA JANOISIA JA YKSI JOKA
 TURHAAN SAMMUTUKSILLA ÄÄNELLÄ PYYSI VETTÄ

Haastattelu Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen kielenhuolto-osaston johtajan Salli Kankaanpään kanssa

22. lokakuuta 2014

Minna Henriksson Mitkä ovat kielenhuolto-osaston tehtävät lyhyesti?

Salli Kankaanpää Kielenhuolto-osasto on Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen osasto, jonka tehtävänä on huoltaa suomen kieltä. Kotimaisten kielten keskus on Suomessa ainoa virallinen kielenhuoltolaitos, eli ainoa valtion laitos, jonka tehtävänä on kielenhuolto. Tämän kielenhuolto-osaston, jonka johtajana toimin, tehtävänä on nimenomaan suomen kielen huolto. Näin siis lyhyesti.

M.H. Ohjeistatteko te toimittajia, poliitikkoja ja virkamiehiä suomen kielessä ja sanavalinnoissa?

S.K. Kyllä ohjeistamme. Voisin vielä sanoa, että kielenhuollon rooli Suomessa on sellainen, että me voimme antaa ohjeita, suosituksia ja neuvoja, mutta emme voi määrätä. Eli jos joku ei annettuja ohjeita noudata, emme voi puuttua siihen. On kielipolitiikan kannalta aika tärkeä ero, että me voimme suosittaa, mutta emme voi tehdä mitään vaikka joku ei niitä suosituksia noudattaisi. Ja ajattelemme muutenkin, että totta kai kieli vaihtelee ja saa kehittyä vapaasti. Kovin tiukkoja emme pyri sanavalinnoissa tai kieliopin suhteen olemaan, mutta annamme näistä ohjeita.

Mainitsit poliitikot, toimittajat ja virkamiehet. Oikeastaan poliitikkojen kielen suhteen meillä ei ole suoranaista toimintaa. Meillä on verkkosivuillamme yleisiä ohjeita, joita kuka vain voi siellä käydä katsomassa. Ja myöskään toimittajille meillä ei ole omaa ohjeistusta, vaan ajattelemme, että yleiset ohjeet

Interview with Salli Kankaanpää, director of The Language Planning department at the Institute for the Languages of Finland (Kotus) 22 October 2014

Minna Henriksson Can you tell us briefly what the tasks of the Language Planning Department are?

Salli Kankaanpää The Language Planning Department is one department within The Institute for the Languages of Finland, the purpose of which is the organisation of the languages of Finland. The Institute for the Languages of Finland is the only official language planning organisation. I am the director of this Language Planning department the task of which is particularly concerned with the organisation of the Finnish language. That is to keep it short.

M.H. Do you guide journalists, politicians and civil servants in the Finnish language and in the choice of words?

S.K. Yes we do. But I would add that the role of the language planning in Finland is such that we can give guidelines, recommendations and advice, but we cannot dictate. If someone does not follow our guidelines, we cannot interfere with that. It is quite a significant difference from the point of view of language planning that we can recommend but there is nothing we can do about not following such recommendations. And our view is that of course language varies, and can develop freely. We do not aim at being very strict with the choice of words or with grammar. But we give guidelines about these.

You mention politicians, journalists and civil servants. In relation to politicians we do not have any direct activities. We only have general directions

toimivat myös heille. Ja niinhän se aika pitkälle onkin. Meillä on myös kielineuvonta, joka toimii puhelimitse suomen kieltä koskevista asioista. Siihen voi soittaa kuka vain, tavallisen puhelinmaksun hinnalla, arkipäivisin kolmen tunnin aikana. Puhelinpalvelussakin osa asiakkaista on toimittajia. Ja vuosien varrella olemme myös tulleet toimittajille tutuiksi, eli he saattavat soittaa jollekin meistä täällä suoraan ja kysyä asioita. Mutta pelkästään toimittajille suunnattua palvelua meillä ei ole. Yleisradiossa meillä on kielenhuoltaja. YLE siis tilaa meiltä kielenhuoltopalvelua, jossa on suoraan YLEn toimittajille ohjeistusta. Mutta ne ohjeet eivät poikkea muista ohjeista, eivätkä ole niiden kanssa ristiriidassa tai erilaisia. Vastaavasti järjestämme avoimia kursseja kenelle tahansa, ja meiltä voi tilata kursseja. Tiedotusvälineet tilaavat niitä. Mutta sellaista suoraan kontaktia meillä ei ole toimittajiin, että olisi pelkästään toimittajille suunnattuja yleisiä ohjeita.

M.H. Mutta onko niin päin, että luette lehdessä jotain, jossa on käytetty kieltä huonosti ja sitten otatte jutun kirjoittaneeseen toimittajaan yhteyttä?

S.K. Ei ole. Me kyllä seuraamme kielenkäyttöä mediassa, osittain sen takia, että etsimme uusia sanoja sieltä, ja seuraamme miten Kotimaisten kielten keskus esiintyy mediassa. Mutta emme ota suoraan yhteyttä, kielipoliiseja emme tosiaankaan ole. Useinhan sitä ihmiset toivovat, että olisimme. Mutta jos tiedotusvälineet tai virastot tilaavat kommentteja meiltä, niin silloin otamme kantaa.

Virkamiehet ovat sellainen ryhmä, johon otamme aktiivisemmin yhteyttä. Heihin ei oteta yhteyttä suoraan, mutta enemmänkin virastoille suunnattujen palveluiden kautta. Nyt on juuri käynnistynyt virkakielikampanja. Siinä on Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen lisäksi muitakin tahoja mukana, kuten

on our website, which anyone can access. And also to journalists we do not give any specific guidance, but the general rules work for them also. And this is how it is to certain extent. We also have a language guidance telephone service, where anyone can call with the rate of a local telephone call, three hours a day during weekdays. A portion of the customers there are journalists. And over the years we have also become familiar to some journalists and they might call one of us directly working at the Language Planning Department and ask for consultation about something. But we do not have a service that would only be directed toward journalists. In the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) there is a language planner. YLE subscribes to the specific language planning service from us to journalists. But those directions do not differ from any other directions, and do not contradict or differ in any way from other directions. Similarly we organise open courses to whoever may be interested, and one can order courses from us. Media order those from us. But we do not have any of that sort of direct contact with journalists that would give some general guidelines that are only for journalists.

M.H. But does it happen the other way around, that you read something in the newspaper, where there is a bad usage of language, and then you get in touch with the journalist who wrote it?

S.K. No there is not. We do follow how language is used in the media, partly because we look for new words there. And also we monitor how the Institute for the Languages of Finland is mentioned in the media. But we do not get in touch with anyone directly. We certainly are not language police. But often people wish that we were. In the cases where media or administrative organisations order comments from us, then we comment.

Valtiovarainministeriö ja muita valtionhallinnon organisaatioita. Se perustuu siihen, että jo kun edellinen eli Kataisen hallitus aloitti työnsä, hallitusohjelmaan kirjattiin, että laaditaan hyvän virkakielen toimintaohjelma. Sellainen toimintaohjelma laadittiin Kotimaisten kielten keskuksen johtajan Pirkko Nuolijärven johdolla Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön toimeksiannosta. Sitä tekemässä oli laaja joukko edustajia muun muassa eri ministeriöistä ja yliopistomaailmasta. Se laati hyvän virkakielen toimintaohjelman, joka luovutettiin Opetusministerille. Siinä oli monenlaisia suosituksia virastoille ja laajemmin valtionhallinnolle. Yksi näistä suosituksista oli virkakielikampanja, jotta tieto näiden suositusten olemassaolosta saataisiin leviämään.

Ohjelmassa ei oteta kantaa kielen yksityiskohtiin, vaan esimerkiksi siihen, miten kielenhuolto pitäisi virastossa järjestää, jotta se olisi tehokasta. Mutta kampanjan ohessa olemme laatineet myös ohjeita virastoille. Meillä on verkossa virkakielitesti, jossa muutamat kysymyksistä ovat myös sanavalintaan liittyviä. Näissä ideana ei ole se, että olisi olemassa kiellettyjen sanojen lista, vaan hallintolaissa on hyvän virkakielen pykälä, jonka mukaan virkamiesten on käytettävä asiallista, selkeää ja ymmärrettävää kieltä. Virkakielitestissä on näihin kaikkiin vaatimuksiin liittyviä esimerkkejä.

M.H. Poliitikot alkavat helposti puhua politiikkajargonia, joka ei tarkoita mitään.

S.K. Se voi ilmetä lainsäädännössä. Koska lainsäädäntötyössä on monia tahoja mukana, vaikutteita voi tulla vaikka minkä alan ammattisanastosta politiikan sanaston lisäksi. Virkamiehet käyttävät näitä sanoja. Kun laki valmistuu ja se on hyväksytty eduskunnassa, lakitekstiä käytetään ja siteerataan taas monessa

Civil servants are a group, which we most actively get in contact with. We do not get in contact with them directly, but through services directed towards different administrative offices. Recently a campaign was started about plain language in administration. Along with the Institute for the Languages of Finland there are also other organisations involved, such as The Ministry of Finance and other administrative bodies. It is based on the previous, Katainen Government's programme, where an action plan for plain language in administration was included. The programme was chaired by the director of the Institute for the Languages of Finland Pirkko Nuolijärvi, and commissioned by the Ministry of Education. There were representatives broadly from different ministries and from academia. It formulated an action plan for plain language in the administration, which was handed to the Minister of Education. There were many recommendations for administrative organisations and more broadly to the State Administration. One of these recommendations was a campaign for plain language, so that the information about the existence of these recommendations would spread.

In the programme's language the level of details is not commented on, but for example how language should be organised in offices, so that it would be efficient. But along with the campaign we have also formulated recommendations for offices. Among others, we have an online administrative language test, where some of the questions are about the choice of words. The idea in these is not that there would be a list of banned words. Instead in the administrative law there is a clause about administrative language according which civil servants have to use appropriately and in a clear and understandable form. There are examples relating to all of these cases.

muuntuyppisessä tekstissä. Asiallisuus, selkeys ja ymmärrettävyys ovat niitä periaatteita, joiden mukaan me ohjeistamme.

M.H. Poikkeako virkakieli muusta suomen kielestä?

S.K. Sen ei pitäisi poiketa. Ihanne olisi, jos virkakieli olisi ihan tavallista yleiskieltä, jota kaikki ymmärtäisivät. Sanastossa on paljon eri alojen sanastoa, ja lause- ja virkerakenteet saattavat olla hyvin pitkiä tai kieli hyvin tiivistä ja abstraktia.

Toimittajat taas ovat usein sitä mieltä, että heidän täytyy kirjoittaa selkeästi. Heille kysymys on ehkä enemmän se, mikä on yleiskieltä ja mikä on jo liiankin arkista. Tai mikä on vanhastaan vakiintunut ja suositeltava muoto ja mikä ei sitä ole. Mutta meillä ei ole, toisin kuin Ruotsissa ainakin vielä viime aikoihin asti on ollut, ns. mustia listoja sanoista, joita pitäisi välttää. Ei niissä mustissa listoissa välttämättä ole kovinkaan vaarallisia sanoja, vaan vain ymmärrettävyyden kannalta huonoja. Olemme välttäneet sellaisten listojen kirjoittamista. Mutta verkkosivuillamme on ohjeita, ja on Kielitoimiston sanakirja, jossa on myös ohjeita. Esimerkiksi jonkin hakusanan kohdalla voidaan sanoa, että 'paremmin' ja sitten on hakusanan tilalle jokin muu sana.

M.H. Siinä voi olla kommentti myös.

S.K. 'Paremmiin', mutta vähemmän on sellaisia, joiden kohdalla sanottaisiin, 'ei ollenkaan näin'.

M.H. Mutta onko kieli sellainen, jota pitää huoltaa? Mitä tapahtuu, jos sitä ei huolla?

S.K. Huollon keskipisteessä on yleiskieli. Suomen kielessä on vaikka mitä kielimuotoja. On murteita ja on vapaata puhekieltä. On hienoa että onkin. Elävä kieli on sellainen, jossa on paljon vaihtelua. Mutta myös yleiskielessä on paljon vaihtelua, ja täällä Kotuksessa me hyväksymme sen. Kun yleiskieltä on luotu, vaihtelua on jouduttu karsimaan, jotta saadaan kieli, joka

M.H. Politicians begin easily to speak in political jargon, which does not mean anything.

S.K. That can easily enter the legislation. Because there are many actors involved in legislation work, influences can come from different professional vocabularies along with the vocabulary of politicians. The civil servants use these. When the law is written and it has been accepted in the Parliament, the law text is used and quoted in many other kinds of texts. Appropriateness, clarity and understandability are those according to which we instruct.

M.H. Is the language of administration different from other forms of Finnish language?

S.K. It should not be. The ideal would be to have the language of administration as ordinary general language, which everyone would understand. In the vocabulary there are many words from different specialised glossaries, and the structures can be very long or in condensed and abstract language.

On the other hand, journalists often think that they need to write clearly. For them the question might be more about, what is the standard language and what is already too ordinary. Or what is an already established and recommended form and what is not. But we do not have any so-called black lists of words, which should be avoided, as there are in Sweden, or at least there have been up until recently. Those black lists do not necessarily include very dangerous words, but only words that are bad for understandability. We have avoided writing such lists. But on our webpage there are instructions and there is the dictionary of the Institute for the Languages of Finland, where there also are instructions. For example, it can state next to a word a 'better' option, and then list another word.

M.H. There can be a comment also.

sopii kaikille. Joissain tapauksissa yleiskieltä on ehkä liiankin tiukasti normitettu, mutta siinä kielenkehityksen vaiheessa, jossa niin on tehty, se on ollut ihan tarpeellista.

1400-luvulla on ensimmäisen kerran kirjoitettu suomea, ja 1500-luvulla Mikael Agricola, niin sanottu Suomen kirjakielen isä, uskonpuhdistukseen liittyen käänsi Uuden testamentin. Ihan koko Raamattua hän ei ehtinyt kääntää. Siinä vaiheessa alettiin miettiä, mistä murteesta otetaan, kun aletaan tehdä yleiskieltä. Silloin otettiin Agricolalle tutuista länsimurteista. 1600- ja 1700-luvulla, kun Raamatun eri käännöksiä tehtiin, näidenkin kääntäjät olivat pitkälti Länsi-Suomesta, ja silloinkin olivat Länsi-Suomen murteet taustalla. 1800-luvulla alkoi tulla myös itäisten murteiden vaikutus suomen kieleen. Elias Lönnrotin kokoamassa Kalevalassa oli paljon itämurteita. 1800-luvusta puhutaankin jopa murteiden taisteluna.

- M.H. Mistä kielistä tulee nykyään suomen kieleen eniten sanoja?
- S.K. Englannin kielestä tulee kaikkein eniten. Muut kielet riippuvat alasta, esimerkiksi ruoka-alalla on paljon italiasta. Ruotsi ei enää ole sellainen, josta lainataan paljon. Sarjakuvaharrastajien sanastoon tulee japanilaisia sanoja, kuten manga.
- M.H. Entä tuleeko kieleen sanoja maahanmuuttajaryhmien kautta, somaliasta tai arabiasta?
- S.K. Tutkimusta on tehty monikielisten nuorisoryhmien kielestä. Yleiskieleen sanoja näistä kielistä tulee aika vähän. Nyt ei tule mieleen yhtään sellaista sanaa, mutta tästä osaa paremmin kertoa joku muu. Englanti on kaikkein vaikutusvaltaisin tiedotusvälineissä ja tieteessä. Se on myös kaupallinen kieli.
- M.H. Mitkä ovat suurimmat haasteet suomen kielelle?
- S.K. Suurimmat haasteet ovat luultavasti siinä, miten suomen kieli säilyy kaikilla aloilla käytettävänä kielenä,

S.K. 'Better', but to a lesser degree we have words, where next to which it would state 'not like this at all'.

M.H. But is language such that it needs to be maintained? What happens if it is not maintained?

S.K. In the focus of the policing there is the standard language. In the Finnish language there are various forms. There are dialects, and there is free spoken language. And it is very good that there are. A living language is such that there is a lot of variation. But also standard language includes a lot of variation. Here in Kotus we approve that. Because the standard language has been created, variation must be eliminated, so that we get a language that suits everyone. In some cases the general language has been standardised and even perhaps too much, but at that stage in the development of language where this has been done, it has been necessary.

Finnish was written for the first time in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth century Mikael Agricola, the so-called father of the standard Finnish written language, in the time of the Reformation, translated the New Testament. He did not manage to translate the whole Bible. At that point they started to think about which dialect should be borrowed for the standard language. At the time influences were taken from the western dialects, which were familiar to Agricola. In the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries, when different translations of the Bible were made, the translators were also largely from the Western Finland. Thus there were also the western dialects in the background. In the nineteenth century also eastern dialects started to influence the Finnish language. In the Kalevala compiled by Elias Lönnrot there were a lot of eastern dialects. The nineteenth century has even been referred to as the battle of dialects.

arkipäivän ja kaupan kielenä, harrastusaloilla ja tieteessä. Tavoite on, että niillä kaikilla käytettäisiin myös suomen kieltä. Paljon on puhuttu rinnakkaiskielisyydestä, eli suomen kieli olisi muiden kielten rinnalla. Koska tiede on hyvin kansainvälistä, on turha sanoa tutkijoille, että julkaiskaa pelkästään suomeksi. Totta kai he julkaisevat englanniksi. Suomeksi julkaiseminen ei ole monilla tieteenaloilla järkevää tai edes mahdollista. Mutta tavoitteena on, että jatkossakin julkaistaisiin jonkin verran myös suomeksi. Olisi tärkeää suomen kielen säilymiselle, että suomen kielen käyttäjät pitäisivät suomen kieltä niin tärkeänä, että haluaisivat käyttää sitä, jos ei nyt aina ja kaikilla aloilla, niin ainakin jonkin verran. Kieli säilyy elossa, kun sitä käytetään. Suomenkielinen lehdistö, verkossa tai painettuina, ja suomenkielinen kirjallisuus ovat tärkeitä. Jos käykin niin, ettei muista kielistä käännetä suomeen, ja koska Suomessa kuitenkin aika vähän julkaistaan, niin kyllähän se voi näivettää suomenkielistä kirjallisuuttakin. Tai jos useat suomenkieliset kirjoittajat julkaisisivatkin vain englanniksi, niin kyllähän se näivettäisi nimenomaan kirjakieltä. Aina kun jostain nurkasta lähtee purkautumaan, niin se voi levitä. Suurin uhka, en tiedä kuinka todellinen uhka, olisi, että suomen kieli katoaisi kokonaan tai että se olisi vain kotikielenä, mutta ei missään työelämän kielenä.

- M.H. Miten Suomen kieli muuttuu monikulttuuristumisen myötä?
- S.K. Siihen liittyy monia asioita. Suomen kieleen tulee sanoja, rakenteita ja muita tekijöitä toisista kielistä. Näinhän on tapahtunut kautta aikojen ja se onkin hyvä. Jos ajatellaan, mitä alkuperäisiä suomenkielisiä sanoja meillä on, tai suomalais-ugrilaisia, niin todetaan, että niitä on hyvin vähän. Jo vuosituhansia on tullut lainasanoja muista kielistä. Niitä tulee edelleenkin,

M.H. Which languages influence the Finnish language most nowadays?

S.K. The English language brings in most of the new words. Other languages depend on the field. For example in the field of food there are probably mostly words from Italian. Swedish is no longer a language that is borrowed from. To the glossary of comics there are words from Japanese.

M.H. Are there words entering the Finnish language through migrant groups, for example from Somali or Arabic languages?

S.K. There has been research made about languages of the multilingual youth groups. In the standard language there are only a few words coming from these languages. Now I cannot remember any such words, but someone else could perhaps tell more about that. English is the most influential language in media and in science. Also it is the language of commerce.

M.H. What are the biggest challenges to the Finnish language?

S.K. The biggest challenges are probably about how the Finnish language remains as a language used in every field, in daily life and in commerce, in hobbies and in science. The aim is that there would also be Finnish language. There has been a lot of talk about parallel lingualism, which would mean that Finnish would exist next to other languages. Because science is very international, it is pointless to tell researchers to please publish only in Finnish. Of course they publish in English. To publish in Finnish is not even rational and possible. But the aim is that also in the future there would be publishing also in Finnish. It would be important for the preservation of the Finnish language if the users of the language would consider it so important that they would want to use it. If not in every field, then at least to certain extent.

se on ihan normaalia. Parhaimmillaan ne mukautuvat hyvin suomen kieleen, rikastavat sitä ja antavat siihen monipuolisuutta. Joissakin tapauksissa suositaan suomenkielistä ilmaisua lainatun sanan sijaan. Esimerkiksi tietotekniikan alalla on paljon tällaista sanastoa. Sanastokeskus TSKlla on ollut tietotekniikan termitalkoot jo pitkään, siellä on myös edustaja Kotimaisten kielten keskukselta. Siellä pyritään vakiinnuttamaan tietotekniikan termejä ja löytämään suomenkielinen vastine. Joskus lainattu sana on ihan hyvä sellaisenaankin, mutta suomessa myös muodostetaan runsaasti yhdyssanoja ja johdoksia. Esimerkiksi tietojen päivitykseen liittyen, 'päivittää' on ihan vakiintunut sana, jota ei edes huomaakaan. Joskus uudet sanat ovat keinotekoisempia eivätkä istu kieleen. Silloin niitä julkisuudessa irvaillaan. Usein käykin, että ne jäävät kielestä pois ja ne korvataan jollain muulla sanalla. Kielenkäyttäjistä se on kiinni. Voimme kielenhuolto-osastossa suositaa joitain sanoja, mutta kielenkäyttäjistä se on loppujen lopuksi kiinni. Toisin kuin kuvitellaan, emme myöskään keksi täällä uusia sanoja. Voimme kyllä neuvoa ja kommentoida sanaehdokkaita.

M.H. Minua kiinnostaa sana 'spontaanipakolainen'. Se oli 90-luvun alussa käytössä lehdissä ja virkamieskielessä. Suomessa oli silloin käytössä jo termi kiintiöpakolaiset ja sitten tulivat nämä meidän näkökulmastamme uudenlaiset pakolaiset. Näitä nimitettiin spontaanipakolaisiksi. Sitten sana katosi kielestä 90-luvun puolivälissä tai loppupuolella. Onko sinulla käsitystä miten tämä sana syntyi, millaisessa käytössä se oli, ja miten ja miksi se katosi?

S.K. En osaa sanoa siitä. Ohjaisin sinut sanastoasian-tuntija Riitta Erosen luokse.

M.H. Kysyin myös kyseisestä sanasta Sanakirjaosaston johtaja Klaas Ruppelilta, sekä erikoisasiantuntija

A language is alive when it is used. Finnish language press, on the Internet and in print, and Finnish language literature are important. If it happens that there is no translation from other languages to Finnish, and because there is not so much publishing in Finnish, it can diminish the Finnish language literature. Or if many Finnish language writers would only publish in English, that would in particular diminish the written standard language. Always whenever something starts to unravel from one angle, it can accelerate the deterioration. The biggest threat, I do not know how realistic it is though, is that the Finnish language would disappear completely. Or that it would remain only as domestic language, but not used anywhere in professional fields.

M.H. How is Finnish language changing in the process of multiculturalisation?

S.K. There are many ways. There is the issue that new words, structures and things from other languages come into the language. This has been happening in every age and it is a good thing. If you think, which original Finnish or Finno-Ugric words we have, there are not many. Already for thousands of years borrowed words have entered from different languages. They still come, and that is normal. At best they adjust to the Finnish language, enrich it and make it more versatile. In some cases Finnish language expression is preferred over a borrowed word. For example in the field of information technology there are many such words. The Finnish Terminology Centre TSK had a campaign about the information technology for a long time now. There was a representative from The Institute for the Languages of Finland participating. Their goal is to establish the terms of information technology and to find a Finnish language equivalent. Sometimes the borrowed word is completely fine as it is, but in

Ulla Horstia ja erikoisasiantuntija Liban Ali Hersiltä, mutta he eivät muista sellaista sanaa.

S.K. Olemme seuranneet pitkään tiedotusvälineitä ja poimineet sanoja.

M.H. Mutta kuulostaako sana 'spontaanipakolainen' mielestäsi hyvältä sanalta, vai puuttuisitteko te sen käyttöön?

S.K. Emme puuttuisi. Mutta jos joku kysyisi, onko se hyvä sana ja mikä muu sana voisi olla parempi, niin alkaisimme selvittämään ja pohtimaan asiaa. Mutta varmasti pitäisi myös katsoa käsitejärjestelmää, ja jos siinä on kiintiöpakolainen niin tarvitaanko siihen rinnalle muunlaiset pakolaiset kuin kiintiöpakolaiset. Mutta näin äkkiseltään ei ole mitään syytä, miksi se sana ei kävisi. 'Spontaani' on ihan vakiintunut sana suomen kielessä, vaikka onkin lainasana ja vielä ihan tunnistettava sellainen: siinä on konsonanttiyhtymä alussa. Mutta sana on kuitenkin aika laajasti ymmärretty. Siltä osin se kävisi aivan hyvin. Täytyisi sitten vielä miettiä, vastaako se sitä merkitystä, jota tarvitaan.

M.H. Jos teidän täällä kielenhuollon osastolla pitäisi keskustella tästä sanasta, millä tavalla se konkreettisesti tapahtuisi?

S.K. Joku ensin selvittelisi mitä meiltä löytyy, onko tekstiesimerkkejä, joissa sitä on käytetty, selvittelisi sanan taustaa. Selvittäisimme mitä muita sanoja on käytetty samassa merkityksessä ja tarkastelisimme käsitejärjestelmää. Pohtisimme asiaa yhdessä sähköpostitse tai yhteisessä kokouksessa, johon osallistuisi kielenhuoltajia ja Kielitoimiston sanakirjan toimittajia. On tällaisia Hoffman-kokouksiksi kutsuttuja kokouksia. Nimi tulee siitä, että eräs raamantunkäänöskomitean sihteeri, joka tarkasti raamatun kieltä muistaakseni 1600-luvulla, oli Henrik Hoffman. Näissä Hoffman-kokouksissa ovat

Finnish there are a lot of compound words created as well as derivatives. For example about the updating of information, the word 'päivittää' is a completely established word which fits the language smoothly. But sometimes they are more artificial and do not fit the language. Then they are often also ridiculed in the media. Often it happens that they drop out of the language and are replaced by another word. It depends on the users of language. At the Language Policy Department we can recommend some words, but it depends in the end on the language users. Other than usually is thought, we also do not invent new words here. But we can instruct and comment on candidates for words.

M.H. I am interested in the word 'spontaanipakolainen' (spontaneous refugee). It was in use in the beginning of nineties in the newspapers and in administrative language. In Finland there was already the term quota refugees and then came these refugees, which from our point of view were of another kind. They were called spontaneous refugees. Then the term disappeared from the language in the mid- or end of the nineties. Do you have any knowledge about how this word was created, in what kind of use it was, and how and why it eventually disappeared?

S.K. I cannot say anything about it. I would advise you to speak with the linguistic expert Riitta Eronen.

M.H. I also asked about that particular word from the director Klaas Ruppel at the Dictionary Department. But neither he, nor the special experts Ulla Horstia and Liban Ali Hersi, whom I spoke, recall such a word.

S.K. We have been following the media for a long time and picked words.

M.H. But does the word 'spontaanipakolainen' (spontaneous refugee) to you sound like an appropriate word, or would you interfere with its usage?

kielenhuollon toimittajat sekä sanakirjatoimittajat mukana. Näitä kokouksia järjestetään aina tarpeen mukaan. Monesti sanoja käsitellään sähköpostitsekin. Mutta tosiaan tällainen Hoffman-kokous voidaan kutsua koolle ja sitten pohdiskelemme. Meille tulee jonkin verran pakolaissanastoon ja siihen aihepiiriin liittyviä kysymyksiä eteen, mutta termistön laatiminen viranomaisten tarpeisiin on muiden tehtävä kuin meidän. Emme laadi eri alojen sanastoja, annamme kylläkin neuvoja sananmuodostuksesta ja voimme olla muutenkin apuna. Mutta sanastotyön asiantuntijat ovat Sanastokeskus TSK:ssa ja valtioneuvoston kanslian kielipalvelussa. Siellä tehdään suomi–ruotsi-sanastoja ja mahdollisesti muunkin kielisiä sanastoja. Annamme kyllä lausuntoja näistä sanastoista.

M.H. Tässä Suomen monikulttuuristumisprosessissa on ilmennyt myös muita ei-neutraaleja sanoja, joista jotkut ovat päässeet myös suomenkielen sanakirjaan. Muun muassa ‘ankkurilapsi’, ‘elintasopakolainen’, ‘perheenkokoaja’, ‘venepakolainen’, ‘turvapaikkashoppaaja’ – osaatko sanoa mistä sanat tulevat, miten niistä tulee arkisia tai jokapäiväisessä kielenkäytössä käytettyjä, ja pitäisikö sellaisia välttää?

S.K. Sanojahan voi kuka tahansa keksiä ja sosiaalisessa mediassa kuka vain pääsee kirjoittelemaan. Toisin oli vielä kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten, jolloin sanat levisivät laajasti lähinnä lehdissä, radiossa ja televisiossa. Toimittajat eivät olisi välttämättä käyttäneet tuollaisia osittain ei-neutraaleja sanoja, jotka voivat olla hyvinkin tarkoitushakuisesti laadittuja. ‘Turvapaikkashoppaaja’ kuulostaa sellaiselta, että sen on keksinyt joku henkilö tai ryhmä, joka vastustaa sitä, että tänne tulee turvapaikanhakijoita. Ja se on voinut tilapäisesti olla puheessa tai puheenvuorossa kielikuvana, jolloin on haluttu tuoda esiin oma näkökanta, ja on siitä lähtenyt leviämään. Aika suuri määrä sanoista, suurin

S.K. We would not interfere. But if someone would ask, whether that is a good word and whether there is another word that is better, we would begin to find out and to think about the issue. But surely, we would have to look at the concept system. If in the system there already is a quota refugee, do we need also a word for other kinds of refugees? But considering it here now, I do not see any reason why the word would not be appropriate. The word 'spontaani' (spontaneous) has become completely established in the Finnish language, even though it is a borrowed word, and recognisably so. There is a consonant cluster at the beginning. But the word is widely understood. From that point of view it would work just fine. Another issue to consider is whether it corresponds with the meaning that is needed.

M.H. If you had to discuss this word here at the Institute for the Languages of Finland, how would that concretely happen?

S.K. Someone would first find out what material we have, for example whether we have text examples, and would find out more about the background. We would find out whether there are other words used in the same meaning and we would look into the concept system. There are the so-called Hoffman-meetings, where we discuss words. The name comes from Henrik Hoffman, who was the secretary of a committee of translators of the Bible in the seventeenth century. In these Hoffman-meetings the language policy experts and the lexicographers meet. These meetings are organised when needed. Often words are discussed over emails too. But this kind of Hoffman-meeting can be called and then we think and discuss. We get to some extent words from the refugee-vocabulary and of that theme, but the vocabulary for the needs of the civil servants is not our task.

osa, jos ne eivät ole tietoisien termityön tulosta, syntyvät hyvinkin pienissä piireissä. Sanat voivat levitä sitten toimittajan käytössä tai sosiaalisessa mediassa. Toimittajat mielellään suoraan lainaavat, jos poliitikko käyttää värikästä kieltä. Sitä kautta sanat sitten leviävät. Niin sanotut värikkäät ilmaisut ovat yleensä myös kantaaottavia ilmaisuja. Mutta virkakielessä pitäisi käyttää mahdollisimman neutraalia kieltä. Eli Suomessa viraston ei pitäisi käyttää, eikä toivottavasti kukaan käytäkään, missään yhteydessä esimerkiksi sanaa 'turvapaikkashoppaaja'. Mutta osa luettelemistasi sanoista ei ole niin epä-neutraaleja. Vastaavasti jos toimittajaa ohjeistetaan ja ajatellaan, että kyseessä on asiallinen tiedotusväline, niin sellaiset sanat eivät kuulu sinne. Mutta toimittajat lainaavat myös paljon suoraan haastateltavan puheenvuoroja, ja jos haastateltava käyttää hyvinkin epäneutraalia kieltä, niin sellainen lausuma saatetaan ottaa toimitettuun juttuun. Tietenkin se riippuu myös tiedotusvälineen linjasta. Mutta meillä ei ole siihen mitään sanomista, koska Suomessa on vapaa sana. Emme voi sanoa, että jotain sanaa ei saa käyttää. Virkakieli on eri asia, siinä lainsäädäntö määrää, että asiallista kieltä pitää käyttää. Tiedotusvälineissä, ellei kyse ole yksityisen henkilön nimittelystä, kielenkäyttö ei ole minkään lain tai säädöksen kanssa ristiriidassa. Meillähän on sitten olemassa julkisen sanan neuvosto ja tuomioistuimet, jotka käsittelevät tapauksia, joissa ylitetään jokin lain raja yksityistä henkilöä tai kansanryhmää kohtaan. Mutta niin kauan kuin kielenkäyttö ei selvästi mene tämän rajan yli, rajaa usein koetellaan hyvinkin vahvasti. Toinen puoli on sananvapaus. Me vältämme kaikin tavoin sensuuria. Mutta nämä ovat varsinaisesti muiden kuin kielenhuoltajien asioita, joihin me kielenhuollossa ja Kielitoimistossa emme suoraan ota kantaa.

We do not compose dictionaries of different fields; we give consultation and can help. But the experts on vocabulary work are at The Finnish Terminology Centre TSK and in the Translation and Terminology Office at the Prime Minister's Office. They produce the Finnish – Swedish dictionary and possibly of other languages too.

M.H. In Finnish in the multiculturalisation-process other words have also appeared that are non-neutral, some of which have also entered the Finnish dictionary. For example, 'ankkurilapsi' (anchor child), 'elintasopakolainen' (living standard refugee), 'perheen kokoaja' (family uniter), 'venepakolainen' (boat refugee), 'turvapaikkashoppaaja' (asylum shopper) – can you say where these words come from, how they become commonplace and a part of everyday language, and whether or not we should avoid them?

S.K. Anyone can invent words and in social media it is possible for everyone to write. It was different just twenty years ago, when words would spread mainly through newspapers, radio and television. Journalists would have not necessarily used such a type of partly non-neutral words, which can be very purposefully created. 'Turvapaikkashoppaaja' sounds as if it was coined by someone, or a group, who is against migrants coming here. And it could have been temporarily used in a speech as a figure of speech for highlighting one's opinion. It could simply have spread from there.

A large part of the words, most of them in fact, if they are not the result of a conscious work on terms, are created in very small circles. Words can spread in the use of journalists or in the social media. If a politician uses colourful words, journalists like to quote those directly. This is how they then spread. The so-called colourful expressions usually also take a stand. But in

the administrative language one has to use as neutral language as possible. So, no administrative offices in Finland should use, and hopefully do not use, for example the word 'turvapaikkashoppaaja' in any context. But some of the words that you mentioned, are not so non-neutral. Similarly, if a journalist is advised, and we think that it is a proper media, then that kind of word does not belong there. But journalists also quote the interviewees directly and if they use very non-neutral language, the statement can end up in the story. Of course it also depends on the policy of that particular media. But we do not have any say in that, as in Finland there is freedom of speech. We cannot forbid any particular word. The administrative language is a different case; there the legislation says one has to use appropriate language. But the use of language in media is not in contradiction with any law or regulation, unless it is a question of addressing an individual person. We have The Council for Mass Media in Finland, which deals with cases where a certain limit of lawfulness is exceeded toward a private person or an ethnic group. But as long as it does not go over the border, that border is being tested, sometimes very strongly. On the other hand, there is freedom of speech. We avoid censorship by all means. But these questions are for others, at the Language Policy Department and at The Institute for the Languages of Finland we do not interfere.

With the word 'spontaanipakolainen' I next turned to the linguistic expert Riitta Eronen in the Institute for the Languages of Finland, as recommended by Salli Kankaanpää. In email correspondence¹ she told me that there has not been discussion about the word 'spontaanipakolainen' at the Institute for the Languages of Finland. And also the lexicographers seem to be unaware of it. She told me that with an Internet-search she can detect that the word is still in use in contexts where separation is desired between quota refugees and other kinds of refugees. Also she thinks it is a borrowed word that has been translated, as the word also appears in Sweden. She had asked the experts at the Finnish Swedish Department, but they also could not say anything more about it.

She advised me to turn to the Finnish Terminology Centre TSK, as they published a small migrant-dictionary in 1993.

The next day she wrote to me again adding that she had also consulted the EU language planner Aino Piehlin and passed Piehlin's reply to me.² Also Piehlin had never heard of the word. It is not found in the European Commission Asylum and Migration Glossary. Only the term 'spontaani maahanmuutto' (spontaneous migration) is found there.

spontaneous migration: The movement of a person or a group of persons who initiate and proceed with their migration plans without any outside assistance.

SOURCE: IOM Glossary on Migration, 2nd ed., 2011

BROADER TERM: Migration

RELATED TERM: Immigration programme

NOTES: 1. Spontaneous migration is usually caused by push-pull factors and is characterised by the lack of state assistance or any other type of international or national assistance. 2. The term is not in common use.³

The same day I also received an answer to my enquiry from Riina Kosunen at the Finnish Terminology Centre TSK.⁴

She writes: “The term could not be found in the refugee and migrant dictionary published by the Finnish Terminology Centre TSK.” They also directed me to look at the Asylum and Migration Glossary of the European Migration Network.

She had found an online document by the New Zealand Human Rights Commission, where it states: “Refugees fall into two categories – quota refugees and spontaneous refugees (asylum seekers). Spontaneous refugees are people who claim refugee status on arriving at the border or after entering New Zealand.”⁵

She imagines that the terms quota refugee and spontaneous refugee are parallel terms, but as the information is fragmented, one cannot be certain about it.

Notes

1. Email from Riitta Eronen, 4 November 2014.
2. Email from Riitta Eronen, 5 November 2014.
3. http://www.emn.fi/files/655/EMN_Glossary_EN_Version_2_0.pdf (accessed 18 October 2015).
4. Email from Riina Kosunen, 5 November 2014.
5. https://www.hrc.co.nz/files/3914/2388/0522/HRNZ_10_rights_of_refugees.pdf (accessed 18 October 2015).

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Turvapaikan- hakijoita myös Vaasaan

Spontaanipakolaisten toistaiseksi pohjoisin vastaanottokeskus on perustettu Vaasan Vaskiluodossa sijaitsevan hotellin Fennon tiloihin. Etelä-Suomesta kuljetetaan ensi maanantaina Vaasaan kaksi linja-autolastillista turvapaikanhakijoita, jotka eivät ole mahtuneet eteläisempiin keskuksiin.

Vaasassa valmistunut vastaanottokeskus on Suomen Punaisen Ristin seitsemäs keskus. Vaasassa kytetään majoittamaan hotellihuoneisiin noin sata turvapaikanhakijaa. Hotelli Fennon huonekapasiteetista on varattu kolmannes hakijoita varten.

"Puhelimit huoneista kannettin ulos ja laakaapit sisään. Lisäksi keskukseseen tulevia asukkaita varten rakennettiin mm. oma keittiö", selvittää SPR:n Pohjanmaan ruotsinkielisen piirin toiminnanjohtaja Karl-Rune Sundelin.

Tänä vuonna turvapaikkaa on Suomesta anonut jo 1 168 ihmistä. Viime vuonna heidän määrässä oli 173 ja edellisvuonna 64. Sundelinin mukaan omin neuvoin maahamme hakeutuvia turvapaikanhakijoita saattaa ennen vuodenvaihdetta olla yli kaksituhatta.

Sisäasiainministeriossa laskeaan, että turvapaikka-anomuksen käsittely kestää 6-8 kuukautta.

Suomeen tulleista spontaanipakolaisista on somalit lukumäärältään suurin ryhmä, heitä on noin 600. Runsaasti hakijoita on tullut myös Itä-Euroopan maista. Turvapaikanhakijoita on maassamme kaikkiaan 20:stä eri maasta.

Moitteettomasti ja laimukaisesti toimivan hallinnon edellytyksenä on, että lait ovat selkeitä ja kernaasti yksiselitteisiä.

Spontaanipakolaiset eivät ole tervetulleita

Hallituksen lakiehdotus sisältää useita alikohdiksi, joissa mainittu on käänteiden merkitys jäs edelmääräiseksi. Tulkinnanvaraisia ilmauksia ovat esimerkiksi "erityinen syy", "painava syy", "muusta painavasta syystä", "erittin painavia syitä", "muu erittin tärkeä syy" ja "tärkeä henkilökohtainen syy".

Kokemus osoittaa, että tuollaiset käänteet saattavat aiheuttaa tarpeettomia tulkintaongelmia ja turhia oikeudenkäyntejä. Niiden käyttö johtaa siihen, etteivät oikeussubjektit saa lakitekstiä lukemalla täsmällistä kuvaa oikeuksistaan ja velvollisuuksistaan.

Ulkomaalaisen oikeusturva ja hallinnon palveluperiaate edellyttävät, että käsitellyn käänteiden merkitys määriteltäisiin itse lakitekstissä. Käänteiden määrittelemättömyydenä ei ole mielekäs syy.

Joskin tapauksissa käänteiden määrittely on ongelmallista. Lakiehdotus sisältää yksityiskohtaisen määrittelyn pakolaisesta. Ongelmana on, että määrittely poikkeaa Suomessa kansainvälinä oikeudellisesti velvoittavasta pakolaisopimuksesta omaksumasta pakolaiskäsittelyn määrittelmästä.

Erityisen perusteltua onkin tarpeellisuus ei ole ollut poiketa pakolaisopimuksen määrittelmästä, vaan ainoastaan määrittely, koska Suomessa ovat pakolaisia". Selityksenä tulisi väärinkäsitysten välttämiseksi lisätä itse lakitekstiä. Nykyisessä lauseessa lakiehdotus viestii, että eivät nim kutsutut spontaanipakolaiset ole maassamme tervetulleita.

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Ulkomaalaiskeskuksen johtaja epäilee: Turvapaikan hakijoita tuodaan Suomeen järjestelmällisesti

Sisäasiainministeriön ulkomaalaiskeskuksen johtaja **Risto Veijalainen** epäilee, että turvapaikan hakijoita tuodaan Suomeen järjestelmällisesti. Veijalainen kertoo, että tällaisiin johtopäätöksiin on päädytty turvapaikan hakijoiden kertomusten perusteella.

Veijalaisen mukaan turvapaikan hakijoiden määrän kasvu on selvä merkki tästä – toki se ei yksin riitä vahvistamaan epäilyitä.

"Todellisen turvapaikan tarpeessa olevat pakolaiset eivät ole ongelma. Pulmana ovat ne, jotka yrittävät käyttää turvapaikkasäännöstöä väärin maahanmuuttoon siirtolaisperusteena", Veijalainen sanoo.

Esimerkiksi Ruotsissa on käyty monia oikeudenkäyntejä ihmisten salakuljetuksen kieltävän lakipykälän rikkomisen vuoksi. Suomessa tällaista pykälää ei ole.

"Jossain vaiheessa meilläkin joudutaan säätämään vastaavanlainen pykälä tilanteen korjaamiseksi. Itse asiassa esitimmeikin sitä otettavaksi mukaan uuteen ulkomaalaislakiin, mutta se hylättiin, koska se ilmeisesti onkin rikoslakiin kuuluva pykälä."

Veijalainen myöntää, että kei-not organisoidun pakolaisvirran estämiseksi "ovat kai aika vähissä". "Tietysti voidaan käydä diplomaattitason neuvotteluja niiden maiden kanssa, joiden kautta turvapaikan hakijat tulevat."

Suurin osa Suomeen tulevista turvapaikanhakijoista tulee Neuvostoliiton kautta.

Hallitusneuvos **Antti Seppälä** sosiaali- ja terveysministeriöstä

epäilee, että somalilaisten turvapaikan hakijoiden Suomeen tulossa auttavat heidän omat ystävänsä. Somaleja on tullut Suomeen jo yli 500 tänä vuonna.

"Luulen, että Moskovassa on jonkinlainen epävirallinen 'matkatoimisto', joka hoitaa somalit Suomeen. On myös mahdollista, että Moskovassa opiskelevat somalit auttavat maanmiehiään."

Vastaavanlaisia "matkatoimistoja" on Seppälän mukaan yhtä hyvin esimerkiksi Vietnamissakin järjestämässä venepakolaisten kuljetuksia.

"Jonkun olisi tutkittava, kuinka paljon pakolaisten kuljettamisesta hyödyttään. Vietnamilaisetkin tulivat Suomeen hampaattomina, kultaampaat olivat maksu kuljetuksista", Seppälä sanoo.

Suomeen on tullut tänä vuonna jo yli tuhat turvapaikan hakijaa. Määrä on viisinkertainen viimevuotiseen verrattuna.

Turvapaikkaa hakevien lapsille suunnitellaan peruskoulutusta

Turvapaikkaa hakevien lapsille suunnitellaan opetuksen järjestämistä poikkeusmenettelyin. Asiaa valmistelee kouluhallitus.

Alionteen tehneestä opetusministeriöstä todetaan, että turvapaikkaa hakevien ulkomaalaisten määrä tulee todennäköisesti kasvamaan. Kouluikäisten hakijoiden opetuksesta on huolehdittava, sillä turvapaikkahakemusten käsittely saattaa kestää useita kuukausia.

"Jos ti pääser mä oli teen e pitääk pisin a menny jatkaa yleens työtön kertoo

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Kon huhuis paikka lestä työpai

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Suomeen saapui Somaliasta lähes sata spontaanipakolaista

Apua majoitukseen kesähotelleista

Lappeenranta
Helsingin Sanomat

Suomeen saapui perjantaina ja lauantaina Nuijamaan rajanylityspaikan kautta yhteensä 83 somalipakolaista. Uudet pakolaiset jouduttiin

kukسيا on tällä hetkellä Turussa, Mikkelissä, Imatralla, Nastolassa ja Helsingissä useampi yksikkö. Ensimmäisellä avataan Helsinkiin yksi uusi keskus lisää.

Kouki uskoo, että aikari-

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sähotelleihin, koska Rauhas-
sa sijaitsevan vastaanotto-
keskuksen 150 paikkaa oli-
vat jo täynnä.

Rauhas vastaanottokes-
kuksen johtaja **Maija Kouki**
kertoo, että uuden vastaan-
ottokeskuksen perustaminen
Kaakkois-Suomeen on vai-
keaa. ”Haemme vuokratta-
vaksi sopivaa tilaa, mutta
lyhyellä varoitusaajalla sopi-
van majapaikan löytäminen
on vaikeaa.”

Vaikeuksia aiheuttaa mm.
mahdollisten vastaanot-
tolueiden ennakkoluulot
pakolaisja kohtaan.

Suomessa vastaanottokes-

sempi arvio paristatuhanne-
ta tänä vuonna maahan saa-
puvasta pakolaisesta joudu-
taan tarkistamaan. ”Jos tahti
pysyy nykyisellään, niin kah-
dentuhannen raja yltävy-
kirikkaasti.”

Tänä vuonna Suomeen on
jo saapunut lähes 900 spon-
taanipakolaista. Viime
vuonna turvapaikkaa tuli
maamme rajoille hakemaan
yhteensä 179 henkilöä, joista
yksikään ei ollut somala.

Spontaanipakolaisten tur-
vapaikkahakemusten käsit-
tely kestää Suomessa reilun
puoli vuotta, jonka ajan val-
tio huolehtii pakolaisten yl-
läpidosta.

Suomen Pun tukahtumass

Somaliasta tulvivalle väelle

Räjähdysmäisesti kasvanut spontaanipakolaisten määrä on saanut aikaan, että Suomeen tuleville turvapaikan hakijoille on tarjolla enää tilapäismajoitusta.

Suomen Punainen Risti on joutunut etsimään turvapaikan hakijoille tiloja motelleista, matkustajakodeista ja nyt myös kouluista.

Viikonvaihteessa Suomeen tul-

leet lähes sata somalipakolaista siirretään tänään tiistaina Imatran kesähotelleista helsinkiläisen Kallion ala-asteen kouluun.

Punaisen Ristin Helsingin vastaanottokeskuksen vastaava Faik Nerweyi sanoo, että somalipakolaisia voi tulla lisää koska tahan-
sa. Spontaanipakolaisten tulosta



ainen Risti a pakolaisiin anellaan tilapäismajoitusta

tiedetään vasta rajalla, joten mikään ei ole varmaa.

Punainen Risti pyytää apua tilapäismajoitukseen sopivien tilojen omistajilta.

Kaikki Suomen Punaisen Ristin viisi vastaanottokeskusta ovat täynnä. Niihin on sijoitettu noin 660 turvapaikkahakemuksensa käsittelyä odottavaa pakolaista.

Nerweyi laskee vastaanottokeskusten ulkopuolella olevan 200 hakijaa Uudenmaan alueella.

Turvapaikan hakijoita on tänä vuonna ollut jo noin 900. Määrä on viisinkertainen viimevuotiseen verrattuna.

Sivu A 5



LYHYESTI

Kymmenen uutta somalipakolaista tuli Moskovan-junalla Suomeen

Kymmenen uutta turvapaikan hakijaa saapui tiistaiamuna Suomeen Moskovan-junalla Vainikkalan raja-aseman kautta. Lappeenrannan poliisi ei suostunut paljastamaan heidän kotimaataan, mutta Suomen Punaisen Ristin Helsingin vastaanottokeskuksen vastaava **Faik Nerweyi** kertoo pakolaisten olevan somaleja. SPR siirsi heidät junalla Helsinkiin ja majoitti ilmeisesti tilapäisesti motelliin. Suomeen tuli edellisen kerran lähes sata somalia perjantaina ja lauantaina. Spontaanipakolaisia voi tulla lisää koska tahansa. Heidän tulostaan tiedetään vasta rajalla.

Tammisaaren vierassatama sai ympäristöpalkinnon

Tammisaari sai Kemin ohella tiistaina ensimmäistä kertaa jaetun ympäristöpalkinnon vierasvenesatamastaan. Pidä Saaristo Siistinä ry. myöntää Siniristi-palkintonsa ympäristöystävälliselle ylläpidetylle vierassatamalle, jonka palveluja on lähivuosina parannettu.

Patmos avaa hammasklinikan neuvostojuutalaisille Israeliin

Suomalainen lähetys- ja kehitysapujärjestö Patmos ry. avaa lähiaikoina hammasklinikan Neuvostoliitosta Israeliin muuttaville juutalaisille. Haifaan perustettava klinikka antaa maaan saapuville neuvostojuutalaisille puolen vuoden ajan ilmai-

2 esityksen uuden hallituksen pohjaksi.

a

Yli sata turva- paikan hakijaa karkotettu



Jaakko Julkunen
konkurssi oli

Sisäasiainministeriö on kuluneen talven aikana päättänyt karkottaa noin sata turvapaikkaa hakenutta ns. spontaanipakolaista, jotka eivät kuulu kiintiöihin. Aiemmin Suomesta on karkotettu lähinnä rikollisia; joukkoon on mahtunut vain pari turvapaikan hakijaa. Tähän mennessä kaikki karkotuspäätöksen saaneet ovat valittaneet korkeimpaan hallinto-oikeuteen, ja oikeus on jo vahvistanut joitakin karkotuspäätöksiä.

Nykyisillä pakolaismäärillä KHO joutuisi siten ratkomaan vuodessa satoja karkotustapauksia. Vanhempi hallintosihteeri Tapio Kuosma KHO:sta uskoo, että oikeus selviää urakasta.

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PAKOLAISTEN LUVATTU MAA?

Ulkomaalaiset eivät enää kavahda pimeää, pakkasta ja suomalaista luonnetta. Heitä tulee maalta, mereltä ja ilmasta, idästä ja etelästä. He etsivät kuka mitäkin: yksi turvaa, toinen leipää, kolmas ilmaista täysihoitoa. Annammeko heidän tulla?

"Eihän pakolaisten asema niin kaksinen ole, vaikka hänestä aiheutuukin

"Kun visioita vaaditaan, kannattaa katsoa, mitä visio tarkoittaa. Se tarkoittaa

S

uomalaisten ei ole tarvinnut tähän saakka vakavissaan keskustella ulkomaalaispolitiikasta. Vain pikku pärskeitä maailman pakolais- ja siirtolaisvirroista on osunut Suomeen.

Nyt on todellisuus saavuttamassa meidän.

Nähtävän Pohjois-Afrikan somalit ovat keksineet pohjoisen pikkumaan, jossa kaikki ovat rikkaita. Romanialaiset nuoret miehet etsivät täältä onneaan. Neuvostoviranomaiset pelottelevat miljoonilla elintasopakolaisilla, jotka eivät jaksa jonottaa Neuvostoliiton kaupoissa, vaan pakkaavat matkalaukunsaa ja suunnistavat Suomen rajalle. Maahanlajioiden kertomukset kotimaansa oloista ovat toinen toistaan kauheampia.

Voivatko ne kaikki olla totta? Yritetäänkö meitä vain käyttää hyväksi? Mitä tekevät meidän poliitikkomme, etteivät vieraisiin tottumattomat suomalaiset joudu paniikkiin ja ala tuntea itseään syrjityksi omissa maassaan? Tä-

8 500 markan kustannukset kuukaudesta. Ihmisiä ei voi arvioida rahalla. Se on vierasta. Kristilliseen etiikkaan kuuluu elämän kunnioittaminen ja lähimmäisen auttaminen. Siltä pohjalta meidän täytyy toimia."

Loppujen lopuksi, Holkeri muistuttaa, maahan tulevat ihmiset eivät ole se suurin ja kallein ongelma. Saastheet, jotka eivät ilmoittaudu ulkomaalaiskeskuksessa, ovat Holkerin mukaan todellinen uhka ja rahareikä.

Hän sentään myöntää, että on vakava paikka, jos itärajalle ilmestyy joukkoita elintasopakolaisia. Keskustelu uhkaavasta venäläistulvasta ei miellytä häntä: suu on parempi pitää supussa, ettei maassa pääse syntymään katastrofimielialaa.

KRIISIUUNNITELMA ON OLEMASSA

"Ihmisiä on autettava siellä, missä he asuvat. Ei ole kenenkään edun mukaisesti, että he lähtevät liikkeelle. Jorma

taa muun ohella harhanäkyä."

Eystymmekö hallitsemaan pakolaisvirrat, tapahtui mitä tapahtui?

"Ainahan maailmanlopun ennustajia on olemassa. Sellaiset asiat, jotka nyt ovat näköpiirissä, kyetään hallitsemaan. Jos ei kyettäisi, siitä pitäisi ilmoittaa."

Omin neuvoin Suomeen tulevat pakolaiset ovat uusi ja yllättävä ilmiö paitsi kansalaisille myös viranomaisille. Ulkomaalaiskeskus meni aluksi täysin tukoon. Edes mappeja anomusten säilyttämiseen ei ollut riittävästi. Nyt on luvassa lisää virkamiehiä, lisää tietotekniikkaa, lisää mappeja, mutta vie aikansa ennen kuin koneisto alkaa toimia täydellä teholla. Vielä toistaiseksi asialiset ja asiattomat turvapaikka-anomukset seilaavat byrokraatiassa kupkauskapalla. Jokainen kuukausi tikittää suomalaisille 17 miljoonan laskun.

Turvapaikan hakija saattaa viipyä Suomessa vuoden ja ylikin, vaikka heti ensimmäisten kuulustelujen jälkeen on selvää, ettei turvapaikkaa heltä. Jotkut lähevät vapaaehtoisesti, kun pyyntö on eväty, mutta yhä useammat ymmärtävät jäädä odottamaan karkotusta. Jos eivät ymmärtä, humaanit pakolaisviranomaiset kyllä neuvovat.

Sivumme: Jorma Rantanen kuvai-

selvästi suopeimpia ulkomaalaisten

Kiintiöpakolaisten määrä

	1986 Kiintiö 100 %	1987 Kiintiö 200 %	1988 Kiintiö 300 %	1990 Kiintiö 600 %
Enemmän	20	29	25	20
Vähemmän	19	21	20	32
Nykyinen käytäntö hyvä	58	48	53	47
Ei osaa sanoa	3	3	2	2

HAASTATeltavilta kysyttiin:

Viime aikoina on joillekin kotimaastaan lähteneille pakolaisille annettu lupa asettua Suomeen. Hallituksen periaatepäätöksen mukaan maahamme otetaan nykyisin noin 600 pakolaista vuodessa. Miten Suomen olisi mielestänne vastaisuudessa toimittava, pitäisikö Suomen ottaa vastaan enemmän vai vähemmän pakolaisia kuin nykyisin vai onko nykyinen käytäntö mielestänne hyvä?

Spontaanipakolaisten maahanmuutto-oikeus

	KAIKKI %	SDP %	KOK %	KESK %	VAS %	RKP %	VIHR %
Suvaitsevaisemmin	27	28	25	19	36	39	49
Tiukemmin	30	34	30	35	25	19	7
Nykytilanne hyvä	40	37	44	44	37	38	40
Ei osaa sanoa	3	2	1	2	2	4	4

HAASTATeltavilta kysyttiin:

Miten Suomen pitäisi suhtautua niin sanottuihin spontaanipakolaisiin eli ihmisiin, jotka esimerkiksi poliittiseen, uskonnolliseen tai rodulliseen vainoon vedoten ilmestyvät rajoillemme ja anovat turvapaikkaa? Pitäisikö Suomen suhtautua tällaisten pakolaisten maahanpääsyyn nykyistä suvaitsevimmin, nykyistä tiukemmin vai onko nykytilanne hyvä?

Ulkomaalaisten maahanmuutto-oikeus

	1986 %	1987 %	1988 %	1990 %
Laajennettava	15	25	26	24
Supistettava	16	14	13	20
Sopiva nykyisin	65	56	56	54
Ei osaa sanoa	4	4	5	3

HAASTATeltavilta kysyttiin:

Ertä minkälaisen oikeuden Te haluaisitte antaa muille ulkomaalaisille kuin pakolaisille asettua asumaan ja työskentelemään Suomeen? Tulisiko Suomen vastaisuudessa laajentaa ulkomaalaisten maahanmuutto-oikeutta, supistaa sitä nykyisestään vai onko tilanne nykyisin mielestänne sopiva?

gia, haluaisi suvaitsevaisempaa vastaanottoa. Nykytilanteeseen on tyytyväisiä 40 prosenttia.

ylitse, ja sosialien vastaanotto-paikkakunnilla oli virinnyt keskustelua heidän asuttamisestaan.

suvaitsevaisempaa asennett. Myös huomattava osa Rkp:n vasemmistoliiton kannattajista

TORSTAI

ta

HS-Gallup: Suomalaiset entistä kielteisempiä pakolaisia kohtaan

☐ Suomalaiset suhtautuvat aiempaa kielteisemmin pakolaisten tuloon Suomeen. Marraskuussa tehdyn HS-Gallupin mukaan kielteisempi suhtautuminen koskee sekä ns. spontaanipakolaisten ja kiintiöpakolaisten tuloa Suomeen että ulkomaalaisten maahanmuuttoa yleensä.

Kotimaa, sivu A 8

Suomen väkiluku noussee ensi vuonna viiteen miljoonaan

☐ Suomen väkiluku on tänä vuonna

isä yhteydessä,
Baltian maat,
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rov teki selvä-
muutoksen. Cor

LYHYESTI

Espoo tarjoaa pakolaisille paikkaa väestönsuojista

Espoosta löytyy kaupunginjohtaja **Pekka Löyttyniemen** mukaan sijaa spontaanipakolaisille vain väestönsuojista. Kaupungin muiden tilojen käyttö nimenomaan tähän tarkoitukseen häiritsee kaupunginjohtajan mukaan normaalia toimintaa. Suuren pakolaisjoukon aiheuttamaan suureen rahantarpeeseen ei kaupungissa ole varauduttu. Virastoissa kuitenkin laaditaan suunnitelmia siltä varalta, että Espooseen ohjataan kriisitilanteessa suuria määriä pakolaisia. Espoo ottaa nykysovimusten mukaan noin 30 kiintiöpakolaista joka toinen vuosi. Kaupunkiin on tähän mennessä tullut noin 300 kiintiöpakolaista.

Chapter 5

Centrifugal/ Centripetal

Luckily it is not only Stalin from the ranks of Marxism who wrote about the issue of base and superstructure. The list goes from Paul Lafargue to Tran Duc Thao, via Voloshinov, Michel Pecheux and the already mentioned Rossi-Landi, according to a survey published in 1987.¹ Nevertheless it is Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams, as Marxist theoreticians, who are usually referred to in most socio-linguistic texts dealing with the ideology and politics of language. We can first look at how these two authors are used in socio-linguistic studies and then afterwards consider the forms of 'ideology' in discussions generated in the socio-linguistic discipline.

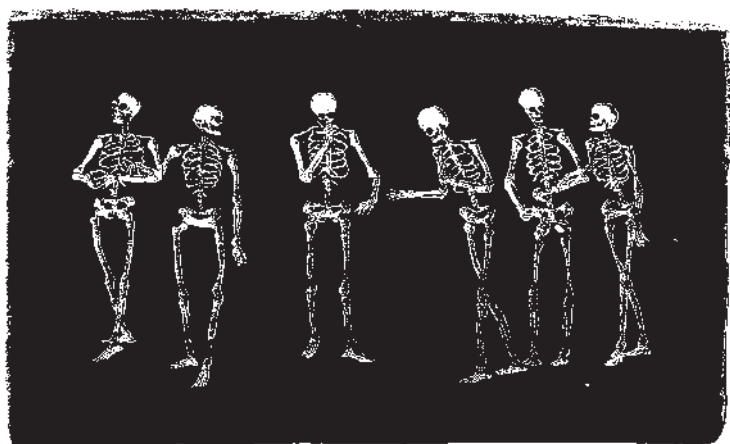
Gramsci's interest in vernacular language was a continuation of his engagement with the struggles of the people and folk that spoke that vernacular. He also was interested in other forms of language, of the language of politics, and especially on the language of literature. Whoever reads his *Prison Notebooks* will be astonished by the fact that during his imprisonment he was interested in issues of such special interest as 'Canto X' of Dante's *Inferno* and didn't hesitate to ask advice even from scholars who were complicit with the terms of Fascist state.² This is a curious thing to remember about Gramsci; and there are plenty of curiosities in Gramsci's writings. It is no accident that a chapter in a book on Gramsci was called "A Riddle Wrapped in a Mystery inside an Enigma?" There is so much talk on the difficult language of Gramsci that the author of the abovementioned book has ironically commented on this quest of enigma in Gramsci's prison notes as: "The reader would therefore seem called upon not so much to read the *Prison Notebooks* as to decipher them, or, as with Joyce's *Ulysses*, to 'translate' their formal foreignness into a known literary convention."³

The rationale behind the debate of Gramsci with Bukharin was not only because of the issues of historicity and linguistics, as it is sometimes wrongly understood, but

it was a philosophical question where language is just a part, or effect, of the ideological debate. According to Gramsci, the science of historical materialism in the Bukharin's style was discussed in the manner of the all-way-truth of communist praxis and had the fundamental problem of detaching the practice of knowledge from the real contradictions of history. Gramsci wrote: "To make science the basis of life, to make science into a conception of the world means falling back into the concept that historical materialism needs another support outside itself. Science too is superstructure."⁴ The issue at stake was the relation between objectivism and immanency and it was directly concerned with the discussions related to a philosophy of praxis. How to think of objectively observable truth related to society and history (or how to achieve absolute historicism, the absolute secularisation and the earthliness of thought, the absolute humanism of history) within thought? Or, more precisely, on which conceptual or heuristic terms can we engage with the concrete forces of history? The question, principally, is about how we relate to the world. Actually the question is, and this is what really interests us, how we can relate with language to the world? Since language is part of the struggles of this world (because of absolute earthliness and absolute historicism) it is a question of how this language that is a construct of ideology could engage with the world? Gramsci discussed this issue through immanence, which means through the immanence of this complexity (or determinacy) that had effects also on the praxis of language. The praxis of this 'absolute immanence' resolves the contradictions by addressing, "[by] translating moments of 'truth' into an historicist register before proposing its own distinctive contribution that goes well beyond them".⁵ In the sphere of linguistics, the philosophy of immanence could offer a complex interaction between language, concepts and social practices. The immanence that Gramsci advocated could be described as some kind of radical

dialectics; translating to the technical terms of linguistics it could be illustrated as “language which is constitutively diachronic, of the extent to which a language’s synchronic unity depends upon temporal differentiations and distinctions internal to it” (p. 327). The instrument/device of this immanence of language, inherently being historical and secular, is the concept of ‘metaphor’, which is the index of real struggle and social formation. “Language is transformed with the transformation of the whole of civilisation, through the acquisition of culture by new classes and through the hegemony exercised by one national language over others, etc., and what it does is precisely to absorb in metaphorical form the words of previous civilisations and cultures.”⁶

It is Pier Paolo Pasolini, who in his text “From the Laboratory” understood and made use of Gramsci’s lesson in a most interesting and challenging way. The text starts with sentence declaring that “all the youthful pages of Gramsci are written in an ugly Italian”⁷ and continues with tracing the developments in Gramsci’s linguistic skills. The truth is that Gramsci’s political engagement also contributed to his way of speaking; through political engagement he became aware that the language he used in speaking and the language that he wrote with, are not the same languages. It is the rift of these two languages (as ‘two Italias’), which Pasolini attempts to revive from the work of Gramsci. His solution is that the tension between indexes of different languages should be a conceptual platform for a politicisation of speech. Here by proposing that spoken and written languages are different, we are taking a risk to reiterate some kind of academic discourse trying to separate the object of language in two distinct fields of study. But we have to be aware that once the differentiation between spoken and spoken-written languages are justified in (absolute) historical and secular terms, then what matters is no longer language as a finitude of expressions, but dialectics that does not conceal gaps. It is in this ambiguous place where

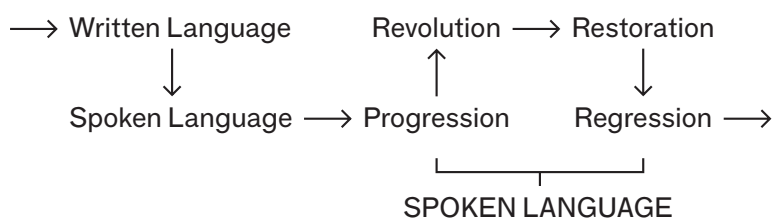


Pasolini wants to perform. This duality of languages might sound like the famous Saussurian object of linguistics based on the dualism between *langue* and *parole*; but it should be noted, again, that in the case of Pasolini this dualism has a certain historical-materialist (or conflictual) twist. Here is how it goes: “Now the great European bourgeoisies, that is, the great European industries, have radically changed their relationship with the ‘pure speakers’: they use them as immigrants, to keep salaries low. It is curious to see what will be the results, in linguistics, of this new political relationship?”⁸

The result of this transformation, forty years after Pasolini’s text, has arrived. It is no exaggeration to claim that *Noise after Babel*, is a product of this shift – a late product, one can argue. Pasolini’s text engages with these two different languages through their formal properties, more precisely with the forms of languages that are shaped by history. “While the stratification (or, index) of oral substrata is a continuum in the evolution of society, the stratification of spoken-written substrata leaves traces: revolutions and restorations, progressions and regressions, etc. Naturally, because of institutional language or *langue* the two languages are in such a ceaseless relationship as to be practically only one language in the various historical periods.”⁹ There is no better way to put Gramsci’s theory of immanence and his defence of metaphors (as indexes) on words, than this summation of Pasolini that goes beyond any academic reasoning. To schematise, Pasolini divides these two languages not only within the axis of their grammar, lexems, sounds, etc., but also from the point of the temporality of class struggles and revolutions.

Each language has its own schedules, rhythms and tempos of resonating class struggles. It is at this point where things with languages (in the multi-lingual field) get complicated; the temporality (already detected by Whorf) of each

WRITTEN LANGUAGE



language is not a currency that is determined by constants, but it is a product of a dialectical and conflictual relation between different temporalities. Once this is understood through the terms of asymmetric contradictions of class struggles, then the essentialist logic of 'one language – one temporality' is automatically discarded. In this conceptualisation the attempt to reduce the politicisation of language to the issue of identification is renounced as reactionary and anti-dialectical. Following the thesis of Pasolini by way of Gramsci, it is no longer possible to talk about the homology between economy and language either. The thesis of Rossi-Landi that similarities between the logic of economy and the logic of language is the starting point for Marxist linguistics, or the linguistics of historical-materialism, is useless in the world of Gramsci and Pasolini. The refusal of identification in the theory of immanence is just the first step for a greater refusal, which is a refusal of engagement with the terms of any forms of representation. When we talk about class struggles influencing language regimes, actually we are fabricating a mystery, which conceals both class struggle and language forms. In this case, instead of subjecting one field to another, as lines of traceable influences, it would be more correct to look at how class struggle takes place in language itself. It is, as Pasolini wrote, "the substitution of languages of the infrastructure, as a linguistic model, for the languages of the superstructures" (p. 63). Instead of unity, here we get complete separation. If the subject of our discussion is the theory and practice of multi-lingualism, then the separation should be performed in each step of conceptualisation. The division instead of unity, contradiction instead of harmony, and separation instead of connection: these should be lines of demarcation. Otherwise, even the goodwill of multi-lingual practice will end up as an oppressive mono-lingual theory!

However we have to be very careful not to confuse this separation with the ideological understanding of

immanence that sees the separate and distinct autonomy of linguistic procedures as proof of the ahistorical nature of language. This is a nightmare for Saussure; but at the same time this is also Chomsky's schizophrenic position that Kristeva detected, which reproduces the separation with confused terms. The separation we are aiming at is the separation of the spontaneously assumed magical unity between two distinct fields. To be more precise, it is the separation of determinacy, or even more precise, it is the closure of the uninterrupted flow of deterministic logic.

Alain Badiou, in his very first theoretical text, written in 1965 for special issue on language, arts and ideology in *Cahiers pour l'Analyse*, proposed a thesis which is actual to our contemporary situation: "What the aesthetic process transforms is differentially homogeneous to that which does the transforming. The 'raw material' of aesthetic production is already in itself aesthetically produced'.¹⁰ Further on Badiou claims that this could lead us to something that he provisionally calls 'theoretical aesthetics'. There is no reason why we should not name our endeavour 'theoretical linguistics', though more catchy and provocative (i.e. Pasolinian) would be to rename it 'language in theory'."¹¹









Notes

1. Jean Baptiste Marcellesi & Abdou Elimam, "Language and Society from a Marxist Point of View", *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguisti: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society 3.1*, eds by Ammon, U., Dittmar, N. and Mattheier, J. K., Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987, pp. 443–52.
2. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Cultural Writings*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1985, pp. 147–63.
3. Peter D. Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010, p. 42.
4. Thomas 2010, p. 313.
5. Thomas 2010, p. 323.
6. Gramsci 1971, p. 452
as quoted in Peter Ives, "Language, Agency and Hegemony: A Gramscian Response to Post-Marxism", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8:4, 2005, p. 465.
7. Pasolini 2005, p. 50.
8. Pasolini 2005, p. 58.
9. Pasolini 2005, p. 60.
10. Alain Badiou, "The Autonomy of Aesthetic Process", *Radical Philosophy* 178, March/April, 2013.
11. The term 'language in theory' should be understood only as language of theory, as language of theoretical work. Because there is no such a language, that would have its life only in the limits of theory. This is a sheerly stupid claim. Marina Yaguello's book *Lunatic Lovers of Language: Imaginary Languages and Their Inventors* gives plenty of examples of the quest for pure, artificial, and philosophical languages.

The very form and struggles for these languages might resonate with ideological contradictions that could be useful for contemporary linguists as well; but often the main tendency in the quest for perfect artificial languages are complicit with oppressive regimes. Thus when we talk about 'language in theory', we might as well allude to the object of language which is the tool for conceptualisation, the notorious shortcut. But in any case, 'language in theory' is always a 'language in linguistic theory'.

Latitudes of Enunciation – Notes on the Linguistics of Capitalism

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Eetu Viren

At least in the United States, it is possible to make the cleaner wash the floors on her knees without a mop, if you pay a little bit extra. Maybe the floors will be cleaner this way, but without a doubt this service has a social-sexual side to it: the maids bottom as she is washing the floor has to be one the oldest fantasies of the bourgeois male (even though Freud did not understand the social nature of the Wolf Man's dream reducing everything once again to mommy and daddy).¹² Perhaps the customer can also choose whether the cleaner is male or female, Asian, Latino, black or white, what kind of skirt she uses and what the colour of her strings are that are just exposed from underneath the skirt, as she rubs away the greasy stains from the front of the oven.

On top of general cleanliness, the labour of the cleaner produces a service relationship: an engineer that has tolerated his boss ordering him around can drool watching the maids ass while smoking a cigar and drinking whiskey. Asking a Guatemalan mother to dress into old-fashioned black and white maid outfit permits the customer to imagine himself as an authentic patron, whose intimacies the cleaner actually expects. "Oh, Fifi...". This replicates and connects together the relationship between the employer and employee (or the 'class relation' in the sociological sense of the term) with the power relation inherent between the sexes. Cleaning, like any other 'housework' is always also an act of the performative reproduction of gender, as Adrienne Rich describes:

I have a very clear, keen memory of myself the day after I was married: I was sweeping a floor. Probably the floor did not really need to be swept: probably I simply did not know what else to do with myself. But as I swept that floor I thought: Now I am a woman...¹³

In the global metropolises, what is even more important in paid domestic labour is the power relation that concerns the 'race' or the ethnicity (or citizenship) between the female buying the labour and the employee (for it is common that women, who would otherwise be doing the housework themselves, are responsible for 'managing' the domestic work done by the servants). Especially now when the power relation between the sexes within the family has changed, as women also work for money and a negotiation has to take place as to who will take care of the house, and purchase the services necessary for the maintenance and reinforcement of the 'traditional gender roles'. Most of the cleaners and other domestic service workers are migrants, who cannot refuse to accept "Mc Jobs, which I myself could never be subjected to" – this is no doubt part of the service offered to customers.

Housework or cleaning is not only material, old-fashioned 'proper' work, in which the body consumes purely physical energy, but cleaning as any other service work is always also a dialogical process, a process of enunciation.

Central to the production of surplus value and the accumulation of capital in contemporary capitalism are the industries of service, care, and the knowledge economy, which consist substantially of the semiotic production of social utterances. At the same time, it is clear that enunciation is never a purely communicative act, but always saturated by relations of power and repression. Within all these industries the production of surplus value requires the subjection of workers to capital, the expropriation of conditions of independent production and the extortion

of income sources independent of the labour under the command of capital. At the same time the production and reproduction of the capitalist relation (the capital-labour-relation), ergo the production of subjected labour force, demands the generating of hierarchical distinctions within the labour force, as the case has always been in history of capitalism.

Therefore the two essential questions are: how to examine the capitalist relation, the subsumption of living linguistic labour to semiotic capital, within language itself? And how to examine the differences produced by the capitalistic technologies of power inside the labour force, and how to build a common basis of struggle for the abolishment of the capitalist relation. My purpose is not to underline sociologically the differences among various workers, but to examine hierarchies from the point of view of undoing them, so that the struggles of living labour against the subsumption to capital can gain a greater degree of strength and depth. As labour and production are nowadays essentially semiotic and linguistic processes, the theory of language and the sign assume a central position in its analysis.

The meaning of linguistic activity in contemporary capitalism is of course extremely visible: an increasing proportion of the functions of economic institutions, such as central banks, are purely linguistic and performative. Continuous interim reports and data on the development of Gross National Product in different countries have enormous effect on the whole global economy. Sometimes two sentences or three words can decisively influence the entire financial position of a state, as ECB's President Mario Draghi's speech held for finance bankers in London July 2012 demonstrated. It succeeded in lowering the sovereign bond yields of indebted euro countries, and possibly even the entire common currency. "Within our mandate, the ECB is ready to do *whatever it takes* to preserve the Euro. And believe me it will be enough..."

The sign-material of an utterance is of course not solely, or not at all, linguistic. It has its affective, gestural, phonetic and spatial dimensions. An enunciation is a concrete act within a specific social micro-world, which is connected to a certain circuit diagram of brains and bodies. As a linguistic act, enunciation affects the zones in the recipient's brain that process language, but at the same time it also affects other senses, other circuits in the brain: the iconic presence of the body that communicates its emotional state through its corporeality, the proprioceptive influence of the site of enunciation (the sensation in the muscles, in the joints, in the inner ear, relating to the position of the bodies: when the recipient is standing higher or lower, is near or far); the appearance of the book that is being read, how it smells or feels in the fingertips. As Charles S. Peirce stresses, an utterance has always symbolic, iconic as well as indexical dimensions.¹⁴ In immediate dialogical speech the iconic dimension is always primary, not secondary or 'primitive': the body-mind of the enunciator "communicates ideas about the things it presents", which means 'simple imitation' of the body-mind of the other and its affective state (Peirce). This is the way the circuits of the brain connect together, which is a necessary prerequisite for the formation of shared meanings. These affects form a level that is antecedent to all communication and interaction between individuals, which gives birth to new assemblages, new individuals or brain-networks. Precisely thanks to affective resonance even a simple utterance like 'Err...' can function as a signifying statement in a dialogue.

For example an advertisement does not solely deliver 'information' but produces the consumer as a new relation between the affective resonance of the product and as an active receiver orientated towards the resonance. By buying an iPhone you become 'something more'.

The differences or hierarchies between various parts of metropolitan labour force have to be analysed as dissimilarities between different speech genres, where the

analysis takes into consideration the whole social context of enunciation. Work can no longer be divided into a hierarchy between the difference of immaterial and material labour, but rather all work begins to have both cognitive and affective dimensions. Instead of simple dichotomies, the metropolis is penetrated by manifold 'latitudes' of production, as Aihwa Ong phrases it: regions differentiated by juridical, political, social and linguistic factors, which cannot be reduced to the divide between First and Third World.¹⁵ Global metropolises include zones of the First and Third or Fourth World, but the differences among these zones are not between the semiotic and non-semiotic, or between linguistic and non-linguistic, but internal to the social field of enunciation. We cannot blindly go back to good old work and forget the new forms of the organisation of labour while screaming: There are factories in China! There are factories in China! We have to note that when the factory workers in China organise their struggles, they first publish material of their working conditions on the Internet for western consumers and human rights organisations. The whole organisation of factory labour is entirely penetrated by communicative processes.

Signs are not actually produced by the pure linguistic acts of individuals but by "collective assemblages of enunciation",¹⁶ which consist of heterogeneous linguistic and non-linguistic, political and economical relationships. For example, it is clear that Draghi's performative utterance would not have had the same effect, if he would not have been the President of The European Central Bank. Cognitive and affective labour, information and service work is formed of chains of enunciation, even if it consists of 'inner speech', and does not entail visible or audible performances. The immediate social context (the situation) and the broader wider social power relations define the content and form or style of the utterance.¹⁷ The collective assemblage of enunciation is the summary of these

relations and therefore the proper producer of utterances. Assemblages are similar to 'editorial departments' that edit utterances beforehand and at the same time produce the agents that utter them. Housework produces an immediate power relationship between the woman who purchases the labour, and her servant, but this relationship is "most beneficial to men and capitalism",¹⁸ as Bridget Anderson writes. In the global metropolis the general conditions of the reproduction of life echo in each event of enunciation, and capital strives to deny access to them! Enunciation is not distinguishable from the organisation of housing, traffic, food production, health care or education. That is why the undoing of hierarchical differences between enunciations is possible only if the preconditions of life in the metropolis are made 'common' and freely usable.

Also for Bakhtin and Voloshinov an utterance is never a singular speech act, but always part of a continuous dialogical chain, which has dimensions of micro-power relations stratified in the body-mind of the enunciators and recipients that are not present. The 'word of the other' is always present in each utterance, because the understanding of an utterance is always active, and is affiliated with a responsive attitude. An utterance is always a response to another utterance and waits a response as an indication of understanding. Responding is not neutral communication, instead an utterance demands a response by demonstrating in real action that it is comprehended: a command is responded to by obeying or by rebelling! Therefore, the speaker-recipient-models of semiotics and linguistics, in which reception is conceived as a merely passive act, are pure fictions and do not describe the concrete reality of the situation of enunciation. Similarly, the description of the moment of enunciation, by the so-called speech act theory (Austin and Searle etc.) remains completely abstract. As Émile Benveniste pointed out, the performative utterance has no meaning unless the conditions make it possible for

it to be implemented. Anyone can drunkenly 'declare a mass mobilization' or 'crown oneself as an emperor' in some bar, but this utterance gets its performative power only from the position of the enunciator in a particular collective formation and in the social situation of enunciation structured by this collective formation: when the enunciator is the Head of State, the Pope or the Supreme Commander of the Army, commanding large amounts of money and sign flows or has control of the apparatuses of legitimate violence.¹⁹

The ways that language is used within different spheres of social activity (and therefore every form of communicative labour) organise their utterances in their own way, structure and modify grammatical and stylistic expression, and create a particular typical structure of utterances. These structures Bakhtin and Voloshinov call 'genres'. There exists different everyday 'miniature genres': the genres of command, demand and question. But there exists also particular genres for certain situations of social interaction: the genres of sales and marketing, political speech, sports commentary, care work or education for example. That is why expressions are never picked directly from the dictionary, from an abstract and fixed linguistic system. Instead they are quoted from other utterances and from the repertoire characteristic of the genre. Exactly the existence of such genres explains why verbal expression is not always only creative even though Chomskyian linguistics stresses so much 'discrete eternity' or 'combinatory creativity'.

According to Voloshinov utterance always has a social orientation: the form of the utterance changes according to the social status of the speaker and recipient, and by the social environment of the utterance. Social orientation is present in every utterance, not only in verbal, but also in gestural articulation (by the body or the face), as well as in inner speech or public presentation. Social orientation and situation also define the style and form of the utterance, and even grammatical structure.

What is central in service labour is exactly the management of orientations: with regard to the receiver's social status and the situation of receiving, and a capability of adopting certain tones of voice, vocabularies and pronunciations. Job announcements do always assume that the customer and the potential employee have 'good manners', ergo the ability to adopt a correct style in the right situations, while dealing with a specific customer.

"What would you like to have? — A Big Mac-meal" In this example, presenting the question with the wrong intonation and with wrong choice of words does not necessarily drive the customer away, but when you are trying to sell a luxury car or a smart phone, the wrong manner of presentation can prematurely end the transaction, because it modifies the 'mental image' of the product even in the moment of the realisation of the purchase. This image is the dialogical and value producing aspect of the product. If the Mercedes-Benz car dealers appear too 'fishy' or are not dressed neatly enough the customer will soon go to a BMW store.

What is expected from the employee is on the one hand a certain 'sense of situation', and on the other particular features that position her in a definite place in the social hierarchy. In the service sector, for example in the restaurants of New York it is common practice that immigrants (especially black people) work in the kitchen where they cannot be seen, and primarily white or 'domestic' employees are in immediate contact with the customers. Also features like correct pronunciation are potentially meaningful. The classic study by William Labov demonstrated in the 1960's that the way the shop assistants pronounced 'r' distinguished different department stores from each other: the most socially acceptable pronunciation was used in the 'fancier' department stores, in the working-class stores the pronunciation was more 'rural'.²⁰ The meaning of the utterance is not reducible to minimal differences in the language system, instead the meaningful difference is produced in the

acts of enunciation and can for example be related only to phonetic elements. Through the choice of pronunciation or intonation, vocabulary or syntax, the speech genre, the complete personal history of the employee is put to work, not only her education but also the family background, childhood neighbourhood, etc. These abilities are not acquired on the job or at the school, the only way to influence how they are formed is to influence the entirety of the environment of the employee. That is why the metropolis as a space of life becomes crucial for production. Sharon Zukin has described how there is an abundance of 'valued', meaning 'good-looking', white workforce available for the restaurants of New York, largely because of the vast amounts of young people who are either studying or are applying to the art schools of the city.²¹

As Silvia Federici put it, throughout the history of capitalism "The refusal of work determines the value of labour."²² Especially in jobs where worker and 'client' form a strong bond or material relation of dependence, the worker cannot as easily refuse to work. Because the *possibility* for housewives, caregivers or elderly carers to strike is weaker than for example for IT workers, their position to negotiate is inferior and their work is not regarded as valuable.

However, companies today actively seek to form these affective bonds: the worker must commit to the values of the company, her co-workers have to become her best friends. Michel Foucault demonstrates that for the neo-liberals 'the restoration of communal bonds' has always been a central political goal, because capitalism requires a third terrain that combines political and economical logic (the sovereignty and the market) universally. This third terrain is precisely the area of moral sentiments or communal bonds.²³ Capitalism does not survive anywhere without the commitment of the labour force, by way of the mediation of some kind of semiotic cloud: the national competitiveness, 'common team spirit' and so on. With these capitalism

attempts to reduce the probability of refusal to work, ergo the possibility of escape, and thus diminish indirect wages such as social benefits and additional costs from the exodus of workers.

Hierarchies inside the labour force materialise as differences between various speech genres, such hierarchies are, moreover, substantially structured by non-linguistic power relations. In capitalism the value of labour is above all defined by *the possibility of an escape, i.e. the possibility to refuse work*. This possibility is dependent on relations of micro-power that structure the conditions of labour.²⁴ Over the last decades capital has often relied on the fact that women agree to work for lower wages, because the alternative would be to return in between 'a fist and a stove'. Similarly, immigrants cannot ask for higher wages because it would mean that they have to go back to even worse conditions.

The *possibility* of rebellion, of a 'wrong' response, defines the value of an act of enunciation. This possibility is essentially dependent on the general prerequisites of workers' lives, like the possibilities of housing and movement, and also from affective bonds related to work. Therefore the *material requirements for the reproduction of life and the relations of micro-power are echoed in every dialogical enunciation*.

Heteroglossia of the Metropolis

In his sociolinguistic studies in New York, William Labov paid attention to the fact that it was precisely the linguistic confidence, a capacity to apprehend the right style in a right situation, which separated the upper class and the higher middle class from the 'lower middle class'.²⁵ The lower middle class was afflicted by 'linguistic uncertainty', which appeared as a compulsion to imitate the locution of the upper classes and manners of speech that were considered 'valued', without capacity to independently estimate the situation.

The precarious worker is nowadays fully dependent of the logic of competition inherent in the market. She is forced to compete with an indefinite group of other employees for her livelihood, i.e. for job vacancies, without even knowing the criteria with which the market makes its 'decisions'. The logic of imitation typical for the financial markets seems to spread everywhere in this moment of extreme precarity and leads to utmost precarisation of the linguistic behaviour itself. When one is continually expected to answer demands the contents of which nobody really knows, it becomes hard to adapt one's behaviour to the terms of a specific concrete interactive situation, let alone pursue to change these terms. As precarisation is dissolving the middle class, the linguistic uncertainty of the lower middle class spreads increasingly to most latitudes of work. This would seem to be in contradiction with the aims of postindustrial capitalism and shows once again the conflict between the social nature of production and private ownership: capitalism continually destroys the same abilities which it requires for the augmentation of value.

Does extreme insecurity and the imitation that reacts to it lead to the total homogenisation of all linguistic expressions? Will 'bad English' completely overwhelm global metropolises, as some kind of abstract capital-language, which will subdue all other languages under its power? While studying the metropolitan linguistic environment of New York in the 1960's, Labov discovered that the case of the metropolis was completely different from other 'large settlements'. Historically the large size of settlements, like the formation of nation states and their central cities, have led to the homogenisation of language. However, the opposite happened in the metropolis: numerous urban 'slangs' or the parallel existence of vernaculars in utterances of one speaker indicated that metropolises are precisely exceptionally heterogeneous linguistic environments. The linguistic workers of global metropolises are almost without exception multilingual, and these languages do not differ from

one another as closed systems but influence one another continually in both directions. The development is similar to what Derek Bickerton discovered in the Creole language of Guyana: there are several different variants of 'language' which could actually be called speech genres, but which do not differ from one another merely by the pronunciation or the choice of words, but also in the level of linguistic deep structure.

The different variations of Creole in Guyana differ for example in terms of tenses and aspects on three different levels, which are part of the deep structure of language: one variation has a relative past tense, punctual aspect and grammatical differentiation between stative and non-stative verbs, the other has absolute past tense, continuous and perfective aspect, and stative verbs are not clearly distinguished from non-stative verbs.²⁷ The Creole of Guyana is not an independent language as it is based in English, but it still forms its own system, or *semiotic clouds*, an open and dynamic group of systems. Even the same variants of a language used by one person do not form a closed system like the *langue* of Saussure. Different variants of Creole do form a continuum, but it is not essentially different than the continuum between learning two distinct languages. A native Finnish-speaker, who studies English or Chinese, has also a 'Finnish-English' -system or 'Finnish-Chinese' -system as well as the system of Finnish language. None of these systems are closed, instead they blend into each other, change constantly and all the time influence each other. This means that there is no such thing as Saussure's *langue*, no system of internal differences within a language, because language is not a closed system but heterogeneous continuum of usages – of different social utterances. The inhabitant of the metropolis, who shifts from one micro-world to another, perhaps speaks during the day tens of different 'languages', that vary even in the deep structure of grammar and phonology: one is spoken in the morning to the children, the other to

the spouse, third to the customer, fourth to the co-workers, fifth to the shop-keeper that originates from the same region, and so forth. In a way the metropolis has returned to the time of cosmopolitan empires before the birth of nation states. The people start to become more and more similar to emperor Charles V, who according to the legend spoke Spanish to his God, Italian to his women, French to his men, and German to his horse. The linguistic environment of the metropolis is the state of *heteroglossia*, it is filled with different social voices and plurality of languages.²⁷

The different variations in deep structures of language exist and change parallel to each other (both 'synchronic' and 'diachronic' alterations occur there). The whole linguistic conception of language as a specific synchronic system is based on the concept of national language, which is simply a historical creation based on the nation state (or some other centralised state) and its institutions (like the Academy of France) that have forced local languages to assimilate to the national language. Linguistics and the philosophy of language, which acknowledge only the existence of the language system and its individual embodiments, are therefore imperialistic systems which have served the purpose of homogenisation and centralisation of European languages.²⁸ Modern state and national language have never been created without long-term and large-scale violence, the uprooting of local and group-specific languages, as otherwise national unity and the 'necessary consensus' between the citizens would not be possible.²⁹ All the great projects of the European philosophy of language and linguistics are expressions of the political processes of unification and centralisation of language: the poetics of Augustine and of the Church in the middle ages, the Cartesian conception of language in Neoclassicism, the abstract grammatical universalism of Leibniz, Humboldt, the comparative Indo-European linguistics of Saussure and the conception of the language system derivative of it.

If we go back in time to the genealogy of national languages, we can perceive clearly that like the concept of the nation state, the concept of the language system is also historical, not an eternal or natural formation. For example, Dante who is commonly regarded as the 'father' of the standard Italian language did not actually write in Italian, that is, from the basis of the system of Italian language, but used the continuum of Latin-Italian-Occitan. When he wrote theoretical texts he used Latin, even though he quoted constantly poetical texts from other languages. Especially in the early poems he recurrently used 'Occitanisms', because Occitan was the pan-European language of poetry. The fact that this is a question of speech genres and not of language systems is especially visible in *Vita nuova*, which contains sections of both prose and poetry. For example, Dante uses the Italian word 'cuore' for 'heart' in the prose text, but in the poetic section of the same book he uses the Occitan equivalent 'cor' (the difference is so systematic that it cannot be explained only through the number of syllables in a verse).³⁰ In the *Commedia* one character is allowed to use his own language of Provençal or Occitan, and Dante often used Latin words in between Italian. Latin words are not practically considered foreign in Romance languages before the French Revolution and the violent unification of language that was connected to it.³¹ Also when Dante in *De vulgari eloquentia* traces the ideal form of vernacular (or 'vulgar') language and concludes that the needs of poetry will best serve a standard language that is made-up of different Italian dialects, he does not define this language as a closed system but as a combination of the best straits in each dialect (not only grammatical or morphological straits, but also aspects of pronunciation and intonation).³² In the eleventh century the borders between languages were vague anyway: for example the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras wrote a poem, which consists of Provençal (Occitan), Northern French, Gascon and Portuguese.

The development of the modern capitalist state does not properly speaking entail any historical progress or overthrowing of feudalism, instead its driving force is the counter-reaction to the resistance of the peasantry and urban workers of the middle ages, as Silvia Federici depicts.³³ We can find the same dynamics even within the region of language. The institutions that have created the standard language are pretty much the same as the ones that defended the sovereignty of Latin over the different dialects. The official vernacular languages did not repeal the sovereignty of the Church, but exchanged church Latin to a codified vernacular (Romance) language. This language was then imposed upon the people by the clergy, which attempted to simultaneously uproot local dialects. The only difference is that the Church realised the impossibility of schooling the mind and body of men without them being able to understand what is said to them. Now they just had to learn the language of the Church and state, for the schooling to be possible. If Dante is the 'father' of the standard Italian language, Cervantes has very similar status in the development of Spanish national language and culture. However in *Don Quixote* the conflict between different forms of language is as such a central theme of the book, especially in the second part. At the same time, it can be seen in the novel how the old nobility with its delirious formalities derived from the romances, and the new national language formalised by the university join forces against the vernacular forms of language: *Quixote* and The Magister of Salamanca together criticise Sancho Panza about his 'peasant-ness'. Also, one crucial aspect about the madness of Don Quixote is that he 'speaks like a book'.

La langue is in all its abstract purity a completely political concept: it expresses only the vague abstract difference between the words 'night' and 'tight' in English, but it does not bother itself with that historically produced difference which determines that in the 'correct' English we use

'night', and the word 'nightide' is reserved for the parodical old-fashioned usage of language.

In linguistics the complementarity of nationalistic and individualistic methodology is pronouncedly present. The bourgeois subject is always a member of a nation, and the nation (or the society, 'societas', of modern social sciences) is always a coalition of individuals that imagine that they are autonomous. For Saussure, as for the whole tradition of European linguistics, language exists in the duality that consists of a national-cohesive system of langue, and purely individual speech acts (langue and parole). The individual speech act is the concrete mode of being in the national language system (like the act of the individual is the mode of being in the sociological structure). The heteroglossia of metropolises, the centrifugal force of language, has throughout the modern history of Europe torn itself apart from this national-individual order. Historically the cities, and especially the neighbourhoods of common people have always been the last 'islands' that have resisted demands of national unification.³⁴ Still today Hamburg is nearly the last city where the 'Low German' dialect is in use, in spite of two hundred years of attempts to spread the standard language based on the 'High German' dialects. In Finland the 'correct grammar men' tried from 1870 onwards to force all the speakers of different Finnish dialects to pronounce the 'd' speech sound. The working class neighbourhoods of Finland resisted this stubbornly by using the dialectal 'r' instead until the 1920's, and later by 'losing' the speech sound altogether ('oota', 'ees' instead of 'odota', 'edes').

On the other hand, expressive features have spread in the network of cities over and above national borders, and even from one national language to another: the so-called uvular 'r' has spread as a kind of phonetic fashion from northern France gradually through Stuttgart, Cologne and Holland to Copenhagen and to the cities of western Norway. The inhabitants of global metropolises use forms

of language that mix to the 'native language' lexical, syntactical, morphological and phonetic features from all the languages one can hear in the city, not depending on the 'ethnicity' of the speaker. In the most glorified areas of the 'creative economy' of Berlin, Kreuzberg and Neukölln, the 'native Germans' also use *Kiezdeutsch*, which combines features of the vocabulary, syntax, new particles, or any linguistic element from the languages of the immigrants.³⁵ The assemblages of enunciation are shaken and formed anew in the transformative region, through the phonetic and gestural components of enunciation when they are dialogically shared – not so much in the generative level of the deep structure of language. Dictionary definitions and grammatical rules are most forcefully created by the centralising power institutions of the national states!

In the cities there has never existed a single national language, or only one local dialect, instead there exists always an endless amount of 'group languages'. Every inhabitant of the city speaks multiple languages. In the global metropolises the conflict between centrifugal and centripetal or horizontal and vertical processes is a regular phenomenon. Similarly the linguistic environment of the metropolis has new features in comparison to the nation state and its modern city. The vertical processes of the state no longer strives to subdue or repress horizontal and centrifugal processes, they merely attempt to optimise them, to regulate their outbursts in acceptable manner and measure. The bureaucrats and academies that regulate language have given up the attempt to control all the speech genres, their development of grammar or pronunciation in its entirety. The function of linguistic science in a control society is not to 'normalise', instead its logic is one of 'optimising': the demand of absolute grammatical correctness has been abandoned and instead what is established is a relative and alternating order of precedence for different genres of social speech, in relation to different situations or productive linguistic

activities. Finnish language teachers have tried for ages to root out from the spoken and written language the wrong rection of the verb 'alkaa', 'to start something' (you are supposed to say 'alan tehdä', instead of 'alan tekemään'), but now the guardians of the language have at last given up, powerless in front of the heteroglossia of the metropolis. Also the criteria for acceptable speech genres has transformed from general norms (acceptable/not acceptable) into a kind of economical optimisation. For example, it is not so bad to use curse words, if it happens in the right context. *You can very well write to the newspaper or report, "now I will start to innovate for fuck's sake", providing that you produce enough surplus value.* Something 'personal' or 'rugged' is actually expected, but within the framework agreed upon by employer and the customer. This also entails that transgression, the simple breach of the norm or law, has no political meaning. Dirty words are useless, what is required is a discourse about organising anew the conditions of life and production. When transgression is a tool of surplus production, it is necessary to start drafting new-shared laws, and to renounce the laws of the bourgeoisie.

The labyrinths of language and brain networks

In the famous section number 18 of the *Philosophical Investigations*, Ludwig Wittgenstein suggests that there is a connection between the labyrinth of the metropolis and the structure of language. "Our language can be regarded as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, of houses with extensions from various periods, and all this surrounded by a multitude of new suburbs with straight and regular streets and uniform houses."³⁶ Today this comparison has a particular meaning, because the metropolis is more and more linguistic or semiotic, a formation of different system of expression. The metropolis does not consist only of physical buildings, streets and

market places, but also essentially of the activity of human beings, from the coupling of brains to the montages of virtual bodies created in the brain.

By conceiving the metropolis as a linguistic-cognitive formation, we can create the following 'map' or diagram: spreading from the labyrinthine centre of the metropolis the Fordistic suburbia correlates with language or knowledge, in which the *general intellect* still is connected to specialised scientific knowledge, but in the central labyrinth it participates directly in production as living labour, as cognitive and affective activity that is not separated from the body of the work force. In the global metropolises of post-industrial capitalism these 'industrial suburbs' still exist, but they have lost their essentiality in production and have shifted into periferia in relation to the labyrinths of city centres and their living linguistic activity.

On top of these regions, the analysis of linguistic activity can provide even more fundamental viewpoints to current modes of production, because the central conflicts of contemporary capitalism become visible (or perhaps audible) precisely in the region of language. Language is a kind of prism which is perforated by all the focal conflicts and non-signifying semiotics of global metropolises.

As is well known, the meaning of a word is the usage of it in a certain language game, according to certain rules. For Wittgenstein this means that language is part of a life form, which solidifies an unjustifiable and unchallengeable base for different usages of language. In his last book *On Certainty*, Wittgenstein calls this ensemble of self-evident or shared and unfounded sentences the 'world view'. According to Wittgenstein, the world view is not something that we are certain of, something that has been accepted on the basis of specific arguments, but it is "the inherited background against which I distinguish between true and false".³⁷ Sentences that represent this world view "might be part of a kind of mythology" and their "role is like that of rules of a game".

How do these rules of the game form and from where do they come from? What does it practically mean to follow them? In his search for the answer to these questions Wittgenstein in our opinion begins to formulate the situation of the global metropolis, where life forms and their world views are in constant movement, are in continuous turmoil, and it is necessary to use language in a 'state of exception', without the consensual back-up guaranteed by the life form.

According to Wittgenstein "A meaning of a word is a kind of employment of it."³⁸ Because of this "There exists a correspondence between the concepts 'rule' and 'meaning'."³⁹ Wittgenstein writes more about "following the rule" in the *Philosophical Investigations*. It is by exactly following a rule that language is made into a non-individual institution, because the following of a rule is not something that a single person can do only once. Following the rule is a habit, an institution. But these institutions are always precarious, because there is a rupture between the rule and its concrete application in a situation. The interpretation of a rule is always uncertain, because "every interpretation hangs in the air together with what it interprets, and cannot give it any support".⁴⁰

In the previous section 85 of the *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein compares the rule to a guidepost. Does the guidepost actually tell me where I should go to follow its directions? Is the guidepost pointing towards the road, the field, or inside the shopping mall? And should I go in the direction of the tip of the sign or in the opposite direction? Another option could be that directions would be drawn on the road with a dotted line, then each of these dots would be a kind of new rule for how to interpret the rule, but even then none of these rules are unambiguous but always require a new rule about its interpretation. Only decision can cut short this infinite regression. Decision does not mean 'cutting' or 'sectioning', as in the political theology

of Carl Schmitt. Also habit or custom is a certain kind of *decision*. I am able to interpret the guidepost only because “I have been trained to react in a certain way to this sign” and I decide, for example because of habit, to act accordingly.

Therefore the rule does not contain its own application. The rule can be interpreted in different, even mutually contradictory manners. Precisely the labyrinth of the metropolis is the space where the established rules of life forms are driven to a dead end. In the section 203 Wittgenstein writes: “Language is a labyrinth of paths. You approach from one side and know your way about; you approach the same place from another side and no longer know your way about.”⁴¹ This means that the labyrinth is a space, where the rule is completely ambiguous: “What if one person reacts to the order and training thus, and another otherwise?”⁴² These days we constantly encounter situations where we do not know to which world or group we belong to, how are we supposed to act, and so forth.

The inhabitant of the metropolis is so crucial for the contemporary economy due to the features of its form of life, the constant micro-breakdowns and the simultaneously extreme, fast, and chaotic vibration of the brain.

The constant state of exception of the metropolis is therefore not ‘exceptional’, it is not a situation or attribute of particular individuals, the micro-breakdowns are completely regular and the abilities that are connected to them belong to *any and each of the inhabitants of the metropolis*. Therefore the production forces of the metropolis are born in the region of *unauthorised experience*, which is sometimes called mass culture. There the question is not about grand ‘heroes’ or individual top experts, such as Karl Lagerfeld or Steve Jobs. *The mass culture of mass intelligentsia* has in contemporary capitalism become a ‘core sector’ equivalent to the ‘production of productive forces’: the fashion industry that is controlled by global corporations is completely based on the unauthorised design of the ‘subcultures’ of the

metropolis. The designers roam the streets studying how people dress and create fashions according to what they see. Lagerfeld and Jobs are therefore nothing other than parasites of the metropolitan mass intelligentsia. What exactly are the normally 'exceptional', but in the metropolis regular situations, where it is necessary to use these abilities? What does this exception tell us about the rules, about the formation and the nature of the rule? How does a life form change to another or how do different life forms drift into conflict with one another? How in a situation, where concepts such as rule and its individual application (or functioning and structure) lose their meaning, is it possible to study the restrictions that are directed against activity, or the formation of established power relations in an open force field?

In the manuscript *On Certainty* Wittgenstein deals with the way "the grammars of life forms" are born:

It might be imagined that some propositions, of the form of empirical propositions, were hardened and functioned as channels for such empirical propositions as were not hardened but fluid; and that this relation altered with time, in that fluid propositions hardened, and hard ones became fluid.⁴³

Self-evident and habitual rules that function as the foundation of life forms and world views are then only 'hardened' empirical statements. Because of this "the mythology [formed by the aforementioned statements] may change back into a state of flux".⁴⁴ While talking about traditional life forms, Wittgenstein also distinguishes "the movement of the waters on the river-bed and the shift of the bed itself; though there is not a sharp division of the one from the other". In the metropolis, where we constantly have to encounter people who speak weird languages, this movement between becoming fluid and hardening is continuous. That is why the basic statements of our world view are in a constant state of semi-hardness and semi-fluidity. As Wittgenstein himself acknowledges, "the same proposition

may get treated at one time as something to test by experience, at another as a rule of testing".⁴⁵

One central example of an 'assured statement', which Wittgenstein repeatedly uses, is that a human being has never been to the moon. This proposition proved itself to be only an 'empirical statement', and returned into fluid form even before Wittgenstein's manuscript was published.⁴⁶ In the metropolises of global capitalism the vaporisation of solid statements is a regular, without a doubt in the year 1969 the collection of 'assured statements' would have included for example the following: "A person is not able to talk to another person that lives in the other side of the globe, if there is no connecting phone wire in between" or "A human being cannot reproduce itself immaculately" etc. A consequence of the transformation of the general intellect into an immediate productive force has been the unprecedented acceleration of technological development, and this has challenged all the other 'world views' in a time period shorter than that of the average human age.

The rules of usage of language are essentially alternating and mutating rules (William Labov uses the expression 'variable rule').⁴⁷ Under certain conditions we act *more often* in a certain manner than another. The coverage of a rule can be established with a certain *probability*: how probable is it, that a user of language uses in this situation this rule and not some other one? Therefore the rules first and foremost delimit linguistic creativity, they export the uncertainty that is characteristic to creativity within certain probability structures, so that it could be anticipated and therefore controlled with the technologies of financial capitalism. An attempt must be made to transform uncertainty into calculable and coverable risk.

The metropolis is a space, where within everyday communication one has to constantly shift between certain micro-worlds, habitual ways of behaving or language games. The 'innovative' or creative action that is so cherished in the

contemporary economy is formed precisely by the 'frictions', the 'microbreakdowns' between these micro-worlds. That is why instead of structures that are solid, external to action (even though derivative of action), the functioning of the metropolis is channelled through different dispositifs of power. The self-certainties that restrict linguistic agency within the metropolises of capitalism are something that does not exist external to its functioning.

Wittgenstein describes these self-certainties in *Of Certainty* in section 152:

I do not explicitly learn the propositions that stand fast for me. I can discover them subsequently like the axis around which a body rotates. This axis is not fixed in the sense that anything holds it fast, but the movement around it determines its immobility.

In other words "what is stable is not stable because it is self-evident or convincing, but because the things around it hold it fast." This is the characteristic feature of the techniques of production and functioning of the metropolis: their 'grammar', which is capital in its post-industrial form, is the axis around which the currents of living labour are forced to circulate. Different systems of the techniques of power, like the remains of the nation state, the functions of local bureaucrats, international institutes and the centrifugal forces of supranational organisations or corporations account for keeping the movement around the axis steady. There is no 'structures', only hydraulic swirls, and axes of rotation that form in their field of attraction!

Also collective reserves of meaning that relate to linguistic or other semiotic activity are not closed systems of internal differences but kinds of continually changing clouds which penetrate each other, which are simultaneously confused and actualised by linguistic action. Saussure himself claims that without a system of language, thinking

is just a sheer vague *nebula*, a cloud. In my view of the matter, however, it is the other way around. Only from the perspective of an isolated individual, might a semiotic system appear as something closed and unchangeable like *la langue* of Saussure. Semiotic orders are continuously changing, because the virtual reserves of meaning are produced in collective practice, and therefore they are not closed, but open systems, continually mutable clouds with multiple chains and branches. With the word cloud here I mean something like the 'cloud services' of the Internet. They are dispersed environments where information has not been concentrated into any single unit or closed system. But they still operate in material devices. And their organisation can be extremely hierarchical: soon Google will own all the results of our semiotic processes and commands not only the right content but also the right linguistic form. Semiotic clouds do not form a unitary system, but a number of decentralised models of language, groups of genres and paradigms of grammar, which do not exist separately from the material platforms through which they are transmitted, like different school books, the utterances of teachers in the classroom, dictionaries and grammars, different orthodox literal and oral acts of communication, etc. The control of these platforms is nowadays extremely centralised and not at all without hierarchy, even though these hierarchies would not be the same as they used to be.

The axis of rotation does not exist regardless of the movement, because the valorisation of capital and the reproduction of the capitalist relation are always dependent on living labour that is included inside it as non-capital. Therefore the 'axis', i.e. the capitalist relation is extremely fragile and penetrated by continuous conflicts. The attachment of living labour around it demands continuous effort; the continuous development of new forms of control and the continuous adaptation to the ways living labour escapes exploitation. Therefore the means of 'primitive' (or

‘original’) accumulation still remain mundane. The existence of the capitalist relation requires the separation of the producers from the means of production each and every day, over and over. Therefore also post-industrial finance capital comes into the world “dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt”.⁴⁸

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Notes

12. Freud assumed that his patient's phantasy about a maid washing the floor on her knees was due to him witnessing his mother and father in that same position, which denounces the whole sexual dimension of class power (see Stallybrass & White 1986).
13. Rich 1995, p. 25.
14. Peirce 1894.
15. Ong 2006.
16. Deleuze & Guattari 1980.
17. Volosinov 1986;
Bakhtin 1986.
18. Anderson 2000, p. 7.
19. Benveniste 1966, p. 253.
20. Labov 1978, Chapter 2.
21. Zukin 1996.
22. Federici 2012.
23. Foucault 2004.
24. Moulier Boutang 1998.
25. Labov 1978.
26. Bickerton 1975.
27. Bakhtin 1981.
28. Bakhtin 1981, pp. 269–71.
29. In the case of French language this is minutely depicted in M. De Certeau, D. Julia and J. Revel, 1975.
30. Dante 1931.
31. Curtius 1973, pp. 42–3.
About the project of nationalisation of language that was connected to the French Revolution, see de Certeau, Julia & Revel 1975.
32. Dante 1980.
33. Federici 2004.
34. Teeldeman 2005.
35. See Freywald, Mayr, Özcelik & Wiese 2011.
36. Wittgenstein 1958.
Also later, as is customary, the references to works of Wittgenstein use the number of the section instead of page numbers.

37. Wittgenstein 1975, 94.
38. Wittgenstein 1975, 61.
39. Wittgenstein 1975, 62.
40. Wittgenstein 1958, 198.
41. Wittgenstein 1958.
42. Wittgenstein 1958, 206.
43. Wittgenstein 1975, 96.
44. Wittgenstein 1975, 97.
45. Wittgenstein 1975, 98.
46. Wittgenstein's manuscript
was published posthumously in
the year 1969 by G. H. Von Wright
and Elizabeth Anscombe.
47. Labov 1978.
48. [https://www.marxists.org/
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N

m

Nim kauram oppia kuini ikääkin.

Nimi metsä vastaa kuu hundeaan.

Demokratia merkitsee kansanvaltaa.

Ei ole isää iäksi, äitiä elinajaksi.

Finland, Isaacme mukkalainen mami.

The forest replies the way
one shouts

Finland, the foreign name
of our country

Chapter 6

The Long Tradition of Anti-Repressive Vituperation

The name of Gramsci often appears in scholarly texts on socio-linguistics. It is almost unavoidable in any text written in the eighties addressing the issues of ideology, formations, hegemony, history or on the unevenness of language development. It would be very interesting project to map these Gramscian references in the scholarly texts of socio-linguistics; it would be especially interesting to see how these uses of Gramsci are related in what Peter D. Thomas in his book refers to as 'soft' Gramscianism championed by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau.¹ But one thing, which is very peculiar, is that in eighties many sociolinguistic texts of this scope arrive at Gramsci by way of Raymond Williams' essay "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory" published for the first time in *New Left Review* in 1973. Kathryn A. Woolard in her highly cited and influential text "Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward an Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory" (1985), and Susan Gal in "Language and the 'Arts of Resistance'" (1995), each discuss Williams's text, as many other socio-linguistic texts of similar scope do. It is possible to claim that the abovementioned text of Williams is referred to as some kind of abstract working hypothesis, which linguistic science should put to test. The allure of Williams' hypothesis has many reasons; particularly the relation between infrastructure and superstructure, but also its points on representation, reproduction, and the emergence of new forms in the process of cultural practices. William's text is concerned with the issue of the arts, but it is easy to stretch it to the field of language, in the same way as art in this text is treated as culture. His main argument develops in two directions, one insisting that infrastructure, the base, is not as basic as argued in many cultural theories, that it has its own complexity, contradiction and dialectic (dynamics). Secondly, he proposes a genuine distinction in relation to cultural practices that concern the superstructure; according to Williams in any particular moment of new expression, the emergent forms

always co-exist, in somehow contradictory and dialectical terms, with residual forms. This process of the persistence of residual forms in emerging new expressions, as Williams shows, has far reaching consequences both to political art and to the practice of literary (and artistic) criticism. It could be suggested that the new use of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which Williams proposes following these two theses, is what caught the attention of so many socio-linguists and cultural theoreticians:

We have to emphasize that hegemony is not singular; indeed that its own internal structures are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, that they can be continually challenged and in certain respects modified. That is why instead of speaking simply of 'the hegemony', 'a hegemony', I would propose a model which allows for this kind of variation and contradiction, its sets of alternatives and its processes of change.²

It is not hard to imagine why so many sociolinguistic scholars have been inspired by these lines: it offers, in the best way, a conceptual background for applying linguistics *in vivo*, and also it grants this application to the very praxis of institutional change. Even more, it is enabling linguists to live and work with contradictions, while addressing the political and social potential of the language. The real reason for this kind of concept of hegemony in sociolinguistic studies, one is inclined to propose, is the conceptualisation of ideology in the science of sociolinguistics. It is a strange kind of ideology, one that does allow for easy combination of its inherently constitutive elements, contrary to the Marxist and Gramscian understanding, which sees the contradictions of ideology as a form based on asymmetry and conflict.

In order not to fail in capturing sociolinguistic reality, as Woolard is writing, the researcher of the language of any given society, even a homogeneous mono-lingual society, has to start with the thesis that “variation in speech is neither trivial nor a pale reflection of ‘real’ language, but that it is systematic and that the systematicity of linguistic variation is an imperative object of study in itself”.³ It is these variations that have direct repercussions on “the informal structures of experience in daily life”.⁴ This also echoes with Williams in terms of the ‘structures of feeling’ that enable residual elements to co-exist in a strange way with new emergent forms. What is most striking in Williams and Gramsci’s watered-down thesis here is the claim that linguistic variations are at the heart of ideological operations. As inherently contradictory, the nature of linguistic variation has a similarity to what Williams, in referring to Gramsci, described as the possibility of renewal or modification of hegemony. This renewal, one always has to keep in mind, in Gramsci and Williams was related to the struggles of the workers’ movement and to the political organisation that searched for a new language of addressing the contingencies of that very struggle. The search for a new language for the workers’ movement is the search for a new form of practice; it has a direct link to linguistic variation, but not to variations defined in terms of existing forms of ideology. Woolard, who also proposes a conceptual framework for distinguishing production and practice, is aware of the oppositional/alternative politics of practice-oriented sociolinguistics. This practice, in her research, takes place in the domain of the possibilities of everyday speech, as “an oppositional process that sees through and repudiates the legitimate language (yes, it is the language of authority, but that not authority of my life), the inversion of the dominant value hierarchy produces what is at best an alternative and at worst a collaborative product – an adherence to a ‘sub-standard’ forms of speech”.⁵ The political outcome of this

theoretical reasoning is that, substandard speech should generate certain forms of solidarity that could be a condition for oppositional language-practice within the existing ideology. One wonders in which way such 'substandard speech', or 'informal structure' evades ideological operations? An even more pertinent question is whether certain ideological patterns take place in this very discussion of 'ideology' in sociolinguistic debates? More precisely, what is the ideology of 'ideology' of sociolinguistics?

The discussion surrounding *linguistic ideology* is a very sensitive and difficult issue. If we think of language as something between the oppositional axes of diachrony and synchrony, or between the external and internal features of a language, a question immediately arises: where does ideology stand in relation to these two lines? Is it diachrony, or synchrony; or worse, is it the internal features or external contingencies that are carriers of linguistic ideology, or is ideology somewhere in between?⁶ Whatever the case, and it is not our responsibility to find an answer to this, there is a certain riddle-like situation. If ideology is responsible for the relation between synchronic and diachronic features of language, then the issue of non-linguistic ideological forces needs to be answered.

In her critique of James Scott's book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, the sociolinguist Susan Gal argues that the thesis of the book suffers from a simplification of ideological forms, and proposes some conceptual models for addressing the issue. By pointing out that Scott's thesis is based on very simple binary oppositions between dominated and dominant, she proposes that ideology is structured along the lines of the 'duality of power', which means that ideology works from a multiplicity of perspectives.⁷ Referring to daily life under Mongolian and Hungarian socialism, which is her field of expertise, Gal pictures the following parallax reality: "Everyone experienced both domination and subordination within the

tightly nested hierarchies of everyday Mongolian life, and everyone engaged in riddle-like, deliberately cryptic analysis of everyday events.”⁸ The role of language in this performative concept of hegemony is invaluable; due to the inherent formal property of continuous variation, the language structure will enable this switch in the coding of ideological positions in the most subtle and creative way. Here the role of linguistic ideology is explained as a mediation of cultural values, and norms, through a variation of contexts. Precisely, as Gal argues: “Linguistic practices – tropes and figurative uses of language, such as euphemisms and indirection, as well as the supposedly ‘literal’ – are interpretable only within particular social and institutional contexts, and are linked to social functions such as resistance or domination only through specific linguistic ideologies.”⁹ This is, put in nutshell, the ideology of sociolinguistic ‘ideology’.

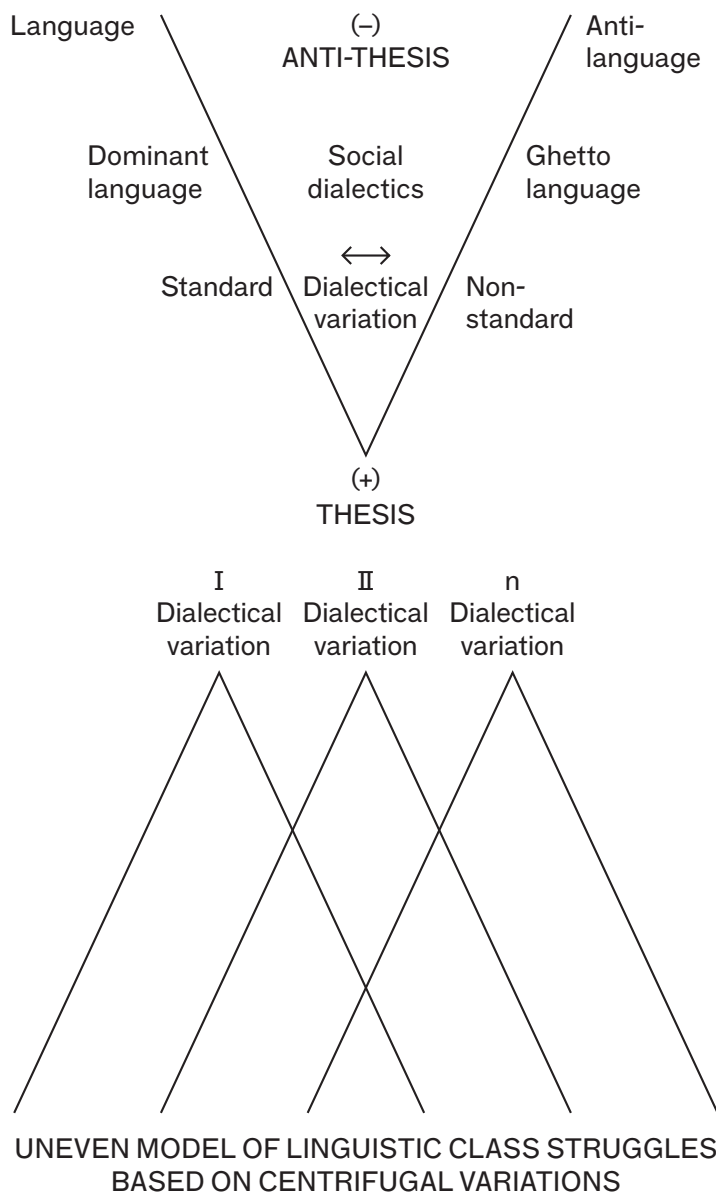
This means that variations of language are the reason for variations in ideology: to each apparatus its own language, and even more, to each apparatus its own context. It is actually more than that: to each language variation, a different political option. According to Judith T. Irvine it is “because of language’s semiotic complexity (its multiple levels of patterning, and the multifunctional nature of the linguistic sign), there are multiple possibilities for its relationship with a material world”.¹⁰ This especially concerns the relation between language and economy and politics. Instead of claiming, as Rossi-Landi does, that there is homology between the division of linguistic labour and division of labour in society, Irvine insists that the labour of language is ‘part and parcel’ to economic labour.¹¹ This correlation has direct repercussions: language is always multifunctional – and its relation to the economy is, therefore, manifold.¹² The potential for linguistic variation in sociolinguistics can go very far in some cases. The title of the text, “When talk isn’t cheap”, actually tells us a lot about what kind of economy this kind of sociolinguistics

invests in. It is definitely an economy based on a normative understanding of transaction, of capitalist realism, where language is the guarantor of its uptake. The ideological function of this normative-everyday-capitalistic world is also something that should be framed from within this position. The multi-functionalism of language variation corresponds to (correlates to, is part and parcel to it) the manifold nature of an economy that does not offer, in the theory of Irvine, a possibility for a rupture, for a different perspective, for something completely new. The ideological mediation, which happens through such multiplicity, has a very rational and logical direction; it is completing itself through the 'chain of authentications', which Irvine explains with the example of a golden necklace she wears ("talk is not cheap!")...¹³ Of course the examples in sociolinguistic science are not arbitrary, regardless it is Irvine who claimed that the indexical correlation between linguistic differentiation and social differentiation is not arbitrary, but it is precisely through this procedure of a 'chain of authentication' that a complex integration of values in the multifunctional field is arranged.

With this we arrive at the heart of the ideological theory of sociolinguistics. We can find this same ideological function of language variation in many different scholarly examples of sociolinguistics; but to my knowledge no one puts it as clear as Paul V. Kroskrity in his introduction to *Regimes of Language*: "Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership."¹⁴

Here there is a need for a long detour, a digression in the text, which would bring us to the heart of the contradiction of multilingual discourse. The source of influence for many sociolinguistic studies of alternative languages,

variation, and multi-language is an interesting article written by M.A.K. Halliday, 'Anti-languages'. The main thesis of the text is that "an anti-language stands to an anti-society in much the same relation as does a language to a society".¹⁵ The consequence of this thesis is twofold, that sociolinguists should research anti-languages (of criminals, the underground, etc.) as competent languages, without undermining them as accidental and intuitive distortions of a dominant language; and secondly, that the relation between anti-language and reality has the same form as in the dominant language, just with varying content. "An anti-language is, in this respect, no different from a language 'proper': both are reality-generating systems."¹⁶ Halliday proposes here some kind of idea of counter-Whorfianism; an idea that an alternative society could be re-constructed with the means of re-constructing grammar and language. The variations of language that lead toward the variations of society; but only variations in the sense of a combinatorial of possibilities, as a different (metaphoric) version of society, or, as Halliday writes, as a "counter-cultural version of the social system".¹⁷ In Halliday's schema (p. 581), the anti-society of anti-languages actually has the role of renewing the language and society 'proper' – the vitality that it needs if it is to function at all. In this unilateral and comfortable conception of society, the real antagonisms and counter-positions are never called for.¹⁸ *Noise after Babel*, which is a continuation of the 'Counter-constructivist Model', stays in complete opposition to this conception of 'anti-language'. Our starting point is that structural variations of this sort only strengthen and reproduce the existing ideology (of society), which is the reason for inequalities in language.



Discussing the role of languages, as well as multi-languages, in the nationalist discourses in Europe, Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren propose that languages (including multi-languages) in spite of all the contradictions they generate, are in the last instance constructivist by nature. They write: "Language creates identity and discontinuity; it unites and it divides."¹⁹ Hardly anyone can argue against this proposition. But no one can counter-argue that unity and division in society happens within the framework of the existing-functioning 'nation'. There is unity-division antagonism only inside the already united structure (nation), which continuously reproduces its own existence. This is weak antagonism. However, it is not an easy thing to propose a strong antagonism, something that would be anti-nationalism through and through. We know that these sorts of proposals, one would prefer to call them fantasies, belong to cultural engineers, or policy planners whose main purpose is to keep the balance of society in the friendly play of antagonisms (when needed, nationalist; when too nationalist, multicultural). The philosophy, or conceptual instruments of sociolinguists, as we aim to show, fits into this projection of unite/divide.

Alice Becker-Ho, one time member of Situationist International and long-time collaborator of Guy Debord, has explained why linguists cannot grasp the real meaning of the practice of jargon and slang, because "for those people the notion of clandestinity means nothing".²⁰ The introduction of the 'clandestine' forces something on the linguistic model that should not happen through the sociolinguistic model, the incorporation of the 'clandestine' as anthropological material for research.²¹ The introduction, or incorporation of 'clandestine' language operations into linguistic studies, should mean something more. It should mean something like a reversal of positions, a counter-position; this would, if necessary, forcefully impose radical refusal. As Becker-Ho, a serious student of slang and jargon

claims: "Nothing about them links up to conventional speech";²² they are in their operation a practice of community, which uses the linguistic devices in order to speak a language which refuses to talk with the terms of adversary.²³ The real strength of this reversal, or *détournement*, is that all the terms included in the discussion of this very process of linguistic procedure should be reversed. The play, the centrifugal-centripetal, society, language, jargon, renewal, everything in this book of Becker-Ho has a different meaning, which cannot be translated to the context of a normative language. The thesis of this book is principally a thesis of untranslatability; not as un-translatability because of linguistic limits, but untranslatability because of the political refusal of the normative acceptance (or co-optation).²⁴ There is, at the beginning of the book a quip, an anonymous-clandestine-secret sentence that stays there without translation: "o chor ay e kurva chi purin pe"; our translation of this is: "o blind are you a prostitute that betrays".

As William Shakespeare wrote in *The Tempest*: "You taught me language; and my profit on't is, I know how to curse." In his classical book on swearing, Ashley Montagu has proposed a thesis that swear-words, "in the course of [their] history accumulated so much magic that [they] provided an unfailing source of energy for use in all sorts of refined meanings".²⁵ In this way the swearword – an accumulation of prodigious quantum of talismanic potency – can become "a part and parcel of significant grammatical process".²⁶ It can provide a contradictory and ambiguous form that our languages need for communication. The logic of these inherent contradictions in swearwords enable unleashing of the ideological and structural properties of language formations. Usually these ideological and structural properties are part of class struggles, which have sedimented certain 'magic' in the course of history. Montagu explains this with the witty example: "Two miners are contemplating on

election poster. "What's all this mean?" asks Bill, "One man one vote?" "Why?" answers his companion, "One bloody man one bloody vote." To which Bill replies, "Then why the hell don't they bloody well say so?"²⁷

There is an indisputable link with swearwords and subversion; or more precisely there is a historical link between swearwords and the subversions based on class struggles. In the sphere of swearwords, the multiplicity or heterogeneity of the language (which is *sine qua non* of multilingualism) refracts competing historical positions. Swearwords are 'prisms' of social and political struggles. V. N. Voloshinov, detected this in the most clear way in *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. After discussing the social function of refraction in the words, as carriers of class struggles, in the same page he goes on to discuss the importance of this aspect of the language as the "the social multiaccentuality of the ideological sign." For Voloshinov, as well as for Bakhtin, the multiaccentuality of the ideological sign is the crucial condition for communication, which has to be taken as granted in any linguistic study of the vitality of the language. "The very same thing that makes the ideological sign vital and mutable is also, however, that which makes it a refracting and distorting medium [...] in actual fact, each living ideological sign has two faces, like Janus. Any current curse word can become a word of praise."²⁸ This is unstoppable dialectics, or radical historicity, which makes words a social phenomenon; only through this property of words is there possibility to have a 'reported speech', or speech about speech, utterance about utterance.²⁹ In order to make explicit what he means with the "multiplicity of meanings as the constitutive feature of words", Voloshinov gives an example of the use of "certain nouns" (certain widely used obscenities) which reflect the variety of "speech performances". The example is from Dostojevskij's *Diary of a Writer*:

One Sunday night, already getting on to the small hours, I chanced to find myself walking alongside a band of six tipsy artisans for a dozen paces or so, and there and then I became convinced that all thoughts, all feelings, and even whole trains of reasoning could be expressed merely by using a certain noun, a noun, moreover, of utmost simplicity in itself. Here is what happened. First, one of these fellows voices this noun shrilly and emphatically by way of expressing his utterly disdainful denial of some point that had been in general contention just prior. A second fellow repeats this very same noun in response to the first fellow, but now in an altogether different tone – to wit, in the sense that he fully doubted the veracity of the first fellow's denial. A third fellow waxes indignant at the first one, sharply and heatedly sallying into the conversation and shouting at him that very same noun, but now in a pejorative, abusive sense. The second fellow, indignant at the third for being offensive, himself sallies back in and cuts the latter short to the effect: "What the hell do you think you're doing, butting in like that?! Me and Fil'ka were having a nice quiet talk and just like that you come along and start cussing him out!" And in fact, this whole train of thought he conveyed by emitting just that very same time honored word, that same extremely laconic designation of a certain item, and nothing more, save only that he also raised his hand and grabbed the second fellow by the shoulder. Thereupon, all of a sudden a fourth fellow, the youngest in the crowd, who had remained silent all this while, apparently having just struck upon the solution to the problem that had originally occasioned the dispute, in a tone of rapture, with one arm half-raised, shouts – What do you think: "Eureka!" "I found it, I found it!" No, nothing at all like "Eureka", nothing like "I found it." He merely repeats that very

same unprintable noun, just that one single word, just that one word alone, but with rapture, with a squeal of ecstasy, and apparently somewhat excessively so, because the sixth fellow, a surly character and the oldest in the bunch, didn't think it seemly and in a trice stops the young fellow's rapture cold by turning on him and repeating in a gruff and expostulatory bass-yes, that very same noun whose usage is forbidden in the company of ladies, which, however, in this case clearly and precisely denoted: "What the hell are you shouting for, you'll burst a blood vessel!"

And so, without having uttered one other word, they repeated just this one, but obviously beloved, little word of theirs six times in a row, one after the other, and they understood one another perfectly."³⁰

We should be peaceful, law-abiding—but the time has come to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever [the black man] is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked. If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job.

Malcolm's many speeches clearly told Americans that we must make up for past inequities. And people must understand in the language of the ghetto what "off the pig" means.

"Off the Pig" started being used widely when the people, black and white, were all demonstrating at the trial of brother Huey P. Newton. It meant essentially "don't execute Huey," don't try to put him in the gas chamber. Put the "pig" in the gas chamber for murdering black people. We also wanted community control of police. "We'll patrol ourselves," we said. So at the demonstrations during Huey's trial there was a song, "No more pigs in our community/Off the Pig/It's time to pick up the gun."

Motherfucker and *Mothafucka'*: Motherfucker is a very common expression nowadays. Eldridge ran it down to me once after a number of people got upset over this vernacular of the ghetto. Eldridge said, "I've seen and heard brothers use the word four and five times in one sentence and each time the word had a *different* meaning and expression."

Motherfucker actually comes from the old slave system and was a reference to the slave master who raped our mothers which society to-day doesn't want to face as a fact. But today, check the following sentence:

"Man, let me tell you. This motherfucker here went down there with his motherfucking gun, knocked down the motherfucking door and blew this motherfucker's brains out. This shit is getting to be a motherfucker."

X With the rising consciousness of black people learning about Black History in general, many black youth have a tendency to say in reference to a person they may dislike, "The dirty mother . . ." dropping the fucker part. But historically black men know black women have been oppressed and when we use the word we don't mean that a man has had sexual relations with his mother. This never enters into a black brother's mind. But it can be said in anger to mean just that, and the sayer knows it is completely from the truth, referring to the white exploiters and slavers in history.

Today, one can use the word to refer to a friend or someone he respects for doing things he never thought could be done by a black man. In the past, the white man has always been the one who has done fantastic things. Raping our mothers was fantastically derogatory. Well, it's kind of a real complimentary statement to a brother or even a sister when one vicariously relates to someone who's black and pulls a fantastic feat. We will joyfully say, "Man, he's a motherfucker."

X The racism and oppression of black people, from history to this very day, has caused this word "mother-fucker" to be part of the vernacular of the ghetto. White boys have picked it up from black people, but without the different meanings as they have developed up to the day. It so happens that the lumpen proletarian, the brother off the block who comes into the Party, speaks this vernacular. But Huey was one not to use it much at all. He says people, especially the older people, won't listen to the real program of the Party if we use street language. Eldridge says that if we have to use it, use it in reference to the avaricious and demagogic politicians who oppress us, because when they murder a brother or sister, then it makes us mad at the racist. And use it in reference to sadistic pigs who at least need cursing out

“motherfucker: any male, the connotation is not necessarily negative.”³¹

“mother-fucker: (also mother) 1. any despicable person or thing. 2. a superb person or thing. 3. a male buddy or chum. A term used between males. *Cf.* FATHER-FUCKER [all senses, originally U.S. slang, mid 1900s-pres.]”³²

“mother fucker: *n.* 1. Exclamation of anger. 2. Insult; derogatory name; bastard. a.k.a. mother. See MOTHER FUCK. 3. Positive, complimentary name for a friend – eg. Hey, mother fucker, what’s happening? a.k.a. mother. See FUCK; MOTHER FUCK. 4. Hard-to-solve problem; rough situation – eg. *What a mother fucker this is!*

NOTE: Dr. Charles G. Hurst, president of Malcolm X College in Chicago, has compiled twelve different connotations commonly used in the Black community for this word.”³³

Correlation of the word 'motherfucker' in Bobby Seale's *Seize the Time* in original English and in Finnish version (*Sanoista Tekoihin*, translation by Seppo Lopenen, Helsinki: Tammi, 1971).

PAGE	EXCLAMATION OF ANGER	INSULT, DEGRATORY	POSITIVE, COMPLIMENTARY	HARD TO SOLVE PROBLEM	NONE OF THE CATEGORIES
17				Motherfucker (none)	
17		Motherfucker (2)			
17		Motherfucker (2)			
17	Motherfucker (1)				
18			Motherfucker (3)		
18		Motherfucker (2)	Motherfucker (3)		
23	Motherfucker (1)				
23		Motherfucker (1)			
23		Motherfucker (2)			
24		Motherfucker (2)			
25		Motherfucker (none)			
45		Motherfucker (2)			

50		Motherfucker				
57		Motherfucker (2)				
57			Motherfucker			
58				Motherfucker		
66		Motherfucker				
72	Motherfucker					
83		Motherfucker (2)				
84		Motherfucker (2)				
84		Motherfucker				
98			Motherfucker			
102			Motherfucker			
105			Motherfucker (3)			
106			Motherfucker (3)			
106			Motherfucker			
110		Motherfucker (2)				
111		Motherfucker (2)				
114		Motherfucker (2)				

PAGE	EXCLAMATION OF ANGER	INSULT, DEGRATORY	POSITIVE, COMPLIMENTARY	HARD TO SOLVE PROBLEM	NONE OF THE CATEGORIES
114					Motherfucker (3)
115			Motherfucker (3)		
116			Motherfucker (3)		
118		Motherfucker			
132		Motherfucker (2)			
132		Motherfucker (2)			
143			Motherfucker		
146		Motherfucker (2)			
155		Motherfucker (2)			
170			Motherfucker		
190		Motherfucker (2)			
191		Motherfucker (2)			
198		Motherfucker			
198		Motherfucker			
198		Motherfucker			

199		Motherfucker (2)			
283	Motherfucker				
287		Motherfucker			
288					Motherfucker
288	Motherfucker				
289		Motherfucker			
289		Motherfucker			
338				Motherfucker (4)	
382		Motherfucker			
383	Motherfucker (1)				
447					Motherfucker
451					Motherfucker
451					Motherfucker
451			Motherfucker		
451					Motherfucker
451		Motherfucker			
451				Motherfucker	

PAGE	EXCLAMATION OF ANGER	INSULT, DEGRATORY	POSITIVE, COMPLIMENTARY	HARD TO SOLVE PROBLEM	NONE OF THE CATEGORIES
452		Motherfucker			
452			Motherfucker		
452	Motherfucker				
455		Motherfucker	Motherfucker		
455	Motherfucker				
455	Motherfucker				

13						Ne (4)	
13			Pulunnussija (2)				
13			Paskapää (2)				
13	Jumalauta (1)						
13				Kova kundi (3)			
14			Pulunnussija (2)				
18	Jätkä (1)						
18	Suksi helvettiin siitä (2)						
18			Paskapää (2)				
18			Paskapää (2)				
19						Vittu (2)	
34			Paskiainen (2)				
46			Paskapää (2)				
46			Paskantärkeä (2)				
63				Jätkä (3)			
63				Rautainen jätkä (3)			
66			Vittuilla (2)				

PAGE	EXCLAMATION OF ANGER	INSULT, DEGRATORY	POSITIVE, COMPLIMENTARY	HARD TO SOLVE PROBLEM	NONE OF THE CATEGORIES
67		Sika (2)			
69		Pulunnussija (2)			
70			Kundi (ē)		
70			Rautaisin (3)		
70			Rautaisin (3)		
76		Pulunnussija (2)			
76		Pulunnussija (2)			
86		Pulunnussija (2)			
93		Paskapää (2)			
120		Paskapää ja pulunnussija (2)			
121		Pulunnussija (2)			
126		Pulunnussija (2)			
213				Helvetin hankalaa (4)	
248	Vituttaa niin helvetisti (1)				

Notes

1. P. Ives has argued that Laclau & Mouffe's appeal to Wittgenstein in order to save Gramsci from his apparent orthodox Marxist 'essentialism' is proof of their simplification and 'softening' of Gramsci. Peter Ives, "Language, Agency and Hegemony: A Gramscian Response to Post-Marxism", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 12/2005, 8(4): 455–468
2. Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", *New Left Review* 82, November–December, 1973, p. 8.
3. Kathryn A. Woolard, "Language Variation and Cultural Hegemony: Toward an Integration of Sociolinguistic and Social Theory", *American Ethnologist* 12:4, 1985, p. 738.
4. Woolard 1985, p. 742.
5. Woolard 1985, p. 745.
6. Peter Steiner in his book on Russian Formalism put this question in a nutshell by schematising the difference between linguistic systems in Saussure and Jakobson. He asks the following question: "But can we actually purge a linguistic system of its history? The Jakobsonian de-familiarization of poetic language would argue against it. This process inevitably brings together past, present, and future states of the system. Moreover, the resulting mutations are not caused by accidents external to the system but by its immanent need for constant rejuvenation." (Peter Steiner, *Russian Formalism: A Metapoetics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984, pp. 218–19.)
7. Susan Gal, "Language and the 'Arts of Resistance'", *Cultural Anthropology*, 10:3, 1995, p. 414.
8. Gal 1995, p. 416.
9. Gal 1995, p. 415.
10. Judith T. Irvine, "When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy", *American Ethnologist* 16:2, 1989, p. 249.
11. Irvine 1989, p. 255.
12. Irvine 1989, p. 259.
13. "[Any] system of prestations and counter-prestations – that is, an economy (in a broad sense) – will necessarily include authoritative statements as part of the exchanged system. When I pay for the gold necklace, I am paying not only for the necklace itself but also for the chain of authoritative statements that accompanies it." (Irvine 1989, p. 258.) The difference between Judith Irvine's 'gold necklace' and Yakubinsky's 'potatoes' is a difference of the ideological context of two sociolinguistic positions dealing with the importance of the ideological context of language. The 'context' is unavoidable in any sociolinguistic and as well in translation studies. Discussing the ideological context of Eleanor Marx's translation of Gustav Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* to English in 1888, Emily Apter observes some preferences in this act of translation: "In preferring the term wealth to riches [in her act of translation], it was as if E. Marx was intent on not letting Anglophone readers forget that luxury items – clothing, jewels, aristocratic refinements – were dressed-up versions of money, hardened into congealed capital. Flaubert's luxury passages, in the hand of E. Marx, suddenly

- appear like a gift to Karl Marx, providing grist for his theory.” (Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*, London & New York: Verso, 2013, pp. 284–5.)
14. P. V. Kroskrity, “Regimenting Languages: Language Ideological Perspectives”, *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, ed. P. V. Kroskrity, Santa Fe: School of American Research, Press, 2000, p. 12.
 15. M.A.K. Halliday, “Anti-Languages”, *American Anthropologist* 78:3, September 1976, p. 570.
 16. Halliday 1976, p. 574.
 17. Halliday 1976, p. 579.
 18. Halliday 1976, p. 579.
Except in the “intellectualized anti-languages such as those of mysticism, which can self-consciously oppose the norms of the established language” (p. 582).
 19. Jan Blommaert and Jef Verschueren, “The Role of Language in European Nationalist Ideologies”, *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 202.
 20. Alice Becker-Ho, *The Princes of Jargon: A Neglected Factor at the Origins of Dangerous-Class Slang*, translated by John McHale, Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004, p. 65.
 21. “From early to later modernity, one basic structure in the study of cant has remained in place. Publications on secret tongues can only be at odds with them. Since the jargons of cheats demands secrecy, any attempt to illuminate their elements, rules, and mechanisms undermines their force and validity. Despite the curiosity of the case in question, a fundamental characteristic of all linguistic study can here clearly be discerned. It has been observed that scholars of language tend to approach their objects as if they were immutable, even when they are in fact in variation; linguists thus treat living languages as if they were dead, grasping their rules in the artificial fixity of a single moment, if only to write their grammars.” This principle contradiction of the method of linguistics becomes most visible in the studies of jargon, as Heller-Roazen clearly shows: “This systematic self-exception of the linguist is perhaps nowhere as apparent as in the study of cants, which has the peculiar consequence that each increase in the scholar’s knowledge brings about a corresponding decrease in the effectiveness of the hidden tongue.” (Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Dark Tongues: The Art of Riddles and Riddlers*, New York: Zone Book, 2013 p. 36–7.)
 22. Becker-Ho 2005, p. 159.
 23. Guy Debord starts his *Comments on Society of Spectacle* with this note: “Having, then, to take account of readers who are both attentive and diversely influential, I obviously cannot speak with complete freedom. Above all, I must take care not to give too much information to just anybody.” (Guy Debord, *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, translated by Malcolm Imrie, London & New York: Verso, 1990, p. 1.)
 24. “As a proponent for the replacement of subject by

predicate, following Feuerbach's systematic practice, the young Marx achieved the most cogent use of this insurrectional style: thus the philosophy of poverty became the poverty of philosophy. The device of *détournement* restores all their subversive qualities to past critical judgments that have congealed into respectable truths – or, in other words, that have been transformed into lies.”
 (Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, New York: Zone Books, 1995, pp. 144 – 5.)

25. Ashley Montagu,
The Anatomy of Swearing,
 New York and London:
 Collier Books, 1967, p. 277.
26. Montagu 1967, p. 267.
27. Ibid.
28. V. N. Voloshinov, *Marxism
 and the Philosophy of Language*,
 New York: Seminar Press,
 1973, p. 23.
29. Voloshinov 1973, p. 115.
30. Dostojevskij 1906,
 in Voloshinov 1973, p. 103 – 04.
31. Clarence Major,
*Dictionary of Afro-American
 Slang*, New York: International
 Publishers, 1971.
32. Richard A. Spears,
*Dictionary of Slang and
 Euphemism*, New York: New
 American Library, 1982.
33. Eugene E. Landy,
The Underground Dictionary,
 New York: Simon and Schuster,
 1971, p. 135.

Interview with Minna Hjort

Can you tell us about history of research of swearwords in Finnish linguistics and literature studies? Which problems, orientations (theoretical, conceptual), and approaches are prevalent?

The history of research into swearwords and swearing in Finnish linguistic, literary and translation studies is rather short and narrow. Apart from a handful of academic articles dedicated to the topic and certain popular reference books listing Finnish profanities, writing on swearing has mostly consisted of quick references within a larger framework such as the study of dialect in spontaneous language or literary texts. To some extent, the taboos underlying swearing may have made swearing somewhat of a taboo as an object of research as well. For some, it may have lacked credibility as a research topic and some seem to have found it a topic that draws too much unwanted non-academic attention. However, it seems to me that swearing is starting to gain in credibility in academia. It appears to be a particular favourite of students of translation, for example, and it has already made its way to descriptive grammars and grammatical research, a handful of sociolinguistic studies, and language blogs, among others. I am hoping that it will break out from the margins because whether we look at them from a grammatical, sociolinguistic, literary or translational viewpoint, swearwords and swearing seem to follow their own patterns and set of rules and norms, and are therefore deserving of individual in-depth enquiry.

What is your definition of swearwords? What is the semantic value of swearwords?

A Swedish scholar who has done a lot of work on swearing, Magnus Ljung, wrote quite well in the 1980's that

swearwords are something that you can easily name an example of but for which it is very difficult to find a watertight definition. He has worked on definitions ever since and suggested certain criteria which are widely applied. His most recent definition for the act of swearing (from 2011) is that it is the use of utterances containing taboo words where the taboo words are used in a non-literal meaning, and that swearing is typically formulaic (subject to various lexical, phrasal and syntactic constraints) and emotive. However, when you start looking at individual words against any available framework, you will always find cases that do not seem to quite fit but which you would intuitively label as swearing or as swearword. I suppose someone who does research on this topic needs to be able to live with the fact that a perfect definition might be impossible. A short working definition for swearwords I have given is that they are “typically dysphemistic taboo lexemes in a non-denotative meaning that can be used as emotive interjections”. That means that they are non-neutral words that refer to something that has been considered a taboo in the society that can be used in a non-literal sense (or variants of such words), at the minimum to express emotions in an exclamation. In a way, then, the starting point for the above definitions is an analysis of the core characteristics of the basic examples most language users would designate by swearing or swearwords to see what distinguishes them from other types of linguistic phenomena.

The meaning potential of swearwords extends far beyond the prototypical usage of exclamations of negative emotion. They can be used to express a wide range of emotive meaning and non-emotive meaning, serve as markers of register and style, express in-group membership, and otherwise link their users to a variety of social, geographical and chronological contexts.

Are swearwords part of Finnish language education?

For example are swearwords part of teaching Finnish language to foreigners? If not, should they be?

I highly doubt it but I have no further information on the topic apart from my own school days a long time ago. There is a researcher in the University of Helsinki studying the role of swearing in English teaching: Robert Moncrief, *Attitudes and Judgments on the Perception and Use of Swearing and Other Types of 'Bad Language' Among Teachers and Students of EFL*.

Can you tell us a bit more about 'phonetic features' of swearwords? What is the role of the letter 'r' and 'k' in Finnish swearwords?

Most researchers agree that swearwords are not swearwords because of their form but rather because of their content and function. However, one of the most iconic swearwords in the Finnish language, *perkele*, can be argued to gain from its phonetic form. Together with the many connotations and long history of the word, the alveolar trill [r] and the voiceless plosives [p] and [k] in three syllables seem to contribute to the force of this particular word. Someone once jokingly called the [r] in *perkele* the longest consonant in the world. There is a colloquial general term for swearwords in Finnish, *ärräpää*, which probably derives from swearwords that contain the [r], most prominently *perkele*.

You say that word 'perkele' does not arise solely from negative meanings and associations, but positive as well. Can you give us some examples of it and tell why is so?

Perkele is most commonly used as an interjection, a reactionary exclamation of sorts (for example *No perkele!*, or as an intensifier, to add stress or intensity to the meaning of the following or preceding word or phrase (for example *minkä perkelelen takia?*). The contexts can just as easily be negative or positive. Why this is, I can only speculate. I study the

literary representations of swearing in Finnish, and in my study I have found *perkele* to be particularly common as a marker of positive surprise. For example in the novel *Anna minun rakastaa enemmän* by Juha Itkonen, when a man unexpectedly visits his father at his workplace, the father exclaims, *Poika perkele!* [Son, perkele!] in what seems to be a very positive reaction. I believe this tendency reflects a common usage in actual spontaneous speech.

In your opinion, are there semantic and ideological relations between class structure and the use of swearwords?

It has been argued that the more control a society applies, the more controlled is also the language, and therefore the less swearing there is. In many societies, swearing has been traditionally and stereotypically associated with informality, lack of personal control, lack of education, untidiness and such. Yet swearing is found on all levels of society, to a varying extent that does not always correspond to expectations.

Today, our society expects its members to be able to discern between the situations where swearing is allowed by societal norms and where it is not, rather than not swear at all. The stereotypical ideas associated with the sociolects of various social groups and classes, if you like, can also be exploited. Swearing (the type of swearing or the lack of swearing) can be used as an in-group marker, and conversely to claim non-membership to a group.

As a side note, public swearing can sometimes be a source of media scandal but it depends highly on who the speaker is and what the context is. For example, there are cases where famous Finnish sportsmen such as a ski-jumper and a Formula 1 driver have used bad language in public and the Finnish tabloids have screamed headlines the likes of “Kimi’s comment shocked millions of TV viewers”. In hindsight, the moral panic raised in these cases was rather mild or mock, as only a day or two later, the tabloids have turned from critical to understanding,

listing other sports icons who have been careless with their choice of words in humorous pieces, indicating that perhaps the talents of these persons lie elsewhere than in eloquence.

What is the reason for difficulty of translation of swearwords? Are swearwords like 'perkele' part of national identification?

Swearwords can indeed be a challenge for the translator, as much as they are a handy tool for expression. In literary translation, contemporary translation norms advise against literal translation and prefer target language that reads fluently and thereby resembles the language of non-translated texts but is otherwise not transferred to the target culture and environment. The task of translating swearwords is one where literal translation is particularly inadvisable because the relationship between the denotative and connotative (literal and non-literal) meaning of swearwords is distant, and therefore the referent of the taboo word rarely needs to be taken into account in the translation. The function and force of each occurrence are why translators look for equivalents. In my research, translator informants state that they prefer the literary characters to 'swear as Finns would swear' but there is a limit to the ideal of idiomaticity: *perkele*. Many translators view *perkele* as somehow too Finnish – it has connotations of a mythical Finnish national character (perseverant, stubborn, a little rough around the edges) and of traditional Finnish masculinity and leadership (*management by perkele*). There is a plethora of examples in popular culture of the usage of *perkele* that support this. Alongside *perkele* being a strong swearword and a swearword that does not have obvious equivalents in the languages from which literary translations into Finnish are made, the connotations of nationality make *perkele* very rare in translated Finnish texts.

Please tell us what you mean by "metalinguistic swearwords usage". What are the theoretical and practical outcomes of this metalinguistic usage?

By the metalinguistic usage of swearwords I mean the meta-level discussion of swearwords. In addition to the obvious contexts such as linguistic articles about language, the metalinguistic usage of swearwords can take place in fiction as well. I refer to statements such as "I think perkele is the best Finnish swearword". I think it is crucial that we distinguish between this kind of usage and other kinds of usage, and if some sort of restrictions apply to swearing in general, they should not apply to metalinguistic discourse on swearing and swearwords. I argue that metalinguistic usage problematises the definition of swearing plainly as "the use of swearwords", as some dictionaries do. I would like to say that the difference is that swearing entails statements that have some sort of affect and perhaps a shock potential of sorts, and a discussion about language does not. But from my own career as a swearword researcher I must admit that I have found that a very neutral discussion about this topic may shock and cause emotional reactions (sometimes manifesting themselves as physical reactions through blushing for example).

What is the relation between literature and swearwords? How is this relation dealt with in history of literature and in linguistic studies?

In literature, swearwords are found where the voice of the characters and sometimes the narrator can be found, most typically in non-standard dialogue or reported speech. There, writers aim at creating an illusion of speech, because a detailed transcription of speech would render the text almost impossible to read with pauses, mistakes, repetitions, unfinished sentences and so on. Often the means to create this illusion are rather subtle, and word choice is one of the most common means. Here swearwords come into the picture. Swearwords are employed in characterisation, in creating the identity of literary characters. Writing and reading exploits mutually recognised stereotypes and prototypes in society and earlier literary works, and writers and readers

employ their personal background and experience in the construction of meaning. In addition to character building and imitating the functions of swearwords in spontaneous speech, swearwords can be used in placing a text in a particular chronological, geographical and social setting, and serve as markers of a key theme, for example. There are a couple of analyses of key Finnish works of literature where reference is made to swearing, as well, but to my knowledge there is as of yet no studies that focus on the topic. A lot remains to be explored.

Are swearwords considered as unwanted noises in language?

More often than not swearwords, to be sure, are unwanted noises in language. And that is exactly why they are so popular and potent. They create meaning by breaching the norms of what is considered appropriate. Yet there are situations where swearwords are in fact expected, the norm, and their absence is an anomaly.

Bobby Seale writes:

Motherfucker and Mothafucka': Motherfucker is a very common expression nowadays. Eldridge ran it down to me once after a number of people got upset over this ghetto vernacular. Eldridge said, "I've seen and heard brothers use the word four and five times in one sentence and each time the word had a different meaning and expression." Motherfucker actually comes from the old slave system and was a reference to the slave master who raped our mothers which society to-day does not want to face as a fact. But today, check the following sentence: "Man, let me tell you. This motherfucker here went down there with his motherfucking gun, knocked down the motherfucking door and blew this motherfucker's brains out. This shit is getting to be a motherfucker."

How would you as language researcher, translator and specialist in swearwords, translate that last sentence: "Man, let me tell you. This motherfucker here went down there with his motherfucking gun, knocked down the motherfucking door

and blew this motherfucker's brains out. This shit is getting to be a motherfucker."

How would you as language researcher, translator and specialist in swearwords, translate the example sentence used in the above quote?

The quote is a rather good example of the diverse meaning potential of swearwords. Any passage can be translated in a number of different ways, and there is rarely only one valid solution. Potent options depend on a variety of factors such as the immediate context as well as the cultural context of the passage. Here, the word *motherfucker* assumes a great number of usages, so I would find a word with a similarly large variety of usages and forms (derivations, compounds etc.). There is no expression in Finnish that would capture all that is embedded in the word *motherfucker* and its usage in the States particular at that time. It is also hard to find a taboo word in Finnish that would in itself serve as an epithet (refer to a person) as well be used as an intensifier in a similar manner as *motherfucker* above, and possess similar emotional force. The Finnish lexeme *vittu* (literally 'cunt') is often a good choice when demonstrating the big number of different usages and forms a swearword, and it is also considered to be very strong. Its variants include interjections (as a stand-alone or in a phrase), intensifiers (typically in genitive form), adverbs, adjectives, verbs and compounds (such as the epithet *vittupää*, literally 'fuckhead'). Another Finnish swearword that might have many similar usages to *motherfucker* above is *paska* (lit. shit), although the word has less force than *motherfucker*. We could employ, for example, the epithet *paskapää* (lit. shithead), the phrasal verb *ampua paskaksi* (lit. shoot to shit), the adjective *paskamainen* ('shitty'), and the intensifier *paskan* (to replace some of the -ing forms). As I am not fully familiar with the context, I am not going to suggest a full translation of the passage here, but these are options that might be worth considering.

DAGES

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ALGERIA

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LOPE KOSOVA
LOVE

cosby

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4/14

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KIA

ITALIA

B

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50

50

U3F

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HEI
WON
WON

VIETNAM

SLOVAKIA

TURKEY

PROTESTANT

COOPERATION

KONTUL

KONTUL

diana

CREATING
A NEW
WORLD
29.10.1978

MAHIS
2.10.05

KURAN

PAULUS

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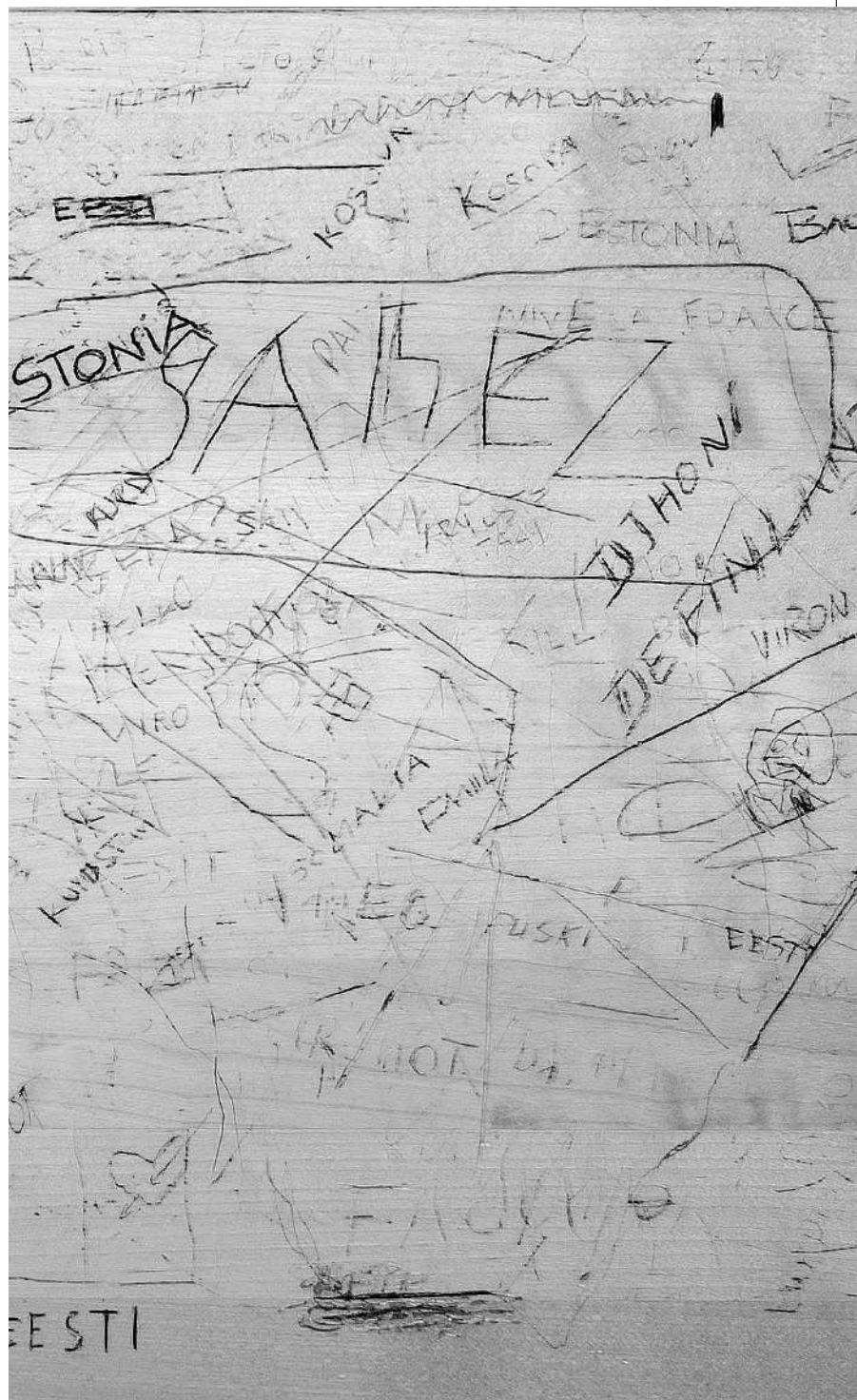
HERATI

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17.10.1978



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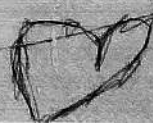
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Chapter 7

On Contradiction: Reproduction/ Asymmetries

Often the discussions on language ideologies are the backbone of multilingual practices, mostly because the multiplicity of languages is conceived as a theoretical pretext for the policy of integrating a complex structure of different languages. For Pierre Bourdieu, who insists on the violence of the symbolic power of language, the multiplicity of linguistic form is also subject to relations based on symbolic power. "All particular linguistic transactions depend on the structure of the linguistic field, which is itself a particular expression of the structure of the power relations between the groups possessing expression of the structure of the power relations between the groups possessing the corresponding competences (e.g. 'genteel' language and the vernacular, or, in a situation of multilingualism, the dominant language and the dominated language)."¹ Bourdieu's text "The economics of linguistic exchanges" is often the target of sociolinguists dealing with the issue of ideology and economy, and there is more than one reason for this. The most obvious reason is that Bourdieu treats language not only as an instrument of communication, but also as an instrument of power, which on the one side engages with a multiplicity not in terms of equality, but in asymmetrical terms; and on the other, he does this precisely by not depicting the object of linguistics as a reflection on the contingency of social formation.² This differentiation has particular importance for anyone dealing with the art of multilingualism, because it does not engage with the object of language through the similar terms of magical positivism (as Adorno complained about Benjamin), its object, as any object of research, is based on limits and constraints. Subsequently we can no longer speak about the "relativistic universe of differences that are capable of relativising one another, but of a hierarchised universe of deviations from a form of discourse that is recognised as legitimate" (p. 54). Here an emphasis is directly placed on what is dominant in the linguistic field, and it is important to underline that

with Bourdieu, and this is what makes his thesis so strong, the dominant is reproduced within the formal properties of languages. It is precisely the formal property of language which sets the limits and constrains to the communication. It is not without reason that instead of variations *ad infinitum*, Bourdieu insists on constraints, and on the censorship, that echoes both Freud and Wittgenstein at the same time. "Thus, all linguistic manifestations are situated between highly censored discourse, tending towards the limit of *silence*."³ He does insist on the role of the censorship in the construction of ideological language, but at the same time he does not stop thinking in oppositional terms, through the most apparent vulgarity available to him. These are the last three words of his article: grub, guts, shit.

From this theoretical point of view multilingualism in some way resonates with different sounds. It would be more accurate to say that it sounds more like noise than music. It is this feature we should make audible. Since we argue for noise, but not necessarily for what is loud, it is of utmost importance to delineate this concept with examples. The example at our reach, the book entitled *Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality*, could be a starting point. In the introduction to the book Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen and Massimiliano Spotti, all distinguished sociolinguists, begin to debate the theory of multilingualism from a very broad, one could even say abstract, historical position. This is a very interesting step, because it evades the usual localisation of multilingualism, which simply ends up listing ad hoc policy measures. On the contrary, multilingualism in this text is discussed as structurally related to nationalist-modernist ideologies and the focus on methodology is thereby shifted towards the paradoxes, fissures and conflictual fields in the theory and practice of multilingualism.⁴ Following from this, every fissure and tension left unresolved in the modernist-nationalist ideology regarding multilingualism

should resonate a dangerous category, where discussion has traversed the usual policy of linguistic normality figured along axes such as order versus disorder, purity versus impurity and normality versus abnormality (p. 6). Of course, this understanding of a 'dangerous multilingualism' requires a new conceptualisation of language, particularly traceable in its categorical refusal of any essentialist position. The effect of such dangerous multilingualism is not measured by the full competence of different languages, but as the authors claim, it is a "multilingualism-on-the-ground" of the intensely polyglot, whose knowledge is based on the mixing of 'truncated' bits and pieces of different languages (p. 9). It is this 'gap' that resides in-between the different bits and pieces of the noisy/conflictual multilingualism that it aims to make visible, because "they offer a rich terrain for inspecting the social and dynamic range of identity resources" (p. 8), especially for youth. When reading these lines one is tempted to ask what use, other than for scholarly methodology, can we make out of this dangerous multilingualism? If nationalist-modernist, and any other kind of policy based on representation is a dead-end for linguistic engagement, then what is to be done for politicising such multilingualism? How do we avoid the instrumentalism of nationalist ideologies, what is the relationship between the state and language, what are the role of forms of law and judiciary procedure in the reproduction of linguistic ideologies? These kinds of questions, especially when they are asked in a non-academic field of activism and artistic engagement, require a complete break from the existing normative concepts of dealing with language and ideology. The first step one has to make in order to proceed with such conceptualisation is to address the issue of reproduction through the entirety of the contradictions it entails.

Louis Althusser's thesis on ideology should be understood in relation to reproduction; otherwise some of his propositions might sound like idealistic abstractions. If

ideology guarantees, as Althusser argues, the reproduction of the conditions of production, then it is crucial to know what this production means. The production, or mode of production, makes sense only when it is conceptualised by the relations of production. This means that the mode of production, the capitalist mode of production, is realised only as a social relation. This includes the way (the mode) in which labour power, productive forces, and the means of production are related to each other. The capitalist mode of production, for example, unites those instances in only very specific relations of production, which simultaneously make them relations of *exploitation*. This is important to underline because in this thesis, exploitation is not a result (often even described as an accidental result, secretly assuming that there could be a good and benevolent capitalism), but it is at the very heart of capitalistic production; production in capitalism implies exploitation, and the social relations of the capitalist mode of production attempts to prolong this as much as possible. In fact, it tries to portray it as an eternal, spontaneous and necessary relation, so that the capitalist mode of production becomes the norm for all social relations. This is why capitalism seems like an unsurpassable fact. Althusser explains this operation in particular by means of the role of ideology in reproduction of the capitalist mode of production. The important thing to underline here is that ideology does not work on reproduction only in 'labour', but, increasingly outside of production as well, in the entirety of the state apparatus available in this operation. This all-embracing nature of ideological reproduction does not happen by itself; it has to reproduce itself continuously and it does this by way of contradiction and coercion. The two instances of this form is that reproduction "has to work every minute" ("indeed every second" as Althusser adds) and that class struggles are inherent to the operation of reproduction. Looked at from this point of view, ideology is not something supplementary to the economic process,

or the effect of capitalist production; the very role of ideology is to ensure, through continuous reproduction and contradiction, the functioning of capitalism. According to Althusser's thesis, ideology then undertakes this operation (of the reproduction of exploitation) in such a way that every practice of society seems natural. This is why Althusser suggested that ideology is eternal, just like the unconscious. For many Marxists this thesis represents a structuralist absolutism that reduces the subject to the *träger*/carrier of ideological operations. But Althusser would say, or we could imagine him saying, given his affinity to Jacques Lacan, that ideology is eternal, just like language (something which escapes every definition and always appears in this or that form, and has unlimited variation). Of course, Althusser was aware of the problems of ideology as an unconscious thesis. "One day we shall have to find another, positive term to name the reality that Freud designates negatively as the unconscious. In that positive term, all connections, even negative ones, with 'consciousness' should disappear."⁵

The aim of Michel Pecheux, in his book *Language, Semantics and Ideology*, is to "set the contradictions to work", at the very foundation, or philosophical assumptions, of linguistics. He insists that linguistic philosophy is construed through dichotomies that are based on false entities such as necessity/contingency, substance/accident, objective/subjective, *langue*/*parole* that are in the final analysis ideological conditions for the spontaneous philosophy of linguistics. For example, referring to Saussure's famous dichotomy of the object of language, Pecheux argues that "the opposition between the creative subjectivity of *parole* and the systematic objectivity of *langue* is an opposition which has the circular property of an ideological couple".⁶ The circular form enabled through coupling the opposite poles is not, as we would say in common language, a neutral act. It has strong ideological repercussions. As Pecheux shows, by attentively looking at these circularities as they are reproduced within

analytic philosophy (which is assumed to be the neutral and scientific quest for the object of language), is based on the principle of the subordination of the contingent to the necessary, and the subjective to the objective. In this ideological form of language, the name for this 'blind necessity' that unites the diverse properties of language is the 'subject-form'. It is this diversion, to be precise a contradictory, uneven and asymmetric form of language, that is "inscribed in an ideological class relationship", which Pecheux wants to grasp. The relative autonomy which language enjoys, in the midst of these contradictions, is what constitutes the inherent tension of ideology operating between reproduction and transformation. This is a highly important issue, because most of the ideological debates on language either seek to avoid tensions of formations (hiatuses) through some administrative measures of normative policy, or they tend to assign the discussion to the apocalyptic/nihilistic field where any engagement with language is considered to be a cultural and ideological dead-end. By addressing the issue through the axis of reproduction/transformation, Pecheux alerts us to the difficulties of politicising language, but, at the same time, he does not make such complexities as that of the procedures of relation or integration rigidly academic. Instead he insists on the concept of class struggle in discussing language ideologies. Analytical philosophy by working extensively within the framework of "ideography (or a system of perfect signs)" (p. 76), always misses the point of real class struggle: all we find are oppositions, differences in the expression of the double-sided complexity of the relationship [...] there is nothing about political practice, only a substitute for it about 'variation' and 'mutation' (p. 91). As the result the subject-form reproduced through the continuity construed within the language-ideology is automatically recognisable, spontaneously graspable and understandable. The science of linguistics attempts to conceal the logic of disparity and unevenness by reproducing

the myth of continuity. But, once the asymmetry and noise of class struggle has been introduced, logical positivism loses its logic and analytical philosophy loses its analysis. Pecheux identifies this continuous, self-represented logic in the blind necessity of the subject-form as a cause to him/herself, with the great leap of Baron Munchausen who managed to lift himself into the air, together with his horse, by pulling his own hair.⁷

If language (words) are a spontaneous extension of the idealism inherent in the subject-form, then concepts become, as Pecheux describes, "convenient fictions".⁸ For example, such expressions as "the Berlin of the 1930's" indifferently signify "Berlin during the 1930's" and "Berlin-1930", but have very different political and ideological connotations.

Erik Allardt in his article dealing with bilingualism in Finland between the two World Wars, states that the policy of "language legislation as a conflict-regulating and minority-protecting instrument" in Finland has a history which is tightly related to national reconciliation.⁹ He starts his article by describing cultural conflicts in educational institutions between Swedish and Finnish versions of national discourses as a source of linguistic struggles and policies. The war against common enemy gave an end to this struggle and formed the position of reconciliation which is still part of the national discourse of Finnishness. "The precipitating factor for the disappearance of the language conflict as a major cleavage in Finnish political life was no doubt the national unity achieved during the Winter War of 1939–40."¹⁰ This achieved unity is what constitutes the 'meaning' of Finnishness; the very form of this unity is based on 'regulation of conflicts' and 'minority protection'. Finnishness in this case, means equilibrium of the various different national-ethnic positions reproduced as the abstract concept of 'nation'.



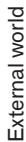
Following to this, we can have a look at an ordinary looking and spontaneously understood statement, such as: "Finland is learning the meaning of immigration."¹¹

These expressions are ideological, but at the same time, because of their inherent contradictions, they introduce ideological struggle too. The thesis behind this argument is that words, as sedimentations of uneven and contradictory class struggle, are indexes of language multiplicity.¹² The figuration of words as the site of class struggle is an important component to the politicisation of language. Pecheux quotes Althusser's thesis from *Philosophy as a Revolutionary Weapon*, that "the philosophical fight over words is a part of the political fight. [...] Occasionally, the whole class struggle may be summed up in the struggle for one word against another word".¹³

The conceptual schema on which Pecheux's theory of linguistic ideologies are based can be summarised as follows. The main tendency in his conceptualisation is not a unity of indices involved in describing language, but in separation and division. These separations are generated by the contradictions that are inherent in the very act of language, which Pecheux does not intend to abate. In the final thesis of the book, we understand the ideological-form (or function) of linguistic circularity in the most accurate way. The circularity of ideology is entrapment in repetition, in reproduction, and in necessity, which shapes the subject-form as a spontaneously understood *déjà vu*. In this case, whatever we say, it always comes down to the same thing; there is nothing new under the sun of ideology. In order to struggle against this we have to posit yet another language, which differs especially from the point of view of that sees it as a *materialist tendency* (not a materialism understood as physical effect of Whorfian determinism) "aiming to disjoin this identification by positing the real (including thought which, in a specific form, is determined by it) as a non-unified process traversed by unevenness and contradiction".¹⁴

$S_x = \dots$ we observe

(S₁)



Logical necessity

National

State word

Subject-word

Conceptual

Ideological necessity

Internal world

If our aim is to struggle against monolingual uniformity, and reproduction itself, we should always be aware of the thesis that “idealism never meets anything other than itself”. In this light, the break from the existing normative language of ideology means more than simply an intensification of the struggle against ideological reproduction by all available means, noise, and interruptions.

Notes

1. Pierre Bourdieu, "The economics of linguistic exchange", *Social Science Information/Sur Les Sciences Sociales*, XVI: 6, 1977, p. 647.
2. "Linguists are right in saying that all languages are linguistically equal; they are wrong in thinking they are socially equal." Bourdieu 1977, p. 52.
3. Bourdieu 1977, p. 63.
4. Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen and Massimiliano Spotti, "Endangering Multilingualism" *Dangerous Multilingualism: Northern Perspectives on Order, Purity and Normality*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 2.
5. Louis Althusser, *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, translated by G. M. Goshgarian, London and New York: Verso, 2014.
6. Pecheux 1982, p. 37.
7. Pecheux 1982, p. 108. Incidentally, O. W. Kuusinen, Finnish communist explained the contradictions of democracy in the beginning of the 20th Century with a similar motif: "For Kuusinen an attempt to expand parliamentary power and achieve real democracy legally, through parliament, was a hopeless venture; it would be like trying to lift oneself from a swamp by one's own hair." Kuusinen, "Anarkia ja vallankumous", in John H. Hodgson, *Communism in Finland: A History and Interpretation*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 12.
8. Pecheux 1982, p. 120.
9. Erik Allardt, "Bilingualism in Finland: The Position of Swedish as a Minority Language", Language Policy and National Unity, eds. By W. R. Beer & J. E. Jacob, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1985, p. 93.
10. Allardt 1985, p. 92.
11. The statement is from Nordic Labour Journal online summarizing the work of ex-Minister of Employment Tanja Filatov. She is social democrat representative and leader of parliamentary committee on working life and equality. This particular statement about political activism dealing with the issue of immigration is also one of those convenient fictions. Here Finland, in relation to immigration and learning, is understood as beyond social stratifications. In statements like this, it is not clear which 'Finland' is addressed here. Is it the Finland of the Ministry of Employment, or the organised labour movement, or the Finland which wants to benefit from the cheap labour of immigrants?
12. Voloshinov put this in the most concise way by claiming that the Sign becomes an arena of class struggle [...] By an intersecting of differently oriented social interests within one and the same sign community, i.e. by the class struggle. (V. N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, New York: Seminar Press, 1973, p. 23.)
13. Althusser 1971, p. 24, in Pecheux 1982, p. 153.
14. Pecheux 1982, pp. 199–200. "The motor role of contradiction in the practice of the appropriation of the 'external world' (the real) by thought is marked in the form of the division into two opposing operations (which in this book

I have called respectively
notional-ideological operation
and conceptual-scientific
operation) of the complex unity
of the process of necessity-real
i.e., in their division within the
unity of this process. This makes
it possible for me to lay down
in a series of propositions the
historical-material modalities in
which necessity-real determines,
within the complex unity of
its process, the contradictory
forms of existence of thought.”
(Pecheux 1982, p. 184.)

Interview with Mika Lähteenmäki

What was the intellectual or political conjuncture that led to your research on Bakhtin and what was the reception of Bakhtin like in Finland?

I did my MA in applied linguistics and at that time there was a critique of structurally oriented linguistics where language was seen in terms of an abstract unified system consisting of rules and readymade units. Bakhtin, who was mainly criticising Saussure's theory of language, presented a quite powerful critique of this system. I have to mention the Nordic context, where there have been at least two important figures. In Sweden Per Linell was one of the early critics of the structurally oriented linguistics and owed his views to Ragnar Rommetveit, who is a Norwegian psychologist, but who wrote about a critical approach to structural linguistics. This originally motivated my interest in Bakhtin because I saw dialogism as an alternative meta-theory for the study of language. It means that you have to rethink the whole theory of language; instead of thinking of it as an abstract unified system, you think it in terms of heteroglossia, in terms of not having one unified system. You have competing sub-languages or language-forms that are ideologically loaded. The variation you see is not without ideological consequences. The varieties represent certain ideological and social points of view. However, Bakhtin did not invent this idea but his conception of heteroglossia was heavily influenced by early Soviet proto-sociolinguistics. After the Revolution Soviet scientists were expected to make their own field Marxist, and in linguistics this meant that linguists were encouraged

to study the relation between language and society. It became a crucial research question. Their idea was exactly that capitalist societies want to see language as a unified whole that represents reality objectively. However, when you look at language, there are, for instance, social classes each of which have their own language variant. At the time they were called languages, nowadays we would call them registers, varieties or something like that. These different language forms represent different ideological interpretations of the same physical reality. Depending on one's background one assigns different meanings and values to reality, one sees things differently. These language forms represent different opinions or different views to reality.

Before Bakhtin there were some other sociolinguists like Polivanov and Yakubinsky who were discussing linguistically the issue of heteroglossia. Bakhtin does not refer to them that much, but it seems that he knew about this linguistic research. Since Bakhtin's object of study was literature, what was its relation to language? Or more precisely, how is it possible to propose a thesis on language while studying literature?

When it comes to heteroglossia the key text is "Discourse in the Novel". Bakhtin was at the time interested in the novel as a specific genre of literature. He used ideas developed by people like Lev Yakubinsky, Viktor Zhirmunsky and others who were interested in the social stratification of language. His key point was that novel as a genre exploited the possibilities provided by heteroglossia. In the novel the writer uses the heteroglossic variations within a language in order to bring into one novel different points of view. Bakhtin used the idea of heteroglossia for the study or the analysis of the novel as a genre. And this was his contribution, because scholars who had written about heteroglossia before, had not used it for the analysis of any artistic work. I would also like to add that if you compare earlier writings on the

social stratification of language with Bakhtin's writings, the earlier ones were maybe in some sense more deterministic. They often drew on hard core Marxism, and in their view language directly reflects the socio-economic characteristics of society. Nikolai Marr said that there are no national languages, but only class languages, and every social class has its own language. He said that if you take in Russian society proletariat and upper class, and the same social classes in England, there would be more similarities between the languages of the proletariat in the two countries than between the different classes. This is of course total nonsense. When Bakhtin elaborated these ideas, he was more nuanced and less deterministic or straight forward than the earlier views. It has been often claimed that Bakhtin was isolated from everything and wrote his works in an intellectual vacuum. But of course his writings do reflect what was going on in the Soviet linguistic and literary scholarship at that time.

Our project is about the relation between art and language, and we are particularly interested in how language is incorporated in art. The thesis of Russian formalism is that art makes language perceptible through certain devices such as estrangement. This relation between language and art is of particular interest. But it is a historical fact that Bakhtin was not close to formalism. He was even more critical of formalists than he was of the sociolinguists at the time. What is your opinion on this?

He indeed criticised many formalists. Their concept of literariness is based on the idea that, on one hand, there is everyday language and, on the other, artistic language, which is different from everyday language. Roman Jakobson thought that the dominant functions of artistic language are different from those of everyday language. Formalists were mostly studying poetry at that time, and it makes sense that they emphasised the role of form. Bakhtin seems

to think that there is no fundamental difference between artistic language and everyday language. On the contrary, a writer utilises or exploits the possibilities provided by everyday language and heteroglossia. A writer understands the social and the ideological differentiation associated with linguistic differentiation and can use these differences in a literary work.

In your text you are referring to the concept of society in Saussure's theories as uniform and devoid of antagonisms. We would like to know what is the concept of society in Bakhtin's writings and how generally the linguists think about the social contradictions and their relation to language.

The concept of society was very different in the case of Saussure and Soviet linguists, and in Saussure's case it was a unified whole. Of course he was aware of linguistic variation, since he had been studying language from the point of view of history too. But in that context society or the community of speakers was seen as uniform and homogeneous. But in the Soviet context, Marxism was the official philosophy, which meant that society could not be uniform, because there were different social classes with different interests. And the dominating ruling class is of course interested in securing its own interests. This means that there is a constant tension or struggle between social classes. This struggle is reflected on the level of language as a social stratification of language. In Saussure's case the existence of society or language community is an argument for the uniformity of the language system, whereas in the Soviet context the inclusion of society in the description of languages meant that, by definition, there is no linguistic unity within society because of different social classes. But then, on the other hand, when society would reach communism, and there would no longer be any social classes, there would not be any social variation within a language. There was this utopian idea that if there was world-wide

communism, everyone would speak the same language. The relation between society and language was seen as very straightforward in the late 1920s, early 1930s. Of course this was not the case with Bakhtin, who was more nuanced.

It seems like it was more like Stalin's theory of society and of communism, as a system that excluded any antagonism. And that is probably why Esperanto was exploited so much in communism as a possibility for one language. But can we speculate on the thesis that sociolinguistics became popular as a science in the 60s in the USA and in 20s in Russia, because of the social and political situation at this time. Can we say that revolutions, riots, and class struggles intensify the heteroglossia of language? Our question is directly linked to relation between heteroglossia and social struggle. Is heteroglossia also inherently present in language in places with less social conflict, like Finland, for example?

I think heteroglossia is present in every language. But if you are interested in the historical development of this idea, the thing was that after the Revolution politicians decided that sciences also have to reflect Marxist ideology. It is really interesting that at that time in the Soviet Union it was openly admitted that science is always ideological. They called western science 'bourgeois science' which they opposed to Marxist science. They also maintained that science reflects the interests of the ruling class, and they insisted that in all disciplines there has to be a revolution to make each field Marxist. Of course some people were more hard-line than others. Lenin wrote on several occasions that one cannot change bourgeois physics to Marxist physics. But some people thought that there should be a revolution also in natural sciences. When it was admitted that science can never be neutral but is always ideological, it was thought that Marxist philosophy is a materialist philosophy that gives an objective perspective to reality. This was used as an argument for

introducing Marxism to different disciplines. In linguistics this meant that in capitalist societies there is a constant class struggle that is reflected on the level of language. This was one ingredient in the birth of these 'sociolinguistic' ideas. But we have to think about the Revolution itself. After the Revolution, when the whole social, economic and political system changed, because phenomena did not have referents, and became archaic everyone could see how the language changed, the lexicon in particular. It was the same thing with the collapse of the Soviet Union, when English borrowed words suddenly entered the Russian language.

And if you think of the impact of globalisation on language and heteroglossia, discussed for instance in Jan Blommaert's works, it has to do with the increasing mobility of people and the development of different means of communication such as the Internet and social media. We are not tied by our locus, but can talk to people living at the other end of the globe in real time. So I would say it was the political reason, the politics of Soviet science, but also the change in society that was reflected in language. Some Soviet linguists pointed out how the language had changed after the Revolution. It has to be said that it was mainly lexical changes, while the grammar did not change even if the political system had changed. But I think that the intellectual atmosphere in which the notion of heteroglossia was born is a combination of different things, at least the revolution, the scientific policy and the changes in the language that were visible after the revolution.

If we understand society as class stratification, how can we talk about nation? Can we say that nation is some sort of representation or unification of various social stratifications? How does this unification happen and in which conditions (in which moments of social struggle) does this concept of national unification disappear?

It is a really interesting and complicated question. For instance in Soviet linguistics Nikolai Marr, who became the most influential linguist, criticised earlier Indo-European linguistics saying that their basic mistake was that they had taken the blood relationship as the basis for the grouping or categorisation of people. Such concepts as nation, ethnicity and race are based on the blood relationship. They actually accused the contemporary European and American linguistics and anthropology of racism. Marr said that the blood-relation or other ethnically-based relations underlie for instance the study of the development of languages and the idea of different language families and so on. In his view, this was basically wrong, because the real criteria for dividing people into different groupings are social or sociological instead of racial. Marr maintained that national or ethnic categorisations are meaningless, and one should take sociological categorisation as the basis for linguistic description. But if we think at the level of everyday politics, for instance in the 1920s the national politics in the Soviet Union were quite liberal. It was emphasised that even the smallest nations and ethnic groups should have the right to receive education in their own language. And many linguists were involved in the creation of alphabets for those languages that simply did not have any written standard. They were creating the writing standard and language system for these small languages. But then at some point the situation changed, and Russian was treated as the *lingua franca* of all nations residing in the Soviet Union. And also in 1950, when Stalin orchestrated the famous linguistic discussion, he said that Marr's ideas are nonsense and they do not have anything to do with Marxism. He also denounced the idea that different social classes would have their own languages, and Stalin emphasised the idea that language is something unified and shared by all classes living in same society. If we accept

this idea, what would be the political consequence? Stalin's emphasis on the unified nature of languages could easily be interpreted as a justification for the Russification and the promotion of Russian as the *lingua franca* in the Soviet Union.

When we apply the concept of heteroglossia to the context of multilingualism, how do things change? If heterogeneity means a multiplicity of perspectives and if they are carriers of this diversification, how can we speak of a multilanguage-situation and how does the concept of society change the object of study, language?

Nowadays in linguistics and particularly in sociolinguistics many researchers agree that something has profoundly changed in the world. The nature of linguistic diversity has changed too, and the old terminology, the old concepts and the old theoretical tools are not quite adequate in the changed situation. Many sociolinguists have been trying to re-conceptualise sociolinguistics rethinking even such very basic notions as language or language community and so forth. Recently in sociolinguistics the idea of super diversity has become popular. It is a controversial notion, and I am not sure what to think of it. It came from sociology and was coined by Steven Vertovec. There has always been diversity, especially in big cities like London for instance, which have a massive migrant population. However, some researchers say that a diversification of diversity has taken place, and they call it super-diversity. However, the introduction of a new concept is justifiable only in case there is a qualitative difference between the old type of diversity and new type of diversity. And not everyone is ready to accept this. If you think of central Europe, before the birth of the nation states, of course there was diversity. We all know how in different European countries the nation state was developed and that the crucial part of development of a nation state was to develop a unified

language. The existence of a shared unified language contributes significantly to our idea of belonging together. But this was not the case in European countries before the birth of the nation state. If we think of Italy for instance and all the languages spoken in that area. But some researchers think the very nature of diversity has changed. One reason for this is that mobility is more large-scale than it used to be. For instance, speakers of one language living in a large city form a more heterogeneous group than before when their backgrounds would have been more similar. But nowadays there are older generations and new migrants who might have various backgrounds. The argument is that it is now more mixed and more diverse and that is why we need the concept. This is reflected in the popular culture for example.

In a sense I think that something has changed. The question is: has the change been quantitative or qualitative? The world has become smaller because we can be in contact with people in real time irrespective of their location. And one aspect is the increasing mobility of people, which Jan Blommaert has written about. We do not think in terms of a separate language anymore but like to think that we have linguistic resources and these resources might come from different languages and other semiotic sources. And everyone is basically multilingual. One knows bits and pieces of different languages and these allow the individual to function in a certain context in a certain way. But when one moves to a different country, the resources will not have the same value as they did in the previous context. Let us say a person lived in some African country and knew very basic English. In that context the person was able to translate some basic things etc., which made the language a valuable resource. If the person relocates to England it is not a positive asset anymore, but may become negative and stigmatising. In a way, when the context changes the value of our linguistic resources also change.

In your text you are critical to Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia as a democratic concept where all the elements involved in these heterogeneous structures are represented as equal. How are language means distributed in heteroglossia and can you explain your critique of the democratic form of heteroglossia in Bakhtin?

Bakhtin analysed the novel and it is quite understandable that he did not address the question of power. If we think about Finnish society, about the linguistic resources and the distribution of resources, we all agree that the Finnish language contains different registers, etc. We speak in a different way with our friends than we do with a professor or at a conference. And there also is the written language. Different registers have different values as part of our linguistic capital. If you think about the role literacy skills play when applying for a job, for instance, a person who has a good command of the job application genre and can use correct standard language, well-structured sentences and so forth, is likely to be more successful with the application. Another example, students sometimes write emails using spoken language, which feels awkward. These are examples of the distribution of linguistic resources, how education, or family background or whatever, can condition your linguistic resources and actual performance. It is the same when I have to discuss something with the teacher of my children at school. Of course I can make valid arguments and sound very convincing, whereas someone from a different background who does not have experience in this register, would behave differently and would probably not achieve the same things as a person who has a university degree and has learned to argue his case in this particular way. Then if you think of different languages, it becomes even more complicated.

What about multilingualism and how different languages are treated in Finland, compared

for example to Swedish and Russian and Somali languages?

This is a very interesting and broad topic. If we start from the language legislation, we have Finnish and Swedish as national languages, and also Sami, Romani chib and the Finnish sign language as national minority languages. Nowadays there are more than 60 000 Russian speakers in Finland. There can be even more, but the Finnish statistical system does not recognise bilingualism. When the child is born, the parent has to choose one language as the mother tongue of the child.

The legislation is of course the basis, but if you think for instance of Russian, in most official language policy discourses Russian speakers are referred to as new migrants. There is an interesting division between the old vs. new Russian. The Russian language is seen as a new migrant language as opposed to a language traditionally spoken in this area. The reluctance to admit that Russian has a long history in Finland is understandable, in a way. Due to historical and geographical connections, Russian has always been spoken here. Admitting the historical link between the 'new' migrants and 'old' Russians would affect the status of Russian speakers, because Russian would be identified with the other traditional languages spoken in Finland. Eventually it boils down to the question of money, but in the case of Russian, it also is a politically sensitive question because of the common history of the countries. No politician would say that since the Russian-speaking minority has become significant and Russian has been traditionally spoken here, we have to give the Russian language a new status in our legislation. And given the situation in Ukraine, it is natural, if politicians would prefer to avoid the topic.

But during the Koivisto time there was this programme that allowed the people in Carelia to move to Finland? Koivisto said that people with Finnish ancestors, would be treated as repatriates, if they decided to move to Finland.

For instance, if your grandmother had Finnish roots, you could move to Finland if you wished. In many cases people who came here were linguistically and culturally Russian. Still this is very interesting when it comes to one's identity. When these people were living in Russia, 'Finnishness' may have been part of their identity and their passports may have stated that they are Finns by nationality. Perhaps their families had tried to preserve some aspects of language or cultural habits and things like that. But when they came here, the identity that the people living here attributed to them could be completely different from their self-identity. Finns could consider them Russian, as they came from Russia, although the person may have felt that he or she is a Finn, and the President had also said that they will be treated as repatriates. But when they came here people did not often consider the repatriates as 'us', but 'them' instead. The issue of one's self-identity is very complicated, and there often is a clash between self-identity and the identity given to you by others.

What about the new languages, new migrants like the Somalis, how is the language policy in Finland toward these languages?

For instance, Somali and Russian would be treated in the same way, because they are both considered as recent migrant languages. If we look at the language policy documents, everything seems to be reasonably well in Finland. On the level of the policy documents the situation is good. The kids have the right to learn their mother tongue. Of course it is extra-curricular activity, but still everyone is entitled to this. In practice the situation can be rather different. For instance, language instruction takes place after the regular school day. One can imagine what happens when friends go home and the migrant child has to stay there for a couple of hours for the extra classes. Then the child may not be able to attend those classes in their own school, because of requirements regarding the group size. In order

to attend these classes the child has to go to a different school and it might be a long way. You have to pay for the transport yourself, and if you live in a smaller place, the school might not have a native speaker or a competent teacher of that language. In bigger cities and with bigger migrant languages mother-tongue education is better organised, but there are places which have problems with organising mother-tongue classes. At the level of policy documents we are an exemplary country in EU, but in reality there are certain problems.

In which way does the academic research about language and policy intersect?

Of course the people who do research on multilingualism understand the importance of mother-tongue education. All the studies show that it is really important for the cognitive and emotional development of a child to have the mother-tongue education as well. For instance, the officials responsible for mother-tongue education consult researchers and invite them to various advisory boards and so forth. And when we do research on topics like this, we try to publish our research also in Finnish for the wider audience to make it available for the policy makers. If the research topic has a high societal relevance, it means that researchers have to write about the results for the general public and for the policy makers.

So is multilingualism approached in the Finnish language policy as a threat or as a resource?

That is a good question. If we think about the migrant policy in Finland, the official view is that the best strategy for migrants is integration. A successful integration of migrants into Finnish society is the main goal. In order to integrate into the new society, it is also important to retain one's own cultural and linguistic identity, and here the mother tongue is crucial. The official view is that Finnish society has to promote the possibilities that allow migrants to preserve their mother tongue and their culture. The other

part of integration is that you learn to know the social and cultural norms and conventions of the Finnish culture and society. Knowing one's mother tongue and culture should be seen as a resource that has an added value for the migrant and society. In a nutshell this is how it is defined in the policy documents in Finland, integration is the goal in Finland, not assimilation or adaptation.

But still we see that it is one-sided, not that we could learn from the other languages and cultures.

I agree that we do not see the linguistic and cultural capital of migrants as a useful resource, although we should. We seem to hang on to the idea that one should speak almost perfect Finnish to be able to find a job and work in a very basic job. Universities are different in this respect, because there are people coming and going, and our working environment is multilingual. But in other fields I would say that it is quite difficult, and a good command of Finnish is seen as very important. And we do not seem to realise that the other languages people know could be a useful resource for us.

What are your observations of how the language is changing, who has the power to influence the language and introduce new words?

If we think of language as a social institution, language standardisation is an essential part of it. In Finland we have Kielitoimisto (the Institute for the Languages of Finland) which gives recommendations concerning neologisms and how words should be written in the written standard, etc. But basically every language user can introduce new words. We all know cases where certain expressions that were used in a small group suddenly start to spread. Now social media and Internet perhaps enhance this. Earlier language use was more closely tied to a certain physical location, whereas now a lot of communication is done online, which means that new expressions can spread more quickly. But you cannot know in advance, which expression becomes

popular and starts to spread. To study these mechanisms is very important. Recently I read an article about new words in spoken Finnish that originate from Somali and other migrant languages. In Finnish there are a lot of loanwords from the Russian language, but they were borrowed a long time ago and contemporary speakers do not even recognise them as coming from Russian.

In your text, when you are addressing heteroglossia and voice from a Bakhtinian perspective, you criticise it as relying too much on democratic form. How are we to understand your criticism of democratic form and of Bakhtin in today's neoliberal condition? It seems that Bakhtin's democratic form twenty or thirty years ago could be related to a reformist representationalist position of the culturalisation of politics. But in today's neoliberal context these become very crucial questions. What do you think is relation between economics, politics and language variations?

Let us think of language and discourse, and how power affects our linguistic practices and the ways we construct knowledge in the Foucaultian sense. For example, we can say that in Finland there is a neoliberalist ethos growing according to which we should cut down the social sector, people should take care of themselves and we should lower taxes and so forth. A good example of this is contemporary discourse about higher education, in which the student is represented as a customer. If we do not look at these new discourses critically and just take them for granted, they can eventually start to affect our behaviour. When you can see direct changes in the political and ideological level, it is immediately reflected in how we talk about things and evaluate them. It is particularly visible, for instance, in the current political discussion of the reform of the medical care and healthcare system.

The true Finns have also influenced the language, brought in new words, like 'maahanmuuttokriittinen',

‘elintasopakolainen’, ‘turvapaikkashoppaaja’, and dug out old words. Have you made some observations about that?

All these words are of course highly ideologically loaded and when one starts to use this kind of language it of course affects how people think about things. For instance ‘maahanmuuttokriittinen’, if you did not know how it is used now, it could sound kind of neutral, even scientific. But the way the word is used now is different from the dictionary meaning of its components. There is nothing wrong with being critical, in a scientific sense, about migration issues. In order to develop things we need objective information and we do not do service to anyone by trying to ignore problems. But of course the ‘maahanmuuttokriittinen’ is often used as a euphemism for being racist.

Chapter 8

Index of Multiplicity

The working thesis of Pecheux's linguistic proposition, more precisely the politics of his language philosophy, is based on an argument that the translation of one set of discursive elements to another, opposite set of discursive elements, could not occur without conflict. He discusses this, in the most articulate way, in a text that analyses the way students of economy (trained within the existing norms of the capitalist-bourgeoisie understanding of economy and politics) read one particular socialist text. His analysis (the automatic analysis of discourse) of this 'reading' process illustrates that "the semantic pair person/thing which applies without any obvious problem to utterances of everyday life, is not at all appropriate to politics in the non-bourgeois sense of the terms, to the politics of the masses".¹ In this discourse analysis, Pecheux tries to demonstrate in which way 'class struggles' take place in the practice of reading; what are the concrete elements of this manifestation. "The conclusion to be drawn from this exercise is that there is no objective reading of a political text because there is no common sense understanding in politics. No universal semantics will ever be able to fix what should be understood by planning, political change, radical reform, government action, and so on because words, expressions, and utterances change their sense according to the position from which they are uttered".² This is, as Pecheux argues, a positive form of the thesis that he introduced in negative terms at the beginning. This positively stated form of linguistic variation is a cornerstone of the politics of sociolinguistics, as a possibility of struggling against the normativity of language and discourse with the means and openness of language constituents. This is discussed in sociolinguistics as the distinctiveness of the dialectic inherent within language as such, which is mainly described as an elusive and un-representable feature.

There are better examples in sociolinguistic theory, which can introduce a different set of conceptualisations to

the discussion of flexibility in variation. Michael Silverstein's style of writing on the issue of ideology, index and the social context of language has a certain flair of abstraction, which usually lacks in the writings of other sociolinguists. For example, he does not draw a linear correlation between index and ideology; but, as he points out, ideology is located somewhere between the first and second order of indexicality. The very act of describing (or self-describing) the position of the subject generates, in Silverstein's schema, a distinct mode of ideology that cannot be detached from the context. Every context is referentially related to another context, which structures ideological immanence as some kind of dialectic of indexicality. This abstraction of ideology not only challenges the linearity of the famous up-takes in speech acts; it can also offer a distinctive and useful conceptual instrument for dealing with the instances of ideological interpellation happening within the language. Obviously, this sort of theorisation requires a new concept of 'reality' as well; "We now recognize that the 'realities' of meaningful social practices emerge from people's situated experience of indexical semiotic processes that constitute them."³ The limits or horizon of this model of language ideology is the Whorfian concept of mediation, which is at the core of this position. In his widely cited and discussed text from 1979, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology", Silverstein uses the principles of Whorf as understating how certain languages form an ideology of reference.⁴ This language theory does not refer to the mediation between language and meaning (or the famous semiotic mediation) as a direct ideological construction; it adds something extra, that the process of mediation is a mediation of the second order. This is an interesting point to make, because it places the very act of the Whorfian linguist in this network of ideological mediation. In this case, the procedure of relativity never stops. Silverstein's aim is to propose a conceptual schema that is as complex and contradictory as social life. The

linguistics over-determined by contradictions is not mediated by ideology only in a dual form; but as the unlimited multiple n -th forms of indexical networks. As Silverstein explains, in yet another text, indexical order is the necessary concept that shows us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frameworks of the analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon.

‘Order’ comes in integral ordinal degrees, that is, first-order indexicality, second-order indexicality, etc., in the following general dialectical schema: for any n -th order indexical that presupposes a contextual schematisation of some sort, there will tend to be an entailment – a ‘creative’ effect – regularly produced by the use of the n -th order indexical system as a direct (causal) consequence of the degree of (institutionalised) ideological engagement with the n -th order indexical meaningfulness.⁵ Every new indexical order (or form of expression if we like to understand it that way) is structured in relation to previous indexical orders; nothing appears out of the blue. Furthermore, the articulation and the meaning of any indexical order make sense only in a constellation of other indexical orders, which have their own life and relations as well... “ $N+1$ -st order indexicality is thus immanent as a competing structure of values potentially indexed in-and-by a communicative form of the n -th order, depending on the degree of intensity in ideologisation.”⁶ We can call this a second-gear Whorfianism, adding n -th possibilities to a network of influences, or ‘degrees of intensities’. We could conceive an excellent machine for generating multilingualism if we imagine it as something like Giordano Bruno’s *De umbris idearum*.⁷

Notes

1. Michel Pecheux, "Are the Masses an Inanimate Object?", *Linguistic Variations: Models and Methods*, edited by David Sankoff, New York: Academic Press, 1978, p. 251.
2. Pecheux 1978, p. 265.
3. Michael Silverstein, "The Use and Utility of Ideology: A Commentary", in *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*, edited by B.B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard and P.V. Kroskrity, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 128.
4. M. Silverstein, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology", *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels Including Papers from the Conference on Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR*, edited by P. Clyne, W. Hanks and C. Hofbauer, Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979, p. 202.
5. Michael Silverstein, "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life", in *Salsa III: Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium About Language and Society*, edited by R. Ide, R. Parker and Y. Sunaoshi, Austin: University of Texas, 1996, p. 266.
6. Silverstein 1996, p. 267.
7. "In the *De umbris idearum* (1582) Bruno described a set of movable, concentric wheels subdivided into 150 sections. Each wheel contained 30 letters, made up of the 23 letters of the Latin alphabet, plus 7 letters from the Greek and Hebrew alphabets to which no letter corresponded in Latin. To each of the single letters there corresponded a specific image, representing for each respective wheel a different series of figures, activities, situations, etc. When the wheels were rotated against each other in the manner of a combination lock, sequences of letters were produced which served to generate complex images." (Umberto Eco, *The Search for the Perfect Language*, translated by James Fentress, London: Fontana Press, 1997, p. 136.) "This holds for *the state* whenever it is defined as an instrument. An instrument (which can comprise different elements) exists by virtue of an end: in the present case, maintaining the power of the dominant class. But the dictionary definition also says that, in the 'ensemble of elements', none is *superfluous*. On the contrary, all are perfectly well adapted to their end, in so far as all are parts of the articulated whole designated as the 'apparatus': here, the state. This therefore presupposes a sort of mechanism in which all the parts, all the wheels and cogs, work together to the same end, which is obviously external to the apparatus; if it were not, the apparatus would not be 'separate'. This externality seems pronounced when we think of expressions such as 'apparatus of torture', or even 'artificial limb.'" (Louis Althusser, *Philosophy of the Encounter: Later Writings, 1978–1987*, edited by F. Matheron and O. Corpet, translated by G. M. Goshgarian, London and New York: Verso, 2006, pp. 82–3.)

Säästetty markka on ansaitun arvoinen.

Syhmä taitaan kehuu itseänsä kiittelee.

Henkilöt ovat sukulaissamme.

Älä anna pahan voittaa itseäsi,
vaan voita sinä pahan hyvällä.

Raamattu ilmestyi suomenkielisenä 1642.

Hungarians are our relatives

The Bible was published
in the Finnish language in 1642

Chapter 9

Fuzzy/Logic

Indispensable to any discussion on multilingualism are Mikhail Bakhtin's writings. Terms such as chronotope, speech genres, polyglossia, reproduction and other similar issues he writes about have a direct link with historical and social (and consequently political) features of language. The starting point for Bakhtin's theory would be his understanding of speech genres, a very genuine explanation of historical-social sedimented contradictions residing in the very form of the language. When Bakhtin says that "the speaker is not biblical Adam" (p. 92) alluding to a fact that the act of speaking is separate from act of giving names for a first time, he clearly points to the fact that the index of speech does not exist separate from the context of history, society and ideology in general. The speaking act is happening with speech genres that are structured as contradictions and enables various conflicting phenomena in an unusual way. Speech genres are incommensurable (p. 82) entities of language ideology, carrying history through structure. These carriers of context, or chunks of history, are responsible for the ideological nature of the language. But at the same time they are carriers of ideological struggle as well. That is why in speech genres, there are also materials of historical break, resistance, subversions and other oppositional features that constitute the polyglossia of language. These sedimented contradictions of social formation (i.e. class struggle) make language incommensurable in its entirety; but also allow points of exit, or points where centrifugal forces converge within language. Bakhtin's genius lies in his insistence that the very form (his word for it is 'life') of languages is a "contradictory-ridden, tension-filled unity of two embattled tendencies", namely of centripetal and centrifugal language forces. "Alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralisation and unification, the uninterrupted process of decentralisation and disunification goes forward."¹ These two co-existing, but at

the same time continuously struggling, forces in language do their job of linguistic magic, which is actually the magic of ideology.

In order to understand how this ideology of language – as a form of double-bound contradiction – is related to the unifying operations of society, we have to look in which way process of ideological reproductions operate inside language as such. Bakhtin does not, as many of his followers do, idealise the heteroglossia, or the carnivalesque in language as practices of automatic emancipation from the ideological constraints. According to him, reproduction happens in coercion, and reproduction is a continuous labour happening at all times without interruption. There is no break from the work of reproduction, language does not go to holiday, and it is never suspended in its ideological operation. The role of these continuous variations in language is indispensable to the reproduction of the ideological structure. They are an engine of historical transformation and reproduction at the same time. This is the reason why we have to take seriously Bakhtin's slogan "languages of the day":

One could say that today's and yesterday's socio-ideological and political 'day' do not, in certain sense, share the same language; every day represents another socio-ideological semantic 'state of affairs', another vocabulary. Another accentual system, with its own slogans, its own ways of assigning blame and praise. Poetry depersonalizes 'days' in language.²

In this sense, Bakhtin is more structuralist than many are ready to accept. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, for example, who claim that Mikhail Bakhtin has a similarity to William Labov who discussed linguistic variation as opposed to subjectivism and structuralism, fail to see some conflictual elements in Bakhtin's conceptualisation of the issue of reproduction. Our aim here is not to offer a correct

reading of Bakhtin (a topic which we do not find interesting at all), but to see how certain positions in linguistics affiliated with Deleuze/Guattari's postulates are inclined to propose a very easy-way out from the contradictions of ideological reproduction in language. For Deleuze and Guattari, as is well known and they themselves were well aware of it, the solution was language de-coded as music (the contemporary experimental music of dissonance, noise music). But they did grasp the essential contradiction of linguistic science. According to what they wrote in their chapter on the postulates of linguistics in *A Thousand Plateaus*, "the elementary unit of language – the statement – is the order-word".³ The issue of power, ideology, coercion, repression, system, structure, and all the constraints and declarative nature of imposing such constraints and limits are part of this definition of language. They do understand that the essential postulate of linguistics is the question of structural invariants, or the constant indexes of the ideological carriers of the language. Following Labov they acknowledge that sociolinguistics is best in incorporating the variations in the construction of the language. But they find certain contradiction in this statement by pointing out the uneasy situation in the grammar of variations, or reiterating form at the very heart of the variation rule. Their aim is to push the contradictions of Labov to the limit: "Must it not be admitted that every system is in variation and is defined not by its constants and homogeneity but on the contrary by a variability whose characteristics are immanent, continuous, and regulated in a very specific mode (variable or optional rule)?"⁴ This is a very important question – and it is not that Labov was not aware of it – which brings the issue of dialectics and the contradiction of the ideology of language to the very concrete field of politics and policy. If the elementary unit of language is word-order, then in which terms are the transformed rules (variations) of order incorporated within language? How is change placed in language? Deleuze and

Guattari are not interested in discussing this movement with the available terms, but with the neologism, which they conceive as shortcuts to ideological struggle. This, by the way, shows that immanence in Deleuze and Guattari and in Gramsci are of different nature; while the former is trying to by-pass the issue of the representation of immanence by way of the shortcuts involved in neologisms, the latter is, in his position within the Communist movement and proletariat struggle, experimenting with the possibility of working in the heart of existing contradictions related to the representation of immanence. The linguistic aspect of these shortcuts, neologisms, of Deleuze and Guattari could be in itself an interesting subject for a research project. In this particular case the contradictions of the recurring form of variation, Deleuze & Guattari propose a shortcut called 'pass-words' that are beneath order-words. "Words that pass, words that are components of passage, whereas order-words mark stoppages or organized, stratified compositions. A single thing or word undoubtedly has this twofold nature: it is necessary to extract one from the other – to transform the compositions of order into components of passage."⁵

This tendency can be described as [the] presentation of the dialectic as a way of making formal logic more flexible and fluid, in the name of the struggle against fixism and metaphysics: to think reality 'dialectically' is to think it full of changes and contradictions, of changes *hence* contradictions. Some hopefuls have even tried to import the mathematical notion of the 'fuzzy set', which is supposed to bridge the artificially rigid frontiers of logical classifications.⁶

The issue of variations in language, or the thesis of multiplicity *ad infinitum* as eternal variations, has provoked many complex discussions regarding the problems of translation. Translation is today a discipline on its own; promising to

respond to the difficult questions both regarding cultural theory and linguistic studies. One of the theoreticians of translation, who gave a conceptual background to an overtly politicised project on heterolingualism in Europe, Naoki Sakai is interesting writer to start with.⁷ His point of departure is essentially a sociolinguistic thesis that variations are constants of linguistic formation. By taking this formulation one step further he claims that in the conditions of infinite variations we cannot talk about communication in a proper sense. Because, variations entail the idea that the infinite definition of the cultural object is impossible to pose: so there could be no complete product of linguistic exchange. In such circumstances the meaning of communication radically changes; it cannot anymore signify the accomplished task of sending a message from one direction to another, from sender to receiver. Because in a 'non-aggregate community' of constant processuality, there is no stable ground where communication can take place. Everything is in flux and in process producing variation. Against communication, Sakai proposes the heterolingual address, which by the very definition of its elusiveness avoids any closure of social-homogeneous-ideological-uniformity. The agency of this practice, the translator of heterolingual addresses, cannot derive his/her strength or methodology from the perspective of any representable norm. All existing terminology, terms, and norms of linguistic structure are tools of this ideological preclusion of heterolinguality. What Sakai's heterolingual translations possess is an attitude, which "can call into question the self-evidence, and thereby explore those ethico-political assumptions and habituated regimes that serve to sustain this position."⁸ It is this attitude we are interested in. Art should be a place for this kind of conflicting and performative activity that could go beyond torturously reiterating academic constraints. Linguistics is full of them. But does this unrestrained linguistic activity or attitude of heterolingual translation ask the fundamental question of

whether ideological language reproduces inequality. Surely, we have to ask this question: in which way 'politics' and 'class struggle' find their place in this elusive attitude? Sakai is not interested in engaging with this kind of question, for him these terms (politics, class struggle) are sources of communicative repression, or violent accomplishment through homogeneity. To challenge the existing system of linguistic exchange, the translator has to adopt different subjectivity, more precisely "[she] must be internally split and multiple, and devoid of stable positionality. At best she can be a subject in transit [...]"⁹ The act of translation, in this case is more than transferring information (message) from one set system to another, from one direction to another. It is a deconstruction of the ideological constituents of language. If communication (as the simple and normative transfer of messages) is, at the formal and conceptual level, a repression of discontinuities and breaks in language, then the translator has to be the one who will make these gaps visible. The reason for this is that the act of translation, while suturing discontinuity between the addresser and addressee, is in a very uncanny way creating continuity within discontinuity. Only after translation, "we can recognize the initial incommensurability as a gap, crevice, or border between fully constituted entities, spheres, or domains" (p. 14). The meaning of Sakai's slogan that "untranslatability does not exist before translation: translation is the a priori of the untranslatable" (p. 5), makes sense only in this context; the elusive subjectivity of translator is responsible for the noise and act. It is moral responsibility that lends a political dimension (if any such thing is possible in these conditions) to this very act.

Notes

1. M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981, p. 272.
2. Bakhtin 1981, p. 291.
3. Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 76.
4. Deleuze & Guattari 1987, pp. 93–4.
5. Deleuze & Guattari 1987, p. 110.
6. Pecheux, 1982, p. 178.
7. Here we refer to highly interesting project by Eipcp, “The Languages of the Banlieues”, under which many interesting and heterogenous texts has been produced.
8. Naoki Sakai, “Introduction: Writing for Multiple Audience and the Heterolingual Address”, *Translation and Subjectivity: On ‘Japan’ and Cultural Nationalism*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 11.
9. Sakai 1997, p. 13.

Translation in the Field of Ideological Struggle

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‘Cultural translation’, as vulgarised in cultural studies, presupposes a notion of culture akin to the conception of language that has prompted the very introduction of the ‘secondary’ notion of culture: it implicitly conceives culture as “a system of self-identical norms” (Voloshinov). In the strong version (Butler), cultural system is modelled upon the juridical ideology, and participates to the juridico-political universalism that presently legitimises various imperial enterprises (bringing democracy and law to Ukraine, Georgia, Kirghistan, Iraq...). In its soft version (Bhabha), the notion organises itself around the presumably non-translatable ‘element of resistance’, and participates to the identity preoccupations of the ‘politics of recognition’ (Taylor). The two variations define the field of the contemporary *koiné* of domination.

Voloshinov traces “abstract objectivism” in linguistics back to the philological tradition which initially works upon foreign and dead languages, and finally treats any language as “dead and foreign”. It should be added that linguistics becomes science in the modern nomothetic sense rather late in the philological tradition, and only when preoccupation with ancient languages gives way to the treatment of modern languages, their genealogies, accomplishments and their spirit – that is, with the articulation of philology to the nation building. At that historical moment, language was directly conceived as ‘culture’ (Herder, Humboldt), and, accordingly, the aporias of universalism and relativism which our times encounter on the level of ‘culture’, then tended to emerge within the properly linguistic horizon. The category

of 'national language', however, made it possible to by-pass or at least to alleviate these contradictions, as it was capable outwardly to operate as specification of human universality, and inwardly as neutralisation of ideological plurality. Or, in other terms, 'national language' could support a universalistic construction by functioning in an egalitarian way within the homogeneous dimension (every language was supposed to be in principle equal to any other), and could integrate a contradictory society by the hierarchical impact of its 'neutrality' within the heterogeneous dimension (operating as a 'neutral' matrix of mutual translatability of discourses, national language simultaneously established a hierarchical order among them; indeed, not even its various usages were supposed to be of an equal value).

In the time of cultural identities, this solution no more applies. What used to be "the spirit of a people" (*Volksgeist*), is now either a pre-modern survival and an obstacle to the blessings of globalisation, or an irreducible kernel of a unique experience to be nurtured by an identitary group and recognised by the apparatuses of universalism. Although the two figures are opposed to each other, they are not necessarily antagonistic, since they both radically *de-politicise* social relations. They are currently used as complementary strategies to block resistances and to integrate local particularities into the system of domination.

According to the romanticist view (Schleiermacher), a translation could either bring the original to the reader's language, or bring the reader to the original: in the first case, it deformed the original experience, in the second, it denaturalised the reader's mother tongue. What was formulated as the aporia of translation in Romanticism, takes the form of a double process of de-politicisation *cum* domination to-day: translation of the Afghan or Iraqi social relations into what we are told we should take as a 'democratic' idiom, re-articulates those societies in 'tribal', ethnic, religious terms; but at the same time, this translation deeply

transforms the post-revolutionary institution of (bourgeois) democracy. Translated into 'our' Western idiom, those societies sink into intestine war; translation once performed, 'our' democratic idiom is no more the same, for it is now an idiom of ethnic, religious etc. strife.

Goethe was more optimistic, and distinguished three stages in the process of translation: starting from the appropriation of the foreign text in one's own terms, translation could eventually achieve an 'identical' rendering of the original – having passed through an intermediary phase where "one tries to put oneself into the situation of the foreigner, but really one only appropriates and reproduces the foreign in one's own sense". This intermediary phase, Goethe claimed, could be called "parodic in the purest sense of the word". Goethe's enigmatic formulation cannot be resolved by resorting to a Greek dictionary. The best ones would refer you to Quintilian: parody is a chant modulated in a similar way as some other chant, and this imitation can also be abusive. While always being a parallel song (*Beigesang*), parody can at times be a mocking song (*Gegengesang*) (Lloyd).

And so is translation: it attempts to 'follow' the 'original', its pre-text – and at times, it fails. In a fundamental sense, translation is a discourse oriented towards another discourse. Bakhtin distinguishes two main types of such an orientation:

1. One-directional discourse runs in the same sense as the discourse towards which it is oriented; translation would normally be of this type.
2. In multi-directional discourse, however, the other-oriented discourse runs in a direction differing from, or opposed to, the direction of its other. Bakhtin's example of this type is precisely parody. But such would also be a translation at the places where it eventually fails.

Goethe's "parodic in its purest sense" would then be "parodic in its amphibolic sense", and would perfectly describe the vagaries of the process of translation. However, if we take Bakhtin's theory seriously, neither orientation towards another discourse nor one/multi-directionality could be viewed as a privilege of certain genres and, in a modified sense, of translations: any discourse necessarily entertains multiple relations with other discourses – this is the reality of the struggle for the 'meaning'. Without referring to other discourses, a particular discourse would not be able to produce meaning; it would actually be unable to produce itself.

A translation certainly can one-directionally follow a multi-directional pre-text. Its specificity *qua* translation resides rather in the risk to assume a multi-directional course because of failing to follow the pre-text at the point where it (one- or multi-directionally) refers to another discourse. The distinctive feature of translation may lie in the specificity of its possible failure: it may turn multi-directional because of missing a particular instance of other-orientation of the pre-text. That would mean that it may unwillingly, actually unknowingly ignore, and ultimately exclude, a certain piece of the pre-text's historical materiality.

This, however, is again a familiar mechanism of inter-discursive operations, e.g., in the production of 'tradition' or 'history': post-communist constructions about 'totalitarianism' efface past political struggles and paradoxically bring the endeavours of the past power-holders to a completion that they could not have achieved in their time. Such constructions obliterate past potentialities in order to block the present ones. They totalise the past in order to close down the horizon of the present. In this sense, they certainly contribute to the building of a 'culture'. And in this perspective, one could call them *cultural translations*.

But then again, it would be theoretically more productive to treat them as *verwandelte Formen*, *prevrashchennye formy* (Mamardashvili). Such an attempt might actually further

develop some of the motives that remain on the level of intuitions in Mamardashvili's text. Here is a sketch.

'Communist totalitarianism' is a *verwandelte Form* in the following sense:

1. It articulates two 'spheres' one of which over-determines the other. In Marx, the two spheres are production and circulation; in our case, the two 'spheres' would be the multiplicity of historical processes and the instable conjuncture of their provisional, temporary effects.
2. It is an element within the 'sphere' that is over-determined, and it there 'takes the place' of one or more elements or processes within the over-determining 'sphere'. In Marx, profit is, within the sphere of circulation, a transformed form, and a supplement, of what is surplus value in production; salary transforms-supplements the value of labour-force etc. In our case, a certain selective presentation of historical processes would constitute an important element-mechanism in the conjuncture: "liberation from communist totalitarianism" is presented so as to legitimise the conjectural imposition of certain historical processes and social relations against the others.
3. It retroactively constitutes, within the over-determining sphere, the element which it supplements within the over-determined sphere, and thus saturates, totalises the over-determining sphere itself. In Marx, the value of a commodity is defined as the socially necessary quantity of abstract labour spent in its production; but this quantity is only determined when the commodity is 'realised' upon the market, i.e., within the sphere of circulation, and then only by the

mediation of the general profit rate (which, as an element of circulation, is itself a *verwandelte Form*, dependent for its constitution upon the very value it retroactively fixes). Our case is simpler: “communist totalitarianism” retroactively determines the form of certain historical processes (it deprives them of their political and conflictual character) and their contents (repression and submissive resignation). It thereby totalises them into a historical ‘past’, articulated to the ‘present’ by the very *impossibility to think* the link between the two. It determines *how* the ‘present’ is to be over-determined by the ‘past’.

4. It imposes its own formulation of over-determination as a systemic constraint upon the over-determined sphere. In Marx, competition among singular capitals governs over them *als äußerliches Zwangsgesetz*, disciplines them to act in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole and to reproduce capitalist relations, and breaks down the sum-total of the surplus value, produced proportionally to the input of the necessary labour, into aliquots of the forwarded capitals. In our case, a transformed presentation of past relations of domination imposes present domination as necessary, and disciplines both the dominating and the dominated into their respective roles.

We could now start to develop a concept of translation as a mechanism of transposition that results in the production of *averwandelte Form*. We could eventually call such a translation ‘cultural’, since it in fact has to do with ideological mechanisms. However, such a term would be misleading. Although the modern autonomous cultural sphere has been established as being ‘beyond’ the political struggles and as basically a-political; although the oblivion of the socio-historical mechanisms of its emergence has always been one of

its constitutive moments; and although its very production was a manoeuvre in the historical rise of the new classes, and the basis of a new class-compromise (Breznik), culture has nevertheless always defined itself in opposition to the existing political sphere – whilst now, culturalisation is a mechanism of the destruction of political sphere.

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Chapter 10

Screwed-Up Internationalism

It would be interesting to think about the social and political conjunctures that led to the diffusion of translation studies on such a scale, both in linguistic and cultural theory. Translation studies, and worries, are a direct property of multilingual discourses. It would be futile to even discuss multilingualism without having some kind of theory on translation. What is untranslatable (incommensurable) in translating from one language to another, which kinship relations enable translation to take place, is translation ideological reproduction, what is the role of ideological language in translation, is the index of historical sedimentation determined by the translating act, where is the limit between nationalism and translation, etc.? All these questions, in this or that form, can be found in Walter Benjamin's text *The Task of Translator* where he demythologises the conception of successful translation as transferring the apparent message from one cultural context to another. According to Benjamin, what a good translator takes into account is the historically sedimented properties of language and works in the framework of the inherent 'foreignness of language'. Benjamin conceptualises the impurity of translation; but according to him, this impurity is the work of language itself. The possibility for translation to take place is because of 'kinship' – understood as the historical and political kinship of struggles – between languages; the very act of translation has to be understood as the unleashing of these inherently linguistic difficulties. As Benjamin writes, translation "puts language to the test".¹ Jacques Derrida, who is notorious for finding incommensurability in many places, took Benjamin's text as a starting point for further discussion on the concept of kinship in translation. For Derrida, translation is reconciliation through the generation of kinship. The main philosophical thread that Derrida wants to follow is an untranslated prose-poem of Mallarmé's in the text of Benjamin, saying that: "The imperfection of languages consists in their plurality, the supreme one is lacking: thinking

is writing without accessories or even whispering, the immortal word still remains silent; the diversity of idioms on earth prevents everybody from uttering the words which otherwise, at one single stroke, would materialise as truth.” What is this “babelian event” as Derrida calls it, and which he thinks as the horizon of Benjamin’s problem in the task of translator. It is kinship, the historically sedimented indexes that allow such translation. But also, it is the gaps, the noises, the refusals, or the untranslatable, which is the core of the impure activity of the translator. How these two realms of translation reflect the inherent contradictions of the language. How should we think of them?

But translation, in every sense, is a political act. Even if we consider Derrida’s observation that translation as poetic transposition is an alibi that “languages are not foreign to one another”² we still should ask whether this abstraction *en masse* is not an abstraction of the capitalist kinship between languages of transaction. It is, of course, not difficult to guess the colour and language of this transaction. Jonathan Arac’s writing about language and planet of American Literature and about Anglo-globalism, deals exactly with this issue. Marx and Engels wrote:

In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property [...] and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

Jonathan Arac notes: So much of the business of this passage is condensed in the single word translated as ‘intercourse’ in German *Verkehr*. A standard dictionary lists the meanings for this word in sequence as: traffic, transportation, communication, commerce, intercourse in its sexual as

well as other senses, and communion. It is anything but communism (in German, *Kommunismus*), for which Marx and Engels required recourse to a Latin, rather than a Germanic, derivation, perhaps to signal the movement's internationalism. The related verb, *verkehren*, means to turn over, with the usual off-key sense carried by the prefix *ver-*, so to put it colloquially, to screw up. *Die verkehrte Welt* is the world turned upside down, which in the metahistory of Marx and Engels is just what the bourgeoisie does by means of its *Verkehr*.³

This is a non-bourgeois translation of kinship as the abstraction of capitalism, which does not evade the impurity of the linguistic act preceding the translation. It is this screwed-up internationalism of abstracted kinship, which Emily Apter took in her project on the politics of untranslatability. That is the kinship of anti-historical features, the kinship of the conflicting languages, similar to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's idea of language as a carrier of indexes of resistance and struggle. The name of this politics is "translational transnationalism", with a particular emphasis on the linguistic form of this activity: "Languages are inherently transnational and time sensitive. Their plurilingual composition embodies histories of language travel that do not necessarily reproduce imperial trajectories."⁴ This non-imperialistic mode of translation, thus would pose a different kind of kinship, certain disruptive kinship; "*air de famille* minus the *lien de parenté*: it refers to blood ties that have been broken, thwarted orders of nature, queer families, subcultures [...] or in case of language, Untranslatables that stand outside of language families".⁵ These obscure tongues of translational transnationalism could not fully be grasped if their currency were measured with sociological implication. In some kind of counter-society bringing together these 'queer families', but it is their conflictual, uneven, belated and uncanny temporisations that politicises this uneasy relation.

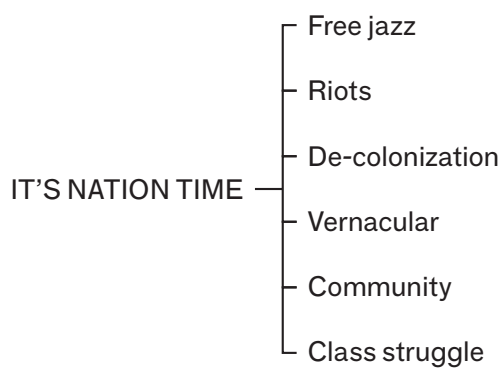
It is nothing unusual to claim that constant-variations (if we can propose such an oxymoron) are an essential

feature of the language. As Umberto Eco has demonstrated in his very lucid text *On the Possibility of Generating Aesthetic Messages in an Edenic Language*, the linguistic field consisting of two elements of speech, A and B, with a limited set of rules, can also generate anomalous and contradictory instances within the speech act and communication. Even in the pure, edenic, non-contradictory world, speaking will generate, by its own rules, certain contradictory conditions, which sooner or later could be organised as an artistic message.⁶ But there is no heaven in the world, and contradictions, and hence variations, are our everyday reality. It happens that sometimes they are more visible than how we see them in our daily life practices. We should always recall these moments of intensified class struggle, which are contingent in their nature. It is at these points of ideological conflict that language recognises itself, or recognises that the founding principles of language are based on antagonism. It must be admitted that it is in these moments of real contradiction, truly hell raising moments, that linguists became aware of the intrinsic noise in their object of study. It is not for nothing that after the October Revolution some of the best texts on socio-linguistics and formalist enquiry have been written. It is also not coincidence that the best sociolinguistic studies, usually looking at speech of Afro-Americans living in New York, the so called 'black english', appeared in the sixties, during the height of Black Power, riots, the class struggle of impoverished proletariat, and civil violence against the racist state apparatus. It is through these contingent situations that the science of linguistics saw structural variation laid bare. In this politicised language, the slang, the idiolect, or generally the language described as 'black english' could not be discussed in the terms of malapropos or other designations of linguistic accident.⁷ We argue that the writings of Amiri Baraka, previously known as LeRoi Jones, can teach us more on language variations than William Labov's sociolinguistic patterns. One simple reason

for this is that Baraka, unlike Labov, was not learning language variations from supermarket or other representative institutions, but from riots, free jazz, class and race struggles, and the underground of the Black community. Amiri Baraka ended the introduction to his book *Home: Social Essays* from 1966 with this line “[...] by the time you read this I will be even blacker.” And he commented this same sentence in 1984: “but I could also have said: “[...] and confused like a motherfucker.”⁸ No one can put in such clear and direct terms, the meaning of historical transformation in language as he does. For Baraka, this variation was obviously political, as he explains in terms that any sociolinguist should envy:

The social hegemony, one's position in society, enforces more specifically one's term (even the vulgar have 'pull'). Even to the mode of speech. But also it makes these terms an available explanation of any social hierarchy, so that the words themselves become, even informally, laws. And of course they are usually very quickly stitched together to make formal statues only fools or the faithfully intrepid would dare to question beyond immediate necessity.⁹

To translate this to the normative language of sociolinguistics, which is by the way an impossible task, we can highlight all the problematics of that discourse, from ideological reproduction, to constant-variation, and all the way to the structures of linguistic formation. With the single extra addition of class struggle that in no case is included in sociolinguistic reasoning. The language, a 'powerful motley experience', cannot be fully grasped without introducing this asymmetry of struggle; it is in these instances that variations make political and historical sense. If Baraka is the one who grasped this, then other people, for similar reasons, who dig this linguisticism of American ideological formation, is the Black Panther Party.



Notes

1. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator", *Illuminations*, Edited by Hannah Arendt, London: Fontana/Collins, 1973, pp. 69–82.
2. Jacques Derrida, "Des Tours de Babel", *Difference in Translation*, Edited by F. Graham, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985, p. 189.
3. Jonathan Arac, "Global and Babel: Language and Planet in American Literature", *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature*, Eds. W. C. Dimock and L. Buell, Princeton University Press, 2007, p. 21
4. Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*, London: Verso 2013, p. 42.
5. Apter 2013, p. 14.
6. The repertoire of this language is built up out of two sounds, A and B, which can be arranged in a variety of sequences following the combinatory rule X, nY, X. This means that every sequence must start with one of the two elements and carry on with n repetitions of the other, ending up with one further occurrence of the first element. This kind of rule allows the production of an infinite series of syntactically correct sequences. Umberto Eco "On the Possibility of Generating Aesthetic Message in an Edenic Language", *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the semiotic texts*, London: Hutchinson, 1981, p. 93.
7. Reijo Kettunen in his analysis of "black english" discusses this linguistic variation based on observation of L. H. Herman who claimed that: "An important factor contributing to the color of Negro dialect is the malaprop quality of the mispronunciation in the Negro's lexicon. The Negro frequently resorts to twisted and garbled versions of sesquipedalian words, an addition that has made much of the supposed humor in the Negro dialect." (Reijo Kettunen, "Black English—a Language or an Idiom? Study Based on Three Modern Black Novelists", Pro Gradu Paper, Department of English Philology at the University of Helsinki, 1975, p. 78.) One of the discussed modern black novelists in Kettunen's study was Amiri Baraka, who wrote that "It is absurd to assume, as has been the tendency, among a great many Western anthropologists and sociologists, that all traces of Africa were erased from the Negro's mind because he learned English. The very nature of English the Negro spoke and still speaks drops the lie on that idea" (LeRoi Jones, *Blues People*, Morrow Press, New York, 1963, p. 9.) Jean-Luc Godard makes use of this malapropism in his *One to One/Sympathy for Devil* (1968) film by showing linguistically distorted political slogans of Black Power simultaneously with the soundtrack of reading from Baraka's *Blues People*.
8. Imamu Amiri Baraka, *The autobiography of LeRoi Jones/ Amiri Baraka*, New York: Freundlich Books, 1984, p. 229.
9. LeRoi Jones / Amiri Baraka, "Expressive Language" [1963], *Home: Social Essays*, New York, Akashi Classics, 2009, p. 192.

Chapter 11

Exploding Words

Translation is directly tied to the problem of contradiction in language, especially to the tension between the inner coherence of language and transformation imposed by external factors. As George Steiner argued, every civilisation has its Babel, which means that every language is based on impossible wish for unity. Steiner's book *After Babel: Aspects of Language & Translation* is a project that takes the motif of Babel as its founding principle of human history, as some kind of engine that keeps mankind in creative tension. The horizon of his translation theory is also firmly based on the linguistic postulates of Whorfian theses, but differentiated in one particular aspect that he puts emphasis on – the deep structures of language, discussed by Whorf as 'cryptotypes'. Whorf defines it "as a submerged, subtle, and elusive meaning, corresponding to no actual word, yet shown by linguistic analysis to be functionally important in the grammar".¹ For Steiner this feature of language is of crucial interest not only for poetic language or organisation of word-object relation, but it is the very heart or soul of the language. Here is how he takes this category of language (Whorf was describing it as the Covert Category of Language) to his own field: "It is these 'cryptotypes' or 'categories of semantic organization' – dispersion without boundaries, oscillation without agitation, impact without duration, directed motion – which translate the underlying metaphysics of a language into its overt or surface grammar." (p. 95) In this case, the native tongue as a carrier of the personal, or the cryptotype of interior speech, is setting multilingualism on different terms. It is a multilingualism of metaphysical difference (p. 125), because the communication is happening not through the normative overt categories of language, but through the inner and profound properties that are both poetic and complex. The very rough division that Steiner proposes could be described as a dichotomy between variations of irregular/private speech acts and constants of public universal language. His project is based on the possibility

of translation (and multilingualism) that would operate through the former properties of variation and irregularity. It is the cryptotype of multilingualism. Since every proper communication takes place only through these deep structures, we can understand the other only on this level. "This is why there will be in every complete speech-act a more or less prominent element of translation. All communication 'interprets' between privacies." (p. 207) It is this noise, the murmur and contradiction, or disorder of Babel, as Steiner calls it, which constitutes the form of real, living, poetic languages. "The entire *business* of translation, the current search for universals in generative grammars, express a fundamental reaction against the privacies of individual usage and the disorder of Babel." (pp. 214–15) It is at this crossroad, between private and public languages, where certain mixed, contradictory and indeterminate usage of normal speech resides. "If we listen closely, there will not be a poem, not a love statement from which this 'contradictory coherence' is absent." (p. 215) Another name for this contradictory form of language, with a dose of queer heurism is "vital ambiguity, chimeric potentiality and undecidability" (p. 227). The line of this logic, strikingly similar to Bakhtin's, but at the same time very different from it (and this difference should be emphasised if we want to make our position clear), is based on the assumption that chimeric language should have chimeric relation to the world (one should not forget that the horizon of Steiner's theory is Whorf-Sapir theses), so that the primary device of the creative function of language is non-truth, or less-than-truth. This device is vital to the very existence of human consciousness and to the development of man in society; the inherent linguistic contradictions, as contradictions of class struggle in Marx, are engines of historical and social transformation. But with one difference: Steiner does not seem to bother to explain, or even to problematise the reason for these contradictions. They, in his cosmogony, are beautiful contradictions of human nature,

on every level, “from brute camouflage to poetic vision, the linguistic capacity to conceal, misinform, leave ambiguous, hypothesize, and invent” (p. 239), all the instances of self-generating richness. It is no surprise that Steiner’s pessimism, an understandable position, is at the background of his theory: “Human speech conceals far more than it confides; it blurs much more than it defines; it distances more than it connects.” (p. 240) The organisation of pessimism (Benjamin), or the possibility of having a real communication amidst these universal non-truths of public language, is only possible through a different inventory of language and speech whose primary drive is “inward and domestic” (p. 243). Or as Steiner, writes: “mature speech begins in shared secrecy, in centripetal storage or inventory, in the mutual organizance of a very few” (p. 242). The role of the translator in this schema is very sensitive, as trained ear and eye they should hunt these variations in their inward formal properties, which could circumvent the ideological uniformity of the languages. The political and formal logic of this linguistic theory has a huge significance to our understanding of multilingualism; this is the reason why we should speculate on a certain misconception that it could generate. Firstly on the formal level, the properties of the internal logic of language, or of the cryptotypes of language, which generate a strange equilibrium between form and content. It does this through proposing that there are two kinds of forms in the very act of communication, one which is visible, apparent, shallow, not so profound, superficial, variable, context dependent, and in the last instance the form which is actually content. And another one, a real form, deep and profound, ahistorical, structural, which is the property of constancy and the true determinant, the form with a capital F. It is as if, the real form of poetic inwardness, which always says the last word, is completed and shaped through complexity. Whereas the content-form is a secondary feature, a reflection, or even a concealment of the first. The real

communication, then, should happen via these concrete forms. It is what Steiner proposes for us to seek after. This first conclusion is definitely a misconception of basic postulates of Russian Formalism, which have worked on the form between the axis of history and materialism, and not as the phenomena of inward structures. The second consequence of this position is about politics, or more precisely about the possibility of political thought. If, as Steiner argues, the disorder of Babel is in the inherent formal properties of our language, then the political or social dimension of these language disorders could be grasped from this inward perspective. It is the same as to claim that the contradictions of the external world could be understood through the ambiguities of the internal structure of words. The circumstance of homology in the theory of Steiner is a strange one, because the external language as a superficial form-content does not have any effect on the internal structures of language, which is the real form, except to cancel/diminish and repress them as disorders. This means, that the politicisation of the internal does not take place in dialectical relation to external, but it could happen in spite of the external, in a fight and struggle against it. This politics of unmasking, or fighting against the semblance of the outside world, remains similar to the Platonic passion for the real, which Alain Badiou describes as quest of the twentieth century. But it does not have anything to do with Gramsci's immanence, which refers to philosophy where there is no outside, in the terms of this world (earthliness) and the history of this very world. This brings us to a third misconception, which has particular importance for us; the issue of multilingualism in the realm of inward forms. Steiner is clear on this; he, without a trace of contradiction, claims that "human speech has matured principally through its hermetic and creative functions, that the evolution of the full genius of language is inseparable from the impulse to concealment and fiction, and then we may at least have an approach to the Babel

Somalialaiset ja suom Vesalan vuokra

RESEARCH TRAINING

Research Assistant

Julius Bergström ja Seppeli Oskari
on luovuttanut o. k. l. s. etnoma. As-
tuksenkin samat perhe. Etelä-
maasta puolelta meidän, ja se
hän on varsinen. Kaikki hup-
saa. Ja on se.

[illegible][illegible]

Sittenraa: kaita, ja Sampo on
sattuneet polkuille erästä, va-
nukka hahokunsa. Polku on ke-
hoitanen hahokunsa ainoa vaimo
koulusta kassa.

Kirkness, the first identifier, was struck by the similarity in appearance of the two insects, and the similarity of their life histories. "I was not at all sure," he wrote, "that I was dealing with two different species, and I am not sure now."

Abstract. *Staphylococcus aureus* is a leading cause of nosocomial infections. The aim of this study was to determine the prevalence of *S. aureus* in the intensive care unit (ICU) of a tertiary care hospital in the city of Bogotá, Colombia. A total of 100 patients were included in the study. The prevalence of *S. aureus* was 100% in the ICU. The results of this study suggest that *S. aureus* is a leading cause of nosocomial infections in the ICU of a tertiary care hospital in the city of Bogotá, Colombia.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were extracted from 100 mg of fresh leaves using 10 ml of 80% acetone. The extract was centrifuged at 1000g for 5 min and the supernatant was transferred to a vial. The process was repeated until all the extract was transferred. The supernatants were then combined and the solvent was evaporated under reduced pressure. The residue was then dissolved in 1 ml of 80% acetone and the absorbance was measured at 663 nm and 646 nm.

1. The first step is to identify the key components of the system. This includes understanding the hardware, software, and data involved.

1. The first step is to identify the key components of the system. This includes understanding the hardware, software, and data involved.

1. $\mathcal{H} = \mathcal{H}_1 \oplus \mathcal{H}_2$ and $\mathcal{H}_1 \cap \mathcal{H}_2 = \{0\}$.
 2. \mathcal{H}_1 and \mathcal{H}_2 are closed subspaces of \mathcal{H} .
 3. \mathcal{H}_1 and \mathcal{H}_2 are orthogonal to each other.

calculus of variations in the presence
of an external force field

”Huimautti perusteli ehdotus.
Lääkärin mukaan sopimusta
natsogestimilla, laimattu pöytä-
sääntö, lakko-odotus, loppu-
asialla, sattu, että ulkoma-
lasi, meteltyä, sattu, pöytä,
jokien, loppu-odotus, pöytä,
pöytä, pöytä, loppu-odotus,
pöytä.

[illegible]

Suomen ja Oksasen ylläkirjassa
on nyt Osmari Perheen ja sa-
ma, että suomalaisissa on hyviä
ja pahoja. Ylläkirjassa on paho-

Hänen mielestään aikokkaan esittämät hankinnat heikentävät "kassasta" häntä suuresti ja osittain epätoivottavasti.

Äsytien puolesta on tärkeitä asioita, joihin se on liittynyt. Kukaan ei voi sanoa, että se on ollut vain yksi asia, jota on käsitelty. Se on ollut useita asioita, joihin on liittynyt. Se on ollut useita asioita, joihin on liittynyt. Se on ollut useita asioita, joihin on liittynyt.

Satunnaa -töissä Oinarien kunnan astori **Mohamed Der**, 38. Derin vaimonkin perhe muutti nykyiseen asuntoonsa viime elokuussa. Tällä hetkellä perhe asuu kahdessa huoneessa, ja vaimon on todittu olevan raskaana. Tällä hetkellä perhe on väkijoukossa, ja heidän elämänsä on täynnä toivoa.

Per un'elaborazione aspramente
contro le "Nazioni Unite", come
sintetizza molto bene Piero Dossena
con un'immagine molto suggestiva.

Manuel Alejandro, 38 años, es un trabajador independiente que trabaja en el comercio electrónico, se dedica a la venta de productos electrónicos y de moda.

Laden auch halbsüßliche Marmeladen, die als Alternative zu den Limetten- und Zitrusmarmeladen angeboten werden.



Saipaa, Stahle ja Seppä / Oksanen haluaisivat päästä eroon väkieron

seminoligimieiden gallatoma-
lipsis ja "terrorisoin" pi-
haa. "Mihinkään asiaan ei voi
päätyä! Anna lahjoitukset eteen-
en siihen, että he ovat ulkomaa-
lusta, että heidän ei tarvitse mi-
nuahtia eikä enää muuta."

Virolainen: Aivan Aika kunniamain kunnioitettiin, että vuokra-
tustorjunta oli esillä alkuperäisten
maailman maahan, maahan

asymptotically normal to

Aivar, 10. on päättänyt käydä seuraavassa talotoimikunnan kokouksessa kysymässä, ketkä haikkeen takana oikein ovat "Ma olen kuitenkin ulkomaalainen, siksi asia on täysin muu tuntu". Hän sanoo:

Tuomari Virjalainen, **Ivar Jänis**,
36, ei tiedä vuokralaistestien kum-
min ehdotuksesta mitään.

alaiset riidoissa ataloissa



suomalaispuvissaan. Nepon äiti Hilikka pitelee sylissään Nepon Minna-tyttä.

näin tavalla ääntä. Mutta ei se ole niin vakavaa, että pitäisi joutua rajoittamaan ulkomaalaisten määrää. Lapset on lapsia, kyllä mä sen ymmärrän."

Bosnialainen Ahmo Seick, 39, on samaa mieltä. "Ja voi olla halpaa, jos on kymmenen lasta."

Talon suomalaiset eivät ole yhdessä rentautuneen ajanansa ulkomaalaisen pois, eivät kaikkia

edek tiedä vuokralaisoimukunnan hankkeesta. Joidenkin mielestä somalit tarvitsivat talon jousityöväkijöitä omalla kielellään.

19-vuotiaan perheenäidin Päivi Metsälän mielestä ulkomaalaisista ei ole ollut sen enempää häiriötä kuin suomalaisistakaan. "Tiedetään, nuo lapset jalkivat, vaikka olivat vankimaalaisia."

65-vuotiaan Eeva Jokinen Akaan nuolien somaleista ei ole

oluit häiritä. "Tuolla talon toisessa puolella on joskus käynyt poliisi, en tiedä, mistä siellä on ollut kyse."

Eeva ei ole tutustunut kehekaan naapuristaan, vaikka hän on miehensä kanssa asunut talossa yhdeksän vuotta. "Vaihtuvuutta on niin paljon." Ahmo Seickin vaimo Samija on kerran pyytänyt Eevaä kahville, mutta Eeva ei ole tullut lähdetä.

Työttömän on vaikea sopeutua

Helsingin kaupungin asuntolautakunta vastasi kielteisesti Vesalan Kuntien Oyn ehdotukseen ulkomusten vuokralaisten määrän rajoittamisesta. Lautakunnan mielestä ringelmat eivät ole rakautuvissa asukkailla valitettavasti.

Ennen olekaan Erilaistumiskieletä nimenomaan on jo maistunut Helsingin ulkomaalaisesta on alkanut keuhkua liirille alueille itä- ja pohjois-Helsingissä.

Ulkomaalaispolitiikkaa mukaisesti kaupunki haluaa sijoittaa ulkomaisia tasaisesti eri puolille kaupunkia. Se ei kuitenkaan onnistu, koska suurin osa vapautuvista kaupungin vuokra-asunnoista sijaitsee idässä ja pohjoisessa. Tilannetta käyristää, että monet suomalaiset kiellettyvät ottamaan asuntoa talon statuksen kaupunginomaista.

Talpoistumistuksessa elävälle ulkomaalaisille taas kelpaa usein mikä tahansa asunto, ja ne jotka pystyvät mieleisensä asunpaikan osoittamaan, haluavat tietenkin sille, jossa ennestään asui omaa maanmaista.

Asuntovuokrasuhteet voivat tulla olla jatkamatta ulkomaalaisille asuntoja taloissa, joissa jo on paljon ulkomaalaisia. Tällöin joutuvat joutuvat katoamaan elelemaan tilapäästötyöskentellessä. Tämä tuskin nopeuttaa heidän sopeutumistaan suomalaisen yhteiskuntaan.

Vesalan Kuntien kaltaista tilaalla asunnolla karkottaa suomalaisia myös vuokrataso. Vuokra kun ei ole edoiksista alueen statukseen, vaan se perustuu kantonin rakennuskustannuksiin. Monelle työssäkäyville perheelle yllä 4 000 markan vuokra 90 neliön asunnosta alkaa olla liikaa. On surkuhupsaa, että tilalle muuttaa todennäköisesti työttömän ulkomaalaisen, ja vuokran maksaa yhteiskunta.

Ongelman ymmestä löytyy siis työttömyys. Ulkomaalaiselle työpätkä olisi oikea paikka tutustua valtoasteeseen ja peista kunnin suomalaisen elämäntapaan.

Helsingin ulkomaalaisen työllisyystilanne on kuitenkin onneton. Somaleista työtä vailla on 80 prosenttia, venäläistä noin 70 prosenttia ja virolaistakaan puolet. Kaikkia tuskin ovat pinnasta.

ILKKA AHTIJAINE

problem. All developed language has a private core" (p. 242). Now we understand the core thesis of Steiner that every civilisation has its Babel, in a better light. Yes, all languages have their disorders and noises that are fundamental to the constitution of speech acts; but some noises (in this case the Babel's) are richer, more matured than the others. Steiner's style of translation is a tool for detecting these uneven Babels, and tries to set the terms of communication between these towers of varying heights. Try to imagine now a benevolent multilingualist, equipped with the conceptual model of Steiner which tries to understand whether the reason for Somalis in Finland not being included in the labour market is because of their language, which is their word-view, etc. The model of Steiner's multilingualism could suggest a solution that Somalis, who learn the outward, normative, and universal language can integrate into the labour market in Finland, because that market also operates through the same linguistic properties of universalism. Though, the real communication is happening with the inner Babels, which have not matured equally and have an unevenly complex nature. Here things get complicated: the Somali man and woman can 'survive' (and this is exactly the word which Steiner is using on these kinds of occasions) in Finland, even if they speak in their native tongue, only if they use a second type of outward (or form-content) language, the superficial language. The opportunity that they might get with this outward language relation then conceals real communication (the real multilingualism) with inward realities, inward forms. The consequence of this is that the Somali man and woman, who have atrophied their hermetic language in the search for a normative way of address, have lost the core of their being. These dynamics have some kind of similarity to Wa Thiong'o's proposal that there is a difference between language as communication (the outward property) and language as a carrier of culture (the inward property of language). The similarity is only on

the schematic level, but the real dynamics enabling this dichotomy are radically different. For Wa Thiong'o, language as a carrier (an index) differs from the language of communication, not because it is principally against the outward and utilitarian practice of language; but because the language, which is carrying the index of the resisting culture is disabled by force and conflict by the pragmatist language that operates outside. There are clear lines of demarcation here that we have to make: the internal language is different from the external language due to specific historical, political conditions: imperialism, colonisation, all kinds of exploitation, are the source for such conditions.

In Steiner's book, Babel actually stands for 'after Babel'; Babel somehow became synonymous with what happened after the fall of the tower of monolingual fantasy; definitely an impossible fantasy. Umberto Eco, in his book *The Search of the Perfect Language*, is careful not to conflate Babel with after-Babel.² The god, who confused people's languages, did that with the idea that the pure souls or his devotees will recognise each other through the hermetic language, which always stays within them. They can recognise each through two para-linguistic procedures; that of *glossolalia* – that is, the ability to express oneself in an ecstatic language that all could understand as if it were their own native speech. Or with *xenoglossia*, that is, polyglottism – or, failing that, at least a sort of mysticism of simultaneous translation (p. 351); that is, with two forms of Babel, the former which transcends the differences and diminishes the borders established by external languages, and the latter, which reduces the outward differences between languages (multilingualism) to the mere appearance of variation. In both cases Babel is established with the means and devices that are out of reach of historical and earthly definitions; it is the archaic power of language. Eco is right in emphasising that "the structure of language and the construction of the tower are analogous" (p. 16). This analogy between construction and the structure

is a very tricky one; on one hand it does implicitly suggest that the structure is subject of the construction, or more precisely that the work on combinatory of language elements could influence the very laws of how these elements are related, or how forms are constituted. But, on another level, it also suggests that construction is determined by structure, the very act of working on language is pre-designed by the laws that are inherently structured. Umberto Eco, dissolves this contradiction, by introducing a special semiotics (or instrument, which granted is a comparative tool) to the discussion.

This tool, not itself a language, which might (if only approximately) be expressed in any language, and which might, furthermore, allow us to compare any two linguistic structures that seemed, in themselves, incommensurable. This instrument or procedure would be able to function in the same way and for the same reason that any natural language is able to translate its own terms into one another by an interpretative principle: according to Peirce, any natural language can serve as a metalanguage to itself, by a process of unlimited semiosis.³

Notes

1. George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 95.
2. Umberto Eco, *The Search of the Perfect Language*, London: Fontana Press, 1995.
3. Eco 1995, p. 349

Interview with Lauri Siisiäinen

Can you describe yourself and your intellectual formation?

I come from Political Science department, University of Jyväskylä. My interests have been for a long time political philosophy, political theory, arts, aesthetics and especially music and sound. My special focus of interest is auditory perception and experience and their relation to politics, both as resistance and as an instrument of governance. I could say that my approach has been influenced quite a lot by continental philosophers, particularly by Michel Foucault. I could also say that I have tried to think the issue of noise and auditory regimes from the standpoint of Western political thought.

How did you arrive at the concept of noise in your theoretical and philosophical work? Was it related to your interest in politics or in music and sound?

It went both ways. I have also a personal musical background. When I was young I was playing instruments actively in some bands and also personally playing classical violin for some time. This practice somehow helped me to grasp the issue of sound and noise more concretely. Especially if you play in the tradition of Western classical music, there is a problematic relation to sound, in the way in which sound is taken as a material of music. And a lot of discussions in the practice of music making in the West deal with this issue of how to control sound. We can say that in the practice of the Western musical tradition one fundamental aspect is control of sound. More precisely, how to turn sound from noise to what is taken as music in the language of Western classical music. This line of thought can be traced already in the ideas about music in Ancient Greece. I think this relates to your project as well.

Yes, it is related, we also claim that sound is an organisation of noise. But we are interested in knowing more about the political aspect of this thesis of sound as an organisation of noise. What do you think about this?

Originally I began to be interested in this when I was studying political science and political theory. I started to question why sound, which is not articulated into speech, is an issue that is not really discussed in the field of political science. That was my original impression. Yet anyone who took part in any political demonstration knows that the noisy atmosphere is very important. It is this kind of experience which made me initially think about sounds involved in politics that are not organised as speech or music. Usually they are not the object of discussion in political science, yet these sounds have some sort of potential in politics.

The thesis that sound is an organisation of noise is so obvious to me that I immediately think of politics when I hear noise. What I am wondering about is how come some noise musicians or experimental artists working on sounds refuse to acknowledge any political context to their practice. Are there any ideological or epistemological reasons for this?

It might be because of the Western tradition of political thought where there is not so much space for concepts such as noise. For example political life or life of citizens is ontologically attached to speech, from Ancient Greece onwards. Noise is always thought of as non-discursive. Music is also thought in a similar way as an expression that is purified of ambiguous and obscure – that is noise – articulation. Thus, music and language are purified articulation. The political form of life in Aristotelian terms, the good life of citizens in the political community, has been attached to this purified voice, which is made distinctive and emplaced within the system. We could say that noise

has been detached from the whole political public world into the private sphere of work and production, and it was related to animal life as well. This exclusion is the reason for the difficulty in thinking about noise in political terms. Because of this we have to bracket the established language of politics, in order to be able to think that noise could relate positively to political concepts.

If you contrast noise to speech and language, then it is quite a philosophical challenge to be able to make noise an object of linguistic discourse. Can we say that once we address the issue of noise we are immediately putting the concepts of philosophical discourse at a dangerous risk?

Do you mean as personal risk?

Not personal, but more I was thinking about an encounter between philosophical concepts, such as subjectivity, consciousness, or any other term, with the force of noise. This encounter would have a very antagonistic nature. This is the danger I was talking about.

I think that in a way language as such is a noise. In that sense there is no ontological binary between language and noise. There is ideological opposition, which the Western tradition of thought reproduces. Language as such is already noise.

Can you describe what noise is for you? Or, on what terms you make noise an object of theory?

It is possible, at least to find some linguistic figures in discussing noise, but this project is difficult to realise. Because noise has to do with the resonance in-between things that are different to begin with, I usually think that already a sound as such is a noise. In that sense I do not think that noise is a specific genre or species of sound. Hence I think that sound and experience of sound, auditory experience, to begin with, is noisy. In a way that it disrupts the articulation of the voice, it suspends it. In that way noise is inarticulate. If articulation is something

that divides and makes distinctive, then the sound of noise is resonance, or vibration that is not articulated. There is always tension between articulation and noise.

If you describe noise as an inarticulate resonance, then in which conditions do certain words and languages resonate? Is there an external factor to a language, for example some contingent political change (revolutions, riots, economic crises) that shatters the articulated or normative meaning of words; or is it the inner logic of the language that does the job?

I am tempted to say that it is both. It is the inner logic of language, in a way that language is built on a dynamic of reference. And there is always an element of resonance in language. That is why I would not say that noise and language are opposed, because language is made of these movements of reference, which generate resonance and vibration. Also language has an uneasy relation with itself; thus there cannot be any language without this noise. But if we think of speech as the communication of meaning then some other difficulties arise. Because there is tension between noise and meaning, or between referential movement in language and meaning. We cannot have meaning without the movement of references within the language. We might think of the existence of the sign, of signification as such in auditory-sonorous terms, as an unending dynamic of resonance. Then again, meaning is also something that has to be kept in check, or try to curve this referential movement. So, this (the resonance, noise) is at the same time a condition of the meaning and also an inherent threat to the unity of meaning. It is both in that sense: a condition of possibility and an inherent threat. This is the inherent aspect of the language. But then we can think also of external aspects, the revolutions and other contingent activities that influence language. They might mobilise noise that is already inherent in every language. They can aim at the noise that is already there.

In which instances do the noise inherent in language come out? My thesis is that artistic practices can make this inherent noise visible as well. For example Bakhtin's heteroglossia is also based on the conceptualisation of language as an inherently antagonistic structure. These antagonisms then in certain moments unleash (as in carnivalesque moments, or in revolutions, as for example in Russian Futurism after the October Revolution). You start your book with interesting quotation from Jean-Pierre Brisset about the methodology of "exploding the word", which you explain as: "a unified word is broken into a multiplicity of sounds, i.e. into noise or murmur".⁴ Then you relate this to what you call a "phonetic scenography". Can you tell us what the epistemological possibility of noise is? Apart from the effect of subversion and deconstruction, is there any relation of noise to knowledge? What is the heuristic possibility of the noises?

I am not sure if I understood in which sense you mean that we can learn something from noise.

For example to my mind there is a futurity to noise, as it is described by Jacques Attali in his book *Noise: Political-Economy of Music*, and particularly, the relation of noise to information. What kind of different form of knowledge could noise provide?

I do not think in those terms about knowledge. In order to discuss the relation between noise and knowledge we have to have different understanding of knowledge. We should detach it from the forms of objectivity in order to be able to think of it in some positive relation to noise or sound. I am not sure if we should use the term knowledge at all. I find it very problematic to think that noise will bring us some sort of knowledge. Probably it would be better if we formulate this question as a relation between sound/noise and thinking as a process.

I do not mean knowledge here as some kind of organisational knowledge, but more as a kind of practice. I use the word knowledge spontaneously as something related to our conceptual relation with the world.

This brings to my mind a model where you have the subject and the object; and then you have some conceptual schemes or categories of understanding that the subject forms knowledge through representation. It is difficult to understand how this is related to noise in positive way. We should think of knowledge in completely different terms than this model.

Instead of referring to knowledge, can we ask the same question by referring to antagonisms, what kind of antagonisms are unleashed by noise? I would even prefer to discuss this issue in the context of class struggle, considering the asymmetric and contradictory form of struggle. You often refer in your book to antagonisms. For example you write that: "noise is something which is a heterogeneous form, and even resistant – in its mingling and mixing mobility and its ephemerality – against the strive to distinguish, decipher, understand, reveal, and know", and then later on you refer to the "relationship of antagonism" in this context.

If you think that antagonism is simply a relationship with something that you are opposed to, or violence directed toward the object, then I do not think that antagonism is noisy in that sense and in how I understand noise. It has not overcome the subject/object relation, which is essential to my understanding of noise. The antagonisms where noise is implicated are always antagonisms, which dissolve or overcome the subject/object position. I have not thought of this as a metaphor for all possible antagonisms, but as a specific kind of antagonism, or disruption, which always has to shatter dichotomy.

What could you say about the noise of the crowd and multitude, which you write a lot about in your book? Can you elaborate on that from this subject/object dichotomy? For example how would you elaborate on a particular act of collective (crowd, multitude) violence against the state apparatus, from the perspective of noise concepts (non-articulated, resonance, etc.) which you are referring to?

I could say that the crowd and multitude are made of relations that are noisy. They are constituted interiorly through resonance and vibration. Crowds are not collections of individuals. Also I am trying to understand the idea of how the crowd's actions would have a common goal as in class struggle against the state apparatus. Well, maybe we can speculate on the idea that class struggle is the subject of the crowd, which strategically tries to accomplish that goal.

But where is noise then in these strategically used vibrations/resonances?

Exactly, that is how I see the contradictions between subject/object when we use the term noise in discussing politics. Definitely the terms are changing when we discuss noise from the aspect of class struggle. We can claim that noise is mobilising collective class struggle; but then we should not try to understand class as a subject that becomes self-conscious of itself, and that has a common interest. That is why we have to look for different terms when we discuss class struggle and noise, but I am not sure what kind of terms those would be.

Reading Friedrich Engels' book *Condition of the Working Class in England*, made me realise how much noise is used in relation to social and class antagonism.

This brings to my mind the different relation between current precarious movements and the politics of old left parties; this is related to the issue of noise as well. The idea of the political collective action of the old left is based on the

assumption of becoming self-consciousness and finding an articulate voice. In this instance the collective action is centred on the idea of finding a class articulated voice, political party or some other interest group. But the precariat is noise as such, and the old left is constantly criticising the precariat for not having an articulate voice with a message and so on. Their demonstrations are precisely this resonating event of collective action, and still we can say that they are political.

What is the relation between state and noise? Can you tell us about the political aspect of noise abatement? Can you tell us something about policy in Finland regarding noise abatement?

I think that Finland has a pretty similar attitude toward noise abatement as other European countries. Things related to the issue of noise and the state are a bit more complicated. For example if we think about the organisation of labour in Taylorist conditions, we can observe that productivity is attached to noise abatement. Nowadays it is a bit different when work is organised in an open office kind of setting. There noise is not seen as opposed to productivity. Precisely it is those areas where work is seen as creative and innovative. In these cases noise has a positive relation with the control of productivity. In this new condition of labour (in the open office settings) noise is promoted as a new kind of rhizomatic control.

This was my next question, what happens when homo-economicus faces noise. You write in your book that “what emerged was a series of aporias, finally calling into question the whole constitution of the economical-calculative subject, the key interstice of liberal governance – perhaps neoliberal in particular. Noise can be a problem not only for the reason of state, but also, for liberalism and neoliberalism”.⁵ What is, in your opinion, the relation between noise and capitalism?

What I was trying to say in my book on that subject was that capitalism and liberal governance cannot shut away noise. I tried to depict the problematic, contradictory relation of liberalism with noise, through a reading of a Kafka story (*The Burrow*). Noise is what internally drives liberal and neo-liberal governments to their limits, in the way that the economic subject has to be all the time alert to every possible direction. It has to maximise its intake of information, in order to be a successful economic actor. I think that this situation brings liberal and neo-liberal governments face to face with noise, because it has to be all the time in every place. This is noise. As a consequence, the economic subject faces the limits of its existence in this mode of relation. This is an inherent tension that the economic subject has to noise, through information. The excess of information, in this case is noise. It is lack of concentration, a limit of possibilities. That is how information turns to noise and becomes a menacing factor in the further development of neo-liberalism.

What do you think, in conclusion, about the relation between silence and noise? Especially the usual representation of Finns as a silent nation with two languages, as Brecht said once.⁶

This might be a stereotype what I say, but in Finland you have to mean what you say. Traditionally people in Finland are not encouraged to small talk and speaking as a ritual, as in France for example. People have a certain strong ethic about speaking and silence.

What about the imposition of this understanding of silence to non-Finns living in Finland (Somalis, Albanians, Kurdish and others) that they do not respect this particular feature of the local context. I have a feeling that silence is not a neutral term, that there is something noisy in silence as well. What do you think about this?

If you think of silence, not as the absence of sounds, but as the environmental sounds that are non-articulated, then we can speak of silence as a noise. Something similar to John Cage's understanding of silence, which is to let sounds happen. Thinking along these lines I do not think that Finland would be more favourable to silence than any other Western liberal or neo-liberal country.

Notes

4. Lauri Siisiäinen, *Foucault and the Politics of Hearing*, London: Routledge, 2012, p. 18.
5. Siisiäinen 2012, p. 131.
6. "Ist dies das Holz,
ohn das kein Holzbein wäre?/
Und sieht ein Volk, das in zwei
Sprachen schweigt." (Bertolt
Brecht, *Finnische Landschaft*,
1940.) In Finnish: "Sinunko
vuoksesi puu, puujalat niin
monella täällä?/Vaikenee kansa
kahdella kielellään." (Bertolt
Brecht, *Runoja 1914–1956*,
Suomalainen maisema,
suomentanut Arvo Turtiainen.)

Chapter 12

Representing Multilingualism

The issue of 'metalinguage' is directly linked with the procedures of representation. If, as Christopher Prendergast has suggested, there is no escape from representation, everything could be representable. His focus was, mainly, the representation of history and struggle in the form of art and literature. But we can think in the line with his reasoning, and apply some of his observations, similar to our Marxist theoretical position, to the issue of language. Of course, then the problem with representation becomes twofold, or threefold due to the fact that history in art is generally represented through language, which is itself subject to further contradictions of representation. But to start with, we can reclaim what Prendergast said about representation; that there is representation as "re-present, to make present again, in two interrelated ways, spatial and temporal. And also there is representation as the basic meaning of standing for something: a present term 'b' stands in for an absent term 'a'. Representation in this sense thus rests on a principle of *substitution*."¹ The issue cannot be more related to language, everything is here: the subject, the identification, the ideology, the politics, the interpellation, the inclusion and the exclusion, the presence and the absence. But the question regarding representation is something more than that – it is its relation to truth. As Prendergast put it: "If there is no exteriority to representation, if we are always inside it, this does not preclude the possibility that some forms of representation are especially well equipped to deal with the category of truth, because, if that were not the case, it is unclear how we could even continue talking coherently about representation at all."² Imagine a mental experiment where we 'translate' each word of representation appearing in this quotation to the word 'language'. To have effect here is the translation: "If there is no exteriority to language, if we are always inside it, this does not preclude the possibility that some forms of language are especially well equipped to deal with the category of truth, because, if that were not

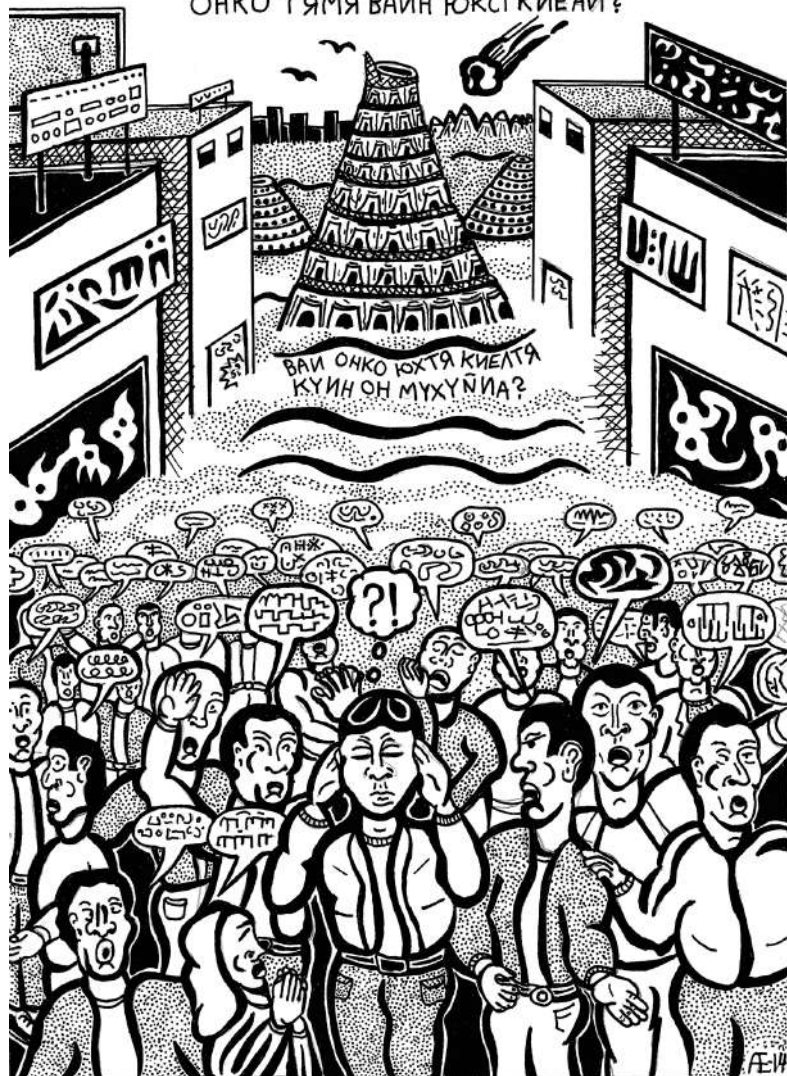
the case, it is unclear how we could even continue talking coherently about language at all."

Roland Barthes's work deals with this question. His writings and lectures are an intellectual gauge for everyone, and of course including Prendergast, who is driven by the problem of representation in language. Barthes's lecture when he was inaugurated to the Chair of Literary Semiology at College de France in 1977 starts with this statement: "This object in which power is inscribed, for all of human eternity, is language, or to be more precise, its necessary expression: the language we speak and write."³ There is no escape from it; the totality of language embraces everything. The language system, Barthes continues, "is neither reactionary nor progressive; it is quite simply fascist; for fascism does not prevent speech, it compels speech".⁴ It does this in two categories, as the authority of assertion and the gregariousness of repetition. The solution? There is no exit, answers Barthes, "unfortunately, human language has no exterior... freedom can exist only outside language".⁵ It is for this reason that Barthes instead proposed text, or writing, as opposed to the practice of speech. Only in this domain, in the realm of 'meta-language', is there a possibility to cheat speech; or "to understand speech outside the bounds of power, in the splendor of a permanent revolution of language".⁶ The political implication of this claim is almost immediate. "To change language" that Mallarmean expression, is a concomitant of "to change the world", that Marxian one."⁷ However, "the impossible horizon of linguistic anarchy" can also imprison the language of revolution, and of literature. It is not easy to acquire the index of *nonpower* with the means of language. Somehow, the re-articulation of the fascistic core of language is continuously at work in linguistic procedures. It is this strange immanence, based on negativity and action at the same time, which forces us to face the contradictions. "We took credit for restoring what had been crushed, without seeing what else we crushed in the process."⁸

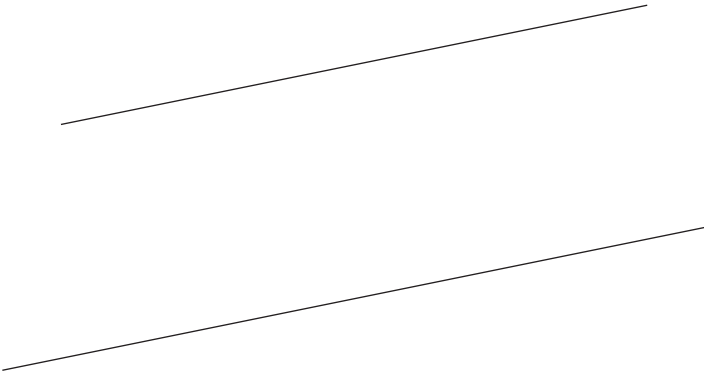
For Louis-Jean Calvet, who has written a book on Barthes and on the language of colonialism, the procedures of power relations in linguistic epistemology are an obvious thing. "Linguistic history, which is one aspect of the history of the world, is to a great extent constituted by how *multilingualism* is managed."⁹ The management of multilingualism is not distinct from the management of language; and consequently each discussion applied to the problems of representation of language, should be multiplied in the case of multi-language, which always concerns more than one language. The management of multilingualism is embedded with the impossibilities and the dead-ends of representation. The linguist who is searching for a solution against the death of languages, and tries to re-present and preserve them is caught in the most apparent dilemma. Namely the linguistic policy of multilingualism to preserve languages *in vitro*, which is the currency of the *in vivo* is a theoretical paradox, a conceptual self-annihilation. All multilingualism is an intervention in the life of languages (by preserving, or representing them), when in fact, it has its own, autonomous life. As Calvet has pointed out rightly, "the death of languages always has non-linguistic causes (power relations, and so on) whose evolution and effects can be followed from both the sociolinguistic and the linguistic point of view."¹⁰ This observation clearly places linguistics at the heart of politics; there is no language, speech, words, communication, literature without struggle; and this struggle has its own life. But unfortunately, "the linguists usually is to be found on the other side, the side of the power."¹¹

On his way to a linguists' conference in Helsinki, Budai finds himself in a strange city where he can't understand a word anyone says. One claustrophobic day blurs into another as he desperately struggles to survive in this vastly overpopulated metropolis.¹²

ОНКО ТЯМЯ ВАИН ЮКСІ КИЕАИ?



He was having a re-
curring dream. He
was in Helsinki, in
that long familiar
harbor town, walking its
cool damp streets and
wherever he set out from –
whether it was from the cathe-
dral, the opera, the fish mar-
ket or the Olympic Stadium – he
always arrived at the sea. He liked
this dream. (p. 67)



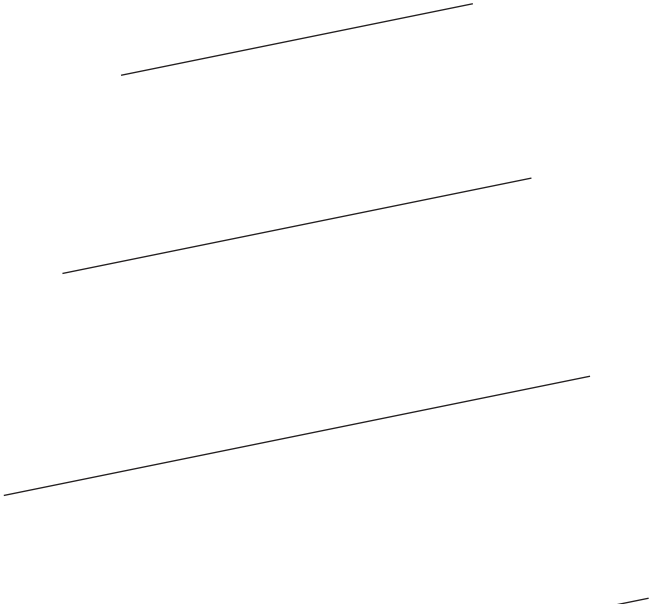
Budai's instinct for language had been sharpened by his studies: etymology was his area of interest, the way words developed, their origins. He had had to deal with the strangest languages in the course of his research, both Hungarian and Finnish in the Finno-Ugrian group, but also to some extent Vogul, Ostyak, Turkic, some Arabic and Persian, and beyond these Old Slavic, Czech, Slovakian, Polish and Serbo-Croat. The language here did not remind him of any of them, nor of Sanskrit, Hindi, Ancient or Modern Greek, nor of High Germanic either, or he knew German proper, as well as English and Dutch. Besides these, he was also acquainted with Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish as well as having a smattering of Portuguese, Romanian, Italian Rotoroman and a smidgeon of Hebrew, Armenian, Chinese and Japanese. Most of these he could only read to a so-so standard of course, to the point that they were useful for tracking the development of one or other word, but he knew them sufficiently well to recognise that this language did not resemble any of them. It belonged to a group he could not locate by ear. All he could hear was something that sounded like ededede and gagagaga. (p. 16-7)

Officials appeared as if from nowhere, uniformed men wearing those ubiquitous brown boiler suits. They blew whistles and formed a line that served as a living barrier between the two camps. Despite this, the groups continued threatening each other with unchecked fury, trying to break the line, pulling faces and screaming. Budai was curious as to what they were saying, it might well help him in his quest for understanding. As far as he could make out under the music – for that had gone on uninterrupted – the imprecations and challenges consisted of raising one's fists and shouting something like: "*Gyurumba! [...] Ugyurumbungya!*" This could mean any number of things, like Filth! Dickhead! Bastard! You just wait! Come on then! I'll smash your face in! Oh yeh?! All the same, Budai noted them down in his book phonetically along with the range of possible meanings. (p. 135)

The fault must be
in his character: he
found any kind of
aggression or self-
promotion distaste-ful.

~~The truth of this dawned~~
on him slowly as he dozed. If
he could not overcome his
shyness and sensitivity, his in-
stinctive reluctance to put people
out, he would never get out of here,
nor would anybody find out where
he was or lift a finger to help him. He
must fight this battle alone, there were
no two ways about it: he must transform
himself from top to toe, it was the only way to
rediscover himself and assert his being. (p. 66)

She did not try to
force conversation,
knowing it would
be hopeless but did
address a word or two to
him. "*Yeye llehuatlan [...]*
Muula alalállí?" She gave a soft,
slow, melodic laugh, puffing
out more smoke, her back
propped on one of the containers.
There was a buzz in the open lift,
someone downstairs was calling it
but neither of them moved. Budai point-
ed to himself and repeated his name a
few times then pointed at her question-
ingly. She gave another laugh and answered
with a two-syllable word. He didn't quite
catch it, and asked again. "*Pepe? Tchetché?*" Her
pronunciation was so odd it might have been *Bebe*,
Veve, *Gege*, *Dede* or anything else. (p. 90)

Four parallel diagonal lines are drawn across the page, sloping upwards from left to right. They are positioned in the upper half of the page, with the bottom line intersecting the text block.

Could it be that they themselves could not understand each other, that the people who lived here employed various provincial dialects, possibly even quite different languages? In a particularly feverish moment it even occurred to him that each one of them might be speaking his own language, that there were as many languages as there were people. (p. 152)

Notes

1. Charles Prendergast, *The Triangle of Representation*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, pp. 4–5.
2. Prendergast 2000, p. 14.
3. Roland Barthes, 'Inaugural Lecture, College de France', *A Barthes Reader*, edited by Susan Sontag, New York: Hill and Wang, 1982, p. 460.
4. Barthes 1982, p. 461.
5. Ibid.
6. Barthes 1982, p. 462.
7. Barthes 1982, p. 466.
8. Barthes 1982, p. 472.
9. Louis-Jean Calvet, *Language Wars and Linguistic Politics*, translated by Michel Petheram, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 26.
10. Calvet 1998, p. 109.
11. Calvet 1998, p. 203.
12. Ferenc Karinthy, *Metropole*, Translated by George Szirtes, London and Beirut: Telegram, 2008.

“[A]sk yourself whether our language is complete; – whether it was so before the symbolism of chemistry and the notation of the infinitesimal calculus were incorporated in it; for these are, so to speak, suburbs of our language. (And how many houses or streets does it take before a town begins to be a town?) Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses.”

Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G. E. M. Anscombe, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960, p. 8.

“There is no combination of characters one can make – dhcmrlchtdj, for example – that the divine Library has not foreseen and that in one or more of its secret tongues does hide a terrible significance. There is no syllable one can speak that is not filled with tenderness and terror, that is not, in one of those languages, the mighty name of god. To speak is to commit tautologies.”

Jorge Luis Borges, *The Library of Babel*, translated by Andrew Hurley, Boston: David R. Godine Publisher, 2000, p. 35.

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p. 117.

Bobby Seale, Seize the Time,
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