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INTRODUCTION TO THIS ISSUE

> [C]lassification of speech varieties as belonging to the same or different language is in fact determined largely on socio-political grounds […] Language pairs like Serbian and Croatian in Yugoslavia, Hindi and Urdu in India, Bokmal and Nynorsk in Norway, are, for example, grammatically less distinct than some forms of upper- and lower-class English in New York. [...] On the other hand, colloquial and literary varieties of Arabic would be regarded as separate languages were it not for the fact that modern Arabs insist on minimizing the differences between them.
>
> John Gumperz, *Language in Social Groups* (1971, 245)

Now almost a half-century hence, the linguist John Gumperz laid critical and empirical parameters for debates about linguistic multiplicity that would echo in various forms throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s—whether under the aegis of comparative literature, poetics, educational policy, hybridity theory, multiculturalism, Border Studies, transnationalism, or multilingualism studies. Indeed, the work of Gumperz and his contemporary Dell Hymes occasioned nothing less than an epistemic transformation in how researchers apprehend

variation and variability in language use. Decades before code-switching would come to garner the conceptual attentions of Critical Theory, Gumperz was painstakingly documenting how and why speech practices tended to diverge—and diverge quite wildly—from the presumed behaviors of the ideal Saussurian communicator (See Pym, this volume). Indeed, the fields that came to be known as variationist sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology are greatly indebted to Gumperz' axiomatic claim: that what counts as mono-, bi-, or multilingual speech practice is finally a matter of social sense, rather than hard-and-fast linguistic factuality.

Gumperz, professor of linguistics at Berkeley for most of his career, died this spring at the age of 91. Born Hans-Josef Gumpertz to a German Jewish family who had been able to flee Nazi rule in 1939, he bore a name that is itself an instance of linguistic variation, symbolic precarity, and native/nonnative performance. The German and Yiddish of his childhood home, compounded by the multiple-language milieus of Italian and Dutch refugee camps, and finally the recalcitrant linguistic landscape of southern Michigan coalesced to animate in Gumperz a critical imagination that took neither multilingualism nor monolingualism as self-evident, stable forms.

Inspired by an unforeseeable journey of migration and translation, Gumperz changed his field of study from chemistry (his undergraduate major in Germany) to sociolinguistic research. His dissertation project on "The Swabian Dialect of Washtenaw County," examined the speech practices of a group of third-generation immigrant farmers. Gumperz found that the leveling effects typical among this community, whose ancestors had spoken at least two different dialects, were only attributable to social groupings formed after migration and resettlement. These findings galvanized his sense that speech communities are not composed of passive subscribers to an abstract linguistic system. Rather, commonalities and divergences are produced and reproduced at every turn-at-talk, through shared patterns of interaction that are themselves capable of change and transformation—or what Phipps in this issue calls "unmooring." By the time he first joined the Berkeley linguistics faculty in 1956, Gumperz' personal and scholarly experiences had already informed a kind of critical disposition toward language practice that the *Critical Multilingualism Studies* journal hopes to honor and promote.

While Gumperz' dissertation research at the University of Michigan demonstrated how a shared sense of social community can level linguistic diversity, his position as a German Jewish exile must have shown him that a shared "national" language does not a community make. In his publications as early as 1962, multilingualism was featured as itself a speech characteristic that could be shared by members of a linguistic community. Gumperz was consistently influential in keeping multilingualism at the forefront of discussions on diglossia and code-switching, alongside considerations of dialect and sociolect. The distinction Gumperz introduced in collaboration with Jan-Petter Blom between situational code-switching—alternation resulting from a change in interactional frame—and metaphorical code-switching—alternation that enriches a given situation by indexing multiple-levels of social relation—helped to legitimate later research into the creative code-choices made by bilingual speakers (e.g., Gumperz 1967, 1970, 1982 among others).

It has become common wisdom in recent years to attribute monolingual social identities to the rise of the nation state and, in turn, heightened sensitivities about multilingualism to late 20th century phenomena of globalization and migration. Gumperz' academic career serves as a robust reminder that scholars from fields ranging from poetics to linguistic anthropology have been critically grappling with multilingualism for several academic generations. Although the five authors featured in this issue of *Critical Multilingualism* Studies do not engage John Gumperz' work explicitly, his legacy and sensibility nevertheless resound throughout.

The first piece in this issue, Yaseen Noorani's essay, "Hard and Soft Multilingualism", examines meter, rhyme, ekphrasis, and trope in the work of the Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqi and the Iraqi Abd al-Wahhab al-Bayati. A comparative analysis demonstrates how Arabic-language poetry in the early 20th century was undergoing a new assimilation toward international poetic and ideological norms, a process that Noorani considers "the globalization of soft multilingualism." Noorani's critical intervention into the emerging methodological discourse of multilingualism studies is thus to suggest that even mutually illegible, unrelated languages have been subjected to the same familiar, globalized norms of what languageness is, and of what languages are supposed to do, achieve, and effect in a modern world. Translatability itself has a history.

Bearing in mind Noorani's hypothesis of global metalinguistic assimilation, another way to historicize multi- and monolingualism would be to deal with the rise of the native speaker, and the various forms of racialized linguistic nativeness that have corroborated that concept and its procedural orthodoxies over the centuries. Thomas Paul Bonfiglio's contribution to this issue, "The Invention of the Native Speaker," demonstrates how metaphors of nativeness, birth, birthright, and maternality were in fact utterly absent from ancient and pre-medieval language ideology. As Bonfiglio will show, the concept of *sermo patrius* that served as the standard for verbal hygiene in the Roman Empire has little in common with the medieval rhetorics of organicism and maternal intimacy that would embolden European languages to reflexively adjudicate native vs. nonnative speakers.

The globalization of linguistic nativism as a discourse of distinction has been felt acutely among second language users worldwide, who are more often than not briskly parsed into proper natives, improper natives, proper nonnatives, and improper nonnatives. Indeed, in countries like Germany, the US, and the UK, the symbolic and social hierarchies that used to accumulate primarily through discourses of race, gender, class, and ethnicity have steadily been re-invented in linguistic terms. As Deborah Cameron suggested already in 1995, regarding the symbolic nature of style and variation, "Linguistic conventions are quite possibly the last repository of unquestioned authority for educated people in secular society." (12)

Indeed, linguistic behavior is increasingly the domain of choice for social and civic discrimination processes—for instance, in new citizenship tests where language proficiency and cultural integration are seen as co-extensive "competencies". Symbolic divisions between 'native-like' and non-native practice are increasingly institutionalized through assessment rubrics that foreground the flexible virtues of the neoliberal service industries—such as communicative competence and community cohesion, which are themselves of course gendered and racialized in intricate ways.

In this issue, Cameron updates her own theory of verbal variation and normativity from *Verbal Hygiene* (1995), with a contribution specifically tracing the rise of verbal hygiene around multilingualism in post-9/11 Britain. Whereas leftists and conservatives alike in the UK had until very recently been uninterested in policing multilingualism or institutionalizing monolingualism,

new discourses of community cohesion and anti-terrorism among British local governments have begun to look to English as a Shibboleth through which transnational Britons perform and avow co- and adhesion to the national fabric.

With his essay "Translation as an Instrument for Multilingual Democracy", Anthony Pym presents a compound critique of the linguistic ideologies of Arizona's House Bill 2281 of 2010, alongside the Habermasian discourse of individual rights versus communitarian needs regarding language. As with Alison Phipps' piece, Pym imagines what norms and practices a society might embrace if it allowed itself to become unmoored from the comforts of linguistic unity, an eventuality in which "translation is a far more generalized activity, open to many, and not carried out primarily for economic exchange."

While Pym's essay proposes and assesses current institutional and civic rationales for unmooring our thinking about translation and multilingualism, Phipps' lyrical essay performs that unmooring with and through poetry, photography, and autobiography. Phipps explores whether it is possible to forego the normative conditions of verbal hygiene around multilingualism that Cameron observes in her own essay. Citing the poet and classicist-translator Anne Carson, Phipps asks: what would it mean—for research, policy-making, social theory, and civic discourse—to allow words to be irreducibly plural and porous "daubs of meaning" that do "as they want to do and as they have to do."

Along with its five original essays, this second issue of *Critical Multilingualism Studies* includes the first dispatch from our Reviews section, edited by Elaine Yee, which provides recommendations to researchers about new titles from the variously linked fields of multilingualism studies. We are happy to receive requests to review research monographs as well as fictional, filmic, artistic, and musical "new releases" of potential interest to our readership.

We are also about to launch a Forum section, specifically devoted to one question of current interest to the field of multilingualism studies, and we welcome and await your responses. The contributions to this Forum section may be editorial, essayistic, experiential or experimental in form, but we request they be approximately 1000 words in length. We inaugurate our Forum with a conceptual question that has fastidiously eluded theorization to date, but is nonetheless a deep current in each of the pieces *CMS* has published in its first two issues. That question is: *What is monolingualism?* We look forward to your

responses, throughout the summer and early fall. A selection will be published in an upcoming issue.

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