

Manufacturing Multilingualisms of Marginality in Mozambique

Exploring the Orders of Visibility of Local African Languages

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Abstract

Colonial era language policies and practices in Mozambique sought to render native African languages (and their speakers) invisible in public space. This ‘order of (in)visibility’ was later adopted by many African states, including Mozambique, by choosing the ex-colonial language as the one and only official language and prohibiting or ignoring the use of African languages in the interest of so-called national unity. Recent postcolonial democratization of African countries is *seemingly* beginning to change the colonial heritage of local linguistic underdevelopment, with the introduction of language policies that – on the surface at least – give more value to local African languages. This thesis argues, however, that African languages remain marginalized in systematic ways that replicate historical linguistic inequities. The three studies that make up the thesis focus on the technologies, spaces and mechanisms whereby these languages have been manufactured as marginalized from colonial times until the present. The studies build on a combination of ethnographic and archival data. A theoretical framing in a sociolinguistics of globalization approach broadly defined, and complemented with an explicit emphasis on *temporality* provides the conceptual framework and methodological toolbox for analysis. *Study I* explores the impact that colonial politics had on the management of multilingualism focusing on how local African languages were ideologically constructed as frozen in the past, whereas Portuguese was depicted as a modern, state-bearing language of progress. This ideology was later assimilated by the postcolonial regime always placing the local African languages in a position of inferiority in relation to Portuguese. *Study II* analyses how public space was used in chronologically different political regimes to produce different orders of visibility for local African languages and Portuguese in the semiotic landscapes of urban Maputo. The focus of this paper is on artifacts of memorization and public discourses that made local African languages invisible in public spaces until early 1990, when political changes introduced new orders of visibility for these languages in public space. However, ‘archaeological’ traces of Portuguese remain in the orthographic and linguistic forms in which local African languages are authored, testimony to its continued hegemony in public space. *Study III* explores how local African languages are now used in practices of hip hop *relocalization*, where ‘keeping it real’ and authenticity as features of the genre simultaneously serve to ideologically resuscitate political individuals such as the incorruptible President Samora Machel (1920–1986). In this way, the very marginalization – past-ness – of these languages carries a vibrant contemporary protest. The main thrust of the thesis is to argue that local African languages are discursively produced in temporal frames distinct from the mainstreaming of Portuguese. It is this that continues to reproduce the relative marginality of these languages.

Keywords: *African languages, bilingualism, language ideology, linguistic landscape, Maputo, Mozambique, multilingualism, Portuguese, transnational multilingualism.*

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*Manuel A. Guissemo
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Studies included in thesis

- I. Stroud, C., Guissemo, M. 2017. Linguistic Messianism: Multilingualism in Mozambique. In A.E. Ebongue, E. Hurst (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics in African Contexts: Perspectives and Challenges*. Cham: Springer, pp. 35–51.
- II. Guissemo, M. in press. Orders of (in)visibility: Colonial and postcolonial chronotopes in linguistic landscapes of memorisation in Maputo. To appear in: A. Peck, Q. Williams, C. Stroud (Eds.). *Making Sense of People, Place and Linguistic Landscapes*. London: Bloomsbury.
- III. Guissemo, M. in press. Hip hop activism: Dynamic tension between global and local in Mozambique. To appear in: *Journal of World Popular Music*, 5(1).

Summary chapter

1. Introduction

One of the themes that frequently recurs in research on African language issues is the need to ‘develop’, elaborate and ‘promote’ the use of local African languages so that they can serve new and scientific purposes (see Makoni and Meinhof, 2003). The presumption of this lack of development and promotion of local African languages in Africa is a direct consequence of colonial policies, the language policies of which were largely aimed at rendering native Africans invisible during the colonial era, avoiding in this case the development and the promotion of their local African languages, the Bantu languages. These policies were later assimilated by many post-independent African states. However, the recent postcolonial democratization of African countries is seemingly beginning to change the colonial heritage of local linguistic underdevelopment, with the introduction of language policies that – on the surface at least – give more value to local African languages.

This thesis explores the route that local African languages have taken throughout history and the challenges their speakers face today. It focuses on the technologies, spaces and mechanisms whereby African languages have been ‘manufactured’ as marginalized from colonial times until the present. Marginality is thus at the centre of this thesis, a notion that, according to Chand and Leimgruber (2016: 2), is neither fixed nor absolute, and can be defined in various terms: socially, psychologically, culturally, economically, politically, physically and structurally. Following Milani, I see “margins as a heuristic lens through which to interrogate the production of knowledge about particular sociolinguistic arrangements” (Milani, 2014: 9). The sociolinguistic arrangements in this thesis refer to the way in which local African languages in Mozambique, spoken by the majority of population, were ideologically framed as marginal, peripheral, irrelevant and, at times, downright contrary to the country’s development during the colonial and postcolonial periods. At different times, speaking of African languages has been prohibited (especially in urban areas), censored, invisibilized, and monitored, and their speakers surveilled. Only recently, since the beginning

of the 1990s, have local African languages reached a point in the order of visibility (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) that one could call recognition or affirmation. But, even so, this recognition comes packaged in various forms of marginality.

In order to understand the various processes of linguistic marginalization over time, I turn to the sociolinguistics of globalization to provide a conceptual framework and methodological toolbox with which to approach the encompassing dynamics of (socio)linguistic flows and positionings. Blommaert (2010) suggests that a sociolinguistics of globalization ought to be a sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages. Fundamentally, the sociolinguistics of globalization “shifts our gaze away from looking at stability and homogeneity as normal with diversity and mobility thereby constructed as problems requiring analytic activity” (Heller, 2011: 6). Blommaert (2005: 71) has noted that globalization results in intensified forms of flows – movements of objects, people and images – causing forms of contact and difference perhaps not new in substance, but perhaps new in scale and perception. The sociolinguistics of globalization provides a number of tools with which to approach the question of how forms of speech become, through social circulation, enregistered as “named speech forms and varieties, and how these varieties become situated and acquire social meanings in orders of indexicality” (Silverstein, 2003; Blommaert, 2010) or “orders of visibility” (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017). Viewing languages as mobile and shifting resources with different degrees of value and investment – and exchangeable on “markets” for other resources (Bourdieu, 1991; Stroud, 2004) – alerts us to the politics and powerplays of why certain languages and their speakers become marginalized, and why speakers of other languages assume centrality. Although its primary focus has been predominantly on contemporary contexts of migration and contact, the emphasis of a sociolinguistics of globalization on the dynamics of global flows and shifting axes of power holds much relevance for understanding the relative evaluations and visibilities of languages in colonialism and postcolonialism.

In this thesis, I attempt to complement the sociolinguistics of globalization with an explicit emphasis on *temporality*. A sociolinguistics of globalization emphasizes mobility and the dynamics of changing and shifting forms of speech that take place across dimensions of both space and time. Such a view echoes Hall’s (2004) notion of space-time compression, a sharpened awareness of simultaneity in global flows. Although those working within a sociolinguistics of globalization have focused predominantly on language and spatialization, I attend here to the idea of *temporality* as being organizational in the perception and practice of language. In particular, I discuss how *language ideological discourses* frame different languages as

living temporally distinct lives – located in different timeframes (asynchronicity); of how temporally distinct orders of indexicality/orders of visibility *merge* in contemporary (orthographic) practices of language in linguistic landscapes (heterochronicity); and in how temporalized frames of reference and (indexical) discourses are used to structure modern-day genres of local political protest (hip-hop) (synchronicity).

The main thrust of my argument is that temporality is a key dimension of marginality, in a way similar to how spatialization can be associated with peripherality. In numerous ways, local African languages are discursively produced in temporal frames distinct from the mainstreaming of Portuguese. It is this that continues to reproduce the relative marginality of these languages. I account for this in the three interlinked studies that make up the thesis.

Each of the studies explores a facet of multilingualism in the arrangement or ordering of languages in the capital city of Maputo in Mozambique. Study I explores the impact that colonial politics had on the management of multilingualism in Mozambique through which an ideology was created that attributed distinctive significance and value to Portuguese and local African languages in such a way that local African languages were seen as being frozen in the past, whereas Portuguese was depicted as a modern, state-bearing language of progress. This ideology was later assimilated by the postcolonial regime always placing the local African languages in a position of inferiority in relation to Portuguese.

Study II analyzes how public space was used in chronologically different political regimes to produce different orders of visibility for local African languages and Portuguese in the semiotic landscapes of urban Maputo. The focus of this paper is on artifacts of memorization and public discourses that made local African languages invisible in public spaces until early 1990, when political changes introduced new orders of visibility that favored the public use of local African languages in urban semiotic landscapes. However, ‘archaeological’ traces of Portuguese surface in the orthographic and linguistic forms in which local African languages are authored, revealing a layered chronicity in place and serving as a stark reminder of the continuing penumbra of the powerful Portuguese.

Study III uses hip-hop performance to discuss the process of relocalization of global hip-hop in Mozambique. Local African languages that were marginalized for a many years are now used by local hip-hop artists as an important symbol of identity that traces the relocalization of this aspect of American culture. The resurgence of local African languages in modern times and their use in essentially political lyrics also ideologically resuscitate political individuals such as the incorruptible President Samora Machel (1920–1986), whose public discourses have been forgotten over

time, but are today perceived as highly pertinent counterweights to a corrupt political order.

Thus, the studies show the value of attending to how languages are temporally framed as a dimension of how they are organized in notions of multilingualism. Through a focus on temporality, we can explore the language ideologies produced by the different political regimes in Mozambique, as well as how the public space was used to sustain the ideologies of multilingualism management. And, finally, an understanding of how temporality is used to frame political messages in global hip-hop culture provides insights on “relocalization” (Pennycook, 2010) as a language political instrument in Mozambique.

The studies also show how only particular ‘orders of visibility’ are productive/conducive to language political change. In the final part of this introduction, I introduce the notion of “linguistic citizenship” (Stroud 2001, 2009, 2015) and suggest that ‘synchronicity’ in the use of temporality and temporal discourses that we find in hip-hop may carry seeds of change in the status, indexicalities and visibilities of local African languages.

The thesis thus takes issue with the more common discourse surrounding Mozambican language politics that sees the status of local African languages as undergoing ‘linear’ improvement in conjunction with the increasing liberalization (and marketization) of Mozambican politics, economics and society. This understanding postulates the existence of three important stages in the management of multilingualism. The first stage is related to the colonial period. The colonial government gave priority to colonial values, that is, Portuguese language and culture, and marginalized local Mozambican values, including local African languages. Within this ideology, Portuguese was adopted as the sole official language in Mozambique and the language of urban space communication. The second stage was marked by the independence of the Mozambican people in 1975. The new Mozambican government decided to manage multilingualism by adopting exoglossic policies. Exoglossic policies are those that give primacy to and promote an outsider, frequently a former colonial language (Ruiz, 1995: 75). This means that the postcolonial government followed the language policy adopted by the former colonial government, which basically framed the local African languages on the margins and gave priority to Portuguese, which was acclaimed the official language and the language of national unity. However, in the third stage, international political changes such as the fall of socialism and the rise of democracy had an impact on Mozambican policy, which also had to reflect a change in political approach from socialism to democracy in the early 1990s. From this period, a “new order of visibility” (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) allowed for Mozambican cultural manifestations, including local African languages, to begin to gain

prominence in the construction of the nation, although “monoglot ideologies (Silverstein, 1996) [...] are dominant in the public discourses on language and identity [...] [as] they characterize policies as well as institutional and expert discourses” (see Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998) that “still make [...] language policy fragmentary, impractical and conservative in nature” (Moyo, 2003: 33).

This thesis opens up new lines of research on multilingualism in Mozambique by arguing that local African languages remain marginalized despite seeming to provide evidence to the contrary. In fact, it is the marginalization of these languages that allow them to emerge as powerful political tools in, for example, hip-hop protests. The thesis suggests that recognition/affirmation of these languages is not sufficient for removing them from their subordinate status vis-à-vis Portuguese, but that other tactics are necessary, namely a strategic use of linguistic citizenship. In the case of hip-hop, it is the indexicalities/social meanings attached to the historical figure of Samora Machel that helps to re-entextualize (as the genre is relocalized) local languages.

In general, the public space of Maputo city is undoubtedly an ideal space to study the ideologies connected to multilingualism management because the public space still presents linguistic and material vestiges that portray the three stages described above, which represent the ideology of multilingualism management in the construction of the Mozambican state. Another line of research presented in this thesis is connected with hip-hop performance studies that can be used to discuss the social and linguistic marginality in Maputo city, starting from the point of departure that “[m]arginality is what hip hoppers seek to change in their belief in and performance of hip hop” (Pardue, 2008: 2).

After this introduction, in the next section I present the geographic location of Maputo, Mozambique, and provide a brief description of the city in colonial times and in post-independence, focusing on issues that include multilingualism. I then move into section 3, where the research question is presented, before moving on to section 4, which discusses the conceptual framework and some methodological issues in detail. Section 5 combines a presentation for each study, focusing on the contribution of the studies to the conceptual areas within the overarching approach adopted here, namely the sociolinguistics of globalization. Section 6 brings the studies as a whole to bear on the research question; it comprises a short discussion on the notion of linguistic citizenship and expands on the framework that is used to point to future directions for research on multilingualism in postcolonial contexts.

Mpfumo, Baía Formosa, Baía da Boa Paz, and Delagoa Bay, and, since 1782, Lourenço Marques (see uccla). Portuguese colonization of Lourenço Marques began with the building of a prison in 1781 (see Melo, 2013); Lourenço Marques became a town in 1876, a city in 1887, and, subsequently, the colonial capital in 1898 (Penvenne, 1995: 32), replacing Ilha de Moçambique in that capacity. It was during this period that the semi-urbanized areas, called ‘caniço’, expanded, taking their name from the cane material that was then used to built most of the homes for black Africans, in contrast to the cement houses of the white population, the ‘cidade de cimento’ (see Melo, 2013). In 1970, the city of Lourenço Marques had about 800,000 habitants (uccla: 3). Due to the segregationist colonial policy in force at that time, this number would most likely have only referred to the European demographic that exclusively inhabited Maputo’s urban area (see Penvenne, 1995; Cabaço, 2007). Black Africans, also known as natives, indigenous, primitives, etc., were only admitted into the urban area during the daytime and under strict conditions, the main condition being designated *assimilado* (see Cabaço, 2007). *Assimilado* was a status that was attributed to “Africans who had broken with their traditional bonds and adapted themselves to the Portuguese language and culture” (Ferreira, 1974: 37; for more details, see also Davidson, 1974: 18; Stroud, 2007: 34). More specifically, black Africans could aspire to citizenship if they fulfilled the conditions expressed in Article 2 of Edict 317:

Article 2: Through distinguishing himself from the norm of the black race, an individual of that race or descendent from it is considered assimilated to the Europeans on showing the following characteristics (Marshall, 1993: 72, quoted by Stroud, 2007: 34):

- a) has entirely abandoned the habits and customs of the black race;
- b) speaks, reads and writes the Portuguese language;
- c) adopts monogamy;
- d) exercises a profession or craft

Knowledge of the Portuguese language was the main instrument of integration in the urban environment. This means that “without the right of linguistic capital, you simply do not get access to the spaces where other important resources are produced and circulated, and you do not get to have anything to say about what is valuable and what is not” (Heller, 2011: 37). The segregationist policy was also extensive at the level of education, which was organized as two distinct subsystems: an “official” for the children of the colonialists or ‘assimilados’ and another for the remaining “indigenous” (see SNE/GES, 1985: 11, quoted by Mazula, 1995: 80). Indigenous education was located away from the city centre and was designed to gradually

transform the primitive indigenous population of the overseas provinces to the civilized life of educated people (Diploma Legislativo, nr. 238 de 17 Maio 1930, quoted by Mazula, 1995: 80). This segregationist colony policy, which limited a large number of Mozambicans, awoke the revolt of nationalist movements seeking the country's independence.

In 1962, the Mozambican nationalists, led by Eduardo Mondlane, formed Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), a guerrilla movement that decided to fight for the independence of Mozambique (see Jones, 2006). The leadership of Frelimo decided, in the beginning of the struggle for independence, to use Portuguese as the official language of the movement. This choice was supposedly based on the principle that no single local African language was jointly spoken by all Mozambicans of that period and the choice of whatever local African language could be seen as preferential treatment of one linguistic group, which would cause tribal or ethnic problems. It was also the case, of course, that Portuguese was the only language that the majority of the resistance fighters shared, and therefore was the neutral language to unite all Mozambicans (see Lopes, 2004, 1998; Stroud, 2002; Firmino, 2002). The struggle for the independence of Mozambique ended with the signing of the Lusaka Accords on 7 September 1974 in Zambia, and the independence of Mozambique was proclaimed on 25 June 1975 by the then leader of Frelimo, Samora Machel, in a public event held at *Estádio da Machava* in Maputo. Portuguese was declared the official language of Mozambique, and Samora Machel became the first president of independent Mozambique, in a government that came to govern the country in accordance with pro-communist ideologies. With independence came the start of a long process of physical and social transformation of the country. It was within this process that Lourenço Marques was renamed Maputo city.

With independence, many Portuguese citizens living in Mozambique left the country. Most of these Portuguese citizens were living in large urban centres. At the same time, there was a migratory movement of the Mozambican populations that left the rural and suburban zones to live in the urban centres abandoned by the settlers.

2.2 The management of multilingualism in Mozambique

Colonial governance in Mozambique was made on the basis of policies that marginalized the majority of the black population (see Boletim da República, 1976: 2). The Portuguese government did not give any recognition to the more than 20 local African languages spoken by black Mozambicans, and these languages were prohibited to be spoken in public, chiefly in the cities.

Portuguese, the language of the colonizer, was adopted as the official language, the vehicular language for everyday affairs, and as the language of administration. In other words, during the colonial period “African languages and Portuguese [were] framed differently (...) and organized into different orders of visibility” (Stroud and Guissemo, 2015: 9). Portuguese was tied to public and official domains and functions, and to ideas of modernity and the *metropole*, whereas African languages were restricted to informal, home domains, and to ideas of traditional and the *local* (Stroud, 2007: 30; see also Firmino, 2002).

When Mozambique gained independence in 1975, “the percentage of speakers of Portuguese was very low (about 25%), the majority of which were speakers of Portuguese as a second language with only a small percentage claiming the language as their mother tongue” (Gonçalves, 2005: 187). Despite this, the new government led by Frelimo adopted a policy whereby Portuguese was declared the ‘official language’ and the ‘language of national unity’; thus, the language truly became a language of prestige (see Gonçalves, 2001: 978). For Gonçalves (2010),

The attribution of this [official] status to the Portuguese language is linked, in the first part with [its] potential as “operating” language (Ganhão 1979), which ensures national unity and allows more effectively than local Bantu languages for international communication and the transmission of scientific knowledge. (Gonçalves, 2010: 31)

As during the colonial period, Portuguese gained prestige through its association with institutional activities and social mobility. It became, or remained, an indispensable badge of the educated elite, regardless of ethnic, regional or racial origin (see Firmino, 2010). The top-down approach to language policy adopted by the Frelimo government can be understood as a strategy “designed to support an imperialistic status quo in developing countries, essentially so as to tie them linguistically to the hegemony of world powers and their capitalistic global marketing strategies” (Moyo, 2003: 28). Although this is probably more true of English and French than Portuguese, the promotion of the Portuguese language did serve to tie Mozambican development over time into global circuits of power (and could, somewhat contradictorily, comprise one of the building blocks for a more liberal and multicultural politics in the 1990s).

Immediately after independence, the process of teaching and learning Portuguese was intensified. The language was ideologically important for the construction of the new nation and, according to Stroud (2002), Portuguese was the foremost semiotic means whereby important aspects of Mozambican social identities were represented, performed, evaluated and contested. The language was naturally exposed to contact processes, such as

transfer and simplifications, caused by the massive use of local African languages among the population (see Gonçalves, 2001; Firmino, 2002). Thus, as time passed, Portuguese gained typical characteristics of the Mozambican socio-cultural reality, as was predicted by the then Minister of Information Cabaço immediately after independence, when he claimed that

Within a few years, a form of Portuguese will be spoken in Mozambique that is Mozambican Portuguese that has its own characteristics, ours, that will be a copy of neither Brazilian Portuguese nor any other locality. It will be a Portuguese born out of the participation of our people in the process of national reconstruction. (Stroud, 1999: 350)

The process of transforming the language of the former colonizer to the new socio-cultural context has received several names, such as indigenization, or nativization (see Firmino, 2002). The process of nativization of Portuguese in Mozambique comprises two dimensions: a socio-symbolic, with the emergence of new social attitudes and ideologies, another linguistic, such as the development of new forms of language use (Firmino, 2002, 2010). However, despite these modifications that Portuguese underwent, there was governmental interest in ensuring that the language not deviate too far from the European Portuguese norm, as pointed out by Samora Machel in 1983:

Mozambicans are really forcing themselves to speak a correct Portuguese and are trying to preserve it in a state very close to the norm of Portuguese, because only in that way will it be possible to attach the objectives planned for/in its adoption in the process of national unity. (Rosário, 1993)

The reconstruction of postcolonial Mozambique was thus built around the Portuguese-ification of urban spaces, although these spaces were already inhabited by Mozambicans who were mostly not speakers of Portuguese, but rather were first language speakers of Bantu languages. This reality turned Maputo city into “an exciting site of language contact between Portuguese and a number of Bantu languages, on the one hand, and between different Bantu languages, on the other” (Stroud, 1996: 189). Portuguese, Changana and Ronga, the latter two languages comprising the most common Bantu languages of southern Mozambique, were the most widely spoken languages (Stroud, 1996: 189); however, “the promotion of Portuguese as the sole language of citizenship and rights gathered momentum, [and was] coupled with the insistence that local [African] languages should remain outside of the public sphere” (Stroud, 2007: 37). Here once again, as in colonial times, “ideologies of homogeneity and uniformity overlay the societal diversity that

characterizes every real social environment” (Dong and Blommaert, 2009: 47), and language once again played a significant role as part of the social and semiotic processes that constructed, organized and regulated a [post]colonial workforce of subject peoples (Stroud, 2007: 26).

As time has passed, the new sociopolitical dynamics in Mozambique, for example, the change from a single-party to multiparty political system in the early 1990s, has given a “new order of visibility” (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) to the local African languages. In today’s more constitutional, and more plural, Mozambique, [local] African languages have an emblematic visibility (a visibility of display/enactment) as items of cultural heritage (Stroud and Guissemo, 2015: 15). There was a shift in discourses of linguistic homogeneity to discourses celebrating diversity and difference (see Chimbutane, 2017: 1). Today, local African languages can be found represented in many of the country’s development sectors, as Chimbutane (2017) points out:

Beyond their educational functions, African languages are used in political and civic campaigns, such as HIV/AIDS prevention, which has opened up new and promising markets for competent users of these languages, including editorial, translation and interpretation services. The information and communication industry is another sector that has been demanding skilled personnel in African languages. (Chimbutane, 2017: 7)

This process of recognition and attribution of ‘citizenship’ to the local African languages (or at least to their speakers) was late in coming, among other reasons because “African languages are seldom perceived as meaningful media of modernization and progress” (Chimbutane, 2017: 1), due to the colonial heritage of discourses that saw them as historicist, traditional, obsolete (see Stroud and Guissemo, 2017).

In the current era of postcolonial globalization, the linguistic complexity of Mozambique is characterized by the coexistence of Portuguese, the official language, with local African languages, which constitute the largest linguistic substrate of the country and are spoken as mother tongues by more than 85% of the total population (see Chimbutane, 2012: 5). Globalization in the urban scapes of Maputo, as in cities around the world, has typically given rise to a wealth of linguistic diversity that includes the influence of foreign cultures through the use of these languages. Multilingualism in Mozambique is more complex, with the presence of some languages of Asian origin, such as Gujarati, Memane, Hindi and Urdu (Lopes, 2004: 18), as well as some African languages brought by immigrants from countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda (see Chimbutane, 2015), and some European languages such as French and

English. English is spoken with and by the foreign community attached to embassies and international organizations. The number of Mozambicans who speak English is growing because of professional and educational advantages related to this language (see Rosário, 2015; Firmino, 2010; Stroud, 2002). Furthermore, it would not be doing the linguistic complexity of Mozambique justice if I did not mention the presence of Brazilian Portuguese and Chinese. The massive presence of Brazilian citizens in Mozambique, some of them linked to the spread of evangelical churches that are found all over the country, is exerting a great influence on the Portuguese spoken in Mozambique. The churches led by Brazilians use Brazilian Portuguese in their religious services, thereby impacting on Mozambican believers who acquire the Brazilian accent as a matter of faith. On the other hand, the Chinese presence in Mozambique is also growing with each new year. It is estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 Chinese citizens currently live in Mozambique (see Plataforma Macau, 2014), most of them linked to the areas of trade and civil construction. The Chinese community is devoted to the promotion of the Chinese language and culture in Mozambique (see TVM, 2016).

In spite of these historical developments and increasing diversity, local African languages still *do not* have the visibility and status that Portuguese possesses. This thesis seeks to understand the contours of the (in)visibility of local African languages in the multilingual mosaic of Mozambique. In the next section, I elaborate on the formulation of the research question before proceeding to a presentation of the conceptual and methodological framework.

3. Research questions

3.1 Main questions

Global influences become part of the context-generative aspect of the production of locality: they become part of the ways in which local communities construct a social, cultural, political and economic environment for themselves (Appadurai, 1996: 187). In some cases, globalization can lead to marginality (see Chand and Leimgruber, 2016). The overlap of the global on the local leads to the reproduction of linguistic marginality where some languages, specifically former colonial languages, become more preferred than local African languages. In the majority of cases, the rationale is the indispensability of colonial or metropolitan languages for the construction of a cohesive nation-state. However, I noted in the previous section how even more liberal forms of governance, more plural state policies promoting

discourses of diversity, and the local practices of globalization do not necessarily lead to transformative changes in the social meanings and indexical values historically attributed to languages. Accordingly, the overarching research question for this study is

What are the mechanisms, processes and practices whereby languages are accorded differential values, and how are these values replicated over time in ways that consolidate and replicate the status of languages and notions of multilingualism? More specifically, how is the marginal status of local African languages reproduced across time vis-à-vis Portuguese?

I recognize that the (re)production of language with attendant perceptions and practices comprises a variety of highly complex processes. A framing in the sociolinguistics of globalization allows us to distinguish three areas of inquiry of particular interest in this context, namely *language ideological debates* (e.g. Blommaert, 1999; Heller, 2007; Kroskrity, 2000), *linguistic or semiotic landscapes* (Landry and Bourhis, 1997; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Pennycook, 2010; Pietikäinen, 2014), and *linguistic performance* (Pennycook, 2007a, 2007b; Terkourafi, 2010; Williams, 2017). Language ideologies succinctly understood as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1989: 255) is a field of inquiry that is of direct relevance to understanding how local African languages come to be associated with specific values as a consequence of political interest and competition, both in colonial times and subsequently. Linguistic/semiotic landscape pertains to the weighting and ordering of languages in place and how this reflects – among other things – the power relationships among distinct groups in a society (cf. Ben-Rafael, 2009). Performance studies (cf. Bell and Gibson, 2011), especially on hip-hop, offer information on “the transcultural flow of linguistic practices around the world” (Williams, 2017: 11), the linguistic/multilingual practices involved in adapting a transcultural genre to a specific linguistic ecology, and the structural, register and ideological implications these carry for the languages involved. I will provide a more extensive discussion of each of these areas in section 4 and will merely list here the specific sub-questions of the general research question that emerge from each of the three areas of inquiry.

3.2 Specific questions

In order to approach the main question of the thesis, as presented above, I developed three interrelated studies to investigate multilingualism in Moz-

ambique through different approaches, namely language ideology, linguistic landscape and hip-hop performance.

The first study deals with issues of language ideologies developed in colonial and postcolonial times to manage the great linguistic diversity that exists in Mozambique. The research question motivating this study is:

How were local African languages and Portuguese ideologically constructed in colonial times? To what extent have these language ideological discourses been carried over to independent and postcolonial Mozambique?

The second study investigates the processes that historically and in contemporary times were behind the different orders of visibility (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) of local African languages in public spaces. The research question of this study is:

How was the public space used in the colonial and postcolonial period to assert the ideology of management of local African languages in the context of great linguistic diversity in Mozambique?

The third study capitalizes on the role played by high performance in putting the spotlight on linguistic and social issues (Bell and Gibson, 2011). In particular, it has taken the ‘keeping it real’ philosophy prevailing in global hip-hop to discuss how relocalization of the Global Hip-Hop Nation (GHHN) is taking place in Mozambique, and the implications this holds for the languages involved. The research question of this study is:

Given that hip-hop is a performance genre where the tension between marginality and locality, on the one hand, and the global and centralized, on the other, is explicitly displayed and enacted, does hip-hop create a space for the re-evaluation of local African languages? Or is it the case, taking into account that globalization also contributes to marginalization (see Murshed, 2000), that the relocalization of GHHN in Mozambique is accomplished through the further marginalization of the genuinely Mozambican cultural and linguistic mosaic?

In the next section, I elaborate in more detail on each of the research areas covered in the thesis.

4. Conceptual and methodological framing

The issues explored in this thesis have been inserted into the overarching area designated as the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010). The sociolinguistics of globalization stands out when addressing the current issues of multilingualism dominating many cities in the world due to the increased mobility of people and resources. This mobility of people and resources is driven by different policies and ideologies that influence the way people see and use languages in different environments. There are languages that obtain more privilege than others, and their survival in some environments motivates the emergence of different types of linguistic mixture, linguistic contact, bilingualism, etc. In this thesis, I will approach the sociolinguistics of globalization through three areas, namely language ideology, linguistic landscape and hip-hop performance. These three areas have been developed very recently for the study of phenomena related to multilingualism in urban contexts in which we shift our gaze away from looking at stability and homogeneity as normal to look at the diversity and mobility (Heller, 2011: 6). In the pages that follow in this section, I will introduce the sociolinguistics of globalization and the three subareas that I propose to use in this thesis, that is, language ideology, linguistic landscape and hip-hop performance.

4.1 Sociolinguistics of globalization

The best way to explain the sociolinguistics of globalization is to begin by explaining the understanding of the term globalization. One characterization of globalization is in terms of the “widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life” (Held et al., 1999: 2), a process that “fundamentally restructures the way commodities, ideas and people flow and interact, thereby problematising traditional notions of time and space” (Saxena and Omoniyi, 2010: 212). Giddens sees globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990: 64), and Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard (2004: 14) describe it as “a set of processes that tend to de-territorialize important economic, social and cultural practices from their traditional boundaries in nation states”. Hall (2004) sees globalization as being connected to time-space and global mobility, that is, space-time compression and a sharpened awareness of simultaneity (Collins et al., 2009: 6; De Fina, 2009: 109).

Blommaert (2010) suggests that a sociolinguistics of globalization should be a sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages because mobility affects the language. This sociolinguistics of globalization is an approach that has come to respond to the social challenges that have arisen in recent times by which, according to Martin-Jones et al. (2012: 1), “contemporary mobilities and shifting concepts of time and space have reshaped communicative practices in speech and in writing, in different media, in different genres, registers and styles and in different semiotic modes”. This has been done in a such way that, again according to Martin-Jones et al. (2012), there was a shift in approach to research on multilingualism from a “linguistics of community” (Pratt, 1987) to a critical and ethnographic sociolinguistics (see Martin-Jones et al., 2012: 1) and a multi-sited ethnography of language (e.g. Marcus, 1995). This change of approach shows that the notion of 'language' and 'community' has been quite profoundly problematized in relatively recent sociolinguistics (see Rampton, 2006; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011), and that to capture the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space (Marcus, 1995: 96) requires a new conceptual framework in sociolinguistics (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011) that problematizes not only notions of speech community, but also ideas of common ground, and that focuses on the dynamics of evolving registers and shifting indexicalities. In like manner, in this perspective characterized by the global mobility of people, multilingualism has to be understood not in terms of ‘languages’ but in terms of linguistic resources and repertoires (see Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

Some scholars, when trying to evaluate the sociolinguistic and sociocultural effects of globalization, have used the notions of space and scale as a starting point. Space is an integral part of social life and language events, and is an important resource in the ordering of social experience (Keating, 2001:231). Recently, sociolinguistics and anthropologists have begun integrating scale analysis with discourse analysis. A major focus has been on indexicality, seeing this as the route whereby scale enters into meaning making (Collins et al., 2009: 6). Here indexicality has to be understood within the context of “what Silverstein (2003) has called ‘higher order indexicalities’ – awareness that a certain stylistic variant operates as an index for a certain social meaning” (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 559). Consequently, when people move through physical and social space (both are usually intertwined), they move through orders of indexicality affecting their ability to deploy communicative resources (Blommaert, 2005: 69).

The margins of the world, as is the case of many African countries, very often prove to be a most fertile terrain for investigating globalization processes, because there it is possible to see how fully globalized forms of literacy and other elements penetrate into such peripheral places (see

Blommaert, 2007). These peripheral places, especially urban neighbourhoods, are often organized as both local and translocal, real as well as virtual, and this has effects on the structure and development of language repertoires and patterns of language use (see Martin-Jones et al., 2012: 7) because, most of the time, several (fragments of) ‘migrant’ languages and lingua francas are combined in a such way that the repertoires of new migrants often appear to be ‘truncated’, meaning that, highly specific ‘bits’ of language and literacy varieties combine in a repertoire that reflects the fragmented and highly diverse life trajectories and environments of such people (see Blommaert, 2010). This scenario of coexistence of multilingualism shows that language choice, use, and attitudes are intrinsically linked to language ideologies, relations of power, political arrangements, and speakers, identities (see Blackledge, 2009: 35).

As noted, the sociolinguistics of globalization also pushes us to critique and expand even our very notions of language (see Alim, 2009a). Blommaert (2012) remarks how “we are witnessing the disruption of a very long tradition in which language, along with other social and cultural features of people, was primarily imagined relatively fixed in time and space” (Blommaert, 2012: 10). Therefore, to characterize the different linguistic phenomena, scholars have developed terms such as ‘heteroglossia’, ‘crossing’, ‘polylingualism’, ‘translanguaging’, ‘metrolingualism’ and ‘new ethnicities and language’ (see Blommaert and Rampton, 2012). For example, the term translanguaging fits very well into the process of studying the interconnection between global and local, one of the foci of this thesis. García (2009: 45) proposes the term ‘translanguaging’ to refer to the multiple discursive practices in which multilingual speakers engage, as they draw on the resources within their communicative repertoires. In this sense, translanguaging is seen as incorporating phenomena such as codeswitching and crossing, but also going beyond them. It includes but extends to what others have called “language use in multilingual settings” (see Martin-Jones et al., 2012: 10).

The sociolinguistics of globalization has thus developed a perspective on language seen through the lens of the mobility and contact that characterizes intense global flows of products, people and their linguistic repertoires. However, as Blommaert has drawn our attention to, although the forms of contact and difference resulting from the intensified flows – movements of objects, people and images – may perhaps be new in scale and perception, they are not necessarily new in substance (Blommaert, 2005: 71). For the purposes of this thesis, I take this to imply that the conceptual framework in sociolinguistics emerging out of contemporary patterns of globalization is also relevant in researching and understanding the multilingualism of other times, namely colonial and postcolonial Mozambique. In fact, looking at

mobility and contact from a temporal rather than a purely spatial perspective could potentially offer yet another dimension to a sociolinguistics of globalization. I develop this idea further in the review of the studies making up the thesis and in the final concluding discussion. In the meantime, in the next section I briefly review some studies conducted under the umbrella of sociolinguistics of globalization that focus on TimeSpace, in order to see the main methodological and theoretical approaches that dominate this field of study.

4.2 General approaches to TimeSpace

The notions of space and scale are used in many studies of sociolinguistics of globalization (see Vigouroux, 2009). Space is seen by geographers as something that is constantly (re)created, (re)organized and negotiated by social actors (see Massey, 2005). In regard to the notions of space and scale, Blommaert (2005: 23) explains that “spaces are meaningful in relation to other spaces” insofar as they “are ordered and organized [...] stratified and layered, with processes belonging to one scale entering processes at another scale”. This means that spaces are positioned against one another unequally. Some spaces are prestigious, while others project stigma. Here appear differences like urban vs. rural regions, business centres vs. disadvantaged areas (see Dong and Blommaert, 2009: 45; Blommaert, 2005). This differentiation of spaces will also have influence on the linguistics resources that characterize each space, and some linguistics resources will have more value than others.

In Dong and Blommaert’s (2009) study, the notions of space and scale and the theoretical framework of language ideologies were determinant in the study of accents produced by Chinese internal migrants in Beijing. In this city, Putonghua is unquestionably the language of the central space. Putonghua is the language of the government and of public life; it enhances social mobility across scales, from private to public, and from low to high in society, for those who speak it, whereas, for those who don’t speak it, it functions as a barrier (see Dong and Blommaert, 2009: 49).

The notion of space is interconnected with the notion of scale. Scales offer us a vertical image of space, of *space as stratified* and therefore as power-invested; but they also suggest deep connections between spatial and temporal features (Blommaert, 2010: 34). Collins and Slembrunck (2009), using an ethnographic approach, and focused on the notion of scale and frame, explored the relationship between language hierarchies, activity framing and participation negotiation in migrant households in a North American site and in a Belgian bilingual urban hospital. This study showed,

on the one hand, that TimeSpace scales were also implicated in how people imagined languages as metapragmatic emblems of possible worlds. On the other hand, the study showed that “scale and scaling offer a lens sensitive to the study of both horizontal and vertical dimensions of multilingual practices” (Collins and Slembrounck, 2009: 37).

Vigouroux (2009), applying the notion of TimeSpace scales and using an ethnographic approach, explored how some semiotic resources (especially written texts on walls and language choices) participate in the spatial arrangement of the Internet Café Nwambo in Cape Town. According to Vigouroux (2009), this transnational space is a good example of a new migrant-run business trend in which people of different nationalities conducting different businesses come together in a multifunctional space. Vigouroux (2009) noticed that French or any Congolese lingua franca are seen as being the wrong currency for private conversations at Café Nwambo, where English is instead the primary lingua franca. The absence of African languages in the ‘regulatory notices’ is indicative of a broader language ideology in which African languages are mainly used for oral and ‘non official communication’, whereas former colonial languages are reserved for written languages (see Vigouroux, 2009: 75).

Given the above, I believe that a sociolinguistics of globalization approach may be a good path to follow in order to understand the ideological and practical issues strongly linked to the management of multilingualism in the processes of colonial and postcolonial nation-state construction in Mozambique. In the following, I review in slightly more detail studies of relevance within the three main areas explored in this thesis, namely language ideological debates, linguistic landscape studies and hip-hop performance studies carried out thus far in Africa.

4.3 Language ideology

Language ideology is an important topic of debate in the study of language and society, especially when it comes to assessing topics like the relationship between language and power/social structure, and the motives and causes for certain types of language change (see Blommaert, 1999).

The starting point for understanding language ideologies is to begin by understanding the scope of the term ideologies. Ideologies are generally “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Fairclough, 2003: 218). ‘Ideology’ has become a central notion in critical studies of scholarly discourses on language, often ambiguous and conflicted, which have emerged in broader intellectual and political projects (Errington, 2001:

110). Language ideologies can be defined as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine, 1989: 255). Thus, language ideologies are never just about language, but rather also concern such fundamental social notions as community, nation, and humanity itself (Woolard, 2004: 58). Blommaert (1999) developed language ideological debates in which one of the contributions of the studies collected consists of a clear understanding of the precise role played by languages ideologies in more general socio-political developments, conflicts and struggles. Just as ideologies in general, language ideologies are also linked to the establishment of political relations of power, domination and exploitation through the use of certain languages that advantage select groups within a specific society. One of the foci in the study of language ideological debates was to see “[t]he precise discourse mechanisms by means of which linguistic symbolic resources are being produced, distributed or circulated, and the value attached to these resources” (Blommaert, 1999: 7). For the specific case of Africa, Blommaert argues that the language ideology debates are central to understanding how “multilingualism is perceived as an obstacle and as something that needs to be dealt with by means of planning, policy and expert interventions” (Blommaert, 1999: 25). Two studies show the complexity of language ideological debate in Africa where the colonial legacies are still present even after colonialism itself has supposedly been devolved.

Madumulla, Bertoni and Blommaert’s (1999) chapter talks about language ideology in Tanzania. It approaches the political transition to socialism that intensified the nation-building projects through the promotion of Swahili to the status of national language. This promotion was met with enthusiasm by the population, and Swahili was introduced as a linguistic resource in modern poetry. The traditionalist poets defended the value of pre-revolutionary local cultures and regarded them as a reservoir for “Africanizing” the postcolonial nation (Blommaert, 1999:26). Here the socialist revolution brought visibility and citizenship to Swahili speakers, and the traditional language began to also be used by intellectuals in poetry.

Stroud (1999) is an account of language ideological debates in Mozambique. The Mozambican context differs from Tanzania in that the political transition into socialism after the end of colonial regime promoted the use of the Portuguese language, the language of the colonizers and non-indigenous to Africa, as the national language and the language of national unity. The appropriation of a colonial language as a national symbol was accompanied by a range of semiotic processes that embedded the language firmly in the nation-state imaginary. Stroud describes how Mozambican Portuguese is presented as “better” by the socialist-revolutionary experiences of Mozambicans. Portuguese came to delineate the space in which the

nation-building socialist government could exercise power and control (see Blommaert, 1999). In the summary of his pioneering volume, Blommaert (1999) highlights how Stroud demonstrates how crucial discourses on language can be in the construction of political-ideological hegemony in contexts such as those of emerging states aspiring to nation-status.

Study I in the thesis, co-authored with Christopher Stroud, explores multilingualism in Mozambique from the perspective of language ideological debates. In particular, the study attends to the different ways in which local African languages and Portuguese have, across time, been inserted into very different discourses of temporality, where local African languages are seen as languages of the past or the future, as opposed to Portuguese, which is represented discursively as a language of the present.

4.4 Linguistic landscape studies

Linguistic landscape studies (LLS) has become a “new approach to multilingualism” (Gorter, 2006) that was developed from its earliest focus on the linguistic and orthographic features of public signage as intentionally produced visual artifacts to the broad multidisciplinary field that it is today (Stroud, ms.). LLS is perceived as “a marker of sociolinguistic dynamism” (Dal Negro, 2009: 206) that can be turned into a tool for dissecting the various forms of sociolinguistic complexity that characterize our contemporary societies (see Blommaert, 2012; Wordemariam and Lanza, 2014; Stroud and Jegels, 2013).

The study of the linguistic landscape was first proposed by Landry and Bourhis (1997) as a barometer for measuring ethnolinguistic vitality in Canada and is today a thriving field of inquiry documenting various socio-cultural aspects of languages in multilingual societies (see Shohamy and Gorter, 2009). For Landry and Bourhis (1997), linguistic landscape is defined as:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings /that/ combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25)

At this point, there are a number of LLS investigations that have been conducted in a variety of globalized environments, focusing on “understanding the deeper meanings and messages conveyed in language in places and spaces” (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009: 1). The point of departure in almost all studies is that all landscape is semiotic, i.e. its meaning is always construed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation (see Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010).

Thus to decode any sign in public space we need to have ‘social skills’ or ‘cultural competences’ (see Blommaert, 2012: 53) to perceive public space apart from its physical dimension. Place/space can also be a social construction where the concept of imagery of place is “an important resource for diasporic communities in maintaining their sense of national or ethnic identity and through which to express their longing and nostalgia for the ‘lost’ homeland” (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010: 8). The creation of imagery of place in urban spaces intersects with local habits and results in a miscellany of linguistic and cultural elements in the landscape. Instances of written language in the landscape can index many things, and they can have important economic and social consequences that can even affect those who would visit, work or live in such areas (see Leeman and Modan, 2009; Sloboda, 2009). Recently, LLS has become part of an (interdisciplinary) endeavour to chart the ways in which the mobility of different forms of semiosis (sound, touch, language, smell) dynamically and interdiscursively link bodies, selves and memories across times and places (Stroud, ms.). Theoretical frameworks and the methodological approaches had to be progressively updated to explore the new semiosis covered by the LLS. In this sense, in exploring how place can be understood as an amalgam of past happenings, present contingencies and future aspirations of those who occupy or move through space, not only is the *materiality* and *placement* of the sign of interest, but equally so its *temporal and mobile* features (Stroud, ms.).

The public space is also the arena used by ideologues and politicians to exercise influence and deliver messages to the public (see Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). Irvine and Gal (2000) note how “in cases of conflict, repressed groups may be ideologically erased from the public view” and that “it is the absence of languages in some of these places that is of further interest especially in areas which are politically and socially contested” (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009: 2). An example of this process is shown in Spolsky's (2009) study of the conflict in the Old City of Jerusalem that had an impact on the visibility of languages in the public space. During the Jordanian occupation Arabic was the most visible language, followed by English, because of tourism, but after 1967, when the Old City came under Israeli rule, Hebrew became visible in the public space, creating a trilingual situation, and Hebrew became a dominant language.

It is also important to state here that the community's linguistic repertoire is not in any way isomorphous with what is visible on signage in the landscape (see Dal Negro, 2009). In some cases, the government is forced to intervene by establishing a policy of how languages should be managed in public spaces (see Spolsky, 2009; Backhaus, 2009). The act of displaying a language, especially on official, central or local government signage, carries

the important symbolic function of increasing its value and status (see Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010: 10; Blommaert, 2013). Although it is outside the scope of this thesis, it is important to mention that in many globalized cities around the world graffiti is an element that is highly visible on the landscape and has motivated many studies, due to the transgressive semiotization that graffiti presents often being considered as an art of contestation linked to hip-hop culture (see Karlander, 2016; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010; Pennycook, 2009, 2007a).

Although there has been a methodological development from the identification and counting of languages and taxonomical ordering of signs, through narrative tracing of the production and consumption history of the sign, to praxeological and non-representational methodologies (Lou, 2010; Winkler, 2002) using walking-with videos (see Stroud, ms), there are still methodological challenges to overcome, and some of the obstacles in the way of a ‘coherent’ theory of linguistic landscapes are related to the “lack of agreement on a title, no clear consensus has yet developed on methodology or theory” (Spolsky, 2009: 32; Barni and Bagna, 2009) to capture all the necessary resources for understanding the essence of linguistic resources in public spaces.¹ In an attempt to search for methodological solutions, Blommaert (2013) suggests that LLS needs to be developed within the orbit of ethnography. This approach is sometimes used with combination with other methods. For example, Dray (2010, quoted by Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010) combined quantitative, survey-type analysis with a detailed qualitative ethnographic and semiotic analysis in order to capture the genre or text types in public signage and their content, style, materiality and participation frameworks involved in their production and consumption. There are several other methods that are used in linguistic landscape studies, such as, for example, the use of informal street observations, interviews of a sample, or questionnaires (see Spolsky, 2009); the use of a sociological approach (see Ben-Rafael, 2009); the use of an ecological approach, such as ecology of language, and crossing this method with a nexus analysis (see Hult, 2009); and the use of georeferencing methods to collect linguistic landscape data and through this method analyzing the data both synchronically and diachronically (see Barni and Bagna, 2009).

Several LLS were carried out from different perspectives in different cities over the world. However, little attention has been given to urban sites in the global south (see Woldemariam and Lanza, 2014: 80), the region of interest in the present thesis. The lion’s share of the existing LLS in the global south is devoted to study the implications of the different forms of

¹ For more details about methodology constraints in LLS, see also Hult (2009) and Shohamy and Gorter (2009).

semiosis, language mixing, orthographic innovation, and what the languages visible in the public space index with respect to the language policies and management of the growing multilingualism (see, for instance, Peck and Banda, 2014; Stroud and Jegels, 2013; Du Plessis, 2011; Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009; Akindele, 2011; Kasanga, 2010; Said, 2010; Rosendal, 2009). There are few studies in the global south related to public discourses attached to monuments and toponymy, the main focus of the linguistic landscape chapter of this thesis. In what follows, I will briefly and selectively summarize some LLS done in different cities around the world related to public discourses attached to monuments and toponymy.

Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2016) explore diptychs that memorialize the persecution of Germany's Jews. This study focuses on the memorial consecrated to the annihilation of Germany's Jewry, which was built in the Bayerische Viertel (Bavarian Quarter), in the Schöneberg borough of Berlin. This memorial is referred to as BVM. Through the analysis of the BVM, this study shows that memorials and monuments make up an aspect of linguistic landscape that merits special attention through varied perspectives. Memorials like BVM may aspire to provoke mediation on an indelible phase of Germany's recent history, committing to memory a *past* that commands introspection for the sake of the *future* (see Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael, 2016).

Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez (2016) examined the impact relating to the removal of a sculpture honouring the founder of the Spanish Fascist movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, in the city of Granada. The controversy over this statue sparked a debate in Granada about the implementation of the law in public spaces and raised questions about the role of texts, materials and visual cultures in redesigning linguistic landscapes by articulating contested memories. Through this study, we see that when a city is conquered through military intervention, this military power then becomes manifested in the public landscape via street names and public squares that glorify people and events associated with the regime. In this sense, memorials and works of art will honour and perpetuate the memories of the regime's ideological, political and military leaders (see Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez, 2016: 248).

Dal Negro (2009) studied the Italian linguistic landscape, and, among other issues, he paid attention to the relation between linguistic landscape, place names and language policy through the analyses of South Tyrol, the German-speaking region that was annexed to Italy in 1918. Thus, before and after World War I a massive Italianization process took place to justify the military occupation of the region. After World War II, "the new policy was that all German place names were restored and given official status side by side with Italian names. As a result both names now coexist and are

obligatorily in written use, a fact that characterizes strongly the LL of South Tyrol” (Dal Negro, 2009: 209).

Coulmas (2009) studied the linguistic landscape based on some monuments erected in antiquity such as The Codex Hammurabi, The Rosetta Stone and The Taj Mahal monuments. This study showed that the ideology of leaving written messages in public spaces is old, and that it was a demonstration of power intended for those who have the ability to read. Through this study, it can be concluded that linguistic landscape is a cultural field used by several agents to transmit information. Therefore, the content of the information, the languages chosen and the symbolic meaning of these languages are aspects that must be taken into account in any study of the linguistic landscape because of their rich semiotic function.

Sloboda (2009) studied government ideologies indexed on the linguistic landscape by conducting a comparative study of (post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia. Sloboda (2009) paid attention to indexicalities attributed to ‘the Bridge of Intelligentsia’ which is a sign, figures representing a “place” or “topos of memory”, that fixes the memory of the forced labour of intelligentsia at the time of “building socialism” (see Sloboda, 2009: 173). Thus, according to Sloboda (2009), the actual presence of this bridge contributes to the maintenance and strengthening of those memories that connect the bridge to the communist rulers’ ideology. In this way, the Bridge of Intelligentsia shows that a physical landscape object, by functioning as a topos of memories, can also function as a *topos of ideology* (Sloboda, 2009: 174). Sloboda (2009) shows that some objects erected on the landscape can index ideologies outside of the function for which they were created. The ideological opportunities connected with the fall of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe were also followed by the removal of ideological topologies such as the statues of Lenin, obelisks with the hammer and sickle, agitprop banners, etc. In some cases some ideological topologies were simply re-indexed, that is, renamed (see Sloboda, 2009: 174–175).

Sloboda (2009) also describes how the transition from communism to the Western-European type of democracy in Czechoslovakia brought changes in the linguistic landscape through the renaming of streets and other landscape objects. In some cases, the semiotic legacies that indexed the communist ideology, for example, names like Marx, Lenin, etc., were brought into coexistence with new elements that signified the new “patriotic” ideology (see Sloboda, 2009: 182–183).

Woldemariam (2016) studied monuments in Ethiopia with the aim of showing how the linguistic landscape serves as a mechanism for building the historical narrative of Ethiopia by erecting monuments to canonize, from within the LL, the memory and ideology of a nation. According to

Woldemariam (2016), the presence of Italian forces in Ethiopia deconstructed the sense of nation that was developed after Adwa by presenting symbols that glorified their own identity (for example, Menelik II Square was renamed *Piazza de Impero*.) A law obliged every Ethiopian to stop and salute the Italian flag, and the names of cafes and shops were changed into Italian nomenclatures (see Woldemariam, 2016: 278–280). After independence, the imperial government removed all items reminiscent of the Italian occupation from the linguistic landscape and restored symbols of national independence. During this process, the statues of Emperor Menelik were restored. Woldemariam (2016) notes how the status of Emperor Menelik is now a matter of public disagreement in Ethiopia because of the atrocities that his military committed during the imperial expansion in the 19th century. This public disagreement illustrates the extent to which linguistic landscape can become an object of political confrontation (see Woldemariam, 2016: 280–281).

Also in reference to the global south, Liora Bigon edited the book "Place Names in Africa – Colonial Urban Legacies, Entangled Histories", which is a pioneering collection of work in the global south, in general, and (sub-Saharan) Africa, in particular. The volume examines the discursive relations between indigenous, colonial and postcolonial legacies of place-naming in Africa in terms of the production of urban space and place. The book shows the transformations of place-naming that occurred in the colonial and postcolonial period in some former British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies. In general, the studies presented in this volume make it clear that official place-naming during the colonial period reflected the power of political regimes, nationalisms and ideologies that contributed to residential segregation and further marginalization of the 'Other'. In what follows, I present some summaries of chapters extracted from Bigon's (2016) book, as they are especially pertinent to Study II in the thesis.

Almeida-Topor (2016) studies the place-naming policies in countries in French West Africa in order to see whether these countries accepted or rejected the exogenous place-naming established by the colonizer after their independence. According to Almeida-Topor (2016), the old indigenous modes and practices of place-naming were continued until after the French conquest and were even adopted in urban quarters that were created during the colonial period. At this time, the majority of the names were related to aspects of colonial domination, through the rendering of homage to those who carried out the conquest of the territory. In some cases, some names were dedicated to personalities or events concerning Africa. With independence, a process of decolonization of the toponymy was carried out. In most of the cases, the end of colonial domination was celebrated by the renaming of main roads (Almeida-Topor, 2016: 101). This means that the

new political ideology created space for the development of a linguistic landscape that portrayed national solidarity in place of celebrating the achievements of the ex-colonizer.

Beeckmans (2016) explores the politics of the naming of the separation zones between Africans and Europeans in three colonial African cities: British – Dar Es Salaam, French – Dakar, and Belgian – Kinshasa. This chapter shows that colonial powers not only used place-naming as a strategy to impose their dominance, but also to legitimize and camouflage the segregationist intentions of their urban policies. According to Beeckmans (2016), colonial governments adopted segregationist policies creating distinct spaces for Africans and Europeans as a strategy for materializing colonial domination in the built space. After independence, the ‘neutral zones’ were resemiotized by African governments, and they became symbols par excellence of colonial oppression, as well as unusual open spaces in otherwise congested city centres. These zones became ideal sites for the new regimes to use in order to express their ideological belief in socio-economic progress and modernization through architecture, as well as to proclaim the worthiness of their regime and power in the built space (see Beeckmans, 2016: 121).

The term ‘neutral zones’ presented by Beeckmans (2016) has similarities with the term ‘garden city’ used in Bigon and Katz’s (2016) chapter, which analyzes the generic use of ‘garden city’ in colonial urban Dakar and Tel Aviv. According to Bigon and Katz (2016: 124), ‘garden city’ represents one of the most influential ideas in twentieth-century urban planning. Thus, the colonial government used the model of a ‘garden city’ to ideologically build a prestigious image for the quarters designated for its employees, while ignoring the African urban majority. This was a camouflaged way of applying the policy of segregation in establishing areas for settlers and areas for Africans.

Meiring (2016) studied the toponymic landscape of South Africa. This study pointed out that the geographical names, in this case referring to urban entities, collectively also are a reflection of the hearts and minds of those who gave the names, ultimately expressing what it means to be a South African in the face of shared historical and cultural experiences that motivated the bestowal of the names. For Meiring (2016), the toponymic landscape of South Africa reflects both the history of the native population, as well as the history of the foreigners that came to South Africa either for humanistic reasons or with imperialistic motives. Making a comparison of names of colonial places existing in other countries that also were the target of the colonization, Meiring (2016: 165) explains that Portuguese names in South Africa do not seem to be repetitions of similar place names in Portugal, mainly because those who named these places were navigators on

their way to the East and never settled in these places with nostalgic longing for their home country. Rather, these names honour their navigators and saints. Meiring (2016) further explains that it isn't the case that all place names in the linguistic landscape belong to political leaders: there are also the names of individuals who had an impact on society. Therefore, geographical names are targeted to be part of the liberation struggle and establishment of an African identity (see Meiring, 2016: 174).

Legae and colleagues (2016) discuss transformations in the toponymy of Lubumbashi, DR Congo. The chapter illustrates through examples how power has been imprinted in the minds of the city's inhabitants via the urban text that is constituted by the names of street and avenues. During the colonial era, urban toponymy was a space where Belgian identity was strengthened in the Lubumbashi urban landscape. This view was fortified through the segregationist policy of 'zone neutre'. After independence, President Mobutu introduced his so-called policy of a '*Recours à l'authenticité*', which was a framework for constructing a new national identity that would draw on the co-existence of the mutual advantages of modernity and tradition, while also erasing all remaining traces of the colonial legacy in order to underline "the rejection of the people of Zaïre of embracing blindly imported ideologies" (Legae et al., 2016: 187). In this sense, the culture was maintained as a key instrument for 'de-colonizing' the nation, through the introduction of a new lexicon that was to have a profound impact on everyday life.

Brown (2016) expands on the etymologies of the word 'Bagamoyo'. Bagamoyo is illustrative of a century during which long-distance trade linked regions and communities of many different cultures in East Africa. This chapter argues that Bagamoyo emerged as a symbol not merely of a dynamic era in East African history, but more importantly, of man's ability to satisfy his physical, material and spiritual expectations.

Myers (2016) examines African cultural practices that emphasize the power given to trees and describes the symbolism that these trees display in toponymy in the cities of Lusaka and Zanzibar. This chapter contends that examination of African urban perspectives on trees and toponymy can thus produce a valuable contribution to the pluralization of urban political ecology.

Bigon and Home (2016) recreates the toponymic history of Lagos over the 400 years since its original settlement, making analytical connections between place-naming and built forms. According to these authors, unlike many African countries, in Nigeria there was relatively little friction between the colonizer and the colonized in regard to toponymy. There are even situations where most of the indigenous toponymy had been accepted by the

colonial regime. Thus, after independence there was no need for a radical toponymic de-colonization in this country.

Hassa (2016) analyzes street-naming changes and the motives behind those changes in the cultural and spiritual city of Fes in Morocco by taking into account the pre-colonial period, the French occupation and a period of 30 years after the end of the French protectorate. These street-naming changes index the political and the ideological power of those who were governing during each time. The 1933 map shows many street names honouring French military heroes, while the 1953 map shows more street names commemorating French intellectuals and an increase in Arabic street names, suggesting that the colonial French power was fading. In contrast, the 1986 map indicates that the toponymy gradually switched from French to Arabic in the Ville Nouvelle as a result of the Moroccan nationalist movement.

Finally, Cumbe (2016) analyzes the discursive functioning of formal and informal place-naming in Maputo. He pays special attention to the toponymic informality that is used most commonly in Maputo, ignoring the existence of the official naming system, both in colonial and revolutionary postcolonial times, which index the history and geography of Mozambique. These informal place names allow city dwellers to express themselves by the social act of inscribing toponyms, and this act reflects on Maputo's urban multilingualism, which is characterized by the visibility of Portuguese, English and indigenous languages. For Cumbe (2016), the visibility of these fixed-cum-mobile toponymic inscriptions function as a kind of 'DNA of the city', enabling one to grasp the actual city's complexity and complicity, its spontaneity, intelligence, authenticity and anonymity.

All LLS analyzed here show that the linguistic landscape is a fertile field that portrays the socio-cultural history and the ideology of a nation through the material and linguistic vestiges visible in the public space. In Study II, an examination of the Maputo urban linguistic landscape reveals aspects of the regimentation of multilingualism in Mozambique from the colonial period to the present day, where local African languages and traditional place names are increasingly conquering those urban spaces traditionally reserved for Portuguese and other foreign languages, for example, English. However, what is of specific interest in this study for understanding the indexicalities of different languages in today's urban scapes is the *heterochronicity* of contemporary signage, that is, the layering and visibility of both Portuguese and local African languages in one and the same semiotic artefact. In particular, Portuguese appears as traces in the orthography and linguistic forms of local African signage.

4.5 Hip-hop performance

The third area of the sociolinguistics of globalization of relevance for this study is performance, specifically multilingualism and popular culture in the form of hip-hop. Sarkar and Allen (2007) state that “[h]ip-hop, characterized as ‘a culture without a nation’ (Pennycook, 2004), is now a worldwide movement with significant potential”. It can also be seen as “a vehicle for various forms of youth protest” (Mitchell 2001, 10). Mitchell (2001, 10) notes that it is capable of making “potential statements about local racial, sexual, employment, and class issues”. To listen to hip-hop is to enter a world of complexity and contradiction. In the U.S., hip-hop is said to be a form reflecting both the beauty and the belly of the beast in American society, refracted through the lens of black American culture (see Perry, 2004). This culture, born in America, has spread throughout the world, and in all places “rappers speak with the voice of personal experience, taking on the identity of the observer or narrator” (Rose, 1994: 2). They are often self-proclaimed contemporary prophets, their work constructed of truth-revealing parables and pictures (see Perry, 2004), where marginalized people from the outskirts of big cities use hip-hop culture to complain against injustices and claim their citizenship by often calling into question the political decisions that never provide rewarding opportunities to them and their communities. This attitude makes social critique and advocacy tangible elements of hip-hop, both inside and outside the United States (see Terkourafi, 2010). The process of incorporation and marginalization of black practitioners has also fostered the development of black forms and practices that are less and less accessible, forms that require greater knowledge of black language and styles in order to participate (Rose, 1994: 6).

According to Sarkar and Low (2012: 404), “[s]ince roughly the year 2000, a number of published studies of mixed language in hip-hop lyrics have appeared (Androutsopoulos, 2007, 2009; Higgins, 2009; Lin, 2009)”. Nowadays, the widely pervasive and highly popular hip-hop culture is one of the most fascinating sites for the study of globalization, identification and self-understanding for youth around the world (Alim, 2009; Sarkar and Low, 2012), because it offers young people a medium through which they can express themselves and their identities in a globally understandable and meaningful way (Westinen, 2014: 17). According to Sarkar and Low (2012: 404), “[t]he work of Alastair Pennycook (Pennycook 2003, 2004, 2007) has been particularly important in this context, as his pioneering research on the ways in which the global spread of English has interacted with the global spread of hip-hop”. In his book *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*, Pennycook adopts an anthropological view to discuss the cultural implications of globalization based on two terms: *global Englishes* and

transcultural flows. Through these terms, Pennycook argues that, on the one hand, English is closely tied to the process of globalization: it is a language of threat, desire, destruction and opportunity; on the other hand, through the term *transcultural flows* Pennycook addresses the ways in which cultural forms move, change and are reused to fashion new identities in diverse contexts (see Pennycook, 2007a).

African American English (AAE) is the language variety spoken predominantly in the black community in the U.S. and popularized all over the world through the black youth culture of rap and hip-hop (Weber and Horner, 2012: 39). Pennycook (2007a) seeks to discover, among other things, the impact of the global spread of AAE and how this linguistic variety fits into hip-hop circuits involving other languages as other forms of localization are created and the use of global Englishes produces new forms of global identification.

Within the construction of the proper identity of hip-hop culture “we find the use of linguistic elements that (re)create bounded and seemingly impervious monolingual ‘spaces’ into permeable multilingual ‘places’ in the enactment of transcultural practices” (Williams, 2012: 20). This implies that mixing languages in hip-hop likewise seems to be common (see Hassa, 2010). Multilingualism is a key issue in the sociolinguistics of hip-hop, and multilingual rap lyrics have been examined in a variety of empirical settings around the world (Androutsopoulos, 2010: 19). In the study of hip-hop, “[m]ost researchers focus on the interplay between a country’s native – national or vernacular – languages and English, the latter being both the original Hip Hop National Language (HHNL) (Alim, 2004) and a global language with varying sociolinguistic status” (Androutsopoulos, 2010: 19). Within hip-hop culture, the language uses are inserted in the construction of hip-hop authenticity, and “authenticity has become so central to the definition of hip hop” (Terkourafi, 2010: 6). Hip-hop artists “claim authenticity through both *form* (music samples and language varieties used) and *content* (topics and genres referred to, and attitudes expressed), creating multiple – and sometimes conflicting (see Clarke and Hiscock, 2009, 254–258) – authenticities in the process” (Terkourafi, 2010: 7). Terkourafi (2010) explains how form and content are involved in the production of authenticity. According to her, in terms of form, “keepin it real to the locale” can be expressed in music, through the sampling of local sounds and songs, as well as in language, and through opting for local ways of speaking, which in turn may be: (a) *national languages*; (b) *regional, immigrant, or minority varieties*; or (c) *some combination of these through code-switching/mixing*. In terms of content, on the other hand, ‘keepin it real to the locale’ can be expressed through the topics artists choose to address, as well as through the strategies they use to address them (see Terkourafi, 2010).

Authenticity is also understood in some literature as localization (see Pennycook, 2007b). Hip-hop culture is localized by the situated use of conventions that are known throughout global hip-hop communities, as well as through the transmittal of local traditions and verbal expressions (Williams, 2010: 73). I will elaborate on the notion of localization below. The study of hip-hop authenticity and localization is of particular relevance to this study because, as Williams (2017: 11) puts it, “[h]ip hop culture is /.../ an important engine in the transcultural flow of linguistic practices around the world”. Therefore, examining rap lyrics contributes to the study of linguistic diversity in the domain of global entertainment discourses (see Androutopoulos, 2010). Through the study of hip-hop authenticity, I acquire the lens for understanding how multilingualism is managed in Mozambique, given the fact that this global culture is already established in the country, and, as Perry (2004) contends, numerous talented hip-hop artists around the world with progressive values remain local, while the excessive and consumerist ones go global. I believe that this differentiation has implications for language choice that I hope to find in Mozambican contexts where HHNL is progressively used with Portuguese, the official language of the country, and with some marginalized local African languages.

To conclude this section, I will attempt a brief summary of the main approaches from which hip-hop is studied in different countries, paying special attention to authenticity and performance. Performance can be simply defined as a mode of language use, a way of speaking (see Bauman, 1975: 293), although it can involve many more modalities apart from language. For example, Clay (2003) explains that her definition of performance concurs with Goffman’s (1959) explanation of the front stage, in that front-stage performances include “clothing; sex, age, and racial characteristics, size and looks; posture, speech patterns; facial expressions, bodily gestures and the like” (see Clay, 2003: 1350). Thus, following this perspective, for Clay (2003: 1350) performance is “the manipulation of language, gestures, fashion, and music to express a Black identity to other youth”. Some concepts such as indexicality, stylization, enregisterment, authenticity and localization are unavoidable in the study of hip-hop performance because they are used to explain, among other things, features of language choice among hip-hop artists. The concept of indexicality “provides a forum where an audience’s attention can be drawn to indexical relationships, reinforcing some social meanings and reinterpreting others” (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 561). It means that during the staged performance an individual can adopt a certain kind of posture that can index some features, such as someone’s voice, social status, gestures, etc., that can be socially linked to another reality. Accordingly:

Performance encourages reflexivity for both performer and audience, and therefore also leads to the formation of what Silverstein (2003) has called ‘higher order indexicalities’ – awareness that a certain stylistic variant operates as an index for a certain social meaning. (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 559)

Stylization is a constitutive element in performance. In this context, stylization can be described as “the mannered adoption of another’s voice” (Bell and Gibson, 2011: 561). Stylization is done through imitation, which by its turn can lead to processes of enregisterment, that is, “processes whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users” (Agha, 2005: 38). Thus, invoking enregisterment indirectly addresses authenticities as metasemiotic judgments regarding the success or failure of identity practices, identity work, or acts of identification with/as some social fraction (Wilce and Fenigsen, 2015: 148). Authenticity is an important concept in recent hip-hop studies. With respect to authenticity (‘keepin’ it real’), Pennycook says

there is a constant tension here between the ‘global spread of authenticity’ – a culture of being true to the local, of telling it like it is – and the constant pull towards localization that this implies, a compulsion not only to make hip-hop locally relevant but also to define locally what authenticity means. (Pennycook 2007a: 14)

This means that authenticity can be evaluated by the way in which it remains original or by the way it is transformed to adjust to local contexts. In both situations, the notion of authenticity has to be understood not so much as an individualistic obsession with the self, but rather as a dialogical engagement with community (see Pennycook, 2007b). The contexts, are determinant for the establishment of authenticities. Authenticities are not about being; they are about becoming, and can be seen as “horizons of significance” (Taylor 1991: 39). Thus, performance, broadly defined, is crucial to their understanding (see Wilce and Fenigsen, 2015).

Localization is concerned with understanding how imported practices are adjusted to be accepted as local ones, which “inevitably involves complex relations of class, race/ethnicity and language use” (Pennycook, 2007a: 98). In regard to language use, “[l]ocalization may be as much about a language being in the world in particular ways as about changes to that language” (Pennycook, 2007b: 110). The adjustment in the process of localization can be done through the total abandonment of the imported culture and its substitution by the local culture, or it can be done through the acceptance of the imported culture with a mixture of local features.

Recently, the concept of relocalization has also been used in parallel with the concepts of authenticity and localization. Pennycook (2007b: 104) argues that relocalized real talk is about redefining what it means to be local, about opening up new horizons of significance while challenging ortholinguistic practices and ideologies. This positioning shows that “relocalization makes notions of locality central” (Pennycook, 2010: 35). Therefore, in globalized places or within hip-hop culture “the translingual language practices of the speakers are understood not only through how they borrow, repeat and mimic certain linguistic resources available to them, but also through the ways they make new linguistic meanings within this complex relocalizing process.” (Dovchin et al., 2015: 8). In the following pages, I will present how these concepts are applied in hip-hop studies.

Pennycook’s (2007b) study, enriched by the testimony of people linked to hip-hop culture from several countries such as Tanzania, Senegal, Singapore, Korea, Australia, etc., highlights the different processes of building localization. These testimonies show that the first move toward localization was a rejection of aspects of rap from the United States and a turn toward overtly local themes, as well as the increasing use of local languages alongside English. In this sense, some local languages that have earned visibility in hip-hop are Bahasa, Tamil and Cantonese in Malaysia; Wolof in Senegal; Swahili in Tanzania; and the German language in Germany (see Pennycook, 2007b).

The process of language localization is sometimes much more complex than imagined, and most of the time it deals with language ideology or language policy. For example, Pennycook and Mitchell (2009) state that rapping in Aotearoa/New Zealand in Maori, a minority indigenous language spoken by a relatively small proportion of the population, becomes a political and cultural statement about the legacy of British colonialism, especially when no English translation is provided.

Cutler (2007) focuses on points of cross-disciplinary intersection related to concepts such as authenticity and performativity, and discusses how commonalities can be further developed through the study of hip-hop language (HHL). This study also clarifies that, although African American English (AAE) is the linguistic variety (originally) associated with hip-hop culture, there are contexts in which this variety is not used as the main language in hip-hop. It is likely that out of American contexts, where hip-hop was born, hip-hop culture always begins using AAE, and when hip-hop artists gain confidence, a process of expropriation of AAE commences with the introduction of other linguistic and cultural varieties that index other forms of authenticity/localization construction through being true to oneself, being true to one’s location or place, and being closely related to and located in close proximity to an original source of rap (see Armstrong, 2004). Within

this process there are some general features. For example, Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2003) explain that European rap lyrics are rich with AAE elements such as “freestyle”, “flow”, “funk”, and “skills”, as well as U.S. hip-hop slang, including items such as “bitch”, “blunt” (joint), or “shit”. English interjections such as “yeah” and “yo” are also frequent in European rap lyrics.

Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2003) aims to trace the appropriation of hip-hop culture and rap music in a number of European countries through both a sociohistorical and a textual–semiotic point of view. Appropriation was understood as the productive use of an originally imported cultural pattern. The questions raised in the study were: how do German, French, Italian, etc. rap artists go about conveying the local anchorage of their discourse? What is the balance of global and local elements of hip-hop culture in their songs? This study raised some important social and cultural factors that characterize European hip-hop performances that have in fact been assimilated from the American hip-hop culture, such as ‘gender’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘generational differences’ and ‘differences in music style’. Another interesting finding of this study is related to language usage in European rap. European rappers are attached not only to AAE, but rather they draw on a variety of regional, social and ethnic dialects, the precise use of which depends on the linguistic repertoires and language attitudes of each speech community (see also Pennycook, 2007b).

Authenticity was also studied in Finnish rap lyrics by Westinen. Westinen (2014) affirms one of the findings of Westinen (2007), which is concerned with the ‘glocal’ dimension, where global aspects can be found in the language mixing (and code-switching) related to, for example, specific (sub)cultural terminology and slang items. The local items could be seen in the ‘matrix’ (i.e. main) language, Finnish, but also in specific references to self and place (see Westinen, 2014). On the other hand, the findings of Westinen (2014) suggest a multifaceted and nuanced view of authenticity: one that is constructed via (semiotic practices in) language and discourse, organized on fractal and subjective scales, and one that orients to several norm-providing centres.

Williams and Stroud (2010) studied the performance of the cipa battle performed by young Cape Townian rappers in South Africa. Cipa becomes a space where language ideologies and identities are shaped, fashioned and vigorously contested, and where language themselves are flexed, created and sometimes (often intentionally) bent up beyond all recognition (see Alim, 2009: 2). Thus, the issue of multilingualism was at the centre of attention in this cipa battle study. The study explored how enregisterment showed the social value that languages indexed among young people. The languages used in the cipa battle between rappers and the audience were English,

Ebonics and Cape Afrikaans. Williams and Stroud (2010) argue that performing in multilingually reflects not only on the creative use of more than two languages by the rappers but also mediates their agency and citizenship through the use and spread of language resources that they invent and use within and outside hip-hop culture. It is a common process for the localization of hip-hop to involve a move into other languages (Pennycook and Mitchell, 2009: 36). This process is covered by Stroud's (2001) notion of multi/linguistic citizenship (for details, see Williams, 2017; Williams and Stroud, 2010; Stroud, 2015).

Williams (2012) studied rap braggadocio as performed in northern suburbs of Cape Town. This study showed how easily rap genres in performance accommodate multiple languages, varieties and registers. This multiple language accommodation can be perceived as "a verbal celebration of ghetto multiculturalism" (Pennycook and Mitchell, 2009: 36). Through the use of Agha's semiotic theory, Williams was able to understand how Kaapse Afrikaans is integrated into the process of enregisterment as a powerful resource in the hip-hop community of Cape Town.

Williams and Stroud (2015) studied how the idea of race is constructed and assumed through freestyle rap performance. The study was conducted by drawing on the racialized linguistic and lyrical practices of emcees in a contemporary hip-hop milieu of Cape Town. Through this study, among other things, Williams and Stroud (2015) saw how a 'white rapper', through his use of iconic features of 'blackness', attempted to establish his hypermasculinity and thereby also his proficiency in the genre. Williams and Stroud (2015) also found how AAE is opened to white appropriation as a marker of whiteness. The appropriation of AAE by a 'white rapper' in Cape Town indexed "any attempt to simultaneously 'go global' while 'keepin it local'" (Alim, 2009a: 11), which is one of the notable trends of African hip-hop at the present time (see Williams and Stroud, 2015).

In investigating the relation between global and local, Higgins (2009) discusses how Tanzanians rappers manage global and local aspects of hip-hop linguistically and concludes that "the mixing of street Swahili with AAE and other language varieties creates opportunities for the performance of indigeneity alongside transglobal identification" (Higgins, 2009: 109). Thus, it is undoubtedly an interesting time for analyzing how the GNHHL authenticity process is negotiated in the Mozambican context, where the hip-hop movement is steadily growing, and there is a rise in groups of young people coming from the suburbs, where language uses are dominated by the use of local African languages, as they fight to have "their territories acknowledged, recognized, and celebrated" (Rose, 1994: 11). These young hip-hop artists seek to establish themselves in the big cities where the

famous stages are located and where other dynamics in language use are at play, with urban hip-hop artists preferring the use of Portuguese and AAE.

Brazilian hip-hop, described by Pardue (2008), serves as an attempt for young people to redesign their marginal status in terms of the social categories of race, class and gender, as well as sociogeographical categories such as periphery and marginality, through the use of a range of material (images and sounds) and ideologies (discourses, narratives, networking practices). The aim is to avoid further negativity and, by extension, transform the periphery into a place and concept more akin to empowerment than marginality.

In a similar fashion, in Study III, I explore how the relocation of hip-hop in Mozambique and the search for authenticity involves embedding historically prominent liberation figures in lyrics in local languages. The marginality of local languages comprises powerful framings for these non-normative, non-mainstream political protest discourses, at the same time as the languages gain an indexicality of protest and global youth culture. The adoption and adaptation of the genre is thus a vehicle for protest, but one that reinforces the marginality of the linguistic carrier. I also argue that the insertion of marginalized languages within hip-hop culture is understood as an act of Linguistic Citizenship. Linguistic Citizenship (LC) is a notion suggested by Christopher Stroud as a way of addressing, spotlighting and reviving the lost semiotics of historically marginalized linguistic agency and voices in societies under transformation (Williams, 2017: 14). Williams (2017: 15) explains that LC has to be seen as a way “to bring back speakers and communities from the margins to the centre; that is, to recognize their agency, particularly in contexts of rapid social transformation”.

4.6 Methodology

The collective memory of colonialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized (see Smith, 2012). In this context, knowledge about ‘the other’ (that is, about the southern ‘us’) that is produced in contexts shaped by socio-historically persistent inequalities are likely to contain stereotypes, distortions and misrepresentations (see Deumert, ms.). These methodological concerns challenge the need for scientific production on the basis of ‘other eyes’ that can give credibility to the peoples surveyed. The methodological approach in this thesis seeks to offer some challenge to western perspectives of doing science. As a researcher who is native to the context I research, I have

potentially, in the words of Smith (2012: 2) “other stories to tell which not only question the assumed nature of those ideals and the practices that they generate, but also serve to tell an alternative story: the history of Western research through the eyes of the colonized”. From this vantage point, I have conducted my research in an environment in which I was born and raised, which potentially offers me an alternative beginning to my research narrative, namely an effort to understand the persistence in the marginality of my languages.

I was born and raised in Maputo city, one year after the end of colonial rule in Mozambique, thus providing me a childhood and youth in an urban environment uncluttered by colonialism, but nevertheless degraded by its legacies. My generation made the transition between the end of the colonial era and the beginning of the socialist regime that ruled the country until the late 1980s, and thus we have a personal relationship to many of the most important events and crises in the development of modern-day, postcolonial Mozambique. My generation better understands the social effects of the civil war that arose in Mozambique soon after independence, as well as the effects of the transition from socialism to democracy initiated in the early 1990s. Thus, I have a vision of the historical continuity of the country that gives me a certain legitimacy with which to speak and think about marginalization not readily available to the foreign researcher. The sense of history ever-present in the happenings of contemporary everyday life, for example, is a direct incentive to think about globalization through temporality. In addition to this, my current academic status, a linguist working at Eduardo Mondlane University, gives me a privileged position for using my lived experience, my historical background and my specific understandings of the Mozambican reality to build networks and source information that can help me to inform my research narrative pertaining to Mozambique through an emic perspective that can be understood, according to Smith’s sense as a “decolonization of research”. For Smith:

Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our perspectives and for our own purposes. (Smith, 2012: 41)

I adopted an ethnographic approach as the main method for conducting my fieldwork, where, like Williams (2017: 59), “I drew on a range of methods (participant observation, observation notes, interviews, video and audio recordings, photographic records of linguistic landscapes)” in order to

examine the circulation of cultural meanings, objects and identities in the diffuse time-space (see Marcus, 1995) of Maputo city.

The process of collecting information linked to language ideology, hip-hop performance and the linguistic landscape lasted one year, from July 2014 to July 2015. The linguistic barrier that often limits outsider researchers was not a challenge during my fieldwork. I fully understand the three most spoken languages in Maputo city: Portuguese, Xichangana and Xirhonga, as well as English. This afforded me access to much of the social significance layered into the various ways of using these languages across my data sets, especially hip-hop performances, but also in the analysis of the public discourses present in the landscape and in the language ideological debates.

Study I, language ideology, was produced based on material collected through historical documentary research comprising many documents written by insider and outsider scholars and politicians dealing with issues pertaining to the social marginalization of Mozambicans in the colonial period and in the postcolonial period, as well as how issues of linguistic differences were managed both in the colonial period and in the postcolonial period.

Study II, on linguistic landscapes, required, in addition to historical documentary research, fieldwork involving participant observation and photographic documentation. Being an insider allowed me not only to describe the linguistic landscape based on the photos collected in the field, but to use my local knowledge of the city to describe the socio-historical changes linked to the environment in which a particular photo was captured. In fact, as a resident of Maputo city, I witnessed almost daily the historic transformations in the semiotic makeup of urban spaces that the gaze of an outside researcher might not capture.

Study III, hip-hop performance, also required fieldwork in addition to historical documentary research. Here, I used a multi-sited ethnography approach to collect hip-hop performance data, taking into account that multi-sited ethnography is “a flexible *modus operandi* which allows the collection and triangulation of a variety of different types of data” (Williams, 2017: 48). Williams (2017) explains that, in using this approach, it is also possible to ‘follow’ the research participants across hip-hop spaces and other field sites that they frequent. During my fieldwork, I followed Maputo rapper 2Hustler as he recorded his performance on TV Sucesso and TVM2, where he was invited to participate in live entertainment music program. In these two places I could see, among other things, “how Hip Hop-related practices, talk about Hip Hop, and the movement of Hip Hop-related material objects are wrapped up in the ebbs and flows of global Hip Hop” (Williams, 2017: 55).

I was fortunate in being able to ground my insertion into the hip-hop community in a network with people linked to Mozambican hip-hop culture. The basis of this network was created at Eduardo Mondlane University, my place of employment. There I identified two students that are also rappers, Nigga Shar and 2Hustler, who in turn introduced me to the Mozambican hip-hop community via the "friend of a friend" fieldwork strategy (cf. Milroy, 1987; Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Once in the field, I presented myself to hip-hop activists as a Ph.D. student studying Mozambican hip-hop, and was immediately and enthusiastically accepted by them, as there are few Mozambicans interested in the study of hip-hop, and they understood that my study could be crucial in changing minds among Mozambicans and thereby remove the hip-hop culture from the marginalized position that it now holds. At the time that I was doing my fieldwork, I had only had the opportunity to become acquainted with Janne Rantala, a Finnish citizen, who at the same time was collecting data for his Ph.D. dissertation, which was also speaking about Mozambican hip-hop. Nigga Shar was like my assistant researcher: he kept me informed about the hip-hop events taking place in Maputo city, and for most of these events, I attended with him. At the beginning of my research, he also helped me with recording some shows and transcribing some hip-hop songs.

Hélder Leonel, one of the main promoters of hip-hop culture in Mozambique, is also an employee of Eduardo Mondlane University, and I established an easy friendship with him that benefitted my research greatly, as he is a key player in Mozambican hip-hop. Through these networks, I became "a quasi community member" (Trechter, 2013: 34). Because of these relationships, questions like "Who are you?" or "Who is that person?" did not occur during my fieldwork. On the contrary, the rappers who knew I was conducting research on the Mozambican hip-hop were very proud, and they were available to participate in my research and revel in its success. An example of this collaboration was a show by the rapper Kronic, who, even having produced his CDs for the purpose of selling them, gave me two of his CDs pro gratis for the purposes of my research. During my fieldwork, as an insider I was lucky to also meet with several acquaintances such as Cau Fontes, my former student at the journalism school, who is currently working as an entertainment journalist. He offered me two issues of Missanga magazine in which he had published articles about Mozambican hip-hop. Establishing such links is greatly facilitated by being an insider researcher, as such occasions depend very much on building historical alliances in a community of practitioners.

Hip-hop events in Maputo city occurred mostly on Wednesdays and on weekends at different venues, in particular, Africa Bar, Café Bar Gil Vicente and Gungu TV. In all these venues, I positioned myself as an audience

member. This was a privileged position for collecting all hip-hop practices taking place on the stage and in the audience through photography, videography, audio recording and note taking.

All linguistic landscape and hip-hop performance material collected during my fieldwork was cross-referenced with archival material through which I analyzed several discourses produced by such agents as the mass media, governmental sources, political parties and prominent social scientists (Blommaert and Verschueren, 1998) dealing with issues relating to language policies and the management of multilingualism in Mozambique in colonial times and in more recent times. Some Facebook pages created by rappers or Mozambican hip-hop fans also served as a source for data collection, including the YouTube channel, where many local rappers publish their songs individually. Mixtapes and CDs that are sold by street vendors were also useful in my research.

The data analysis, specifically for studies II and III, benefited from my reflexivity as an insider researcher. Reflexivity can be defined as thoughtful, conscious self-awareness. Reflexive analysis in research encompasses continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself (Finlay, 2002: 532). In this sense, “[t]he reflexive ethnographer does not simply report ‘facts’ or ‘truths’ but actively constructs interpretations of his or her experiences in the field and then questions how those interpretations came about” (Hertz, 1997: viii).

Using my position as a linguist, and having an embodied knowledge of the socio-political history of Mozambique, allowed my ‘feel for the game’ to help inform my analyses. I was able to give my interpretation to the indexicalities and the semiotics of hip-hop discourses and performances (study III), as well as public artifacts and discourses visible on the landscape (study II) that are not perceptible to everyone. My privilege of speaking the main languages used by Maputo hip-hop artists, as well as the languages visible in the public spaces of Maputo city, was a positive aspect that made my reflexivity on the collected data easier. The data that were collected were archived in two large files that I called ‘linguistic landscape data’ and ‘hip-hop data’. In turn, each file included sub-files where the data were stored in detail and in their raw state.

5. Summary of studies

In this section, I review the contribution of each study to the relevant area of the sociolinguistics of globalization.

5.1 Study I: Linguistic Messianism: Multilingualism in Mozambique

Study I, 'Linguistic Messianism: Multilingualism in Mozambique', co-written with Christopher Stroud, deals with issues pertaining to the language ideologies that were created in Mozambique to ensure the State's functionality from colonial times to the present, where, despite a high linguistic diversity characterized by the existence in the country of speakers of several local African languages as their mother tongues, some languages were severely marginalized. These marginalized languages rarely appear in print, although they are widely used (Moyo, 2003: 26). In this study, we interrogated how African languages and Portuguese were inserted into discourses of temporality. Irvine remarks on how "ideologies of language are also, inevitably, ideologies about temporality – about visions of historicity, origins, and mutability" (Irvine, 2004: 99). In brief, local African languages and Portuguese have been framed differently with respect to two broad types of temporality; local African languages were inserted into discourses of *historicist* time, whereas Portuguese was seen predominantly in *messianic* terms (cf. Irvine, 2004; Woolard, 2004). In other words, whereas African languages are talked about as grand languages of tradition (past) or in need of 'intellectualization' to be adequate for future use, Portuguese is and always has been considered a legitimate and 'full' language adequate for modernity. This type of discourse serves to locate African languages 'out of time', and their speakers as equally not inhabiting the political or intellectual 'now' through their use of African languages.

The implications of these differential temporal discourses are manifest in management strategies for multilingualism, in that "[c]olonial managers removed or downplayed specific indigenous genres of authority and political decision-making in vernacular languages, and replaced these genres with Portuguese discourses mediated by so-called *regulos*" (Stroud, 2002: 261). Through this kind of colonial ideology that was basically centred on a segregationist philosophy (see Comaroff, 1998), local African languages and Portuguese were organized into different "orders of visibility" (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017).

Study I argues that the temporal discourses in which local African languages and Portuguese were inserted were replicated in the immediate

aftermath of independence. As noted earlier, postcolonial socialist Mozambique excluded the use of local African languages in official and urban environments because these languages were connoted with tribalism, divisionism and retrogression, and they would not be functional and formally adequate for building a modern nation. This political decision shows that “the linkage of language to ethnicity and nationalism, language attitudes, and language planning and development” (Woolard, 1998: 16) was decisive for the maintenance of Portuguese as the urban and the official language. Transnational and operational reasons have contributed to the choice of Portuguese in detriment to local African languages (see Gonçalves, 2010; Firmino 2002). Language here becomes the ideological control mechanism, which establishes state hegemony (Moyo, 2003:29). Portuguese assumed the role of a new identity marker that linked its speakers indexically to progress and modernization. Here, as pointed by Silverstein (1998: 130), we can see that “language, like any social semiotic, is indexical in its most essential modality”.

However, what is less understood is how the very same temporal discourses that excluded African languages from modernity are equally determining of how these languages are perceived in the more pluralist and multicultural situation of contemporary Mozambique. In the early 1990, with the democratization of the country, local African languages won “new orders of visibility” (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) characterized by the increasing use of these once marginalized languages in official contexts and urban spaces. However, despite this, Portuguese continues, in fact, to be the messianic language of the state, being associated with the rhetoric of modernity, anti-traditionalism, urbanization and co-optation of elites, clearly articulating a historical continuity with colonial Portuguese. While local African languages may have won extended recognition, they remain inserted in historicist discourses associated with the past, with traditional values, tribalism, regionalism, and at times even conservationism, as well as features of Mozambican heritage. This post-independence ideology justifies that postcolonial states are “first and foremost products of colonialism” (Ahluwalia, 2001: 71).

The concept of order of visibility fits perfectly with the approach of study I because it “offers a way of capturing the emergence and ‘coming-to-prominence and recognition’ of different alignments of language temporalities that define different understandings of multilingualism as for particular purposes of governance” (Stroud and Guissemo, 2015: 9), just as it happened in Mozambique where the local African languages went through several stages before gaining some recognition by the government and, therefore, subsequent use and visibility in the public spaces traditionally dominated by Portuguese.

So, as to the theoretical point of this study, we can say that currently in Mozambique notions of *temporality* and *visibility* through which local African languages and Portuguese have figured are part of the narrative of modernity and progress (see Stroud and Guissemo, 2015: 18). This study also makes it clear that the challenges of democracy, as well as those of globalization bring a new ideology of management of multilingualism in which the local African languages play an important role in the development. Therefore, these languages need to have a greater space for autonomy through engagement in acts of Linguistic Citizenship (see, for example, Stroud 2001, 2009) and must not always appear as shadows of the Portuguese language. As happened earlier in Malawi, local African languages should be recognized in Mozambique for the crucial role they play in national development, at various levels, as languages of instruction, as well as for communication in agricultural, health and homecraft activities that affect people's lives in rural areas (see Moyo, 2003: 35). Currently, in Mozambique "in general, local languages are not associated with generation of capital or perceived as resources to be exploited in formal labor markets" (Chimbutane, 2015: 65).

5.2 Study II: Orders of (in)visibility: Colonial and postcolonial chronotopes in linguistic landscapes of memorization in Maputo

Study II: 'Orders of (in)visibility: Colonial and postcolonial chronotopes in linguistic landscapes of memorization in Maputo' uses Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope to analyze the meanings of monuments, the stories these monuments tell, and the languages that are fit for the telling. According to Train (2016), monuments and their public discourses carry historical and ideological significance designed to reflect specific social ideologies. The concept of the chronotope is applied in this study to insert the ideologies connected with the (in)visibility of languages in the Maputo city landscape, taking into account that "language choices or ideologies reflected in certain signage in the public space [...] are always framed by specific TimeSpace contextualization" (Vandenbroucke, 2015: 166).

Chronotope was used by Bakhtin to capture the fact that time and space were closely connected in literature (see Karimzad and Cathedral, 2017). Identifying chronotopes enabled Bakhtin to address the co-occurrence of events from different times and places in novels. He saw chronotopes as an important aspect of the novel's heteroglossia, part of the different "verbal-ideological belief systems" that existed in the dialogue of novels (Blommaert, 2015: 8). This concept is "directly relevant to theorizing the

language–society–history nexus given its explicit invocation of temporality” (Faudree and Hansen, 2014: 234), and it is also “an instrument for developing a fundamentally historical semiotics” (Blommaert, 2015).

The emphasis of study II was devoted to understanding the ideology behind the (in)visibility of local African languages in public spaces. In this sense, questions such as when monuments and public discourses were designed and put into the landscape, under what ideological conditions and for what specific purposes (see Pietikäinen 2014) were taken into account because “it is possible to see and describe much of what is observed as contemporary identity work as being chronotopically organized” (Blommaert and De Fina, 2016: 2).

Study II argues that the public space was taken up by political regimes to perpetuate their political ideologies. Both in colonial times and in post-independence, the political ideologies of the construction of a cohesive nation influenced the kind of memorials erected in the public space and the names given to public places, including the choice of the language used for these names. Not surprisingly, local African languages, spoken by the majority of Mozambican population, were marginalized due to their connotation with tribalism, ethnicity and division (see Lopes, 2004; Stroud, 2002), especially considering the importance the semiotics of public spaces have for a sense of cohesion and participation in a jointly perceived nation. Portuguese was the unique language chosen to serve the state. The issues of modernity and the *metropole* determined the choice of Portuguese (see Stroud and Guissemo, 2015; Stroud, 2007; and Firmino, 2002), the language elected after the independence in 1975 for the “process of decolonization of the social and political landscape of Mozambique” (Meneses, 2016: 58). Portuguese came to dominate the revolutionary chronotope, including the “production of Mozambican nationhood” (Owen, 2007: 22; Stroud, 1999, 2007), as it had done the colonial chronotope. The revolution was centred on the creation of a Mozambican New Man, a modern man who was not tribalist, traditionalist, nor obscurantist, nor an enemy of the revolution. Local African languages were forbidden to be spoken (see Stroud, 2007, 2002). The colonial ideological legacies connoted with military activities, metropole, and the oppression of Mozambican citizens were removed or resemiotized in public spaces, giving space to new monuments and toponyms that glorified the liberator of the country.

The visibility of local African languages in public spaces began to emerge after 1990, when there was a significant change in the political ideology of Mozambique, bringing “new orders of visibility” (Kerfoot and Hyltenstam, 2017) in which the postcolonial government, led by Frelimo, adopted a plurality policy through which there was a promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity with the view to integrate all citizens in the new

modern democratic state. Local African languages and traditional cultural manifestations, marginalized during the colonial time up to the early 1990s, became visible in public spaces, appearing alongside Portuguese and other foreign languages, and being used in official ceremonies and in public institutions. This period manifested the chronotope of retraditionalization.

The study argues that the chronotope of retraditionalization celebrates a new Mozambican cosmopolitanism and neoliberalism era, despite Portuguese continuing to be the main language used as lingua franca in Mozambique. Despite the new orders of visibility, local African languages continue to appear as a penumbra of Portuguese, the language mostly promoted in the public space. The orthographic and phonological systems of Portuguese are influencing the way local African languages are written in public spaces, giving rise in this sense to the hegemony of Portuguese as the most important language in modern Mozambique, and as an ever-present historical trace in the ecology of linguistic landscapes.

Study II adds to the field of LLS the idea of *heterochronicity*, the existence of multiple chronotopes, simultaneously present and co-existing in the landscape, and the notion of *trace*. Complementing those studies of LL that look to the presence or absence of languages in places, and the sociopolitical, economic and symbolic ramifications, and the correlates of linguistic visibility, is the insight that languages may be present in spirit, despite not being visible in the ‘flesh’. Taken together, these notions allow for an explanation of the ideologies behind the languages used in public discourses, the toponymy, including the ideologies behind the erection of monuments in the city. In all of the chronotopes of Mozambican history, the political-ideological issues of the management of multilingualism that focused on national cohesion were decisive in the organization of society as an unbreakable block. This has conditioned the (in)visibility of other linguistic resources in the landscape.

5.3 Study III: Hip hop activism: Dynamic tension between global and local in Mozambique

Study III: ‘Hip-hop activism: Dynamic tension between global and local in Mozambique’ is an ethnography of Mozambican hip-hop based on participant observation that explores how the process of ‘keeping it real’ is processed in Mozambican hip-hop. This study argues that the progressive moving from global to local, i.e., “relocalization” (Pennycook, 2010) of the Global Hip-Hop Nation (GHHN) in Mozambique, is done through the use of tropes of temporality in which local hip-hop artists rescue voices and values from the past and insert them in new contexts, where, through “acts of

linguistic citizenship” (Stroud, 2001, 2009), they also use local African languages and other socio-cultural tools that index the past to contest and negotiate agency, voice and citizenship in new ways not available in public spaces otherwise.

Hip-hop culture entered Mozambique through transnational relations in the late 1980s. This fact dictated that the young people living in the centre of Maputo city first took up hip-hop in its original American form and that it gradually spread across the periphery (see Siteo, 2013, 2012). The use of African American English (AAE), including branded clothes mimicking the style of American rappers and street dance performances, were among the first manifestation of the implantation of GHHN culture in Mozambique. The influences coming from Brazilian and Portuguese rappers determined how the introduction of Portuguese, the official language in Mozambique, transpired in hip-hop culture, even though AAE remained the most privileged language in this regard. In the early 2000s, Mozambican hip-hoppers started a process of relocalization of the GHHN, which involved the manipulation, (re)appropriation, (re)creation and (re)crafting by Mozambican hip-hoppers of global practices of hip-hop culture (see Alim, 2009) to local quotidian spaces.

This study builds on the insight that the interrelationship between the local and the global is pivotal to the genre of hip-hop (cf. Westinen, 2011). Local rappers, like 2Hustler, Ivete, MC Filady and Azagaia, who are each analyzed in this study, show how relocalization is a process of negotiation between iconic global hip-hop style elements (see Muhonen, 2014), through the appropriation of American rappers’ visual performances and bling-bling accessories, with a mixture of local African elements that represent tropes of the past that currently are seldom adopted by young people in contemporary urban environments due to their indexical links to tradition, poverty and antiquity. The re-invigoration of the political discourses and ideologies of the liberators of Africa and Mozambique, in a more specific way, is also a strategy used in the process of relocalization of the GHHN in Mozambique, where local rappers, through politicizing voices (see Rantala, 2016), are inserted into acts of citizenship, bringing these old discourses to challenge current government policies, corruption and the lack of opportunities for marginalized citizens.

The linguistic aspect is also decisive in the relocalization process of GHHN in Mozambique. Local African languages, spoken by the majority of the population and highly marginalized in urban environments, are now being resuscitated and used by rappers in partnership with Portuguese and AAE as a way of marking linguistic identity within the translocal culture. This new multilingualism modality introduced by local rappers shows that local African languages that were connoted with “‘the ancestral time’ (there

and then)” were not perceived as tools for challenging “‘the diasporic time’ (here and now)” nor adequate to move speakers into the future time (Inoue, 2004: 5) but are now used together with Portuguese, a unique language with “a sacred simultaneity across past, present, and future always containing the potential for revolution and redemption” (Eisenlohr, 2004: 84).

Study III argues that this linguistic manifestation through the use of local African languages in urban contexts is part of what is termed “linguistic citizenship” (Stroud, 2001, 2009, 2015), and it symbolizes the transition from “global homogenization” to “local heterogenization” (Pennycook, 2007a: 44) in Mozambique. The use of local African languages by local hip-hop artists index a new era in which hip-hop functions as cultural and political revitalization (see Pennycook, 2007a: 135). This is an integration of the past in the present that gives hope for a better future where voices of people on the margins will be beneficial to the development of the nation.

6. Conclusion and final remarks

The main aim of this thesis has been to show that “discourses about language can be mobilized to address problematic aspects of the nation’s place in history” (Irvine, 2004: 99). At present, the policies adopted in many African societies, including Mozambique, show that “/m/ultilingualism as a politico-legal notion remains a *de facto* mechanism whereby essential features of colonial social logics are reconfigured in contemporary ‘postcolonial’ societies” (Stroud, 2015: 24).

Maintained by each of these studies is a conceptual concern with temporality and visibility. Whereas the studies show that the visibility of local languages may wax and wane, the temporal discourses within which African languages and Portuguese are located have remained fairly constant throughout colonial and postcolonial time. Each paper identifies a particular type of temporal relationship between the languages, namely *asynchronicity* (Study I), *heterochronicity* (Study II) and *synchronicity* (Study III).

Asynchronicity is associated with inconsistency, for example, when two or more sequences of events are not coordinated. Asynchronicity results from the attempt to admit to the imperfection of social reality in relation to the imagined ideal order (see Giesen, 2004). This idea of inconsistency or lack of coordination can be seen in Study I, where African languages and Portuguese are located discursively in different temporal envelopes.

In Study II, we find an example of *heterochronicity* in which the distinct temporal envelopes of local African languages and Portuguese configure in the same space in a Bakhtinian multivocal or polyphonic interaction. Again, it is Portuguese and its traces that make its presence felt – Portuguese

provides the linguistic form that is mimicked or shadowed in the African language item. The ever-presence of Portuguese is again an example of the ‘timeless’ construction of the language.

Synchronicity is found in Study III. Here, there is “a meaningful coincidence of two or more events, where something other than the probability of chance is involved” (Jung, quoted by Jaworski, 2009: ix). In other words, synchronicity combines elements that are of *a different order*, but tends to obscure these fundamental differences (Blommaert, 2005: 129). In study III, we see how the voices of political protest manifest in a combination of Portuguese and local African languages as a hip-hop tactic of relocalization. In linguistic synchronicity, there is an “emergence of hybridized language forms and fusion of local and global varieties” (Shohamy, 2012: 544). The hybrid public discourse of Portuguese and local African languages, or even the discourse only in the local African languages, becomes a normal process that demonstrates that the local African languages are now inserted together in rapport with Portuguese in the process of modernism. Today, many language planning theorists view cultural pluralism and multilingualism as sociolinguistic facts that have to be seen positively as resources upon which language planning must built, and not just as obstacles that must be overcome on the way to national unity and socioeconomic advancement (Deumert, 2009: 391). However, this notwithstanding, it is nevertheless the marginality of the local languages that – somewhat anti-intuitively – give ‘power’ to local voices.

Linguistic synchronicity is an amplification of the relevance of the voices coming from the population on the margins who do not speak Portuguese. Through linguistic synchronicity, local African languages, despite being lodged in associations with tradition and tribalism, are repositioned in discourses of modernity (see Stroud, 2001), of the here-and-now (Blommaert, 2005: 141). This process can be perceived as a manifestation of “linguistic citizenship” (see Stroud, 2001, 2009, 2015), which refers to the enormous political potential residing in the formulation of alternative and complex representations of identity and language that is waiting to be harnessed (Stroud, 2001: 347) through other regimes and repertoires of language.

Linguistic citizenship is a critique of the one nation–one language discourses produced mainly by the ruling class and frames the marginalized languages in their social, geographical and emotional space and time (see Stroud, 2001). The notion of Linguistic Citizenship was thus born out of the need felt for a perspective that situated linguistic practices and representations of speakers firmly within their everyday socio-political strivings for agency and transformation (Stroud, 2015: 25). It reconceptualizes language in ways that can promote a *diversity of voices* and contributes to a *mutuality*

and reciprocity of engagement across differences (see Stroud, 2015: 23; Blommaert, 2005). For Blommaert (2005: 69), “voice in the era of globalisation becomes a matter of the capacity to *accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally*, across different physical and social spaces”.

This concept broadens the voices and gives more citizenship to the speakers of the languages considered to be unofficial to participate by using their languages in the different domains of society. In this sense, Jaffe (2012) states that:

Democratic/participatory citizenship emphasizes people’s rights and obligations to participate in the economic, social and political life of the communities to which they belong, from the local to the supranational levels (Starkey 2002: 7) and to recognize the rights of culturally and linguistically diverse groups within those communities to participate. (Jaffe 2012: 84)

The performance of hip-hop by young rappers in Maputo city is an excellent example of the celebration of linguistic citizenship, as the rappers bring the local African languages, more specifically Xichangana and Xirhonga, to cohabit side by side with Portuguese and English in modern times. In fact, the social acceptability of this new linguistic cohabitation in Mozambican hip-hop highlights, among other things, that “verbal mastery and discursive power in many different languages and language varieties are important for /economic /success” (Deumert, 2009: 392).

To conclude, the current synchronicity of local African language is a harbinger of a better future for these languages because globalization implies more opportunities for relationships between languages and cultures. In this sense, official activities like bilingual education, the increasing use of local African languages in public institutions, political campaigns, health mobilizations, etc., are mechanisms that empower the speakers of these languages and allow for the hope that in future these languages can be used as alternative tools for constructing the development of Mozambique. All these activities that increase the visibility of local African languages show that we are now celebrating an era in which “[p]luralism has been identified as a central issue in the global economy, where increasing attention is also given to multi-skilling, consumerism, negotiation and communication” (Deumert, 2009: 392), where “[t]he right to speak and be heard in a language of one’s choice may give those formerly excluded from power a ‘voice’” (Kerfoot, 2011: 88) to contribute to nation-state building in the modern era.

Sammanfattning på svenska (Swedish summary)

Kolonial språkpolitik i Afrika gick ut på att osynliggöra de afrikanska språken och därmed också de människor som talade dessa språk. Denna visibilitetsordning ("order of visibility") har reproducerats också under postkolonial tid i de många afrikanska länder, som valde att fortsättningsvis använda det forna kolonialspråket som officiellt språk. Detta var fallet i Moçambique där portugisiska blev utropat till officiellt språk omedelbart efter landets självständighet 1976; de ca 20 inhemska afrikanska språken fortsatte att osynliggöras i den nationella enighetens namn, då det befarades att ett bejakande av de många språken riskerade att leda till etnisk splittring. Emellertid verkar senare tids språkpolitik i många afrikanska länder ha vänt denna trend i takt med en ökad politisk och ekonomisk liberalisering. Detta har till synes fört med sig större acceptans för mångkulturella och flerspråkiga samhällen. Trots detta är huvudargumentet i denna avhandling att afrikanska språk i Moçambique förblir marginaliserade och att marginaliseringen är ett resultat av ett antal samverkande och systematiska faktorer som reproducerar historiska ojämlikheter.

Avhandling undersöker hur statusen hos de afrikanska språk som talas i Moçambique har utvecklats historiskt och vilka utmaningar som språkens talare står inför idag. Mera specifikt tar avhandlingen utgångspunkt i en kartläggning av de språkideologiska teknologier som bidrar till att konstruera afrikanska språk som marginella och synar hur dessa ideologier påverkar hur afrikanska språk synliggörs i det offentliga rummets lingvistiska landskap samt hur de används i transnationella genrer som hip-hop. Materialet för avhandlingen är hämtat från Moçambique, i synnerhet från huvudstaden Maputo, och består av såväl etnografiska data som arkivmaterial.

Avhandlingens analytiska ram och metodiska verktygslåda har hämtats från det forskningsfält inom sociolingvistik som studerat globaliseringens problematik och som därför kan betecknas som "globaliseringens sociolingvistik" ("sociolinguistics of globalisation"). Trots att denna "globala" inriktning inom sociolingvistik primärt har utvecklats för dagens transnationella migrationsdynamik och de komplexa språkkontaktfenomen som uppträder i dess kölvatten, tillhandahåller den en begreppsapparat och ett perspektiv på språk och flerspråkighet som även lämpar sig för att förstå historiska globala flöden och koloniala kontaktförhållanden. Globaliseringens sociolingvistik har i huvudsak arbetat med flerspråkighet ur ett mobilitetsperspektiv med betoning på spatialitet. I föreliggande arbete betonas i stället betydelsen av temporalitet som en dimension i hur språken uppfattas ideologiskt och används till vardags. Avhandlingen argumenterar för att temporalitet är en nyckeldimension av marginalitet på ett liknande sätt som spatialisering kan associeras med periferi. På många sätt

produceras lokala afrikanska språk diskursivt i tidsramar som skiljer sig från portugisiska tidsramar.

Avhandlingen baseras på tre studier. Var och en av dessa undersöker en aspekt på flerspråkig organisation i huvudstaden Maputo. I Studie I undersöks vilken inverkan kolonialpolitiken hade på förvaltningen av flerspråkighet i Moçambique under kolonialtiden och framåt. Här ligger betoningen på språkideologiska diskurser och hur språken konstrueras olika med avseende på temporalitet. Temporalitet visar sig vara användbart för att förstå hur afrikanska språk historiskt har placerats in i en språkideologisk diskurs; antingen i det förgångna som språk vilka ej lämpar sig för moderna ändamål eller i en framtid då språken har intellektualiserats tillräckligt för att kunna användas fullödigt. Portugisiska å andra sidan har hela tiden avbildats som ett modernt, fullödigt och statsbärande språk. Denna ideologiska konstruktion av afrikanska språk och portugisiska är fortfarande vanlig även bland personer som i modern tid förespråkar en ökad användning av afrikanska språk i det offentliga rummet.

Studie II analyserar hur lokala afrikanska språk och portugisiska har figurerat och använts i det offentliga rummet under olika tider. Studien fokuserar på hur språken har haft olika synlighet i de semiotiska landskap som består av minnesartefakter, t ex vördnadsbjudande offentliga statyer och minnesplakat. Lokala afrikanska språk förblev i varierande utsträckning osynliga på offentliga platser långt efter det att landet blivit självständigt. Trots att politiska förändringar på senare tid har fört med sig en ökad synlighet ("order of visibility") för dessa språk, förekommer fortfarande "arkeologiska" spår av portugisiska i hur afrikanska ord representeras ortografiskt, i frasuppyggnad och i ordföljdsförhållanden.

Studie III undersöker hur afrikanska språk används i en populär ungdomsgenre, nämligen hip-hop. Kännetecknande för denna transnationella performansgenre är att den omlokaliseras och anpassas till de specifika kontexter där den framförs. Processen att omlokalisera inkluderar val av språk och andra lokala uttrycksmedel som ger uppträdandet en autenticitet och en känsla av vara "äkta" – "keeping it real". Hip-hop är också en stark protestgenre, och i den moçambikiska situationen används afrikanska språk tillsammans med andra historiska symboler som traditionell klädsel och återgivning/citering av bortgångna landsfäder, för att förmedla ett politiskt budskap med starkt kritiska anslag mot dagens omfattande politiska och ekonomiska korrupktion. Studien argumenterar för att det är just användandet av språk med "historisk temporalitet" och därmed distans från dagens politiska röster, som ger kraft och uttryck åt ungdomarnas protestbudskap. Samtidigt som det är det "marginella" i att använda afrikanska språk som är det verkningfulla i sammanhanget, bidrar detta i sig till en ökad marginalisering av språken.

Studierna påvisar sålunda värdet av temporalitet för att förklara de afrikanska språkens fortsatta marginalisering. Ett fokus på temporalitet möjliggör en undersökning av de språkideologier som produceras av de olika politiska regimer som avlöst varandra i Moçambique, liksom hur det offentliga rummet använts för att upprätthålla dessa ideologier. Slutligen är en förståelse av hur temporalitet används för att inrama politiska budskap i den globala hip-hopkulturen av betydelse för att förstå hur det marginella reproduceras som en del av ett samhälle i politisk utveckling.

Avhandlingen tar således upp problemet med den vanligt förekommande diskursen kring moçambikisk språkpolitik som till följd av den ökande liberaliseringen (och marknadsföringen) av moçambikisk politik, ekonomi och samhälle endast ser en linjär förbättring i status för de afrikanska språken visavi portugisiska. Arbetet bidrar samtidigt till ett nytt perspektiv på språkpolitiskt arbete som understryker nödvändigheten av att ta hänsyn till subtila språkideologiska diskurser och hur de omsätts och reproduceras i olika vardagliga sfärers språkpraktik. Denna avhandling öppnar nya forskningslinjer om flerspråkighet i Moçambique genom att hävda att lokala moçambikiska språk förblir marginaliserade trots att motsatsen skenbart är för handen.

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