2017

The Role of Sound Recordings in the Revitalisation of Minority Languages of the Ainu People (Japan) and the West Frisians (the Netherlands)

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THE ROLE OF SOUND RECORDINGS IN THE REVITALISATION OF

MINORITY LANGUAGES OF THE AINU PEOPLE (JAPAN) AND

THE WEST FRISIANS (THE NETHERLANDS)

by

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A thesis submitted to Plymouth University
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Geography, Earth and Environmental Sciences

July 2016

Copyright Statement

Abstract

This thesis explores the use of sound recordings in the revitalisation of two minority languages – the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (the Netherlands). Over the last few decades, a growing concern about linguistic diversity in the world has led to an increasing awareness of minority languages, which are endangered by loss. The concept of language revitalisation calls for work which will affect the vitality of these languages. The nature of these revitalisation efforts is inscribed into place-related processes and the interpretations of the relationships between language speakers and the place they live in. Sound recordings can afford language revitalisation with the restoration of sounds of languages. This thesis argues that the heart of language revitalisation lies in the re-sounding of place attachment and sense of place. The selection of the two language cases studies, which allow for the multi-faceted use of sound recordings to be revealed and understood, constitutes an important part in the search for an understanding of these interconnections. Based on these two language case studies, which contrast in degrees of language endangerment, this research analyses how and why sound recordings engage in the processes of language revitalisation. Qualitative methods of research, encompassing forty one semi-structured and episodic interviews conducted in Japan and the Netherlands along with observations and secondary data analysis, were used in this study. The comparative approach revealed similarities and differences in the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages and the practices of using sound recordings. Importantly, this thesis demonstrates that the significance of sound recordings arise from their capability of creating aural experience of the language, which empowers both processes of language revitalisation with the restoration of place attachment and sense of place. This finding represents a key contribution to the research of linguistic and geographical knowledge about the revitalisation of endangered languages, the role of technology in language revitalisation and to the debate on saving linguistic and cultural diversity in the world.

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Acknowledgements

Author's declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Graduate Committee.

Relevant scientific seminars and conferences were regularly attended and work was presented at The Fifth Asian Conference on Cultural Studies, Kobe, Japan (28th - 31st May 2015).

Word count for the main body of the thesis: 79,393.

Signed ………………………………….

Date …………………………………….

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research background

1.1.1 Geographies of languages

Within the last couple of decades ongoing debates on languages in the world have uncovered changes in the linguistic landscape, locally and globally. Some languages have risen to dominance, being spoken widely across the world and enlarging the boundaries of usage. Simultaneously, hundreds of languages are disappearing in almost every part of the world (Grenoble and Whaley, 1998, 2006; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Tsunoda, 2006; Evans, 2010; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Currently, these changes have reached a high level, and concerns about languages falling into disuse have been formulated under the term of 'language endangerment' (Krauss, 1992; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Tsunoda, 2006; Romaine, 2007; Austin and Sallabank, 2011; Costa, 2013a).

The *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, which is accessible online, is a unique interactive map which locates languages throughout the world that are in danger of disappearing (Moseley, 2010; Figure 1.1). The Atlas illustrates an important message of how linguistic diversity in the world together with cultural wealth and important ancestral knowledge is in serious danger (Moseley, 2010). The size of this problem is also recognised as evolving at an

unprecedented rate. It is estimated that at least half of the world's languages will disappear by the end of the 21st century (Crystal, 2002; Romaine, 2007).
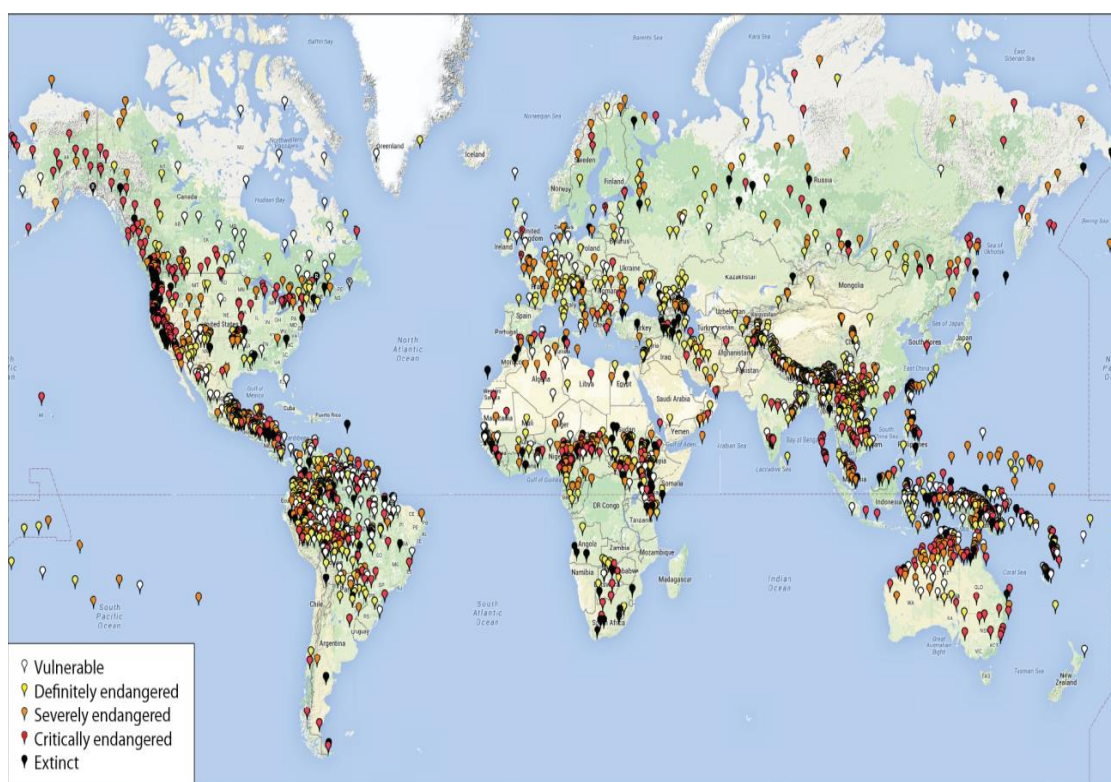
Figure 1.1 The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (source: Moseley, 2010)

The statistics of this phenomenon illustrate the ongoing linguistic erosion. The 18th edition of *Ethnologue*, the catalogue of encyclopaedic information on languages, estimates the existence of 7,105 languages presently spoken in the world (Lewis et al., 2015). 6% of them have at least 1 million native speakers, which mean that approximately 426 languages are spoken by 94% of the world's population. The remaining 94% of the world's languages are spoken only by 6% of the world's population. Considering this data, it appears that the vast majority of languages are spoken by minority groups of people.

Within the period from 1970 to 2005 globally linguistic diversity diminished by 20% (Harmon and Loh, 2010). In some regions in the world the decline of indigenous linguistic diversity was much more remarkable: about 60% in the Americas, 30% in the Pacific (including Australia) and 20% in Africa (Harmon and Loh, 2010: 97-99). This geographic perspective makes it clear that languages threatened by loss are found across the whole world. Some of these languages may already have the last of its speakers, such as, for example, Manx Gaelic (the Isle of Man), Karaim (Lithuania), Yaeyama (Japan), or Dahalo (Kenya) (Moseley, 2010).

The *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* identifies that 231 languages are extinct (e.g. Dalmatian in Croatia; Ubykh in Caucasus; Tetete in Ecuador), 646 definitely endangered (e.g. Piedmontese in Italy; Quechua of Ancash and Huánuco in Peru; Kului in India) and 528 severely endangered (e.g. Picard in Belgium/France; Provençal in France; Kumāle in Nepal), 576 critically endangered (e.g. Parji in India; Yakkha in Nepal; Sawkna in Libya) and 598 vulnerable (e.g. Faroese in the Faroe Islands; Ixcatlán Mazate in Mexico; Moose Cree in Canada) (Moseley, 2010).

Such data reveals the exposure of geographically scattered populations with small numbers of speakers who face the danger of language loss. However, in light of the rapid decline in the use of languages in the world, the fact that increasing uniformity in the function of majority languages may lead to the situation where ultimately only one language will be spoken in the world poses a real concern (Tonkin and Reagan, 2003; Maurais and Morris, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Ó Laoire, 2008).

Such perspective implies a loss of linguistic diversity in the world together with the distinctive cultural wisdom of people (Woodbury, 1993; Evans, 2010; Gallegos et al., 2010), knowledge of local environment (Nettle and Romaine, 2000), lexical knowledge (Harrison, 2007); that is to say the whole cultural and intellectual legacy of people (Hale et al., 1992). At the heart of such claims is a concern that 'the extinction of a language is in fact a distressing matter, since the cultural tradition connected to it and the socio-cultural or even ethnic independence of the group that speaks it very often perish together with it' (Sasse, 1992: 7). This means that when a language is threatened by loss, it does not mean only a potential peril to a language. It is much more, as loss of language means loss of the creative ways in which people organise their lives (Tuan, 1991) and loss of the multitude of values attached to language which play a role in constructing ties of individuals with place (Williams, 1988, 1991). Therefore, language endangerment must be seen as a non-isolated phenomenon that if present, will take the deeper social and cultural losses. To determine the real scope of such losses one must look at the place where the language was prominently in use to discover the geographical links that will form much of its cultural and social significance.

1.1.2 Technologies of saving endangered languages

The discourse on the current state of languages has led to an intensification of efforts towards saving linguistic diversity in the world. In response, a number of programmes of revitalisation of endangered languages have been developed. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, levels of language endangerment vary from safe, vulnerable, definitively endangered, severely endangered, and

critically endangered to extinct (Moseley, 2010). In consideration of saving endangered languages, work on their revitalisation aims to change the degree of endangerment and move language into a more secure position. This is achieved through expanding language use into domains such as that of the home, school, neighbourhood and domains – not necessarily defined by specific boundaries, but constructed by social and cultural interactions (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994). Such work on the revitalisation of endangered languages addresses the need to create opportunities for interactions with language and to develop language resources which will support formation of language speakers. Accordingly, debates situate language documentation as a source for creating linguistic materials for language revitalisation purposes (Amery, 2009; Hinton, 2011b; Penfield and Tucker, 2011; Nathan, 2012).

Historically, over centuries language documentation was limited to the compilation of vocabularies or grammatical notes which were forged forward through dedicated and rigorous work and study by missionaries. For example, a written legacy of one of the first anthropologists, missionary Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), was developed through almost 60 years of ethnographic descriptions, dedicated work and the study of the Aztec language and culture (León-Portilla, 2012). However, in the late of the 19th century the invention of sound recording technology largely facilitated the language documentary practices (Boas, 1917; de Graaf, 2011). Franz Boas (1858-1942), a pioneer of the modern notion of language documentation, whilst writing on the awareness of documenting a language emphasised the value attached to the recording of speech events stating that:

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'Even when good written records are available, control by means of the spoken language is necessary, because the expression of the written language may differ considerably from the spoken form' (Boas, 1917: 2).

Recently, developments in recording technology have become increasingly integrated into practices of documenting data of languages and the concern regarding saving their distinctive properties (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996; Nathan, 2012). A number of projects and programmes have been developed to document languages endangered by loss, recording an array of linguistic phenomena across the world. These include the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (HRELP), the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP) or the Endangered Languages Archive Programme (ELAP) and many others (see Bird and Simons, 2003; Nathan and Austin, 2004).

Discourse in the literature on endangered languages, importantly indicates that when speakers of a dying language try to save their language, they want more than to shelve them in the archives (Hinton, 2001b; Quinn, 2011; Nathan, 2012). They are orientated more towards the retention and survival of their ancestral tongues (Farfán and Ramallo, 2010). The reason for this perception can be considered as follows:

'Preservation… is what we do to berries in jam jars and salmon in cans…. Books and recordings can preserve languages, but only people and communities can keep them alive' (Lord, 1996: 68).

This statement inspires to think about the strategies of using linguistic documentary records for language revitalisation purposes. It addresses a need for a wider perspective on linguistic data and their use; it illustrates the fact that speakers of endangered languages do not want to treat their language just like

'a list of objects existing in reality' (Alasuutari, 1995: 29). These native speakers indicate the importance of using the language and interactions with language, demonstrating in this way what language documentation should bring into work whilst revitalising languages. It is essential then to consider these voices and awareness of the intangible values embodied in sounds of the language. Fettes (1999: 32) has argued that:

> '…community consists, in essence, of such connections between expressed thought and lived experience: a dynamic cyclical relationship between the stories people tell about themselves and the ways they relate to one another and to the environment'.

The act of recording itself registers an encounter of sounds at a geographical location and at a given time (Feld and Brenneis, 2004; Thieberger and Berez, 2012). In doing so, a recording device serves largely as a medium which stores materials collected whilst documenting language. Significantly, however, the main technological achievements relates not only to enabling to record and preserve oral data of language but also providing the possibility to reproduce recorded sounds (Sterne, 2003). This epoch-making invention found application across the domains of people's lives and scientific disciplines (Brady, 1999; Sterne, 2001, 2003, 2012; Steffen, 2005; Brock-Nannestad, 2009).

What is more, the possibility of reproducing and repeating recorded data offer particular values for revitalisation of endangered languages. Sound recordings provide opportunities to hear, and listen to, sounds of languages which were found on the brink of extinction. Considering the fact that many endangered languages are spoken, with some not having a written system for their language (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998; 2006), it situates

sound recordings as the source which provides material evidence of phonetic articulation of spoken language (see Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996; Bhaskararao, 2004; Gippert et al., 2006; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Mosel, 2015). The materials sound recordings store can also be incorporated into reconstruction of language, elaborating linguistic norms for language and producing language resources (Amery, 2009; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Hinton, 2011b; Nathan, 2012). As will be discussed in Chapter Three, sound recordings can serve in discourses on the role of heritage in language revitalisation, supporting the awareness and recognition of the need to safeguard and revitalise oral and intangible heritage expressed in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Kurin, 2004, 2007; Moelants et al., 2007).

More recently, in the context of technological developments, a range of technologies that refer to systems and tools, such as CDs, CD-ROMs, audio files, radio, DVDs, web-based products, online dictionaries, or audio podcasts are used in language revitalisation programmes (Penfield et al., 2006). There has been a large body of academic work which focuses on information and communication technologies and revitalisation of endangered languages (e.g. Niedzielski, 1992; Warschauer, 1998; Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001; Galla, 2009; Hermes and King, 2013). However, despite the evident importance of technologically mediated practices of listening in the process of restoration of use of languages threatened by loss, little attempt has been made to tackle directly the issue linked to technologies and dissemination of the recorded sounds of languages.

What needs to be emphasised is that language documentation plays an important function in revitalising endangered languages through creating documentary records of oral language and delivery of materials that can be generated from these records for language revitalisation purposes (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; de Graaf, 2011; Nathan, 2012; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013). The capability to reproduce knowledge about a language might remain important in evaluating a language revitalisation process as its significance must be understood as creating opportunities through which language revitalisation may become possible and language use may evolve. This research thus argues that documenting a language itself initiates activities that may be a significant stage in the execution of a language revitalisation process. However, Nathan and Fang (2009: 1), reflecting on language documentation and revitalisation, state that 'there is a complementary – but largely unexplored – path of working out how documentary linguistics can support language learning and revitalisation'. There is thus clearly an idea about language documentation practices that plays a role in the process of language revitalisation that can support language revitalisation goals of moving language into a more secure position (Fishman, 1991). This deserves attention within this thesis.

In the literature on revitalisation of endangered languages, more attention is given to the creation of written forms of language, orthography and the process of language standardisation (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). Much less is known about the resources that provide the possibilities of experiencing sounds of the language and how they impact on the revitalisation of endangered languages. Exploration of how technologically mediated experience of language redefines

changes upon language revitalisation is important because it provides an opportunity to understand better the process of the restoration of use of endangered languages. Significantly, sound recordings by offering the possibility to experience the language, hear and listen to it, hold a mechanism in approaching revitalisation of languages which have lost or are losing these attributes (Spolsky, 1995).

Finally, taking together the possibilities rendered by sound recordings also stays in coherence with calls for a better understanding of the use of communication technology within the discipline of geography (Dixon and Whitehead, 2008). The connections between geography and technology have particular relevance to debates about the impacts of technology on people's lives (Dixon and Whitehead, 2008). Geographical literature has been more nuanced in seeking to understand and explain these relationships. Geographical work on communication technology, for example, has identified a potential influence of technology on transforming social and individual identities (e.g. Castells, 1996; Slevin, 2000; Hiller and Franz, 2004; Urry, 2007; Skop and Adams, 2009). This role of technology has special relevance to debates about revitalisation of endangered languages. However, despite the evident importance of technologically mediated practices in reclaiming language knowledge threatened by loss, little empirical attention has been given in the geographical literature to understand this linkage.

1.1.3 Towards understanding revitalisation of endangered languages

As noted previously and discussed in more detail in Chapter Two, language endangerment is a form of disruption in the relationship between language speakers and place they live in. The issues discussed under the language endangerment and decline in language use often enter the territory of emotions (Williams, 1991; Edwards, 1992, 2003) and are debated as the matters of language rights or language discrimination (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 1995; May, 2005, 2012). History is replete with cases where minority languages were restricted to be used under the linguistic politics of place (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 1995; Hornberger, 1998; May, 2005). For example, Basque was restricted in Spain under Franco's dictatorship from 1939 to 1975 (Zuazo, 1995); Galician, Catalan and many other languages in the world experienced the same problems (Williams, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 1995). Such cases stimulate critical reflection on the historical and political processes that could have potential impact on individuals' lives connected to loss of language. It is thus important to consider that language revitalisation needs to involve the understanding of a wider context of past experiences of people in the situation of the potential risk of language loss, which will contribute to orientating language revitalisation practices and managing the process of revitalisation.

In the literature on language revitalisation, however, this interconnectedness remains largely unexplained. Grenoble and Whaley (2006: ix) claim that 'an honest evaluation of most revitalisation efforts to date will show that they have failed'. It seems that although a number of language revitalisation cases have been examined, rarely do they uncover what makes sense of this process. The

reason for this omission might be because there is a tendency not to discuss the language matter with a due consideration of the meanings which place and the use of language create for language speakers. This thesis, therefore, seeks to understand their experiences in the situation of the potential danger of language loss in order to consider the work that needs to be done whilst revitalising endangered languages.

Significantly, within the discipline of geography there is a consensus on the importance of place to people. Apart from the meaning of place in terms of physical location, the concept of place has been refined by the viewpoints constructed upon the subjective and emotional attachments people have to place (e.g. Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976; Agnew, 1987; Eyles, 1989; Altman and Low, 1992). Accordingly, attention has been given to the construction of the relationships with place which led to the emergence of the concepts of sense of place (Tuan, 1974) and place attachment (Altman and Low, 1992). These concepts facilitate the understanding of place-related processes and people's experiences, giving an important opportunity to explore the revitalisation of endangered languages from a geographic standpoint.

What is more, the geographic interest in cultural expressions of people over territories and landscapes has found articulation in the term 'geographies of languages' which signals the manifold ways in which geographers have examined the spaces and places of various languages (Desforges and Jones, 2001). This linguistic turn in the discipline of geography resonates in both ways since it is recognised that geography is about the understanding of the world (Bonnett, 2003) and language is about people's thoughts that are pictures of the

world (Sprin, 1998). Perceptions of the world, in fact, are merged into linguistic codes. In considering these issues, it is crucial that language revitalisation to be examined from the perspective of the relationships between people, language and place. This is also important in relation to this thesis because understanding how experiences and interactions with technologically reproduced sounds of languages endangered by loss of domains of their functions may help shed light on the ways in which revitalisation may be designed in attempts to increase the vitality of endangered languages.

1.1.4 Selecting case studies

The selection of the Ainu case study for this research was inspired by the personal biography of the researcher whose particular interest relates to Japanese Studies and language documentation practices performed by the first scholars who lived among the Ainu in the early 20th century (presented in more detail in Section 4.5.3). The fact is that currently the Ainu language is recognised as critically endangered (Moseley, 2010). Consequently, I considered that this language case could be used to learn about the extreme outcomes of language endangerment and, as such, difficulties in language revitalisation work and a limited perspective on the use of sound recordings. From this starting point, I sought to find a second language case study which would represent a lesser degree of endangerment and thus reveal more about successful language revitalisation efforts. Initially, I took a geographic approach when looking for such a case. The juxtaposition of the location of Japan across the seas turned my attention to the Netherlands. A number of contrasts in the size of areas, demographic categories and extreme features of physical

environments appeared in relation to Japan. The geographic juxtaposition also contributed to finding the language case which represents achievements in language revitalisation efforts. According to *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger,* the minority language of the Netherlands, West Frisian, is recognised as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010). This means that the West Frisian language is used and spoken across a range of domains (Fishman, 1991). This also suggests that individual experience within the West Frisian language case study is likely to be entirely different than in the case of the Ainu language. Moreover, the more secure position of the West Frisian language could potentially provide opportunities to collect rich and detailed data and to gain a deeper understanding about the role of sound recordings and their multi-faceted use in language revitalisation. Thus, as a result, the juxtaposition of geographical location of Japan brought interesting observations and contributed towards the selection of the language case which may confront the data related to the Ainu language case and add strength and enable in-depth study.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

Following from the outline of the research background and in an attempt to address the research gaps in current research, the aim of the present study is to explore the use of sound recordings across two case studies contrasting in degree of language endangerment, and to understand people's experiences constructed upon their use in the context of language revitalisation. This aim will be addressed through focusing on two language cases – the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (the Netherlands) – contrasting in their scales of endangerment.

As previously noted and as will be subsequently discussed in more detail in Chapters Two and Three, sound recordings may benefit the process of language revitalisation and work on the restoration of connections with language. Accordingly, the study of the patterns in the use of sound recordings across languages differentiated by degree of endangerment aims to reveal multi-faceted use of sound recordings and to understand people's experience constructed upon their use in the contexts of language revitalisation. Alongside this, as noted previously, considering the consensus within human geography about the importance of place attachment in people's lives whilst organising places they live in (e.g. Altman and Low, 1992; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Hernández et al., 2010), this study suggests that the heart of the language revitalisation lies in the re-sounding of place attachment and sense of place. The interconnections between the functional utility of sound recordings and language revitalisation practices remain thus under scrutiny in this thesis and hold promise to further the understanding of these relationships.

To achieve the aim of this thesis an investigation will be carried out accordingly to the following research objectives:

> **1.** To explore the use of recording devices in past activities of language documentation across the Ainu and West Frisian case studies to develop an understanding about people's experiences and responses to the potential danger of language loss.

> **2.** To explore the use of archival sound recordings and their impact on the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages.

> **3.** To explore the opportunities created by sound recordings in language learning practices and the domains of socio-cultural interactions in the context of the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages.

Building on the aim and objectives of this research, this study will provide insight into the role of sound recordings in revitalising endangered languages to better understand language revitalisation processes. A more comprehensive description and organisation of the thesis' structure is provided below.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis and chapters

The following two chapters review the key literature relating to the subject of this thesis. Chapter Two provides a literature review which discusses conceptual understandings of language revitalisation. The discussion draws upon considerations of the connections between language endangerment and revitalisation, and existing geographic knowledge regarding the concepts of place attachment and sense of place. Following this discussion, Chapter Three provides a review of literature on sound recordings and identifies the key themes with reference to sound recordings in approaching revitalisation of endangered languages.

Chapter Four discusses a comparative case study approach adopted in this research and the justification for selecting two contrasting cases in this research, and the research methods used in this study in order to meet the aim and objectives in exploring the role of sound recordings in the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages. The research methods and consideration of the semi-structured and episodic interviews, observations and secondary data are identified as most appropriate for meeting the research objectives. This Chapter explains how the data were analysed. The ethical issues and limitations associated with the research are also considered.

The following Chapters, Five, Six, Seven and Eight present the data analysis by exploring the use of sound recordings in language revitalisation practices across the case studies. Chapter Five explores the use of recording devices in language documentation activities from a historical perspective to set up the context for discussions on the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages. This chapter begins with an analysis of language documentation practices across both case studies in response to the danger of language loss, focusing on how and why recording devices became interwoven into these endeavours. It will be shown that the use of recording devices supported the desire of individuals to save the distinctive properties of languages and provided possibilities to prevent the disadvantages associated with language endangerment which limits the aural experience of language. The following chapters explore the use of sound recordings in the contexts of the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages. Chapter Six focuses on archival sound recordings and their impact on revitalisation processes across both case studies. Chapter Seven discusses the functional utility of sound recordings in situated practices of language learning. Chapter Eight extends the discussion and examines how sound recordings engage with revitalisation in the domains of social and cultural interactions.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis and discuss the research findings in the wider context of debates on saving linguistic diversity. Here, in particular, I consider the implications of findings on understanding language revitalisation. I also explain how the research objectives have been addressed.

Chapter 2

Language revitalisation and the concepts of place

2.1 Introduction

The short discussion in Chapter One emphasised the need to study language revitalisation in the wider context of the relationships between people and place. As also described in the introductory chapter, sound recordings can be considered to be particularly important in attempts to revitalise languages endangered by loss. The following Chapters Two and Three will provide a review of the relevant literature in order to situate the research. This Chapter begins with a review of the literature relevant to language endangerment to explore the concept of language revitalisation and the geographical work regarding the theoretical themes on place recognised as important for understanding people's experiences in the context of disruptions to place-related processes. This includes consideration of the concepts of sense of place (Tuan, 1974) and place attachment (Altman and Low, 1992). Chapter Three will provide a review of literature on sound recordings and their relevance in approaching language revitalisation.

Hence, the first section of this chapter will discuss the concept of language revitalisation stemming from the relevant field of study associated with language endangerment (Fishman, 1991; Fernando et al., 2010; Hinton, 2011a; Costa, 2013a). The ways in which language endangerment is described and assessed

imply a broad perspective on the state of languages and frame the context for discussion about their revitalisation. The key element which has emerged from the discussion on the state of languages considers language revitalisation as a reaction to language endangerment (Costa, 2013a). In this context, the next section will discuss the issues recognised as important in language revitalisation work and will relate them to constructing linkages between language and the domains of its use (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994) in order to move language into a more secure position (Fishman, 1991). Since these aspects particularly apply to the need to understand people's experiences in the threatening situation of potential danger of loss of language, Section 2.4 will provide a review of geographical literature on the concepts of place that explain the complexities of constructing relationships between people, language and place. This section will focus on studies which explore the impacts of place on people's lives and its significance in shaping place attachments. Finally, Section 2.5 presents conclusions from the review of the literature concerning language revitalisation and the geographical work on the themes of place attachment and sense of place in exploring people's experiences in a context informed by endangerment of languages and their revitalisation.

2.2 Contextualising work on the revitalisation of endangered languages

As outlined in Chapter One, language revitalisation is a wide field which carries a spatial dimension emerging from the past. The literature engaged with saving languages proposes many terms to describe efforts undertaken towards

revitalisation of endangered languages (see, e.g. Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994; Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001; Zuckermann and Walsh, 2011). With due regard to this, it is worth reflecting, at this point, on associated terminologies to establish understanding of the meaning and the field upon which language revitalisation practices are conducted. The arising complexity is drawn from the relevant area of study associated with language endangerment which provides the framework for discussion about language revitalisation.

2.2.1 Defining language revitalisation

The revival terminologies used in the literature on saving endangered languages reveal approaches that leave the readers with an idea that language revitalisation involves many challenges. An array of terms used in a substantial body of research appears to be associated with concerns and efforts which aim to restore the existence of languages endangered by loss. Among the terminologies are such as, for example, revival (Marshall, 1994), renewal (Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001) or reclamation (Zuckermann and Walsh, 2011).

These terminologies communicate types of interventions that reveal efforts 'not to let [a language] die' (Hinton, 2011a: 311), but the reasons for using different terminologies are not fully understood. This can be because the problem of language loss has been developing only since the early 1990s when attention on this issue emerged through the Krauss' (1992) publication *The World's Languages in Crisis*. In his conclusions, Krauss (1992) estimated that 90% of the world's languages would disappear, if linguists will not mobilise their efforts to prevent linguistic destruction in the world and to save the remaining

languages by recording them. This was pioneered by a few relevant works on language revitalisation published earlier (e.g. Wallace, 1956; Koessler-Postal, 1965). Nonetheless, a growing body of literature observed since the 1990s presents cases of revitalisation of languages differential by degrees of threat of language loss, further discussed in Section 2.2.3. This may explain the use of various terminologies linked to revitalisation of endangered languages; although, some researchers have argued that language revitalisation involves, to some extent, overlapping processes (Hornberger and King, 1996).

What is more, language revitalisation cases presented in the literature illustrate how language revitalisation efforts have been developed – deepening conceptual understanding of language revitalisation (e.g. King, 2001; Hinton, 2011a). King (2001: 23), for example, has asserted that revitalisation 'might target the language structure, the uses of the language, as well as the users of the language'. Hinton (2011a: 291) has posited a more comprehensive definition arguing that the concept of language revitalisation centres on efforts that aim towards 'bringing endangered languages back to some level of use within their communities (and elsewhere) after a period of reduction in usage'. In this sense, understanding of language revitalisation remains connected to restoring language use which counts for the notion of Fishman's (1991) concept of reversing language shift which, according to Fernando et al. (2010: 49), 'is now generally referred to as language revitalisation'.

An important note here is that the dynamics in language use is termed in the literature on language endangerment as 'language shift' as a derivative process which results in changes within the function of a language that involve

'contraction, reduction, simplification and loss' (Dorian, 2010: 99). In effect, the language shift is marked by a decrease in language use through the withdrawal of language from domains in which the language functioned, such as family, neighbourhood, social, cultural and economic interactions or spiritual domains where religious practices occurred (Fishman, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998, 2006; Tsunoda, 2006; Harrison, 2007). This progressive decline in using language across domains in which language formerly functioned implies the reduction of the possibilities of interactions with language, loss of lexicon, grammar and sound systems of language (Woodbury, 1993; Williams, 1988, 1991; Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Amery, 2009; Evans, 2010), and eventually the transmission of language between generations (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Hinton, 2003).

On this basis, Paulston et al. (1993: 276) have argued that language revitalisation is the act of 'imparting new vigour to a language still in limited or restricted use, most commonly by increased use through the expansion of domains'. Similarly, Marshall (1994: 24) has asserted that it is the matter of 'the adding of new domains'. It is important that these approaches provide an account that language revitalisation is considered as a process aligned with the 'restoration of vitality to a language that has lost or is losing this attribute' (Spolsky, 1995: 178) which needs to be seen in relation to expanding language use into domains. This means that reversing language shift carries a number of demands. There is, therefore, a need for a greater understanding of the field upon which language revitalisation practices occur.

2.2.2 Experiencing demise of language

In discovering causes that lead to a decline in language use, the literature lists a number of reasons. Decline in language use rarely results from one or two factors. Instead, it derives form a constellation of a variety of factors that act at the same time. For Fernando et al. (2010) the factors which induce language decline are largely political, cultural and economic. Brenzinger and de Graaf (2006: 3) claim that external forces such as 'military, economic, religious, cultural, or educational subjugation' are prime causes that induce language endangerment. Apart from these comprehensive classifications, *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* (Austin and Sallabank, 2011) proposes more detailed categorisation of causes.

The first category refers to factors of environmental origin, such as natural catastrophes – earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, droughts or floods. Examples of this mechanism are the languages spoken by the people of the Andaman Islands who were seriously affected by the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami in 2004[1] (Austin and Sallabank, 2011). The other category of causes of language endangerment includes those which result from violent acts conducted by people, such as that of war and genocide. Examples of this are the languages of the indigenous population of Tasmania which vanished in consequence of European colonisation (Nettle and Romaine, 2000), and many extinct and endangered languages of the Americas where indigenous peoples have been subjected to genocidal violence, including El Salvador (Austin and Sallabank, 2011) or the Miskitu language in Nicaragua and the Mayan

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[1] The Andaman Islands form an archipelago in the Bay of Bengal. The great Sumatra-Andaman earthquake and tsunami occurred on 26 December 2004; more than 175,000 people died and almost 2 million people were affected (Sumathipala et al., 2006).

languages of Guatemala affected by civil war (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). This categorisation of language endangerment overlaps with the next category which recognises political repression as the main factor of language shift. Some examples can be added here, like the repression of Kurdish in Turkey or Albanian in Kosovo (Austin and Sallabank, 2011).

The last category of causes of language endangerment, recognised as the most common source of language endangerment, includes factors arising from cultural, political and economic supremacy of a dominant language group which eventually leads to the marginalisation of minority languages (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Hinton, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Hinton (2003), for example, has argued that indigenous languages and cultures are the victims of globalisation due to consequently losing connections to language and cultural practices. As noted in Chapter One, the statistical figures make us aware that some languages have become dominant or so-called 'global languages', meaning that they are spoken widely in the world, enlarging territories of their usage and affecting minority languages (see, e.g. Tonkin and Reagan, 2003; Maurais and Morris, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Ó Laoire, 2008). In such cases, a particular language and culture may be abandoned by individuals (on behalf of themselves and their children) in favour of another more prestigious language; examples of this kind of endangerment are the Manx (the Isle of Man), Quechua (South America) or Sorbian languages (Germany) (Harrison, 2007; Austin and Sallabank, 2011).

This brief reference to causes of decline in language use shows that an actual threat to the linguistic landscape may be brought about by various factors. The

implications then, whilst working towards the revitalisation of languages endangered by loss, involve acknowledgement that this process is aligned with a situation of decline, where a particular linguistic culture ceased to maintain its language or gave up a language in favour of a more widely spoken language (Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Although in its simplest form it may suggest that the choice of language by individuals leads to the replacement of language, it implicates the idea of endangerment to language which has an impact on linguistic behaviours, impoverishment of language function and decrease of a range of linguistic, cultural or social processes (Sasse, 1992; Woodbury, 1993; Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Fettes, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Consequently, such a situation may give rise to negative feelings among language speakers.

The literature on language endangerment provides accounts which evidence disruptions in language use and intergenerational transmission (e.g. Fishman, 1991, 2001; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Hinton, 2003), finding that language endangerment is connected with frustration, feelings of isolation and regret (Harrison, 2007; Valijärvie and Wilbur, 2011; Austin and Sallabank, 2011), traumatic and dramatic experience (Baker, 1992), devaluation and destruction of language (Russell, 2002) or disorientation and social frustration (Choi, 2003). It can be expected then that language revitalisation processes should act to disentangle negative experiences which led to the abandonment of language.

2.2.3 Considering typologies of language situation

A variety of terminologies used to describe states of languages can be found in the literature on language endangerment. Some authors refer to 'language death' to term the extremity when a language is not spoken any more (e.g. Hill and Hill, 1977; Dorian, 1981; Brenzinger, 1992; Crystal, 2002). This terminology is used, for example, when referring to the East Sutherland Gaelic in Europe (Dorian, 1981) or Nahuatl in Latin America, known by speakers as Mexicano and Aztec (Hill and Hill, 1977). Alternatively, languages with no speakers but documented and archived are defined as 'sleeping' or 'dormant' languages (Hinton, 2011a). The examples of those are languages spoken in North America (Baldwin and Olds, 2007), including Mutsun – the language which was spoken in California, south of San Francisco (Warner et al., 2006).

The above descriptions communicate various states in which languages have been found. Due to the nature of language it is difficult to assess and measure the degree of language impoverishment quantitatively. However, considering trends in using the language in certain domains, the UNESCO introduced terminologies that describe degrees of peril for languages and these vary from safe, vulnerable, definitively endangered, severely endangered, and critically endangered to extinct (Moseley, 2010; Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Typology of language endangerment according to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (source: Moseley, 2010)

The UNESCO's typology of language endangerment provides understanding that language revitalisation work concerns different stages of language endangerment and can be conducted under different language situations. Descriptions of the degrees of endangerment propose possible guidelines which may organise work whilst pursing language revitalisation. It is, thus, likely that revitalisation of a language which is at a critical stage of endangerment, because of little knowledge about the language and limited number of speakers, will be more difficult. Understanding of a language's state is important for language revitalisation work and therefore some researchers developed frameworks to facilitate the evaluation of the state of affairs of a threatened language.

Edward's model (1992; Figure 2.2), for example, determined a range of variables that refer to areas where language shift potentially occurred, including demography, sociology, linguistics, psychology, history, political, geography, education, religion, economics, and technology. The framework proposed by Grenoble and Whaley (2006; Figure 2.3), instead, uses the macro and micro perspectives, wherein macro level issues are understood mostly as related to legislation, governmental support, language planning, and attitudes towards bilingualism, and micro level issues linked to demographics, attitudes, and cultural practices. The authors also added an extra level which is generally integrated with globalisation. As noted in Chapter One, there is an important reason for this because of the expansion and growing dominance of some languages throughout the world and a strong tendency to use a global language that can play the role of a lingua franca represent an unprecedented phenomenon in the world's history (Krauss, 1992; Crystal, 2002; Romaine, 2007).

Another model of typology of language states was proposed by Giles et al. (1977), named ethnolinguistic vitality, organised around three structural categories: demographic, institutional support and status. As Figure 2.4 presents, each of these components is divided into several sub-components which also aim to facilitate the analysis and explanation of a language situation. The framework has been used broadly by researchers whilst evaluating situations of minority languages (e.g. Yagmur and Kroon 2003; Draper, 2010).

Categorization A		Categorization B	
	Speaker	*Language*	*Setting*
Demography	1	2	3
Sociology	4	5	6
Linguistics	7	8	9
Psychology	10	11	12
History	13	14	15
Political	16	17	18
Geography	19	20	21
Education	22	23	24
Religion	25	26	27
Economics	28	29	30
Technology	31	32	33

Figure 2.2 Edward's (1992) evaluative framework of states of minority languages (source: author adapted from Edwards, 1992)
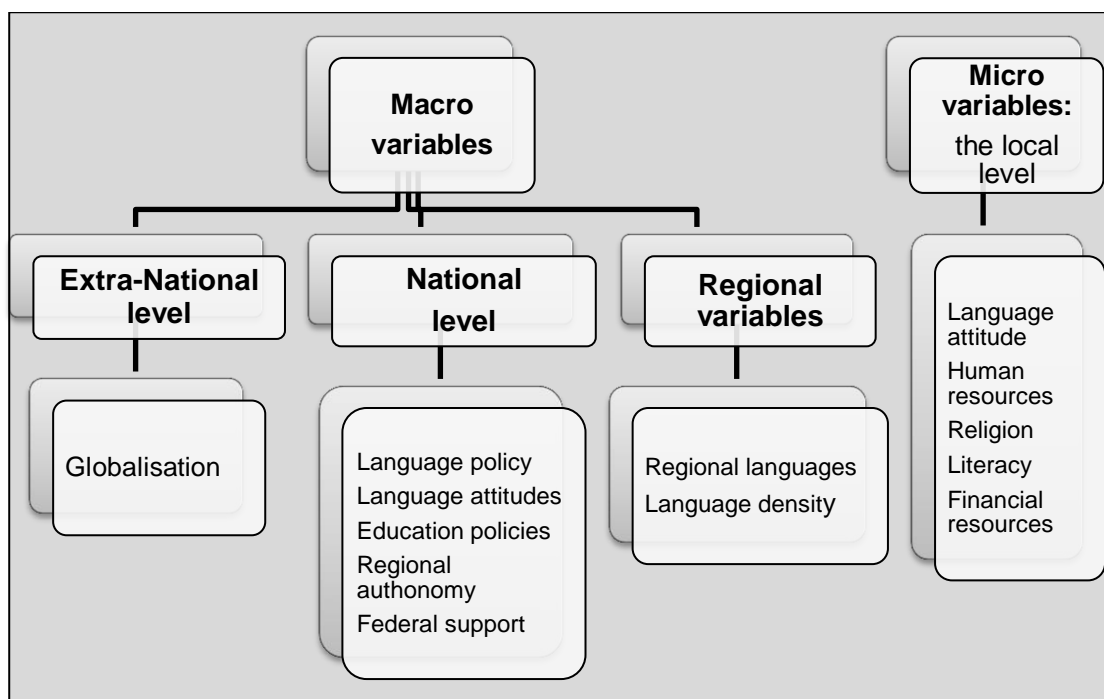
Figure 2.3 Framework for the evaluation of states of minority language proposed by Grenoble and Whaley (2006) (source: author adapted from Grenoble and Whaley, 2006)
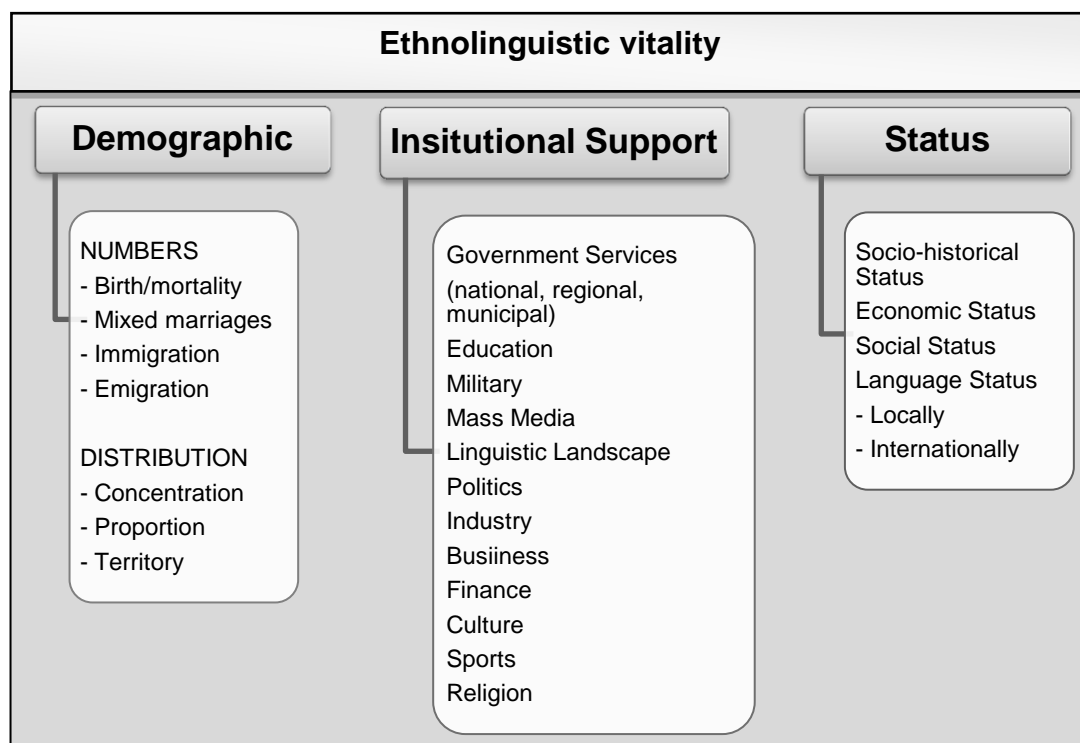
Figure 2.4 Taxonomy of the variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (source: author adapted from Giles et al., 1977)

Looking at the main merit of the presented models, a diversity of factors has been identified suggesting that a state of language is bound with a number of variables in complex ways. Along with describing the multitude of related issues, these models offer a perspective on language situations which intimately refer to various dimensions of place-related characteristics: geographical, demographical, historical, political, economic, social and cultural. Accordingly, the degree of language endangerment can differ depending on the context of the specific case and a range of variables outlined in the models for assessing language situation. In effect, language endangerment can be recognised as disruptions to place-related processes and it appears that language revitalisation contends with the whole legacy of political, historical or social changes, happening over time, manifested in an endangered state of language

(Hinton, 2003; Romaine, 2007; Fernando et al., 2010; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Therefore, it can be said that the concept of language revitalisation, although standing in opposition to language endangerment, needs to be recognised as part of the same language shift. Costa (2013a: 317) rightly notices that the term 'language revitalisation' needs to be understood as 'reaction to language endangerment'.

2.2.4 Evaluating developments in language revitalisation

Along with defining variables that can characterise a state of language, a significant amount has been written on how to diagnose and predict progress in revitalisation of a language. The most known instrumental framework that theoretically underpins revitalisation practices, and is recognised as a diagnostic tool for revitalisation efforts, is the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (hereafter: GIDS) introduced by Fishman (1991). It provides characteristics of the language function which serves as a guide for prioritising such efforts. It consists of eight stages, as outlined in Table 2.1, which should be read from bottom to top. Stages 8 and 7, which are the lowest ranks in the scale, imply transmission of language between generations as essential part of succeeding in revitalisation efforts. Stage 6 shifts the focus onto developing communication and demographic aspects of language transmission; stage 5 places the attention on developing literacy in home, school and community. Further stages concern developments in language function.

Table 2.1 The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (source: adapted from Fishman, 1991: 88-109)

Scale of Endangerment	Description
1	The language is used in higher education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level; oral and written literature developed to promote the language;
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services; language is promoted through radio and televisions programmes;
3	The language is used for local and regional work by the community members;
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education; language textbooks to teach literacy are developed;
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community; minority language is part of programs in the schools and other community institutions to improve the use of the language;
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children in home and surrounding environment;
7	The language is used by elders but the language is not transmitted to their children;
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation;

Conceptualisation of work on endangered languages within GIDS demonstrates that a goal of language revitalisation strategies is to move a language into a higher stage on the endangerment scale. The efforts involve introducing the language to new domains. The domains vary in geographic scale: home, school, or neighbourhood. They refer to particular places, which not necessarily have specified boundaries, but are important in people's lives as stage of everyday life activities, and because these places afford opportunities for social and cultural interactions. Predominantly, however, spatial connections to the domains are drawn upon the active use of language. This means that the

values which underpin the processes of revitalisation of endangered languages are connected to the restoration of various communicative and performative functions of language and the creation of opportunities for interactions with language. There is, therefore, a need to contextualise language revitalisation processes in relation to the developments of knowledge about the language in restructuring language endangerment.

2.3 Towards enhancing language revitalisation

As discussed above, the presence of language in a new domain indicates progress in language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991). However, proceeding with language revitalisation work requires language planning strategy and language documentation projects that will support the agenda for reconstructing language, namely its vocabulary, grammar and phonological system (Amery, 2009; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Hinton, 2011b; Nathan, 2012).

The field of language documentation is concerned with creating records of language and production of dictionaries, grammars and linguistic texts which form the core outcomes of language documentation practices (Gippert et al., 2006; Mosel, 2012). There are, however, critiques which claim that printed resources 'create an illusion of great work being done for the language' (Quinn, 2011: 1). In this vein, some researchers call for a greater participation of professionals in order to contribute to better documentary records and language resources (e.g. Nathan and Fang, 2009; Amery, 2009; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Hinton, 2011a). Penfield and Trucker (2011: 292), for example, suggest that 'transformation of technical linguistically documented language into

workable, teachable language materials invites professionals trained in applied linguistics'. Importantly, language documentation projects organise the use of sound recordings (e.g. Hinton, 2001b; McConvell, 2003; Amery, 2009; Nathan, 2012) and the production of interactive resources which may serve language revitalisation purposes (e.g. Penfield et al., 2006; Scott, 2007; Galla, 2009; de Graaf, 2011; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Nathan, 2012; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013; Hermes and King, 2013; Jones and Ogilvie, 2013). The related issues will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. In this section, I will focus on aspects linked to organising language learning environment in the context of revitalisation of endangered languages.

2.3.1 Developing language skills

Without doubt, it is difficult to enhance the use of endangered languages without support from the State (Hornberger, 1998). Therefore, the concept of language policy and planning is considered in larger part in the literature on language revitalisation (e.g. Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 1998; Ricento, 2006; McCarty, 2014). However, some authors do not limit understanding of language planning only to activities undertaken by government or authoritative bodies. Cooper (1989), for example, opts for understanding language planning as encompassing interrelated processes which include:

- *status planning* – understood as deliberate efforts in order to influence functions of language;

- *corpus planning* – a range of activities relating to creation of new forms, modification, creation of linguistic forms, selection from alternative forms in spoken or written code;

- *acquisition planning* – directed towards spreading language use and developing all skills in language, speaking, writing, listening and reading.

This framework is implicitly concerned with creating opportunities to develop linguistic skills and enable individuals to practice and use language. It is linked to restoring the position of language in society (the first component: status planning), preparing educational materials for activities related to language acquisition, codification of a language (the second component: corpus planning) and expansion of language into domains of its potential use – the area which according to Haugen (1966) informs the field of language policy (the third component: acquisition planning). This discussion and addressing all these issues, both that of language policy and language planning, empowers language revitalisation to proceed with language documentation and work towards forming language speakers and increasing language skills.

Various studies acknowledge that language learning practices play a vital part in reversing language shift (e.g. Hornberger, 1998; Jones, 1998; Garcia, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Bale, 2010; Mosel, 2012). The issue which is broadly discussed in the literature on language revitalisation relates to the role of a classroom in developing language skills. For example, Jones (1998: 24) asserts that 'the role of the classroom in language revitalisation is highly notable' and perceives the school 'as the vehicle of language transmission'. However, not all researchers are convinced that language education is the remedy as it might seem to be. Bale (2010: 56), for example, opts for the 'need to look beyond the classroom'. In support of this claim, Garcia (2003: 22) notes that 'current research suggests that the use of ethnic language in the family and

friendship networks and its trans-generational transmission are still of crucial importance'. In this discussion, the case of revitalisation of the Hawaiian language may serve as an example that language learning operates at different levels and cannot be reduced only to formal settings. That is to say, Yamauchi et al. (1999) assert that establishing language educational programmes contributed to effective language revitalisation in the Hawaiian model, but Niedzielski (1992) adds that the home environment and the role of family were also significant attributes in achieving success in the Hawaiian case.

These empirical studies have elicited valuable information demonstrating that language revitalisation was effective in the home environment and beyond. Taking the aforementioned together, it can be assumed that language revitalisation relies on different contexts of interactions with language. Additionally, some authors highlight that an important aspect of language revitalisation processes is the enhancement of language acquisition through the creation of opportunities that make sense of using language (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013). However, as Fishman (1991) argues passing down the language between generations is essential for language revitalisation process. In this case, the idea which structures language planning relates to reconstruction of connections to heritage language (King, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Brinton et al., 2008; Hornberger and Wang, 2008).

Transmission of heritage values may be particularly important to help raise the vitality of language when, for example, the language is no longer spoken (Fishman, 1991, 2001). In such cases language revitalisation programmes rely on archived records of languages. Sallabank (2002), for example, found that the

case of reviving Manx[2] would not have been possible without the recordings of its last language speakers. Warschauer (1998) highlighted that revitalisation of the Hawaiian language was developed through the support of recordings of native-speaking Hawaiian elders. A range of linguistic materials were subsequently developed and the efforts resulted in the creation of the Lekï (Powerful Voice) Multimedia Bulletin Board System with traditional Hawaiian stories and songs disseminated through the Internet. Walsh (2010) also argued that publications and activities for the revitalisation of the Gumbaynggir [3] community in Australia were drawn on audio recordings of the ancestral language.

Whilst these cases recognise sound recordings and new media forms as the valuable components of language revitalisation processes, Cormack (2007) has questioned whether the presence of a minority language in the media or the Internet encourages people to speak the language. Grenoble and Whaley (2006: ix) have also argued that:

> 'There have been enough success stories to warrant optimism about the possibilities of taking a moribund (or extinct) language and moving it to a more vital state, but this is atypical. Creating orthography or producing a television program for children in a local language is a major accomplishment in its own right, but it will not revitalize a language'.

These arguments can be explained by difficulties arising from the facts that reversing language shift takes a considerable time, involves demands for recognition of political rights (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 1995; Hornberger, 1998;

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[2] Manx is also known as Manx Gaelic, Celtic language of the Indo-European language family, spoken by the Manx people. At present, a considerably small population of the Isla of Man can speak the language.

[3] Gumbaynggir tribe is one of the largest Australian Aboriginal group inhabited New South Wales area (Walsh, 2010).

Cottle, 2000; May, 2005) and a number of concerns and efforts to negotiate media space (Roth, 2000; Pietikäinen, 2008). However, sound recordings continue to be used in language revitalisation processes – although studies on their relative significance for language revitalisation process are limited. As noted in Chapter One, there is the need for research dealing with revitalisation of endangered languages to consider the relationships between the use of sound recordings and language revitalisation.

2.3.2 Motivating the desire for language learning

In considering strategies in the overall context of revitalisation, a number of researchers have pointed out that language is only part of the process and cultural awareness needs to be integrated into that process (e.g. Craig, 1992; Reyhner, 1999; Yamauchi et al., 1999; Christie et al., 2003; Walsh, 2010). For example, Reyhner (1999) sees language revitalisation as part of a larger attempt to retain cultural strengths. Other authors view language and culture as the necessary agents of the success in revitalisation programmes (e.g. Christie et al., 2003; Walsh, 2010). Walsh (2010) asserts that cultural awareness should underpin the education programme from its earliest days. In support of this view, Yamauchi et al. (1999) assert that a goal of the Hawaiian language revitalisation was to develop a strong foundation of Hawaiian culture and values which contributed to renewing social unity between speakers. Those studies conclude that language revitalisation cannot be perceived only as a tool for restoring vocabulary or increasing a number of speakers. According to Craig (1992: 23) 'revitalisation is not about recreating a community of native speakers', it is more

about reclaiming issues of human values which cannot necessarily be measured in the number of words or phrases learnt.

There are authors who expand this view and consider the issues related to identity, pride, self-esteem and empowerment which fosters motivations for reviving a language (e.g. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998; Dwyer, 2011). Generally, they claim that the motives underpinning revitalisation efforts are linked to restoring the issues alive in language and encoded in words and grammatical structures of a given language relevant to the local environment. In this sense, motivations that determine the revitalisation initiatives may be important. In support of this claim, Grenoble and Whaley (2006: 20) have highlighted that 'the overall success of any revitalisation program depends on the motivation of the future speakers and the community which supports them'. For Lo Bianco and Peyton (2013) motivation is also perceived as a force which raises desire for language learning. In this vein, Dwyer (2011: 220) has noticed that 'revitalisation efforts must be tailored to the desires of the community rather than simply assuming that high ratings on all factors are equally important'.

Further to this, several studies identified that experiencing the revitalisation of language raises positive feelings. Luning and Yamauchi (2010), for example, found that practicing the Hawaiian language and culture had impacts on spiritual recovery, belief and engagement among individuals. Jacobs (1998) also found that knowing the Mohawk[4] language raised the feeling of security

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[4] The Mohawk language is an endangered language spoken in the United States around New York and some parts of Canada in southern Ontario and Quebec (Jacobs, 1998).

among children. Valijär and Wilbur (2011) added that Pite Saami[5] language speakers shared joy and pride whilst having occasions to speak in their language. These findings remain in coherence with Wallace's (1956: 256) viewpoints that a revitalisation movement is about constructing 'a more satisfying culture'. Language revitalisation emerges thus as a process which needs to address psychological impacts.

However, although preceding literature identified positive effects of revitalisation of language, it lacks consideration that could put forward orientation towards better understanding and enhance processes of revitalisation of endangered languages. Addressing this issue requires a more focused attention on the phenomenon of language endangerment and understanding individuals' experience. However, there appears to be limited empirical research that examined people's experiences in a situation of potential danger of language loss and considered theories of place aligned with these narratives. This is important because the meanings that place holds for people implicate the affective relations and emotional bonds important in determining their attitudes towards place they live in (Hernández et al., 2010). Examination of language revitalisation from the prism of place-related relationships may be valuable for a better understanding of language revitalisation processes and orientating practices associated with the revitalisation of endangered languages. In addressing this gap, therefore, the following section will review the geographical work and the concepts of place which inform the approach to analysing

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[5] Pite Sami is an endangered language spoken in Northern Sweden (Valijärvie and Wilbur, 2011).

experiences of people within the place-related processes informed by endangerment of languages and their revitalisation.

2.4 Understanding restorative work on endangered languages

As outlined in Chapter One, place is one of the central concepts in geography. A number of human geography studies is concerned with the complexities of relationships between people and place, how places are constructed and how people become attached to places (e.g. Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977; Altman and Low, 1992; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Hernández et al., 2010). This includes the broad area of environmental meaning that plays a role in the formation of bonds with place (e.g. Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Kaplan, 1995; Brown and Raymond, 2007) and place identities (e.g. Relph, 1976; Proshansky et al., 1983; Bonaiuto, 2002). This also encompasses a wide range of related ideas and phenomena, including the past experiences and memories of those experiences (e.g. Chawla, 1992, 1993; Ryden, 1993; Hay, 1998) which have been drawn on the concepts such as place attachment (Altman and Low, 1992) and sense of place (Tuan, 1974). These approaches shape understanding that place is not only a bounded location or an arena of people's everyday activities, but also as 'a centre of felt value, incarnating the experience and aspirations of people… [that] provides *meaning* to that life' (Eyles, 1989: 109). This conceptualisation of place demonstrates that objective as well subjective aspects need to be considered in the understanding of place inhabited by people.

The concepts of place attachment and sense of place have been broadly used in research in the social sciences (Scannell and Gifford, 2010) and have been recognised as fundamental in understanding people's experiences in situations of danger to place-related processes which imply disruptions to the relationships between people and emotional attachments to place (e.g. Relph, 1976; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Fried, 2000; Brown et al., 2003). As already discussed, revitalisation of endangered languages refers to place-related processes that concern the restoration of language use after a period of disruptions in using language and the construction of 'a more satisfying culture' (Wallace, 1956: 256).

The geographic concepts of place may be thus used to explain people's experience that evolved from specific conditions associated with language endangerment and revitalisation. Therefore, in the following section I will provide a brief overview of theoretical themes related to the concepts of place attachment and sense of place which inform the approach to analysing people's experiences and responses in the specific context of revitalisation of endangered languages in this thesis. This also suggests that the geographical literature on place offers a valuable perspective and contribution to understanding the processes related to revitalisation of endangered languages by providing greater insights into the complexities of relationships between people, language and place.

2.4.1 The place concepts: place attachment and sense of place

A key idea that underpins the relationships between people and place formulated in the landmark book *Place Attachment* (Altman and Low, 1992) under the concept of place attachment refers to the phenomena of emotional bonding between people and the places they live in. This concept indicates that the construction of bonds with place involves the interplay of 'affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place' (Altman and Low, 1992: 5). Similarly, further publications provide understanding that place attachment entails the affective relations or the emotional bonds that local people have with places they live in (e.g. Giuliani, 2003; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Hernández et al., 2010). Importantly, these studies confirm that to be attached to a place is a fundamental human need and one which is overwhelmingly essential to people in managing places they inhabit (Relph, 1976; Eyles, 1989).

In the discourse on how place attachment is developed some authors highlight that bonds with place are formed through meaningful relations with place and experiences accumulated over time (e.g. Hay, 1998; Stedman, 2003a; Hernández et al., 2007). The phenomenon of place attachment is then described as arising from the interactions with place and the evaluation of the relationship between people and place in positive terms, giving psychological effects, such as fulfilment, satisfaction, belonging and pride (e.g. Fried, 1982; Gene, 2004; Shin, 2014). Place attachment appears to be in association with feelings of comfort and well-being (e.g. Stokols et al., 1983; Proshansky et al., 1983; Manzo, 2003; Brown et al., 2003) or security (e.g. Relph, 1976;

Davenport and Anderson, 2005). Some authors evaluate place attachment in relation to developing feelings of satisfaction (e.g. Fried, 1982; Gene, 2004; Shin, 2014) and pleasure (e.g. Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989). Hummon (1992) turns the attention to the importance of forming feelings of stability. In consequence, a range of positive feelings that count for place attachment entail actions and behaviours which may 'serve to maintain or enhance the location' (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983: 237) and work toward a sense of belonging to particular places and groups (e.g. Manzo, 2005; Pollini, 2005; Christensen and Jensen, 2011).

Whilst the length of residence is acknowledged as significant in the construction of bonds with place, a number of early studies have addressed the role and influential character of the natural environment on people's lives in development of place attachment (e.g. Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Altman and Wohlwill, 1983; Knopf, 1987; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989). Kaplan and Kaplan (1989), for example, in considering the history of people's evolution over time, noted aspects of adaptation to constrain of the natural environment as necessary for survival and organising shelter. Such perspective on the environment as integral for human existence and constructing ties with places was developed by further studies, highlighting that surrounding environments afford a sense of mutual dependency and advocating nature as the most important part of people's experience and activities (e.g. Altman and Low, 1992; Rodaway, 1994; Kaplan, 1995; Brown and Raymond, 2007).

This strand of research extends the understanding that the natural environment is a context for human perceptual imaginary. Visual observation seems to be

central to claims to geographical knowledge (Rose, 2012) which derives from the view that 'landscapes were the first human texts, read before the invention of other signs and symbols' (Sprin, 1998: 15). However, the very implication of the natural environment on people's lives has been challenged by phenomenological approaches. In particular, Tuan (1974) recognised that experiencing physical environment affects human imagination by bringing sensory stimulation and influences the growth of sense of place. Consequently, sense of place can be viewed as a sort of thinking about place and remembering, formed over time, through which individuals come to know the place where they live (Tuan, 1974, 1977).

Tuan also demonstrated in his seminal work, *Topophilia* (1974), that lasting appraisal of landscape may lead to developing a strong sense of place. This also involves bonds with place deeply felt by local inhabitants. There has been further suggestion in the literature that a strong sense of place involves strong feeling to a place constructed upon local roots, long-time residence, bonds to local knowledge and community (Lippard, 1997; Hay, 1998; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, 2006; Gustafson, 2001a, 2001b, 2006).

Since Tuan's (1974, 1977) works on sense of place drawn upon the recognition and contributions of the physical environment on people's lives and connections with the place, the focus on sense of place has become linked to exploration of the distinctiveness of local places. Lippard (1997), for example, found that sense of place is embedded in familiar histories and memories unique to a specific location. Ryden (1993) identified that sense of place is encapsulated in folklore or even a road sign of a particular place. Additionally, some studies

explained that sense of place is embedded in values, ideas, feelings, beliefs associated with a particular locality and sustained in diverse imageries (Lippard, 1997; Kaltenborn, 1998; Stedman, 2003b).

The increasing focus on sense of place influenced the approach which highlights that sense of place involves various place meanings shared by cultures (Kaltenborn, 1998: Hay, 1998; Alderman, 2008). In discussions on what makes place meaningful, Manzo (2005: 74) points out that meanings are formed from the 'experience-in-place'. Further to this, Stedman (2008) explains that meanings produce attachment. Kaltenborn (1998: 173) also suggests that sense of place is 'a collection of place meanings which express attachment to a place in a very broad sense'. Whilst these approaches in some way acknowledge that place attachment is a dimension of a broader concept of sense of place (e.g. Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001, 2006), Altman and Low (1992) suggest that, for example, the concept of place attachment, by referring to bonds between people and place developed on affection, cognition and practice, involves an analogous idea, that is sense of place.

Despite different organisation of approaches towards place-related concepts in the literature, a consensus may be drawn that the concepts of place attachment and sense of place provide understanding and insightful interpretation of the relationships between people and place. The aforementioned studies have elicited valuable findings about potential mechanisms by which place influences people's lives. These mechanisms are complex but generate processes which involve people's being in place (Casey, 1993). Essentially theories on place enhance understanding of people's bonds with places they live in and the

important role of interactional processes stemming from personal, psychological and place-related factors that contribute to the development of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

In terms of psychological engagement with place constructed over time, however, some authors highlight that interactive processes and repeated encounters in which 'memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings' are exchanged between people – underpinning a person's sense of self and sense of belonging to place (Proshansky et al., 1983: 60) and shape identification with place and others (Berg and Kearns, 1996; Nash, 2008; Anderson, 2015). This means that there is a need to consider locally-specific forces which affect development of these relationships and facilitate relations with a particular geographical area, including language.

2.4.2 Language as a cultural phenomenon of making place attachment

In the context of the interdependent relationships between people and place, Tuan (1974, 1977) has made several important points emphasising the meaningful role of sensory experience in lives of people, and that every place has its own distinctive 'senses' named by its inhabitant. While exploring the relationships with place within the Eskimos, Tuan (1974) has identified manifold expressions developed to describe different types of wind and snow. The author explained that Eskimos cross huge distances in the Arctic and the ability to interpret physical features of the environment, such as the sounds of ice

cracking, salt air, wind and snow was developed through their travels and physical experience of place.

These findings highlight that a language represents a cultural understanding of place (Williams, 1988, 1991; Haviland et al., 2013) and provides evidence that environmental factors experienced by people are mirrored in linguistic terms (Ryden, 1993; Duranti and Goodwin, 1992; Duranti, 1997; Malpas, 1999; Alderman, 2008; Everett, 2012). However, this perspective also offers understanding that many of environmental encounters and events stimulated the creation of language. Such process demonstrates the progress of thinking about the place and active engagement of individuals with place. Even more so, linguistic behaviours in response to the surrounding and physical environment illustrate the real needs of people to create language, and this reminds us about the importance of language and its role in making place (Tuan, 1991; Williams, 1988, 1991; Malpas, 1999).

In this context, the accompanying effect of language creation through place interaction unfolds a process of constructing environmental and cultural knowledge about a particular place (Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1991; Williams, 1988, 1991; Malpas, 1999). Some geographers have revealed much from analysing languages across a range of linguistic cultures which provide information on how people define a place they live in. Allen and Massey (1995), for example, suggest that indigenous people might measure distance in terms of how many hours it takes them to walk to a known place. Such perception is then used as measurement units when comparing the area where they live in with other

areas. It is then the word that holds meanings arising from experience linked to a sensual nexus of surrounding environment (Tuan, 1977).

This perspective offers the understanding about functioning language as a conceptual and intellectual map which preserves geographical location and people's experiences in a particular way. Further studies, including anthropological work on language, point out that the experiences of place are coded in the language – emphasising the role of senses. Several studies indicate that the ways in which senses are used in a given culture can be only understood in the context of that culture (Hall, 1969; Howes, 1991; Classen, 1993; Ackerman, 1996). Therefore, Danziger (1998) argues that to speak one's language requires positioning within a cultural meaning system held in that language.

Taking into account the ongoing theorising on what language is, one approach is built upon the view of languages as having their own unique concepts and sound images (Sweet, 1900; de Saussure, 1983). De Saussure (1983), for example, argues that the specific role of a language is related to thoughts which are transformed into sounds, linguistic units. In some way this approach provides understanding of what language is by explaining its embodiment in sounds. With regard to sounds, i.e. linguistic units, it needs to indicate that many sounds are not common for most languages spoken in the world. Unusual phenomena and sounds can be found and observed across linguistic cultures. The Mazateco Indians of Oaxaca in Mexico, for example, frequently used whistling when they bargained over the price. They did not use any word (Cowan, 1948). The characteristic feature of Oro Win, a moribund language

spoken in Brazil, is the use of a kind of trill of the lips, which does not occur in other languages in the world (Everett and Kern, 1997).

In addition, as outlined in Chapter One, a number of projects on endangered languages document changes in linguistic environments across the world and record sounds of human speech not presently known. Jones (2012), for example, discovered a variety of new phonological forms of Sercquais; the Norman dialect[6]. Campbell and Grondona (2007) documented sounds of Nivaclé – a language spoken in Paraguay and Argentina and not found in any other languages. Frank et al. (2008) discovered that the Pirahã[7], an Amazonian tribe has no linguistic method for expressing exact quantity. Foley (1991) provided valued documentation of the Yimas[8] language of Papua New Guinea.

All these accounts confirm that the production of language is highly contextualised in a place and constitutes a source of place-related knowledge. Ultimately, they attest that sound in its simplest conceptualisation is a means of communication (Sweet, 1900; de Saussure, 1983) and its use brings meanings to people's lives (Tuan, 1991; Finnegan, 2002). This is grounded in each language and a number of its distinct features, sounds and words. The linguistic terminologies across languages vary considerably. The apparent diversity of languages is not surprising. It is agreed among scholars that language through

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[6] Sercquiais also known as Sarkese or Sark-French is used in the Channel Island of Sark which is part of British Islands. However, geographical location, closer to France than UK, influenced linguistic history of this region and producing speech varieties. Currently, only 20 people use this language (Lewis et al., 2015).
[7] Pirahã is the indigenous language of the Pirahã people of Amazonas (Brazil) who live along the Maici River, a tributary of the Amazon (Frank et al., 2008).
[8] The Yimas language is spoken by the Yimas people of Papua New Guinea, and is recognized as having a variety of unusual linguistic forms and features. It has 10 or 11 noun classes (genders), and a unique number system. Four of the noun classes are semantically determined (male humans, female humans, higher animals, plants and plant material) whereas the rest are assigned on phonological bases (Foley, 1991).

the complexity of communication generates exchange of thoughts and meanings which act on the consciousness of speakers (Duranti, 1997; Finnegan, 2002). They may be meaningful and understood in one linguistic culture, and not necessarily in another (Tuan, 1974; Malpas, 1999). However, what is also common for all languages is that the use of developed ideas and concepts embodied in sound units affect the integration with place and others (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Williams, 1988; Desforges and Jones, 2001). This gives an important perspective on language as an interactive phenomenon (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992).

Drawing on this kind of approach, some scholars point out that place attachment arises from sociocultural practices and interactions by which meanings assigned to place come to be shared (e.g. Gustafson, 2001a, 2001b; Pollini, 2005; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Some studies have shown that language plays an important role in these practices and sociocultural interactions whereby sharing stories, talks, broad narratives, sung or recited performances empower the construction of attachment to place and others (e.g. Gerber, 1997; Bauman, 2000; Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005; Valentine et al., 2008; Williams, 2008). For example, Williams (2008) found that practices through which people exchange their experiences and share a range of place-related meanings and knowledge serve as a force that enhances attachment to places where they live and feelings of belonging to others. Bauman (2000) found that performing Icelandic legends have powerful affective abilities to evoke emotions and feelings among listeners that produce a sense of ties with place and others. In such practices, it is the space which carries sounds of language and the meanings, offering ways to interpretation of relationships with

place and others (Massey, 2004) and constructing feelings of security, continuity and creation of communities and attachment to places (Gustafson, 2001b). Specifically, Whiteley et al. (2004) indicate that in this process language has special significance and enables to socially transform the environment where people live, giving rise to feelings of collective linguistic solidarity. A related chain of thoughts highlights that:

> 'Language is a means that strengthens people's bonds to a place and bridges people like music that bonds displaced peoples, effectively shortens the geographic distance between them and providing a shared a sense of collective identity articulated by a symbolic sense of community' (Whiteley et al., 2004: 4).

Thus, the idea that structures the above issues might be viewed from the perspective of developing place-related identities. A range of studies on language endangerment highlight that language is a marker of identity (e.g. Fishman, 1991, 2001; Sayahi, 2005; Tsunoda, 2006; Austin and Sallabank, 2011; May, 2012). Austin and Sallabank (2011), for example, highlight that language remains one of the ways in which local people construct their identity. Tsunoda (2006: 140-142), giving an example of Aboriginal Australians, argues that language is 'a determiner of identity', 'a source of pride and self-esteem', 'a source of solidarity' and 'a source of sovereignty'. In addition, studies on sounds uncover the meaning of specific of sound symbolic words – ideophones[9], phonetic components which are profoundly culturally specific and play a role in constructing identities. Nuckolls (2004: 83), for example, investigating the use of ideophones in the linguistic culture – Quechua-speaking Runa, living in the upper Amazonian region of Ecuador – found that the use of ideophones is a

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[9] Ideophones phonetically imitate senses such as sound, colour, smell, action, state or intensity and the sound and noises derived from the ambient environment (Erhard Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz, 2001).

part of a complex cultural construction and the decline in their use by a member of the speech community means 'a desire to shed one's traditional identity'. These findings broaden the meaning of sounds as linguistic units which offer a form of identification with a linguistic culture.

In the geographical literature these relationships are recognised as being associated with the maintenance of identity at place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996), and with how place informs a sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983; Ash and Simpson, 2016). The view on language as a way on which people build their identity, is shared by various studies (e.g. Williams, 1988, 1991; Meinhof and Galasinski, 2005; Edwards, 2009). Some studies also suggest that the aspects related to place identity remain in close relation with place attachment and sense of place (e.g. Proshansky et al., 1983; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Hummon, 1992; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Hay, 1998; Davenport and Anderson, 2005). As Brown and Perkins (1992: 283) explain, for example, that 'attachment processes involve celebrations, routines, and creations of environments that serve to cultivate individual, family, and community identities'. Significantly, these practices are realised through language and transference of place-related knowledge and shared meanings. Language should thus be regarded not only as a marker of identity but also as something that comes to represent place, bonds with place and others. This appropriately situates the interactions with language in relation to the processes of developing place attachment and sense of place.

2.4.3 Disruption to place attachment and sense of place

The geographic literature on place, whilst tackling the complex processes of constructing bonds with place, reveals that the negative outcomes of some events constitute threat to place-related processes and may have implications on the attachment relationships. For example, studies which focus on responses to environmental disasters, such as the hurricane Katrina (Chamlee-Wright and Storr, 2009) or landslides (Brown and Perkins, 1992), found that dramatic events in people's lives can signal the growth of a sense of loss and discontinuity, leading to a decline in place attachment.

There has been wide acknowledgment in earlier studies on disruptions in place attachment that threats to the continuity and integrity of community are experienced negatively, and may result in feelings such as that of dissatisfaction, isolation, repression or fear (e.g. Fried, 1963, Rubinstein, 1993; Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009). In research concerned with community place attachment, Hummon (1992), for example, found that feelings of alienation and loss of rootedness to places led people to seek places where they can find restoration. Tuan (1977) identified that experiencing something that is not desirable may result in disruption to community cohesion or even loss of a sense of community. Some other studies also pointed out that such experiences may foster decline of residential bonds and ties with others and feelings of insecurity (e.g. Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). On this basis, these studies have grounded the understanding that a disruption to place attachment implies losses in the relationships with the past (Fried, 1963).

However, some authors have found that threat to the continuity of community attachment may give rise to active attempts to defend the relationships with place (e.g. Brown and Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Brown et al. 2003). This is likely because, as Brown and Perkins (1992) suggest, the relationships with place sustain emotional aspects and maintain the positive meanings which place has for its inhabitants. Moreover, whilst investigating political implications on shaping place identities, some authors revealed that people-place relationships are a profound manifestation of attachments people have to places they live in, where they share communal, ethnic or cultural bonds with others (McAuley, 1998; Fried, 2000). For example, in exploring the politics of place McAuley (1998) found that historical factors played an important role in the level of place attachment among older people in an African-American town, suggesting that individuals display emotional attachments to place and others in situations of danger or risk.

Studies, which focus on the politics of place and situate place meanings within relationships of power and contestation, follow the discussion on how ongoing globalisation processes restructure relationships between people and place (e.g. Robertson, 1992, 2003; Massey and Jess, 1995; Castells, 1996; Walsham, 2001; Wilson, 2012). Some of these studies identify technological developments as the major driving force in these processes (e.g. Walsham, 2001; Robertson, 2003). In response to the increased access to communication technologies, which allows for a fast communication and exchange of information in the world, a rich body of literature has emerged which refers to a time-space compression, movement and communication across space mediated by communication technologies and relates to the world as a whole (e.g. Harvey, 1989; Robertson,

1992, 2003; Massey, 1997 Jordan, 1999; Walsham, 2001). In addressing the context of the speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness the metaphor of a global village has been coined and used in the literature on globalisation (e.g. Walsham, 2001; Inda and Rosaldo, 2008). Several authors argue that, together with technological developments which facilitate communicative practices and affect people's everyday practices, mobility has become one of the features that define globalisation (e.g. Larsen et al., 2006; Urry, 2007; Adey, 2010). Further to this, geographical literature highlights the increasing impact of globalisation processes on the shift towards a global sense of place (Massey, 1997).

In considering how global forces have been affecting particular localities, some authors have critically engaged the view that globalisation has led to a decrease of cultural differences and connections to places through language, cultural practices or values (e.g. Massey and Jess, 1995; Carter et al., 2007). There are also studies which evaluate communicative practices and new ways of using diverse media and a range of interactive resources, suggesting that, for example, the Internet acts as a tool of cultural homogenisation and may have negative effects on social interaction (e.g. Robertson, 2003; Inda and Rosaldo, 2008).

On opposite to this strand of research, several studies argue that technologically mediated forms of mobility, such as Internet or television, by creating connections across space, affords users with varied meanings and may contribute to overcoming separation and increasing a sense of identity (e.g. Hiller and Franz, 2004; Urry, 2007; Skop and Adams, 2009). Skop and Adams (2009), for example, whilst exploring the effects of online communications and

websites among a group of immigrants to the United States from India, found that the use of Internet developed a sense of togetherness. In particular, Hiller and Franz (2004), whilst examining the use of computers in the context of migrants in Canada, identified that computer-based communication, bulletin board systems, email, and local news sites, permit the renewal of lost ties and contribute to producing a sense of local belonging.

Findings from these studies reveal that technologically mediated practices may have effects on the restoration of attachment relationships of particular groups of users. Evaluation of these practices is often described in terms of engagement with the content of resources (e.g. Skop and Adams, 2009). In addition, in discussions of technologically mediated environment some authors point out the importance of visual and auditory experience in explaining a higher level of performance of users and better knowledge acquisition (e.g. Nash et al., 2000). Although the effect of auditory modality on a restorative environment is still a largely undiscovered area (Blesser and Slater, 2007), importantly, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, studies on communication technologies suggest that it stimulates and enhances the level of engagement (e.g. Roth and Bruce, 1986; Kiousis, 2002; Newhagen, 2004). As noted in Chapter One and as will be discussed in the next chapter, sound recordings can afford opportunities for interactions with language in the situation when knowledge about language is often severely impoverished. Therefore, this thesis addresses the question about their role in the context of revitalisation of endangered languages and in saving language diversity in the world.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the present understandings of language revitalisation, highlighting that language revitalisation needs to be recognised as a relational process linked to language endangerment (Costa, 2013a). I have also presented strategies toward the revitalisation of endangered languages discussed in the literature which are aligned with:

- the need to expand the use of language into various domains (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994),

- the importance of cultural awareness in achieving progress (Craig, 1992; Yamauchi et al., 1999; Christie et al., 2003; Walsh, 2010),

- the design of language revitalisation in a way which could engage with the feelings and emotions of individuals (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013) to construct a more satisfying culture (Wallace, 1956).

Based on these conceptual understandings of language revitalisation, in the latter part of the chapter I provided a review of geographical work and the conceptions of place which inform analyses of people's experiences within place-related processes. Discussions of the concepts of place attachment and sense of place were connected here with questions of language and its role in developing relationships with place. More specifically, I outlined the necessity of the contextualisation of work on language revitalisation in relation to the developments of interactions with language and the restoration of place-related linguistic knowledge. This encourages further thinking about the interventions that sound recordings can make whilst revitalising languages threatened by loss. As noted, the major themes connected to sound recordings will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Sound recordings

3.1 Introduction

The review of literature in Chapter Two has identified that interventions of sound recordings can have impact on the processes of revitalising languages endangered by loss. It has also been highlighted that the understanding of relationships between people and place is vital to encourage advances in language revitalisation. In this chapter I will review the key themes connected to sound recordings and discuss how sound recordings inform the approach of this thesis in examining people's experiences in the context of language revitalisation.

In Section 3.2 particular attention is given to the emergence of sound recording and reproduction technologies in understanding the characteristics of sound recordings. This introduction provides an important context for the discussion in the following sections. Among the themes linked to sound recordings there are those which are linked to recovering historical narratives of place and this will be discussed in Section 3.3. The themes which address the reproduction of recorded sounds as well as the technologically mediated practices of listening will be discussed in Section 3.4. Finally, Section 3.5 will provide conclusions.

3.2 Technological identities of sound recordings

Presently, communication technologies are often characterised by their interactive nature (Rogers, 1986; Kiousis, 2002). Some authors argue that the dimension underlying the interactivity of modern technologies involves auditory and visual stimulants which are received and transformed into a perceptual experience (Roth and Bruce, 1986; Kiousis, 2002; Newhagen, 2004). In fact, the history of the sonic dimension of interactivity generated by communication technologies dates back to the first inventions of devices for recording sound starting from the phonautograph, the earliest known device constructed by French printer Edouard-Léon Scott de Martinville in 1857 (Sterne, 2001). Scott is claimed to be the first one to record sound. However, Wilkinson in the article *A Voice from the Past* (2014) revealed that it could only be heard for the first time in 2008:

> 'The oldest sound archeophonists have recovered is a proofreader of medical texts singing a folk song in Paris in April of 1860. As far as anyone knows, the proofreader, whose name was Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville, recorded sound before anyone else did. Scott embedded his voice in soot on a piece of paper. He never heard it. The means for playing back sound weren't invented until 1877, when Thomas Edison recorded himself on tinfoil. No one heard Scott until 2008, when Haber managed to play Scott's recording'.

Although attempts to reproduce sounds from the phonautograph have been made, the phonograph invented in 1877 by Thomas Edison remains the first device which united technologies of sound recording and reproduction (Thompson, 1995; Morton, 2004; Frattarola, 2010). The earliest recording of sound was a mechanical process. Edison's phonograph used cylinders covered with material such as tin foil, lead or wax which were reproduced on the phonograph. In the 1890s the gramophone, a record player invented by Emil

Berliner (1851-1929), used discs instead. A substantial body of literature points out the functional values of sound recording and reproduction devices which found applications in a range of disciplines (see, e.g. Gronow, 1983; Brady, 1999; Sterne, 2001, 2003; Steffen, 2005; Brock-Nannestad, 2009; Cook, 2009). Brock-Nannestad (2009), for example, reports that many ethnomusicological records were made on cylinders between 1877 and 1940. Gronow (1983) adds that music became the largest selling category of phonograph records in the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

Brady's (1999) *A Spiral way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography* makes a significant contribution to the field of phonograph studies. The author reports on the pioneering work of ethnographers and anthropologists including Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930), Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900) or Franz Boas (1858-1942), revealing that the phonograph 'expanded the range, forms, and the methods of …the scientific study of culture' (Brady, 1999: 2). Brady provides evaluations of the scientific values of phonography recordings in preservation of disappearing cultures and in terms of the value of that documentary evidence. For example, between 1890 and 1935, fieldworkers recorded almost 14,000 cylinders of Native American memories, songs, and rituals. Brady also critically discusses the limitations of the phonograph which were associated with the working of the machine itself and ongoing development of processes related to the documentation of linguistic cultures. This was because performance of recordings was an exhausting task and the use of machine was not always accepted by participants of fieldwork for a variety of reasons (Brady, 1999).

Edison's wax cylinders were used more than a century ago, and today any of the surviving cylinders require special conservation (see, e.g. Iwai et al., 1986; Asakura, 2002, 2013). Therefore, the attempted recovery of their interior repositories can be recognised in terms of recalling and engaging with the past (Sterne, 2003; Steffen, 2005). According to Sterne (2003), for example, the cultural mobilisation of memory holds meaning. This entails a perspective which, as discussed in Section 2.3.1, is an important part of work on the reconstruction of connections to heritage language in the language revitalisation process (King, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Brinton et al., 2008; Hornberger and Wang, 2008).

Sound recordings themselves are created through the act of *recording* vocal events, such as speech, talk or songs, which can be reproduced and transformed in the process of knowledge production (Sterne, 2003). These technological possibilities entail processing information through the transformation of records from one medium into another and the synchronisation of sounds with images (Altman, 1992; Chanan, 1995; Brady, 1999; Sterne, 2003; Morton, 2004; Steffen, 2005). Importantly, these developments hold implications for the emergence of practices of listening mediated by technologies. The possibility to reproduce sound imposed a considerable challenge on technological advancements which were pursued over time in order to create more opportunities to hear and to listen to sounds, contributing to the raising of a number of social and cultural events which offered interactions and engagement with sounds (Thompson, 1995; Sterne, 2003; Crawford, 2009).

Sound recordings, thus, regardless of the medium on which the recording is made and from which can be reproduced, emerge as a potentially meaningful alternative in reclaiming the sounds of endangered languages and strengthening knowledge about languages in the context of their revitalisation. Given the aim of this study to explore the use of sound recordings in revitalisation of endangered languages, the themes emerged from discussion on technological possibilities of sound recordings briefly outlined here require thus more attention and will be discussed in the following sections.

3.3 Sound recordings and engaging with the past

As discussed in Chapter Two, in the context of disruptions in the relationships between people and place arising from language endangerment, work on language revitalisation engages practices which aim to restore language use in certain domains (Fishman, 1991). Such practices mobilise the development of linguistic skills which are often formed on the basis of heritage language (King, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Hornberger and Wang, 2008; Brinton et al., 2008).

3.3.1 Cultural capital of sound recordings

The significance of the earliest sound recordings in terms of their cultural meaning has been highlighted in the literature on sound recordings (Colby, 1972; Sterne, 2003; Steffen, 2005). Colby (1972: 9), for example, argues that:

> 'Recordings of music and speech, whatever the date of the score or literary work performed, are, of course, products of approximately the last eighty years, although efforts in the direction of re-creation of earlier music and speech practices are not to be discounted. These recordings

constitute the documentation in sound of music and speech practices of the twentieth century (and the last decade of the nineteenth) and as such are a primary resource for the study of a major aspect of the culture of this period'.

Such claims about early sound recordings resonate in their recognition as a representation of a unique cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) in his significant work *The Forms of Capital* has explained the concept of cultural capital – a concept which is multifaceted and can be viewed in terms of encompassing cultural goods sustained by cultural institutions. Throsby (1999: 166) has however argued, that the term capital itself derives from the theory of economy coined in the recognition of 'physical or manufactured capital', and in this appraisal of cultural assets 'the economic concept of *cultural capital* has taken shape'. Further to this, Throsby (1999) has asserted that cultural capital may exist in tangible and intangible forms whereas:

> 'Intangible cultural capital comprises artworks which exist in their pure form as public goods, such as music and literature, and the stock of inherited traditions, values, beliefs and so on which constitute the 'culture' of a group, whether the group is defined in national, regional, religious, ethnic or other terms'.

Bourdieu (1986: 85) has also recognised the material form, explaining that 'cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality'. Such characteristics also refer to technologies. Some researchers have acknowledged transmissibility as a feature which relates to communication technologies, including that of the mobile phone (Goggin, 2012), the Sony Walkman (du Guy et al. 1997) or the iPod (Bull, 2009). However, these are not the only features assigned to different technologies which resonate from earlier developments of sound recording and reproduction technologies. What is also

significant is that technologies of sound reproduction are repeatable (Sterne, 2003). Such distinctive qualities of repeatability open the possibility for listening and establish the mediated aural experience as a process founded upon repositories of recorded information (Sterne, 2003; Frattarola, 2010). Predominantly, sound recordings can be repeated or reproduced in a range of events – social, cultural and educational, encouraging a certain expansion of sounds and influencing people's auditory imagination (Altman, 1992; Sterne, 2003; Steffen, 2005). Such attempts open opportunities that may be of significance whilst restoring the use of language deteriorated by danger of its loss.

One important consideration relevant to making use of sound recordings is the interpretation of meanings attached to sound recordings as certain objects. Bourdieu (1986: 15) has argued that the objectified state of cultural capital has 'a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object'. This interpretation, suggests the existence of indirect relations to ideas which an object or their content represents. In some part, this agrees with the intangible aspect of cultural capital presented by Throsby. A discursive thread on cultural capital thereby produces the wider context for recognising sound recordings as holding cultural capital in intangible and material forms.

The narratives associated with devices, such as radios, radio-cassette player, reel-to-reel recorders or iPods and how reproduced songs elicit memories and associations, have been a subject of interest among sound studies scholars (see, e.g. Bijsterveld and van Dijck, 2009). They found the importance of sound in people's lives as a means of creating a sense of belonging and making

everyday life meaningful. Moreover, as Sterne (2012) has pointed out, the sounds themselves, as the result of mediation don't vanish – placing a material recording medium in the centre of the revitalisation experience.

Focusing on a theme that addresses the relationship between past sounds and memories involves the activities which entail the recovery of repositories of archival sound recordings as well the attendance to specific sites which, for example, offer attention to listening of archival and documentary records (Ruoff, 1993; Bond, 2003; Makagon and Neumann, 2008). In light of supporting changes in the context of language revitalisation and the desired recovery after a period of disruptions in language use, this aspect requires more attention and discussion.

3.3.2 Archival sound recordings

The wide array of narratives associated with sound recordings interweaves with the theme of recording and documenting sound which implicates the discussion on the practices of archiving endangered languages (Hinton, 2001b; Nathan 2010, 2012). As discussed in Chapter One, museums and sound archives deposit multiple records in the form of wax cylinders, discs, tapes and a range of archival auditory devices. Among them are archives which store sonic materials from fieldworks such as, the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America and the Rosetta Project's Archive of 1000 Languages (Bird and Simons, 2003). These exist alongside older archives including that of the Archive of the Alaska Native Language Centre, the LACITO Linguistic Data Archive and the US National Anthropological Archives (Bird and Simons, 2003).

The Museum of Anthropology in Berlin is in possession of a large numbers of wax cylinders with recordings of folk music of various countries in the world (Asakura, 2002). Also worthy of note is the fact that the Smithsonian Institution has vast archival collections of sounds, including records of languages of North America collected by Franz Boas (1858-1942) and Edward Sapir (1884-1939), pioneers in American anthropology (Evans, 2010). The British Library has one of the largest catalogues of its kind. Consequently, considering the richness of these archival resources, it can be expected that museums and archives may act as memory places offering opportunities to recall and hear the past sounds. Museums can thus act as places of transference of the accumulated cultural, linguistic and symbolic capital.

However, in the discourse on the practices of archiving endangered languages some studies question the purpose and accessibility of archival sources, with some authors recognising that many of the recordings had not been played for a number of years (Iwai et al., 1986; Asakura, 2002; Woodbury, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Moelants et al., 2007). Woodbury (2003) also contends that access to language resources accumulated through language documentation practices is limited. Some critical voices, however, have offered a useful perspective on archival practices. Whilst considering the values of linguistic documentation, Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996), for example, have highlighted the need to prioritise more active approaches to archival resources – proposing to make archival records available as widely as possible. Stuedahl (2009) has argued that practices of cultural institutions can be an important component of the revitalisation process by creating virtual spaces and acting as

the means of delivery of interactive tools in museums and outside these institutions.

The reasons for using sound recordings can be explained thus not only in terms of the management of archival deposits of sound recordings but also by the engagement with cultural heritage sites and making sense of displayed artefacts (Aoki et al., 2010). Moreover, attendance to cultural heritage sites may provide opportunities of experiencing past sounds and the practice of engaging with the past in the context of present time, including recreating sense of shared identity or sense of belonging (Smith, 2006; McLean, 2008; Lewicka, 2008; Dickinson et al., 2010). In the context of work on the revitalisation of endangered languages such an approach is important since dissemination of archival resources can also play a role in intergenerational transmission of cultural and linguistic knowledge – a key prerequisite to language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991).

This perspective also agrees with the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage which formulates international standards and regulations for ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage through a range of activities such as documentation, research, preservation as well the revitalisation of the various aspects of such heritage (Kurin, 2004, 2007). Article 2(2) of the Convention recognises oral traditions and expressions, including language, 'as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage' and as one of the domains in which intangible cultural heritage is manifested. Therefore, focusing on sound recordings as an example of intangible heritage

objects holds implications when considering how to manage linguistic capital in the work on language revitalisation.

As outlined in Chapter Two, the concern of language revitalisation is focused on rebuilding linguistic structure (Amery, 2009; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Hinton, 2011b; Nathan, 2012). Some authors suggest that archival sound recordings may afford a particular form of agency throughout the delivery of unique oral material stored in their interior repositories (e.g. Iwai et al., 1986; Asakura, 2002, 2013). Moreover, the repositories of sound recordings, due to storing sounds which may not exist in any documentation, could be used, for example, in the reconstruction of a language, codification of language's norms, updating a lexicon or reassigning meanings to words which have fallen out of use (Hinton, 2001b; de Graaf and Denisov, 2015). The archival devices placed on shelves thus emerge as sources of knowledge that can be used in language planning whilst revitalising language. In commenting on recordings stored in archives and museums Colby (1972: 9) has argued that:

> 'Recordings constitute the documentation in sound of music and speech practices of the twentieth century (and the last decade of the nineteenth) and as such are a primary resource for the study of a major aspect of the culture of this period'.

In addition, archival audible resources may provide narratives that can recall about particular practices carried out with certain aims to document languages, voices and sonic events. Such practices were conducted in specific periods of time and geographical locations, and these endeavours could be intended and consciously performed by those who made such documentation of language. Biographical knowledge formed around deposited archival devices and

resources can be, therefore, indicative for understanding experiences and engagements with place (Riley and Harvey, 2007a, 2007b). Thus, in the context of language revitalisation, recorded materials deposited and preserved in recording devices offer valuable unity in terms of inherited linguistic and cultural capital, and for understanding documentary practices.

Importantly, the narratives offered by archival sound recordings represent the manifestation of activities in documenting language. Their relevance in the exploration of the role of sound recordings is helping to discover past experience and provide deeper understanding of feelings of linguistic exclusion and how individuals responded to potential loss of language. Additionally, recordings made through language documentation practices encompass collections of recordings made by scholars. This can be subject to critique as being more relevant to the needs of science than to those of local people (Hill, 2002; Sallabank, 2002; Hinton, 2011a), but recorded material deposited in museums and archives presents a legacy which emerges from engagement with language and place and the idea of saving endangered languages. As Dobrin et al. (2007: 7) argue, documentary linguists 'can begin to avert those unconstructive forms of commodification… and bring their work into closer alignment with the moral stance of the field'. Recordings made by scholars provide valuable data which serves not only for reconstructing languages, but also for translating the language, and the interpretation of its underlying culture and production of knowledge (Sterne, 2003; Morton, 2004; Steffen, 2005). Therefore, language documentation practices and the mediatory role of sound recordings will be considered next.

3.4 The mediatory role of sound recordings

So far in this chapter I have outlined important themes surrounding sound recordings which refer to heritage values and the meanings associated with sound recordings as cultural and archival objects in foregrounding approaches to language revitalisation. However, the theme that intersects with this understanding of sound recordings is linked to the practices through which sound recordings are made and from which recorded material is mobilised in the construction of knowledge (Sterne, 2003; Horning, 2004). Thus, I review some of these accounts here as this mediatory role of sound recordings can be particularly influential in the context of restoring the use of language.

3.4.1 Documenting and researching linguistic cultures

As outlined in Section 3.2, the invention of sound recording and reproduction technologies, the possibility to record unique linguistic data enabled new forms of documenting and researching languages and cultures turning textual dependence towards sensory ethnography (Pink, 2009).

Commenting on language documentation, Woodbury (2003) argues that it primarily concerns the making of records of a language or its varieties, their patterns of use, and making the created materials accessible to potential users. Austin (2007), instead, refers to language documentation as sets of activities carried out by researchers and communities engaged in work on language that adopts a documentary linguistic approach. Such initiatives associated with language documentation practices engage with collecting linguistic data and

recording devices serve as documentary technology to capture the original and authentic voices of speakers (Makagon and Neumann, 2008; Cook, 2009).

The process of production of edited versions of oral narratives recorded in field encompasses a vast array of activities. Mosel (2015), for example, whilst setting the scene for the production of edited versions of orally transmitted messages, based on the experiences from a language documentation project in Bouganville, Papua New Guinea, opens lists of associated activities, starting from recording and going through descriptive work such as transcriptions, editing, typing, and proofreading. In this way, collected materials are generated and used in the production of new cultural artefacts which in turn may serve purposes of constructing knowledge about language. The whole process is diagrammed in Figure 3.1.
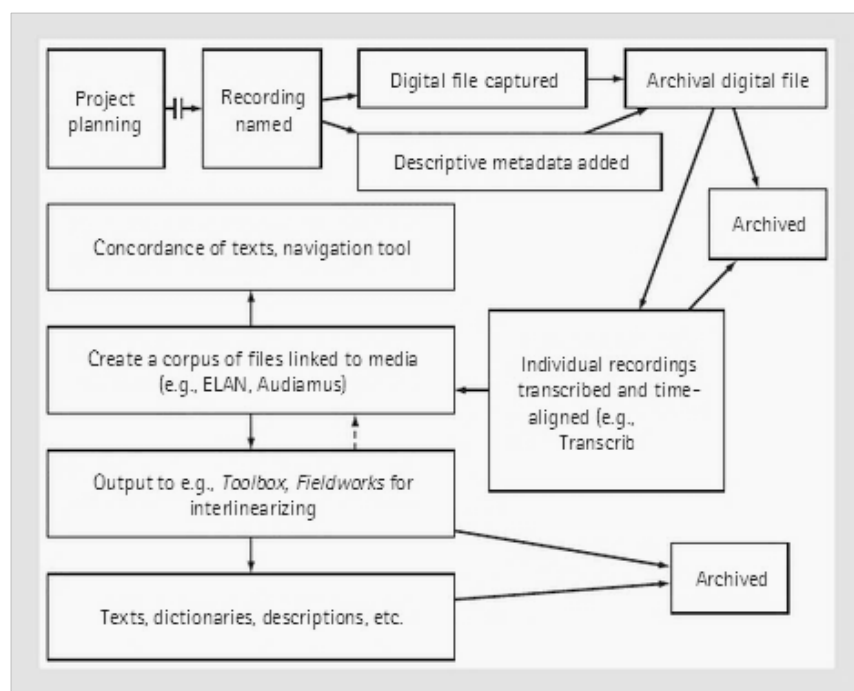
Figure 3.1 Workflow in language documentation (source: adapted from Thieberger and Berez, 2012: 97)

From this brief outline, particular documentary work on language illuminates a range of activities related to the transformation of linguistic oral data and the supportive role of recording technology which has been developed over years. Presently a portable recorder may only symbolise past language documentation practices which now are more aligned with sound processing technology and converting the sound of speech into text (Nathan, 2012).

However, the reason why sound processing technology holds significance for language documentation practices is not solely grounded in the capacity to record data of language. Its meaning, similarly to a portable record player, emerges in association with the provision of space for analytical and descriptive works on language (Woodbury, 2003; Nathan, 2009, 2012). Recordings deliver sensory materials which can be transformed into textual format and used for the knowledge production (Sterne, 2003). This conceptualisation of sound recordings is aligned with the delivery of recordings to create pedagogical materials for language learning purposes. In addition, as noted previously, sound recordings can also be transformed into new media formats which will be used by an audience in practices of technologically mediated listening. Consequently, the narratives of language documentation practices are integral to the discussions on the reproduction of sound.

3.4.2 Orality and literacy tradition

Within the studies on sound some critical commentaries are constructed on the idea that recording duplicates the original sounds (e.g. Thompson, 1995; Morton, 2004), whilst others claim sound reproduction to be in some way an

injustice done to sound (e.g. Schafer, 1977; Altman, 1992; Levine, 2007; Moylan, 2014). However, such roles of sound recording and reproduction technologies may become significant when considering the reconstruction of linguistic systems of languages in language revitalisation and endeavours associated with developing literal forms for language. In fact, the culture and the vitality of people's traditions have been composed orally and disseminated orally before being presented in written or textual formats (Vansina, 1985; Finnegan, 1982). The forms of unwritten literature in terms of structure and content are broad and include oral histories, oral narratives, myths, legends, epic stories, anecdotes, epic poems, poetic songs, recitations, ritual texts, life histories, folk tales, prayers, invocations, jokes of daily life, and more (Vansina, 1985: 13-27; Janesick, 2010: 14-15). All these forms of verbal art, are part of an oral tradition, and have their distinctiveness 'because sound exists only when it is going out of existence and… oral transmission is social in way that written transmission need not be' (Rubin, 1997: 66).

Critical contribution to the debates concerning the development of writing and literacy was provided by Ong (1982). In his study on orality and literacy Ong (1982: 14) posits that 'orality needs to produce and is destined to produce writing'. Further to this, Ong (1982: 175) has suggested that it is 'oral consciousness' which is influential and organises the development of 'technology of writing'. In fact, these are verbal expressions and thoughts which are transformed into written forms. Accordingly, speech creates a dialogue and contributes to discourse and exchange between people, whilst textual communication restricts this characteristic and generates 'a sense of closure' (Ong, 1982: 130). In contrast, Olson et al. (1985) suggests that writing permits

to make language more explicit and that it may endure longer than speech. A central concern, however, is that practices of interacting with sounds produce information in ways which are not possible to consider in textual form (Ricoeur, 1973; Ong, 1982). In opposition to textual communication, experiencing sounds of language through vocal communication evokes the exchange of meanings known and recognised by participants, speakers and listeners. In this sound-based communication speech sounds are understood by their speakers. Derrida (1997: 232) frames this 'movement' of language arguing that 'language must traverse space, be obliged to be spaced, is not an accidental trait but the mark of its origin'. Johnson-Laird (1990: 9), instead, has suggested that vocal communication entails the development of receptive attitudes, and has argued that:

> 'A speaker perceives a state of affairs, that is, constructs a mental model representing it. The speaker intends to communicate certain aspects of situation to a listener, and so, taking into account common knowledge, utters some appropriate words. The listener perceives these words and, again taking into account common knowledge, is able to grasp the content of the speaker's immediate communicative intention. The listener constructs a mental model representing the relevant features of the original situation'.

The process of communication is thus perceived as a matter of constructing mental representation (Johnson-Laird, 1999). In this process the participants interactively share and exchange meanings as well as transfer knowledge between them. The oral-literate debate, however, adds an important understanding that involvement of audible resources is a way which shapes experience in place and organises society (Sterne, 2003). Shift from orality to literacy may alter production of specific cultural knowledge. What makes thus orality and literacy an important discursive exemplar for understanding sound

recordings is the fact that they inherit values of oral language. As discussed in Chapter Two, language endangerment excludes processes and practices encouraged by language use and therefore the possibility of reproducing sounds offered by sound recordings may add to the restoration of the experience of oral communication with the process of language revitalisation.

3.4.3 Recordings and practices of listening

Recent discussion about the large number of languages reported as endangered, as outlined in Chapter One, has given rise to concerns about sensory experience in places across the world built upon the use of languages endemic to a particular place. Parallel to this, a number of empirical work points out the need to use new technologies in saving endangered languages. Some studies suggest that communication technologies are useful in language acquisition (e.g. Warschauer, 1998, 2000; Niedzielski, 1992; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Galla, 2009; Reyhner, 2009) and developing literacy (e.g. Kroskrity, 2002), including the production of computer-assisted language learning resources. Whilst some other studies recognise the use of radio and television broadcasting as constructing meaning to reviving languages (e.g. Dorian, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). Attention is also paid to the relatively easy possibilities of producing teaching materials and some recommend the use of CD-ROMs or DVD in language classrooms (e.g. Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001).

However, the question that emerges from these accounts is how these technologies engage with language revitalisation work. In the debate on

technologies of sound reproduction and primarily on what the reproduction of sound beholds, Sterne (2001: 264) advocates a sensory orientation and argues that 'sound reproduction… does bear a unique and positive relationship to the ear and hearing'. Feld and Brenneis (2004) add that sound recordings offer a space to hear and listen to, to grasp something at a sensuous level that is more abstract. These approaches clearly point towards the significance of auditory orientation that is likely to play a role in the revitalisation process.

Exploration of the use of sound recordings and listening practices requires prior acknowledgement of the significance of aural experience and the relationship between sound and people. Beginning from Gurney's work of *The Power of Sound* (2011 [1880]), the literature across disciplines broadly discusses the powerful effect of sounds, giving detailed descriptions of the emotional experience of listeners (e.g. Shepherd, 1991; Thrift, 2000; Revill, 2000; Juslin and Sloboda, 2001; Wood and Smith, 2004; Wood et al., 2007). Thrift (2000: 416), for example, describes the experience of encountering music in terms of 'affectivity'. Revill (2000: 602) argues that the properties of sound 'grant music a singular power to play on the emotions, to arouse and subdue, animate and pacify'. In the numerous genres of music, countless examples of providing emotional effects through sound can be found. Shepherd (1991), for example, argues that music or a cultural text entails social or cultural elements which are passed through its sonic components. Similarly, Wood and Smith (2004: 543) suggest that 'the emotional power of music has something to do with the embodiment of sound: with musical performance'. Encountering sounds generates an auditory experience and mobilise socio-cultural practices (e.g.

Silverstone, 1994; Sterne, 2003; Morris-Suzuki, 2005) which can be important for language revitalisation processes.

By highlighting the aspects of performance and auditory experience, some authors reveal the role of voice and its qualities as part of mediated communication and particular experience (e.g. Burgess, 2006; Butler, 2007). Relevance is also found in the aspect of transmitting messages and meanings by sound reproduction technologies (Burgess, 2006). To estimate the understanding of sound in medium, Steffen (2005: 27) recalls that 'one of Edison's visions for recorded sound was to immortalize performances, language, and voices'. What provides this meaning is a narrative of sound recordings and technologies that enable the reproduction of sound that may be seen as a means of helping to restore the performative role of language whilst bringing its use to some domains of social interactions and language acquisition, integrated with language revitalisation as discussed in Chapter Two.

In addressing questions about the use of sound recordings and practices of listening in the context of language revitalisation, it can be said that these practices may be connected to a myriad of activities. Communication technologies recently offer multimodal consideration of the reproduction of sound (see, e.g. Roth and Bruce, 1986; Kiousis, 2002; Newhagen, 2004). Media transfers human appreciation to a place through listening voices and the sounds of place, animates conversation which brings effective representation of culture (Feld and Brenneis, 2004). This relationship has been observed by Duffy and Waitt (2013: 466) who state that 'sounds can mediate the emotional and affective relationships that comprise place'. Hence, anthropological and

geographical studies confirm that listening is associated with the sensory experience and the geography of a place. Therefore, a focus on sound recordings addresses more nuanced work in language revitalisation which stands for the reproduction of the senses beyond sounds, which are related to the concept of sense of place. This perspective invites an approach focused on analysing and understating the role of sound recordings in language revitalisation practices.

3.5 Summary

As this chapter has outlined, sound recordings carry the potential to have a considerable impact on language revitalisation processes. More specifically, as I have discussed in this chapter:

- sound recordings as archival objects can be used in a manner which may bring personal memories and reconstruct experience of language,
- new media formats facilitate encountering the sounds of language and can be used in language learning practices and a number of socio-cultural activities.

These developments in discourses on language revitalisation seem to be important since they shed light on the reconstruction of the relationships between people, language and place. However, in light of the technological possibilities of sound recordings, there is less information about the possible interlinkage between documentary technology, new media formats and the reconstruction of senses of language and place in the context of the

revitalisation of the endangered languages (Dixon and Whitehead, 2008). There is thus room for attention to be paid to the utility of sound recordings in language revitalisation. The following chapters will explain the methodological approach and research methods adopted for the study of the role of sound recordings across two language case studies – the Ainu and the West Frisian, to understand people's experiences constructed upon their use in the contexts of language revitalisation.

Chapter 4

Research design and methodology

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to explore the use of sound recordings across two case studies contrasting in degree of language endangerment, and to understand people's experiences constructed upon their use in the context of language revitalisation. This aim will be addressed through focusing on two language cases – the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (the Netherlands) – vary in their scales of endangerment. To attain the aim and research objectives, qualitative methods of research, encompassing semi-structured and episodic interviews along with observations and secondary data analysis were used in this study. This chapter will discuss the research methods adopted in this study and explain a comparative case study approach and selecting two cases which form the context of this research.

Hence, Section 4.2 will provide explanation on the selection of two cases studies in this research. This section will also provide characteristics and basic information regarding case studies chosen in this research. Next Section 4.3 will discuss methods of data collection, semi-structured and episodic interviews, observations and secondary data analysis, chosen to attain the aim and objectives of this study. Section 4.4 will discuss the process of data analysing. Section 4.5 will consider ethical issues related to this research, including

research procedure for the fieldwork and conducting interviews. Section 4.6 presents conclusions.

4.2 Methodological approach: a comparative case study

In this research the exploration of the use of sound recordings and providing an account on their role in the revitalisation of endangered languages will be conducted from a comparative perspective between two minority languages – the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (the Netherlands). These two language cases contrast in degree of endangerment and the experience in language revitalisation. The following section will provide more detailed explanation on the selection of these two cases in this research.

4.2.1 A qualitative comparison

The case study approach is a methodological instrument chosen in this research as it is recognised as having a distinctive place in evaluation research (Patton, 1990, 2002). Some authors emphasise that it is a research method of empirical inquiry broadly applied in conducting research, because it substantially allows for studying a phenomenon within a broad and meaningful context (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009; Kitchin and Tate, 2013).

The specificity of case study research relates to the fact that it uses multiple data sources ranging from interviews, documentation, archival records to observations which enhance data credibility and facilitate reading an understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2009). It is

also acknowledged that theory built upon case studies based research has important strengths like novelty, testability and empirical validity (Eisenhardt, 1989).

Case studies are then differentiated into single or multiple-case studies (Yin, 2009). The comparative case method is recognised as a distinctive form of multiple-case studies. Some authors argue that comparison is an important element of research that enhances the solidity of research findings (e.g. Bechhofer and Paterson, 2012; Bryman, 2003, 2012). Yin (2009: 61) asserts that 'analytic conclusions independently arising from two cases, as with two experiments, will be more powerful than those coming from a single case (or single experiment)'. The discussion also recognises that comparison is at the heart of good research design, whether qualitative or quantitative (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2012).

Opposite to this stance, Stake (2000) argues that focusing on comparison detracts from the intensity of single case description and thus can lead to less precision. However, some authors explain that comparison study is a highly effective aspect of qualitative research and analysis because the value of comparison in qualitative research is in providing understanding, not in measuring differences (Eisenhardt, 1989; Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002). Ragin (1987) also explains that comparative qualitative study in social sciences provides richer and more complete data than quantitative research which may discourage from questions of historical, cultural, or geographical nature which defined social phenomena. Therefore, qualitative case studies are often used whilst addressing empirically defined historical outcomes.

According to this, the comparative approach is adopted across disciplines in researching, for example, to find similarities and differences between groups, implemented programmes or policies (Ragin, 1987; Smelser, 2013). Such approach has been broadly adopted in cultural studies and cross-national comparison (Berry et al., 1997). The advantage, gained from this approach, includes a deeper understanding of cultures, explanation and development of theories about socio-cultural phenomena in different groups, societies or cultures (Smelser, 2013). Research on revitalisation of endangered languages has also been conducted from the comparative perspective. Arocena-Egaña et al. (2010), for example, provided comparative descriptive accounts of education systems of Frisian and Basque minority languages and developments derived from national data sources. Gallegos et al. (2010) compared retrospectively education programmes in language revitalisation of Te Reo (language of Māori people, New Zealand) and Mapudungun (language of the Mapuche people, Chile).

Whilst discussing a comparative case study approach, some authors suggest that criteria for selecting representative cases should permit a great deal of information about a phenomenon being observed (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2009). The widely used strategy has been to contrast cases on the basis of patterns organised around a theme (Ragin, 1987). This research concerns the use of sound recordings and their role in implementing language revitalisation strategies. The process of selecting representative cases involved contrasting scales in language endangerment to enable a certain amount of analytical materials from themes and the discursive ideas addressed in Chapters Two and Three, and related to language revitalisation and the use of sound recordings.

As noted in Chapter One, the degree of endangerment of the West Frisian language is defined as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010). This means that the Frisian language is broadly used in some domains, including mass media (Fishman, 1991). In contrast, the Ainu language is defined as critically endangered (Moseley, 2010). This indicates that the language is not transmitted to the younger generations and only some older people can still speak the native language as their primary language (Fishman, 1991). Investigations across these two case studies share a common focus – the use of sound recordings, and due to contrasts in degrees of endangerment, it is likely that case studies under scrutiny in this thesis represent two different patterns of using sound recordings.

Alongside this, comparison between both language case studies is undertaken in the contexts of their revitalisation. The revitalisation of the West Frisian language has been progressing throughout the 20th century (Gorter, 2001; Hoekstra, 2003), whilst the revitalisation of the Ainu language began in the 1980s (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001). This perspective also offers different contexts of language revitalisation in which sound recordings possibly operate and allows for multiple facets of sound recordings to be revealed in order to understand people's experiences.

It is important to mention here that the research does not aim primarily at the retrospective reconstruction of each processes of language revitalisation. This study is situated in the context and circumstances at the time of the research to analyse the use of sound recordings in language revitalisation practices. Historical analysis is considered as an important analytical tool; however, the

value of historical analysis is not only a simple retrospective study (Gummesson, 2000). 'History is always present and the new history is always in the process of being created from current social, political, and economic reality' (Gummesson, 2000: 87). Moreover, history can be viewed as a means of interpreting the present and the future, and human and social problems need to be studied in their historical and social contexts. Thus, this study adopts the perspective of historical analysis not to construct 'historical truth' but to reflect historical diversity as a stimulus to action (Gummesson, 2000).

Finally, although this research does not deal with language evolution across time, the aspect of linguistic affiliation was considered. Geographically, areas where the Ainu live, Hokkaido, and Friesland inhabited by the West Frisians, are located in distant places on the fringes of the continental landmass of Asia and Europe. Both languages do not have the same linguistic origin. Apart from the fact that both languages are recognised as genetically different, they are not spoken somewhere else as a majority language. Both linguistic minorities stay in contact with the dominant languages (Japanese and Dutch respectively). Speakers know and use the majority languages (discussed in Section 7.2.1). Such characteristic sheds light on the case studies which are distinct in terms of geographical locations and linguistic cultures.

Historically, however, both language minorities shared in some regards a similar history of threat of language loss, occupying peripheral social positions and being surrounded and suppressed by dominant languages. Detailed information about each case study will be further drawn out as the thesis progresses. Prior to this, however, the following sections will provide characteristics of the case

studies in establishing the contexts of language revitalisation practices and the use of sound recordings within them.

4.2.2 The Ainu language case

The Ainu are the minority of Japan which live in most in Hokkaido[10] (Bugaeva, 2012a; Figure 4.1). In the past, they also inhabited territories of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands (Sakata, 2011; de Graaf, 2011; Bugaeva, 2012a). Presently, it is difficult to estimate the Ainu population since official statistics are based on whether the Ainu want to be registered as Ainu (Sjöberg, 1993). However, according to a population survey conducted by the Hokkaido local government in 2006 the estimated number of Ainu people who lived in Hokkaido prefecture[11] was 23,782 (Low, 2012: 58). In addition, there are also other estimations that the total population of Ainu may consist of some 200,000 people, living outside of Hokkaido and around cities such as Tokyo (Watson, 2010; Low, 2012). Similarly, the number of Ainu language speakers is not exactly know; although, according to Kayano (1993; cited in Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001: 50), it is likely that around 10% of the Ainu people live in Hokkaido[12], that is approximately 2,500 people, can understand Ainu.

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[10] The borders of Ainu territory were not known enough well until the 17th and 18th centuries when its lands became the destination of expeditions from Europe. The Frisian sailor Maerten Gerritszoon de Vries was the first European who explored Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin. He drew a map of this region during his visit in 1643 (de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013).
[11] The name of the island, Hokkaido, is used in reference to region as well an administrative division. Hokkaido is the largest of Japan's 47 prefectures.
[12] Population of Hokkaido is 5,400,000 according to the 2014 National Census (Statistics Japan, 2015).
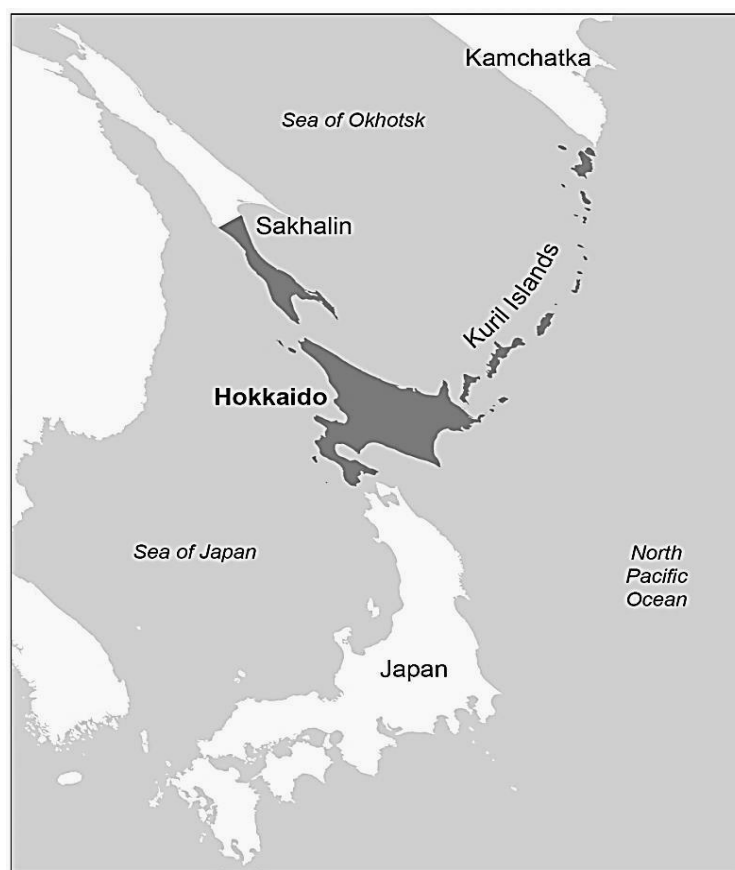
Figure 4.1 Map showing geographic location of the Ainu language

The origin of the Ainu language is a subject of discussion. Some possible relationships with Japanese are considered and there are hypotheses grouping the Ainu language into a family of the Altaic languages[13] (e.g. Georg et al., 1999). Among other suggestions, John Batchelor (1845-1944), the father of Ainu studies (Shibatani, 1990), made the attempts to relate Ainu to Indo-European family of languages (Batchelor, 1905). In his work on the Ainu language, *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (1905), Batchelor compared a number of Ainu words among others with Welsh and Cornish; however, without further discussion of these issues (Shibatani, 1990). Batchelor also placed the attention on the connection between the Ainu and the Japanese languages, but

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[13] The Altaic languages belong to a proposed language family of the central Eurasia, and include languages such as the Korean, Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic (Georg et al., 1999).

this probability was rejected by scholars, including Basil Hall Chamberlain[14] (1850-1935) who pointed out the distinctive features of the Ainu language which differ the Ainu language from Japanese. Concerning distinctive features of the Ainu language, Sato (2012, 2014) suggests that the Ainu language has its own phonological characteristics, and, unlike in Japanese, has many words that end with a consonant. However, the Ainu language also has some features which are common for both languages, such as the word order in a sentence (Hattori, 1964).

Although, the origin of the Ainu language and its affiliation are the subject of debates, some authors recognise the Ainu language as a language-isolate, not having clarified relationships with other languages (see, e.g. Shibatani, 1990; Bugaeva, 2012a, 2012b). In respect to distinctive features of the Ainu language, although they are formulated either based on morphological and phonological aspects, it does not change the fact that Ainu is a language distinctive to an ethnic group of people. Considering geographical locations inhabited by the Ainu, three main groups of the Ainu language are distinguished: Hokkaido, Sakhalin and Kurile Islands (Bugaeva, 2012a; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013). However, at present, the Southern Hokkaido is recognised as 'the last autochthonous location of native speakers of Ainu language' (Bugaeva, 2012a: 799). As outlined in Chapter One, the Ainu language is recognised as critically endangered (Moseley, 2010); although some studies reported that the Ainu language is even extinct (see Hattori, 1964; Shibatani, 1990; Krauss, 1992;

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[14] Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), one of the famous British Japanologists and translator of Japanese literature, was a professor at Tokyo Imperial University in the late of the 19th century.

Maher, 2001) and Bugaeva (2010) asserted that the Ainu language was spoken till the 1950s.

The history of Hokkaido provides the records of past events relating to assimilation of this territory by the population of Japan, named as Wajin[15] (和人), who inhabited the main island of Japan – Honshu. In the 17th century the Shogunat, Japan's central government in Edo (now Tokyo), being threatened by foreign expansions, empowered the feudal lords, Matsumae, to govern Hokkaido (Irish, 2009). The Matsumae developed policies of assimilation of Ainu population (Yokoyama, 1995). The succeeding period under the Meiji government (1868-1912) is characterised by further regulations of relations with the Ainu conducted under the Law for the Protection of Native Hokkaido Aborigines[16] imposed in 1899, known in the literature also as the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act (Cheung, 2005). This law was replaced by the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act[17] in 1997, recognised as a significant step towards acknowledging the Ainu as an ethnic minority (Siddle, 2002; Otsuka, 2004).

Assimilation policies developed under the Meiji government tried to discourage the Ainu cultural practices and the use of Ainu language (Sjöberg, 1993). According to Siddle (1997: 17) 'government policies of relocation and assimilation aimed at the eventual extinction of the Ainu as a people, aided a

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[15] The term 'Wajin' came to be used in time of the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) in distinguishing the residents of the mainland of Japan who lived around Tokyo and Kyoto, from other those who lived at the outskirts of Japan, since Hokkaido was perceived as the periphery of Japan (Sjöberg, 1993; Irish, 2009).
[16] In Japanese: Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogohō 北海道旧土人保護法.
[17] The full name is: The Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture, and in Japanese: アイヌ文化の振興並びにアイヌの伝統等に関する知識の普及及び啓発に関する法律(Ainu Bunka no Shinkō narabi ni Ainu no Dentō tō ni kan suru Chishiki no Fukyū oyobi Keihatsu ni kan suru Hōritsu).

system of 'native education' that actively discouraged Ainu language and culture'. Alongside this, the policy of the Meiji government, aiming to defend the northern territories against Russia, enhanced immigration from the main island of Japan, Honshu, to Hokkaido (Irish, 2009). As Section 5.2.1 will discuss, the relationships between Ainu and the place where they lived significantly decreased over time. Presently, the Ainu language does not have an official status and is not a component of the school curriculum. However, as noted previously, the process of revitalisation of the Ainu language has begun in the early 1980s (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001).

4.2.3 The Frisian language case

The West Frisian is the minority language of the Netherlands. The area where the West Frisian language is spoken coincides with the geographic territory of the northernmost Dutch province of Friesland, named Fryslân in 1997 (Mercator, 2007; Figure 4.2). Some speakers of West Frisian are also found in a small part of the neighbouring province of Groningen[18] (Gorter, 2006). Friesland has a population of over 600,000 inhabitants and for more than half of them Frisian is the first language (de Graaf and van der Meer, 2013). Moreover, statistics indicates that 94% of Frisians understand and 74% can speak in the Frisian language, whilst 65% can read and 17% can write (Riemersma, 2012).

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[18] In Frisian: Grinslân (Gorter, 2006).

Figure 4.2 Map showing geographic location of the West Frisian language

The West Frisian is a Germanic language and belongs to Indo-European family[19] of languages (Gooskens and Heeringa, 2004). The Frisian language itself is spread over three countries: Germany, in the province of Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark and in the Netherlands, primarily in the province of Friesland, and is divided into mutually unintelligible dialects: North Frisian (Germany and Denmark), Saterland Frisian (Germany) and West Frisian (the Netherlands) (Gooskens and Heeringa, 2004); whereas North Frisian and Saterland Frisian are recognised as severely endangered and the West Frisian as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010). The Frisian dialects of Friesland can be roughly divided into:

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[19] The Indo-European languages encompass several hundred languages including major languages of Europe and parts of Western, Central and South Asia (Lewis et al., 2015).

South-West Fryslân, the North and the East; however, as Sijens (1999) noted, the differences between them are recognised as phonological not lexical. In the literature, and as revealed during interviews, the West Frisian is often referred as the Frisian language. Therefore, hereafter, I will refer to the West Frisian spoken in the province of Friesland as the Frisian language.

Historically, positioning the Frisian language on the edge of loss, similarly to the Ainu language, was encouraged more by socio-political factors than linguistics itself. As will be discussed in more detailed in Section 5.2.2, systematic loss of the Frisian language has been progressing since the beginning of the 16th century when Friesland was integrated with the Dutch Republic (under the Union of Utrecht in 1579) and then more firmly from the beginning of the 19th century with the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Bremmer, 2001). Since that time, because the Dutch language evolved as a dominant language becoming the language of administration, culture and politics, the decline in use of the Frisian language was observed and ceased to be used (Bremmer, 2001, 2009). The use of Frisian language was banned in educational sphere having a detrimental effect on the language itself (Sijens, 1999). This resulted in the further encroachment of the Dutch language in all spheres of Frisian society, to the point that the Frisian language became an endangered language (Fishman, 1991; Bremmer, 2009).

However, the process of revitalisation of the Frisian language has been progressing throughout the 20th century (Gorter, 2001; Hoekstra, 2003). Today, as noted previously, the majority of Frisians can speak the Frisian language; the language is passed down between generations and used across various

domains, such as home, school and neighbourhood (Fishman, 1991, 2001). The Frisian language case thus exemplifies positive achievements in language revitalisation. Potentially, this cases study can afford the research with 'its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence, documents, artefacts, interviews and observations' (Yin, 2009: 11) in relation to the use of sound recordings within language revitalisation process.

4.3 Research methods

As discussed in Chapter Three, the exploration of sound recordings in this study implies references to sound recordings as material objects used in the lives of people and the practices built upon their technological capabilities of recording and reproducing store materials. The investigation of patterns in the use of sound recordings across the two case studies is situated within discourses about the revitalisation of endangered languages and the restoration of the relationships between people and place. As discussed in Chapter Two, this includes consideration of geographical work on place and theoretical themes proposed for defining emotional attachments of people, important for understanding people's experiences and place-related processes.

In the geographic literature research on place attachment has been developed on quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative methods identified different numbers of quantifiable factors to evaluate some aspects of place attachment, such as for example a length of residence (e.g. Williams et al., 1992), or to measure the strength of connections to various places and others (e.g. Raymond et al., 2010). However, quantitatively based studies do not

provide enough perspective and interpretation of emotional or affective bonds which are important in constructing attachments to place (Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Lewicka, 2011). Qualitative approaches are recognised as effective in researching the complexity of people's experiences and behaviours, and in obtaining information about the values and the meanings involved in the formation of the relationships with place and others (Hoggart et al., 2002).

In addition, qualitative methods are recognised as capable to gain better understanding of the entanglement of settings from the perspective of a particular group it involves, and to capture specificities connected to people's experiences and changes in the place they live in (Hoggart et al., 2002). Some authors argue that qualitative research methods are very useful when investigating historical and developmental changes within communities (e.g. Gustafson, 2001a, 2001b; Manzo, 2005). Qualitative research methods have been widely used by human geographers to explain people's experiences or social processes (e.g. Winchester and Rofe, 2010). Qualitative methods have been also used in geographical research when investigating dynamics of relationships between people and place which consider feelings, emotions, perceptions, meanings, cognition inscribed into developing place attachment (e.g. Brown et al., 2003), including multiple dimensions of sense of place (e.g. Hummon, 1992; Hay, 1998; Butler, 2007).

In this research the focus is placed on the use of sound recordings to elicit a greater understanding about aspects of people's experiences within place-related processes defined by potential danger of language loss and the context of revitalisation of endangered languages. As outlined in Chapter One, the first

research objective addressed in this thesis is about the ways in which recording devices were used by individuals in a situation of threat of language loss. This offers a promising way to find out how and why recording technologies were used among these two different linguistic cultures, and to understand the experiences of people in a situation of potential danger of language loss and to evaluate the relationships between people, place and language. The second research objective is to explore the use of archival sound recordings which accumulated over time. This objective is directed in the search to find out how and why past sound recordings were employed and what effects they have on language revitalisation across cases studies which vary in the advancements of language revitalisation. Finally, in the context of technologically mediated practices in revitalisation of endangered languages, the focus is placed on exploration of the opportunities provided by sound recordings in language learning practices and the domains of social and cultural interactions in order to understand how and why their use may influence progress in revitalisation of endangered languages; and this is addressed through the third research objective of this thesis.

Accordingly, examination of patterns in the use of sound recordings across the two contrasting case studies involves questions regarding how and why sound recordings engage with language revitalisation and their effects on people's lives. The investigation refers to people's experiences and linguistic behaviours in the contexts of place-related processes defined by changes in the use of language. As noted earlier, qualitative approaches are used to accommodate better understanding of the context-dependent values and meanings, involved in the construction of place attachment, and the complexity of people's

experiences and changes in places where people live. The selection of qualitative methods of research was, therefore, considered as most appropriate to attain the aim and research objectives of this study.

In line with qualitative approach, this study employs research methods including interviewing, observations and secondary data analysis. Examination of multiple sources of data about each case study collected during the fieldwork visits provided an important context for the exploration and the interpretation of research findings across case studies chosen in this research. The pilot study conducted prior to fieldwork visits in Japan and the Netherlands enabled conceptual clarification for the research design. Therefore, before discussing the adopted qualitative methods of research in more detail, in the following section I will provide an overview of how the pilot study allowed testing research methods applied in this research.

4.3.1 Pilot case study

Given the interviews and observations as methods for this research, prior to fieldwork in Japan and the Netherlands, pilot studies were conducted in Cornwall and Wales. By this I sought to test relevance of field questioning and find out any difficulties that might be encountered in larger study (Hoggart et al., 2002; Yin, 2009; Kitchin and Tate, 2013). In fact, the pilot study contributed to validate the application of research methods in this study prior to formal data collection across selected cases studies in this research.

Pilot studies in Cornwall and Wales were conducted in October and November 2013, and then in February 2014. The close location of these two regions allowed me to run more exploratory research and focus on collecting relevant qualitative data. The Cornish language itself is recognised as critically endangered (Moseley, 2010). The Welsh language, recognised as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010), seemed to provide interesting data on revitalisation process witnessing that minority language and culture prevails with a range of language resources. Both cases represented contrast in levels of language endangerment and experiences in language revitalisation which were likely to correspondent to the chosen case studies in this research (Yin, 2009). Evidence within the pilot studies was collected from different sources: fourteen interviews, observations, amount of documents and archival records and artefacts, confirming and emphasising the merit and characteristic of case study research that is connected to utilising various methods (Patton, 1990, 2002; Yin, 2009).

The pilot interviews involved participants who shared the knowledge and experiences by unfolding stories from their lives. I focused on individual interviews aiming at understanding of practices connected to language revitalisation process, and the use of audible resources as well the earliest sound recordings. The interactions with interviewees were guided by qualitative interviewing, and overall I conducted fourteen interviews. Some participants willingly shared histories of their lives and recalling episodes from their lives which were connected to using record players and listening to songs. Such conversational interactions produced narratives. It became apparent that the specific information from past experiences of interviewees was valuable and concentrating only on topical interviewing was insufficient. Therefore, I made

further developments of the methodological approach within the study by taking into account questioning linked to past situations, events and experiences of interviews' participants. I formulated the questions to enhance narration and tested them on interviews in Cornwall in February 2014. Narratives were used then as an important source of data collection in fieldwork visits in Japan and the Netherlands. In the context of this research, implication of the episodic interviews gave me the opportunity 'to exploit the advantages of both the narrative interview and the semi-structured interview' (Flick, 2009: 109). Pilot studies contributed in this way to evaluating qualitative methods applied in this research, discussed in the following sections.

4.3.2 Qualitative interviewing

Given this thesis the aim to understand people's experiences upon the use of sound recordings, qualitative interviewing was chosen for this study to provide the opportunity to generate rich data and understanding relational aspects in a broader context of language revitalisation. A fundamental feature of qualitative interviews implies commitment to understand the perspectives of the social actors – community members (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Bryman, 2003; Valentine, 2005). Qualitative interviewing gives opportunities to gain responds from individuals about their experience in their own words (Kitchin and Tate, 2013). By contrast, quantitative techniques such as questionnaires where responses are analysed statistically involve a more standardised interaction with participants (Creswell, 2003; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Elliot, 2005). In addition, there is the possibility that the respondent might try to predict what the interviewer wants to hear to satisfy the interviewer (Weiss, 1995). Rubin and

Rubin (2005) also suggest that statistical arbitration may lose the richness and complexity of research, highlighting that qualitative approach enables to obtain answers to complex questions and understanding of difficult issues.

Some authors point out that qualitative interviewing gives the opportunity to discuss the themes within the topic under study which can be tailored specifically to research projects and the domain of the study related to people's experience (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Hoggart et al., 2002). Specifically, semi-structured interviews have important characteristics as a type of interview that is not constrained by structure where the interviewer sets out the themes and may adapt questions to issues that emerge from a conversation (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Conceptually, semi-structured interviews are embedded in the question-response scheme (Flick, 2000, 2009), but importantly promote dialogue between researcher and interviewees and allow for the exploring and collecting of data on themes under study (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Therefore, considering that this study adopts a comparative case study approach to provide an insight on the investigation themes related to the use of sound recordings, semi-structured interviews were considered as appropriate by providing opportunity to give invaluable voices across different cases which vary in experiences in language revitalisation.

Although the characteristic of semi-structured interviews is flexible and fluid (Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Flick, 2009), some authors suggest to plan a sequence of questions to be asked and prepare an interview guide with predetermined themes which would assist conducting interviews and orientating them towards obtaining some specific data is then recommended (Flick, 2000, 2009;

Silverman, 2006). In my case, a list of questions or rather prompts with specific topics to be covered were considered in advance (see Appendix A). However, such a guide served rather as a reminder of areas to be covered whilst conducting interviews and keeping some flexibility to enable conversation and raise additional questions about the topics that emerged during interviewing. In this way interviewing was rather as negotiated text than confrontation or interrogation (Fontana and Frey, 2003).

In addition, given the attention in this research to people's experiences connected to changes in the use of language together with the focus on sound recordings and events in which they could play role, episodic interviews were also chosen in this research. As noted in Section 4.3.1, this was tested during the pilot study. The episodic interview is interviewing where participants are encouraged to recall concrete events and episodes from their lives (Flick, 1997, 2000). It can be recognised as a form of semi-structured interviews and a specific technique for data collection to elicit the detailed narrative of a concrete experience (Costa, 2013b). As also discussed in Section 4.3.1, the use of the narrative approach to interviewing people was stimulated by the insightful work during the pilot studies in Cornwall and Wales. Potential questions were designed to elicit narration about sound recordings and encourage reflexivity about their role in individuals' lives. Drawing upon Flick's (2000) suggestion, invitation for interviewees to share experience and story of life began with an opening question such as '*could you tell me about your experience with sound recordings*' or '*what was your most relevant experience or contact with audio resources*'. Flick (2000) has recognised further traits of this research method that may be used within different areas of social research and especially as an

approach to social representation of technological changes in people's lives. Flick (1997, 2000) has listed the advantages which characterise episodic interviewing:

- It is recommended to use when knowledge about objects and processes is required.

- It gives the opportunity to obtain rich and detailed narratives of meaningful experiences.

- It is open to the interviewer's opinions by selection of concrete situations to be recounted.

- It is oriented towards obtaining narratives of different types of situations.

- Attention is paid to the meaning expressed in recalled stories to find out the relevance of issues under study.

- It generates not only recollections but also different types of data that are linked to situation narratives or examples.

Although episodic interviews have a number of benefits, Flick (1997, 2000) in contrast has also specified some disadvantages:

- An interviewee needs to accept the concept of the interview.

- Attention needs to be placed on mediation in recounting situations and stimulating narratives.

- Some interviewees can have problems with narrating.

- Application is limited to the analysis of everyday knowledge of certain objects and topics and interviewees' own history.

Despite the outlined disadvantages, the rational for following episodic interviewing stems from a qualitative methodology adopted in this research to develop a method which would provide sources of information about intangible

meanings and values embedded in particular past events and experiences which were significant for individuals and linked to the use of sound recordings. Such method for generating narrative approach is recognised in social sciences as promoting greater disclosure of interviewees' experiences (Ritchie et al., 2003; Valentine, 2005; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Bechhofer and Paterson, 2012). A narrative approach together with semi-structured interviews, thus, was used in this research as most appropriate in fulfilling the aim and objectives.

4.3.3 Getting access to fieldwork sites

In preparing for interviewing, endorsed by the pilot study discussed in Section 4.3.1, a particular effort was made to approach potential participants who were determined according with specific themes under investigation to find relevant information. These were institutional stakeholders and individuals, discussed more in the next section. Initially, I was seeking interviewees through a request addressed to researchers involved in the study on minority languages and by contacting relevant institutions directly, such as archives or museums. These contacts helped me to access the study area during the fieldwork visits and allowed me to find interviewees who could contribute to the subject under study. Further to this, the use of snowballing method contributed in accessing potential interviewees.

Some authors argue that the main value of snowballing method lies in providing opportunities to reach target respondents where some degree of trust is required or there are some difficulties when approaching potential individuals (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005; Valentine, 2005; Noy, 2008). Snowballing as a

method of expanding networks of potential contacts was helpful particularly when accessing the study area of the Ainu language, where population is small and gaining access to interviewees could be potentially limited.

The main recommendation when starting the snowballing method is to use the initial contact – 'a friend, relative, neighbour, or someone from a social group of form of organisation' (Valentine (2005: 177). In this study, some of my interviewees, individual and institutional, and researchers I met during fieldwork visits, provided a route into required interviewees. Although one of the disadvantages of the snowballing method is that potential interviewees may know each other (Valentine, 2005), introducing me to other interviewees enlarged the number of participants and facilitated participation of specific individuals in this research.

The snowballing method in this research was used whilst accessing the areas of both case studies as a complementary technique for establishing contacts (Bryman, 2003; Noy, 2008). As noted previously, some contacts with required interviewees were facilitated by others. However, I also had a more authentic experience than a staged event such as interviews or an introduction to other interviewees (Dunn, 2000; Rubin and Rubin, 2005; Byrne, 2012). By way of example, while buying a book at a shop, visiting tourism sites or museums, I had an opportunity to chat with people. When I explained my research and the aim I found some of them willing to talk. They shared their life stories. Thus, I could move through the network of people and places developing a deeper insight into the field of my study. In this way the number of interviewees evolved into a diversity of groups and views contributing to obtaining further information

about their experiences (Bryman, 2003). In these developments my schedule became aligned with collecting narratives and conducting the episodic interviews, and the snowballing method acted in obtaining and increasing contacts with potential interviewees.

Interviews in Japan were conducted through July and August 2014, and in the Netherlands through October and November 2014. I then returned for a short period in May 2015 to both sites due to presenting at a conference in Japan. This was an opportunity which was not originally planned as part of the research strategy. However, through this, I could obtain more insight into both case studies. Overall, through my fieldwork in Japan and the Netherlands I gained the opportunities to talk with the people native to Hokkaido and Friesland, the Ainu and Frisians.

4.3.4 Choosing interview participants

Conducting interviews in the areas of this study resulted in a diversity of interviewees with different background aligned with two main groups of stakeholders: institutional and individual (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). The interviews held with each of the stakeholders' groups were conducted in order to collect information about the complexity of issues related to the possible role of sound recordings in the context of language revitalisation, and individuals' lives, as discussed in Section 4.3. Obtaining different points of views aimed to develop a complete picture on the functional utility of sound recordings and people's experiences within place-related processes connected to the changes in the use of language, and to ensure richness of data.

Selection of interviewees considered their potential contributions to the development of understanding of the issues under research (Byrne, 2012). The first group of potential interviewees encompassed institutional participants, who had a considerable amount of knowledge and experience in relation to language revitalisation process and managing of sound recordings as a means for documenting languages, archival objects, audible resources, and organising their dissemination through, for example, radio or websites. Interviews with this group of stakeholders aimed to elicit information about sound recordings and the role they played and play now in cultural heritage sites, in the context of language documentary practices and utilisation of audible language resources. However, in some cases, individuals from this group of stakeholders were engaged in overlapping processes related to documenting, constructing audible forms from sound recordings and their dissemination. This situation occurred, for example, when the developer of audio products collected actual data to complement existing audio resources. However, the organisation of this category of stakeholders was established in order to define participants integrated with production and dissemination of the audible resources.

Potential audiences, who work with these resources in the context of daily activities or due to particular and meaningful events that possibly took place in their lives, were identified as individual users. They were mostly local residents and language learners. Interviews with this group of stakeholders aimed to elicit narratives about their experiences to gain relevant information surrounding experiences which sound recordings provided and provide now in their lives. As previously discussed, the snowballing method contributed to a diversity of interviewees and this strategy was considered primarily to gain access to

community members to provide a deep and meaningful understanding of personal experiences, and finally produce information related to the themes and issues under research (Valentine, 2005; Byrne, 2012).

This mixed approach to selection of participants, which included the use snowballing method, resulted in a diversity of interviewees and viewpoints. Forty one interviews were then conducted across both case studies; including twenty five interviews in Japan and sixteen interviews in the Netherlands (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2). In two cases people refused to be recorded (discussed in Section 4.5.1). There was diversity in the length on interviews. The duration depended on the narrative of the interviewee. They lasted between 10 and 90 minutes.

Subsequently, interviews were conducted with institutional participants: fifteen interviews with institutional participants in Japan and six in the Netherlands. Difference in the number of institutional participants between both cases results from the fact that the number of cultural heritage sites is higher in Japan than in the Netherlands. The number of academic institutions involved in language revitalisation is also higher in Japan than in the Netherlands. During the fieldwork in Japan I gained opportunities to visit cultural heritage sites across the country and access curators and archivists. Consequently, interviews were conducted with institutional participants: curators and archivists (6 interviews), academics involved in language revitalisation (6 interviews), representatives of associations and activists involved in developing audible resources (6 interviews), teaching staff (3 interviews), and individual participants: local residents (17 interviews) and language learners (3 interviews). Tables 4.1 and

4.2 present numbers of conducted interviews and topical focus. Individual participants, language community members and language learners varied in gender, age and status. Although level of knowledge of minority language between participants varies, they know and use occasionally minority languages, and they also claim that they are minorities of Japan and the Netherlands.

Table 4.1 Number of interviews conducted with institutional participants

Group of stakeholders	The Ainu case	The Frisian case	Interview focus:
			Role of sound recordings in:
Curators and archivists	4	2	Cultural heritage sites
Academics	5	1	Language documentary practices
Associations; activists; developers of language resources	4	2	Production and dissemination of audible resources
Teaching staff	2	1	Utilization of audible resources in language learning practices
Total	**15**	**6**	

Table 4.2 Number of interviews conducted with individual participants

Group of Stakeholders	The Ainu case	The Frisian case	Interview focus:
Local residents	8	9	Past and present experience in using sound recordings in the context of everyday life
Language learners	2	1	Sound recordings and language learning practices
Total	**10**	**10**	

4.3.5 Observations of technologically mediated practices of listening

Another important source of evidence in this study was based on observations (Yin, 2009). Observational methods are used as sources for knowledge construction in a variety of disciplines to gain a deeper understanding of specific events and to explain people's behaviours in particular settings and interactions (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Participation in observations of events can be seen as a continuation of the ethnographical tradition. Ethnographic observations involve relatively long periods of time for collecting data and researchers make extensive use of unstructured observations and conversations (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In the literature on language endangerment a number of language revitalisation cases choses to use ethnographic methods of research in attempts to document the culture and practices to provide insights into the complex factors that affect revitalisation process in diverse geopolitical contexts (e.g. Craig, 1992; Hornberger and King, 1996; Lunin. and Yamauchi, 2010).

Case study research can also require long-term commitment but not always involves a continuous immersion approach, and vary from passive to more active (Yin, 2009). Educational research, for example, employs observations of learning and teaching activities, using learning resources and learning environments (Benson, 2013). The technique is widely applied in the context of the use of communication technology, interactions and when seeking multi-sensorial qualities of technology use and artefacts as part of research interpretation (Bauer and Gaskell, 2002; Flick, 2009). Although the methods of observation may vary from passive to more active their value is that it permits

researchers to study people in their native environment and understand phenomena under study (Benson, 2013).

The main justification for the adoption of the observation method in this study was to provide opportunities of more detailed and direct insights into activities, and to develop in this way a deeper understanding of experiences rendered by the use of sound recordings. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that observations as a tool in qualitative research provide a way for obtaining insights into situations, behaviours, actions or any other aspects of people's experience. Thus, in this study observations involved practices of using sound recordings and their management in museums, archives, tourism sites and language classrooms.

Whilst visiting these sites, a diversity of cultural artefacts was found, including recording devices, long play records, videos, CDs, radios, record player or wax cylinders. In this way, each of the sites mediated their approach to the past and how they made sense of archival sound recordings. In addition, visits in museums enabled some casual interactions with various residents who potentially were engaged with the past and place, and to learn about their personal experiences. Observational methods provided thus opportunities which in the context of this study allowed developing a broader perspective and contributing to an understanding of the present role of past sound recordings in a range of domains.

Since sound recordings are likely to be used in the environment of the language classroom, I also sought opportunities to observe their application in the context

of language acquisition to add dimensions and understanding of their actual use (Benson, 2013). This involved observations of Ainu language classrooms and participation in events organised by language communities in public spaces. The level of my involvements cannot be described using the articulation of Reinharz (1979: 156) 'complete observer'. As discussed in Section 4.3, the revitalisation of the Ainu language occurs under more extreme conditions, not in similar ways as the Frisian language case. The Ainu language is not part of the school curriculum. Therefore, I sought to secure a more empirical understanding for interpreting changes constructed within the process of revitalisation of the Ainu language. Through observations in language classrooms I could focus on naturally occurring cultural practices shaped by the use of sound recordings. I observed two lessons of the Ainu language. In sum, the number of participants included twenty language learners during the first observation and seven during the next observation. In doing so, I developed better understanding of the meanings that sound recordings construct at the level of experience of language learners. The direct observations which I conducted during fieldwork visits contributed to developing a richer picture of developments in the revitalisation of the Ainu language and aspects of technology use; and observations significantly supported the collection of data.

To facilitate and document the context of research, following the suggestion of Emerson et al. (2001), I made notes in my notebook and then wrote a more coherent narrative account from observations (Plate 4.1). The visual methods are not the key in collecting and analysing data in this study. However, photography was used to record and document, and websites screenshots to

support description of some aspects in analysing findings in this research project (Collier and Collier, 1986; e.g. Plate 4.2).

Plate 4.1 Sample of the research diary (source: author)

Plate 4.2 The Ainu Museum in Nibutani, Hokkaido (source: author)

4.3.6 Secondary data

To broaden a tool of discovery, the qualitative approach utilises documentary resources such as films, art, poems and music, maps, newspapers or photographs which can be used for analysing the meanings embedded either in language or in images (Yin, 2009; Smelser, 2013). In this research, secondary data was particularly helpful in approaching fieldwork in distant locations where qualitative interviewing with individuals took place by providing valuable information prior to fieldwork visits. One such experience came through the access to e-resources in Japanese language and Japanese platforms: the Nikkei Telecommunication or Japan Knowledge, and the Asahi Shimbun Kikuzo II Visual, which seem to be a trove of archival documents, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, journals and newspapers, including articles from over 130 years of the Asahi Shimbun[20] newspaper. This access provided a significant opportunity to immerse into sources related to the Ainu language and culture. Secondary online sources related to the Frisian language, such as for example website of Frisian radio *Omrop Fryslân* (http://www.omropfryslan.nl/), were also valuable by giving the opportunity to explore place-related materials, files with sound radio in Frisian, documentary films and local information, and themes in Frisian or Dutch languages which were consulted with the native speakers as part of my preparation to fieldwork.

However, secondary resources were not only employed at the early stage of research. Yin (2009) asserts that documentary information is relevant to every topic of a case study and its selection is important whilst corroborating and

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[20] The Asahi Shimbun is one of the largest national newspapers in Japan.

augmenting evidence. Secondary sources were used in this study because they enabled to verify specific information from the collected data during interviews and observations. Their use aided understanding to data by offering a way to trace changes over time which might be erased from people's memories. They were in the form of written accounts, including books, dictionaries, magazines, leaflets, local newspapers, collections housed in museums and archives, and reports published by researchers.

Biographies also appeared to be valuable resources which facilitated understanding how individuals engaged with place in the past and how past experience is implicated into the present. The nature of biographies makes them suitable for exploring issues related to place memories, people's thoughts, feelings or perceptions which cannot be understood from statistical figures (Atkinson et al., 2001; Hodder, 2012). Oral histories were also recognised as particularly valuable and suited geographical research due to providing a source of place-related knowledge, local values, and spatial relationships involved in processes of forming social identities or collective memories (Riley and Harvey, 2007a, 2007b). Secondary sources enabled to pursue further inquiries on topics and explore place-related experiences of individuals. Consequently, secondary data has been interwoven with the findings serving in this study in interpretation of the research findings (Hodder, 2012). Table 4.3 presents a list of secondary sources used in this research.

Table 4.3 Secondary data used in the research

Source of evidence	The Ainu case	The West Frisian case
Biographies	Kannari Matsu (1875-1961) Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971) Yukie Chiri (1903-1922) Mashiho Chiri (1909-1961) Shigeru Kayano (1926-2006)	Gysbert Japicx (1603-1666) Ype Poortinga (1910-1985) Dam Jaarsma (1914-1991) Theodor Siebs (1862-1941)
Archival books	*The Ainu-Japanese Dictionary Moshihogusa* (1804) *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary and Grammar* (Batchelor, 1905)	*The Frisian Language and Literature: A Historical Study* (Hewett, 1879) *Friesch Woordenboek* (The Frisian Dictionary) (1900-1911)
Oral histories	Ainu *yukar* (translated by Philippi, 1979; Strong, 2011)	Frisian folktales investigated by van der Kooi (1984)
Newspapers	*The Japan Time,The Asahi Shimbun,The Hokkaido Shimbun*	*Leeuwarder Courant*
Documentary films	*Ainu Pathways to Memory* (2014, by Marcos P. Centeno) Films displayed in the Museum of Human Rights in Osaka	*Dam Jaarsma* (Fryslân DOK) Films displayed in The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision in Hilversum
Reports and research-related publications issued by	Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture Hokkaido Ainu Culture Research Centre, Hokkaido University Centre for Ainu and Indigenous Studies	Fryske Akademy, Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning
Documents issued by	National Museum of Ethnology Hokkaido University Museum Ainu Museum in Shiraoi Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum The Archives of Hokkaido	Fries Museum in Leeuwarden Afûk (Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje; in Dutch: General Frisian Education Committee)
Statistics generated by	Statistics Japan (2014)	CBS Statistics Netherlands (2014)

4.4 Data analysis

Since this thesis deals with the themes connected to the mediatory role of sound recordings in the context of changes addressed by the processes of revitalisation of endangered languages, the principal element of analysis was

constructed upon the interpretative approach to analysing collected qualitative data. The collected data consists of recorded interviews and transcripts, field notes and secondary data. A structured approach was taken towards organisation of data analysis from these sources, including literature relevant to this study and its aim and objectives.

Within the initial step of data analysis, the interviews were firstly transcribed. Interviews in Japan were conducted in Japanese, and occasionally in English. Knowing Japanese language, due to my educational background and relatively vast experience in translating Japanese language, I translated transcripts from Japanese into English. The following work involved detailed and critical readings of transcripts and translations from interviews conducted in Japan and the Netherlands, repeated several times. Within this process of preparing data for analysing, focus was placed on content of interviews, including omitting involuntary vocalisations (Oliver et al., 2005). This also served to make the quotes included in this thesis more accessible (Oliver et al., 2005; de Wit, 2012). Concerning the ethical issues about anonymity and confidentiality, names of participants were changed.

Repeated readings of interviews' transcripts were conducted to uncover underlying messages connected to people's experiences with audible linguistic resources and sound recording and reproduction technologies. This involved identification of patterns across case studies linked to the research objectives and underlying questions discussed in Section 4.3. Initially, a coding framework was created for themes which were connected to recording devices and associated with their role as a means for documenting languages and as

archival objects, and technologies of sound reproduction used in various activities. In attempts to understand how and why particular sound recordings worked, and what changes they brought in the context of revitalisation of each language, sound recordings were treated as a 'variable'. This approach and the corresponding attention to meanings and experiences their provided in people's lives was used as a way of developing analysis and understanding their role in language revitalisation processes.

The engagement with the data was managed at the early stage flexibly by using Excel documents and handwritten notes; then, a computer-based package for qualitative analysing (Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software) NVivo was used progressively for the process of regimenting data (Welsh, 2001). The process of rereading and organisation of collected data from interviews was progressing together with knowing better the NVivo software. Concentrating on the identification of a number of meaningful categories led to assignment of codes to materials fitted to the themes. This process helped focusing on certain data and resulted in a number of codes that gave an indication of the ideas that underpinned the themes (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). They were rather descriptive, such as, for example, recording devices used in past linguistic documentary practices, sound recordings and recalling memories, activities and events which involve sound recordings, etc.

Creating in this way a new organisation of the materials provided the opportunity to become more familiar with each case, to capture emerging patterns and to look for commonalities and differences between cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). The process of careful reflections on data produced codes

connected to different and shared experiences of involved interviewees, and finally enabled observations and proceeding with comparing data (Eisenhardt, 1989). Such organisation, uncovering and narrowing down focus and moving towards identifying patterns, took place within the grounded theory paradigm developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Taking into account the complex analytical tasks, categorizing, coding, connecting and comparing categories served identification of patterns from both cases (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Silverman, 2006). The use of two case studies in this research provided a rich amount of analytical materials and insights into discursive ideas that occurred across cases, and thereby contributing to wider understanding of the role of sound recordings in language revitalisation and people's experiences constructed upon their use.

4.5 Ethical issues

Conducting qualitative research in geographically distant places, interviewing a range of people, visiting archives and museums made the researcher possible to collect data about case studies under scrutiny in this thesis. Initial pilot study and then fieldwork visits in geographically distance locations resulted in rich amounts of data generated in the process of analysing. The literature on collecting and analysing data provided valuable accounts and guidance on strategies how to proceed with conducting field work and interviewing. A review of relevant literature on ethical issues was, therefore, carried out to identify ethical issues which needed to be considered in the research process (Bauer and Gaskell, 2002; Bryman, 2012). Ethical considerations and awareness about

transforming interviewees' subjective accounts during the stage of data analyse were sharpened whilst preparing for the formal fieldwork. Since this study, by incorporating the aspects of minority language studies, engages with primary data sets (empirical interviews), prior to interviewing in fieldwork sites, ethical approval by Plymouth University was obtained for the project. This included detailed information about the project, the aim of research and description of procedure discussed in the following Section 4.5.1 (see also Appendix B).

The importance of reflexivity is recognised within social science research (Valentine, 2005) as being associated with the recognition that social researchers are integral to the social world, and conducting and analysing the research is not a neutral technique (Denzin, 2005). The issues under discussion then relate to how knowledge is acquired, organised and interpreted (Bryman, 2003; Valentine, 2005). In reflecting on the issues that stem for knowledge construction and how the research process was linked to my biography, role in the research and interpretation of data will be explained in the following Sections 4.5.1-4.5.3 acknowledging limitations associated with the research process.

4.5.1 Proceeding with interviews

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) and Haviland et al. (2013), among others, provide a set of recommendations and guidelines for conducting research in the field according to ethical issues. They emphasise ethical concerns about research to ensure that the research 'does not harm the safety, dignity, or

privacy of the people with whom they [researchers] work, conduct research, or perform other professional activities' (Haviland et al., 2013: 21).

In the interview context, prior to interviewing I sought consent of potential interviewees. This meant that at the start of interview I sketched an outline of my research project to contextualise myself and my work. In line with ethical requirements consent was also sought regarding the use of recording equipment to record interview. In terms of ethical issues, interviewees were made aware that the recorder could be switched off at any time of the interview. By recording the interviews I aimed to capture accurately what people were saying. As discussed in Section 4.3.2, the flexible approach to interview style was taken. However, in two cases people refused to be recorded. I didn't receive a particular explanation about the reason and I was left with the impression that they don't like to be recorded. In such a case, notes were taken.

Reflecting on my fieldwork experience, I learned a lot about qualitative research. Schoenberger (1992) suggests that issues such as experience might affect the relationship between the researcher and the researched. When I approached individuals with my research idea, they agreed to participate. Some were very enthusiastic about my research; some introduced me to some other people and as noted previously, in two cases people refused to be recorded. Quotations from interviews were then used in the analysis chapters and the real names of interviewees were changed. This was compounded by consideration of the ethical issues and giving the degree of confidentiality. Further to this, I was influenced by the recognition of episodic interviews as revolving around issues which can evoke emotional reactions of interviewees (Flick, 2000). As

discussed in Section 4.3.1, pilot cases assisted me with testing field questioning. How to respond to possible emotional recall was an important element of my reflexivity at the early stage of research process. This helped me when emotional reaction of some interviewees appeared in some cases during conducting episodic interviews. Some interviews became entangled with emotional processes when talking about life, as this example illustrates:

> '*Oh, later on in my life when I was little older I recognised how… how important are my roots for me [pauses in thought] to express myself and in my music. I have all these records… they are parts of my life. Oh, my music is about things I went through here, changes I went through… I am singing about losing my father and mother. They are very personal. They are in Frisian, more… more about feelings of Frisian people*'.

What is more to convey, but not seen in this extract from the interview transcript, was a prevailing emotional tone of the interview. There was a moment when it was not easy for an interviewee to express in words what was felt whilst recalling memories. Generally, I sought to maintain the balance to complete a flow of interview conversation. I tried to assess whether I needed to remain silent for a while and to allow the interviewee to articulate thoughts and not to interrupt the researcher-researched relation to access certain information (Flowerdew, 1994; Brownell, 2013).

4.5.2 Multilingual research

This research explored two distinct linguistic cultures. Through fieldwork experience, I could see and meet people from different linguistic groups in their surroundings and listen to them from the viewpoints of their cultures. And what is also significant, is that the applied research methods allowed capturing the meanings which sound recordings create in the processes of language

revitalisation in the context of intercultural experience. Here, a connection needs to be drawn that cross-cultural study could complicate the research process since focusing on different linguistic cultures invites the use of languages, and as such the awareness of multilingual situations (Uehara, 1996; Tuckman and Harper, 2012). The complexities of researching in multilingual environments are not broadly covered in the literature on research methods which eventually could develop researchers' awareness about conducting research in the context of multilingual environment (Cameron et al., 1992). However, the idea which underlies the qualitative research implies active involvement of researchers in producing knowledge and a desire to understand the social phenomenon from the actor's perspective (Bryman, 2003).

Whilst conducting interviews in Japan I approached fieldwork sites, as noted in Section 4.4, as a researcher who knows the Japanese language. Knowing language contributed to the process of conducting interviews and then processing to translation. The same practices were conducted whilst dealing with the Frisian language case. Interviews were possible due to the fact that the English language is used in communication in the Netherlands and Friesland. Nevertheless, I approached both fieldwork sites as a non-native speaker; although my knowledge of Japanese and English languages was an important part that shaped the methodological possibilities.

The view of some challenges imposed by multilingual researching requires recognising the potential complexities connected to the language of communication whilst conducting interviews and being in a position of a non-native speaker (Flowerdew, 1994; Atkinson et al., 2001; Flowerdew and Martin,

2005). Not knowing the language could, for example, limit the researcher's knowledge and bring challenges related to methods of documenting, developing and ensuring construction accuracy within the research process; eventually, the mediation role of interpreters or translators could increase such concerns (Atkinson et al., 2001). The possibilities connected to language choice in interviewing, however, holds a certain amount of advantages, as Shklarov (2007: 532) has observed:

> 'Seeing two parallel cultural meanings or realities, and hearing two or more conceptual understandings might be challenging, but if not obscured, it might meaningfully enrich the in-depth perception of the context area and contribute tremendously to the ethical sensitivity and the quality of research'.

Whilst conducting fieldwork, I was aware that the ways in which knowledge is constructed, is influenced by interviewer and interviewee (Bryman, 2012). The fact that I could communicate in the languages my interviewees know, allowed me to receive positive responses from potential participants of interviews who expressed their interest in the project.

4.5.3 Personal biography

Conducting interviews is a reflexive strategy that refers to ways in which data from fieldwork are collected and constructed by researcher and researched (Dunn, 2000; Byrne, 2012). I approached individuals as a researcher, and this may have implied the construction of 'asymmetrical relationships' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). However, in many cases I felt that my interviewees willingly shared their views being the experts in terms of knowledge relating to the situation of minority groups as well as professions they occupied. Occasionally,

I found myself taking on the role of anthropological observer; and this kind of involvement in research makes reference to my own 'outsider' status.

Hindsight has enabled me to understand how this research results from my biography. Some authors have provided accounts how researchers' personal histories and characteristics affect the choice of research topic and how their personal lives led to particular ways of interpreting and analysing data (Silverman, 2006). At this point, I need to mention that the focus in this research project has arisen from the interest of the researcher in the linguistic anthropology and work undertaken by Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict [21] – whose ideas became to be appreciated since immersing into Japanese Studies.

I was also inspired by scholars who lived among the Ainu people in the early 20th century. The first was initiated by Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918), a Polish anthropologist who made the first sound recordings of the Ainu language dated back to the beginning of the 20th century (discussed in Section 5.4.2). The second was undertaken by John Batchelor (1854-1944), a British missionary who published works on the Ainu language and culture, compiling an English-Ainu-Japanese dictionary in 1905. Both provided valuable documentary materials on the Ainu language and people. The appraisal of the Polish and British scholars' legacy turned my interest into the modes of language documentation and their meaning in the present time.

Taking into account a range of influences which shaped my road to this research, it may be concluded that I appeared in fieldwork sites as a researcher

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[21] Examples include: *Patterns of Culture* (Ruth Benedict, 1934) and *Anthropology and Modern Life* (Franz Boas, 1928).

with Polish roots and academic background in Japanese Studies, and offering a way of tracing legacy of language documentation practices. I was influenced among others by my interest in languages, their subjectivities and senses. This influence came out of my relatively long time of translating and teaching Japanese as well as interest in languages and knowledge of English and French. Themes surrounding the use of languages and their acquisition are the area of my interest which enabled me then to examine a range of aspects connected to the relationships between people, language and place which I believe contributed to strengthening the depth and richness of research findings.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I introduced and explained the methodological approach to the study of the use of sound recordings across the selected case studies. More specifically, I presented a way of approaching the study of sound recordings from a qualitative comparative perspective. Based on this methodological foundation, I outlined the research design and the implementation of research methods. I also explained how qualitative methods of research are appropriate to satisfy the aim and objectives of this research, and to elicit understanding about people's experiences within place-related processes defined by language revitalisation. This approach resulted in a wealth of rich data, and the latter part of this chapter described the approach undertaken to analysing this collected data. I acknowledged that engaging with the collected data to find out the role of sound recordings was done reflexively. Ultimately, the limitations and the associated ethical issues were presented.

Having discussed and explained the methodological approach and research methods used in this study, the next chapters will discuss and analyse the collected data from the exploration of sound recordings across selected case studies as a unique perspective for understanding people's experiences in the context of changes defined by language revitalisation.

Chapter 5

Understanding past activities in language documentation

5.1 Introduction

Having established the methodology in Chapter Four, the following chapters will present the data analysis with regard to the aim and objectives of this thesis. This chapter focuses on the first objective and will explore the use of recording devices in past activities of language documentation across the Ainu and Frisian case studies in order to develop an understanding about people's experiences and responses to the potential danger of language loss. As discussed in Chapter Two, the study of language revitalisation needs to be situated in the wider context of language endangerment (Fishman, 1991; Fernando et al., 2010; Hinton, 2011a; Costa, 2013a). The literature review on language revitalisation presented in Chapter Two also recognises language documentation as an essential for language revitalisation purposes (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; Nathan, 2012; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013). As outlined in Chapter One and further discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the invention of sound recording and reproduction technologies emerged as an important alternative for documenting languages (Boas, 1917; de Graaf, 2011). Exploration of how and why recording devices were drawn into activities of documenting the Ainu and Frisian languages may reveal the subtleties in the experiences and responses of individuals to the potential danger of language

loss. This also may serve to evaluate and understand the relationships between people, place and language.

Section 5.2, thus, starts with a discussion of the local histories of languages across both case studies to gain an understanding about people's experiences which occurred in localities in a situation of the progressive demise of language. The following sections 5.3 and 5.4 focus on activities of language documentation across the Ainu and Frisian case studies and the use of recording devices in these endeavours to examine responses of individuals to ongoing changes in language use. A separate discussion is conducted for each case due to different levels of language endangerment between both cases and possible differences in the organisation of language documentation activities and the use of sound recording devices. Section 5.5 provides conclusions.

The findings reveal that language endangerment causes disruptions to the place attachment by restricting the practices in which individuals had occasions for vocal performances and constructing ways of living and forming bonds with place and others. Responses of individuals to potential loss of language and undertaking activities to document languages demonstrate emotional attachments to place and the distinctive qualities of language that stand for the theories of sense of place and place attachment (Tuan, 1974; Altman and Low, 1992). The reproduction of recorded data of language accumulated through language documentation activities may serve language revitalisation purposes to reinstate interactions with the language within revitalisation processes; this will be discussed over the next chapters.

5.2 Experiencing danger of language loss

As discussed in Chapter Two, limiting or excluding opportunities of experiencing something desirable is likely to lead to disruptions in the relationships between people and place. Such experiences may have impact on making the place attachment insecure (Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Giuliani, 2003). As also outlined in Chapter Four, histories of the Ainu and Frisian languages report danger of language loss which can be recognised as the result of 'a wider majority-minority power relationship' (Williams, 1991: 20). Exploration of histories of places is thus important to develop understanding of how demise of language affected language speakers.

5.2.1 Deconstruction of linguistic soundscape of places

As presented in Chapter Four, the historical perspectives on the situation of the Ainu and Frisian languages shed light upon areas of Hokkaido and Friesland that can be viewed in similar ways. The politics of place constructed within fixed territorial boundaries (Keith and Pile, 2004) led to linguistic isolation and the demise of linguistic, cultural and social processes (Sasse, 1992; Woodbury, 1993; Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Fettes, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Such developments can be explained by certain historical narratives as indicative of how a language was replaced by another.

For example, the recent discussion of toponyms in Hokkaido reveals that most of the place names in Hokkaido are rooted in the Ainu language, and Japanese kanji characters with likely similar sounds to Ainu words were incorporated to

imitate the sounds of Ainu place names (Yamada, 1984; Matsubara, 1988). In many cases, however, the currently in use sound of place names did not match the original because of differences in sounds between kanji readings and pronunciation of Ainu words. To give an example, Kayano (1994: 7) asserts that the name of Nibutani village（二風谷）derives from the Ainu word '*nitay'* which means woods, forest or jungle. In reality, thus, the etymology of Nibutani indicates a different meaning to that which is conveyed through the kanji characters used in the name. If this were the case, it could mean 'a valley of two winds'. Significantly, the name of Japan's northernmost island Hokkaido was introduced by the Meiji government in 1868 replacing its former name Ezo (Irish, 2009).

It is important to note that naming places is a practice which represents long-term interdependent relationships between people and place which they inhabit (Ryden, 1993; Berg and Kearns, 1996; Alderman, 2008). Place names are created by people through the process of living in and experiencing the place. Place names may demonstrate, for example, how local people interpret surrounding landscape (Ryden, 1993). As attachment behaviour to place develops, place names may also organise sense of place through connections to historical events occurring at a given location and attesting the place-referent continuity via characteristics of place (Alderman, 2008).

In other words, such meanings embedded in narratives unique to place names are transferred between speakers on the base of daily conversations, playing a role in the social construction of space (Berg and Kearns, 1996). By growing in such environment, language speakers become imbued with the language and

the meanings attached to specific names of locations (Ryden, 1993; Lippard, 1997). Accordingly, the sound of place names acts in interactions between individuals and language groups as a meaningful means of communication (Ryden, 1993; Berg and Kearns, 1996). In doing so, place names together with their meanings, come to be intertwined into peoples' lives, contributing to place attachment and providing a sense of place (Alderman, 2008). In effect, it can be said that place names operate as 'the geographical component of the psychological need to belong somewhere' (Lippard, 1997: 7). Place names, therefore, as components integral to people's everyday lives, appear to be important in constructing bonds with place and experiencing feelings of belonging to place by individuals.

Changes in place names, however, address new connections. When implemented under the language politics of place such changes may lead to various reactions (Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; May, 2012). In fact, for the Ainu people, changes in place names implied conquest of the place in which they lived, defined in linguistic and cultural terms. The literature on the Ainu highlights that since the second half of the 19th century the process of subordinating the Ainu people was developing under legislation which aimed to create a culturally and linguistically unified country to strengthen Japan's claim to northern territories (Irish, 2009). As discussed in Section 4.2.2, a policy of assimilation through the 1899 Law for the Protection of Native Hokkaido Aborigines was forced upon the Ainu (Cheung, 2005). As a result, the Ainu people were prohibited from conducting social, cultural, linguistic or ceremonial practices (Sjöberg, 1993; Siddle, 2003, 2012; Cheung, 2005; Ueno, 2011). These were domains where the Ainu customs and

traditional lifestyle could flourish, verifying identification with place and language group in particular geographical areas (Ryden, 1993; Alderman, 2008). This means that the occasions for vocal performances and transference of place-related knowledge through the language was restricted, consequently undermining a whole tradition of people's lives and the structure of social meaning.

In addition, the Ainu language was not taught in schools and the use of the Ainu language by children in schools was scolded (Teeter and Okazaki, 2011). Yamada (2001) argues that starting from the end of the 19th century generations of Ainu people were forced to abandon Ainu language. Children learned Japanese in school, merely 'picking up some Ainu words from their grandparents', rather than naturally learning the language in a domestic setting (Yamada, 2001: 242). Therefore, the younger generation could feel isolated. For example, the confession of Nakamoto Mutusko (2004: 3) from her memories reveals feelings of shame which impacted on her sense of self:

> '*In elementary school, I was surprised to face such severe discrimination and I started to think that Ainu were of lower or lesser ethnicity compared to the Japanese. I heard stories that Ainu did not know how to be polite, or did not know how to speak proper Japanese. So, I was led to believe that the Ainu were inferior. Thus I live with an inferiority complex*'.

According to this testimony, the fear of using the Ainu language has become interwoven with feelings of marginalisation. Changes in the linguistic soundscape informed by the language politics of place involved the rise of emotions associated with the subordination of place and people, as well as feelings of lowering status of linguistic group (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Russell, 2002; Harrison, 2007; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). The environment

created by the normative power of the dominant group imposed certain rules on places inhabited by the Ainu people, which progressively led to the elimination of opportunities of transference and learning linguistic forms of communication in the Ainu language – acting to weaken the relationship with language. This resulted in the abandonment of the Ainu language (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001; Cheung, 2005; Tsunoda, 2006; Watson, 2010; Low, 2012) together with the deconstruction of unity created by the sound of people's speech in everyday life activities and a range of social and cultural practices (Sasse, 1992; Woodbury, 1993; Fettes, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). The opportunities of aural experience of the Ainu language declined dramatically, and this predisposed language speakers to the loss of sense of self. Proshansky et al. (1983) suggest that processes relating to development of the sense of self are induced by means of perceptual modes, visual and auditory, which support the formation of the sense of continuity. The sense of continuity, in turn, enables the rise of feelings of stability essential in organising places where people live and place attachment (Proshansky et al., 1983; Hummon, 1992). Therefore, discontinuities in using language need to be perceived in terms of the loss of the sense of continuity and disruptions to the place attachment.

When it comes to the Frisian language case study, some authors assert that at the beginning of the 19th century there existed large cultural disparities and language differences within the Netherlands (Swierenga, 1980; Feitsma, 1980; Gooskens and Heeringa, 2004; Suurenbroek and Schrover, 2005). Gooskens and Heeringa (2004: 65), for example, noted that:

'For a long period, Frisian was stigmatised as a peasant language and due to the weak social position of the Frisian language in the Dutch community it was often suppressed, resulting in a strong Dutch impact on the Frisian language'.

Further to this, Suurenbroek and Schrover (2005) found that the power of politics was especially evident in the course of the 19th century when Friesland was firmly integrated into the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and that language policy was pursued across a number of domains, such as schools, public administration and churches. Suurenbroek and Schrover (2005: 995) noted that:

'Dutch was the language of the church and the language of education. There were no schoolbooks in Frisian and there was no Frisian bible. In church, preaching and singing were done in Dutch. Children were forbidden to speak Frisian at school, and teachers were not to teach in Frisian. Dutch was used in courts and in administration. The written language was always Dutch; Frisian was the language of the illiterate'.

Such practices worked to the decline of possibilities of interactions in and with the Frisian language. These disruptions in the use of the Frisian language, compounded with the linguistic politics of place, led to the exclusion of Frisian language from places to which it was native, and gave a voice to the dominant language group. Gorter et al. (1990) assert that until the first half of the 20th century, the Frisian language was considered as a low status language; whilst the Dutch language as occupying the high position in terms of social prestige.

On this basis, it can be assumed that ongoing changes in ways of communication in the Frisian language over time worked towards linguistic isolation (Austin and Sallabank, 2011). This involved deterioration of a sense of belonging to a language group that shared the same perceptual world (Tuan, 1977). Such perspective aligns more closely with the coming demise of

language similar to the Ainu language case. This can be extended to the psychological effects (Wallace, 1956) that account for insecurity in the attachment relationships (Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Giuliani, 2003).

In this regard, the language politics of place acted as an 'aural architect' (Blesser and Salter, 2007) towards constructing the soundscape around ideological visions and deconstructing the values associated with the use of minority language. The speakers of Frisian language found themselves in a situation which made pressure on the use of the majority language. The intensive contacts with the Dutch language resulted in lexical borrowings to the Frisian language (Gorter et al., 2008; Swarte and Hilton, 2013). Therefore, recently, studies on the Frisian language discuss its lexical or grammatical characteristics in terms of the Dutchification of the Frisian (e.g. Feitsma, 1980; Gorter and Ytsma, 1988; de Haan, 1990). The nature of this phenomenon is mirrored in the perception of place names in Friesland which are often considered as Dutch (Gildemacher, 2001; Gorter, 2006). However, contradiction to this view can be found in *Handbook of Frisian Studies* (Munske, 2001) which presents a list of Frisian names together with their several variations, demonstrating Frisian origin from a time when Frisian was developing as a language separate to Dutch. On the other hand, changes in place names might be considered as natural due to the continuous contacts between Dutch and Frisian cultures over time. However, questionable remains the degree of influence of the Dutch culture on the Frisian language, since Fishman (2001: 231) noted that 'a number of structural power processes worked against the use of Frisian'.

Across both case studies, thus, the potential implications of initiatives constructed under the language politics of place addressed the deconstruction of linguistic soundscape of places inhabited by Ainu or Frisians. This led to various contestations in terms of loss of domains where the languages were the primary means of communication. What followed from the progressive replacement of the Ainu and Frisian languages by dominant languages was the diminishing of cultural and social practices which normally encourage transmission of languages and place-referent knowledge (Tuan, 1991). In such circumstances, the attachment relationships, sense of belonging to place and others, became framed by the perception of possible loss of cultural and language continuity. Changes in the communicative mode in place constructed upon the linguistic politics of place can be thus recognised as disruptions to the sense of continuity, community and belonging (Tuan, 1977). In addition to this, these changes led to decline of aural experience constructed upon the use of language and interactions with language. In this process, language speakers might also become aware of their identity and forms of expressing that identity (Irimoto, 2004). Therefore, language isolation and perceived loss of language continuity may lead to the loss of engagement with place. Potential danger of language loss, however, involved responses of individuals which were strongly influenced by feelings towards place and language, and this will be further discussed across both case studies.

5.2.2 Towards understanding reactions to language loss

Over time decline in language use led to language shift across both case studies (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001; Feitsma, 1980; Suurenbroek

and Schrover, 2005). In broad terms, such a situation could potentially generate the weakening of individuals' bonds with place, affecting emotional and symbolic identification with place constructed through interactions with language (Tuan, 1977, 1991). However, activities of language documentation together with linguistic and cultural capital accumulated over time, existing in material forms, such as wordlists, dictionaries, grammars, text collections and records of languages on a variety of media formats, provide an account that unfolds responses of individuals to the nature of ongoing changes conflicting with identification with place and others through language. This was evidenced when some interviewees acknowledged the value of language documentation legacy with a feeling of pride and saying that:

> *'The Ainu language is a relatively well documented language. There is a range of valuable resources which are priceless today'* (Sachiko, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

> *'A range of records or songs in the Ainu language are archived and they are an important source of knowledge about the Ainu culture and language'* (Ume, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

> *'The Frisian language is rich in language resources. We have very old resources in the Frisian language, books, maps and charts. The oldest are naturally in archives. Some others are available in libraries'* (Harry, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

From these quotations, it seems that language resources created through language documentation practices presently play an important role in sustaining knowledge about linguistic culture and contribute to the sense of continuity of language. This will be discussed in more details in Chapter Six. However, what needs to be said here is that they were created in a changing environment which addressed danger of language loss. There are thus possibilities that this linguistic capital, accumulated over time, was constructed through the activities

performed in response to some needs, emotions, awareness or particular demands to record knowledge about the language. In doing so, it can be argued that the artefacts produced through language documentation sustain the processes that people experienced. Exploration of these developments in language documentation may then foster understanding of individuals' reactions to shift in language use.

The theme of the use of recording devices in activities of language documentation in response to language-use conflict in place is common for both case studies. However, as discussed in Chapter Four, the Ainu and Frisian languages represent different levels of endangerment. The Ainu language case suggests a greater level of disruptions of relationship with place, and the principle focus is placed on this case study to examine reactions to language-use conflict. As it is seen at this point, each case represents many variables and the intricacies of place which potentially inform differences in the organisation of language documentation activities. The aim is to use each case to examine the use of sound recording devices in a larger framework of activities associated with documenting languages in a situation posing a threat of language loss. This is done with the aim to develop understanding about people's responses under such conditions. The data presented then will be discussed with regard to the context distinctive to each case study. Therefore, the next sections will investigate the past activities of language documentation separately for each case.

5.3 The Frisian language case: responses to language loss

The historiography of the Frisian language is bounded largely by linguistic artefacts, the compilation of which reflects the growing concern about the uncertain future of the Frisian language. There are some particular aspects in the development of documentary practices in Frisian language that illustrate the collective work of those who disagreed with the situation of the language and sought a way to create an environment in which the Frisian language might be used. There may be various reasons for this; however, responses among Frisians to processes which placed the Frisian language in danger demonstrate the interconnectedness of feelings to place and aural qualities of language. The complexity of this connection represents emotional attachments to place and language (Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1991; Ryden, 1993; Malpas, 1999; Bauman, 2000; Alderman, 2008).

5.3.1 On the road to revive local sounds

As indicated in Section 5.2.2, documentation of the Frisian language is generally highly valued. Naturally, the values derive from the content; however, tracing developments in compiling language resources provides the opportunity to obtain knowledge about the functional aspects of language and may enable the extraction of information associated with perceptions of language or attitudes towards organising records of language and compiling language resources.

The oldest Frisian manuscripts, in most of the collections of juridical and legal texts, charters and historical chronicles, date back to the 13th century (Hoekstra, 2003; Bremmer, 2009). What became known from these documents is that they were written in the Old Frisian language, affected by the Latin language and not codified or formalised into dictionaries (Hoekstra, 2003). Perhaps, Frisian could develop further, but shortly after 1500 Frisian ceased to be used and the last document drafted in Frisian is a charter which dates back to 1547 (Bremmer, 2009). Since the 16th century, because the Dutch language evolved as a dominant language, a simultaneous decline in use of the Frisian language was observed. The Frisian language remained hermetic within some boundaries, frequently becoming alienated on the basis that was it not written since across the country there was a commonly held view that 'the Frisian language could not be written and that to write poetry in Frisian was impossible' (Feitsma, 2002: 208). Such signs of language discrimination were compounded with the politics of place, discussed in Section 5.2.1, which positioned a certain group of people as outsiders (Relph, 1976). On the other hand, the presence of language was justified by being heard in some places, demonstrating that the Frisian language was a predominately oral language. This means that phenomena of Frisian language can be considered more on the level of the creation of abstract words that come to language through the production of sounds, not being influenced by written forms (Johnson-Laird, 1990; Thieberger, 1995; Rubin, 1997).

In light of perceived loss of continuity of the Frisian language, some individuals recognised the need to create norms for the Frisian language. For instance, whilst discussing the origin of the modern standards of Frisian language, Feitsma (2002) asserts that the creation of linguistic standards became

encouraged in the first half of the 17th century by a Frisian writer, Gysbert Japicx (1603-1666). It is possible that Japicx was driven by strong feelings for the local area and the Frisian language itself whilst undertaking efforts to develop literary forms in the dialogue with voices heard occasionally in the countryside. These reactions account for the attitude to Frisian language which likely influenced writing *Friesche Rymlerye* (1668); the collection of Frisian rhyming poems and songs which explicitly promoted the particular qualities of the Frisian language and denoted the phrase that 'Frisia non cantat', which means 'Frisians do not sing' (Cressman, 2016: 110). Creating these kinds of resources can be viewed as a certain response derived from the appreciation of sounds attributed to place; local songs, being aired, disseminated knowledge about place. Therefore, endeavours conducted by Japicx can be perceived in terms of helping to enhance the interactions with Frisian language. This finding reflects Feitsma's (1990) study of the history of Frisian language, in which it is demonstrated that Japicx's work had an impact on developing the Frisian sense of identity and language.

Following Japicx's work, Frisian literature delivered larger collections of songs and melodious poems, such as those written by the brothers Halbertsma[22] entitled *Rimen en Teltsjes* (1822); Waling Dykstra's (1821-1914) collections of songs *Frysk Lieteboek* (1876) and *Nij Frysk Lieteboek* (1886), and folk tales *The Silver Rattle* (1856) (Stennmeijer-Wielenga, 1999). The context of compiling such work at that time can be illustrated by the poem written by the Frisian poet Obe Postma (1863-1963):

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[22] Joost Hiddes Halbertsma (1789-1869) and Eeltje Hiddes Halbertsma (1797-1858).

'Another book of songs; a little lore
From a letter of long ago?
I cannot hope for more; time's at an end,
The dreams has not far to go' (Paul, 2004: 103).

Thus, it can be said that songs, poems and melodic events constituted a part in negotiating relationships with place that acted in defence of the boundaries of place defined by sounds of language. This also indicates that the development of written forms to language marked a shift and transformation of the aural nature of experiencing language into legible. However, Hoekstra (2003) argues that the revival movement of the Frisian language needs to be perceived foremost as a movement where societies, such as the Selskip[23], called for a broader use of the Frisian language and propagated singing and acting in Frisian. Suurenbroek and Schrover (2005: 992-996) confirm that 'the Selskip felt that Frisian should be used more and should be acknowledged as a separate language' and 'all these Frisian organisations centred on language'. As will be discussed in Chapter Seven, work on the Frisian language was ultimately supported by educational institutions. Importantly, however, the increased acceptance among Frisians displays not only shared concern about the distinctiveness of place shaped by the Frisian language recognised as integral to place, but also a potentially unique quality of place. This also suggests that feelings to place were linked to values and meanings embodied in the aural qualities of language through which place identities were constructed and performed (Tuan, 1974, 1991; Malpas, 1999; Alderman, 2008). Such attitudes were influential components of behaviours which led individuals to undertake efforts in order to eliminate danger to language and reinstate interactions with

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[23] The Selskip foar Fryske Taal en Letterkunde (Society for Frisian language and Literature) was established in 1844 to promote Frisian language (Suurenbroek and Schrover, 2005).

language. This observation indicates that attachment to place was expressed through the increase of awareness about language and the desire to uphold the use of language, and with this the linguistic characteristic of place where Frisians live.

5.3.2 Recording the Frisian language

The account of developed literary forms in the Frisian language, discussed so far, indicates that work on the Frisian language was compounded on the one hand by emotional responses of individuals, and on the other, collective commitment organised around enhancing the use of the Frisian language. Further to this, creating norms for the Frisian language opened debate among some individuals on the representations of the sounds of Frisian language. These endeavours can be seen as important responses that expressed concerns about distinctive features of the Frisian language. Sound recordings came to be used by scholars contributing to solving the problems with phonological details. In addition, history also provides an account of how many individuals were interested or willing to use recording devices to find solutions to saving complex and intangible aspects of the Frisian language.

Looking at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when the first Frisian dictionary[24] was published, the discussion revealed disagreement among scholars around phonological issues. It was suggested that provided transcriptions did not reflect the sounds of Frisian language well enough (Dykstra, 2001; Boersma, 2010). Dissatisfaction with phonetic transcriptions

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[24] The first volume of *Wurdboek fan de Fryske taal/Woordenboek der Friese taal* was published in 1900, the second in 1903 and the third in 1911 (Boersma, 2010).

engendered the idea of compiling a more complete dictionary. Theodor Siebs (1862-1941), a German linguist, was amongst the scholars who were concerned with the inadequacy of written forms ascribed to the Frisian language and presented in the dictionary. Siebs became a proponent of a more rigorous approach and called for changes in phonetic transcriptions. His awareness about the Frisian language resulted in visiting Friesland in 1928 where he conducted extensive work on sounds of the Frisian language and their diffusion. In these endeavours Siebs recorded some Frisian dialects, including Hylpen, Skylge and Skiermuontseach [25] (de Graaf, 2013). Today Siebs' sound recordings are available on historical gramophone records in the Berliner Lautarchiv; the sound archive of the Humboldt University (de Graaf, 2013). However, some of the recorded dialects have already disappeared, and the only surviving sound recordings may demonstrate the presence of Frisian dialects (Mercator, 2014).

Importantly, recording technologies introduced a new approach to language documentation and enabled the study on phonological issues of the Frisian language. In this way, language documentation practices underwent a remarkable redefinition (Boas, 1917; de Graaf, 2011). This is particularly the case because the devices for recording sounds enabled direct recordings of voices (Sterne, 2003). Significantly, they appeared together with discussion about inaccuracy of written forms proposed for the Frisian language. Sound recordings valued this process by delivering phonetic materials and serving as a reference in detecting inaccuracies of written forms of language (Ladefoged and

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[25] These dialects are named in Dutch: Hylpen (Hindeloopen), Skylge (Terschelling) and Skiermuontseach (Schiermonnikoog) (de Graaf, 2013).

Maddieson, 1996; Bhaskararao, 2004). Moreover, the role of sound recordings seems to be particularly helpful since elaboration of written norms for endangered language is recognised as having implications on the rise of prestige of language (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). However, it appears that the emotional attachments to language and place actually played a role in responses to the specific situation of the Frisian language which in turn informed the practical management of concerns about the language and place.

In addition, throughout the 20th century recording devices became valued by some individuals who sought the ability to record the oral tradition of Friesland and folktales. Interestingly, Venbrux and Meder (2004) have found that Frisian activists were the first to make records of folk narratives in the Netherlands. In an attempt to understand the dimension of these collections in terms of numbers, Venbrux and Meder (2004) provide information that in the 1960s and 1970s more than 23,000 folk narratives were recorded in Friesland. For example, Ype Poortinga (1910-1985), a Frisian writer, recorded hundreds of stories from narrators, which were further compiled in seven volumes, edited and published (Steenmeijer-Wielenga, 1999). At the same time, Dam Jaarsma (1914-1991), one of the best known collector of folk tales from the Frisian Woodlands [26], collected narratives from ageing native speakers, such as Geeske Kobus van der Zee (1885-1972), Anders Bijma (1890-1977) and Auke de Wal (1892 - ?) (Venbrux and Meder, 2004).

Such work demonstrates the potential capability of recording technology to create conditions on which local traditions could be recorded and displayed.

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[26] In Frisian: Fryske Wâlden. The region lies in the southeast corner of the province of Friesland and its extensive forestry lends it a unique character.

The recording medium was actively used by individuals in appraising particular values attached to spoken or sung language, possibly on the basis of feelings and underlying wishes to preserve and not to forget histories of place – eventually, to remind them about their histories, identities and differentiations (Massey, 2004). In regard to this, conducting the recording of Frisian oral tradition can be recognised as a remarkable demonstration of attachment to the abstract qualities of language and performances that help to make place (Vansina, 1985; Bauman, 2000). Venbrux and Meder (2004: 201) confirm that the collection of folktales by Frisians 'related to anxieties about cultural identity', describing the activities of Jaarsma for example, as attempts 'directed towards salvaging a regional, Frisian poetic heritage'. The role of emotions and feelings appear here as enabling the performance of such activities and determining accumulated capital of the Frisian oral tradition. This can be viewed as an extension of the notion of a strong sense of place proposed by Tuan (1974), associated with the degree of emotional bonds with place and feelings to the place of residence, and lasting appraisal of its qualities that create an effect of love of place. This can also be viewed as being very rooted in emotional attachment to place.

However, this very sense of place was greatly based around practices of recording the Frisian language and the Frisian oral tradition. Describing tradition as 'oral' indicates that its sense, in contrast to written forms, is in transmitting messages by word of mouth (Finnegan, 1980, 2002; Vansina, 1985; Ryden, 1993). Involvement of recording technologies thus enabled the documentation of the Frisian language and those linguistic particularities and cultural knowledge which are embodied in the units of sounds. The instrumental role of

recording technologies could contribute to rising feelings of achievement of something desirable, yielding positive psychological effects, such as that of fulfilment and satisfaction which can be manifestations of attachment to place (Fried, 1982; Gene, 2004; Shin, 2014). Oral tradition in society which had no system of writing for its language could play an important social role (Finnegan, 1980; Vansina, 1985). Conducting recordings, more or less planned, could allow for the organisation of concern about language and its unique oral forms. In addition, taking into consideration that transmission of oral tradition requires skills of memorising, sound recordings enabled repeating something what is highly subjective. Thus, it can be argued that activities of documenting the Frisian language and the use of recording medium unfold the attachment of individuals to these values and particularities ascribed to and encoded in the aural qualities of language. Ryden (1993) explains that sense of place is closely related to histories of local communities that circulate in oral tradition. Therefore, further analysis should include examination of functioning Frisian oral tradition.

5.3.3 The Frisian oral tradition

As discussed in Chapter Three, oral tradition can be recognised as external artefacts which assist in the expression of people's perceptions and the relationships with place (Finnegan, 2002). In studying oral forms of language some authors highlight that their creation needs to be considered in a framework of relationships between people and natural environment, and a wide variety of social functions (Finnegan, 1980, 2002; Vansina, 1985; Ryden, 1993).

The places that were chosen for this study contrast in physical settings which are commonly thought of as extreme. The province of Friesland, visually, is an agricultural area protected from the sea by dikes. The geography of Friesland indicates that its residents throughout their lives have been struggling with a common enemy – water (Needham, 1992). Frisians built dikes to win the land and protect themselves from such phenomenon as storms and floods. However, as discussed in Section 2.4.1, it has been recognised that the elements of natural environment play an important role in people's experience (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Altman and Wohlwill, 1983; Knopf, 1987; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989). Major physical settings where Frisians live might thus have had an impact on shaping Frisians' characters. Today, Frisians have a reputation of having a strong sense of place (Feitsma, 1990). As one interviewee noted, intensity of feeling to place where Frisians live could be formed through struggles with the sea which possibly taught them how to defend their language (Garry, individual interviewee, Frisian case). The strong feelings to place also can be illustrated by observing how Frisians are engaged in organising the place where they live in. This is noticeable on streets with Frisian flags, Frisian T-shirts or Frisian wooden shoes on stalls across towns in Friesland. This was also seen during some interviews. For example, a couple who visited the Fries Museum at time when there was an exhibition of paintings of Frisian artist, Gerrit Benner[27], presenting pictures form landscapes of Friesland, told me with pride that *'this is our homeland, our place where we live'.* Another local resident joined the conversation and said that:

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[27] Gerrit Benner (1897-1981), Frisian artist, gained international recognition in the 1950s with work on natural themes. His paintings were inspired by Friesland's landscape.

'Here, this is the place where I spent all my life. I am Frisian and like all Frisians I love, enjoy our place where we live. Here we speak our language, the Frisian language. I think that for us, Frisians, our language is very important; it defines our identity. By speaking in Frisian we feel connections to each other' (Oscar, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

These quotations confirm the understanding that place and the language is what binds Frisians. This also means that the relationships between people, language and place evolved over time through specific conditions of place, emotions and feelings toward place – causing positive bonds to develop with place of residency. What can be posited here is that the perception of place where Frisians live derives from experiencing a socially constructed environment, contributing to the development and maintenance of a sense of identity within a language group (Tuan, 1974, 1977). Functional aspects of geographic settings and social interactions within a specific place share the idea of subjectivity (Ryden, 1993; Bauman, 2000). Oral traditions, place narratives, poems, myths, legends which through circulating among Frisians, performed and told in distinctive manners, personal or anecdotal, expressed an array of perceptions and sentiments and could effectively contribute towards developing social networks between people.

One major approach to the Frisian oral tradition was made by Jurjen van der Kooi in his doctoral dissertation (1984) where he described and provided detailed analysis of texts of Frisian folk narratives (Uther, 1997). The legacy of folktales investigated by van der Kooi, encompass the period from 1800 to 1980 (de Jong, 2013). Van der Kooi classified folktales into some general categories

such as fairy tales, animal tales, funny tales and fairy tales[28]. The diverse and particular categories of folktales offer celebration of local identities and may stand to some extent in conflict with the commonly accepted views. However, in parallel, legends and myths of common descent[29] were passing among Frisians mediating mythical or historical personalities such as the king of the Frisians and the national hero Magnus, embodying 'the sense of solidarity, and intimacy' (Wasik, 2006: 223). Functioning of the Frisian oral tradition may be thus best understood in relation to specific behaviours of people which stand for creating a place, as noted, in the intersection of geographic location, social interactions and subjective meanings conveyed by the language. It can be reasonably claimed that the meanings ascribed to Frisian oral narratives, poems, songs, myths and anecdotes that circulated among Frisians were not simple description of place. They offered developing social connections, which grew through the experience of place, life, people and landscape (Vansina, 1985; Ryden, 1993), discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

Conducting recordings of Frisian oral tradition can then be interpreted as a form of expression of attachment to place and the particular sense of belonging to others bounded by language and meanings inhabited in aural qualities of language. These practices can also express perceptions that individuals hold about a place, frequently considered as essential to the formation of place-identities (Proshansky et al., 1983; Brown and Perkins, 1992; Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996).

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[28] The Frisian folktales were organised by Van der Kooi into in a range of subcategories including: *Dom Volk* (*Stupid People*), *Kerk aen Geestelijkheid* (*Church and Clergy*), *Leugenverhalen* (*Lie-tales*), *De Slimme Man* (*The Clever Man*), *De Domme Man* (*The Stupid Man*) (de Jong, 2013).
[29] One of the Frisians legends tells about the founder of Frisians who arrived from Asia and ruled Frisia (Wasik, 2006).

5.4 The Ainu language case: responses to language loss

Some tendencies observed in the Frisian language case study which forms part of the reactions to the potential risk of language loss are to some extent convergent with the data characteristic of the Ainu language case; although, the strength of such constructions is much lowered due to, as outlined in Section 4.2.2, the more isolated character of the Ainu language and a greater level of disruptions in the relationships with the place and the local context of the Ainu language case. Differences can be drawn upon the formation of community efforts that moved work on the revitalisation in the Frisian language. However, similar motivations and commitment of individuals in saving the distinctiveness of the Ainu language played a role in these decisions unearthing the existing attachment to place and a strong sense of place (Tuan, 1974) among the Ainu people in reactions to changes in language use and threat of loss of language continuity.

5.4.1 Going beyond the language politics of place

The historiography of the documentation of the Ainu language offers various resources about the Ainu language. Importantly, however, they were produced by individuals in attempts to save and not to forget the distinctive properties of the language. Such attempts demonstrate emotional attachments of individuals to place and language (Tuan, 1974, 1991; Ryden, 1993).

There are a number of records of historical value which acknowledge the existence of the Ainu language, such as, for example, a report from a journey to Hokkaido made by Jerome de Angelis (1567-1623), an Italian Jesuit missionary

to Japan in 1621, which includes 54 Ainu words (Hokkaido Archives, 2014). At the time of compiling these records, missionaries, travellers and scholars carried out journeys exploring, incidentally or purposefully, the Ainu culture and language. In this pursuit, the first Ainu-Japanese document *Ezokotoba* (1704; 「狄言葉」) was compiled by a Buddhist monk called Kunen[30] during his pilgrimage to Ezo[31] (Sato, 2014). The later Ainu-Japanese dictionary entitled *Moshihogusa* (1804; もしほ草) was compiled by Uehara Kumajirō and covered 2,700 words (Hokkaido Archives, 2014). At the beginning of the 20th century John Batchelor (1845-1944), recognised as the world's foremost authority on the Ainu, published a dictionary titled, *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (1905; Figure 5.1), and then a range of books on the Ainu tradition and customs (Irish, 2009; Shibatani, 1990). The oldest documents of the Ainu lexicon attest that they were compiled by Japanese or European scholars. The Ainu language, similarly to the Frisian case, not having any written system, was developing as a purely oral language.

Figure 5.1 An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary compiled by John Batchelor (1905) (source: www.archive.org/details/ainuenglishjapan)

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[30] Kunen was a Buddhist monk from the Fumon-ji Temple in Fukui's Minamiyama-cho district located in Honshu in Japan (Sato, 2014).
[31] As noted in Section 5.2.1, Ezo was a former name of Hokkaido (Irish, 2009).

However, taken together, this surge of records was made by scholars who centred explicitly on documenting the Ainu language. Further works were pursued over the 20th century. Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 provide insights into the most important work referring to the Ainu language. They were arranged chronologically and categorised into: Ainu language grammars, dictionaries and texts[32]; the English titles are provided in brackets to give a general indication of the work's content. Such work naturally can be interpreted in categories of contribution towards preserving knowledge about the Ainu language, but foremost justify their existence and richness.

Table 5.1 Selection of Ainu language grammars elaborated since the early 20th century (source: author; Hokkaido Archives, 2014)

Kindaichi, Kyōsuke (1936) アイヌ語法概説[Ainugo Gohō Gaisetsu] [An Outline of Ainu Grammar]
Hattori, Shirō (1951; 1978) 音韻論と正書法：新日本式つづり方の提唱[Oninron to Seishoho] [Phonology and Orthography]
Chiri, Mashiho, (1956) アイヌ語入門[Ainugo nyūmon] [Introduction to Ainu Language]
Tamura, Suzuko (1984) アイヌ語オンせい資料[Ainugo Onsei Shiryō] [Ainu Phonetic Materials]
Refsing, Kirsten (1986) The Ainu language. The morphology and syntax of the Shizunai dialect.
Tamura, Suzuko (1993) アイヌ語音声資料選集。散文編[Ainugo onsei shiryō senshū. Sanbunhen] [Selection of phonetic resources of Ainu language]
Tamura, Suzuko (2000) アイヌ語[Ainugo] [The Ainu language]
Yumani, Shobō (2001) アイヌ語考。文法。[Ainugokō. Bunpō] [Thoughts on the Ainu language. Grammar]
Tamura, Suzuko (2002) アイヌ語音声の研究[Ainugo onsei no kenkyū] [Study on phonetics of Ainu language]
Kokugakuin Tanki Daigaku (2003) アイヌ語の文法 [Ainugo no bunpō] [The Ainu language and grammar]
Bugaeva, Anna (2004) Grammar and folklore texts of the Chitose dialect of Ainu
Tamura, Suzuko (2004) アイヌ語音声資料索引[Ainugo onsei shiryō sakuin] [Phonetics of Ainu language – Indexes]
Katsunobu, Izutsu and Yoritaka, Tezuka (2006) 基礎アイヌ語[Kiso Ainugo] [The basics of Ainu language]
Satō, Tomomi (2008) アイヌ語文法の基礎[Ainugo bunpō-no kiso] [The basics of Ainu grammar]

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[32] Boasian trilogy of grammar, dictionary and texts are recognised as necessary in linguistic documentary practices (Ball, 2012).

Table 5.2 Selection of Ainu dictionaries elaborated since the early 20th century (source: author; Hokkaido Archives, 2014)

Batchelor, J. (1905) アイヌ・英・和辭典およびアイヌ文典 [Ainu, ei, wa jiten oyobi Ainugo Bunten] [An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary: Including a Grammar of the Ainu Language]
永田方正(1891; 1984)『北海道蝦夷語地名解』北海道; Nagata, Yasumasa (1891; 1984) [Ezogo chimeikai. Hokkaido chō] [Annotated Ainu Dictionary of Geographical Names in Hokkaido]
Chiri, Mashiho (1953) 分類アイヌ語辞典[Bunrui Ainugo Jiten] [Classified Dictionaries of Ainu]
Watanabe, Shigeru (1955) 北海道方言集[Hokkaidō hōgenshū] [Dictionary of Hokkaido Dialects]
Chiri, Mashiho (1956) 地名アイヌ語小事典 [Chimei Ainugo Shōjiten] [An Ainu Small Dictionary of Toponyms]
服部四郎編(1964)『アイヌ語方言辞典』岩波書店 (1995 復刊 3 刷り); Hattori, Shirō and Chiri, Mashiho (1964) アイヌ語方言辞典[Ainugo Hōgō Jiten] [An Ainu Dialect Dictionary]
Uehara, Kumajirō (1972) 蝦夷方言藻汐草[Ezo hōgen moshiogusa] [A Miscellany of Ainu Dialect]
Kotora, Jinbō and Kanazawa, Shōzaburō (1973) アイヌ語会話辞典[Ainugo Kaiwa Jiten] [An Ainu Conversational Dictionary]
Chiri, Mashiho (1975) 知里真志保著作集。別巻 II、分類アイヌ語辞典。人間編[Chiri Mashiho Chosakushū. Bekkan II, Bunrui Ainugo jiten. Ningen hen] [Works of Chiri Mashiho. A Classified Dictionary of Ainu language. Volume II. Human beings.] (1976) 知里真志保著作集。別巻 I,分類アイヌ語辞典。植物編・動物編。[Chiri Mashiho Chosakushū. Bekkan I, Bunrui Ainugo jiten. Shokubutus hen, dōbutsu hen][Works of Chiri Mashiho. A Classified Dictionary of Ainu Language. Volume 1. Plants and animals.]
Chiri, Mutsumi and Yokoyama, Takao (1988) Ainugo Kaiwa Irasuto Jiten [Ainu Language Conversation and Phrase Dictionary]
Nakagawa, Hiroshi (1995) アイヌ語千歳方言辞典[Ainugo Chitose Hōgen Jiten] [The Ainu Dictionary of the Chitose Dialect]
Tamura, Suzuko (1996) アイヌ語辞典：沙流方言[Ainugo Jiten: Saru Hōgen] [Ainu Dictionary: Saru Dialect]
Kayano, Shigeru (1996) 萱野茂のアイヌ語辞典[Kayano Shigeru no Ainugo Jiten] [Kayano's Shigeru Ainu Dictionary]
Kirikae, Hideo (2003) アイヌ神謡集辞典：テキスト・文法解説付き[Ainu shinyōshū jiten: tekisuto, bunpō kaisetsu tsuki] [Dictionary of the Ainu songs of gods with text and grammatical notes]

Table 5.3 Selection of texts on Ainu language and culture published since the early 20th century (source: author; Hokkaido Archives, 2014)

Piłsudski, Bronislaw (1912) Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore
山辺安之助著，金田一京助編(1913)『あいぬ物語』博文館 [Yasunosuke Yamabe and Kyōsuke Kindaichi 'Ainu Monogatari' s Ainu Tales]
知里幸恵編訳(1923)『アイヌ神謡集』郷土研究社 (1978 年岩波文庫版) Chiri, Yukie アイヌ神謡集[Ainu Shin'yōshū] [Collection of Ainu Epics of the Gods]
Batchelor, John (1924) Ainu Fireside Stories.
Sieroszewski, Waclaw (1926) Among Hairy People.
Kindaichi, Kyōsuke (1931; 1967) アイヌ語叙事詩：ユーカラの研究[Ainu Jojishi Yukara no Kenkyū] [Study on Ainu Yukar Epics]
Kindaichi, Kyōsuke (1944) アイヌ叙事詩：板取丸の曲[Ainu jojishi: Itadorimaru no kyoku] [Ainu Epic Poems: Itadorimaru no Kyoku]
Munro, N.G. (1962) Ainu: Creed and Cult.
Sarashina, Genzō (1963) アイヌ民話集[Ainu minwashū] [Collection of Ainu Folk Stories]
Sarashina, Genzō (1971) アイヌ伝説集 [Collection of Ainu Legends]
Philippi, D. L. (1979) Songs of Gods, Songs of Humans: The Epic Tradition of the Ainu.
Katayama, Tasumine (1993) 日本語とアイヌ語[Nihongo to Ainugo] [Japanese and Ainu Language]
Kayano, Shigeru (1994) Our Land Was a Forest: an Ainu Memoir
Refsing, Kirsten (1996) Early European Writings on the Ainu Language
Osami, Gizo (1996) Uepekere of Chitose: Thirteen Stories from the Land of the Ainu
Nakagawa, Hiroshi (1997) アイヌの物語世界[Ainu no monogatari sekai] [The Ainu Narrative World]
Kayano, Shigeru (1998) 萱野茂のアイヌ神話集成[Kayano no Ainu Shinwa Shūsei] [Kayano's Collection of Ainu myths]
Majewicz, A.F. (1998) The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski. The Aborigines of Sakhalin.
Fitzhugh, William W., & Dubreuil, Chisato O. ed. (1999) AINU: Spirit of a Northern People. National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
Kirikae, Hideo (2003) Ainu shin-yōshū jiten: tekisuto bumpō kaisetsu tsuki [Lexicon to Yukie Chiri's Ainu Shinyōshū (Ainu Songs of Gods) with Text and Grammatical Notes]
Tamura, Suzuko (2013) アイヌ語の世界[Ainugo no sekai] [The Ainu Language World]

These bibliographical assemblages can hence acknowledge a rich content of created resources. Noteworthy is the fact that a certain amount of resources were subsequently produced by the Ainu people themselves, including Yukie Chiri (1903-1922), Mashiho Chiri (1909-1961) or Shigeru Kayano (1926-2006). However, the disproportion in terms of numbers between literary works produced by Japanese or European scholars and those produced by Ainu over time remains considerable. Importantly, some of the Ainu people themselves conducted activities in response to mitigate the danger of the loss of Ainu language. Ultimately, being involved in the conflict in place built upon language policy of place, discussed in Section 5.2.1, Ainu became engaged in activities that may be identified as strongly bonded to the Ainu language and the local place where they lived (Tuan, 1974; Ryden, 1993); this will be discussed more in the next section. However, what needs to be said here is that there are likely a number of meanings bound up in explaining the values of this entire linguistic legacy. Woodbury (2003: 35), for example, comments on the meaning of linguistic legacy, explaining that:

> 'Dictionaries, grammars, and texts have informed historical linguistics and the reconstruction of linguistic prehistory, of genetic language families, and of patterns of prehistoric linguistic contact'.

This particular asset was recognised by an interviewee who said that:

> *'The records affirm the existence of the Ainu language and the Ainu ancestors in Hokkaido or Sakhalin, and other places. Well, they document where they lived and they document the Ainu language and the Ainu voice'* (Ume, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

In the above quotation language resources are perceived from the lens of their values as artefacts which can generate knowledge about the Ainu language and

places inhabited by the Ainu. Having been created over a longer period of time these artefacts can be seen as embracing the tangible and the intangible, preserving the identity of Ainu voices. The oral context of the Ainu language addressed in this quotation suggests a significance that can be read both in a literal and a metaphoric way. As discussed in Section 5.2.1, the aural experience of language informed individuals of how they related to place they live in and to others. Intangible values of the Ainu language could not be effectively expressed in written formats. In the situation of demise of language, the employment of recording devices that could register the uniqueness of sounds of the Ainu language became ultimately most relevant.

5.4.2 Recording the Ainu language

In similarity to the Frisian language case, the activities associated with language documentation contributed to the proliferation of language resources in the Ainu language over time. Being accommodated by recording devices supported the desire of individuals to save the vanishing sounds of Ainu language. The nature of conducting these attempts demonstrates a strong attachment to meanings ascribed to place constructed over time (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976; Hay, 1998).

The earliest sound recordings appeared in the Ainu language documentation at the beginning of the 20th century. They were made by Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918; Plate 5.1), a Polish anthropologist. Piłsudski conducted his research on Ainu culture in Sakhalin and Hokkaido during his exile, as he was accused of attempting to assassinate the Russia's Tsar Alexander the Third in the late 1880s (Majewicz, 2009). He married into an Ainu family. It is also

known that he taught Ainu children and adults in the south of Sakhalin (Majewicz, 2009). Living in Sakhalin among the Ainu people he acquired the language. Majewicz (2009: 64) asserts that 'his command of the language was expert and flawless'.

Plate 5.1 Bronisław Piłsudski's monument in Shiraoi, Hokkaido (source: author)

Historical and social contexts thus emerge as influential upon the employment of sound recordings in the activities of documenting the Ainu language. Pursuing the study on Ainu language and culture, Piłsudski made recordings of Ainu songs and shamanic performances in 1902 and 1903 (Majewicz, 2013). These recordings were conducted in Sakhalin and Hokkaido on phonographic wax cylinders (Plate 5.2). Today, they may symbolise associations between place and technology, witnessing the encounter with the sounds of language. Similarly to recordings of Frisian language made by Siebs, Piłsudski's sound recordings offer insight into the sounds of ancestral language. These historic

field recordings may represent sources of orally transmitted cultures and many of them provide documentary records of sounds which are no longer heard. The activities of recording also confirm Brady's (1999) view that the use of the phonograph, especially in the initial years of its use, was appreciated for a chance to preserve declining cultures. The phonograph offered a means of documenting performances that 'can be referred to again and again' (Brady, 1999: 110-111). However, according to Brady (1999) collectors complained that the records from the field were not always satisfactory. In addition, although the recording device offered a means for conducting required recordings, performing recording was made through negotiation and collaboration with those who did not reject but were willing to be recorded. The use of phonograph could also increase the element of risk when sharing recorded material that contained sacred material (Brady, 1999).

Plate 5.2 Piłsudski's wax cylinders exhibit at the Hokkaido University Museum (source: author)

However, the Ainu language recordings emerge, in part, as a personal experience of having lived among the Ainu people. Many of Piłsudski's works were published in the *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* (Rozwadowski, 1912). In its introductory note he wrote:

> 'The two first texts have been rendered both in a strict word-for-word translation and in another version, freer and more literary. In the others, I have given one translation only. This was as near to the original as I could make it, whilst preserving intelligibility; such words as it was necessary to add for the understanding of the sense, have been enclosed between parentheses. In general, in order to be more helpful to students of Ainu, I have sacrificed style and even at times grammatical correction' (cited in Sato-Rossberg, 2008: 137).

Sato-Rossberg (2008) argues that this note indicates Piłsudski's concern in translating the Ainu language word-by-word. Indeed, what needs to be added is the fact that translation is a field of art in which the translator must decide whether to preserve the text with all aspects intact or to orient the translation toward the target readers (Newmark, 1981). Thus, resorting to this type of translation may illustrate Piłsudski's struggle to express the Ainu lexicon adequately in writing by taking seriously the importance of the sound of any given language as a property of place. Objections which vocalised the view that the phonograph did not provide accurate records were present at the time of the development of first technologies of sound reproduction, but the recording device offered efficiency in the field of language documentation and was valued by providing the opportunity for the collector to be orientated more toward aural nuances and in constructing and validating highly refined knowledge (Brady, 1999).

As mentioned above, efforts to preserve historical sounds of place were also undertaken by the Ainu people themselves, including Mashiho Chiri, Yukie Chiri or Shigeru Kayano (see tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). Their work could arise from a desire to preserve personal meanings which they hold toward the place where they lived. Mashiho Chiri, for example, gave a number of breakthroughs in Ainu research in Japan by 'correcting outsiders' interpretations of Ainu culture' (Fujimoto and Ohnuki-Tierney, 1973: 868). The chance to review written transcriptions can be perceived in terms of taking the preservation of traditional Ainu material seriously and as a duty (Brady, 1999). It is important to note that Mashiho was a native Ainu who devoted his life to research on the Ainu lexicon. He is known throughout Japan and named as the 'native Ainu anthropologist' (Sato-Rossberg, 2008: 135) or the 'Ainu genius' (Fujimoto and Ohnuki-Tierney, 1973: 868). He collected a range of Ainu oral narratives and complied *Bunrui Ainugo Jiten* [Classified Dictionaries of the Ainu Language] which cover three volumes*: Shokubutsuhen* [Plants], *Dōbutsuhen* [Animals] and *Ningen* [Humans]. Today, Mashiho Chiri's notes are preserved on microfilms and held by the Hokkaido Museum of Literature (Plate 5.3).

Plate 5.3 Sample of transcriptions made by Mashiho Chiri and preserved on microfilms held by the Hokkaido Museum of Literature (source: Kitahara et al., 2012)

This particular example of activities conducted by Mashiho Chiri uncovers personal experience, highlighting the attitudes of the Ainu people towards their language and place where they lived. The types of dictionaries, which he developed, deal with emotional attachment to place which finally inspired him to preserve this place in the Ainu language. Such practices reflect his concern and sensitivity which empowered him and helped to achieve some level of satisfaction, demonstrating place attachment (Fried, 1982; Gene, 2004). By re-situating Piłsudski's recordings within activities conducted by Mashiho Chiri, it is then possible to correlate two activities: the recording and writing of sounds of language to register the soundscape of particular place and preserve the traits of this place.

However, not all authors are impressed with the capacity of the phonograph; they point out that 'the fidelity of the phonograph left something to be desired' (Brady, 1999: 82-83). Schafer (1977: 90), for example, questions the contribution of technology of sound reproduction in relation to endangered sounds, arguing that 'sounds have been torn from their natural sockets and given an amplified and independent existence', their effect of producing what he termed as 'noise pollution'. He used the term 'schizophonia' for 'the discovery of packaging and storing techniques for sound and the splitting of sounds from their original contexts' (Schafer, 1977: 88). However, a useful attempt to think about recorded sounds has been expressed by Colby (1972: 26) who argues that sound recordings perform a function that is unattainable in written forms 'because sound has special temporal and spatial characteristics'. In praising recording practices Emeneau (1984; cited in Bhaskararao, 2004: 222) notices that:

'One of the major imperfections results from the lack in the 1930s of portable recording apparatus: tape-recorders were developed and became available only in the '40s. All recording had to be done at dictation or from memory after observation. Speech at natural speed could hardly be recorded at all, or at best only in very short bursts. And listening again and again to a stretch of speech at natural speed was impossible…. Ideally, I should have returned to the Todas with modern recording equipment to repair this imperfection of the earlier data'.

The inheritance of Piłsudski and Mashiho Chiri provides records of a particular kind informed by the on-going process of the fading away of sounds of the Ainu language from the place of its use. Operating in the historical context of the scene of tensions that mark the history of Hokkaido, both scholars were seeking a way to preserve the qualities of place and its sense defined by language. Likewise other collectors, including Ainu native speakers such as Mashiho's sister, Yukie Chiri (1903-1922) or Kannari Matsu[33] (1875-1961), all engaged in documenting the Ainu language. All of them conducted a rigorous evaluation of the Ainu language. They transcribed it into Roman letters, translated it into Japanese or English, and gave detailed descriptions with notes of affiliation to religious aspects or to sociocultural data (Fujimoto and Ohnuki-Tierney, 1973; Sato-Rossberg, 2008). On the whole, powerfully emotive place-based practices emerge from their devoted work. The practices shaped by their intensive work on the language were undoubtedly imbued with a desire to preserve the ephemerality of place and derived from the attachment to place and meanings embedded in language (Tuan, 1991; Alderman, 2008).

It is of course worth noting that during that time the techniques related to editing sounds were not commonly available (Steffen, 2005). On this basis, at the beginning of history of recording sound, documentation of the sounds of

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[33] Kannari Matsu is also known by Ainu name: Imekanu.

language had a great deal in common with written records. They both held sounds of language captive either in recording device or written format. In distinguishing the role of sound recordings, however, de Graaf (2011: 28) states that:

> 'Prior to 1890, during linguistic fieldwork, notes were taken by hand after many repetitions of spoken utterances and this were a laborious process for both the investigator and the informant. The phonograph changes all this and with the new method, linguists were able to make records instantaneously and obtain an accurate and objective record of a single performance'.

Brady (1999: 112) also argues that the use of recording device served an important function in documentation practices and asserts that 'the significant event began when the cylinder rolled and … when the cylinder came to an end'.

From the presented perspective, the evolution of language documentation is more than simply producing records. Testimony of Hokkaido's resident reflects this phenomenon:

> '*Nobody knew the Ainu language but the Ainu elders recorded the Ainu language to pass on the tradition and to pass it on to the next generations*' (Noboru, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

Another testimony of the beliefs which underlay the motivations of making records of the Ainu language can be found in a film displayed in the Museum of Human Rights in Osaka. This film reveals the records of what Yokoyama Mutsuri[34] said about Yukie Chiri:

> '*She wrote for the sake [of her] brothers and sisters, [as well as] for own sake to the world for Professor Kindaichi, for the world to communicate the thinking and ideas of Ainu people to the world*'.

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[34] According to information displayed on this film Yokoyama Mutsuri was a niece of Yukie Chiri.

Through these quotations it is possible to learn about past fears of those who devoted their life to documenting language. Among them there was Yukie Chiri (1903-1922) who helped Professor Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971), a Japanese linguist from Tokyo Imperial University, in transcriptions of recordings which he conducted in Hokkaido. Yukie herself also collected traditional Ainu songs. At the age of nineteen she compiled a book that holds these collections. The book was published in 1923, under the title *Ainu Shin'yōshū* [Collection of Ainu Songs of Gods], one year before she died. Her fears about the Ainu language were mirrored in the activities to preserve the Ainu songs, and thus brought specific records of the Ainu language. These emotional responses are clearly linked to a desire to save what was unique to place, expressed in the Ainu language and attached to its sounds.

Another Ainu activist, Shigeru Kayano[35] (1926-2006) also collaborated with Professor Kindaichi. In his book *Our Land Was a Forest: An Ainu Memoir* (1994: 117) Kayano confesses that Professor Kindaichi as well as Mashiho Chiri, had an impact on his activities in collecting and recording Ainu oral traditions. In his book he wrote that he 'had learned from Professor [Mashiho] Chiri the importance of the Ainu language', adding that:

> 'Fearing that the words they [the Ainu people] created and the words our ancestors created – those that existed in no small number – would disappear like rainbows or haze, they used me as a messenger to pick up and gather together the words of our ancestors' (Kayano, 1994: 144).

The threat to the Ainu language again brought increased production of language documentation. Kayano made a range of recordings, including Ainu

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[35] Kayano was the first Ainu member of the Japanese Diet between 1994 and 1998 (Siddle, 2012).

speech, folk tales and legends such as *uwepeker* (old stories), *kamuy yukar* (stories of deities) and *yukar upopo* (Ainu legends). Today, there are about 500 hours of these recordings (Kayano, 1994), although, it could be up to 650 hours, as it was explained during an interview. These collection practices may be evidence of Kayano's affection to the forms of Ainu oral tradition and reveal an active appreciation of the linguistic aural qualities of place. The practices of recording can also be interpreted as a demonstration of personal identity and a strong attachment to meanings ascribed to place constructed over time (Hay, 1998), Ainu culture and language in a specific context of language endangerment, referring in many ways to the strong sense of place (Tuan, 1974; Relph, 1976).

Among these collections, there are some recordings which are distinctive in their form such *iyoitakkote*, the requiem sung at funerals, recorded by Kayano on a tape recorder borrowed from the Biratori[36] town hall (Kayano, 1994). Kayano confessed in his previously noted book *Our Land was a Forest* (1994) that he could not afford to buy tapes. He often transcribed the recorded materials to use tape again. It seems that the reason which stands behind such practices is related closely to the strong attachment to a place defined by sounds of the language. Strong feelings towards place may enhance such practices and 'will persist as a distinctive entity even through the world around may change' (Relph, 1976: 31).

To recapitulate what Kayano admits in his book: recording devices were used in a specific time representing not only the splendour of technical knowledge but

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[36] Biratori (平取町) is a town located in the southwestern part of Hokkaido.

also the activities undertaken by individuals in response to demise of language. Mahias (2013: 162) remarks that 'a single technological feature often functions in both realms, that is, as a physical action on matter as well as part of a system of meaning'. In observing the histories of collectors, it becomes evident that the novelty of sound recording technology has found a place in language documentation activities. Individuals, by performing recordings showed their awareness of language and place. Activities of documenting the Ainu language, similarly to the Frisian case, emerge as forms of expressing emotional attachments to place, sense of belonging to a place, identity and cohesion with language community (Tuan, 1977). Thereby, the Ainu people's engagement in recordings is rooted in their need to salvage something of their auditory experience in a place. Similarly to the Frisian language case, in a situation of potential danger of language loss, the use of recording devices empowered individuals to meet their desire, fuelling them with some level of satisfaction (Fried, 1982; Gene, 2004). The nature of recordings conducted by the Ainu people concerned collections of what is perceived as valuable to them – their oral tradition.

5.4.3 The Ainu oral tradition

The Ainu oral tradition is often described as arising from experiencing and interpreting the natural environment (see, e.g. Philippi, 1979; Dunn, 1980; Strong, 2011; Sakata, 2011; Box 8.1). This may vary from the Frisian oral tradition. Incorporated metaphors derive from the certain attributes and richness of natural world assisted the Ainu people throughout their lives: oceans, mountains, rivers, dwellings, grasses, flowers, islands, birds and animals.

Strong (2011), for example, argues that the world portrayed in Yukie Chiri's *Ainu Shin'yōshū* [Collection of Ainu Songs of Gods] sustains the natural world perceived and experienced by the Ainu people. In describing the Ainu oral tradition Irish (2009: 36) discloses that:

> 'One Ainu legend explains why one hears the loud cry of the cicada only on hot summer days. It seems that an old woman's cries were disturbing the gods; she would not stop crying after a tidal wave destroyed her village. To stem her tears, the gods turned her into a cicada and decreed that she would live with people in the summer and the gods in the winter. Still she cried, though, and a wise god finally told her that she could cry only on hot, sunny days'.

This confirms the view that components of natural environment underpinned the meanings on which Ainu oral tradition was constructed, demonstrating a richness of forms. In general, they can be classified into:

- The epics (heroic epics): *yukar or sakorpe* (verse sung to melodies) – stories of heroes with supernatural power;

- The myths: *kamuy yukar* (verse sung to melodies) – tales about the Ainu gods;

- The folk tales: *uwepeker or tuytak* (prose) – stories about humans.

(Dunn, 1980; Sakata, 2011)

The aspects of natural environment are generously portrayed in Ainu oral tradition. A fundamental distinction of Ainu oral tradition is drawn upon the Ainu perception of the natural world as being made up of spiritual forces (Sakata, 2011). It is the nonvisual sensing of place which influenced production of the symbolic meanings reflecting the uniqueness of experiences which the Ainu people had with the landscape. The motif of land is often depicting as inhabited by the gods. *Kamui yukar,* for example, is a genre which in most represents this

view. It is also the genre considered to be one of the oldest in Ainu tradition (Kindaichi, 1992). Strong (2011: 45) in examining *kamui yukar* explains that:

> '…seeks to present a description of that world's landscape and its nonhuman life. In other words, it seeks to present the physical and natural world that was both experienced and imagined as the narrative context by those who told and heard the chants'.

Philippi (1979: vii) confirms that 'in the Ainu tales… the several worlds of sense-experience and imagination are knit together'. The place inhabited by the Ainu with the richness of natural environment appears, thus, as stimulating their attentiveness, developing imaginary and influencing life histories (Tuan, 1974; Ryden, 1993). Oral tradition signifies the emotional response of the Ainu people to the natural environment which can be considered in terms of particular sensitivity, interactions with places where they lived and fondness to those places that compromise sense of place (Ryden, 1993). In explaining how far the Ainu people are connected with the natural world, a Japanese woman, who has been pursuing the lives with the Ainu, in her interview to the Hokkaido Shimbun[37] in July 2013 said that:

> 「アイヌ民族にならない、自然でもなんでも人間かコントロールできると思うのは違いだと早く気付かなければならない。」
> *'We must be aware of the fact that in getting to know the Ainu people thinking that we can control them or even their natural world is wrong'*
>
> (The Hokkaido Shimbun, July 2013).

This excerpt confirms the spiritual unity of the Ainu people with place and their natural environment which influenced production of symbolic meanings. In these endeavours language, playing a role to describe concepts, symbols and

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[37] The Hokkaido Shimbun is a Japanese language newspaper published daily in Hokkaido.

experiences, compounds the process of integration with place; a mechanism by which place attachment and sense of place were formulated and constructed (Ryden, 1993). However, in such construction social relations were also important. Thus, recitals of *kamui yukar* occurred during ceremonies or rituals (Kindaichi, 1992). Some other genres of oral tradition were performed through the nights 'in front of people from neighbouring communities' as a particular source of enjoyment and meaning in Ainu life. (Strong, 2011: 6). In doing so, communication occurred between individuals who inhabited the same perceptual place. The messages transferred by language in these practices delivered a whole realm of meanings that the local communities ascribed to place (Bauman, 2000), affecting the developing of feelings of connectedness and bonds with place (Williams, 1991, 2008; Ryden, 1993; Pollini, 2005).

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter started by examining changes in language use constructed upon the linguistic politics of place across the Ainu and Frisian language case studies. Historical perspective on decline in usage of these both languages developed understanding about the experiences of people in situations of perceived loss of language. The findings from the case studies of Ainu and Frisian languages reaffirm that demise of language generates negative feelings associated with language isolation and devaluation of language status (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Russell, 2002; Harrison, 2007; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Examination of both case studies confirms that language endangerment is associated with the decline of cultural and social practices (Sasse, 1992; Woodbury, 1993;

Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Fettes, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Austin and Sallabank, 2011) through which bonds with place and others could develop (Gerber, 1997; Williams, 1991; Pollini, 2005). The findings also confirm those from the geographic literature which reveals that disruptions in place-related relationships deteriorate the meanings and values intertwined into people's lives that count for place attachments and sense of place (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Giuliani, 2003). However, the findings add understanding that language endangerment eliminates the aural experience of language, undermining the sense of continuity, sense of belonging to others and place, and identification with a language group.

Examination of language documentation activities across both case studies unfolded the responses of individuals to the danger in language continuity. Under the situation of potential language loss, recording devices became used in language documentation to study the Ainu and Frisian languages, providing the possibility of recording phonological particularities of each language. Recording technology changed the way of documenting languages and linguistic cultures enabling more specific work on language (Boas, 1917; de Graaf, 2011). The difference between both case studies can be drawn upon the fact that language documentation activities were fuelled by a more collective desire to save the Frisian language. However, it was found across both case studies that the use of recording technologies permitted individuals to pursue activities of documenting of diverse forms of oral tradition. These activities detonated emotional attachments of individuals to the aural qualities of language across both case studies. As revealed, the Frisian and Ainu languages were neither written nor read, but were developing as spoken

languages, and this accounts for interactions with language not influenced by written forms (Johnson-Laird, 1990; Thieberger, 1995; Rubin, 1997). These findings inform the ways in which language speakers relate to places they inhabited.

From a discussion on oral tradition across both case studies, multiple vocal and verbal forms of the Ainu and Frisian languages emerged as a mode of engagement with place through complex processes which involves social interactions and subjective meanings provided by interactions with language (Bauman, 2000). The complexities of these interactions appeared to be connected to experiencing local sounds of language distinctive to each case.

The lens on Ainu and Frisian oral tradition provide a wider understanding of two different linguistic cultures which have distinct geographical locations and perceptions of place and finally formulate their own senses of place. This confirms Hall's (1969: 2) suggestion that 'people from different cultures not only speak different languages but, what is possibly more important, inhabit different sensory worlds'. When language is brought as a mode of communication at place, the place-based meanings and accumulated knowledge are passed between speakers. This is indeed reflected in the distinctive sound systems of languages, words, expressions and concepts which have been created to name and describe experiences endemic to a place. According to Finnegan (2002) these interconnections are necessary for the collective lives of people. Bauman (2000) has also confirmed that telling stories, anecdotes, myths, legends, family histories or performing folkloristic narratives involve language as a symbol of a given group. This confirms that the notion of place concerns subjective aspects

attached to language as an important means for constructing place attachments, articulating and passing down sense of place (Tuan, 1974, 1991).

In the situation of the potential danger of language loss, recording technologies enabled to record unique forms of language and its particularities embodied in sound units which can be reproduced whilst restoring language use within the revitalisation process, and this will be considered throughout the following chapters.

Chapter 6

Narratives of archival sound recordings

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five, by focusing on the histories of documentation of the Ainu and Frisian languages, revealed that the use of recording devices across both case studies accounts for emotional attachments of language speakers to place they lived in and languages they used. Presently, these recordings are stored in archives and museums, holding unique data on language. As discussed in Chapter Two, the revitalisation of languages critically endangered by loss generates connections to linguistic heritage and cultural values (King, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Brinton et al., 2008; Hornberger and Wang, 2008). However, these connections may also be vital in the context of working with a language which is in a more secure position. It is therefore important to see how and why archival sound recordings are used in the context of revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages and what effects they have on language revitalisation processes across both case studies.

This chapter will thus address the next research objective which is to explore the use of archival sound recordings and their impact on the revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages; cases varied in the advancements in revitalisation. As revealed in Section 5.3, the history of revitalisation of the Frisian language is distinctly different to the Ainu language case with a varying degree of intensity

of work on revitalisation. Therefore, it is likely that the practices of using archival sound recordings are important in other ways than in the case of the Ainu language. Hence, the use of past sound recordings will be discussed separately to each case. Archival sound recordings and their utility in the revitalisation of the Ainu language will be discussed in Section 6.2. Section 6.3 will explore archival sound recordings in reference to the Frisian language case study. Section 6.4 will provide conclusions.

6.2 Archival sound recordings in the Ainu language

Recently, recordings in the Ainu language developed over time are in the storage of archives, museums and libraries (see Majewicz, 2004, 2009; Bugaeva, 2010; de Graaf and Denisov, 2015) or individuals, as revealed during interviews and as will be discussed further throughout the following chapters. They preserve 'the spoken word and other unique historical sounds' (Colby, 1972: 8). Importantly, they are objects in the sense that each makes possible the reproduction of recorded sounds, knowledge creation and dissemination (Sterne, 2003). Potentially archival recordings seem to hold significance for spatial transformation and in relation to transmission of cultural heritage values (Makagon and Neumann, 2008).

Archival sound recordings can be thus used to a greater extent of processes aiming at revitalisation of the Ainu language. This section will thus explore the use of archival Ainu recordings. The results demonstrate that they were integrated with the restoration work on the Ainu language having the effects on reviving the sense of self lived in people's memories and the sense of continuity

(Blassnigg, 2009, 2013; Crooke, 2011), and the restoration of sense of belonging to others (Smith, 2006; Malpas, 2008), offering connections to new domains where language can be potentially used.

6.2.1 Foregrounding language revitalisation

The chance to reproduce the content of the earliest sound recordings involves technical challenges (see, e.g. Iwai et al., 1986; Asakura 2002, 2013; Ifukube and Shimizu, 2004; Moelants et al., 2007). At the same time the reproduction of recorded sounds demands much attention and efforts of linguists (Nakagawa, 2004, 2009). The process of retrieving data may be discussed separately (see, e.g. Iwai et al., 1986; Nakamura et al., 1997; Asakura, 2002, 2013), but the meaningfulness of these endeavours comes from using archival records for the purposes of language revitalisation (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; de Graaf, 2011; Nathan, 2012; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013). However, the specific aspect of the content of recordings can be recognised as currently useless since words that are stored and not used sometimes for as long as a century do not find application today (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). Nonetheless, despite this, the attempts to reproduce the content of past Ainu recordings have been made and appeared to be beneficial by creating a chance for reviving memories important for the restoration of sense of self and sense of continuity (Proshansky et al., 1983; Blassnigg, 2009; 2013; Crooke, 2011) and the reconstruction of the Ainu language (discussed in Section 6.2.2).

As discussed in Section 5.4.1, language documentation activities conducted over time created artefacts that grant varied forms of the Ainu oral tradition

stored in sound recordings. The potential of Ainu records sheltered by the earliest recordings can be viewed today as a historical asset (de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013; de Graaf and Denisov, 2015). However, interviews, informal meetings and conversations in Japan did not occur without reference to the earliest recordings of the Ainu language made by Piłsudski, discussed in Section 5.4.2. Some interviewees, local residents of Hokkaido, provided the account that:

「ピウスツキ の蝋管って、アイヌ語の貴重な資料ですね。蝋管蓄音機を用いてアイヌの歌を記録したね。」
'Piłsudski's recordings, they are valuable materials on the Ainu language. He used wax cylinders to make records of the Ainu songs' (Michiko, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

「そうか。ピウスツキ の蝋管って、アイヌの音楽を録音で、大変貴重な音源ですね。」
'Oh, yes. Piłsudski's recordings, they are very valuable recordings of Ainu songs' (Yasuo, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

「ピウスツキはアイヌの歌を記録しており….アイヌ語の大変貴重な音源ですね。」
'Piłsudski made records of Ainu songs…. They are very valuable sound sources of the Ainu language' (Ken, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

Another interviewee provided a more detailed explanation:

「まぁ、たとえばアイヌの音声資料ったらね、さっきほどいわれたようにポーランド出身のピウスツキーっていう人が、樺太に流刑として送られて、そこで樺太アイヌのね、音声を蝋管（ロウカン）に記録したって、これはけっこう有名だと思うんですけど、当時としては画期的なことだと思うんですよね。で、そのあとってレコード、あれは円筒形のレコードだけど、円盤状のレコードに代わってくるの、この円盤状のレコードにね、久保寺逸彦っていう人がたくさん残してる. (…). それはいまどこで保管しているかっていうと、北海道立アイ

ヌ文化研究センターって、道立の機関にその資料がすべて保管されています。して、それが来年の春からね、いまは休館中であるけど、北海道開拓記念館 っていう、道立の博物館があるんですが.... それが来年の四月にね、北海道博物館っていうふうに名称を変えてリニューアルオープンする予定。で、そのリニューアルオープンにしたがって、北海道立アイヌ文化研究センターは、その道立の博物館と、同じ道立の機関だから、それが合併というのか、部署が統合されちゃうの。だから、いまいった久保寺逸彦っていう人がたくさん残しているレコードの音声資料、それは道立博物館が所有することになる。だから古いものとしてはピウスツキの蝋管でしょ、それで、あの、いまのゆった久保寺逸彦っていうひとが残したレコードね、そしてその次が萱野茂が残した、あのテープでね ...」

'Well, for example, as far as in regards to Ainu sound recordings, as I said earlier, people like Piłsudski – a famous Pole – he was exiled to Sakhalin, and there he recorded voices of Ainu from Sakhalin on wax cylinders, and I think they are of course well known, but at that time it was an epoch making event. Then, cylindrical recordings were changed into recordings on discs, and Kubodera Itsuhiko[38] left a lot of records made on discs…. So now where are they deposited? They are all kept in the Hokkaido Ainu Culture Research Centre which is a national institution of Hokkaido. Next spring, the Historical Museum of Hokkaido will be opened. Now it is closed … but next year in April, there is a plan for a renewed opening and the Historical Museum of Hokkaido will change its name. Together with this renewed opening, Hokkaido Ainu Culture Research Centre, because it is a national institution like this museum, they will probably be integrated into one institution. Thus, a great amount of records made by Kubodera Itsuhiko will become the possession of the Historical Museum of Hokkaido. And as such, old recordings as those made by Piłsudski on wax cylinders, records left by Kubodera and Shigeru Kayano's tapes….' (Taro, individual interviewee, Ainu case)

From what has been said here, it is evident that the meaning attached to the recordings made on wax cylinders as well as on discs or tapes were perceived by the interviewee as being far more personal than the material objects of history (Smith, 2006; Dudley, 2010). The interviewee talked with pride about the existing collections pointing out the laborious work of precursors who lived and worked among the Ainu people, and made such collections. A positive tone

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[38] Kubodera Itsuhiko (1902-1971) was the Japanese scholars and collector of Ainu oral tradition.

clearly arose from the recollection of these memories and reflections on the collections of the Ainu recordings made by others. Recognition of the value of past recordings, thus, was not related specifically to their physical features. Recording devices organised the activities that happened in the past, but recently they began to assist in remembering the interactions with place whilst documenting language spoken by ancestors. Such recognition of the value of past recordings may be said to involve symbolic meaning (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Bourdieu, 1986). Importantly, however, the symbolic meaning of recordings are connected to memories which can be translated into acting as an anchor protecting sense of self and sense of belonging to others (Smith, 2006; Malpas, 2008).

Moreover, references to a range of cultural heritage institutions where these recordings are stored seemed to be indicative of the appreciation of activities that support the preservation of the cultural inheritance of place (Robertson, 2008). Functioning of archival records could be limited to displays in museums, but there was an evident sentimental feeling in the interviewee's response. Similarly, other interviewees in a number of occasions demonstrated some sentiments when talking especially about Piłsudski's recordings, which seemed to have some other meanings outside their apparent historical values. Such attitudes could be aligned more with the consciousness of residents and interactions that influenced individual perceptions. Therefore, it was interesting to see how the Ainu recordings have come to be known and why they are remembered over a hundred years.

Tracing the history of Piłsudski's recordings has showed that they became the object of interest of scholars who in the early 1980s established the International Research Project[39] (Nakamura et al., 1997; Majewicz, 2004). At that time, as discussed in Section 4.2.2, the political arena was signified by the existing Law for the Protection of Native Hokkaido Aborigines of 1899, discussed in Section 4.2.2, and negotiations between the Ainu Association of Hokkaido[40] and the Japanese government in order to replace this legislation by the Ainu New Law[41], drafted in 1984. The certain aspect of sound recordings was selected to attempt the reconstruction of their content. In the first half of the 1980s the project was coordinated by the National Museum of Ethnography in Osaka, the Institute of Northern Culture of Hokkaido University and the Institute of Linguistics of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poland (Majewicz, 1998; Asakura, 2013). In commenting on the project, Majewicz (1998: 1) wrote:

> 'The accomplishment of the project was believed to contribute to several fields, such as acoustics and archive-material reproduction technology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, linguistic, not to mention Ainu studies themselves'.

Indeed, the project resulted in extensive publications, including *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski* published in 1998 – the importance of which needs to be perceived in terms of the protection of the memories of the Ainu heritage. A number of exhibitions of collections, conferences, international symposia on Piłsudski's phonographic records and Ainu culture followed

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[39] International Committee for the Restoration and Assessment of Bronisław Piłsudski's Work.
[40] The name of the Hokkaido Ainu Association (北海道アイヌ協会 Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai) was introduced in early 2009 replacing the former name of the Ainu organisation Hokkaidō Utari Kyōkai (北海道ウタリ協会) founded in 1930. 'Ainu' is the name used to refer to the Ainu as a people; the word *utari* conveys the meaning of *fellows of or family* (in Japanese: 同胞 [dōhō]) as have been used as a loanword in Japanese.
[41] The Ainu Shinpō[アイヌ新法]; the draft contained, among other things, 'demands for the protection of human rights, guaranteed political participation and a fund for economic self-reliance' (Siddle, 2002: 406).

contesting feelings of the Ainu people. Television programmes were produced and broadcast by the Hokkaido Television Broadcasting (HTB) and the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation (NHK), including documentaries produced by Takashi Yamagishi and entitled *Yūkara Chimmoku 80 Nen – Karafuto Ainu Rōkan Hiwa* and *Sakhalin Ainu Voice of Nostalgia* reaching local and national audiences (Majewicz, 2009).

Such developments exemplify the process where archival sound recordings took on a greater importance in challenging the idea of the preservation of linguistic data for language revitalisation purposes. A range of events engendered by the reproduction of content from recordings carried implications for the emergence of memories. This was confirmed by one interviewee who said that '*Piłsudski and sound recordings revived people's memories*' (Seiji, institutional interviewee, Ainu case). Furthermore, the Ainu sounds recovered from surviving wax cylinders became the inspiration for the composition of a song by Mariko Hosokawa which was performed by school children in Hokkaido (Majewicz, 2009). This event is still remembered by some Ainu. One older resident of Sapporo, speaking with some sentiment in his voice, pointed out that there was certain affection among the Ainu people who could hear the Ainu voices from the past and not to be longer in isolation (Takeo, individual interviewee).

Sounds from past recordings thus provided individuals with memories and feelings reviving the sense of self and the sense of continuity (Proshansky et al., 1983; Blassnigg, 2009, 2013; Crooke, 2011). Significantly, the Ainu song restored from recordings made by Piłsudski can be heard online

(http://www.icrap.org/). It can be said that this song not only acts towards further recognition of past sounds as '"crown jewels" of endangered cultural heritages whose knowledge systems have been maintained without the aid of writing' (Marett and Barwick, 2003: 144), but also enables to 'break' the sense of discontinuity.

In addition, in attempts to rebuild the language and culture of the Ainu community, analysts of language used the content of Piłsudski's recordings in phonological and anthropological examinations (Shimomura and Ito, 2008). The importance of these practices needs to be perceived as part of a broader response to concern about the Ainu heritage and a newly defined approach to managing the Ainu archival recordings. As part of this process, recordings acted in a more complex way by initiating the process of restoration of distinctive values attached to the aural qualities of the Ainu language.

Significantly, a relentless chain of cultural events and investigations triggered by Piłsudski's recordings emerges as a work towards the change of boundaries imposed by the linguistic politics of place discussed in Section 5.4.2. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the calendar of all related outcomes, the significance of Piłsudski's recordings has been reflected in the growing awareness of Ainu culture (Majewicz, 2009). In an article published by the national newspaper Asahi Shimbun [42] on 26 October 2003, due to an exhibition of Piłsudski's collections in Otaru Museum in Hokkaido, Mamoru Tazawa, President of Sakhalin Ainu Association said that:

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[42] As noted in Section 4.3.6, the Asahi Shimbun is one of the largest national newspapers in Japan.

「樺太アイヌと北海道のアイヌは文化も歴史も違う。北の地で先祖たちが
ダイナミックに生きていたのを感じる。自分たちのルーツを知るものがあ
るのは、とても大事なことだ」と田澤さん。」
'The culture and history of Sakhalin Ainu and Hokkaido Ainu is different. There is a feeling that ancestors lived actively in the northern territory. It is very important to know about our roots'.

In the same article it is written that:

「ピウスツキが集めた１００年以上前の先祖の生活用具は、大陸との交流
や極寒の地で生きる樺太アイヌの暮らしの知恵を物語る。」
'Tools used in everyday life by ancestors of Ainu people and collected by Piłsudski more than a hundred years ago, provide knowledge about the exchange with the Asian continent and about the life of Sakhalin Ainu who lived in a territory of severe climate conditions' (The Asahi Shimbun, 26 October, 2003).

These quotations indicate that the culture of the Sakhalin Ainu and the Hokkaido Ainu differ but share the same roots. In recognition of the Sakhalin Ainu, attention has been turned to the Ainu from Hokkaido. The aspect of re-identification with the Ainu communities and their re-elevating emerges then from the awareness which has come from the collections left by Piłsudski, and, in a large part, due to phonographic recordings. They reappeared as an Ainu cultural capital confirming that 'the most powerful principle of the symbolic efficacy of cultural capital without any doubt lies in the logic of its transmission' (Bourdieu, 1986: 84). In its symbolic meaning, the collections of recordings left by Piłsudski have initiated work and changes in linguistic soundscape of place. The ongoing decline and critical situation of Ainu language would not permit the hearing of the Ainu language in the place in which they live; however, the process of reconstruction of sound recordings' content suspended such disadvantages.

The events which followed in the 1990s, such as the establishment in 1993 by the United Nations of the International Year for the World's Indigenous People and declaration of 1995-2004 as International Decade for the World's Indigenous People, and the enactment of the Ainu Culture Promotion Law in 1997 (noted in Section 4.2.2), supported the official recognition of the Ainu as an indigenous people of Hokkaido in 2008 (Siddle, 2012). It would be more accurate to say that extensive use of sound recordings had implications on reviving memories and feelings which emerged – as the previously quoted interviewee demonstrates, by considering symbolic meaning of heritage artefacts. In circumstances where individuals felt isolated from the language, archival sound recordings enabled the implementation of a strategy relevant to dealing with the discontinuities in using language. Reproduced sounds not only energised the reconnection with the Ainu language by creating the opportunities to experience aural qualities of language, but also revived the sense of self which lived in the people's memories and sentiments.

6.2.2 Reformatting sound recordings

As discussed in Chapter Two, work on language revitalisation concerns the transmission of language between generations (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Hinton, 2003). An important step in such progression relies on creating language resources in different forms, legible and audible, which could address engagement and interactions with language (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven, however, what needs to be said presently is that when reviving endangered languages, developing language skills is formed on the basis of heritage language (King,

2000; Fishman, 2001; Brinton et al., 2008; Hornberger and Wang, 2008). Therefore, archival resources draw attention as potential sources of linguistic and cultural knowledge valuable for language revitalisation purposes.

Whilst tracing the Ainu language recordings I found some with Ainu tales and songs held by the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka. Presently, they are available at the Museum Library and online (www.minpaku.ac.jp/). However, this is not the only way in which Ainu recordings are mobilised in the museum. The Museum of Ethnology holds in its archives 204 open-reel tapes made by the Sapporo Television Broadcasting Company (STV) between 1970 and 1978. As an interviewee (Kiyoko, institutional interviewee, Ainu case) revealed, these recordings were digitised on 128 CDs in 2004 under the joint research project conducted by Hiroshi Nakagawa from Chiba University in cooperation with experts on ethnic material culture and language. This project aimed to convert audio materials into written format and to use them as study materials for learning the Ainu language. During the examination of these collections by scholars some new audio materials were found, as Nakagawa (2004: 21) explained:

「さて、上記の資料とは別に北海道放送（HBC）の録音が、これも STV 経由で収められている。１９５７年に録音され、知里真志保の監修で「郷土資料集」という名前で放送されたことになっているもので、明らかに他の資料とは異質なのだが、中身自体も相当わけのわからないことになっている。」
'Thus, the sound recordings mentioned earlier are mainly from the Hokkaido Broadcasting Company (HBC) but also recordings from STV were acquired. They were recorded in 1957 and broadcasted in a program entitled Local Collections, being compiled by Mashiho Chiri, and because of this we learned that there are materials of different nature and the content itself is what needs to be considered'.

The project itself can be seen as an example of how past recordings are used for the production of linguistic knowledge. The stored oral materials were assessed and analysed by scholars; phonetic issues were verified and some phonetic material was recovered. Importantly, however, the implications of phonetic materials could be carried forward with a discussion of Ainu language norms and subsequently 'provide material for the relearning of the linguistic variety in question' (Eisenlohr, 2004: 24). The value of sound recordings then concerns words and language, and how a word should be pronounced; this is a utility beyond that which a written dictionary can offer (Thieberger, 1995). Everett (2007: 212) confirms this significance by stating that:

> 'Through sounds… we come to understand more about semantic and syntactic groupings, sociolinguistics, morphology, and other aspects of linguistic structure outside of phonology proper. Therefore, when there is no record of the sound system of a language, our understanding of that language's sounds and its grammar is severely impoverished. In the case of a dead language, there is no way to recover a lost sound system from the written record, even accepting that there is some information (metrical organization, vowel qualities, etc.) that may be recoverable from different forms of writing, for example, poetry'.

The importance of the phonetic information of words is further reinforced by linguists. Ladefoged (2007), for example, confirms that audio recordings are the principal data in any study of phonetic structures of a language. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, the significant capability of recording technology is connected to the possibility of transmitting sounds from one medium to another (Chanan, 1995; Sterne, 2003, Morton, 2004). Constraints imposed by the actual state of sound recordings do not yet entail the permanent loss of preserved records (Iwai et al., 1986; Asakura, 2002, 2013) and may influence retrieval of information used for the production of knowledge about language. As noted in Section 6.2.2, the process of retrieving content from recordings requires

specialist techniques and is also a time consuming operation. However, re-reading and re-constructing their repositories assigns meaning to the revitalisation process – to define place in more positive terms by dealing with the loss of connections to language.

There are new publications which serve as a response to and engage in dialogue with these practices. Publications such as *Kamui Yukar Kaisetsu* (2003; [Commentary on the Songs of Gods]), for example, with text analysis and translation, explanations and commentaries in Japanese and English by Hiroshi Nakagawa and Tatsumine Katayama, and records of Nabe Shirasawa and Matsuko Nakamoto as performers of the songs on CD, can disseminate and transform the experience of place from the background context of language endangerment into the meaning of language revitalisation and connection with place-based folklore. Without the recollection of familiar sounds, thematic drive behind songs and stories that tell of places and their meanings, the notion of sense of place (Ryden, 1993; Alderman, 2008), would be impossible. Therefore, reawakening songs and stories grounded in a particular location needs to be recognised as attempts to energise the restoration of the continuity of language.

Over time many sound recordings have been made publicly available. In tracing recordings produced in the Ainu language I found a range of audible language resources. Table 6.1 lists some of them. The table does not contain the whole products but provides the framework for illustration of trends in creating sound recordings in the context of language revitalisation.

Table 6.1 Selection of the Ainu audio recordings edited since the early 20ᵗʰ century (source: author; Hokkaido Archives, 2014)

Piłsudski, Bronislaw (1902; 1903) Ainu folklore records on the Edison-type wax cylinders
Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai [Ainu Traditional Music]日本放送協会 (1965)『アイヌ伝統音楽』日本放送出版協会 Ainu Dentō Ongaku]
Ainu Songs of Saru dialects (1966) 門別町郷土史研究会編(1966)『沙流アイヌの歌謡 —録音資料目録とその解説—』
Kayano Shigeru (1974) [Compilation of uwepeker] with accompanying cassette tape 萱野茂(1974)『ウエペケレ集大成』［本とカセットテープ］、アルドオ。［絶版］
Complete Collections of video recordings of Ainu culture and tradition アイヌ無形文化伝承保存会(1976-92)『アイヌ文化伝承記録映画ビデオ大全集』
Tamura, S. (1986;1987) Ainugo Onsei Shiryō [Ainu Phonetic Materials]; Waseda University
Hokkaido Utari Kyōkai (1994) [‘Our language’] with an accompanying video tape 北海道ウタリ協会(1994)『アコロ イタク Akor Itak アイヌ語テキスト 1 』
Publications by FRPAC – a number of children's books based on traditional Ainu stories written in Ainu, Japanese and English – *Kamuy-yukar* narrated by Nabe Shirasawa and Mutsuko Nakamoto (1995)
Nakagawa, Hiroshi and Nakamoto, Mutsuko (1997) Ekusupuresu Ainugo [Express Ainu Language] 中川 裕，中本ムツ子(1997)『エクスプレス アイヌ語』白水社
Kayano, Shigeru (1997) Yukar, The Ainu Epic Songs (Audiobook on CD)
National Museum of Ethnology. Ueda Toshi no Uepeker.(CD and text)アイヌ民族博物館(編)(1997)『上田トシのウエペケレ 』（アイヌ民族博物館伝承記録３）。［CD とテキスト］
Kayano Shigeru (1997) [Ainu no yukar] with CD and booklet [Yukar, the Ainu Epic Songs] 萱野茂(1997)『アイヌのユカラ／蘇る英雄』［CD とブックレット］
Kayano, Shigeru (1998) 萱野茂のアイヌの神話辞典 Kayano Shigeru no Ainu no Shinwa Shūsei [Kayano Shigeru's Anthology of Ainu myths] with CDs.
Kayano Shigeru no Ainu Jiten CD-ROM 萱野 茂(1999)『萱野茂のアイヌ語辞典 CD-ROM』三省
Okuda, Osami Ainugo shizunai hōgen bunmyaku-tsuki goi-shū (CD-ROM-tsuki) [Ainu Shizunai dialect lexicon in a context (with CD-ROM)]奥田統己編(1999)『アイヌ語静内方言文脈つき語彙集 (CD-ROM つき)』札幌学院大学
Kayano, Shigeru (2000) Songs of the Ainu(CD) 萱野茂(監修・解説)平取アイヌ文化保存会(2000)『アイヌのうた』、ビクターエンタテインメント
Upaskuma (‘Wisdom of the Ainu’) (1 and 2) in Ainu, Japanese and English with CD, voiced by Mutsuko Nakamoto (2001)
Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan [National Museum of Ethnology] (2001) (CD and text)アイヌ民族博物館(編)(2001)『虎尾ハルの伝承　鳥』（アイヌ民族博物館伝承記録５）［CD とテキスト］
[National Museum of Ethnology] (2002) Kuzuno Tatsujirō no Denshō [Oral tradition of Kuzuno Tatsujirō] CDs (4), DVD-ROM, textbook;アイヌ民族博物館(編)(2002)『葛野辰次郎の伝承』（アイヌ民族博物館伝承記録７）。［CD４枚、DVD-ROM１枚とテキスト
Kanna Kamuy turesi (‘The Thunder god's younger sister’) Ainu Museum in Shiraoi (2003)
Nakagawa, Hiroshi and Mutusko Nakamoto (2004) Ainugo Ekusupresu
Hiroshi Nakagawa and Tatsumine Katayama (2004) ‘Commentary on the songs of gods’ (‘Kamui yukar kaisetsu’)
Oki Tonkori. Original recording (2005) CD
Nakagawa, Hiroshi and Nakamoto, Mutsuko (2007) Kamuy Yukar de Ainugo o manabu] with CD [Learning Ainu language with kamuy yukar]
Bugaeva, Anna and Shiho Endo (eds.), speaker: Setsu Kurokawa, multimedia developer: David Nathan (2010) A Talking Dictionary of Ainu: A New Version of Kanazawa's Ainu Conversational dictionary. Japanese title:『音声付きアイヌ語辞典—新編　金澤版アイヌ語会話辞典』[Onsei-tsuki ainugo jiten: shinhen Kanazawa-han ainugo kaiwa jiten]
Nakagawa, Hiroshi (2013) Nyu Ekusupresu Ainugo with CD

From this selection, it becomes clear that a respectable quantity of recordings has been developed from what may have been just preserved in archival sound recordings (Idutsu, 2007). These new recordings represent diverse compositions from traditional music to educational materials. They are in diverse formats – on cassette tapes, CDs, available online and in a mode which ties sound with text and images compensating to some extent the loss of auditory dimension of place constructed in the past by interactions with the Ainu language.

Significantly, these recordings carry particular character drawn on heritage values which can be used to challenge the loss of connections to the aural attributes of language and to recreate place-related linguistic knowledge. As discussed in Section 5.2.1, the Ainu language became restricted and unavailable to the younger generations. Therefore, these divergent recordings due to their ability to circulate and disseminate knowledge call for the restoration of aural experience of language and the meaning of a local place where the Ainu live. The significance of interactional processes rendered by sound recordings in the context of classroom and the domains of socio-cultural interactions will be explored in Chapters Seven and Eight. Importantly, the ideas which are also linked to archival recordings suggest their associations with cultural heritage sites and types of interactions which are likely to occur there (Smith, 2006; Dickinson et al., 2010). Therefore, exploration of sound recordings in these sites and valuations of their use in re-conceptualisation of changes within language revitalisation process is required.

6.2.3 The Ainu cultural heritage sites

Literature which engages with heritage issues suggests that the activities of remembering and reminiscing, which take place in the context of interactions between people and their environments, including heritage sites and museums, may contribute to creation of identity (Smith, 2006; McLean, 2008; Crooke, 2011). Observations of practices of using sound recordings in cultural heritage sites in Japan, particularly in Hokkaido, and interviews revealed responses which might be described in terms of work on restoration of the set of meanings encompassed by the sense of place and their effect on the creation of understanding of the sense of Ainu identities. However, Ainu identities and related issues are not explored with the required attention across literature. Literature provides rather a framework that explains the position of the Ainu people within Japanese society. Morris-Suzuki (1998: 107), for example, argues that:

> 'On the one hand, the concept of tan'itsu minzoku (mono-ethnic or ethnic homogeneity) can mean that the Japanese are 'ethnically' or 'culturally' homogeneous; on the other, it can mean that Japan contains few obvious visible minorities. It has thus helped to erase from public consciousness the presence of peoples with different histories (Ainu, Okinawans, Koreans) within the Japanese archipelago and to encourage a common perception that Japan (unlike other parts of the world) does not have a 'race problem'.

This excerpt also reflects findings from the interview which revealed that some Ainu people hide their status and don't want to be identified as Ainu (Sachiko, institutional interviewee). As discussed in Section 5.2.1, this aspect is influenced by past experiences of individuals and feelings of being outsiders. As also discussed, disruptions in place attachments that brought critical decrease in language use were linked to experiencing a sense of discontinuity.

Significantly, some interviewees recognised the potential meaning of the practices occurring in cultural heritage sites and their contribution to language revitalisation when saying that '*cultural heritage sites add memory to revitalisation by disseminating knowledge about the Ainu'* (Ume, institutional interviewee, Ainu case) or that '*it is important to know the history and the roots to enable restoring language*' (Noboru, institutional interviewee, Ainu case). Observations in the Ainu museums brought a more coherent understanding of these opinions, highlighting how sound recordings mediate particular knowledge and act towards engagement with displayed artefacts and exhibitions, as well as recreating a sense of identity of the Ainu.

For example, in the Human Rights Museum in Osaka, audio technology is mobilised around issues concerning the Ainu people and their history. Alongside the permanent exhibitions of the Ainu culture objects there is an opportunity to watch films, such as *The Ainu – Transmitting Ethnic* and *Restoring Rights* and *The Ainu – Ethnic Identity and Discrimination.* These films are a source of knowledge about individuals' experience and their struggle to recognise the rights of Ainu people. A group of students, who was visiting the museum at that time, whilst observing the Ainu cultural artefacts, became also involved in watching films. They watched and listened to the voices of those who devoted their lives in struggle for recognition of the Ainu people as indigenous. They also listened to Ainu songs. I cannot say that the students' involvement was contemplative but they seemed to be engaged in the messages derived from the film. When they finished watching the film, some of students were murmuring sounds of the Ainu *yukar* (discussed in Section 5.4.3) they heard.

From this observation, the presence of audio technologies and sound recordings emerges as a value added to cultural heritage (Watson, 2010). They work as a cultural capital of Ainu community in transmitting place-related knowledge bundled together with information about the Ainu history, but significantly, sound recordings create an experience that adds sense to displayed artefacts. This observation confirms findings from literature that the process of knowledge creation is carried through sound and pictures in attempts to teach audience (Dudley, 2010; Aoki et al., 2010). Sound recordings enable the dissemination of knowledge about the Ainu history and culture. However, some of the implications of this way of presenting knowledge add certain important aspects of understanding of the sense of Ainu identity as rooted in sounds of the Ainu language.

In the Ainu Museum in Nibutani[43] sound recordings also allow for engagement with the displayed artefacts. Here, a group of visiting students was more attentive (Plate 6.1). I observed how watching and listening to the Ainu *yukar* raised their mood and how they became more enthusiastic. They were talking among each other sharing their feelings. It was evident that the presence of sound recordings plays an educational role and involves the younger generation (Plate 6.1). Nakamura (2007: 155) asserts, however, that:

> '…local people, especially the younger generation, sometimes seem to be afraid that they will inherit the 'Nibutani tradition' created by Kayano in a 'wrong' way, which, in part, has made local residents reluctant to engage in Ainu cultural activities'.

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[43] Nibutani（二風谷）is a district in the town of Biratori located in the southwestern part of Hokkaido and inhabited by a large population of the Ainu people (Irish, 2009).

These accounts of students' observation demonstrate some improvements in such perceptions of Ainu culture relating to the notion that a museum symbolises a place of Ainu people, being aligned with place identity (McLean, 2008). What is remembered or known depends on many factors (Lewicka, 2008), but history lessons in the Ainu museums create a better understanding and perception of Ainu through organising a mediated experience of sounds distinctive to Ainu language and culture.
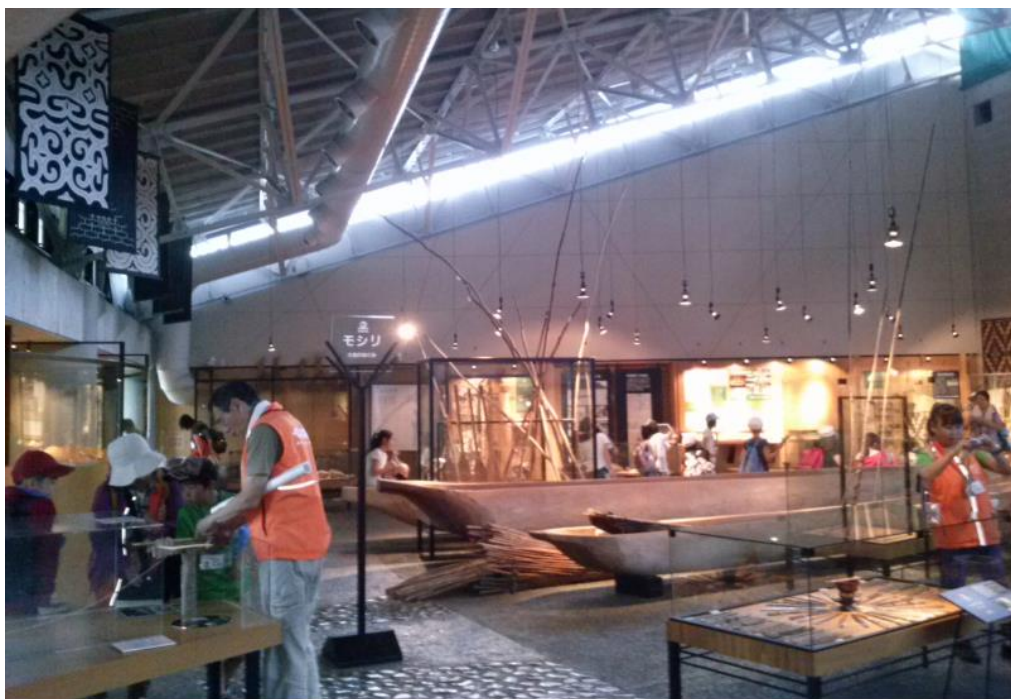
Plate 6.1 Students visiting the Ainu Museum in Nibutani, Hokkaido (source: author)

In Shiraoi[44] there is the Ainu Museum which offers an encounter with another type of sensory experience mediated by sound recordings. In commenting on resources and exhibitions displayed in the museum the interviewee stated that:

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[44] Shiraoi (白老町) is a town located in Shiraoi District in the southwestern part of Hokkaido and inhabited by the Ainu population (Nakamura, 2007).

「1935 年ぐらい前からの資料が、約、テープの長さはばらばらなんですけれども、750 本ほどございます。伝承者の多くは、静内町、日高町であったり、日高町、それから千歳であったり、静内町であったり、平取町であったりと、色んな地域の方々に、ここに来ていただいて、ここで聞き取り調査に協力をしていただいた方々、それからここでいろんな手工芸的な技術を教えていただいた方々にまたその植物の利用法であったりとか、ま、物語であったりとかってゆうのを合間合間で聞き取りしたような資料というのが主になります。それがほとんどカセットテープで、ま、近年であれば、あの、デジタルテープも使ったりとかもしているんですけども、だいたい 750 本程度、それの部分についてのいわゆるテープの聞き起こし、アイヌ語も含めたテープの聞き起こし作業ってのはだいたい終わってはいます。」

'Collections date back to the 1930s and tapes lay scattered, but there are around 750 [of them]. These resources are mainly for listening at some occasions as there are many traditional people from Shizunai town, Hidaka, and from Chitose, Biratori, from different regions[45] who come here, and people who conduct research on oral comprehension [of Ainu language], people who teach different craft techniques or how to recognise plants, for example, or tell stories. These tapes are mostly cassette tapes and now they are digitised' (Rie, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

This quotation reveals that there are a variety of sound recordings which are present and used in the museum in a range of events. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight, some museum houses offer, for example, performances of traditional Ainu folk songs, dances including demonstrations of the Ainu instrument *mukkuri*[46]. These performances are recorded on cassette tapes, CDs and video tapes so that the Ainu sung performances can be rehearsed and replayed. Although the sound is altered by the recording process (Moylan, 2014), the record nevertheless makes it possible for people to listen to sounds which would otherwise be lost. This sentiment was expressed by an

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[45] Shizunai (静内町), Hidaka (日高町), Chiba (千歳市) and Biratori (平取町) towns and cities are located in the southwestern and eastern part of Hokkaido and inhabited by Ainu.
[46] The mukkuri is a jaw's harp, around 15-16 cm long, used and played by the Ainu people. Sound is made by pulling the string (Nobuhiko, 2008).

Ainu woman who told me that sounds of Ainu music take her back to her childhood (Yuko, individual interviewee, Ainu case). She also added that she occasionally listens to records with the Ainu *yukar* at home. This nostalgic response reflects that previous aural experiences still live in memory connecting the past with the present (Blassnigg, 2009, 2013). An interpretative lens on such experience is also provided by van Dijck (2009: 108) who explains that 'the affect of music lies not in the sounds or words per se, but in the emotions, feelings, and experiences attached to hearing a particular song'. Sound recordings contribute to recalling these experiences by providing the opportunities to listen to sounds which acted in the past towards creating the sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983).

Importantly, the Ainu woman referred to the Ainu *yukar*. As discussed in Section 5.4.3, the content of Ainu *yukar* in its essence is strongly related to the place where the Ainu live and the natural features to which an individual may be attached. Duffy and Waitt (2013: 466) explain that 'sound can mediate the emotional and affective relationships that comprise place'. On this basis, practices of listening to *yukar* can be recognised as a form of expression of feelings towards a place, and repeating such activities to re-create 'closeness to such a place' (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001: 274). Ultimately, they represent personal connections to sounds of the Ainu language and place, and feelings of belonging to place which affect the sense of self-identity (Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005; Duffy and Wait, 2013).

Another interviewee's narrative also evidenced one's experience of place and identity as challenged by the effect of sound. In the museum in Shiraoi, some

collections are displayed and surrounded by environmental sounds delivered through sound technology. One interviewee who occasionally visited the museum when contemplating the museum resources said:

> 「こちらは自然音や環境、野鳥の鳴き声が聴こえてくるんで故郷のおとのように感じられ....」
> *'Here, I can hear sounds of nature and environment, the song of birds, and I can feel like in my hometown….'* (Shichiro, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

From what the interviewee said, there are some restorative feelings. The experience of hearing the sounds of the natural environment sounds delivered through soundtracks affect a listener personally, echoing Bull and Back's (2003: 9) assertion that 'home is where my sounds are!'. Normally home is perceived as a place which protects one's identity (Brown et al., 2003) but in this quotation nature stays equal to home. This appreciation is partly due to the fact that the museum is located in the natural surroundings of a lake and general evident richness and charm of nature (see Plate 6.2); this surrounding likely influenced such an affectionate response. The response, however, was prompted by particular sounds at the particular moment. The mediated sounds appeared to be powerful in evoking emotions. Through dealing with the flow of familiar sounds the visitor was connected to his home, whilst not actually being at home (Haller and Franz, 2004). However, mediated sounds brought him feelings associated with home, motivating a sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). Thus, it can be said that sound recordings can serve as an organiser of specific reactions and emotions which act towards restoration of sense of place and demonstrate attachments to place.

Plate 6.2 The Ainu Museum in Shiraoi known as 'Poroto kotan' which in the Ainu language means 'large lakeside' (source: author)

One important consideration also needs to be taken here which is connected to the aural experience created by technologically mediated sounds. The use of sound recordings can be recognised as a purposive form of interaction in the heritage site to evoke emotions which may affect individuals' feelings. This dimension forms a way through which meanings are transmitted and communicated (Smith, 2006; McLean, 2008; Crooke, 2011). It is not accidental that the museum furnishes with this particular understanding of place. McLean (1993: 95) states that:

> 'Designing an interactive exhibit requires an ability to integrate communication goals (what you want the visitor *to learn*) with behavioural goals (what you want the visitor *to do*), and even emotional goals (what you want the visitor *to feel*)'.

This excerpt confirms that sound stretched out through the physical space of the museum may be a source of emotional reaction and recall the geographical understanding of place (Smith, 2006; Buciek and Juul, 2008). If sound had been excluded from this place, visitors could not be empowered by this kind of feeling. Davidson and Milligan (2007: 523) elaborate on this by saying that 'emotional relations and interactions weave through and help form the fabric of our unique personal geographies'. The experience that an interviewee held may also confirm the assumption that sound has the power to connect with the past and place (Anderson, 2004; Blassnigg, 2009, 2013). From this account, it can be said that the Ainu museums together with their physical boundaries serve as a valued source of history about the Ainu and advance revitalisation process by the interactions that occur within them.

6.3 Archival sound recordings in the Frisian language

As discussed in the previous section, the use of archival sound recordings pioneered the process of revitalisation of the Ainu language. In the context of critical danger to a language when place attachment is disrupted, archival sound recordings work towards recognition of cultural identities influencing restoration of the sense of place, identity and belonging to others and place. The status of the Frisian language remains in contrast to the Ainu language. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Frisian language is recognised as vulnerable (Moseley, 2010). Such a valuation of the degree of language endangerment illustrates successful achievements in reversing decline in language use (Fishman, 1991). As also discussed in Section 5.3.2, the location of sound recordings within activities of documenting the Frisian language was organised

in the course of the 20th century when 'the standardization of the Frisian language became a matter of concern of the public authorities' (Hoekstra, 2003: 203). These developments were supported particularly by the Fryske Akademy which was entrusted with bringing linguistic norms to the language and undertaking the major dictionary project. Dijkstra et al. (2004: 2) explain that 'the linguistic information needed for creating letter-to-sound rules and intonation and duration modules was largely provided by the Academy'. The Fryske Akademy has become the centre of researching, studying and teaching of the Frisian language, and 'didactic issues have rather been addressed by the Afûk[47]' (Stell, 2006: 67).

This context of the Frisian language case study outlines how work on language has been progressing over time, highlighting insistent responses to uphold the continuity of language and creating language resources. In these endeavours sound recordings delivered the exclusive oral data which was transcribed and used for language revitalisation purposes to elaborate on the linguistic norms. Sound recordings were employed in the most obvious way for the linguists. They became linked to those past activities by virtue of having engaged with the process of revitalisation of the Frisian language. Now, they are recognised as a historically important heritage (de Graaf, 2011).

Archival sound recordings in the Frisian language can thus be categorised as different to the Ainu language. Their potential was generated over time for purposes of language revitalisation, whilst, in the case of Ainu language acted as an anchor protecting feelings and sense of belonging to others and place,

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[47] In Dutch: Algemiene Fryske Underrjocht Kommisje (General Frisian Education Committee) founded in 1927 (Breuker, 2001).

having the effects on the restoration of sense of self and sense of continuity. Therefore, the exploration of archival recordings sheltered by museums and archives offer a perspective for understanding practices which occurred in the course of revitalisation of the Frisian language. The discussion which follows will present a perspective on archival sound recordings in Frisian language. This will reveal their use over time and the effects on the construction of sense of community and belonging to others and place, and on the creation of a sense of continuity of language community in the context of present experience (Blassnigg, 2009, 2013; Graham and Howard, 2008; Crooke, 2011).

6.3.1 Sense of time: developing a collective sense of community

Observations of cultural heritage sites across the Netherlands and the province of Friesland revealed a myriad of archival sound recordings in the Frisian language. For example, the Institute of Phonetic Sciences in Amsterdam holds collections of wax cylinders from the early 1930s which store sound data of dialects from all parts of the Netherlands, including the province of Friesland (de Graaf, 1989). The Meertens Institute[48] in Amsterdam holds a diversity of analogue and audio/video recordings in Dutch and Frisian. Tresoar[49], the Frisian History and Literature Centre in Leeuwarden, holds numerous recordings with songs and folk stories told by Frisian tale-collector Ype Poortinga made in 1970s, interviews with native speakers made by Theodor Siebs in 1920s (discussed in Section 5.2.3), and a range of audio resources for learning Frisian language and recordings from the regional radio broadcasting

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[48] The Meertens Institute is a research institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (in Dutch: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen abbreviated: KNAW).
[49] In Dutch: Fries Historisch en Letterkundig Centrum.

companies dating back to the 1940s and 1970s. Similarly, the archive of Frisian radio *Omrop Fryslân* holds extensive collections of recordings dating back to 1940s, the first years of broadcasting in the Frisian language.

All these recordings are in various formats. However, what emerges from observations is that cassette tapes, CDs, media objects and a range of recording devices were used not only for scientific and linguistic purposes, but also in the everyday lives of Frisians. This fact was noticed by an interviewee who explained that:

> *'Scholars made recordings of the Frisian language to find out more about the language, grammar and so on… but of course there are old recordings with music, tapes, video tapes, recordings from radio, television broadcasting. Even though there was not a single production in our language. In the past, Frisians used to listen to radio programmes in Frisian language, and they still do today. Broadcasting radio and television plays an important role in Frisians' lives. But it is the radio news that holds particular meaning among us, Frisians. I think this is because listening to news in the Frisian language is about pleasure and satisfaction that we feel. This makes and keeps our community together'* (John, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

What is said here confirms that sound recordings and their interconnections with media have not been restricted in their use over time in the course of revitalisation of the Frisian language. On the contrary, technological novelties provided a backdrop to people's lives. The aural nature of reconfiguring language endangerment over time appears to be influenced by technologically mediated interactions with the Frisian language. This was evident when another interviewee, a local resident of Friesland, referred to radio suggesting an important role in his life:

'In my young age, this was a beautiful time. I listened to the radio very often. It was really lovely. Fryslân radio has been working through the whole my life, up to now' (Oscar, individual, Frisian case).

As will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.3.1, listening to radio news or watching television in the Frisian language became a form of routine of daily life of many individuals, which afforded Frisians socially important practices (Silverstone, 1994; Morris-Suzuki, 2005) and affected how think of and relate to being in a place. The habitual flow of sounds of the Frisian language entered into Frisians' everyday lives playing an important role in constructing the attachment relationships. As a result, the rise of individuals' engagement with place endorsed the reconstruction of a sense of community. One suggestive reply in this context came from a local resident, who visited the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden and remarked that:

'This museum unites the past and the present of Frisians' lives. I come here to see our heritage, and of course to meet and speak with my colleague in Frisian. This gives me joy and pleasure. It is nice to be here together' (Garry, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

The interviewee acknowledged the restorative actions which contributed to the development of the sense of Frisian community. An issue which can also be drawn upon is related to the feelings of an interviewee towards a heritage site as providing a chance to experience what gives Frisians pleasure and a kind of well-being. In what the interviewee said there is a desire linked to the opportunity to experience language as a particular form of engagement with a heritage site. Such a dimension of a heritage site indicates the nature of the collective identity of Frisians.

There is some consensus in the literature on memory places that a heritage site may provide a sense of identity by giving opportunities to recall an identity-centred relationship with the past (Smith, 2006; McLean, 2008; Dickinson et al., 2010). This was observed in the case of the Ainu language and heritage sites which work towards legitimising cultural identity of the Ainu people and restoring a sense of identity by organising an aural experience which brought feelings associated with home, motivating a sense of self. What can be added is that a cultural heritage site is seen as a place which protects the notion of Frisians' identity and their identification with place. This was made evident when another interviewee said that:

> *'Well, I come here because it is a part of my life. This is a history of Fryslân and Frisian people. I feel my Fryslân here. I have been growing up here'* (Beth, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

What is said here can be translated into a degree of attachment to place. The interviewee spoke about personal relations with place displaying strong bonds with place which reflect the nature of place attachment as being correlated with the duration of residence (Hay, 1998; Hernández et al., 2007). Visiting a heritage site invokes a geographical sense of place (Smith, 2006; Buciek and Juul, 2008). The Fries Museum thus appears to be a place which plays a role in upholding a sense of belonging to a place. The new building of the Fries Museum was opened in 2012. It is equipped with two cinemas which offer screenings of films in the Frisian language. There is also a permanent exhibition *Ferhaal fan Fryslân* [Story of Friesland] – which was designed to echo the mood of place where the Frisian people live. The environmental sounds which can be usually heard in the countryside flow through the space of the museum itself, providing sonic scenery for contemplation of displayed images and objects

relating to the history of Friesland. One lifelong resident of Friesland commented insightfully on the exhibitions in the museum saying with pride that:

> *'I am really happy that we have the museum of Fryslân. It is a beautiful place, nicely organised and there are always such lovely people who come along [to visit it]. It is such a pleasure to be here. There is much to see inside. There is an assortment of historical objects, paintings and collections from the history of Fryslân, and this exhibition of Fryslân's landscape. They tell the stories about this place. I am very proud of my Frisian heritage'* (Monica, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

Accounts such as these reveal the way in which place has evolved in terms of constructing place attachments. Such narratives portray how place needs to be understood in relation to the histories and processes negotiated over time. Transformation of the relationship with place, since a time of critical danger of language loss, was recognised ultimately after decades and today is illustrated in how the place is perceived. These narratives illustrate individuals' emotional bonds towards a place, which stimulate their interest in the history of place. This in turn echoes the assumption found in the literature that interest in the history of place of residency is a signifier of emotional attachment to that place (Lewicka, 2005).

The artefacts accumulated in museums and archives demonstrate a certain concept of time and how sound recordings have rebuilt linguistic soundscape of the Frisian within language revitalisation process over time. This interconnection between time and space where technology has a part to play has been explained by Massey (1994: 154) who points out that:

> 'It is this combination of changes in our experience of space and time which has given rise to the powerful notion that the age we are living in is one of a new burst of 'time-space compression'.

Observations of archival recordings accumulated in archives and museums offer reflections of how sound technologies afforded the users the experience of hearing and listening to familiar sounds over time. Upon interacting with these sounds which occurred in places and spaces that gave much meaning to people's lives, strengthening of the place attachment consequently occurred. The accumulated capital of records in the Frisian language can be thus interpreted as contributing to the reversal of language shift over the last decades. It is significant that recently this capital is used in the creation of a sense of inclusion for a minority language and the recognition of its continuity; this will be discussed further.

6.3.2 Creating a sense of inclusion

The accumulation of various sound recordings found in archives and museums across the Netherlands can be recognised as having important historical values (de Graaf, 2013). However, a very specific capability of reproducing sounds can be used to benefit the language revitalisation process. This can be achieved by providing opportunities of re-experiencing the past sounds in the present context. For example, as revealed during interviews, recently archival records reposed in archives are transferring to a digital format and make collections widely available:

> *'Digitising of the audio collections from archives is seen as an active feature and makes resources available online. Museums in this way want to promote the whole cultural heritage of the Netherlands'* (James, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

Another interviewee echoed this opinion saying that:

'Giving access to cultural heritage is a form of cultural communication. It ensures that the potential of museums is released. This is crucial and significant, and of course holds value but it is also necessary to prevent the loss of such old and unique recordings' (Charlie, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

It is thus denoted that technology has been given a prominent position in preventing the decay of old recordings on the one hand, and providing access to audio resources through the websites on the other (Paul, 2008). Such efforts have been partly undertaken across cultural institutions in the Netherlands. For example, the Meertens Institute website provides access to the database of dialects of the Netherlands (www. meertens.knaw.nl/ndb). As revealed during an interviewee, this database includes recordings in the Frisian language from the collections held by the Institute which encompasses around 17,000 folktales collected by the Frisian collector and writer Dam Jaarsma (discussed in Chapter Five). There are also many other stories which were collected by another 23 field workers that yield a total of 17,243 folktales (Meder, 2014).

These are only a few examples of the prevention of loss of sound recordings which can have far-reaching implications for providing Frisians with a much needed sense of inclusion (Graham and Howard, 2008; Crooke, 2011). Such an approach was evident when observing collections in the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision[50] in Hilversum, home to the largest audio-visual archives in the country and Europe (Komen and Oomen, 2013). As revealed in an interview, the audio recordings represent unique recordings of dialects including records from the province of Friesland: folksongs, folktales, songs and conversations on topics of everyday life (James, institutional interviewee,

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[50] In Dutch: Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid.

Frisian case). The collection contains around 800,000 hours of television, radio, music and films publicly broadcasted by Dutch television and radio, which include a range of news, reports, programmes on Frisian literature, Frisian songs and music, and documentary films on Gysbert Japicx (see Section 5.3.1) broadcasted between 1960 and 2009. Taking into account that the collections in Frisian language stored in museums and archives in the Netherlands encompass a range of audible and visual resources from the whole country, it might be said that the significance of this approach is linked to the idea of promoting a common cultural heritage. Such representation may support stability and place-related identities – notions which remain related to a concept of place attachment (Hernández et al., 2007).

However, what is also important is that the aspect of promoting a sense of inclusion is not only limited to displays in cultural heritage sites. As noted previously, the Sound and Vision Institute in Hilversum is the largest home of audio recordings in the Netherlands. It holds a whole range of previously used radios, cassette recorders, reel-to-reel recorders, Walkman, transistor radios and internet resources. However, what is significant is that here anyone using headphones can listen to an array of past recordings – music, songs or radio programmes. Observations of how people were engaged in listening led to a question regarding the nature of experience of the past in the present time. Making use of past recordings in such ways potentially increases the accessibility of archival recordings but significantly also advances the possibility of experiencing past sounds, by constructing an environment in which people can immerse themselves in familiar sounds from the past. In doing so,

experiencing the recorded sounds not only engages with the listeners' emotions but also creates a new memory (Crooke, 2011).

Thus, archival recordings which could be perceived as useless have been actively reused – open a realm of opportunities for people to recall memories of place and events from their lives (McLean, 1993; McLean, 2008; Crooke, 2011; Blassnigg, 2009, 2013). Past recordings emerge not just as static objects of preservation of sounds but remain relational to the language revitalisation process through recreating the aural experience of familiar sounds and informing a sense of continuity of language community, sense of belonging to others and place in the context of people's present experience.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the effectiveness of archival sound recordings in the context of revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages which vary in the advancements in language revitalisation. Across both case studies past records emerge as important components of language revitalisation processes. Spatial interactions organised by archival sound recordings act in complex ways towards the restoration and upholding the values and meanings attached to sounds of the language and place.

More specifically, this chapter revealed that in the situation of large-scale disruption in the relationships between language speakers and place archival sound recordings protect feelings of belonging to others and place (Smith, 2006; Malpas, 2008). The discussion also revealed that the attempts to

reproduce the content of archival recordings made in the Ainu language had impact on the recognition of a linguistic culture. Moreover, connections with mediated sounds of the language reproduced from archival sound recordings had the effect on the rise of feelings and emotions which allowed for the re-evaluation of sense of self and the restoration of sense of continuity. The findings from the study of Ainu past recordings also revealed that linguistic data stored in recordings was used for developing knowledge about the language and linguistic resources. This confirms findings from the literature on revitalisation of endangered languages which suggest that archival sound recordings can be used for language revitalisation purposes (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; de Graaf, 2011; Nathan, 2012; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013). As also observed in the Ainu language case, sound recordings used in cultural heritage places not only make sense of displayed artefacts (Dudley, 2010; Aoki et al., 2010) but also contributes to developing an understanding of the Ainu identities rooted in the sounds of their language.

Exploration of archival sound recordings in the Frisian language case study identified capital of sound recordings which have afforded the process of revitalisation of the Frisian language important practices of hearing and listening to sounds of the language over time. The research findings revealed the routines of using various sound recordings and their effects on language revitalisation process by contributing to the increase of a sense of community and people's feelings of belonging to place. The study found that presently archival recordings are used in cultural heritage sites to communicate a vision of the cultural integration of the Dutch and the Frisians (Graham and Howard, 2008; Crooke, 2011).

Overwhelmingly, the effectiveness of archival sound recordings across both case studies is linked to overcoming disadvantages which arise from language endangerment. Sound recordings appear to be distinctively influential in organising the activities in which individuals can feel reattached to familiar sounds of the language and place across both case studies. It is likely that the varied use of sound recordings may motivate the restoration of the values and meanings that denote the sense of place and place attachment – allowing the language and the place to evolve. Therefore, it is suggested that the heart of language revitalisation lies in the resounding of place attachment and sense of place. Related issues will be further drawn upon in Chapters Seven and Eight.

Chapter 7

Sound recordings and language learning practices

7.1 Introduction

Chapter Five explored the use of recording devices in activities of documenting the Ainu and Frisian languages and revealed that language endangerment limits the subjective experiences constructed upon the active use of language. The following Chapter Six argues that archival sound recordings meaningfully recreate the sense of continuity, permitting for the restoration and maintenance of the values attributed to language and place. Chapter Six also revealed that sound recordings create new connections with language in a range of domains of people's daily activities and language learning practices. As discussed in Chapter Two, recently, technology-based language learning and interactive resources are used in the revitalisation of endangered languages. Some authors suggest that they may encourage the growth of numbers of language users (e.g. Penfield et al., 2006; Scott, 2007; Galla, 2009; Jones and Ogilvie, 2013; Hermes and King, 2013). In the context of technologically mediated practices, sound recordings used and opportunities they provide in language learning practices and the domains of sociocultural interactions thus form an important part of the investigation.

This chapter will thus focus on the next objective of the thesis and will explore the opportunities that sound recordings create in language learning practices

from the perspective of constrains associated with the critical situation of a language and a relatively short period of language revitalisation process (the Ainu language case), as well as from the potential security of language and a much more advanced language revitalisation process (the Frisian language case). Chapter Eight will continue and expand this discussion in regards to the domains of social and cultural interactions.

Hence, Section 7.2 provides an insight into learning practices of the Ainu and Frisian languages, and discusses the major differences and similarities between both cases in order to understand local contexts of these practices and current developments in the usage of both languages. Section 7.3 presents data about sound recordings and their use in practices relevant to language acquisition and redefinition of the relationships with place in the specific context of Frisian language revitalisation. Section 7.4 discusses these aspects in relation to practices of learning the Ainu language. Finally, Section 7.5 presents conclusions.

7.2 Language learning sites: the Ainu and Frisian cases

As outlined in Section 4.2, each language revitalisation process is undertaken in unique local situations. Therefore, before discussing the use of sound recordings in language learning practices across both cases, the local context of these practices and insight into how both languages are used needs to be considered. This enables the development of an understanding about differences and similarities between both case studies and language learning sites in which sound recordings operate.

7.2.1 Developments in the use of the Frisian language

As presented in Chapters Four and Five, the Frisian language reviving movement dates back to the 19th century. In the course of the 20th century, restoration of language and the development of literacy in the Frisian language became a great concern for educational institutions and authorities. Breuker (2001) argues that the shift in status of the Frisian language status progressed under the wider support of educational institutions including the General Frisian Education Committee (Afûk), founded in 1927. Suurenbroek and Schrover (2005: 993) add that 'emancipation of the Frisian language was the driving-force behind the numerous Frisian organisations'. Ultimately, the Frisian language, from being offered as taught subject after school hours in the first half of the 20th century, became an obligatory subject in primary school in the province from 1974 and in secondary schools from 1993[51] (Hilton and Gooskens, 2013). Recently, language policy regarding the Frisian language has been constructed on the agreement between provincial and central government in form of the Covenant on Frisian Language and Culture drawn up in 1989; this has been renewed and redrafted in the following years (Mercator, 2007).

Needless to say, this shows that much has been achieved in bringing Frisian language to schools. Over the years, development of literacy transformed the Frisian language, a primarily oral language, into a language that can be taught in schools. In doing so, formal education has been allowed to play a role in advancing linguistic competences in the Frisian language. Recently, the Frisian

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[51] First Frisian lessons took place in 1907 and from 1937 Frisian language was permitted as an optional subject in secondary education (Mercator, 2007: 7-8).

language has been broadly used by the Frisians across a range of domains. A local resident from Friesland explained how the language is used today:

> *'Informally, we speak Frisian…. When I meet somebody who I don't know I try to give a signal that I speak Frisian, sometimes I start to speak Frisian or just use some Frisian phrases…. In informal settings there is quite a lot of Frisian. Generally, many people who live here want to speak Frisian. But sometimes somebody who is new says 'speak Dutch, I don't understand Frisian'. Yes, it happens. So in our province people switch a lot. It is not done under pressure. They want to speak Frisian but don't want to be pushy'* (Robert, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

This narrative highlights how a high level of communicative competency in the Frisian language has developed over time. Presently, Frisians can easily exchange information among each other in the Frisian language. The use of language seems to organise the lives of Frisian people; they are empowered by the faculty of speaking in the Frisian language in everyday life activities, whilst also having proficiency in the Dutch language which is the language of majority in the Netherlands. Frisians know the Dutch language, speak it and use it interchangeably with the Frisian language. From this excerpt it is also seen that the use of Frisian language stays in cohesion with the Dutch language, and is framed within the context of place and the Frisian community. This point, demonstrated here, was made by the Dutch Culture Minister Jannewietske de Vries[52] in an interviewee to CNN:

> '*We have a language of the heart, Frisian. We have a language of the nation which is Dutch*' (Hooper, 3 November, 2009).

Importantly, the way in which the Frisian language is used entails the activities of speaking. Such environment, built upon the use of language, creates

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[52] Jannewietske de Vries was previously a member of the Executive of Friesland Province (Hooper, 2009).

opportunities of aural experiences of language which 'bear directly on the bases of auditory art, emotion and affect, all of which derive their meaning from the specific culture' (Blesser and Salter, 2007: 217). The aural qualities of language are acknowledged for bringing meaningful forms to people's lives. Significantly, the evolution of linguistic skills among Frisians, as Figure 7.1 indicates, has been progressing towards 'understanding' and 'speaking'. As noted in Section 4.2.3, these two categories fit the highest percentage – with 94% understanding Frisian and 74% speaking in Frisian. Statistics thus have established that speaking and understanding the Frisian language as a second language have been crystallized as the common language skills, and as constituent parts of communication in the province of Friesland.
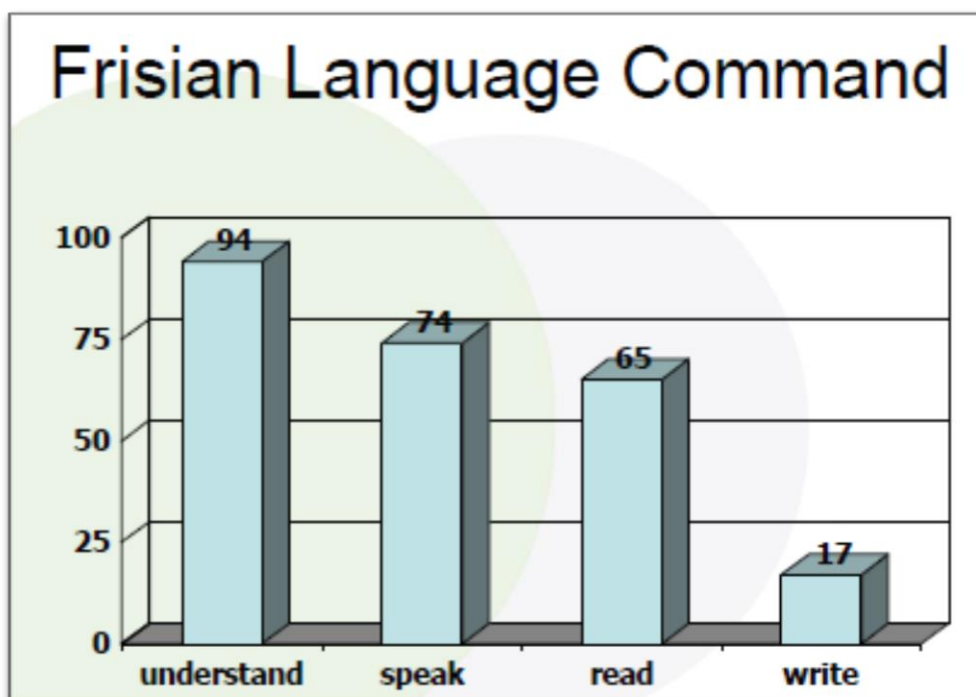
Figure 7.1 Use of the Frisian language in Friesland in percentage (source: Riemersma, 2012)

Statistical data on the use of Frisian language may support the view that the Frisian language will probably remain safe from loss in the long term. However, this situation does not relieve from the risk of language decline. Developments in the use of the Frisian language have varied over time and the percentage of speakers of Frisian is not stable. For example, in 1994 Frisian was the first language for 55% of the Frisians whilst in 2007 this was the case for 54% (Douwes, 2010: 17). Most recently, some interviewees highlighted the threat of English to the Frisian language due to the increasing importance of English language among young generations. The teaching of English has also been introduced in a number of schools in Friesland (Riemersma, 2012). This means that the process of language revitalisation requires continuous efforts and formation of learners of the Frisian language as well as fostering of connections with domains of its use.

7.2.2 Ongoing changes in the use of the Ainu language

In contrast to the Frisian language, reviving the Ainu language, as outlined in Section 4.2.2 and discussed in Chapter Six, only began in the late 20th century. The Ainu language is not a part of the regular school curriculum in Japan. It is taught in some universities in Japan and evening classes in Ainu villages in Hokkaido. Parallel to teaching the language, the standardisation of the Ainu language also seems to be progressing. Nakagawa (2009), in commenting on the project publishing a textbook for learning of the Ainu language titled *Akor Itak* (1994; [Our Language]) published together with a video by the Association of Ainu Hokkaido in 1994, explained that:

'This project marked a breakthrough, because Ainu representatives and several Japanese researchers worked together. That fact that the Ainu themselves for the first time presented their views on methods of expression and discussed in editorial meetings the standardisation of the language was indeed significant'.

This excerpt suggests that restorative work on the Ainu language has proceeded together with laborious work on establishing standards for the language. Given language learning programmes and the standardisation work on language empowerment in reviving the Frisian language, such endeavours highlight that the process of language revitalisation is realised and can be considered as a stage itself in creating a more secure position of the Ainu language.

However, as noted in Section 4.2.2, the endangerment of the Ainu language is estimated as critical (Moseley, 2010). The Ainu language has also come to be regarded as almost extinct (e.g. Hattori, 1967; Shibatani, 1990; Maher, 2002). In addition, Bugaeva (2010) asserted that the Ainu language was spoken until the 1950s. DeChicchis (1995) has also suggested that older members of the community who could be fluent in speaking the Ainu language may be no longer living. Some opinions about the Ainu language and how the language is actually perceived were expressed by local residents in Japan:

「ええ、アイヌ語はよく使っていないかもしれませんね。」
'Well, the Ainu language, it might be used but I am not sure' (Yuki, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

「まあアイヌ語はよく分からないけど北海道で使う。。。かもしれいないが」
'Well, the Ainu language...it might be used in Hokkaido' (Haru, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

「アイヌ語自体はあまり使わないそうです。現在は北海道で。。。歌で教え、儀式で教え…という感じらしいです。」
'The Ainu language itself is not much used. I have an impression that it is taught now in Hokkaido through songs, ceremonies…' (Aki, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

In addition, one of interviewees, a resident of Hokkaido, asserted more decisively that:

「今では、アイヌ語ができる人というのは本当に少数古老ですが１９９０年代頃から、アイヌ語を勉強しようとする人が増えてきます。」
'Presently, there are not too many people who can speak the Ainu language. They are mostly old people, but from around 1990s the number of people who learn the Ainu language has been increasing' (Takeshi, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

Evidently, as the present state of affairs stands, when talking about the Ainu language, associations did not invoke a range of descriptions such as 'dead' or 'extinct'. The Ainu language is not perceived in the category of complete demise; however, is not considered as being broadly used either. The situation of the Ainu language needs to be investigated more in order to comment about the number of speakers and levels of proficiency. However, as outlined in Section 4.2.2, according to Kayano (1993; cited in Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001: 50), it is likely that around 10% of the Ainu population in Hokkaido, that is approximately 2,500 people, can understand Ainu. On this basis, it can be assumed that the Ainu language is transmitted to the younger generation in some ways, but likely this is done in a very limited way. Currently, however, there are programmes to teach children and adults the Ainu language

(Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001). Such a situation entails to some extent developments in the process of language revitalisation.

In addition, it was found that among the population of Hokkaido, there is a need to learn the Ainu language. However, what is of interest here is that the motivations of some learners to attend language lessons have resulted from the interactions with the Ainu language and aural experience of the language. Some learners, for example, took the decision to learn the Ainu language due to having listened to Ainu speech in childhood:

「あの、えと、祖母は、あの、口を染めたばあちゃんでした。で、育ったところが幌毛志っていうとこで、あの、シャモばっかりの中の生活の中だったのそのとき、若いときはやっぱり抵抗もあったので、そうゆうのにききたくなかったし、言葉も覚えたくなかったし、でもばあちゃんはあのやっぱり同じばあちゃんが来たら、朝方までアイヌ語で会話してました。」
'It was my grandmother who spoke [the Ainu language]. I was growing up in Horokeshi in an environment surrounded only by Shamo[53]. At that time I was young, in some ways stubborn, I did not want to listen to and learn [Ainu] words, but when my grandmother was coming I was talking with her in Ainu until morning' (Participant M1).

「私もアイヌ語はまったくわかんなくて、母親は話せて、話せたのに、あの...、少しでも勉強できたらいいかなと...」
'I also do not know the Ainu language, not at all, my mother could speak [the Ainu language]; she could speak, although she could speak, well…, it would be good if I could learn a little…' (Participant M2).

These responses are indicative of how past aural experience, inscribed in memory through the act of listening and hearing, led to the decision to learn the language after years. Memories ensure continuity of place attachment (Alderman, 2008). Memories may also evoke deep sentiments towards family

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[53] *Shamo* is a word used by the Ainu to name the Japanese (Sjöberg, 1993).

members and feelings of belonging. However, from the above accounts it can be suggested that memory is bound to the sounds of language which seemingly rationalise one's decision to learn the language after a long period of time. Such testimony illustrates the overlapping and complex connections between memory, sound and sense of belonging to others and to place (Duffy, 2000; Revill, 2000; Duffy and Waitt, 2013).

Another learner witnessed a more recent aural experience which led him to take the decision to learn the Ainu language:

「アイヌ語ってゆうのに、あの、聞く機会だったり、あの、単純に言葉を見るってことはよくあったんですけど、えっと、語学として学ぶのは初心者で、興味があったので、で、あの、簡単な文が作れるくらいに、ま、なれたらなと思っています…」
'Well, there are often some opportunities to hear the Ainu language, and some see simple [Ainu] expressions, so I am interested in learning the language as a beginner, to be able to learn and write simple sentences' (Participant M3).

Importantly, experiences of hearing the language in public space actually turned the attention, invoked a subject's interest and determined their subsequent decision to learn the language. This event marks the composition of the present linguistic soundscape of the place where Ainu people live. Sounds of language derived from surroundings actively influence the listener's decision to participate in reviving the use of language and restoring the meaning of place consequently. In this way, this may re-benefit the process of revitalisation. This account, similarly to the above statements, exemplifies the existing emotional bonds with place represented in the decision to learn the language. An attitude of another

participant who despite older age continues attending Ainu language classes may also support this assumption:

「アイヌ語教室にも4年、通っているんですが、同じで、耳からいろいろ入っても、やっぱりなかなかこの年で、頭になかなか残らないっていうのもあるし、あとやっぱり、少しでもわかるようになって、しゃべれるようになったらいいなぁと思っています。」
'I have attended the Ainu lesson for four years but at my age some words are difficult to remember well, but despite this I think that it would be good even if I will understand and speak a little [Ainu]' (Participant M4).

In addition, such statement reflects a need to stay connected with a language. This may also be recognised as a manifestation of the desire to participate in cultural processes, stemming from existing attachment to a place and emotional bonds with that place (Smith, 2006). Willingness to learn the Ainu language appeared to be a way which restores place identity that people shaped over their life in that place (Twigger-Ross and Uzzell, 1996). However, such relationships are defined by the subjective qualities of place – provides the context to a learner's motivation. This was evident when another interviewee explained that:

「アイヌ語はぜんぜんわかんないんで、何言ってるか、一から勉強したいという感じですね。」
'I don't know the Ainu language at all, but I have a feeling that I want to learn from scratch' (Participant M5).

This testimony may suggest a lack of personal linguistic roots with place, but it is likely that language was experienced in some way previously and the later decision to learn the language mirrors cultural influence of that place. Some other respondents expressed more clearly that their desire to learn the

language was compounded with the ratification of cultural knowledge and an occupational dimension of place attachment (Wilcock, 1998):

「観光の関係の仕事をしているので、お客さんに教えられるなにか面白いこととか覚えれたらいいなと思っています。」

'Because my work is related to tourism, I think that it would be good if I learn something interesting that I could share with visitors' (Participant M6).

「昨年から保存会の行事とか、いろいろ、イベントに参加せてもらって、で、えと、ま、ぼく本州の人間なんでなんか向こうの人に聞かれた時とか、向こうから遊びに来たりもすることが多いんで、そのときにあの、地名とか、なんかその昔からの文化とかを説明できたらいいかなと思って....」

'Since last year, I have participated in different events organised by the Society for Preservation of the Ainu Culture. Many people from Honshu, who often come here to spend time, asked me some questions so I think that it would be good if I could explain in some way the old culture, for example place names…' (Participant M7).

On the whole, the responses of learners illustrate the ongoing work and developments in restoring the use of Ainu language. The local context of the Ainu language case demonstrates also that aural experiences, extended sometimes to memories, appeared strongly influential on people's decisions. Linguistic behaviours were realised through shifts in thinking which themselves were stimulated by the particular environment created by sounds of the Ainu language, experienced presently or in the past, reflecting the desire to interact with language as a source of engagement with a place. Such connections indicate that language learning practices need to provide opportunities to reconnect with sounds of language, in order to form speakers of the Ainu language and design language materials that will enable such interactions.

7.2.3 Recognising differences and similarities between both case studies

The local contexts of each case and insights into how both languages are used and perceived provide understanding about the state of these particular languages and their use which varies significantly. Both cases are differently interwoven into the mechanisms of language revitalisation. The major difference between both case studies concerns the stronger connection of the Frisian language to the educational system and much greater opportunities for language learning that arise from such a system. A disproportion between both languages is reflected in the numbers of speakers and the environment which secures the use of Frisian language through promotion of language use, institutional support and language education. Learners of the Ainu language are much disadvantaged by history and do not share the same experiences as Frisian learners.

However, one explanative remark about data on the use of Frisian language can be made on the basis that revitalisation of the Frisian language has been progressing over time, and that opportunities of listening and hearing the language potentially empowered this process. This suggests engagement in practices through which Frisians could encounter familiar sounds of the language rather than being literacy-focused. In addition, as noted in Section 5.3, the case of the Frisian language demonstrates that the revitalisation process has evolved towards a speech community strongly attached to place. What resonates from the accounts of the Ainu case is the fact that the process of revival is driven by a desire among individuals to join language learning practices to increase the chances of experiencing the language. Their decision

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to be involved in learning the language was made upon emotional factors and memories infused with sounds of the language that connect the past with the present, and have the power to recreate feelings of belonging to place and others.

Thus, the attentiveness to sounds of language is common in the Ainu language case. This enhances understandings of how individuals make sense of practices within the process of revitalisation of language. This also enables thinking about strategies for the revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages which have a common problem and goal – to affect the implementation and the growth of language use. Fundamentally, each of the case studies needs to form language speakers and engage with the language (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013).

The revitalisation of endangered languages is a challenging task and relies on the consolidated efforts of researchers and local speakers to fit the needs of language communities (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Penfield and Trucker, 2011). In addition, considering the importance of the environment which enhances language acquisition in two culturally and linguistically distinctive case studies, this means that language revitalisation programmes need to develop relevant materials to ensure cultural continuity (Walsh, 2010) and to appeal to potential users and engage them (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013). As discussed in Chapter Three, the unique capability of sound recordings to reproduce sounds may help in these endeavours. Both cases vary in degrees of language endangerment and experience in revitalisation. Therefore, it is important to see how sound recordings yield opportunities in both of these

processes. By drawing on the local context of each case, the following sections will explore the functioning of sound recordings in situated language learning practices.

7.3 The Frisian language case and language learning practices

Evaluations of linguistic resources created for the purposes of language revitalisation are often drawn from the perspective of literacy as a prerequisite of learning practices of endangered languages (see, e.g. Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). However, some authors suggest that technology-based language learning and work on online interactive resources foster the increase of community involvement and participation of individuals in practices related to revitalising languages (Penfield et al., 2006; Jones and Ogilvie, 2013; Hermes and King, 2013). The Frisian language case suggests that technological developments have come to be broadly incorporated into the process of language revitalisation. Importantly, their utility provides prospects for strengthening bonds with place and language among the young generation. Responsive suggestions to improve educational resources in a way that recognise interactive features of technologies acknowledge that a process of revitalisation of the Frisian language is moving towards the involvement of resources which enhance auditory imagination and auditory learning.

7.3.1 Constructing engagement in language learning

As previously discussed in Chapters Four and Five, work on revitalisation of the Frisian language focused on elaborating standardised norms for language. This

work resulted in the production of resources for language learning. Gorter et al. (2001) revealed, for example, that a Frisian language course called *Fryske Taal Rotonde* ([Frisian Language Rotunda]; Figure 7.2) was designed for children aged 4 to 12 and published by the Centre for Educational Advice in 1994. In practice, however, only selected parts from this course were applied during lessons and were recognised as 'not conducive to a continuous line in the Frisian curriculum' (Gorter et al., 2001: 114).

However, further to this, it was revealed that 'many primary schools made use of the special Frisian school radio and school television programmes' (Gorter et al., 2001: 114). The choice to introduce media into the process of learning the Frisian language was thus undertaken. Such choice can be recognised as a means of engaging children with media texts in the Frisian language and as one of the ways in which meanings embedded in language circulate (Buckingham 2008). What is more, constructing an environment in the Frisian language classroom through audio-visual resources can be considered as pedagogy through which learners learn to comprehend the Frisian language. As discussed in Section 5.3.1, it must be remembered that the Frisian language was developing over time as an oral language. In addition, as noted in Section 7.2.1, the developments of communication in the Frisian language have evolved over time towards understanding and speaking – skills that require activities of hearing and listening. This perspective sheds light on possible predispositions to choose listening as a cognitive strategy (Blesser and Salter, 2001). Therefore, it is likely that adding audio recordings may influence more the process of acquisition of the Frisian language amongst the Frisians.
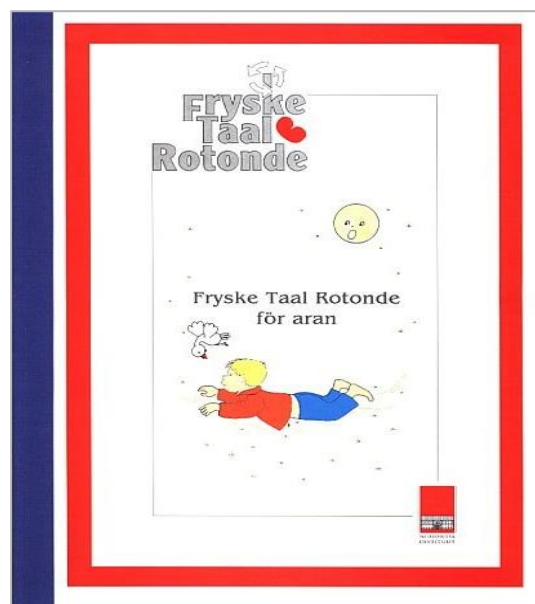
Figure 7.2 Cover page of *Fryske Taal Rotonde* [Frisian Language Rotunda] (source: www.unamundo.com/Oeoemrang.htm)

Audio-visual language resources are relatively new when take in comparison to printed materials; however, it is recognised that they can provide a performative construction particularly through giving opportunities of listening and hearing language (e.g. Blake, 2007; Mayer, 2009). Auditory learning is still a subject of scientific investigations (Blesser and Salter, 2007), but some authors argue that delivery of aural stimulus contributes to the process of learning and language acquisition (e.g. Feyten, 1991; Rost, 2013). Significantly, audio-visual components were introduced into the process of acquisition of the Frisian language and elaboration of language resources that provide interactive links to encourage the acquisition of the Frisian language for primary schools took a more central attention. In 2006 new interactive resources named *Studio F*, available online, were introduced to primary schools (www.studiof.nl; Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 Website of Studio F with resources to listen to the Frisian language (source: www.studiof.nl/)

The content of Studio F enables the access to radio and television programmes, interactive games and tasks in the Frisian language differentiated by varied levels and linguistic knowledge of children. It also includes possibilities to upload songs, stories and poems in the Frisian language which can be read and listened to (Figures 7.4, 7.5, 7.6). The integration of different modalities to capture the attention of the young generation can be viewed as work towards providing opportunities for more sensuous activities whereby audio content, through which sound recordings are interpreted, prevails as a component supporting multimedia graphics and auditory learning. This is particularly useful in attempts to learn songs and poems. When sounds of songs or poems in Frisian language are reproduced electronically, listeners may experience and focus on sounds. The interaction between listener and sounds addresses the transmission of content and place-specific linguistic knowledge. Listening practices may range from 'reciprocal listening, background listening, and delegated listening' (Crawford, 2012: 80), but importantly they value interaction with written texts. Significantly, listening practices potentially have impact on

memory and remembering (Brownell, 2013). Some researchers have also found that auditory imagination is able 'to create vision in the brain' (de Volder et al. (2001: 138).

Thus, the use of sound recordings facilitates the active reconnections with the Frisian language and contributes to increasing the involvement in the process of language acquisition and validation of knowledge of the Frisian language. The encounter with a more animated language may play an important role in the construction of the sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). This also may enhance the creation of sense of collective identity anchored in particular predispositions to acquire the language better through auditory sense. Therefore, the employment of sound recordings through which the young generation can be connected with sounds of the language can be viewed as a prospective work with the particular goals to develop the relationships with place they live in.

Figure 7.4 Website of Studio F with interactive resources for primary schools (source: www.studiof.nl/)
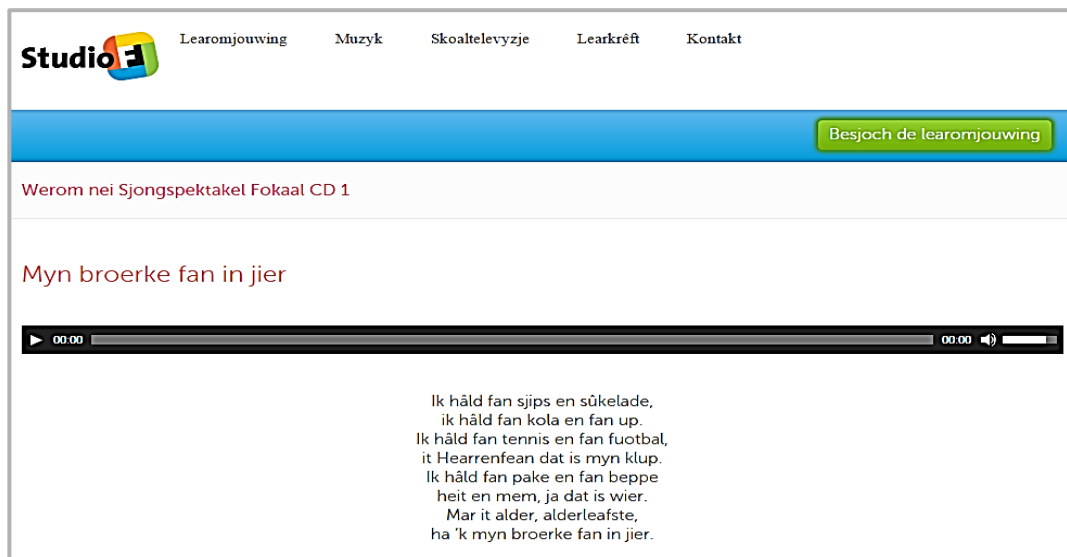
Figure 7.5 Website of Studio F with the possibility to listen to Frisian songs (source: www.studiof.nl/)
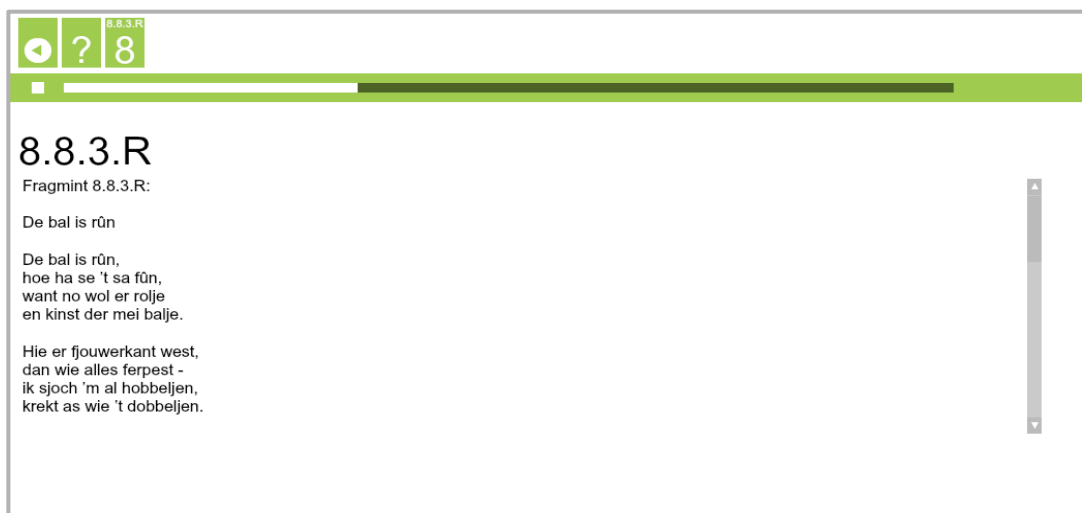
Figure 7.6 Website of Studio F with the possibility to listen to Frisian poems (source: www.studiof.nl/)

Furthermore, to increase connections with the Frisian language, in parallel to the resources in the Frisian language designed for primary schools, the new interactive website Freemwruk (www.afuk.frl/freemwurk) for secondary school students was developed in 2006 (de Graaf et al., 2015). This project was an integral part of the provincial policies aiming towards the improvement of teaching and learning Frisian in all stages of the education career (Mercator,

2007). Elaboration of these language resources was preceded by a survey conducted by the Inspectorate of Education [54] between 1997 and 1998. Accordingly, it concluded that 'current Frisian lessons do not contribute meaningfully to the linguistic and cultural development of the students' (Gorter et al., 2001: 116). Further to this, Ytsma (2007: 152-153) noted that:

> 'Reading and especially writing in Frisian seemed to be difficult for many students. It turned out that 38% of the students could not (6%) or hardly ('a little', 32%) read Frisian. The corresponding figures in respect of Frisian writing ability were 26% ('not') and 52% ('a little')'.

The presented data on competences in the Frisian language principally refers to the standard in which students of the language perform. The outcomes of language education expressed in statistical data suggest that the students for some reasons did not perform as expected. However, de Graaf et al. (2015: 143) found that individual accounts on the Freemwruk website reach around 2,500 accounts annually. This means that users who access this website share and use the same language – Frisian. This can be seen as a form of expression of identification with a group of people who use the same language and share the same cultural values. Importantly, sound recordings and delivery of audible content in the Frisian language create opportunities to participate in activities which may have impact on the process of upholding place-based identities (Hiller and Franz, 2004; Skop and Adams, 2009).

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[54] The Inspectorate is the division of the Department of Education and Skills responsible for the evaluation of primary and post-primary schools and centres for education.

7.3.2 Securing the use of the Frisian language

As previously discussed, the employment of audible techniques has been recognised to be relevant in the struggle to develop an appropriate curriculum. However, such efforts and the involvement in the process of production of language resources also tell us about the intensity of sentiments to language and place. Such attitudes confirm the assertion that language revitalisation relies on the consolidated efforts of researchers and local speakers to fit the needs of language communities (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Penfield and Trucker, 2011). Moreover, although skills in the Frisian language are high among the population of Friesland, as discussed in Section 7.2.1, work on language resources proceeds. This can be recognised as a form of expression of place attachment as such efforts are perceived by individuals as valuable (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). A local resident of Friesland provided an understanding of how generations value language resources:

> *'I am Frisian myself. My grandchildren speak Frisian. Now, they have the Internet, videos, television programmes and games. They play games. Oh, they have their favourite games in Frisian, they like them, and songs too, and television programmes. So it is nice to have all these in Frisian. They love it, so do I'* (Peter, individual, Frisian case).

Older generations do not necessarily think in the same way as younger individuals, but this statement suggests emotional engagement and appreciation for creating new diverse forms of linguistic and cultural resources. Importantly, they can be used by the younger generation. In essence these resources provide connection to the Frisian language and opportunities to experience the language upon listening to songs, reading books or participating in interactive games. Such testimony enlightens present thoughts about

language in terms of the functional value of place. The use of language may evolve differently over years, and not always in a way which speakers would desire. Previously discussed data on competences in the Frisian language and presented by Ytsma (2007) suggest that reading and writing in Frisian is difficult for many students. However, a perspective of making resources in the Frisian language more accessible and creating listening spaces reinforces a sense of vitality of the Frisian language. As Pred (1984: 285) noted 'the words, variable meanings, pronunciation, and grammar of a language are always becoming – along with the becoming of individual, society, and place'. Importantly, the vitality to language is enhanced by language resources that come with sounds of the language and are thus made more accessible through the Internet which enhances the living nature of the language.

The continuous work on improving language resources, discussed in the previous section, demonstrates emotional attachments of language community to place they live in. Here, such a process not solely upholds the particular values of Frisian community and distinctiveness of place inhabited by Frisians, but it also creates a type of secure environment where individuals may plan and evaluate progress (Korpela, 1989; Korpela et al., 2001). In doing so, work on language can be recognised as a form of manifestation of place attachment and awareness about place whereas technological forms are valuable in that they provide opportunities for the Frisian language to reach young generations, having impact on developing place-identities and the greater functioning of community.

The process of reconnecting with language through interactive resources is, thus, sourced in the relationships between place, practices and cultural identities. However, one fact which needs to be considered here is that there are a range of factors which may influence levels of competence in the Frisian language. For example, Ytsma (2007) argues that Dutch and English are recognised by the Frisian students as more important. A local resident also suggested that '*in school children speak more Dutch or English*' (Mark, individual, Frisian case). The process of assimilation of dominant languages and cultures, recognised as cultural globalisation, is often seen as directly threatening to local cultural identities (Hinton, 2003; Maurais and Morris, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Ó Laoire, 2008). There is therefore awareness that the use of dominant languages may create conditions which will result in the audible impairment of interaction in the Frisian language. However, Valentine (2000: 261) highlights that school is made up of informal spaces which 'may shape shared or collective forms of identification between groups of children'. The adoption of Dutch or English languages as a means of communication among the young generation can be seen thus as an important element of integration within a group; although this can have the effect on the level of engagement with learning practices (see, e.g. Holton, 2015). On the other hand, some interviewees revealed that home is a place where the Frisian language is used in most:

> '*I am Frisian myself and my children speak Frisian at home. I cannot refrain from not speaking in Frisian with my children, at home or in my neighbourhood*' (David, individual, Frisian case).

> '*At home we all speak Frisian, and listen to radio, and our children [listen] to Frisian music and programs. We enjoy speaking in our language*' (Edward, individual, Frisian case).

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The interaction with Frisian language at home was also emphasised by a couple who stated that their children are more willingly engaged with resources in the Frisian language through the Internet, watching television programmes at home, where they spend time on online networking and playing games. An account was drawn up by an interviewee who said that they regularly speak Frisian at home and their children use Frisian websites. The domain of home emerges thus as vital for the existence of the Frisian language in the globalised world and for the safeguarding of cultural identities.

The accessibility to resources in the Frisian language through the Internet may uphold the continuity of language and benefit the increase of the vitality of language by providing opportunities of re-connection and transmission of values attached to the Frisian language, to be heard and listened to. The narratives of interviewees demonstrate feelings associated with the possibilities of interacting in the Frisian language: satisfaction with the access to resources in the Frisian language, daily engagement, comfort and general feelings of well-being. Such feelings illustrate the positive affective bonds that people form with a place they live in, which stand for place attachment (e.g. Stokols et al., 1983; Proshansky et al., 1983; Manzo, 2003; Brown et al., 2003). On the other hand, these feelings are affected by the possibilities of interactions with the Frisian language, which engage hearing and listening, and as such subjective experiences provided by interactions with language in daily activities in home or neighbouring settings.

The responses suggest that the aspects of acquisition of the Frisian language do not predominantly occur at school. This indicates the importance of

interactions in language which go beyond school (Garcia, 2003; Bale, 2010). Home emerges as a domain which secures the use of language. The meaning assigned to home is that it cements feelings of sense of place, place attachment and place identity (Korpela et al., 2001; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). Therefore, supplying language resources which have the potential to increase aural experience of language in home can serve as a means to motivate the language revitalisation process and to create a prospect for its advancement.

7.4 The Ainu language case and language learning practices

Investigations of the functioning of sound recordings in the revitalisation of the Frisian language revealed that audibly reproduced language is a strategy used not only to orient and increase contact with the language among younger generations but also to foster the use of language in domains outside of schools and particularly at home in order to uphold place-based identities. Of particular importance for these endeavours is the involvement of researchers and community members in producing resources in the Frisian language. Such commitments are manifestations of place attachment. Although the Ainu language case study is pioneering in language revitalisation, the case shares some similarities that influence reversing language shift. As will be discussed in this section, sound recordings value the Ainu language revitalisation process by providing possibilities of experiencing sounds of the language that contribute to the growth of a sense of heritage and community (Walsh, 2010), cultural identities and feelings that language is more present.

7.4.1 Redefining sense of language resources

As outlined in Chapter Six, restorative work on the Ainu language resulted in the development of a new form of multimodal resources which may challenge the existing textual forms of language resources such as that of the dictionary, recognised as essential in linguistic documentary practices (Ball, 2012). Among them there is *A Talking Dictionary of Ainu* (Figure 7.7) developed by Professor Bugaeva from the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, and available online (http://lah.soas.ac.uk/projects/ainu/). This dictionary exemplifies the profound potential of sound reproduction technology in recreating cultural capital in a more active way than a printed dictionary. Printed dictionaries, grammar or texts display visual information, but the concept of 'talking' invokes the audible feature of a dictionary. By 'having a voice' (Ogilvie, 2011; Jones and Ogilvie, 2013), the dictionary gives the possibility of hearing and listening to language.

The core value of the *Talking Dictionary* is the access to recordings which were performed by Mrs Setsu Kurokawa, the Ainu language native speaker. Therefore, it can be said that this is a particular kind of linguistic resource which creates the opportunity to engage with an ancestral sense of place bounded by the Ainu language and the voices of older community members (Walsh, 2010). Therefore, this type of language resource can contribute to increasing sense of heritage and place identities (Walsh, 2010; Ogilvie, 2011). Hearing the sounds of language also makes the Ainu language more present. In addition, the Internet emerges as an important tool which not only facilities reconnecting the geographically scattered population of Ainu but also organises the continuity of

the Ainu language by fulfilling the actual needs of the Ainu communities for conversational Ainu (Bugaeva, 2010).

Figure 7.7 Website of Talking Dictionary with the possibility to listen to words in the Ainu language (source: http://lah.soas.ac.uk/projects/ainu)

What is more, audio recordings may serve in developing literacy (Kroskrity, 2002). Literacy usually implies a skill of reading, however sound stimulates confidence in how to say words introducing in this way an audible sense of language. This practical use of audio recordings was appreciated by some learners of the Ainu language who described them as *'valuable and important'*. Others reported their experiences in the following ways:

「アイヌ文化研究センターの、あの、アーカイブが、最近公開は、が進んでいるのでそれを聴くとか、あの、「アイヌ語音声資料」というのが早稲田大学で公開されているので、それを聴くとか、そ、そうゆうことはよくやっています。」

'I can listen to online resources since recently some have been opened, for example, the Research Centre opened an online archive, and Waseda University opened 'Sound recordings of the Ainu language' to the public' (Participant T1).

「けっこうホームページ上で公開されているアイヌ語の音声資料とか聴いたり、あと、まぁ、今一番よく聴いているのが、えと、萱野茂さんという方が、えっと、まぁ、公刊した、えの、アイヌ、神話集成？「アイヌ神話集成」を今一番よく聞いて、それでちょっと勉強してるという感じです。」
'I listen to audio materials in Ainu language available online to public, but now mostly I listen to 'Ainu Shinwa Shūsei' [Collection of Ainu Mythology] made by Shigeru Kayano, and I feel that I learn' (Participant T2).

The above quotations acknowledge the use of online resources which indicates their purposeful function in reclaiming aural experience of language in the revitalisation process. Alternatively, online resources may serve the dissemination of knowledge about language and bridge the aspirations of individuals to learn language. This was suggested by an interviewee who said that:

「それと Web で公開したいですね。そうすればいろんなひとが見れたり、聴けたりできるので...」
'I would like to provide those [audible resources] to the public on a website. If they are present online, different groups of people can see and hear them…' (Tadao, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

Importantly, this quotation demonstrates an increasing awareness about a new mode of resource in the Ainu language which is likely to encourage linguistic activities and reach a wider audience. Other interviewees made the point that interactive online resources available through the website of the Ainu Museum in Shiraoi, such as those recently developed animated books which provide links to the collections of Ainu tales, stories and songs (www.ainu-museum.or.jp/takar/book/index.html; Figure 7.8), are potentially promising since they may engage the young generation:

「２０年前だったらお年寄りがいましたけど、いまはもう、今の若いアイヌの人たちがいわゆる生きた、語られたアイヌ語きこうとおもったら、よほどのことがない限り古いテープをきくしかないので... 社会的な理解が高くなって、こういう絵本を出すのと同じくらいアーカイブをつくることが大事だとなったらできるかもしれないですけど 。」

'20 years ago the elders lived but now young Ainu people if they think that they want to listen to the Ainu language which was spoken [at that time] they would not have a choice but to listen only to old tapes…. Social understanding is increasing and publications like this animated book can become as important as archives' (Rie, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

These statements provide recognition that multimodal resources may bring a particular type of cultural activities into work on revitalising the Ainu language, consolidating efforts of researchers and local speakers (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Penfield and Trucker, 2011). In these endeavours sound recordings can be used to build a perception that the Ainu language is more of a living language. Daily or sporadic use of these resources can increase feelings that language is more present in response to the perception that the Ainu language is 'extinct' or not used, as noted previously in Section 7.2.2.

The website of the Ainu Museum does not generate only animated stories which provide opportunities to listen to Ainu tales and songs facilitated by synopsis in Japanese, but it also importantly allows one to listen to these songs and tales with narration in the Ainu language by native speakers (www.ainu-museum.or.jp/siror/story/; Figure 7.9). This is particularly crucial given the limitations of native speakers and the lack of formal teaching and learning programs in the Ainu language.

Figure 7.8 Website of the Ainu Museum in Shiraoi with animated stories (source: www.ainu-museum.or.jp/takar/book/index.html)

Figure 7.9 Website of the Ainu Museum in Shiraoi with records of the Ainu language native speakers (source: www.ainu-museum.or.jp/siror/story)

The mechanism which creates the possibilities to access recorded voices provides more chance for practice and repetition. This will be discussed in the following section, but evidently sound recordings may contribute towards moving language into a more secure position on the scale of language endangerment by making sounds of the language accessible and useful for

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learners of the Ainu language. The focus on sound recordings and the discussion here on their use in revitalising the Ainu language helped to establish understanding about the role of technologically mediated practices in language revitalisation and the relevance of sound recordings in attempts to restore the Ainu language by giving a voice to resources. Importantly, these materials can be used to support language learning in language classes (Penfield et al., 2006; Ogilvie, 2011; Mosel, 2012).

7.4.2 Becoming aware of cultural identities

The incorporation of sound recordings whilst designing language resources engender a set of linguistic behaviours which can be recognised as of benefit to the language revitalisation and facilitating the understanding of linguistic culture through their words (Wierzbicka, 1997) and their sounds (Feld and Brenneis, 2004).

As outlined in Section 7.2.2, the Ainu language is taught in university classrooms and Ainu villages in the form of evening classes. During lessons learners have access to audio files which are tailored for the purpose of language learning. As previously discussed in Section 7.3.1, some researchers argue that listening activities support the construction of mental representation of an aural text (e.g. de Volder et al., 2001). However, creation of a language curriculum that uses sound recordings in the Ainu language also illustrates that these types of resources engage with building the understanding of Ainu cultural identity.

During observation of Ainu language lessons by this researcher, listening activities seemed to improve language comprehension and acquisition. Students who already possessed some knowledge of the Ainu language were reading *yukar* – a form of Ainu oral tradition (see Section 5.4.3). Reading was integrated with listening activities which were supported by audio files with records of Ainu *yukar* performed by a native speaker. The use of authentic recordings may demonstrate a genuine approach to language acquisition (Bacon, 1992). The language of *yukar* is a language of performance where messages are potentially hidden in sounds (Vansina, 1985) and sound alone may convey the meaning of 'a kind of idea-in-sound' (Finnegan, 2002: 66). Activities in the language classroom aimed to develop an understanding of such messages inscribed in the language of *yukar* in a manner that allows listeners to construct authentic evocations of the sounds of language.

Students read scripts of *yukar* and translated its passages into Japanese. When they could not understand the text, the teacher used a selective part from the sound recordings. A relatively large group of students was attentive and their interactivity increased collectively with using audio files. The teacher sometimes repeated the same segments from the sound recordings to enable students to understand meanings and construct referential connections between the selected text and sounds. Sound recordings appeared as a pedagogically useful means which delivered specific aural information and learners responded to their influence (Rost, 2013). However, sometimes the teacher had to solve some incomprehension among students by showing that pictorial representation of sound does not always have the properties of the spoken language (Port, 2007). It was likely that understanding of language does not necessarily reside

in the descriptive forms of language. Technologically mediated listening practices provide the engagement with sounds and influence aural experience of language, offering a more animated way of memorising.

Students demonstrated different perceptual abilities, since the teacher sometimes repeated listening activities. Learners experienced sounds differently, and this could stem from various reasons. The ability to detect the meanings of words on the basis of hearing among students may vary (Rost, 2013). On the other hand, this could also result from the inadequacy of the representation of some sound units of speech in written forms. Significantly, constraints imposed by written texts were clarified with the support of sound recordings. It was evident that listening activities encouraged a more sensuous approach to language learning. The use of sound recordings offered a distinct ability to carry sound into learners' ears (Blesser and Salter, 2007). Sound recordings enabled them to comprehend the language more completely. The possibilities of listening to recordings of native speakers and processing information from sound recordings were constructive and foregrounded comprehension of the Ainu language and culture.

The sound recordings and texts with Ainu *yukar* were used as language learning resources. Traditionally, language learning encompasses the acquisition of four skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. However, observation of the Ainu language classroom illustrates the approach which integrates cultural materials into methodology of teaching and learning language (Yamamoto, 1995). As discussed in Section 5.4.3, *yukar*, as a form of Ainu oral tradition, is a source of verbal arts which retains cultural significance

for the Ainu people, reflecting the uniqueness of experiences which the Ainu people have with the natural environment and place where they live. The use of sound recordings with Ainu *yukar* as a source of learning the language highlights the understanding of the nature of Ainu language and the recognition of the fact that language learning is not only about the acquisition of linguistic knowledge about the language, grammar or syntax. What can be seen from the observation of the Ainu language classroom is that the language class addresses cultural issues and prepares learners to understand Ainu culture. Teaching and learning the specificity of the Ainu language and culture entails raising awareness about the Ainu cultural identity, which is meaningfully expressed in the oral forms of language. Importantly, audible resources enabled to engender these particular types of experience and engagement with forms of Ainu oral tradition. In this way, sound recordings uniquely integrated language learners' experience with listening practices and translating the Ainu culture – restoring and making the language more vital.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the use of sound recordings in language learning practices in the contexts of revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages. By discussing how presently both languages are used, it has been shown that the major differences between both cases are linked to the contexts in which language learning practices occur. The revitalisation process of the Frisian language is characterised by stronger connections and support of educational institutions. In contrast, the Ainu language is not part of school curriculum. However, the discussion revealed that individuals across both case studies

make sense of the language revitalisation process through the attentiveness to sounds of the language. In addition, it was pointed out that the common goal of both processes of language revitalisation is to overcome constrains imposed by language endangerment and affect the growth of language vitality through developing linguistic resources (Lo Bianco and Peyton, 2013). Subsequently, the chapter has explored the use of sound recordings and their effect on language learning practices in the revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages.

As seen in the Frisian language case, in situations where language is widely used across the province of Friesland, multimedia technologies have come to be incorporated into situated language learning practices as the strategies of language revitalisation. Examination of the functioning of online resources in the Frisian language case has established that sound recordings enhance the process of language acquisition (Feyten, 1991; Rost, 2013). Importantly, sound recordings offer opportunities for developing the sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). The audible environment which sound recordings can create contributes to the strengthening bonds between young generations and place they live in.

In the Ainu language case, the language community is beginning to adopt technologies as a means of revitalising their language and the assignment of sound recordings enhances production of new forms of linguistic resources, such as that of the *Talking Dictionary*. Such resources open spaces and possibilities to experience and engage with an ancestral sense of place bounded by sounds of the Ainu language (Walsh, 2010; Ogilvie, 2011). Online resources deliver audible content which contributes to building the perception

that the Ainu language is now more of a living language. Moreover, the findings confirm that audible materials used in language classrooms allow language learners to engage in certain interactions with language which act towards deeper understanding of cultural identities (e.g. Yamauchi et al., 1999; Luning and Yamauchi et al., 2010; Walsh, 2010).

Essentially, sound recordings enhance the increase of aural experiences of language that afford engagement with language resources across both case studies. Considering the predisposition to language acquisition through auditory sense and the attentiveness to sounds of the language among individuals across both case studies, sound recordings emerge as strategies which build prospects for the advancements in language revitalisation processes. Sound recordings facilitate practices of memorising language in a more animated way, having impact on remembering (Brownell, 2013) and construction of the sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). Moreover, sound recordings have the potential to move the language into a range of domains beyond language classroom. The following Chapter will discuss the implications of the involvement of sound recordings in the domains of social and cultural interactions.

Chapter 8

Sound recordings in the domains of social and cultural interactions

8.1 Introduction

Chapter Seven explored the use of sound recordings in situated language learning practices in the context of revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages. The chapter identified that the process of language revitalisation validates the use of sound recordings in the development of linguistic resources for language learning purposes, and this contributes to the growth of language vitality. Language learning is one of the main themes discussed in the literature on the use of technology in language revitalisation (e.g. Penfield et al., 2006; Scott, 2007; Galla, 2009; Hermes and King, 2013). However, as discussed in Chapter Two, the literature on language revitalisation advocates for expanding of language use across a range of domains as an indicator of progress in language revitalisation (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994; King, 2001). This involves work on revitalising a language to be used in social and cultural domains. As established in Chapter Three, new technologies presently offer multimodal consideration of the reproduction of sound (e.g. Roth and Bruce, 1986; Kiousis, 2002; Newhagen, 2004). Sound technology is interconnected with live performances and musical events. Nowadays, there is

a variety of devices through which vocal performances can be rehearsed and replayed. Importantly, it is recognised that sound may evoke associations that work towards the reconsideration of the relationships with place, ourselves and others (e.g. Duffy; 2000; Bull and Back, 2003; Butler, 2007; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). Accordingly, the present Chapter will explore the use of sound recordings and the effects they create in the domains of social and cultural interactions to examine the work being done with their support in the revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages.

The use of sound recordings in the domains of social and cultural interactions and their implications on the processes of revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages will be discussed in the following sections. Section 8.2 draws attention to sound recordings and discusses their utility in the context of reviving the Ainu language and culture after a long period of place-based disruption and restriction of sociocultural practices. Section 8.3 explores the use of sound recordings in the Frisian language case where technological developments have facilitated the redefinition of the relationships with place for a longer period of time. Finally Section 8.4 provides conclusions highlighting similarities and differences emerging from this examination of the use of sound recordings in social and cultural domains across both case studies differentiated by the degrees of language endangerment and experiences in language revitalisation.

8.2 The Ainu language case: reviving senses of place

Current work on the Ainu language, after experiencing the long lasting cessation of language use and discontinuity of social and cultural practices, reveals a rise of events that conjure up traditional Ainu songs and dance performances. They are linked to the increased interactions with the sounds of music and language which have implications for the younger generations – the relationship on which the progress of the Ainu language revitalisation needs to rely (Fishman, 1991). The exploration of the functional utility of sound recordings in social and cultural domains provides contextual examples of these developments and shows particularly how senses of community, identity, belonging and presence are recreated with through sound recordings and encounters with familiar sounds (Smith, 2000; Duffy, 2000; Revill, 2000, 2005; Anderson et al., 2005; Butler, 2007; Simpson, 2009, 2015; Duffy and Waitt, 2013).

8.2.1 Recreation of Ainu cultural identities

Performances of Ainu dances in Ainu villages in Hokkaido may give reason to discuss how the Ainu communities are trying to recreate their culture and identities. However, as revealed during an interview, there are critical voices which claim that Ainu dances and musical events in villages are displayed solely for visiting tourists. Indeed, Ainu performances and dances have been valued and recognised as an important folk cultural property of Japan[55] and on

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[55] According to Japan's Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties of 1950, cultural properties are classified according to their nature as tangible or intangible cultural properties which constitute important cultural properties (重要文化財 Jūyōbunkazai) due to high historical and artistic values and particular importance to the Japanese people (ACA, 2011).

this basis the Ainu villages are likely to be visited by tourists. However, Tadashi Kato, President of the Traditional Ainu Dance Preservation Association, during an International Seminar on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in March 2010 said that:

> 'The Traditional Ainu Dance is performed at ceremonial celebrations and various traditional cultural events. Songs and dances are based on the indigenous religion and still keep many ancient movements. It is particularly characteristic that the dance is closely connected to the religion, performing art and daily life. Currently, the dance is performed at Icharupa [56], memorial services, Ainu festivals, family events and celebrations in many parts of Hokkaido'.

This excerpt illustrates the meaning which Ainu dances provide to the process of recovery and revival of Ainu culture. Dance is certainly a performative event. The most traditional Ainu dance is that of a circle dance called *rimse* performed in tune with the song *upopo*[57] (Plate 8.1) which utilises unique vocal technique (see Nobuhiko, 2008). The *upopo* songs are performed in a range of ceremonial events but also in the context of everyday life (Nobuihiko, 2008).

Plate 8.1 Performance of a circle dance called *rimse* in tune with song *upopo* in an Ainu village (source: author)

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[56] Icharupa is an Ainu ritual to console the spirits of ancestors (Kayano, 1994).
[57] Songs concern themes which are related to the daily activities and work. Some of *upopo* are in forms of prayers to the Gods (Nobuhiko, 2008).

Dances and songs differ across the Ainu villages. However, performing a certain kind of dance and music can be recognised as 'a means of creating and organising space, of marking time, and of defining identity' (Smith, 1997: 510). During observed dance performances in the Ainu village, dancers sung and moved to the rhythm of music in a style evidently characteristic of the Ainu people. At the same time, audio technology (as seen in Plate 8.1) transformed the sounds of songs and music decisively. Demonstration of the mukkuri – another traditional Ainu instrument, interwoven into performances – offered instrumental accompaniment to highlight the character of the performance distinctive for the Ainu culture. Even more so, the active nature of dance and playing instruments assign an impressive sense of vigour – a sense of presence (Duffy, 2000; Smith, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005; Simpson, 2015). This musical vigour re-awakes the process of becoming (Anderson et al., 2005) – in turn this stimulates personal reinvention and encourages going beyond the boundaries of social and cultural isolation inflicted by language endangerment. Of particular importance here is the performative dimension of events which endorse the recreation of Ainu identities. Throughout the observation, dancers and singers were engaged in performance, presenting it in a way relevant to their cultural background. This remark can be correlated with the notion of cultural identity which, according to Hall (1990: 223), needs to be understood as:

> '…shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self', hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves', which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people', with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history'.

Performances emerge thus as vitally important activities since they are infused with cultural meanings and values. In addition, the nature of these performances integrates the Ainu people together. In explaining the Ainu dances Hiwasaki (2000: 407) argues that:

> 'Publicly performing dances and rituals in tourist villages not only act to reaffirm and further develop aspects of culture; it also acts to hold a group of people together in a common culture'.

Similarly, Sjöberg (1993:17) claims that:

> '[Tourist centres] have become places where the Ainu, by 'putting themselves on show', express their group or collective identity. These villages have become places where the conscious reconstruction of an Ainu identity is noticeable. In a way it emphasises the distinctive content of Ainu ethnicity for the tourists and the larger public who are invited not only to buy Ainu products, but see how they are made'.

Thus, contrary to the views of critics, it could be argued that the Ainu insist on public performances as a means of re-establishing their culture in the public eye – calling for widespread recognition of their still-present, still-vital culture. In addition, the growing opportunities for performative events emerge as significant means that move revitalisation to a domain of social interactions through engagement with properties of sound (Anderson et al., 2005), dancing and singing and being with others, not possible for a long time.

An Ainu woman told me that she indulges in such performances when being with others (Yuko, individual interviewee, Ainu case). What is more, performance where dance is coordinated with vocal lines sung in Ainu language can also call for the presence of an audience who understands songs' lyrics. Without being presented to a listening audience, these songs could no longer be heard or listened to. Another Ainu woman claimed with pride that she loved

to dance since she grew up in the Ainu home (Keiko, individual interviewee, Ainu case). She explained that she did not have occasions to speak in the Ainu language when she was a child, but during her childhood her grandmother used to often sing and pray in Ainu, and, therefore, through these memories she has fostered a strong desire to sing in Ainu and perform Ainu dances with others. Such accounts illustrate the rise of certain behaviours influenced by activities within a community, particularly that of performed arts like that of dances and songs.

Engagement and interactions with the settings and performed dances, nuanced by the streams of sounds of Ainu language, can be viewed thus as providing much needed meanings to individuals' lives. The socio-cultural context of activities through which familiar sounds and music are experienced recreates traditions that are consequently passed on. Such experiences may evoke emotional responses and stimulate thinking about place which may have an effect on the reinforcement of a sense of community (Revill, 2000, 2005; Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005). What is more, recalling memories from childhood may be influential on the sensation of being connected to place and others (Butler, 2007). As already discussed in Section 6.2, sensing language and the uniqueness of emotional bonds with home and family carry forward a sense of self through people's lives (Blassnigg, 2009, 2013). Hence, it can be inferred that experiencing sounds of the language may awaken this sense after years. It appears that linguistic sounds and music when being reclaimed through performative events emerge as an important element linked to the value of technology that act to recreate a sense of place and identities – influencing people's lives.

Importantly, events in the Ainu villages offer the experience of sounds may evoke a feeling that the language has a present presence. Language revitalisation addresses expanding language use across domains and intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 2001; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994; King, 2001), and sound technology, which performative events utilise, make such prospects possible. This is evidenced by a new form of Ainu music, which builds upon several generations' work, which is performed by younger individuals. For example, some contemporary groups, such as Marewrew, Sanpe, Kapiw Ran or perhaps the most popular representative of Ainu music, Oki Kano, who plays together with his own band named Oki Dub Ainu Band, create new music which incorporates elements of traditional Ainu music. The band plays Ainu music and songs using the traditional Ainu instrument tonkori[58] and mixes the performances with other styles of music such as reggae or dub[59].

It may be questionable whether this form of music can be considered as retaining the traditional to Ainu music elements, but nonetheless the presence of a unique Ainu instrument and the use of Ainu language, embedded in songs' contents, provide a sense of historical continuity of Ainu cultural values. By linking the past with the present in a way which can be meaningful for the Ainu people, the tonkori musicians support the revival of Ainu music and the development of new identities. An Ainu girl, who was around nineteen years old, told me that she listens to Ainu singing groups regularly. Her pride was evident when she recounted the story of listening to Ainu songs when she was a child – demonstrating again that the process of revitalisation is deeply founded in

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[58] The tonkori is a plucked string instrument used to perform the Ainu music.
[59] Dub is considered as a genre of electronic music close to reggae music (Veal, 2007).

private memories and familial aural experiences which emerge after years and act to strengthen the sense of behind revitalisation efforts.

8.2.2 Personal retrieval and mediated sounds of Ainu *yukar*

After a long period of exclusion, interactions with the sounds of the Ainu language seem to have potential influence on the recovery of Ainu identities. These developments operate on the terrain of emotions linked to the personal attentiveness to familiar sounds. An interviewee (Takeo, individual interviewee, Ainu case), a local resident of Hokkaido, shared his opinions about the Ainu language speech contest named *Itak An Ro*[60] [Let's Speak Ainu Language] during which Ainu oral traditional forms *yukar* are performed. The interviewee highlighted that participating in events which foster the experience of language is emotional for many of the Ainu people and he went on to explain that this happens because '*listening to Ainu songs, well yukar in particular, is a very special moment which deeply affects them'.* It demonstrates that the Ainu remain emotionally attached to the sounds of *yukar*. Thus, the events which provide the possibilities to contemplate Ainu songs are a source of emotional revival as they hold particular meanings for the Ainu. Importantly, attending such events drawn upon attitudes to language and *yukar* which, as discussed in Section 5.4.3, are imbued with place-related meanings (see Box 8.1), afford spiritual connections to place where the Ainu live.

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[60] The Ainu language speech contest is organised in Hokkaido and most recently in Sapporo since the late 1990s. The number of participants in the contest may vary. As revealed in an interview, it can reach up to 50 participants of different ages, from young people to elders. It provides the opportunity to perform recitals of Ainu oral tradition forms such as *yukar*.

Box 8.1 *The Song the Black Fox Sang* (Ainu *yukar*) (Philippi, 1979)

On the rocky headlands of our land
On the rocky headlands of the gods
I was sitting.
One day I went out and saw
The sea stretching away broad and calm, and on the sea
Okikirmui, Shupunramka and Samayunkur
Had sailed out together to hunt for whales, and when I saw this
The evil heart I bear swelled with malice.

Over these rocks
Over the rocky headlands of our land
Over the rocky headlands of the gods
I ran from top to bottom
I ran with light feet and sinuous body
I barked with a low sound like heavy wood splintering.
I stared at the fountainhead of the river, and called to the storm demon within.
And a violent wind, a whirling wind came forth from the spring
And blew on the ocean. And straightaway
The surface of the sea plunged down
And the depths of the sea rose up. Okikirmui's boat,
Caught where the coastal waters meet the ocean waters
In dire peril, in the space between the waves
Span round and round. Mountains of water
Wrapped around the boat. but
Okikirmui, Samayunkur and Shupunramka
Chanting loudly, kept on rowing.
That tiny boat was blown around like a fallen leaf
Almost already it seemed to capsize, but
Those brave Ainu nobly sent their little boat
Skipping through the wind
Slipping over the tops of the waves.

And when I saw this, the evil heart I bear swelled with malice.
I ran with light feet and sinuous body
I barked with a low sound like heavy wood splintering.
I urged the storm demon onward with all my strength
And as I did so, at last, Samayunkur
With blood running from the palms of his hands
And blood running from the backs of his hands
Collapsed from exhaustion
And a secret laugh bubbled up inside me.
Once more, with all my strength
I ran with light feet and sinuous body
Barking with a sound like heavy wood splintering.
I cheered on the storm demon.
Okikirmui and Shupunranka
Shouting encouragement to each other, were bravely rowing onward, but
After a while Shupunramka
With blood running from the palms of his hands
And blood running from the backs of his hands
Collapsed from exhaustion
And again I laughed to myself.
I jumped up and ran about gracefully, with light feet
I barked with a sound like hard wood splintering –
But Okikirmui was still not even looking tired.
With only a thin garment round his body
He rowed onward until
The oar snapped in his hands.
At which he sprang over to half-dead Samayunkur
Snatched from him his oar
And rowed onward single-handed.

And when I saw this, the evil heart I bear swelled with malice.
Barking with a deep sound like hard wood splintering,
I ran with light feet and sinuous body
I urged on the storm demon with yet more force.
And soon the oar taken from Samayunkur, too,
Snapped in half. Okikirmui leapt over to Shupunranka

And seizing his oar rowed bravely onward
But this oar too was broken by the waves.
Then Okikirmui stood up in the middle of the boat,
Hero among humans, and though I did not believe
His eyes could search me out, yet
On the rocky headlands of our land
On the rocky headlands of the gods
His eyes stared straight into mine.
In his calm face the color of anger appeared,
He searched for something in his bag
And I saw him draw out a little wormwood bow
And a little wormwood arrow.
Seeing that, I laughed to myself.
"What is the so-called human doing? Trembling in fear of me?
What does he hope to use that feeble arrow for?"
On the rocky headlands of our land
On the rocky headlands of the gods
I ran up and down with light steps
I ran up and down gracefully.
I barked with a deep sound like heavy wood splintering.
I heaped praises upon the storm demon.
Meanwhile Okikirmui's arrow came flying
It hit me exactly in the back of the neck, it went right through…
What happened after that I could not tell.

When I came to,
The weather was good, and the surface of the sea
Was wide and calm, and Okikirmui's boat was gone.
From the top of my head to my feet
I was in agony, as if my skin were burning and shrinking.
I could never have thought that little arrow of the humans
Could make so much pain. With my limbs twisted in torment
Over these rocks
Over the rocky headlands of our land
Over the rocky headlands of the gods
I screamed with pain,
I writhed with pain,
By day and by night,
Half alive and half dead,
Until finally somehow I lost consciousness.
When I came round again,
I was sitting between the ears of a great black fox.
After two days, Okikirmui returned
He came with the appearance of a god, and grinning from ear to ear he said,
"Mm, a fine sight to see –
The black fox god who keeps watch
Over the rocky headlands, the rocky headlands of the gods
Because he has a good heart, a godly heart
Dies a good and splendid death."
So saying, he took hold of my head
With vast strength he took my upper jawbone
And made out of it a latrine; my lower jaw
He made into a latrine for his wife;
And my body he left to rot in the earth.
And thus tortured by night and day
By the horrible stench
I died a pointless death, a horrible death.

I was not content to be a minor god;
Because of the evil heart I bore there was no choice –
I died a horrible death. Therefore,
Foxes of the ages to come, learn from my fate:
Never harbor wicked thoughts.
So said the fox god.

As noted in the previous section, the essence of Ainu *yukar* is associated with the vocal technique and effects which are so diverse that 'not all can be captured precisely by written symbols' (Nobuhiko, 2008: 326). Kayano (1994: 139-140) testified in his book that:

> 'When I chanted the final words of sutras during the funeral of Kurokawa Teshime, an Ainu woman who knew a range of *yukar* and *uwepekere* allowed me to record them…, I realised that the Ainu language lives, that it has something that affects the core of Ainu people'.

Another emotive response and appreciation of vocal forms of *yukar* came also from an interviewee who said that:

> *'The words of yukar are not a language of daily use. They differ. When I listen to Ainu yukar at any occasion or listen to tape, the sounds of yukar are very personal'* (Hanako, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

These opinions highlight that experiencing *yukar* is linked to emotive and imaginative listening and hearing which facilitate the continuity of self-identity and place-related sentiments. As discussed in Section 5.4.3, there are a range of Ainu oral traditional forms and the vocabulary of *yukar* uniquely reflects the close relationships Ainu people have with the natural environment and spiritual world. Listening to *yukar* may bring feelings of satisfaction (Philippi, 1979) which is achieved through a culturally-informed understanding of sounds and place that founds the idea of sense of place (Tuan, 1974). Therefore, it can be said that events such as the speech contest *Itak An Ro* through facilitating interactions with the Ainu *yukar* entail a recovery process through creating the possibility of engagement with familiar sounds. The key aspect of the speech contest is linked to experiencing and sensing the language through listening to sung or spoken performances, which work towards regaining emotional relief.

Such events promote the language but also are important for social reasons. The Ainu people can collectively come and experience the language and reattach to the sense of cultural identities rooted in their sounds.

The experience of reattachment with the familiar sounds can be extended into people's everyday lives through dissemination of Ainu songs on CDs (e.g. Plate 8.2). An interviewee, for example, said: *'I simply like Ainu music and listening to Ainu songs so I have bought some CDs with Ainu yukar'* (Yasuo, individual interviewee, Ainu case). Another interviewee highlighted that '*collections of Ainu oral tradition need to be offered today on CDs'* adding that:

> *'It is good to have CDs with Ainu songs and stories because they bring to light the Ainu language and culture, such as Yukie Chiri's Ainu Shin'yōshū for example'* (Ayako, institutional interviewee, Ainu case).

An interviewee explained that Yuki Chiri's collection of traditional Ainu songs complied in *The Ainu Shin'yōshū*[61] (1923; [Collection of Ainu Songs of Gods]; see Section 5.4.3) was distributed on CDs in 2003. The interviewee highlighted that it was particularly important because the stories were performed by the Ainu bard Mutsuko Nakamoto. However, to get an understanding of the efforts involved in producing and delivering Ainu songs on CDs, the interviewee explained that releasing the collection of *yukar* was delayed for a year due to rigorous work on pronunciation and intonation. This seems to be indicative of the depth of emotions the Ainu people share with the sounds of Ainu language.

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[61] The collection was distributed on CD in 2003 under the title 「アイヌ神謡集」をうたう」 *Ainu Shinwashū o utau* [Sing Songs of Ainu Gods].

Plate 8.2 Example of a collection of CDs with Ainu songs and music (source: author)

Work on recording of Ainu *yukar* and their subsequent releases can be recognised as an important means by which the listeners keep the language alive and nourish sense of self (Duffy and Wait, 2013). The existence of an audience and the desire to reawaken the Ainu songs is what led to the production and releases of such recordings. Thus, the listeners, by participating in listening, emerge as the revivalists of their culture. Apparently, however, recordings stored in CDs permit reconnection with the emotive sounds of language in the absence of public events that foster experience of sounds of Ainu *yukar* and enable the regaining of sense of self and place.

8.2.3 Ainu radio: towards redefining the sense of daily activities

As discussed in Section 5.2.1, the linguistic politics of place led to removing the use of Ainu language from the context of daily activities. Currently development of the *Talking Dictionary*, discussed in Section 7.4.1, unfolds rising concerns about the need for a conversational mode of Ainu language. This new linguistic

tool, however, opens space to experience of language and enables the learning of vocabulary which can be used in everyday conversation. This idea stands also behind the functioning Ainu radio which broadcasts an Ainu language course for beginners. The Sapporo Television Broadcasting (STV) radio internet home page with the podcasts of Ainu language course (Figure 8.1) introduces it as:

「アイヌ語ラジオ講座。アイヌ語を耳で学ぶことが出来る貴重なラジオ番組。」
'The Ainu language course - precious radio program where you can learn Ainu language audibly'

Figure 8.1 Website of Ainu Radio with Ainu language lessons (source: www.stv.ne.jp/radio/ainugo/index.html)

Although it can be argued that the functioning of Ainu radio is limited to language lessons which are not frequently transmitted [62], it seems that it supports the dissemination of language knowledge and provides meaning into Ainu lives. Maher (2001: 341) explained that:

> 'In 1987, a commercial radio station in Hokkaido, Japan, began broadcasting an Ainu-for-Radio language course (STV Radio 1988). The programmes are not broadcast nationwide but in Hokkaido only and they are aired between 6.05 and 6.20 on Sunday morning….This is a significant advance for maintaining the presence of the Ainu language in Hokkaido. The audience rating is relatively high for that day and time: 0.1-0.2%'.

I also had an opportunity to informally ask a local resident in his sixties about his experience with radio lessons (Ken, individual interviewee, Ainu case). This experience is not representative, but I learnt that listening to language lessons broadcasted by Ainu radio and accessed online enables him to redefine his daily activities to some extent. This can be recognised since the interviewee shared his view expressing an opinion that he '*listens to radio lessons and podcasts often because and it gives him pleasure*'. This particular statement expresses the meaning the Ainu radio provides in the interviewee's life – it seems not only to be appreciated as an opportunity to learn the language, but also an opportunity to connect with an aspect of culture which has given pleasure, which is integral to making sense of self and sense of community (Revill, 2005; Duffy and Wait, 2013). As discussed in Chapter Two, the progressive advancement of Ainu language revitalisation must aim at expanding the domains of language use and it is likely that Ainu radio is part of this prospective transformation. Importantly, the radio is capable of reaching an

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[62] Recently, Ainu language lessons are transmitted on Saturdays from 7:00-7:15 and on Sundays from 23:45-24:00.

audience which is differentiated. Another interviewee provided more details on the prospects of Ainu radio and its functioning:

「えっとね、いまはれですよ、全部、ネットできくことができるんですよ。STV ラジオというところがね、アイヌ語のラジオ講座っていうのを、毎週日曜日の朝 7 時から 7 時 15 分かな、やってるんですよ。で、その電波がもし悪くても、いまネットでね、radico っていう名前の、なんていうんだ、ものがあって、それをダウンロードすると有線でラジオが聞けるんです、リアルタイムで。だから電波で聞かなくても、インターネットもってて…、その radico っていうソフトをダウンロードすれば、その、ネットの環境ある人であれば STV のラジオは聞けるし、あと、STV ラジオの、リアルタイムで聞けないときは、STV ラジオのホームページにいくと、テキストと音が全部、過去のやつきけるんですよ。ただね、STV ラジオの、ラジオ講座っていうのはね、地域別でやってるんですよ。だからはじまったころは、札幌地区の人が担当したとか、あと、うちの父ね、二風谷で生まれ育った萱野茂のはなす、ま、沙流川流域のアイヌ語とか、そのあとはえっと、旭川とかね、あと、白老とか、帯広とか釧路とか、そういう地域の担当者がね、かわってやってたの、だからある意味、その、われわれが習うのは沙流川流域のアイヌ語だからね、沙流川流域のアイヌ語をやってるラジオ講座はためになるんだけども、他の地域のやつは単語も違うし、ちょっと文法も違ったりするんですよね。」

'Well, it is nice weather now, and everybody can listen online. As far as in regards to STV, Ainu language programmes on the radio are broadcasted every day from 7:00 to 7:15 in the morning. If radio waves are poor, there is a special network, radico. It is possible to download the radico software using an internet connection….and if there are people in the network environment, it is [also] possible to listen to STV radio - otherwise it is [also] possible to navigate to the home page of STV radio and listen to sounds and view texts. Radio programmes on STV radio are from different regions. At the time when radio began to operate, there were people from Sapporo who were responsible, and then my father, Shigeru Kayano who was born in Nibutani… Well, people from regions such as Asahikawa, Shiraoi, Obihiro, Kushiro[63] made changes. The Ainu

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[63] These regions are inhabited by Ainu; although number of Ainu population is not exactly known. Asahikawa city（旭川市）and Shiraoi town（白老町）are located in the southwestern part of Hokkaido, whilst Obihiro(帯広）and Kushiro (釧路市) cities in the eastern part of Hokkaido.

language which we learn is the language spoken in the Saru region[64], and that is why radio programmes became transmitted in the Saru dialect... although vocabulary and grammar from other regions vary' (Taro, individual interviewee, Ainu case).

From what the interviewee said, the language course broadcast on radio in Hokkaido rotates amongst Ainu communities. As previously noticed, it is suggested that pubic interest in radio programmes was achieved in the 1980s (Maher, 2001). As far I am aware, up-to-date statistics are not available; however, a representative of the Ainu Association of Hokkaido in an interviewee published in The Japan Time in June 2002 said that:

> *'Conditions to learn the Ainu language have improved dramatically, with several Ainu-Japanese dictionaries being published recently and Ainu-language lectures being broadcast on the radio in Hokkaido'.*

This quote provides an account of the trend in transmitting language lessons by the means of radio since the 1980s. The interview reveals that radio is currently brought into the net. Communication technology is seen as a way of securing the continued survival of language. It seems to facilitate the access to Ainu language lessons. In doing so, it may not only enable one to learn the language at any time but also to foster the use of language in people's everyday lives. What can be said with certainty at this stage is that the geographical power of technology extends the size of audience and thus may have an impact on language revitalisation work by creating generational interactions with the language which in turn affect the rhythm of daily life and the making of sense of continuity.

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[64] The Ainu community in the Saru River region (沙流川), located in the southwestern part of Hokkaido, has the highest concentration of Ainu population (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001).

8.3 The Frisian language case: creating communal integrity

Performances of cultural life and musical expression in numerous contexts and settings have emerged as a key mechanism through which the process of revitalisation of the Ainu language is developed. The idea of transmission of cultural and linguistic meanings attached to the Ainu language and recreation of place-related relationships is supported by the technological capabilities of sound recordings. The revitalisation of the Frisian language has a much longer history of moving from linguistic isolation. Technological novelties progressively facilitated the distribution of folk music, songs, tales and narratives in towns and villages across Friesland (Oldenhof, 2006; cited in Extra and Gorter 2008: 197). As revealed in Section 6.3, sound reproduction technologies in the Frisian language, using Sterne's words (2001: 285), 'were gradually organised 'into media systems with their own distinctive industrial and cultural practices'. Particularly the Frisian radio emerges as providing opportunities for local people to engage with the locality of Friesland. It significantly may differ from the Ainu language case and the Frisian language case may give some ideas how to further exploit the capabilities of Ainu radio, not solely limiting the process to the provision of language lesson. However, some similarities are observed between both case studies which can be drawn upon in order to analyse the experience rendered by sound recordings which work towards creating a sense of self, presence and belonging to place and others (Proshansky et al., 1983; Smith, 1997; DeNora, 1999; Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005).

8.3.1 Frisian radio: constructing locality

As noted in Section 6.3.1, reversing the decline in the use of the Frisian language as a practice supported by sound recordings emerges as a means of transformation of everyday lives of Frisians; such reversal is fundamentally supported by the novelty of radio which became present in Frisians' lives and enabled the spreading of Frisian language since 1950s. Nowadays, for some people the Frisian radio acts as an artefact that prompts memories about past times when radio sounds emitted messages in the Frisian language and formed an integral part of people's lives. A local resident of Friesland saw the meaning of radio as a representation of some particular moments that took place in his life:

> *'My father used to listen to radio. Every evening he would put the radio on. It was a special moment for him. He specially tuned in to listen to Frisian radio. When he came back home, he listened to radio too. He was almost attached to this radio; he was sitting and listening…. It was sometimes funny. I have this radio still at home. It reminds me of my home where I was growing up… Myself, I listen to Frisian radio at home or when going to work'* (Peter, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

At another time, an account was provided regarding the usage of radio and the content of the songs in Frisian language:

> *'I [now] have collections of discs and cassettes. But when I was young I listened to radio. I remembered these moments when I used to wait to listen to songs in Frisian. And I think they were special for me'* (Pat, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

These quotations confirm the Frisian radio as a medium of generations that empowered listeners with feelings towards the place where they lived over time. Today, the role of radio can be viewed in terms of radio sounds which:

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> '…act as a reference of memories and feelings, of other places and other times. It can serve to ground someone in the present. It can help to establish and maintain identities, and it is often used as a marker of time' (Tacchi, 1998: 26).

The practice of listening to Frisian radio, which occurred through the routines of daily activities, illuminates a specific part of the work undertaken to reinstate community cohesion. Frisian voices came to be heard through radio which found a pragmatic application in the daily lives of people (Ytsma, 2007; Jones and Uribe-Jongbloed, 2012). The common, emerging picture of the radio and its role in Frisians' lives became apparent in the following response provided by an interviewee who pointed out that:

> *'Radio is of significance to the Frisian society as a medium that strengthened culture and community in Friesland; although now its role and image are changing, people still listen to news and weather information or even cultural affairs in their everyday life activities'* (Robert, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

The interviewee indicated that the daily and repetitious practices of listening to the news or the weather forecast shaped and legitimated the collective recognition and sense of belonging to the place where Frisians live. It could be speculated that the radio was of significance as it provided locals with local news, and it is difficult to estimate whether Frisian people prefer to listen to non-musical programmes. However, the role which radio played in the lives of Frisians over time can be understood through an evaluation made by an interviewee who explained that '*Frisian radio keeps Frisians together'* (Garry, individual interviewee, Frisian case). This suggests that community-orientated news and programmes potentially appealed to the realm of Frisians' emotions and their interests. The auditory dimension created by radio was something that affected people and influenced the rise of sense of being and belonging

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(Silverstone, 1994; Morris-Suzuki, 2005). Significantly, radio programmes were transmitted in the Frisian language.

Frisian radio became the preferred medium by the local people. According to Ytsma (2007) radio was valued more highly by Frisian people than viewing television programmes. In the 1990s *Omrop Fryslân* radio broadcasts and television programmes were popular among Frisians but the daily audience of *Omrop Fryslân* radio reached 150,000 listeners whilst daily viewing television programmes reached a comparatively low 93,000 (Ytsma, 2007: 145). These findings recall the observation provided by Tacchi (1998) that radio plays a role in the establishment and maintenance of a relationship between the self and others. A response which suggests such developments came from an interviewee who said that:

> *'There are certain memories…. I liked to listen to the radio so once I took it on a trip, wandering around in the countryside when I was a school boy, and my colleagues listened to it together with me. It was a good, lovely time because we listened to the radio and because by listening to it, speaking in Frisian made us feels good'* (Jan, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

However, listening to the radio was primarily located at home and between Frisians. Another local resident asserted that '*Frisian radio was used in most by Frisians at their homes'* (Mark, individual interviewee, Frisian case). Importantly, this provides an understanding that the domestication of radio (Tacchi, 1998) enabled the increase of exposure to the Frisian language. The auditory experience created by familiar sounds of the Frisian language led to a greater popularisation of displays of Frisian identities, which in turn catalysed the

growth of sentiments towards the culture itself – helping to nourish communal feelings.

Recently, developments in technology have introduced greater flexibility in the access of information and programmes in the Frisian language. Frisian radio is broadcasted by the public regional broadcaster *Omrop Fryslân* (www.omropfryslan.nl) which has become a multimedia company with a website (Figure 8.2), providing live streams and the possibility to download apps for the iPad, iPhone and Android phones. It also offers live TV programmes such as regional news called *Hjoed* (Today), and sells CDs and DVDs with radio programmes.
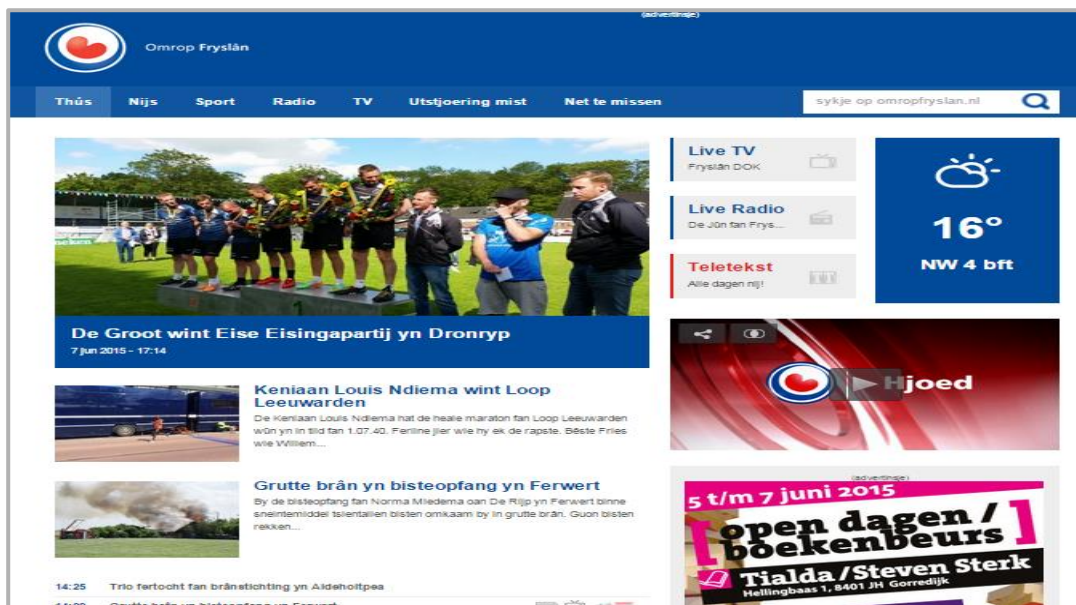
Figure 8.2 Website of the Frisian Radio *Omrop Fryslân* that provides access to live radio and live TV programmes (source: www.omropfryslan.nl/)

Thus, recently, although the mode of spreading of local news is changing and evolving towards a more interactive medium, the practices of listening and searching for local news remain. This was supported by an interviewee who said that:

> 'The Internet is everywhere so the access to daily news about our locality moved to the Internet. Frisians use the Internet. [Frisians] read, listen, write… look online for local information, and listen to radio too' (John, institutional interviewee, Frisian case).

Another interviewee, however, revealed how the practices of listening to Frisian radio occur:

> 'I think that older generations prefer to listen to traditional radio and the programmes they like, but some young individuals naturally use the Internet more. Listening to Fryslân radio is an important part of our region and Frisians' lives' (Oscar, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

What is said here implies that radio remains a tool which consolidates the revitalisation of the Frisian language and that technological developments offer opportunities of listening to favourite radio programmes by the younger generations. Subsequently, the moments of encounters with news and radio programmes may act towards the maintenance of a sense of a common existence with others being cemented by the presence of the Frisian language in the Internet. Such vitality of the Frisian language may play on the emotions of Frisians. A resident of Friesland gave insight to this very sentiment when saying that *'Frisians are proud of having the Frisian language'* (Pat, individual interviewee, Frisian case). Another local resident of Friesland explained that *'the Frisian language gives the feeling of our identity'* (Jan, individual interviewee, Frisian case). These quotes add to the understanding that

experience of the Frisian language is important for making sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). These responses also shed light on the understanding as to how making the Frisian language present in the Internet may contribute to positive feelings among Frisians and affect their relationships with place.

8.3.2 Encounters with the sounds of Frisian language

As noted in Section 6.3, sound recordings have been employed as a strategy for revitalisation of the Frisian language to permit more individual experiencing of familiar sounds of the Frisian language. The Frisian language sounds have distinct phonological features which are better known by linguists (see, e.g. Tiersma, 1999). An interviewee, a local resident of Friesland, provided an understanding of how the sounds of their language engage Frisians. When he watched a performance of poetry of Frisian poet Tsjêbbe Hettinga (1949-2013) online via YouTube, I could observe how much this poetry means for the Frisian people. The first few sounds of lines recited by Hettinga[65] were enough to create an auditory space where emotions were evoked. The sounds of his recitation carried the listener into the world of images which could be understood by him (DeNora, 1999). This engagement drew connection to Hettinga's poetry. Hettinga is probably the most famous Frisian poet. He wrote poems in Frisian which appeal to the Friesland's landscape; the shore and the sea of Friesland (see Box 8.2). It also is about themes such as love, decay and longing to be at home.

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[65] Hettinga's bilingual collection *Vreemde kusten/Frjemde kusten* (1995; [Strange Shores]) is also edited on CD.

Box 8.2 Hettinga's *Oankomst* [Arrival] (source: Hettinga, 2001; translated by Susan Massotty)

Frisian version	English version
Oankomst	**Arrival**

Tsjin in hagelwite flecht fan snieguozzen yn,
   Noch foar't syn lytse spegeljende haven
Fersânje koe ta in lânskip fan wier en sâlt,
   Fan brûnsgrien hiem en gielkoperen hurdstee
Troch dagen hege blauwe winen as it stof
   Fan hjerstmis ploege maitydsgrûn ferwaaiend,
Sa wied er útsyld, opdat de see, rjochtsprekkend
   Oer in siel dy't net in anker ferneare,
Him opnaam en de readferbaarnde earen fan
   It seil Biskaje syn ûnbeskieden weach,
It hûnske gromjen fan Atlas en Gibraltar,
   Beharken, of dowesturt en batsk kreakjend
Roer, oant tsjin in kleare jûnloft swarte bergen
   Brieken troch de skyn fan in ûneinichheid.
	A flock of hail-white snow geese winged its way north, so
	   He sailed south, before his sparkling harbor could
	Silt up into a landscape of seaweed and salt,
	   Leaving behind the bronze-green farmyard and brass
	Andirons, only to be blown for days on end
	   On high blue winds, like dust when the fallow fields
	Of fall are sown in spring, and on he sailed until
	   The sea, taking pity on a soul that chafed
	At the anchor, bore him aloft and the sunburned
	   Ears of the sail harkened to Biscay's brazen
	Swell, the snarling bark of Atlas and Gibraltar,
	   The creak of dovetail joints and grumbling rudder,
	Until at last black mountains burst through the twilight
	   And the seemingly endless eternity.

Suvere hertstocht huvere troch wrangen en
   Ynhout yn in ûnderstream fan dolfinen.
	Passion rippled through the timbers of keel and hull,
	   On an undercurrent of passing dolphins.

De wite do, dy't fan toarst en honger twongen
   Op it dek delstrutsen wie de moarns, ûntfleach
De kajút syn koperen patryspoarte,
   Op de poalstjer yn, dêr't in taskimerjend
Unbekind eilân ûnder omheechkaam, lykas
   Ea, nei njoggen dagen en njoggen nachten
Op it wrakhout fan in kylsbalke troch see en
   Acht wynstreken belage west te hawwen,
Dat fan Kalypso foar in soan fan Erisos.
   Tiid, dy't hannen kriich om't ôfstân noch bestie,
Liet, lyts, autoljochten tusken oanstutsen doarp
   En fersmiten krusing ferdwaald sykje om
Stjerren, fisken, sa't mei grize wynbrau it strân
   Noch socht om in float dy't útgie om in frou.
	A white dove, driven by hunger and thirst to land
	   On the deck early one morning, suddenly
	Fled the safety of the copper porthole and flew
	   Up toward the North Star, where an unknown island,
	On the cusp of dusk, arose from the depths, just as
	   Calypso's island had once loomed up before
	The shipwrecked son of Erisos, after he'd clung
	   For nine days and nights to a broken beam and
	Twice been buffeted by the wind's four directions.
	   Time, noting the existence of distance, called
	All hands on deck, raked its lights over twinkling towns
	   And abandoned crossroads, seeking stars and fish,
	Still hoping, like the gray-browed beach, to see the fleet
	   That had once set sail in search of a woman.

Yn dat sykjen sûnder finen koe de siel him
   Wer as in eilân troch eilannen omspield.
Op it tanachte alter fan it strân, dêr't er
   Mei in hurde wraam fan genot fan hout op
Sân op oankaam, yn in katedraal fan rotsen,
   Steil, seestikelbaarch en útdraafde swarte
Hynders mei seestjerren yn 'e hals, brânmerke
   In lyts fjoer mei oardel stiennen ezel en
In noegjende man yn in mantel syn oankomst.
   En sa't er mei steatlike kalmens, geduld
Foar oarmans begryp it spit mei it skieppefleis
   Draaid hie, sa't er, alle kearen knibbeljend,
Hieltyd wer de siel yn it fjoer blaasd hie, ja, sa't
   De ezels oan de rotsen gnabben, guodlik,
Sa spriek dy man fan noegjen, joech him syn miel, briek
   De stilte en sei: Kalispera, file.
	In that fruitless search his soul recognized itself
	   As a lone island in a sea of islands.
	On the dark altar of the beach, where he landed
	   With a thump of joy and the smack of wet wood,
	In a cathedral of rugged cliffs, sea urchins
	   And crashing horses with starfish on their necks,
	His arrival was branded into the sand by
	   A fire, one and a half mules, still as statues,
	And a welcoming man in a long black cloak, who
	   Greeted him with the same majestic calm and
	Patient understanding with which he rotated
	   The lamb on the spit and repeatedly knelt
	By the fire to blow life back into its soul. And
	   With the same air as the mules, nibbling gently
	At the rocks, the man handed him his meal, then broke
	   The silence and said: Kalispera, file.

It also is about themes such as love, decay and longing to be at home. However, what is special is that the act of reading or reciting Hettinga's poems attracted numerous audiences. In *The Grand Lyrical Poetry* Vloet (2003) wrote:

'The images Hettinga evokes seem to be prompted by the sound patterns of the Frisian language, or by previous images and this sometimes results in their baroque enumeration, over which he keeps control by a regular syllabic pattern in regular stanzas and by giving his poems an epic framework. His strongly expressive musical language tends to carry the reader away and the listener still more. Attending a recital by Hettinga is an experience in itself'.

At the heart of Hettinga's poetry lies sensitiveness to Frisian language sounds that 'speak' to Frisians' feelings and therefore interviewee's emotions emerged upon hearing sounds from recordings and reciting in the Frisian language. A unique property of sound recordings was not just that they reproduced sounds but that they enabled such remarkable engagement. Technically, technology facilitated listening but Crawford (2009: 525) provides a more reflexive understanding:

'Along with new technological forms of display, communication, recording and playback come new forms of looking, listening and interacting; they afford new ways of focusing as well as defocusing attention. In doing so, they also become part of the ongoing reconstruction of the limits of human capacities. They contribute to the sense of what is possible, as well as to the qualities of being'.

Sounds thus may variably appeal to individuals' consciousness. However, the effects of sounds are associated with discussion on constructing a sense of being and a sense of self (DeNora, 1999; Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005). It is the property of sounds that they may transport an individual into the realms of emotions and imagination (Smith, 1997). The effective power of sound and its links to language may derive from the perception of language as meaningfully related to a sense of being. This may also be linked to the aspect of 'linguistic thinking in inner speech as part of the auditory dimension' (Ihde, 2007: 134). Thinking in a language addresses a sense of hearing of oneself, a mode of hearing which differs from other forms (Ihde, 2007). However, hearing sounds

of language from a tape recorder, for example, may provoke an inner conversation due to emotional attachment to the language (Tuan, 1977).

I noticed an example of such experience when an interviewee, a resident of Friesland, told me that she often listens to music performed by Nynke Laverman whilst travelling. In doing so, she makes the choice of listening to music selectively on the base of her fondness for the Frisian language. Nynke Laverman is a Frisian singer. She is famous for signing in the Frisian language on fado melodies. Fado is a music genre associated with Portugal and is distinguished by lyrics concerned with place, infused with sentiments of melancholia, solitude or nostalgia (Elliott, 2010). Linking fado tunes with the Frisian language may account for fado's specificity as a type of music. However, in an interview to the *FolkWorld* Nynke Laverman confessed that: '*in the Friesian language I understand the meaning of every word and emotionally the language is closest to me*' (Schilder, 2005). The rhythms of fado music are not native to the Frisian culture, but the value attached to performing fado sustains connections to the Frisian language. Listening to fado music revolves around sung language which engages in conversation with the 'inner voice' of a listener who 'thinks' in a certain language (Ihde, 2007: 136). Fado is a performance genre, and making use of recordings of fado develops an environment where listeners can immerse themselves in sounds which, as another interviewee described, *'hit their hearts'* (Oscar, individual, Frisian case). Such an emotive claim is reflective of the relationship some listeners share with the Frisian language.

Listening is an activity that takes place in a particular setting which allows the user to 'personalise the time of the journey' (Bull, 2005: 349) and can thus engage with the music, sung words and associated meanings derived from the language they know. Practices of listening to songs in the Frisian language also support the existence of an on-going sense of belonging to a particular linguistic group. Another interviewee, resident of Friesland, clearly defined this when saying that:

> *'Each singer represents a personal style. Singers express themselves by singing in the Frisian language and express that they are here, that they are rooted in this place. We listen to songs and may feel nostalgic because we understand our language. When I listen to Ede Staal[66], I feel very nostalgic. His songs take me to my place: Groningen[67]'* (Edward, individual interviewee, Frisian case).

Importantly, technology itself facilitates the reproduction of recorded sounds and transformation of the embodied voices (Dyson et al., 2007), but in light of above statement, it also acts as a way of making one's own sense of self (DeNora, 1999; Butler, 2007), the emotional process of being and becoming, by offering auditory spaces to experience and moving to the realms of imagination. In this remark, the interviewee gives a greater nuance to a sense of language and inner feelings which engendered reflections regarding place which made his life meaningful. In this process, sound recordings used to re-create preserved material and transmit the values ingrained in sounds of the Frisian language, and enabled feelings which count for the continuity of one's own sense of self.

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[66] Ede Ulfert Staal (1941-1986) was a singer and songwriter from Groningen who sang in Groningen's dialect.
[67] Groningen is the capital of the province of the Netherlands. The provinces of Friesland and Groningen seem to be linguistically continuous (Manni et al., 2006).

8.4 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the use of sound recordings in the domains of sociocultural interactions across the Ainu and Frisian language case studies, variously considered in degrees of language endangerment and experiences in language revitalisation. The discussions have revealed that the use of sound recordings strategically offers mechanisms for dealing with the discontinuities addressed by language endangerment in both case studies. Their use has the effects on the growth of language vitality, transmission of language between generations and expansion of language into a range of domains connected to everyday life of people; and this constitutes an essential part of the language revitalisation process (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994; King, 2001). Sound recordings through making possible the reconnections with the sounds of language, stimulate attachments to language community, recreating a sense of self and belonging (Duffy, 2000; Smith, 2000; Revill, 2000, 2005; Anderson et al., 2005; Duffy et al., 2013; Simpson, 2015).

The process of Ainu language revitalisation viewed from the prism of utility of sound recordings in domains of social and cultural activities demonstrates undergoing historical changes which are located in discussion on recreating cultural identities. The findings from the Ainu case study have revealed that rising musical events and performances of dances engender some behaviours among the Ainu which have effect on recreating senses of identity, belonging to place and others, and presence (Smith, 2000; Duffy, 2000; Revill, 2000, 2005; Anderson et al., 2005; Butler, 2007; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). As data illustrated, it is the connection with familiar sounds and meanings embedded in sounds of

songs and performing dances that influences the construction of bonds with place and others.

The functional utility of sound recordings facilitates such experiences and connections with meanings ascribed to sounds of the Ainu language, culture and place where Ainu live, which are conveyed between younger generations, giving a sense of historical continuity of Ainu cultural values. In addition, under the current circumstances functioning of the Ainu radio, although is limited to language lessons, a trend in transmitting language lessons through radio continues and holds promise to expand interactions with the Ainu language among Ainu population. Importantly, the Frisian language case is also a good example of what can be done in the Ainu case to use radio more effectively.

By addressing the context of Frisian language case study it was identified that the process of revitalisation was attributed by transmitting radio programmes in the Frisian language. This very relationship, between radio programmes and listeners, developed over time, has provided meanings into everyday lives of Frisians that have impacts on creating a sense of being and belonging to place and others (Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005). Residential longevity together with the possibilities of hearing and listening to familiar sounds in daily life remains an important factor in this construction. In addition to this, circulation of a range of sound recordings that promote experience of familiar sounds of the language influences the construction of a sense of self (Duffy and Waitt, 2013) and signifies the importance of developing strategies to experience such interactions.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will conclude the key findings of this research project. The study has explored the use of sound recordings in the context of the revitalisation of two languages which contrast in degrees of endangerment. A number of findings have emerged from this study in relation to the aim of this research, which was identified in Chapter One as:

> ***To explore the use of sound recordings across two case studies contrasting in degrees of language endangerment, and to understand people's experiences constructed upon their use in the context of language revitalisation.***

This aim was addressed through focusing on two language cases – the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (the Netherlands) – contrasting in their scale of endangerment. Three objectives were set up to achieve the aim of this research project:

> **1.** To explore the use of recording devices in past activities of language documentation across the Ainu and West Frisian case studies to develop an understanding about people's experiences and responses to the potential danger of language loss.

> **2.** To explore the use of archival sound recordings and their impact on the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages.

> **3.** To explore the opportunities created by sound recordings in language learning practices and the domains of socio-cultural interactions in the context of the revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages.

The contrast between the two languages under scrutiny in this thesis has enabled an insightful perspective on sound recordings and their use in language revitalisation processes. The comparative approach unveiled contextual differences upon which both language revitalisation processes occur; however, this thesis has demonstrated a particular pattern of significance drawn upon in the use of sound recordings in both case studies linked to the reconstruction of aural experience of the languages which empowers processes of language revitalisation with the restoration of place attachments and sense of place. This chapter will present the findings of the research, and will broaden the discussion on the role of sound recordings in language revitalisation as well as provide suggestions and further research directions.

Section 9.2 will summarise key findings which emerged from the analysis of the use of sound recordings in documentary practices and revitalisation of the Ainu and West Frisian languages in relation to the objectives of this research; it will also highlight key points about how and why sound recordings affected revitalisation of both languages. In Section 9.3 the discussion will focus on the contributions made by this thesis to the existing knowledge and debates on saving linguistic diversity in the world. Section 9.4 will present recommendations for future work.

9.2 Discussion of findings

As noted in Chapter One and further discussed in Chapters Two and Three, sound recordings are particularly relevant to the ideas associated with language revitalisation. This is primarily because of the capabilities to save and reproduce recorded sounds. Work on the revitalisation of endangered languages needs to be able to deal with language endangerment, reclaiming knowledge about the concerned language and increasing its vitality by passing down language between generations, creating opportunities of interactions with the language and in expanding its use across a range of domains (Fishman, 1991; Paulston et al., 1993; Marshall, 1994). This means that the values that underpin the process of revitalising an endangered language are connected to the restoration of the communicative and performative functions of language. There is thus the need for attention to be paid to the use of sound recordings and their influence on the revitalisation of languages which have lost or are losing the attributes aligned with their vitalities (Spolsky, 1995).

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Two, within human geography there is consensus that bonding is central to place-related relationships (e.g. Altman and Low, 1992; Scannell and Gifford, 2010; Hernández et al., 2010). This includes a number of values and meanings attached to language which play roles in developing attachments to place and others (Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1991). Therefore, consideration of the importance of place attachment in people's lives whilst organising places they live in, permitted the formulation of an assumption that the heart of language revitalisation lies in the re-sounding of place attachment and sense of place. Exploration of the functional utility of sound

recordings in the context of the revitalisation of the endangered languages under scrutiny in this thesis was recognised as providing a framework for approaching the understanding of these relationships.

The thesis also addressed research gaps in the study of the revitalisation of endangered languages. Within linguistic inquiry, although the literature on language revitalisation is extensive, Nathan and Fang (2009) have claimed that the ways in which documentary practices support the learning and revitalisation of endangered languages remain relatively unexplored. Fundamentally, language documentation is essential when executing language revitalisation (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; Penfield and Trucker, 2011; Nathan, 2012). Language documentation practices involve the use of recording technologies to record and save the sounds of languages that can be further reproduced whilst making language resources for language revitalisation purposes (Hinton, 2001b; Amery, 2009; de Graaf, 2011; de Graaf and Hidetoshi, 2013).

In addition, a review of the geographic literature identified the need for greater understanding of technology and geography (Dixon and Whitehead, 2008). Although the Internet is often seen as the driving force of the globalisation processes (e.g. Walsham, 2001; Roberston, 2003), several studies on communication technologies suggest that technologically mediated practices connected to the use of the Internet may contribute to overcoming feelings of separation and increasing a sense of identity (e.g. Hiller and Franz, 2004; Urry, 2007; Skop and Adams, 2009). However, little attention has been given to understand the mechanism that might generate this linkage in the context of

endangered languages and their revitalisation. The key findings are discussed below according to the objectives of this study.

9.2.1 Recording technologies in past activities in language documentation

Drawing on the discussion of relationships between people and place (Tuan, 1974; Altman and Low, 1992), Chapter Five explored developments in language documentation activities and the use of recording technologies from a historical perspective across the cases studies of the Ainu and Frisian languages. Examination of the local contexts of these languages was essential for understanding of the native speakers' experience in the situation of potential danger of language loss. Such examination also allowed for the evaluation of the relationships between people, language and place.

The analysis of local histories of the Ainu and Frisians languages confirmed the findings from the literature that the ongoing changes and danger of language loss generated the rise of feelings of isolation and the devaluation of language status (Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Russell, 2002; Harrison, 2007; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). The implications of decline in language use are particularly connected with eliminating opportunities of transference of place-related linguistic knowledge (Tuan, 1991). Decline in language use limits practices through which social and cultural processes could develop (Sasse, 1992; Woodbury, 1993; Grinevald-Craig, 1998; Fettes, 1999; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Austin and Sallabank, 2011). The findings, however, added understanding that the potential danger of language loss eliminates the aural experiences of languages. This had disruptive effects on place attachment,

since the languages under scrutiny here developed as oral languages and vocal modes of communication bound up the speakers' cohesion with others and the place they lived in.

Exploration of the use of recording technologies in language documentation activities enabled the analyses of individuals' responses to the ongoing changes connected with demise of language. This revealed that emotional attachments to place and language played a core role when dealing with perceived language loss. The findings from both case studies confirmed that recording technologies provided a new dimension to language documentation activities by permitting the recording of the sound of the language (Boas, 1917; de Graaf, 2011). However, the findings added understanding that the involvement of recording devices allowed for the organisation of concern about languages and their distinctive aural qualities, showing the emotional attachment of individuals to the subjective values and meanings embedded in the sounds of the language. It was found that the possibilities of using recording devices and saving distinctive oral forms of language contributed to the rise of feelings of achieving something desirable. This provided understanding about the importance of auditory sense in attempts to define place, developing environmental and cultural knowledge about place and constructing sense of being in relation to place and others by individuals across both case studies. This also confirmed that the construction of senses of self, belonging and continuity lies in complex mental processes which involve oral consciousness (Ong, 1992).

The comparative approach confirmed that people inhabit different sensory worlds and the richness of such experience finds articulation through the

distinctive features of the sound system of language (Tuan, 1974; Hall, 1969). However, activities of documenting and recording oral forms of language were a form of expression of the particular sense of belonging to place and others (Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976; Ryden, 1993). Furthermore, the unique lens of the Ainu and Frisian oral tradition demonstrated that various forms of oral tradition circulated among people working towards constructing a place where they lived. Engagement with the auditory dimensions of place founded upon the interactions with language has emerged as a significant element in the construction of the relationships with place and others across both case studies.

Insight into the complexity of the relationships between people and place in situations of potential language loss and understanding how individuals relate to place and others, effectively contributes to the understanding of the field of language endangerment upon which language revitalisation efforts occur. The issues recognised as essential to the revitalisation of languages endangered by loss such as reclaiming language knowledge, increasing language vitality through transmitting language between generations, forming language speakers and the reinstatement of language in domains of social and cultural interactions (Fishman, 1991; King, 2000; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Hinton, 2003) were explored and discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight. Since recordings accumulated over time through language documentary activities address the transmission of cultural heritage values within language revitalisation processes (King, 2000; Fishman, 1991, 2001; Brinton et al., 2008; Hornberger and Wang, 2008), firstly, I examined the functioning of archival sound recordings in the context of the revitalisation of the Ainu and Frisian languages.

9.2.2 Present functioning of archival sound recordings

As Chapter Six revealed, archival recordings across the Ainu and Frisian case studies function in numerous ways which are beneficial for each language's revitalisation processes by providing meaningful and active support in dealing with discontinuities and disadvantages that arise from language endangerment.

Whilst the archival recordings can be recognised as useless for language revitalisation (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006), it might be expected that sound recordings, performed a century ago, are no more than cultural heritage objects, preserving some materials collected in language documenting activities. However, the findings revealed that after a period of severe disruptions to place attachments and loss of connections with language, archival Ainu recordings have come to play an important role in transforming this language documentation legacy into meaningful language revitalisation processes. The findings revealed that archival sound recordings remain infused with symbolic meanings, protecting feelings of belonging to others and place (Smith, 2006; Malpas, 2008). However, the research found that the de-archiving of Ainu records and the reconstruction of their content had the impact on reversing language shift contributing to the restoration of language continuity and the recognition of cultural identities. The analyses uncovered that the reproduction of content from Piłsudski's sound recordings had implications on the growth of memories and reviving the sense of self and the sense of continuity (Blassnigg, 2009, 2013; Crooke, 2011). Hearing the ancestral Ainu voices and songs crucially created opportunities for the aural experience of language and emerged as a strategy relevant in overcoming discontinuities of language and

foregrounding the revitalisation process of the Ainu language. The study also found that audible language resources were developed reproducing what may have been preserved in archival sound recordings and which may have been used to enhance interactions with language and to relearn the language.

In the Frisian language case, as revealed in Chapter Five, employment of sound recordings benefited work on the codification of language. The use of sound recordings in developing literacy located them as a means of mediating linguistic values. The written words have their own meanings in language revitalisation and building prestige for language (see Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). However, as further demonstrated in Chapters Seven and Eight, the revitalisation of the Frisian language evolved towards the formation of a speech community engaged more in the auditory dimensions constructed by the use of Frisian language rather than being literacy-focused. Observations of cultural heritage sites across the Netherlands and Friesland uncovered sound recordings in various formats which afforded practices of listening and hearing the Frisian language over time, contributing to the development of a collective sense of community and a sense of continuity of language in the context of present experience (Blassnigg, 2009, 2013; Graham and Howard, 2008; Crooke, 2011). The research found that recording devices used in the past remain as a source of personal memories, sentiments and past experiences, showing the construction of place meanings, sense of place and place attachment over time. Observations and interviewees identified aspects of sound recordings as organising everyday life activities of Frisians and social interactions within the process of the revitalisation of the Frisian language. The research found that recently cultural heritage sites protect the notion of Frisian's identity and

identification with place and others, and similarly to the Ainu language case, archival sound recordings act toward creating a much needed sense of inclusion for a minority language.

Given attention to archival sound recordings, the research contributes to better understanding of the role of heritage values in language revitalisation (King, 2000; Fishman, 2001), supporting the need to revitalise oral and intangible heritage. The use of archival sound recordings across both case studies enhances changes in important ways for language revitalisation processes. This considers opportunities to encounter the past sounds of language, but also indicates new connections and opportunities of experiencing language in the domains of social and cultural interactions, and in forming language speakers.

9.2.3 Sound recordings in language learning practices and domains of sociocultural interactions

The analyses in Chapter Seven and Eight focused on the use of sound recordings in situated language learning practices and in the domains of social and cultural interactions to consider the potential opportunities they offer for the revitalisation of endangered languages. The discussion of how languages are being used recently, presented in Chapter Seven, recognised differences in the situations of the Ainu and Frisian languages and their uses. However, the discussion developed the understanding that individuals across both cases make sense of practices within the processes of language revitalisation through attentiveness to the sounds of the language. Furthermore, the following discussion of findings from the exploration of the use of sound recordings in

domains of language learning and sociocultural interactions across the Ainu and Frisian case studies has contributed to broadening of the understanding and the recognition of sound recordings as providing relevant strategies for the revitalisation of both languages.

The findings from the Ainu and Frisian language cases revealed that multimedia resources progressively replace textbooks and their selection as a tool for learning languages is rising. Technological developments are perceived as the means that enable an increase in the level of engagement with the language learning process among the young generation. The involvement of sound recordings provides opportunities for more sensuous activities and enhancing the vitality of languages. The findings from the Frisian language case provide understanding that sound recordings add value to language resources and may have impact on remembering the language (Brownell, 2013). This may also have impact on upholding place-based identities (Hiller and Franz, 2004; Skop and Adams, 2009) and the construction of the sense of self (Proshansky et al., 1983). The Ainu language case demonstrates that audio recordings allow revitalisation process to move beyond a reliance on written texts in language classroom and to focus on sensing language. This occurs through the process of 'reading' the sounds of language and listening to messages reproduced with support of sound recordings. Listening activities supported by sound recordings generate the development of language proficiency and the understanding of the cultural identities of the Ainu people. Importantly, language resources that come with sound of the language accessible through the Internet build the perception that both languages are more of living languages and create prospects for advancement of language revitalisation processes.

The Frisian language case demonstrates in particular that if language revitalisation efforts are pursued with the aim of overcoming language endangerment, then sound recordings should not just be used in schools, but also in domains such as the home, to ensure the transmission of the language between the younger generations. Websites in the Frisian language designed for primary and secondary students not only enhance the reconnections with the language and ensure its continuity, but they also contribute to the value of knowing the Frisian language. The investigation revealed that the use of websites in the Frisian language actively supports the greater functioning of language community and establishing attachments with place and others. Overwhelmingly, the investigation of sound recordings in language learning practices across both case studies contributed to the better understanding of language documentary practices by revealing that language resources supported by sound recordings work towards overcoming spatial separation from the experience of that language.

The analysis in Chapter Eight focused on the domains of social and cultural interactions and experiences created through practices of listening to familiar sounds of language, facilitated by sound recordings. Previous research suggests that mediated aural environments support work towards the reconsideration of the relationships with place and others (e.g. Duffy, 2000; Bull and Back, 2003; Butler, 2007; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). This research explored these aspects in relation to the process of the revitalisation of endangered languages.

The results confirm findings from research on the phenomenal properties of sounds which recognise their impact on emotive and imaginative geographies, reinforcement of senses of presence, becoming and belonging (Smith, 1997, 2000; Revill, 2000, 2005; Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). The research extends this understanding by additionally demonstrating that sound recordings used in processes of language revitalisation, through mediating messages and meanings in languages endemic to place, may transform and reshape the relationships with place and others by acting on listeners' consciousness and stimulating emotions and feelings. Listening is a complex process; however, within this process semantic or emotive properties of familiar sounds of language play a role in regaining the sense of self and place. Sound recordings give substance to language revitalisation by providing the possibility of emotional revival and relief. The dissemination of linguistic and cultural capital through sound recordings creates the occurrence of auditory awareness which involves detecting an auditory stimulus that may have meaning or effect listeners. A shift in sensory experience is achieved through technologically mediated practices of listening, marking a shift from endangered to a more vital state of language. Therefore sound recordings constitute a valuable and unique potential for development of strategies whilst addressing the needs of language revitalisation by acting towards the creation of a more satisfying culture (Wallace, 1956).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the theoretical approach taken in the present work with regard to the concept of place justifies the discursive approach which locates language revitalisation practices within geographical studies and the theories of place attachment and sense of place. The research thus contributes

to the understanding of language revitalisation processes from the prism of the concepts of place and the use of technology within work aiming to increase the vitality of endangered languages. Thus grounding linguistic revitalisation geographically helps to realise the importance of sound recordings and technologically mediated practices in restoring the life of a language. Sound recordings inherit values of oral language which are important for the construction of sense of self, sense of belonging and being in place. The use of sound recordings creates opportunities to reconstruct these aspects and underlying cognitive and affective dimensions of subjectivity which are essential when reclaiming the vitality of language.

9.3 Contribution to knowledge about saving linguistic diversity

This study contributes to the larger ongoing discourse on saving linguistic diversity in the world. In the context of globalisation there is a growing tendency of abandonment of regional languages, as outlined in Chapter One. There is also a strong tendency everywhere worldwide to have and use a global language that can play the role of lingua franca, reducing the use of mother-tongues (Krauss, 1992; Crystal, 2002; Tonkin and Reagan, 2003; Maurais and Morris, 2003; Grenoble and Whaley, 2006; Romaine, 2007; Ó Laoire, 2008).

However, the disappearance of minority languages can be prevented. The findings from this research support arguments made in previous studies which have acknowledged the role of communication technology in revitalisation endangered languages (Niedzielski, 1992; Warschauer, 1998; Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001; Galla, 2009; Hermes and King, 2013). It has been argued that

computer-based learning creates environments that encourage the growth of language users (e.g. Penfield et al., 2006; Scott, 2007; Galla, 2009; Jones and Ogilvie, 2013; Hermes and King, 2013). These studies also suggest that computer-based technology and multidimensional materials contribute for relearning languages in demise. It has also been argued that interactive CD-ROMs, computer networks and websites are the way of assisting in language learning (Nathan, 2000; Kroskrity and Reynolds, 2001; Kroskrity, 2002).

The advantages of the instrumental use of technologies have thus been recognised across the literature on revitalisation of endangered languages. However, the question remained as to how these technologies engage with language endangerment and increase the vitality of languages as prerequisite for the progress of language revitalisation work (Fishman, 1991). There is increasing evidence that speakers of languages in demise want more than to create one more document and shelve it in the archives (Hinton, 2001b; Quinn, 2011; Nathan, 2012). This study has demonstrated, across two language case studies, that language documentation activities, undertaken either by individuals or through collective efforts, were driven by the desire to save distinctive aural qualities of language. In addition, the research identified that individuals across both case studies demonstrate attentiveness to sounds of the language and possible predispositions to acquire the language better through auditory sense – providing understanding as to how they relate to place and others, and what language documentary practices need to be brought to work when revitalising a language. A more insightful understanding of the aspects of technologically mediated practices in revitalisation of languages threatened by loss emerged thus as essential.

This study, therefore, adds to the research on the role of technology in language documentation and revitalisation by drawing on theoretical understandings of the concept of place, sense of place and how people are connected with place (Tuan, 1974; Altman and Low, 1992). Through the comparison of two case studies, which differ in degrees of language endangerment and experiences in language revitalisation, the meanings and values ascribed to place and aural experience of language emerged as core to the process of revitalising the languages.

Overwhelmingly, this study demonstrates that the use of sound recordings across both case studies influences the processes of language revitalisation. Language revitalisation requires the development of mechanisms for dealing with the discontinuities (discussed in Chapter Five) that arise from the decline in language use and the role of language often referred to as a means of communication, transferring place-specific knowledge and experiencing place identities, identification with others, and as a tool for constructing social and cultural relationships, as summarised and presented in Figure 9.1.
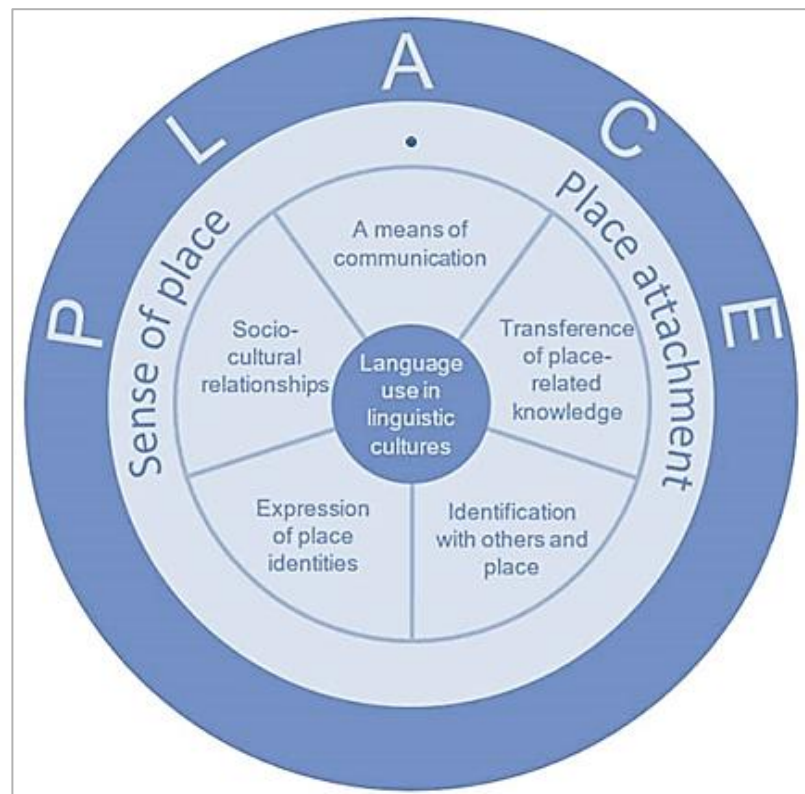
Figure 9.1 The meanings underlying communicative and performative functions of language in language communities (source: author)

However, language cannot be simply seen as a tool, objectively. Language is embodied in words. In fact making a single utterance requires the selection of words. The words in any language result from a linguistic consciousness of a group of people developed and forged over time through living in a place, engagement with place, experience and interactional processes that have taken place in people's lives. Thus, speaking in a language and the use of words can be interpreted as the speaker reporting about place and presenting the memory of place.

Ultimately, linguistic expressions and the personal voice of the speaker are manifestations of thoughts and aspects of subjectivity - senses of self, identity and being in a place. Language use serves as a strategy to express the

subjective voice of a speaker. Some languages are more or less imbued with devices to express subjective voices. However, the specific functional and performative roles of languages are committed to the development of the integration with place and others, place attachments and sense of place over time (Tuan, 1974, 1991). The key idea which underpins these relationships is linked to the understanding of place constructed upon the subjective and emotional attachments people have to place (e.g. Tuan, 1974, 1977; Relph, 1976; Agnew, 1987; Eyles, 1989; Altman and Low, 1992). Language is a concept through which bonds with place and others are realised. Since the main goal of the process of the revitalisation of endangered languages is linked to building the vitality of language (Fishman, 1991), the core issue of this process needs to be fundamentally linked to the creation of opportunities for reconnecting with language which can be experienced, felt and shared with others. Reproduced sounds of language provide opportunities for the aural experience of language revitalisation which can stimulate the growth of sense of self and senses of continuity, being in place and belonging to a place and to others. Such experiences work towards regaining place attachment and a sense of place, where the interpretation of their components is as diverse as the realm of emotions of the listeners affected by the sounds of the language.

These findings confirm those from the geographic literature on place attachment and sense of place that sounds are fundamental to group identities and to the construction of relationships with place (DeNora, 1999; Smith, 1997, 2000; Duffy, 2000; Anderson et al., 2005; Duffy and Waitt, 2013). They also extend this understanding by suggesting that the restoration of interactions with sounds of the language endangered by loss is the essential component of language

revitalisation processes and the use of sound recordings plays an important role in these endeavours. The employment of sound recordings gives substance to language revitalisation by creating the possibilities for the re-sounding place attachment and sense of place, shaping the ways through which people locate themselves culturally and socially in a place. This finding represents a key contribution to the research of linguistic and geographical knowledge about the revitalisation of endangered languages.

The research also offers a contribution to the literature on language endangerment that highlights the need to integrate cultural awareness into revitalisation processes (Stiles, 1997; Craig, 1992; Reyhner, 1999; Yamauchi et al., 1999; King, 2000; Walsh, 2010). This study through the account of two different linguistic cultures revealed the value in understanding the relationships between people, place and language that comprise of a sense of place and place attachments. Consequently, this study has allowed insight into the depth of the phenomena of language endangerment providing understanding as to what constitutes the heart of the process of saving endangered languages. Language revitalisation is not solely about reclaiming knowledge about language and a shift in language use (Craig, 1992). Language revitalisation is about creating the contexts for the re-sounding of place attachment and sense of place.

This study also contributes to a deeper understanding of how to manage more effectively language documentation projects and processes of language restoration, ascribed in different locations and contexts, the meanings of which converges in sense of place and place attachment. Sound recordings have the

capacity to recover sensory experiences and remediate meanings which contribute to the re-establishment of cultural identities. This study, beyond academic knowledge production, helps to explain the gaps in research and bridges academic fields, and has a value in terms of practical application by suggesting that the technological processes of sound reproduction and the creation of auditory resources in language revitalisation needs to consider not merely transmitting messages but needs also to be considered as a way of communicating cultural meanings which make sense in people's everyday experience.

9.4 Future applications

The results of this research provide new insights into the processes of language revitalisation. From the findings of this thesis, however, some angles of further analysis can be developed. The linguistic politics of places framed the discussion on language revitalisation in this study. There is, however, scope for research to deepen understanding of the influence of political factors on language revitalisation. Building on studies of Skop and Adams (2009) and Hiller and Franz (2004), there is no doubt that findings from this study related to questions around the role of communication technology in globalisation processes, highlighting that further work will be needed to analyse the effects of the Internet in the context of revitalisation of endangered languages. Since new communication technologies have dramatically changed the ways of storing and accessing knowledge, it is bound to have an impact on revitalisation processes and reconfiguring language endangerment. Moreover, this study deals with an interesting perspective for further research which would scrutinise other cases

of language endangerment with similar comparative methods. The findings establish the importance of sound recordings and sound reproduction technologies in reclaiming sense of place and place attachment within the revitalisation processes. Importantly, the additional area of analysis which would focus more specifically on the relationship between the use of the Internet and effects on creating a sense of identity among the younger generation would bring further valuable information.

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Appendix A
Questions/prompts used in semi-structured interviewing

Interviews' themes
Institutional participants
Sound recordings in language documentation and revitalisation • Sound recordings in past language documentary practices • Potential of past sound recordings • Repositories of historical sound recordings • Historical sound recordings and language revitalisation practices • Reclamation of archived sound recordings • Development of audio products from archival sound recordings • Opinions (barriers, impact, contribution)
Sound recordings and language learning practices • Types of sound recordings • Opportunities of using sound recordings (language classes, projects, events, activities) • Accessibility of sound recordings • Valuation of audible resources • Strategies and future plans
Sound recordings and social and cultural activities • Potential of sound recordings in cultural heritage sites • Types of sound recordings • Utilisation and accessibility of sound recordings in daily activities, cultural and social events • Opinions, valuations • Strategies and future plans
Individual participants
• Experiences of using sound recordings in learning language practices • Episodes from life (utilisation of sound reproduction devices and audible resources) • Valuation of sound recordings and their use

Appendix B

Research Information sheet

PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT
プリマス国立大学　(英国)　環境科学部
RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET　　説明書

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Title of Research 調査名

The role of sound recordings in the revitalisation of minority languages of the Ainu people (Japan) and the West Frisians (the Netherlands) 民族言語の再活性化における音声資料の役割―アイヌ（日本）および西フリジア（オランダ）の比較研究

Aim of research　調査目的

This research aims to assess the role of sound recordings in the revitalisation processes of the Ainu (Japan) and the West Frisian (Netherlands) languages as a resource related to culture and traditions. Sound recordings with Ainu language preserve unique collections of cultural importance like songs, oral histories, folktales and narratives. The sound recordings and their entire repository form a valuable intangible cultural heritage. This research explores how these audio resources signify the meaning of revitalisation of the Ainu language. 調査の目的はアイヌ語と西フリジア語の再活性化に利用する音声資料の役割を評定することです。音声資料の内容は文化的、伝統的な資料、特有な口述コレクションを保存します。アイヌ語の歌、会話、民話、神話などのことを供給します。アイヌ語の音声資料の内容は貴重な無形文化財です。本調査は、口述コレクションがどのようにアイヌ語再活性化の感覚と意味を表現させられるということを探検します。

Description of procedure: 方法

Interviews will be preceded by an explanation of the Aim of the research and this particular element of it. Following this, the requirement for consent and agreement for recording will be explained and completed. The interview will take about 40 minutes. Digital audio recordings will be made of the interviews.
The questions will be about language revitalisation, the uses of sound recordings in this process, and the opinions of interviewees towards the use of cultural materials preserved in sound recordings.
You can be assured that the responses that you provide will not be attributed to you personally. After interview, an interviewee is invited to contact with the researcher in the case of any questions.
上記の調査の目的と調査内容についてご賛同いただけるようでしたら、インタビューを記録することと同意書の署名をお願いいたします。なお、インタビューは 40 分ぐらいかかります。お忙しいところ誠に恐縮ですが、よろしくお願い申し上げます。
インタビューの質問はアイヌ語の再活性化におけるアイヌ語の音声資料を使用することに関しています。調査者はインタビューの時には調査参加者にアイヌ語の音声資料、たとえばアイヌ語のテープ、CD,ラジオ、テレビ、映画、インターネットウエブサイトなどのオーディオ資料を使用することに関する個人てきな経験を思い出すと頼んでいます。そして、調査者はアイヌ語の音声資料について調査参加者の意見とその資料の意味を頼んでいます。

Description of risks:

The Interviewee will not be at risk of physical or psychological harm.
本調査では、身体に又は情神に被害の危険はありません。

Benefits of proposed research

The interview will help to get a better understanding of the process of language revitalisation and meanings of the use of sound recordings repositories in the service of culture and language revitalisation of minority people.
インタビューの利益は民族言語再活性化の進展と民族言語と文化再活性化に使用される音声資料の役割を理解することに手伝わせて頂くことです。

Right to withdraw　撤回権利

Participants can withdraw from the interview at any stage and ask for data on their interview to be destroyed.
参加者は調査のどの段階においてでも、いつでも自由に調査への参加を取りやめることができ、また、自身のインタビューデータの破棄を請求できるように頼むことができます。

If you are dissatisfied with the way the research is conducted, please contact the principal investigator in the first instance: telephone number *[07874057347]*. If you feel the problem has not been resolved please contact the secretary to the Faculty of Science and Environment Human Ethics Committee: Mrs Paula Simson 01752 584503.　本研究への問い合わせは調査者と連絡して下さい。研究担当者も　Mrs Paula Simson へ　英国　+4401752 584503