

Multilingualism, chronotopes, and resolutions:

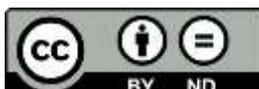
Towards an analysis of the total sociolinguistic fact ✓✓

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**Multilingualism, chronotopes, and resolutions:
Towards an analysis of the total sociolinguistic fact**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Recent applied linguistics scholarship has introduced several new terms, such as *translanguaging* (Creese and Blackledge 2010; Li and Hua 2013) and *polylinguaging* (Jørgensen 2008), to account for new forms of multilingual practices --what we have traditionally understood in terms of *code-switching* (see Canagarajah 2013; Hall and Nilep 2015). These studies, regardless of their different empirical and analytical focuses, all attempt to characterize multilingualism as *not* the sum of several, discrete languages, but instead as a complex of particularized semiotic resources within individual repertoires (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert and Backus 2013; Pennycook 2016). Moreover, these studies argue for the co-presence of *multiple* sets of resources and socio-cultural norms of their use in contexts of mobility and marginality, which challenges traditional assumptions that link languages and their speakers to particular territories (Jacquemet 2005, 2009; Blommaert and Rampton 2011). While for these scholars, the new terminology represents a paradigm shift, others reject the idea of non-discreteness of languages and codes and argue that these neologisms do not represent a major theoretical advance (MacSwan 2017; Auer 2019; Bhatt and Bolonyai 2019; see also Pennycook 2016).

These disagreements are partly due to the scholars' different perceptions of language and language use (e.g. language as primarily a form-meaning vs. a meaning-making/semiotic

system), their own different ethnographic understandings and empirical data, and their interests in the analysis of *different* aspects of meaning (e.g. pragmatic vs. metapragmatic; brought-about vs. brought-along). The other reason for these controversies is that, regardless of their efforts to shift the focus in the study of multilingual meaning-making toward, for instance, *practice* in a translanguaging paradigm or *features* in polylinguaging, these new approaches appear not to be able to move away from language (form) itself (see Makoni 2012). As a result, while those adopting these analytical approaches might be able to invoke particular assumptions behind code-switching tradition to justify their choices of tools and terms, their language-focused analysis does not allow them to show the multilayered nature of meaning-making; and at times, it appears that terms like ‘translanguaging’ can easily be replaced by ‘code-switching’, and yet the arguments would still stay the same. In this article, I discuss how a shift of focus from *language* to *context* provides an alternative way of looking at multilingual language use; one which helps resolve some of these controversies and enables more accurate analyses of the variability, dynamicity, and complexity of these semiotic practices.

I specifically present Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of *chronotope* as a useful tool that allows for such a shift in analytical focus in the study of multilingual identities and practices (Blommaert and De Fina, 2017; Karimzad 2019a,b). Chronotopes are semiotized images of times and places associated with different types of people, behaviors, materials, discourses, and resources (Bakhtin 1981; Agha 2007a; Blommaert 2015; Karimzad 2019a). These chronotopic images are (re)-constructed through individuals’ experiences with contexts and discourses, and are resorted to in subsequent interactions as resources that guide and constrain normative socio-cultural and linguistic practices (Agha 2007a; Blommaert 2015, 2017, 2018; Blommaert and De Fina 2017; Karimzad and Cathedral 2018a; Karimzad 2019a,b). In addition to *framing* normative behavior (Goffman 1974), chronotopes also

situate discourses within multiple small- and large-scale spatiotemporal configurations and thus make their production and interpretation possible (Bakhtin 1981; Agha 2007a; Blommaert 2015, 2017). In what follows, I present various types of data drawn from my ethnographic study of Iranian Azerbaijanis to illustrate the processes through which these images, and the various levels of ethnographic and semiotic detail associated with them, are (re)constructed and enregistered. I will discuss the dynamic (re)construction of these images in terms of processes of *(re)chronotopization* (Karimzad and Catedral 2018b; Karimzad 2019a), and the *fractally-scaled semiotic details* associated with them in terms of the level of *resolution* of chronotopic images (see Irvine and Gal 2000).

I will argue that availability and accessibility of linguistic/semiotic resources, and their categorizations as (varieties of) languages, depend on participants' individual *chronotopization histories* (see Blommaert and Backus 2013). That is, the scaled images actors develop through socialization about different time-space frames and the people, relations, discourses, and resources therein guide their language use both *from* and *about* particular contexts. Within such a system, context is the primary source of meaning, and linguistic/semiotic resources are utilized to simultaneously *entextualize* and *contextualize* discourses in meaning-making processes (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Gumperz 1992; Silverstein and Urban 1996). Through decentralizing language(s) and foregrounding context(s) and contextualization, I argue, the chronotope enables us to analyze not only social actors' dynamic and hybrid utilization of (multiple sets of) semiotic resources in discursive meaning-making -- what is referred to as *linguaging* (Jørgensen 2008)-- but also their language ideologies and language-ideological practices, which rely heavily on the perceptions of languages as discrete systems indexically linked to certain scales and territories (see Karimzad and Catedral 2018a).

2. CHRONOTOPES AS SEMIOTIZED IMAGES OF CONTEXTS

Bakhtin's (1981) notion of chronotope has gained substantial currency in the study of social behavior in recent years following its (re-)introduction and (re-)theorization in the fields of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics (Silverstein 2005; Agha 2007a; Blommaert 2015).

Initially, Bakhtin used the chronotope to highlight the interconnected nature of time and space, and how it is through these spatiotemporal representations that the characters in novelistic genres were identified. Agha (2007a) built on this idea to make a case for *cultural chronotopes* -- semiotized images of times, places, and personhoods that organize sociocultural information, relations, and practices. For Agha, chronotopes are constructed and construed *within*, and transmitted and transformed *across*, participation frameworks, and their wider recognizability depends on the degree to which they spread across these participation frameworks. Agha's work led to the first wave of chronotopic analyses, in which scholars track the interaction of (large-scale) chronotopes through which understandings of socio-cultural phenomena such as *language, race, ethnicity, and progress* are discursively constructed and negotiated (Perrino 2007; Dick 2010; Koven 2013; Karimzad 2016a; Rosa 2016; Wirtz 2016; Catedral 2018).

The second wave of chronotopic analyses have followed Blommaert's (2015) conceptualization of the chronotope in relation to two other productive sociolinguistic notions, *contextualization* and *scale* (Blommaert and De Fina 2017; Karimzad and Catedral 2018a,b; Lyons and Tagg 2019; Goebel and Manns 2019; Karimzad 2019a,b; see also Blommaert 2007; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; De Fina and Perrino 2019). Blommaert proposes to understand the chronotope as 'the aspect of contextualization through which specific chunks of history...can be invoked in discourse as meaning-attributing resources' (2015: 111). These spatiotemporally organized histories, according to Blommaert, are

mediated by *scales* which define their *scopes of communicability* or *recognizability*. The scalar dimension points to the unequal distribution of, and access to, chronotopes as resources for semiosis, making it simultaneously a matter of *scope* and *spread* as well as *value* and *distinction* (Blommaert 2015, 2019b). Blommaert further proposes to view chronotopes as (differently scaled) ‘mobile contexts’ associated with different identities, behaviors, indexicalities, and moralities that are invoked in meaning-making as salient points of orientation, guiding normative-discursive practices (2017, 2018). The utility of the chronotope as an analytical tool enables a move away from static and stable understandings of context, allowing to capture ‘a precise and detailed, mobile, unit of “context”... [that] connects specific time-space arrangements with ideological and moral orders, projecting possible and preferred identities’ (Blommaert 2017: 95).

Such a dynamic understanding of context is the basis for Blommaert and De Fina’s (2017) formulation of *chronotopic identities*; referring to the fact that acts of identification are conditioned by particular time-space configurations. They draw on linguistic practices in a Sicilian school to illustrate how participants’ language ‘choices’ shift depending on the shifts in the immediate chronotopic context: students use Italian while speaking to the teacher and speak Sicilian (or a mix of both) while interacting in the ‘back regions’ of the classroom (see also De Fina 2017). The core idea in their theorization is the inseparability of behavior and (chronotopic) context, where the latter functions as *a framing constraint* on the former:

the actual practices performed in our identity work often demand specific timespace conditions as shown by the fact that changes in timespace arrangements trigger complex and sometimes massive shifts in roles, discourses, modes of interaction, dress, codes of conduct and criteria for judgment of appropriate versus inappropriate behavior, and so forth (2017: 4).

Chronotopic understandings of identity work complexify the study of behavior by highlighting the multiplicity of the contexts to which actors orient in their sociolinguistic meaning-making. In Karimzad and Catedral (2018a), we have attempted to illustrate this complexity by tracing the differently scaled chronotopes Iranian Azerbaijani and Uzbek migrants in the U.S. had brought along and their interaction with the immediate chronotopic contexts in their discursive practices. We have specifically demonstrated how chronotopes guide not only participants' *language 'choices'* in the immediate contexts of interaction, but also their *metapragmatic positionings* relative to the notions of language and identity. We show, on the one hand, how orientation to different chronotopes leads to the construction of different, and sometimes conflicting, images of ethnolinguistic identity, and on the other hand, how the ideological force behind the idealized images of time-space frames populated by monolingual speakers overshadows participants' lived, multilingual realities, leading to negative evaluations of their own 'language mixing'.

This second line of scholarship attempts to characterize the chronotope as a unitary lens for the study of both *ideologies* and *practices* – the two main areas of focus in applied linguistic studies of discourse. More specifically, unlike the first wave of scholarship in which the chronotope is used as a tool to trace orientations to various spatiotemporal configurations in participants' discourses– i.e., when they are speaking *about* contexts – the latter studies view chronotopes as also what guides speaking *from* contexts. In other words, chronotopes operate not only as what contextualizes discourses but also as what guides and constrains normative social and linguistic practices. Additionally, chronotopic and scalar approaches advocated in these studies allow for a move away from micro-macro distinction in the study of language use by highlighting the various large- and small-scale contexts deemed relevant to identification practices in a given interaction. In this sense, they allow us to view sociolinguistic objects and behaviors to be always situated in *contexts within contexts*

(cf. Goffman 1974), enabling us to move back and forth across spatiotemporal scales to present more complex accounts of social actors' semiotic practices. It is this understanding of chronotopes -- as differently scaled images of contexts linked to various levels of semiotic detail -- that is the basis for what I will discuss in the following sections in terms of *chronotopization* and *chronotopic resolution*.

3. NORMATIVITY, CHRONOTOPIZATION AND CHRONOTOPIC RESOLUTION

In my recent work (Karimzad 2019a), I have built on the scholarship discussed above to study the nature of what social actors perceive as 'normal' behavior, and the processes through which these perceived normalcies are (re-)constructed and (re-)organized. I have specifically proposed the notion of *chronotopization* to understand how perceptions of normative behavior at various levels of (verbal and non-verbal) semiosis are dynamically (re-)constructed in relation to times, spaces, and personhoods (see Agha 2007a; Karimzad and Catedral 2018b). By normativity or normalcy, I am referring to the patterns and regularities that govern the production and perception of meaning in particular contexts; those that define the unmarked *defaults* of contexts and behaviors and deviations from them at any level -- be it about linguistic details such as phonological patterns or extralinguistic regularities such as dress code-- mark aspects of the performed behaviors as an 'anomaly' (see also Blommaert 2017). Noticing these anomalies leads to metapragmatic reflection (see Silverstein 1993; Agha 2007b), which in turn, depending on the ideological force behind the existing normalcies, can be the basis for normative evaluations in terms of, for instance, appropriateness or authenticity, or the basis for constructing new patterns and updating chronotopic images of normalcy. The images constructed and/or updated through (re-)chronotopization processes constitute individuals' *repertoires of normalcy*, which function as 'behavioral scripts' that guide their sociolinguistic practices and moral-normative

judgements (Blommaert 2017, 2018; see also Durkheim 1961; Bourdieu 1991). Perceiving socialization in terms of processes of chronotopization allows us to, on the one hand, understand the *situated* as well as *collective* nature of normative sociolinguistic behavior, and on the other hand, account for their dynamicity and change, meaning that “people do not just ‘step into’ existing chronotopes but build them anew while drawing on existing, intertextual and pretextual moral indexical arrangements” (Blommaert 2019a: 3).

In the specific case of multilingual ideologies and practices, I have drawn on data from Iranian Azerbaijani migrants in the U.S. in Karimzad (2019a) to demonstrate that participants’ understandings of appropriate language ‘choice’ are constructed and *enregistered* (Agha 2007b) through their experiences interacting with particular people (or types of people) within particular time-space configurations. This means that, in reality, what we perceive as language ‘choice’ is not an *individual*, rationally calculated selection (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993), but instead, it is an *intersubjectively* negotiated and solidified perception of normative patterns of language use operating at particular scale levels and in relation to particular *collective identities* (see Blommaert and De Fina 2017; Blommaert 2018; Perrino and Kohler 2019). In other words, language ‘choice’ is an outcome of the interaction of personhoods and scales that determine what collectively sanctioned patterns of language use are relevant. What I have specifically discussed in this regard is that, as participants evaluate the relative normalcy of multilingual practices in certain hypothetical scenarios, they initially discursively situate people and their behaviors in certain *prototypical* contexts linked to higher-scale idealized images of language and identity (e.g. ‘Azerbaijanis should speak Azerbaijani in Azerbaijani gatherings’), excluding the lower-scale identity differences and linguistic variability. However, as more ethnographic data would unfold in the conversations in terms of, for instance, the people in the participation framework and the spatiotemporal circumstances under which they have been born and raised, participants

would resort to lower-scale chronotopes of lived experiences that allow for alternative language choices (see Karimzad 2019a, for a detailed discussion). Understanding the interaction of the higher-scale idealized chronotopes constructed through exposure to mass-mediated discourses and the lower-scale, more complex and detailed chronotopes constructed through first-hand lived experiences (see Woolard 2013) will become a crucial part of the arguments I present in this paper *vis-à-vis* the current debates over multilingualism and the *realness* of discrete languages. Let us first apply this chronotopic-normative perspective to what has traditionally been discussed in terms of ‘language acquisition’ and ‘language socialization’ (see Schieffelin and Ochs 1986).

3.1. Chronotopization, Fractality and Semiotic Details

In what follows, I discuss the notion of chronotopization in terms of not only the development of understandings of normalcy in relation to certain people in certain time-space frames, but also the development of the linguistic/semiotic resources that make meaning-making *from* and *about* these contexts possible. Such an approach adds nuance to what we understand as language acquisition in that it gives prominence to the exposure to, and interaction with, the *chronotopic* -- rather than *linguistic* – input; context becomes foregrounded as the primary source of meaning, and meaning-making is thus understood to be *contextual* all the time. As a result, the study of language as a collective meaning-making system becomes mainly a *sociolinguistic*, and not a *linguistic*, object of inquiry (Blommaert 2018, 2019a).

This socially situated understanding of linguistic input has in its core the idea that individuals have a disposition that favors regularity (cf. Durkheim 1961), which in turn entails that they have an ability to process the information they receive through socialization and develop patterns, including patterns of *language use*, i.e., social norms that guide and

constrain language practices, and patterns of *language*, i.e., formal aspects of language dealing with, for example, morphosyntactic or phonological patterns. This normative system is primarily chronotopic in that the relationship between the indexicals and the objects and relations they point to are recognized and enregistered – and are subsequently utilized-- *within* and *in relation to* particular time-space arrangements. These patterns are also scalar since they are organized with respect to various *fractally* ordered macroscopic and microscopic contexts (see Silverstein 1992; Irvine and Gal 2000; Agha 2007b; Blommaert 2015, 2018; Blommaert and De Fina 2017). These fractally scaled semiotic and ethnographic details are what constitute the level of *resolution* of chronotopic images. That is, through (re-)chronotopization processes, social actors develop and update images of time-space frames and the people, materials, discourses, and resources therein at various levels of fractal detail, depending on the chronotopic input accessible to them and the scales at which the normative patterns are recognized.¹

Understanding linguistic/semiotic patterns as chronotopically organized resources has implications for our understandings of language(s), their mobility, distribution, and sharedness of norms of use, and their indexical associations with certain scales and territories. To be precise, the availability of these linguistic/semiotic resources and their categorizations as languages, dialects, accents, etc., vary depending on individuals' chronotopization histories, i.e. their prior experiences with spatiotemporally situated semiotic and metasemiotic acts; and in practice, regardless of their ideological categorizations, these

¹ The data Deb Roy presents in his TED talk *The Birth of a Word* (https://www.ted.com/talks/deb_roy_the_birth_of_a_word) based on a longitudinal study on his child's 'language acquisition' (Roy 2009) can be useful to visualize what I am discussing in terms of initial stages of chronotopization. Roy and his colleagues utilize innovative audiovisual recording, and computational modelling and analysis techniques to trace the child's movement in time and space as he is learning his first words. Although the analysis is based on certain language-specific assumptions that are different from what I have laid out here, the data demonstrate the very early processes through which spatiotemporally situated concepts and the semiotic resources that point to them are recognized and constructed through situated interactions.

resources function as *registers* utilized to perform *genre-specific* discursive acts *from* and *about* particular, scaled contexts (Agha 2007b; Blommaert 2010).

To demonstrate chronotopization processes and their implications for the analysis of multilingual language use, I draw on data from my niece, Ilkay, who was born 6 months after my last visit to Iran over five years ago. During this time, I have been able to keep up with her growth through technologically mediated communication. This was initially done through the video and voice clips her parents would send me, and also the highlights her father would provide regarding the things she has been learning, doing, and saying. But now, Ilkay and I are able to interact directly via video chat from time to time. The data I am drawing on below come from my analysis of Ilkay's interactions in these recordings and video-calls as well as her father's narratives and metacommentaries about her learning process shared with me as part of our familial relationship and also for my research purposes. Excerpt 1 is the transcription of one of the video clips I was sent when Ilkay was around two and a half years old. In this video clip, Ilkay is interacting with her mom and her doll, who she calls '*inqæ bæbæ*', in their front yard.² The yard has a stone tile floor, a small garden in the middle, and a covered area for parking a car, and is surrounded by walls separating it from the neighboring houses. Ilkay is acting out the role of a mom who has taken her baby to the park. The immediate time-space of the yard is hypothetically linked to that of a park, which mainly has two different areas, the garden and the playground. The garden area is mapped onto the small garden in the yard, and the remaining space is the playground with imaginary equipment and activities. Throughout the conversations, Ilkay and her mom constantly point to these time-space frames verbally and/or non-verbally. The video was recorded by Ilkay's father, who is

² In Azeri, *Inqæ* is an onomatopoeia echoing the noise newborns make while crying. *Inqæ bæbæ* in young children's register refers to new born babies.

not involved in the interactions. The conversations are in their home language, Azeri, referred to as *Türki* by its speakers.

Excerpt 1:

<p>1. Mom: Rəngin soroush. Şəmdanilarin rəngin soroush.</p> <p>2. Ilkay: Affərin! Gə gedax!</p> <p>3. Mom: Olarin (2.0) [Ilkay?</p> <p>4. Ilkay: [Gə gedax! Gə gedax sorsoriyə! (3.0) sorsorə bu: eliyim?</p> <p>5. Mom: Bəli, elə.</p> <p>6. Ilkay: Yaxji. Ija:zə verisən?</p> <p>7. Mom: Bəli, ija:zə verirəm.</p> <p>8. Ilkay: Xanimsan sən?</p> <p>9. Mom: Bəli, mən xanimam!</p> <p>10. Ilkay: Yaxji, Ija:zə verisən, xanim?</p> <p>11. Mom: Bilit almisiz?</p> <p>12. Ilkay: Bilit almishix, hən.</p> <p>13. Mom: Yaxji.</p> <p>14. Ilkay: qoy sizdæn bilit alax.</p> <p>15. Mom: Yaxji.</p> <p>16. Mom: Siz pool verin, biliti verim.</p> <p>17. Ilkay: Bilit? Haha, pool.</p> <p>18. Mom: iki min tumæn olar.</p> <p>19. Ilkay: Gə</p> <p>20. Mom: Mersi. Buyurun. Bu da bilit.</p> <p>21. Ilkay: [bilit</p> <p>22. Mom: [Bəli. Gedin minin kufa</p> <p>23. Ilkay: minin kufa, haha Gə sən itələ buni da. Qoy mən buni, biliti qoyum bura:. Sən gə buni itələ:. Uh, mändə biliti =</p>	<p>1. Mom: Ask (singular) about their color. Ask (singular) about the color of the geraniums</p> <p>2. Ilkay: Good boy! Let's go! ((walking to the imaginary slide))</p> <p>3. Mom: Those (2.0) [Ilkay?</p> <p>4. Ilkay: [Let's go! Let's go to the slide! (3.0) Do I do the slide with him?</p> <p>5. Mom: Yes, do it. (singular)</p> <p>6. Ilkay: Okay. Do you (tu) give permission?</p> <p>7. Mom: Yes, I give permission.</p> <p>8. Ilkay: Are you (tu) the lady?</p> <p>9. Mom: Yes, I am the lady!</p> <p>10. Ilkay: Okay, do you (tu) give permission, lady?</p> <p>11. Mom: Have you (vous) bought a ticket?</p> <p>12. Ilkay: Ticket, we have bought, yeah!</p> <p>13. Mom: Okay.</p> <p>14. Ilkay: Let's buy ticket from you (vous). ((walking toward her mom))</p> <p>15. Mom: Okay.</p> <p>16. Mom: You (vous) give the money, I give the ticket.</p> <p>17. Ilkay: Ticket? Haha, money.</p> <p>18. Mom: It'll be 2000 Tomans.</p> <p>19. Ilkay: Here ((informal))</p> <p>20. Mom: Thanks. Here you are ((formal)). Here's the ticket.</p> <p>21. Ilkay: [Ticket</p> <p>22. Mom: [Yes. You (vous) go ride the swing</p> <p>23. Ilkay: ride on the swing, haha ((walks to the 'swing')) You come and push him ((moving the doll back and forth)). Let me put this, the ticket</p>
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<p>24. Mom:= Yaxji. Avvæl sæn indi o gullærin rængindæ sورش axi onnan, gorax basha:rir inqæ bæbæ. Inqæ bæbæ? O(lar), Ilkay sورش!</p> <p>25. Ilkay: Yaxji! Avvæl gedæx kuf uchax, sora da [oni</p> <p>26. Mom: [kuf ushdi da, kuf uchup gælipdi</p> <p>27. Ilkay: Axi, mindi:ræm (1.0) goyæ:, mindi:ræm kufa:, ora kufduba, park di ora, ((pointing to the wall))</p> <p>28. Mom: Ahan</p> <p>29. Ilkay: kufa mindi:ræm, sora gedax bilit alax aghadan, diax ki, “Agha? Bilit ver da bizæ”</p> <p>30. Mom: Yaxji, næmænæ verax oda bilit versin bizæ?</p> <p>31. Ilkay: pool versin (verax), bistumæn mæn ve-ri-ræm. Jibimdædi bistumæn. ((Dad chuckles))</p> <p>32. Mom: iki min tumæn?</p> <p>33. Ilkay: iki min tumæn, hæ:n</p> <p>34. Mom: Yaxji</p>	<p>here. You come and push him (on the swing). uh, I (take) the ticket =</p> <p>24. Mom: Okay. First, you now also ask him about the color of the flowers Let's see if he knows them, Inqæ bæbæ " Inqæ bæbæ? those", Ilkay ask!</p> <p>25. Ilkay: Okay! First, let's go ride the swing, then I (do) [that</p> <p>26. Mom: [He already rode the swing, He's ridden the swing and has come back</p> <p>27. Ilkay: But, I'm putting him (1.0) on the skyyyyyyyyyy. Putting him, putting him on the swing. That is the swing there, that is the park over there</p> <p>28. Mom: Uh-huh</p> <p>29. Ilkay: I'm putting him on the swing Then we'll go and buy tickets from the man We will say, "Sir? Give us tickets"</p> <p>30. Mom: Okay, what should we give him so he gives us ticket?</p> <p>31. Ilkay: We give money, I'm giving Bistumæn (20 Tomans). It's in my pocket ((reaching for her pocket. Dad chuckles))</p> <p>32. Mom: Two thousand Tomans?</p> <p>33. Ilkay: Two thousand Tomans, yeah!</p> <p>34. Mom: Okay</p>
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The chronotope of park Ilkay is rehearsing through interaction with her mom and her doll mainly consists of two relatively smaller scale chronotopes (i.e., garden and playground), and specific chronotopically situated *materials* (e.g. swing and slide), *people* (e.g., parents and children, men/women who are in charge or sell tickets), *activities* (e.g. riding on a swing/slide, pushing a kid on a swing), and the normative behavioral scripts associated with them (e.g. asking for permission, having to buy tickets). While her mom is attempting to elicit color terms Ilkay has recently learned through verbal and nonverbal orientation to the flowers in the garden (lines 1 and 24), Ilkay is more interested in the playground, and resists

playing along with her mom's version of the game. Her multimodal semiotic behavior -- i.e., her language use as well as her body gesture as she is, for instance, pushing the baby -- demonstrates her relative familiarity with the playground activities and interactions. Some of these embodied practices and the semiotic resources associated with them, such as riding/pushing the baby on the swing, are more or less specific to the time-space of park. Other genres of behavior such as 'asking for permission' and 'buying tickets' are applicable across various chronotopes. Recognizing these cross-chronotopic links would allow her to generalize -- through the semiotic process of *fractal recursivity* (Irvine and Gal 2000) -- about the applicability and relevance of semiotic resources in (inter-)discursive meaning-making across various contexts (see Goebel 2019).

Ilkay appears to have developed a relatively good semiotic control over certain genres and registers like the playground activities and discourses (e.g., lines 2-6). At the same time, she is in the process of learning certain semiotic details, the enregisterment of which would improve the resolution of her chronotopic images. For instance, in the initial exchanges as they are embodying their mother-daughter roles, Ilkay and her mom are using the informal home register characterized by singular pronouns and verb forms. However, in lines 8 and 9, they interactionally negotiate a hypothetical role for mom as the lady in charge, and this shift in roles and identities leads to a shift in register as well (see Blommaert and De Fina 2017). Mom starts using the *vous* form as she is acting out the role of the lady (lines 11 to 22), and Ilkay adopts the plural form starting in line 12. Moreover, Ilkay's use of the informal *gæ* 'here' in line 19 is responded by Mom's use of *büyürün* 'here you are' (line 20), which illustrates another register detail that Ilkay is exposed to in these hypothetical interactions.

Unlike these examples where the normative semiotic behavior is modeled implicitly through role-play, interactions in lines 29 to 34 illustrate an explicit metapragmatic

discussion of the role of money in the situated act they are rehearsing. Ilkay's verbal and nonverbal response to mom's question in line 30, "what should we give him so he gives us ticket?", illustrates that she has already developed some broad understandings about money, and its shape, location, and function: "We give money, I'm giving Bistumæn (20 tomans). It's in my pocket ((reaching for her pocket))."³ While her marked combination of the Farsi *Bist* meaning 'twenty' and Azeri *tümæn* demonstrates an emerging pattern (number-currency) she is developing, given its social and mathematical complexity, the semiotic nuances of the concept of money are yet to be learned and added to the cluster of relevant nodes in her fractal system of understandings.

Example 1 demonstrates the initial stages of chronotopization processes, through which individuals develop broader understandings about the semiotic landscapes around them, the normative practices associated with these contexts, and the resources for meaning-making *from* and *about* these contexts. As they interact with more data moving across time and space, individuals are able to recognize and construct more complex patterns of meaning and semiosis. These semiotic details, regardless of the pragmatic or metapragmatic nature of the input and the scales at which they are recognized, are always experienced in certain real or imagined spatiotemporal environments, i.e., gain their meaning *from* and *through* context and contextualization.

3.2. Emergence of Languages and Translation

Thus far, I have proposed to understand (re-)chronotopization as the primary social learning process through which images of contexts and the semiotic details (including linguistic systems and sub-systems) associated with them at various scale levels are recognized, (re-

³ The term *tumæn* (*toman* in Persian) is the former official currency of Iran, which is still used in unofficial contexts to refer to 10 Rials.

)constructed, and enregistered. The perception of language(s) as separate systems indexically linked to certain territories is one such semiotic detail, which is not *a priori* but is recognized and enregistered through interaction with linguistic and metalinguistic/metapragmatic data at relatively later stages of chronotopization processes. Ilkay's case, in addition to demonstrating the initial stages of chronotopization processes, can be insightful for our understandings of multilingualism due to two other reasons: (1) Her constant exposure to certain domains and discourses through languages other than what is used at home, and (2) the relatively high degree of metalinguistic input her parents, especially her father, provide for her. The following example illustrates how these factors lead to new patterns of language use and additional ways of categorizing the semiotic data accessible to her.

Excerpt 2:

<p>1. BK, [14.11.17 00:03] ilkay istanbuli da orgaship □</p> <p>2. Me, [14.11.17 00:03] namana diyir? :D</p> <p>3. BK, [14.11.17 00:03] bu dafa danish dena <u>nasilsin?</u> diyir <u>iyiyim tabi</u></p> <p>4. Me, [14.11.17 00:04] yaxji da yadimda olsun sورشum □□</p> <p>5. BK, [14.11.17 00:04] carton nan orgaship ozu da gatmir ha bazan ki bizim dil da eshitmamish olanda olardan ishladir sora ki orgashir da gatmir masalan mana diyir di ga <u>birlikda</u> oyniakh gapi doyanda diyir <u>kimse yokmu?</u>□</p>	<p>1. BK, [14.11.17 00:03] Ilkay has learned Turkish □</p> <p>2. Me, [14.11.17 00:03] What does she say? :D</p> <p>3. BK, [14.11.17 00:03] Next time you are talking ask, <u>how are you?</u> She says <u>I'm fine</u></p> <p>4. Me, [14.11.17 00:04] Okay I'll remember to ask □□</p> <p>5. BK, [14.11.17 00:04] She's learned it from cartoons And she doesn't mix Sometimes when she's not heard something in our language she uses from them And once she learns it she doesn't mix For example, she is telling me, let's play <u>together.</u> When she is knocking the door, she says <u>is anyone there?</u> □</p>
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<p>6. Me, [14.11.17 00:06]</p> <p>hahaha</p> <p>7. BK, [14.11.17 00:06]</p> <p>masalan man demisham dena gapdoyan? onu diyir</p> <p>vali <i>kimse yokmu</i> nun moadilin ishlatmarikh va jalib bu di tarjuma elir masalan ogun ozi nan danishir oynur diyir hesami <i>bulamiyorum</i> diyiram yani namana? diyir yani tapammiram da</p> <p>8. Me, [14.11.17 00:10]</p> <p>Hahahaha</p> <p>9. BK, [14.11.17 00:10]</p> <p>man biraz savashdim S'nan mamasina ki oturmeyin fagat istanbuli gorsun diyirdim goy bizim dili orgashsin ki sora gatmasin</p> <p>10. Me, [14.11.17 00:11]</p> <p>ghatmaz ghoxma</p> <p>11. BK, [14.11.17 00:12]</p> <p>bir dana bir zat dan ki gorkhurem bu du ki sedaye daruni istanbuli ola yani ozi nan danishanda isanbuli danisha man buni soymuram</p>	<p>6. Me, [14.11.17 00:06]</p> <p>hahaha</p> <p>7. BK, [14.11.17 00:06]</p> <p>For example I have told her to say ‘who’s it knocking the door?’, she uses that But we do not use an equivalent of <u>‘is anyone there’</u> And it’s interesting that she is translating For example the other day she was talking to herself, playing, she says <u>I can’t find</u> Hesam (name of another doll) I’m asking what does it mean? She’s saying, it means I can’t find</p> <p>8. Me, [14.11.17 00:10]</p> <p>Hahahaha</p> <p>9. BK, [14.11.17 00:10]</p> <p>I scolded S (Ilkay’s mom) and her mother a bit that don’t let her watch only Turkish (TV) I was saying let her learn our language first so that she does not mix them up later</p> <p>10. Me, [14.11.17 00:11]</p> <p>Won’t mix, don’t worry</p> <p>11. BK, [14.11.17 00:12]</p> <p>One thing that I am afraid of is that her inner voice would be Turkish I mean she would speak Turkish to herself I don’t like this</p>
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While local contexts such as those of the park are experienced in *Türki*, Ilkay’s socialization involves interacting with certain contexts and discourses through other ‘languages’ such as Farsi/Persian (via cartoons, songs, and nursery school), Turkish (via cartoons), and English (via cartoons, songs, and nursery school). Excerpt 2 is part of an online interaction between her father and I after the emergence of Turkish elements in Ilkay’s language use when she

was around three years old. In this extract, her father characterizes the first instances of Ilkay's use of Turkish and explains his reaction to them. As he points out in line 5, Ilkay resorts to Turkish resources when "she's not heard something in our language". The specific example he provides concerns an interactional exchange that occurs when someone knocks the door; something that had been picked up through Turkish cartoons and had emerged in her *inner speech* (see Vygotsky 1834/1987). His response to Ilkay's new language patterns, as touched upon in this excerpt and also explained in a subsequent conversation, was to provide the 'equivalents' in 'our language': "For example I have told her to say, 'who's it knocking the door?' She uses that" (line 7). While this is what is said if you are on the receiving end of the knocking, he goes on to acknowledge that "we do not use an equivalent of 'is anyone there?'". Apart from explaining to Ilkay how *we* say things, he also attempted to regulate her exposure to Turkish, fearing that "she would mix them up" or "her inner voice would be Turkish" (lines 9 and 11).

While the metapragmatic data she was previously receiving was more about concrete microscopic contexts such the ones in the first example, the emergence of these new meaning-making patterns leads to the introduction of higher-scale understandings of language. In other words, through discussions of how *we* speak *here* and how *they* speak *there*, higher-scale time-space frames linked to more abstract conceptualizations of language(s) were discursively negotiated and imagined. This metalinguistic engagement had two specific observable consequences for how Ilkay was further organizing the semiotic data she was receiving. On the one hand, she recognized how similar contextual meaning could be brought about using different resources, leading to the emergence of translation and the concept of *what does it mean?* (line 7). My subsequent interactions with Ilkay confirmed this new pattern as she engaged in various translation games and metalinguistic comments. In addition to translation, the other new concept that was recognized was the notion of *our*

versus *their* language. Though the recognition of concept of equivalency was transferred to other contexts she was exposed to through other sets of resources (e.g. Farsi or English), the initial categorization of linguistic resources as languages did not include much detail; it was a binary categorization in terms of *our language (Türki)*– the default-- as opposed to *the other*. That is, although Ilkay had learned the names of the languages, i.e., *Istanbuli* (Turkish), *Farsi*, and *Ingilisi* (English), they were all initially included in a single category. I observed this through similar translation games: When she was asked ‘how do you say x in Turkish/Farsi/English?’, she would with go with the first *other* way she could come up with to say it, regardless of the target language in question. In the past two years, however, she has added multiple levels of detail to her understandings of her spatiotemporal surroundings and the patterns of semiosis associated with them, which is evident in the example below

Excerpt 3:

<p>1. BK, [1:18 AM, 7/23/2019]:</p> <p>دبيرم ايلكاي بو ديله زادا بتر فيكير وئرير او گون كنسرت ده بيرى استانبولى او خودى دبيردى آخى بوردا كيلارين ديلي دبيركى او نيه اوخويور؟ سورا بيرى ده انگليسى او خودى اوندا دا تعجب انله ميشدى</p> <p>2.</p> <p>بير ده اوگون او ده بير قولچاخ واريدى پالتارى چهارخانه ى دى دبيردى كى بو ياتماخ ليباسى گيپپ انله بير من ده دنديم هن دا لباس خواب دى دندى بيز ديه ريخ ياتماخ ليباسى فارسى دا لباس خواب دى دنديم ساغووووول □□□□□</p> <p>3. Me, [8:07 AM, 7/23/2019]: □□ balamdi daaa, oni ela avvaldan zabanshinas bara gatimisiz</p>	<p>1. BK, [1:18 AM, 7/23/2019]:</p> <p>Wanted to say Ilkay pays attention to language and stuff very much The other day in the concert, someone sang in Turkish. She was saying, but it is not the language of the people here, why is he singing it? After that someone sang in English She was surprised then as well</p> <p>2.</p> <p>Also, the other day, there was a doll in plaid clothes She was saying, looks like he’s wearing ‘yatmax libasi’ (pajamas- lit. sleeping clothes) And I said, yeah, it is ‘lebas xaab’ She said, we say ‘yatmax libasi’ In Farsi, it is ‘lebas xaab’ I was like, attagirrrrrrl □□□□□</p> <p>3. Me, [8:07 AM, 7/23/2019]: □□ She’s my girl, you guys have raised her a linguist from the very beginning</p>
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The abundance of linguistic and metalinguistic data with which Ilkay has been interacting has had a more enduring consequence: “Ilkay pays attention to language and stuff very much” (line 1). This high degree of metapragmatic-metalinguistic awareness leads her to constantly attend to the patterns of language use around her and explicitly spot the irregularities. This consciousness is about both the regularities of language ‘choice’ and the regularities of language form. Since she has experienced public domains mainly in Azeri and Farsi, she finds it marked that Turkish -- associated with TV -- and English -- associated with YouTube, songs and nursery school classes – are present in a local concert. Recognizing these anomalies triggers metapragmatic reflection: “but it is not the language of the people here, why is he singing it?”. Apart from the normalcies of *what* language to speak *where* and *when*, she also attends to various levels of formal-indexical details: “we say ‘yatmax libasi’, in Farsi it is ‘lebas xaab’” (line 2). Discursive chunks like ‘lebas xaab’, associated with Farsi, are commonly ‘assembled’ (Canagarajah 2018) in Iranian Azerbaijanis’ language use and as long as participants are orienting to lower-scale chronotopes of lived experiences, the *Persianness* of these semiotic resources is less relevant; that is, the hybrid use of these resources is an embodied, habitual language practice associated with their everyday realities (see Bourdieu 1991; Bucholtz and Hall 2016; Djuraeva and Cathedral, forthcoming). However, once orientations shift to higher-scale idealized chronotopes, the dominant understandings of languages as separate systems linked to peoples and territories become the basis for normative evaluations. This is why, though this time it is the father’s language use that is being metalinguistically evaluated by Ilkay in the interaction narrated in line 2, he is proud of her grasp on the notion of languages and the formal-grammatical features associated with them.

In my interactions with Ilkay, I have also been a target of her metalinguistic comments. I have also observed that her recognition of these semiotic (ir)regularities goes even further into phonological details, such as *bilmiræm* ~ *bülmüræm* ('I don't know') alternations, that characterize different varieties of the Azeri spoken around her. However, her comments mainly spot, and not judge the value of, what she finds marked language use at various semiotic levels, as the indexical values associated with these forms and practices have minimally developed. The reason is that, though their family language policy and planning (e.g. choice of nursery school with English classes) have revolved around certain perceptions regarding the socio-economic values associated with linguistic resources, her parents have attempted to refrain from providing evaluative responses (beyond ideas of grammatical 'correctness' or '*our* vs. *their* language') to her questions so that, in her father's words, she does *not* construct "a sense of *betterness*" as a result of her access to these resources. Ilkay's example reflects her current understandings and practices and the processes through which they have been developed. I have attempted to track the impact of metalinguistic input on the emergence of concepts of 'languages' and 'translation' as well as her level of consciousness about the regularities of language use around her. What patterns will become durable and what will change depend on her future interactions with semiotic and metasemiotic data that will (re)shape her dynamic repertoire of resources and normalcies.

Ilkay's learning experience, however, may or may not be similar to her peers given the differential accessibility to linguistic/semiotic resources as well as the heterogeneity of language ideologies. For instance, her cousin, Yasha, who is around a year older than her, has been exposed to similar sets of resources, but to various degrees and with less metalinguistic input. His family's language policy has emphasized less exposure to Turkish and more exposure to, and use of, Farsi. My multilingual encounters with him via technology have thus been less about metalinguistic games and commentaries and more about him narrating events

and stories in Azeri and Farsi. Yasha's family's language planning was mainly informed by broader understanding of the utility of Farsi in their local and translocal lives, and also folk observations of those children who, given their extensive exposure to Turkish cartoons (see Mirvahedi 2012), initially adopt Turkish patterns of semiosis (the basis for Ilkay's parents' concern as well); and also those who, due to unavailability of sufficient Farsi resources, experience extreme hardship in school where the medium of education is Farsi. These are just some of the various chronotopically-organized moral-ideological orders that guide and constrain family language planning, and broader multilingual ideologies and practices, among contemporary Iranian Azerbaijanis (See Blommaert 2017; Catedral and Djuraeva 2018). Such *polycentric* orientations (Blommaert 2010) has been a consequence of, on the one hand, the spread of global, regional, and national products and forces that assign indexical value to English, Turkish, and Farsi resources respectively, and on the other hand, the ethno-nationalistic discourses that foreground a unified Turkic identity that requires a purely 'monolingual' use of *Türki*. (see Karimzad 2018; Karimzad and Catedral 2018a; Karimzad and Sibgatullina 2018).

But before I conclude this section, let me zoom out a bit to give you a brief historical account of the shifts in the availability and accessibility of resources in the same local context of Tabriz in the past century and their consequences for language ideologies and practices. Ilkay's great grandparents managed their almost-a-century-long lives in their localities mainly through Azeri, along with limited bits and pieces of Farsi, and some Arabic -- what in folk terms is referred to as '*quran savadi*' ('Quran Literacy'), a semiotic system with restricted linguistic details, the primary function of which is pointing to indexical-moral orders and behaviors within Islamic-Shi'a societies. In her grandparents' times, Farsi had become more accessible and gained more salience through education following the centralization of the ethnolinguistically diverse Iran and the introduction of Farsi as the

unifying language in 1930s (see Mirvahedi 2019). Farsi was the language of new contexts and concepts, which was mainly associated with written genres and formal domains and registers. Access to these opportunities and resources, however, was unequally distributed, depending on the socioeconomic circumstances and religious-cultural biases and inequalities among families and communities (e.g., biases against women's education). For those who had access to Farsi through education, and later on through State TV, literacy and comprehension competencies developed to greater extents than spoken Farsi, given that *Türki* was (and has been) dominant in the local scale and there were fewer opportunities/functions for the spoken form of Farsi (see Blommaert and Backus 2013). Given their trajectories, the spoken Farsi of this generation is characterized by various degrees of Azeri accent, which has served as the basis for stereotypical portrayals of Azerbaijanis' speech in the national scale for decades. Ilkay and her generation's case also differs from that of her parents', who developed their initial spatiotemporal-semiotic understandings through varieties of Azeri and Farsi (and some Arabic usually embedded in them). Turkish and English have become accessible later in their lives mainly with the spread of Turkish Satellite TV and English language schools since 1990s and 2000s. By tracing the types of linguistic/semiotic and metalinguistic/metasemiotic resources and inputs available and accessible to individuals, and the historical and contemporary forces that guide and constrain their use, I have attempted to show that starting out with higher-scale understandings of language and identity fails to present a precise and fair account of participants' (un)shared and (un)equal experiences with contexts and discourses at various scale levels; those that shape and reshape participants' language ideologies and practices. Repertoires, on the other hand, as pointed out by Blommaert and Backus,

enable us to document in great detail the trajectories followed by people throughout their lives: the opportunities, constraints and inequalities they were

facing, the learning environments they had access to (and those they did not have access to), their movement across physical and social space, [and] their potential for voice in particular social arenas. (2013:30)

4. CHRONOTOPIC-SCALAR ORIENTATIONS IN MULTILINGUAL PRACTICES

In the remainder of the paper, I present data from more specialized contexts to discuss the hybridity as well as heterogeneity of multilingual practices among Iranian Azerbaijanis. I draw attention, on the one hand, to the differences in terms of availability and accessibility of linguistic/semiotic resources for social actors, and on the other hand, to the variabilities with respect to ideologies of usage within and across participants and contexts, and how they play out in situated meaning-making processes. I discuss how the chronotopic and scalar approaches allow us to focus on this ‘pragmatic-metapragmatic semiotic-functional nexus’ (Silverstein 1993: 34) in our analysis of multilingual practices to capture their multi-layered complexities.

Example 4, taken from Karimzad (2016b), concerns my interaction with my former EFL students at a restaurant during my visit to Tabriz, Iran, in 2014. Participants, three female and one male, were in their twenties, and had experienced the initial stages of their socialization dominantly in Azeri and Farsi. Turkish and English resources had become accessible to them relatively later, compared to Ilkay’s generation. They all knew each other, and me, initially from the language school where I used to teach, and they used to study English. At the time of the recording, one of the participants (N) was working on her MA thesis for a degree in Applied Linguistics and she was asking me questions about it. (Regular: Azeri, *Italic*: Farsi, **Bold**: English)

Excerpt 4:

<p>1. N: Bæ:shli:na mæn hey soal sorushuram.</p> <p>2. Me: Xa:sh eliræm!</p> <p>3. S: <i>Soalat e shær'in</i> olmush olsa sorusha bulæsæan. ((Jocularly))</p> <p>4. N: Soalatım da, discourse feature-læri istæmishæm, Iranian and American da da (.) Bidæ similarities and difference-læri(.) Vocabulary-læri(.) cultural factor zat(.) qızışmıshdım hærzat yazmıshdım(.) Pragmatic feature-lærin lærin zadın da yazmısham!</p>	<p>1. N: Sorry if I am asking too many questions.</p> <p>2. Me: No worries!</p> <p>3. S: You can ask him <i>any religious questions</i> you have. ((Jocularly))</p> <p>4. N: In my (research) questions, I have tried to (determine) the discourse features, (comparing) Iranian and American (newspaper ads). Also, their similarities and differences, their vocabularies, the cultural factors and stuff. I was carried away, I have included everything. I have mentioned pragmatic features and stuff as well.</p>
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My initial analysis of this example was based on a community-based formal approach where I discussed these practices as ‘switches’ to convey the meaning more *faithfully* (Karimzad 2016b; Bhatt and Bolonyai 2011). However, shifting the focus from language to context, and from community to biographical history, allowed me to revisit this example. The graduate programs in Applied Linguistics and TESOL in Iran are among the few domains in which English is not only the language of content resources and materials, but also the medium of instruction, assignments and theses. Therefore, while Azeri is the dominant language, given the images we had constructed about normative language use interacting with one another outside classroom, entextualizing these concepts and practices would not have been possible without a degree of recourse to English resources. The significance of this example is in the fact that this degree of hybridity involving English resources is mainly characteristic of my Iranian Azerbaijani participants in the U.S. as they entextualize specialized domains they have experienced in English. One of the linguistic challenges migrants usually report is talking about such contexts to their ‘folks back home’, which given the (un)availability and

(un)communicability of the linguistic/semiotic resources, requires a higher degree of conscious entextualization effort.

In the local context of Tabriz, however, the practice observed in Excerpt 4 would generally be a marked behavior evaluated (and possibly intended) as a metapragmatic-metalinguistic behavior indexing the power and prestige associated with English. Yet, due to participants' specific trajectories and the topic at hand, it could be seen as an unmarked language use with mainly pragmatic functions within this immediate context and participation framework. While a language-focused analysis would characterize these practices as 'switches', an ethnographic study of their chronotopization histories and a chronotopic analysis of their discourses points to the fact that, due to the unavailability of 'monolingual' resources in their repertoires, contextualizing these domains and the discourses therein would not be possible otherwise. Though these resources are associated with English, they function as a particular register used in genre-specific discursive meaning-making in the lower-scale, lived realities of these participants. As Blommaert argues, "[t]he 'languages' of the traditional vocabulary exist as 'registers' in a new and more productive vocabulary, and the real 'language' that the people possess is this patchwork of specialized multilingual resources" (2010, p. 134). While Example 4 illustrates entextualization of a narrow technical domain, the following example illustrates relatively broader, but still specialized, domains that are experienced through Farsi (Regular: Azeri, *Italic*: Farsi)

Example 5:

<p><i>Bozorgtarin kesht e golkhane'eeye anva'e kaktus dar sath e keshvar-imiz di ba metraj e 5600 metr-e morabba. Va bu golkhana ba mosharekat e bakhsh e khususi va sherkat e ta'avonie dehyarihay e bakhsh e markazie Tabriz anjam tapipdi, va burayajan bish az 4 milyard tuman sarmaya-gozari olupdi.</i></p>	<p><i>This is the largest greenhouse cultivation of different kinds of cacti throughout our country, with an area of 5600 square meter. And this greenhouse has been built in collaboration with private sector and the cooperative company of rural municipalities of the central district of</i></p>
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	Tabriz, <i>and</i> until now, <i>more than 4 billion</i> Tomans have been <i>invested</i> (in this project).
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This example is from a news report on the Azerbaijani provincial TV channel in Iran, in which a local Azerbaijani entrepreneur is being interviewed about their cactus cultivation project. The program is broadcast in Azeri, yet we see that, except for certain Azeri elements, especially function words and morphemes, the remainder of the linguistic forms are associated with Farsi. If we focus on contexts and contextualization instead of linguistic forms, we see that while the immediate context requires the speaker to speak Azeri because the program is broadcast in this language, the domains *from* and *about* which this interviewee is speaking (TV interview as a specific discursive genre, business communication and relations, etc.) have been experienced almost exclusively in Farsi -- given that it is the official language of media, education, and correspondence in Iran. As a result, while this speaker is supposedly speaking Azeri in this interview, the *entextualization* of these domains requires resorting to the resources that are understood as Farsi. The result is such hybrid *linguaging* -- an embodied, habitual pattern of practice that is, more or less, characteristic of meaning-making in similar formal contexts among Iranian Azerbaijanis. This hybridity, however, is itself dynamic, shifting its form and function to various degrees *within* and *across* participants and participation frameworks depending on the availability and accessibility of resources as well as participants' language-ideological orientations.

Though hybrid language use indexes, and constructs, Iranian Azerbaijanis' lower-scale past and present lived biographies, these practices are at times subject to negative evaluation. This is when normative judgements operate within the higher-scale, mass-mediated chronotopes in which resources are assigned to different languages, peoples and territories, and monolingualism is highly valorized (see Karimzad 2019a). While many people would not go beyond such metapragmatic/metalinguistic evaluations and, in their

actual practices, would use similar discursive patterns to certain extents, some Iranian Azerbaijanis take a more agentive role and actively seek to speak ‘monolingually’. Such practices are made possible through replacing the features associated with Farsi with North Azerbaijani or Turkish features, since these languages, unlike Iranian Azerbaijani, have developed formal registers associated with these domains given their official status in their respective nation-states. What makes these practices ‘monolingual’ is that, instead of orienting to chronotopically organized lived experiences, these speakers orient to an imagined chronotope that goes beyond their local and national scales; an idealized time-space configuration where all Turks speak a single Turkic language (see Karimzad and Catedral 2018a; Karimzad 2019b). In reality, however, Farsi resources are more suitable for pragmatic meaning-making since they are more widely assessable than these ‘monolingual’ resources, the utility of which renders meaning-making into a primarily metalinguistic practice. That is, it becomes a matter of, as Iranian Azerbaijanis would say, *Bülmædim næ dedin, væli bætaer dedin!*, “I didn’t understand what you said, but you said it beautifully!” (See Karimzad 2018; Karimzad and Sibgatullina 2018 for a detailed discussion of ‘purist’ language ideologies and practices among Azerbaijanis).

Attending to participants’ chronotopic-scalar orientations allows us to situate these ‘purely monolingual’ practices and the practices I presented in examples 4 and 5 on different ends of a *hybridity continuum*. In between falls a variety of multilingual practices that differ, for instance, in terms of types of embedded discursive chunks, phonological adaptation, and flagging switches (e.g., *Beqole Faslar...* ‘as Persians would say’), which are indicative of various levels of semiotic-functional nuances and various degrees of language-ideological functions (see Silverstein 1993). Similarly, perceptions of ‘languages’ and what it means to speak a language themselves are dynamically constructed and reconstructed, given what scaled chronotopes are invoked in participants’ metacommentaries. That is, their

understandings of mother tongue and the identity associated with it differ depending on how these sociolinguistic notions are discursively *scaled* (see Canagarajah and De Costa 2016; Carr and Lempert 2016; Gal 2016): Sometimes *Türki* becomes the language they habitually use on a daily basis in their local contexts, and at times, the scope of its territorial boundaries is so broadly set that it is not differentiated from other Turkic languages including Turkish (Karimzad 2018, 2019b; Karimzad and Sibgatullina 2018). Chronotopes and scales enable us to *move away* from ideological categories such as ‘languages’ and ‘multilingual practices’ in our analysis, but *not do away* with them. Instead, by tracking participants’ spatiotemporal orientations, we are able to capture the dynamic meanings they are discursively assigned in situated pragmatic-metapragmatic practices (see Gal 2018).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The historical dominance of the theories that characterize language and meaning in terms of *linguistic form* on the one hand, and the *static* and *stable* understandings of ‘context’ on the other, have had lingering consequences for the study of language use (see Gumperz 1992; Silverstein 1992; Blommaert 2015, 2017). One such consequence is an assumed sense of *directionality* from ‘language (form)’ to ‘language use’, which makes context and contextual language use *secondary* to language: one talks about ‘language or meaning *in* context’, implying that contextless language/meaning *is* in fact possible (see Canagarajah 2018).⁴ My use of the notions of chronotopization and chronotopic resolution has attempted to reverse this directionality and foreground context as the primary source of meaning and meaning-making; one *from* which ethnographic and semiotic details are recognized, (re-)constructed, and enregistered, *within* which discourses and behaviors are situated, and *through* which interactional and social meanings are produced and interpreted. From this perspective, the

⁴ Denotational content is contextual in that it is also understood within certain prototypical contexts.

ability to use language, as part of a larger semiotic ability, primarily develops in relation to the chronotopic contexts of social (inter-)action (cf. Eckert's (2019) notion of '*semiotic landscapes*') leading to the development of different linguistic/semiotic systems and sub-systems in individual repertoires. This means that the availability and accessibility of these semiotic resources, their perceptions as different languages and language varieties, and their associations with peoples, territories, and social and economic values are contingent on interlocutors' individual and collective histories of encounter with situated semiotic and metasemiotic practices (see Irvine and Gal 2000; Agha 2007b; Blommaert 2010; 2015). It is these semiotic resources and the ideologies that guide and constrain their use, (re-)constructed through (re-)chronotopization processes, that are resorted to in discursive meaning-making *from* and *about* different contexts.

Such an approach allows us to “understand language use as its own order of phenomenon... as being a realtime laying down or ‘inscribing’ of Text, a formal order distinct from grammatical form in every essential characteristic” (Silverstein 1993: 34). That is, language use is *not* the contextualization of ‘linguistic forms to contexts-of-use’, but instead is the *synchronization* of chunks of brought-along history through the use of particularized linguistic/semiotic resources (Silverstein 1993; Blommaert 2005, 2015, 2019a). More specifically, the ‘assemblage’ of these resources (Canagarajah 2018) indexes presupposed or potential contexts of their occurrence and evokes conventionalized histories of their meaningful usage, the recognition of which requires a degree of metapragmatic function (Agha 2007b; Silverstein 1992). That is, ideologies of semiosis mediate meaning-making by giving “parties an idea of determinate contextualization for indexicals, presupposable as shared according to interested positions or perspectives to follow upon some social fact like group membership, condition in society, achieved commonality of interests, etc.” (Silverstein 1992: 315). In this sense, language is not a linear *form-meaning*

system that is used in context, but is an ‘indexically ordered, collective-normative system’ (Blommaert 2018) in which social-functional meaning is always produced and interpreted *within* and *in relation to* chronotopic contexts.

Once our analysis of multilingualism focuses on the scaled contexts *from* and *about* which meanings are made, the categorization of linguistic resources as languages becomes a secondary issue, the relevance of which can be traced in participants’ language-ideological orientations (see Harris 2009; Makoni 2012). Let me put it this way: The boundaries that define languages are as real as those that define nation-states and national identities. While social actors’ actual everyday lives are situated in particular localities where national identity is less relevant compared to the more nuanced identification practices in local contexts, nobody would deny the fact that national identity indeed affects their lives in a variety of ways in the very same localities. As we now know, national identity is an idealized construct defined on the basis of higher-scale categories such as language and ethnicity, erasing the fractally organized lower-scale identity details and nuances (see Irvine and Gal 2000). The dominant understandings of languages have, too, gone through similar ideological processes, the results of which are idealized versions of the actual resources people use in their everyday meaning-making. That is, the boundaries that define languages are set and reset based on the dominant linguistic-ideological and socio-political discourses which make the lower-scale variations in terms of dialects, styles, and registers invisible. Here again, one could not deny the impact of these higher-scale understandings of language on social actors’ sociolinguistic practices in local contexts. Hence, though discreteness of languages is not a given thing, once it *becomes* a thing, it affects social actors’ practices, realities, and ideals to various degrees -- similar to other dominant ideological constructs.

What I have presented here has aimed to highlight that the discussions of hybridity in the study of multilingual practices should attend to these chronotopic-scalar bearings. That is, familiarity with the ethnographic details of multilingual participants and their ideological orientations within and across contexts would enable us to discuss the hybridity of their semiotic practices on a continuum. The lower the scale of the normative chronotopes participants orient to, the more the hybridity of their semiotic practices; while orientation to higher-scale chronotopes of normalcy leads to more agentive metalinguistic performances that draw on ideologies of discreteness and monolingualism (c.f. Djuraeva and Catedral, forthcoming). I have refrained from advocating for particular terms in my discussion of multilingual meaning-making since scholars' perceptions and utility of them also fall on such a continuum. As pointed out by Hall and Nilep (2015), understandings and analyses of code-switching in identity work have been shaped by the linguistic and socio-political realities of their times and places. While for some scholars the notion of 'codes' might have been a matter of psycholinguistic discreteness of language systems, for others it has been more about the indexical linkage of 'codes' to certain scales and territories. For example, Bhatt's (2008) discussion of code-switching as what creates a liminal *third space* and Li and Hua's (2013) use of translanguaging to discuss *in-betweenness* both aim to demonstrate the hybridity of language use in identification practices and the construction of new identity spaces; however, their chronotopic-scalar orientations differ given the differences in their ethnographic and empirical focus. By shifting our attention away from what terms best characterize the hybridity of multilingual practices, chronotopes and scales allow us to zoom *in* and *out* so as to capture the details and nuances of these practices and their interaction with language ideologies, and thus provide more accurate analyses of them. We are also able to present more fair evaluations of the previous scholarship upon which our current understandings are built.

In the Language and Society reading group during my graduate studies, my colleagues and I had a shared, jocular response to any language-related issue: ‘*All linguistics is sociolinguistics*’. The chronotope, the way I have conceptualized it in this article, is what renders language and its use into a primarily sociolinguistic matter of analysis (see Blommaert 2018, 2019a). I have attempted to show that the chronotope does not simply replace other sociolinguistic terms such as Goffmanian *frames*. Instead, by bringing to attention the various types and levels of contexts deemed relevant in social interaction, it provides more precise and coherent understandings of experience, imagination, and ideology and their impact on situated practices. Tracing these differently scaled chronotopes – both the ones that guide normative-sociolinguistic behavior and the ones within which discourses are contextualized – the biographical pathways through which they have been experienced and enregistered, and their interaction with the immediate chronotopic contexts will allow for more complex and detailed – ‘higher resolution’, so to speak -- accounts of (multilingual) meaning-making. We are then able to move beyond the analyses that have traditionally focused on either micro or macro, momentary or historical, pragmatic or metapragmatic, and habitual or agentive aspects of discourse, and make way for an analysis of *the total sociolinguistic fact* (cf. Silverstein 1985; Blommaert 2018).

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