

Re-examining the Role of Language Documentation as a Medium in Relation to Language Renewal Efforts, ‘Purity’ Ideologies and Affects among Belizean Mopan Speakers¹

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In this article, I explore the possible application of language documentation as a medium, or a “site,” that can intermediate two contrasting principles or beings, such as researchers and language consultants, or language ideologies and speakers’ felt attachment to their language. Inspired by the notion of “sites (Silverstein, 1998b; Kroskrity, 2009),” I reconsider the role of language documentation and the moment that language documentation can create. Treating this moment as a place where those contrasting beings² meet and interact, I propose that language documentation can create “sites” of linguistic transaction³, of self recognition, and of stance shift. Within this “site,” language documentation can serve as a medium that can mitigate a border between two contrasting beings and enable speakers to start self-motivated and self-engaging language renewal.

1. Theoretical Background

Current linguistic anthropological language documentation and studies of language renewal and revitalization efforts have been paying closer attention to the role of language ideologies⁴. By defining linguistic ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated

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² I am still looking for a better term for “contrasting beings.” It is a translation for a word I came up in my native language, Japanese: 対照的存在 (*Taishou-teki Sonzai*); but of course it does not convey the same meaning (to me, at least). Hopefully I can find a better word in my working dissertation.

³ I thank Dr. Anthony Woodbury for articulating the word “sites of linguistic transaction” at his SALSA keynote speech.

⁴ For example, the influences of outsiders, including researchers, have been reflectively analyzed, criticized and discussed by many scholars (Debenport 2010; England 2002, 2003; Hill, 2002; Hofling, 1996; Silverstein, 1996, 1998a; Suslak 2011). Such studies also concern missionaries and

by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use (1979: 193),” Silverstein emphasizes the role of speakers’ linguistic *awareness* through the construction process of language structure. Such *awareness* or “the cultural ideas about language (Kroskrity, 2009: 11)” is often influenced by specific political economic perspectives speakers have. These perspectives often became a part of the speakers’ identity but are not necessarily unchanging. Rather, as people change, so do the foundation of their identities. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 585-586) state that identity is a “relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories.” As all speakers in a society have multiple social roles and categories, they also have different kinds of identities that are negotiated, hidden, or emphasized according to speakers’ social interactions, environments, and relations to others. Many studies have shown that language plays an important role in the negotiation of an identity (Barrett, 2008; Fuller, 2007). However, the ways speakers understand their language in relation to other languages and why such a relationship matters is not always the same. For example, associating a heritage language to speakers’ ethnic identity is deeply connected to speakers’ ideological stances (Webster 2011). It is clear that language ideologies may differ and conflict even for a single individual (Kroskrity, 2004; Irvine and Gal, 2000). But how and where do the negotiation and change of identities and ideologies take place?

Kroskrity (2009)’s application of Silverstein (1998b)’s notion of *ideological site* to the act of language renewal provides a useful insight to delve into this question. He situates the problem of *ideological clarification* within the language renewal activities as an outcome of different perspectives derived from “the interaction of indigenous, colonial, post-colonial and professional academic perspectives (Kroskrity, 2009: 71).” Silverstein (1998b: 138) notes that “(t)he site of institutionalized ritual and ritualization, then, provides an essential place where societies and social groups in effect articulate the ideological whether positively, as in the kiva, or negatively, as in the *kros*...such sites are the foci of metadiscursively evidenced ideological formations about social life...” Kroskrity applied this view to state language renewal activities as “sites” of “ideological struggles and as stages upon which differences in language beliefs and practices are often dramatically displayed (Kroskrity, 2009: 71).” Developing from Silverstein’s notion of *ideological sites*, Phillips (2000) analyzes the relationship between ideological awareness and *multi-sitedness*. While her analysis is more from a language ideological perspective, Kroskrity took emotional aspects of language into consideration by stating the issue as “the conflicts of “beliefs, or feelings, about languages” (Kroskrity, 2009: 71).” This particular statement is important to note, because it implies that beliefs and feelings, or more academically termed *language ideologies* and *linguistic affects* are not necessarily two contrasting things but rather may be inseparable and interchangeable within speakers’ minds.

The research on emotional aspects of language has not been a main concern of language documentation study. One of exceptions is Woodbury’s (1987, 1993, 1998) work on documenting and analyzing Cup’ik, one of Central Alaskan Yup’ik Eskimo dialects. By demonstrating that certain suffixes have great rhetorical effects in Cup’ik speech and

colonial circumstances that have also had a huge impact on local perceptions of language, communities, and linguistic and cultural practices (Kulick, 1992; Schieffelin, 2000, 2002, 2007; Hanks, 2010). Kroskrity’s (2009) work on *ideological clarification* is also a consolidation of recent studies on the ideological gaps regarding language revitalization and communicative practices between local communities and scholars (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998; Leonard, 2008) or even among locals (Anderson, 1998; Meek, 2007; Nervins, 2004; Schmidt, 1985).

cannot be replaced by equivalent English terms, Woodbury (1998) called these rhetorical, aesthetic, and expressive suffixes as *form-dependent expression*. Webster (2010a) extends the notion of this affective suffixation and suggests that understanding *intimate grammars* is a key to understand real Navajo linguistic practices among the Navajo speech community.

While these concepts are useful to analyze speakers' attitudes towards languages and their social and individual identities that are affected by their felt attachments to their languages and multiple language ideologies, I want to call attention to the moment when Woodbury (1998) detected Cup'ik's *form-dependent expression* and Webster (2010a, 2010b) noticed *intimate grammars* among Navajo poets. Recording and examining affective and expressive suffixes of Cup'ik, Woodbury not only captures what Sapir (1915) called *consonantal play* but also finds inseparable and non-interchangeable links between "phonoaesthetic, partly iconic plays on special features of the language's phonology and morphology (Woodbury, 1993:7)" and essential cultural content, unique to a given linguistic community. In this critical moment when speakers build and express emotional attachments to their languages against ideologically imprinted norms, Webster (2010b) sees the clear example of what Irvine (1990) termed *affective registers*. Webster also detects the motivation behind speakers' "unexpected" linguistic behavior as the true demonstration of *form-dependent expression* and imaginative possibilities of language (Friedrich, 1979; also see Webster 2011, 2014). Such an insightful understanding of previous studies of languages, of cultures, and of consultants as individuals enabled him to capture this particular moment of realization.

Webster's examples keep reminding us that when speakers of two different languages sincerely work together to explain and understand particular linguistic features or phenomena, they are also dealing with beliefs, feelings, different worldviews, and "*ethnography of speaking* (Hymes, 1964)" of each other's language. While Webster's cases are not necessarily the work of language documentation, similar moments of realization are frequent within the act of language documentation. By providing evidence from Mopan Mayan speakers in Southern Belize, I demonstrate how language documentation can create a moment when the conflicts between beliefs and feelings about languages take place within the interaction between language consultants and researchers. Extending Kroskrity's argument that discourses on language renewal operate as "sites" where speakers have the opportunity to legitimize their ideological stances toward languages use, I propose that language documentation can operate as "sites" of linguistic transaction, of self re-cognition, and of stance shift.

2. Setting

Mopan Maya is a member of the Yukatekan branch of the Mayan language family spoken in the southern Petén region of Guatemala and in the Maya Mountain region of southern Belize (Hofling, 2009: 97). According to Ethnologue, it is spoken by 9,200 people in Belize as of 2006 and by 3,000 – 4,000 people in Guatemala as of 2008 (Hofling, 2011). Although the estimated number of remaining Mopan speakers both in Belize and in Guatemala has increased (Ethnologue reported a population total for all countries as 14,200), Mopan is still classified as a severely endangered language (Moseley, 2010).

The Toledo district is Belize's southernmost administrative area, with the lowest population density in the nation. According to 1985 census, 64% of the residents are Mopan and Q'eqchi' Mayas (Wilk and Chapin, 1990: 12). In 1980, Yukatek and Mopan Maya made up 6.8% of the total population of Belize while 2.7% were Q'eqchi's. However, according to the 2010 census (Statistical Institution of Belize, 2013), the number of Q'eqchi' speakers increased to 17,581 (6%) while Mopan's ratio dropped to 3.6%

(10,649)⁵. Ethnologue (Gordon, 2005) reported that there are over 800,000 Q'eqchi's in Guatemala in 2009. Although Q'eqchi is still one of the ethnic minority languages in Belize, because of its high population in Guatemala, it is not categorized as an endangered language.

Within the Toledo district, San Antonio, San Jose, Na Luum Caj, Santa Elena, and Pueblo Viejo are considered Mopan villages, while other villages such as Blue Creek are Q'eqchi'. However, there are high numbers of intermarriages as well as job-related short-term migrations within the area due to the lack of an efficient transportation system. Interethnic marriages between Mopan and Q'eqchi' are common. In many cases, a husband and wife do not speak or understand each other's language during their courtship or in the beginning of their marriage. Their children usually grow up as speakers of either Mopan or Q'eqchi' based on the majority in their residential community. Thus, even within a village that claims to be Mopan, there may be several Q'eqchi' families and a good number of people that are actually ethnically a Mopan-Q'eqchi' mix. The English literacy rate is relatively high in the Belizean Mopan communities because of public school education and English church services. Q'eqchi' villages promote Q'eqchi' literacy among younger generations while Mopan Maya literacy is still relatively limited to those who took workshops offered by the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala* (ALMG) (Tanaka, 2012). In a number of Mopan villages, elders are often monolingual Mopan speakers or Mopan-Spanish bilinguals but do not speak English. Younger generations are usually monolingual Mopan speakers until they enter elementary school. Many youths shift their main language to English or even to Creole as they grow up and obtain higher education or jobs in urban areas. England (1998: 104) suggested that in Guatemala, despite elders' early concerns about language loss, Mayan language shift in general is in its early rather than later stages. However, two decades later, the shift has progressed and the fear that the younger generation no longer speaks Mopan naturally and fluently is becoming a reality, both in Guatemala and in Belize.

3. Apathetic Disengagement and Nostalgic Engagement in Language Renewal

My fieldwork suggests that Belizean Mopans seem to have two contrasting attitudes toward the Mopan language: apathetic disengagement influenced by the ideology of being Belizean, and nostalgic engagement governed by the ideology of being "pure" Mopan. Those attitudes also contrast with the linguistic attitudes of Q'eqchi' Mayas.

Echoing the decrease of fluent speakers, an awareness of the loss of Mopan lexical items and cultural traditions among Mopan villagers has risen over years. However, demands for the documentation of the heritage language and the creation of pedagogical materials are publicly voiced by only a handful of individuals who are mostly engaged in education. When the issue is raised through interviews, for example, many villagers admit that younger generations, especially those who live in a city, are losing their language and culture and that language loss is not good for the Mopan people as a whole. However, the majority of them say there is nothing they can do about it and so they sadly accept the situation.

This apathetic attitude toward language and cultural revitalization seems more common among Mopans than Q'eqchi's. For example, on June 22nd, 2014, the event "Maya Solidarity Day" was hosted by the Toledo Alcaldes Association (TAA) and the Maya Leaders Alliance (MLA). At this event, Maya people from 39 villages in Southern Belize gathered to celebrate the one year anniversary of a victory for their land rights, to

⁵ Yukatek and other Maya groups also decreased to 2,141 (0.7%).

reaffirm the continuation of fights against inequality and injustice to Maya people, and to strengthen Maya people's solidarity. Many speeches were given in English, Creole, or Q'eqchi' but none were in Mopan. Only one speaker used both Q'eqchi' and Mopan at the beginning of his speech but soon he switched to Q'eqchi' only. Despite the importance and significance of the event, not many Mopan villages and their people participated. Only a few leaders from Mopan villages were there. I asked people who did not come to the event why and they told me they either did not know about the event, had other things to do (cooking, taking care of fields, chopping woods, or having a soccer game), knew no one to go with, or just did not care.

A low participation rate of Mopan schools in the Maya spelling competition (Spelling M) is another example of Mopan's apathy. Only three Mopan schools participated in the competition while over ten Q'eqchi' schools competed. Surprisingly, almost none of the Congress of Maya Teachers (CMT) members were in attendance and Pueblo Viejo primary school, where a Mopan-English bilingual program was implemented in 2012, did not participate in the competition. Interestingly, Pueblo Viejo was the second Mopan school chosen for the UNICEF's intercultural bilingual education (IBE) program. San Jose, where I conducted fieldwork, was the first Mopan school chosen for the IBE project along with Aguacate for Q'eqchi' and Gulissi for Garifuna. Unlike other schools, there was no report or feedback from the San Jose IBE program in UNICEF's report on the project. When I visited San Jose in 2011, the program was still active and at least three teachers were actively engaging in the bilingual program (see Tanaka 2012). However, in 2013, when I revisited San Jose, all teachers were either relocated or quit to attend the University of Belize (UB) for their college degrees. Moreover, a new school principal implemented an English-only policy and discouraged the use of Mopan in the school. Now it is hard to recognize that the IBE program was ever conducted at the San Jose school.

The last example is an excerpt from an interview with a Mopan teacher, Ms. Aurora Coc (A.C). She taught both in Q'eqchi' village (Aguacate) and Mopan village (San Antonio) and noticed differences in villagers' attitudes toward cultural activities and their ethnic identity.

- (1) "In (Aguacate) everywhere I go, I feel comfortable wearing my cultural clothing. That's just of me. I'm not afraid to say who I am, but and then in, in this institution (in San Antonio), now it's, it is little different because some people, some teachers say what children should learn is (English)...you just see them not want them to participate in anything (cultural or traditional). You know...so it is a little...it's hard. It's hard to get by. (A.C. 2011-6-21)"

According to Ms. Coc, two villages show a clear difference in interest in heritage language and culture. In Aguacate, she felt comfortable to embrace her identity as Maya and villagers had positive attitudes toward their language and culture. On the other hand, in San Antonio, people have a much more apathetic attitude toward revitalization and promotion of their own culture and language (see Tanaka, 2012).

Why aren't Mopans engaging? Are they simply not interested in the subject? Ethnographic observation suggests that Belizean Mopans' linguistic and cultural apathy can be understood as an indication of their linguistic stance and self positioning in Belize. Linguistic identity in Belize is often associated with speakers' ethnic identity. However, an increasing number of interethnic marriages between Mopans and speakers of other languages and the national trend tying Creole to Belizean identity result in a permeable border between linguistic and ethnic identity and a shift in the communicative economy of Mopan among Belizean Mopan speakers.

The rise of Creole and Spanish as the most common and influential languages in Belize is undeniable. Spanish is used more than English in Northern Belize and Spanish class has been implemented as a core subject at the grade school level. Although English is still an official language, Creole serves as an unofficial national language. Especially through the media, Belizean Creole is repeatedly associated with Belizean identity. For example, local and national news reporters do not use English, the official language of Belize, but Creole. The language of the domestically-produced, 100% Belizean movie, *“Curse of the Xtabai”* is Creole with English subtitles. *Xtabai* or *Ix Tabay* is a bad spirit that appears in a Mayan folktale. In the movie, a Mopan shaman guides people into a cave and speaks in Mopan. None of his Mopan words were subtitled. The translation in Creole was given by a character in the film not by a subtitle and according to the Mopan speakers I watched the film with, the translation is not accurate at all.

Another example comes from a national television show, *“Belize got talent”*, in which one of judges often criticizes contestants for sounding like Jamaicans and encourages them to use Belizean Creole to show their Belizean identity. Several school teachers I interviewed reported that students typically use Creole and cannot fully utilize English. Not only in the local capital town of Punta Gorda, but also within many Maya villages, especially where electricity is available, Creole serves as the dominant language. Although Creole is regarded as a “broken,” “mixed” or “impure” language by the majority of Mopan elders and conservatives, the national trend tying Creole to Belizean identity is gradually filtering into younger generations and the majority of Belizean Mopans. These factors suggest that the indexicality and the semiotic value of Creole and Mopan and what it means to be Belizean and Belizean Mopan have been gradually changing among Belizean Mopan speakers.

The number of Mopan Maya representatives in public spaces and businesses has increased but they use Creole and do not use Mopan unless they need to assist monolingual Mopan speakers. From a language as a “communicative” tool perspective, Mopan is no longer the only means of communication. Creole, Spanish and English are more economical and practical languages for communication with other Belizeans and can be used between Belizean Mopans. This is also a reason why Mopan–Q’eqchi’ couples, who used to choose either Mopan or Q’eqchi’ as means of communication, are now using Creole instead. That many Guatemalan Mopan and Q’eqchi’ speakers migrated to Belize during the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996) also raises questions about the perception of nationality and linguistic identity. Wilk and Chapin (1990) reported that Belizean Mopans do not retain significant ties with the Mopans in Guatemala, but rather identify themselves with Belize, while Belizean Q’eqchi’s often maintain strong family ties with Guatemalan Q’eqchi’s and to their Coban homeland. Q’eqchi’s diasporic nature may be the reason why they are more linguistically and culturally conservative than Mopan. On the other hand, Mopans’ detachment from Guatemala and association with Belize may cause their apathetic attitudes toward language maintenance.

Contrary to these apathetic and disengaging trends, some people are actively engaging in language and culture preservation and revitalization with a ‘purity’ ideology. My fieldwork suggests that linguistically there are few significant differences in Belizean and Guatemalan Mopan. However, some Belizean Mopan cultural activists emphasize linguistic purity and superiority of Guatemalan Mopan with rhetoric that evokes a nostalgic connection to Guatemala as their homeland. While maintaining their Belizean identity, these activists ideally imagine and ideologically circulate the idea of “purity” that increases their emotional and ideological connection to Guatemalan Mopan. Hofling (2011, personal communication) pointed out that their strong ideology of language “purity” is probably influenced by San Luis teachers and the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas de*

Guatemala (ALMG), who emphasized the idea that Guatemalan Mopan as determined by this institution is the correct form of Mopan and that the language should be “pure.”

Moreover, both Mopans and Q’eqchi’s have a growing sense that they are being ignored by the Belizean government and such feelings led them to identify themselves as Indians, an economically and politically exploited indigenous group (Gregory, 1984; Howard, 1975; Wilk and Chapin, 1990). Increasing ties with Q’eqchi’ and the frustration with the Belizean government may cause some Belizean Mopan activists to increase their emotional and ideological connection to Guatemalan Mopan while maintaining their Belizean identity.

Historically and geographically, practicing such duality may be easier in the Toledo district. Historically, there has been longstanding movement of Mopan populations between Guatemala and Belize (Jones 1989, 1998). Even now, people freely go back and forth without a passport in this region because there is no customs, immigration, or border control there. The river (Aguacate Creek) may serve as a sensory border but it is not the official border and after passing the river, there is still land stretching ahead to the horizon before an officially marked Guatemalan road is reached. This land between the river and the paved road may induce a feeling that there is no clear border between Guatemala and Belize.

I have argued elsewhere that the individual’s emotional attachments to their language and the sense of belongings to one’s linguistic community are the crucial keys for effective language documentation and revitalization (Tanaka, 2012). It is not ideological pressures but speakers’ emotional attachment to their “mother” tongue that leads speakers to willingly make efforts to pass it onto the next generation. So my question is what could possibly make Belizean speakers switch their linguistic attitudes from apathetic disengagement to nostalgic engagement. How can they negotiate their emotional attachment to their language with local and national ideologies?

4. The Analysis of Orlando Sho’s Mopan Maya Rap Performance

I found a possible answer in the act of language documentation. The idea had been nurtured through ethnographic study, participant observations, and many conversations and interviews I had with my language consultants to elicit their linguistic biographies but the particular event I am about to describe provided me a crucial moment.

On May 24th, 2014, a group of Japanese governmental volunteers organized a live music event. The audience was predominantly English, Creole, and Japanese, and so were the songs played and performed that night, except one by Orlando Sho. Orlando is my field assistant and had just started to write songs in Mopan. At this event, he performed his original Mopan Maya rap to an audience who could not understand Mopan. Considering Belizean Mopans attitudes toward language and self, and how he had been composing his song, it is striking how he was presenting himself, framing the act of singing, and engaging in his performance.

The song is about a man who does not care about his family and hurts people with his drinking and other negative behavior. The song is about his past but is also applicable to many Maya men. He was still writing his song at that time and struggling to find the best rhymes and rhythm for it. At the beginning, he was looking at his notebook; trying to follow what he had written. But gradually, he started to perform in his own words and sang what he felt. He was not just reading his notes anymore, but performing, expressing his own thoughts and emotions as they came to him. The song did not have the perfect rhymes and words that he thought it should have, but he just wanted to let it out, with his own words, in his own language.

This was not the first time Orlando sang in front of an audience. In fact, he has sung and composed English rap since high school. However, it never occurred to him that he could write his songs in Mopan until he engaged in my linguistic fieldwork. There are many factors that influenced his decision of writing songs in Mopan. However, my observations and many conversations and interviews I had with him to elicit his linguistic biography suggest that engagement in language documentation had a huge impact on his decision.

Orlando may not be an ideal language consultant. Sometimes, he did not know words and expressions, such as examples (2) and (3), from Hofling's dictionary (Hofling, 2011), which I used to compare Guatemalan and Belizean Mopan.

- (2) *maneeb'* *xot=ja'*
 instrument for moving cross=water
 'bridge'

- (3) *t'aab'il=witz*
 burning=mountain
 'volcano'

My other consultant simply stated that Orlando did not use or know those words. Sometimes, he commented that words were just made-up words that someone just coined to explain things that do not have Mopan names. Orlando, on the other hand, thought those "made-up words" were interesting and encouraging, because they showed him how his language was as capable of creating new vocabulary as English. Also, he always asked his parents and grandparents about words he did not know and learned their meanings as we continued elicitation. For example, he said he did not know the word *alam* 'meat of sprouting corozo (ivory palm)' but once the word was explained to him by his father, Orlando took a thoughtful pause, and then the realization came to him with a start. He looked back at me with a sparkle in his eyes and told me that he knew what it was but did not know the proper name for it until now. Language learning is world learning. It ultimately enables people to define the surrounding world and who they are. For Orlando, the experience of participating in language documentation brought him back to the moments when he was learning language as a child.

Luthin and Hinton (2003) demonstrated that biographic knowledge of language consultants, such as Ishi, can provide more than grammatical and ethnographic information. Consultants' individually unique speech style and the choice of what to and how to tell the story can be a reflection of their lives and values. Orlando's grandfather, Mr. Brigido Cal told me many stories. One of them was about a woman who died after she fed a stranger before her husband came back from a plantation. In telling us, both me (researcher) and his grandson, Orlando (transcriber/translator), Mr. Cal described a moral lesson and some of the traditional customs of Mopan Maya. As Orlando transcribed and translated the story for me, he could re-experience a traditional Maya life through his grandfather's story. The experience helped him to learn about Mopan ways of thinking and gave him a sense of pride to be a Mopan.

Knowing that, his self-introduction at the beginning of his rap performance bears significant meaning.

- (4) 1. This is Orlando, S. H. O.
 2. Coming all the way from San Jose.
 3. Everybody must understand
 4. I am a Maya Man.

5. So...
6. Tonight, I'm gonna sing
7. to you
8. in
9. my
10. own language,
12. Mopan Maya.

These words were not a mere statement about himself and of the information that he was going to sing in Mopan. Rather, they were his determination and declaration of his commitment to his linguistic heritage and identity.

A keen awareness in one's own language and one's felt attachment is not only articulated internally but formed through interaction with other languages. Intimate connection with their own language, expressed by Webster's examples of Blackhorse Mitchell's "sheeps" (Webster, 2011) and Laura Tohe's love for a Navajo word *nihik'inizdidláád* "luminescence is all around" (Webster, 2010b) reflects their identity not just as Navajo speakers but as speakers of Navajo English. Orlando's experiences as a teacher, as an English rap singer and a Mopan language consultant are all reflected in his new self-identification: a Mopan Maya man who sings in his own language.

5. Conclusion: Reconsidering the Role of Language Documentation

Language documentation can function as an application of linguistic relativity. Guided by the view that language extinction is a loss of inherent diversity and hence a universal tragedy for all humankind, the most prioritized focus of language documentation has been collecting and analyzing linguistic features as well as producing dictionaries and grammars. Producing pedagogical materials means a specific form is selected and circulated as a "correct" form over other variations. By these means, the act of language documentation is deeply intertwined with multiple language ideologies. However, I think a fundamental motivation for language documentation is an insatiable desire for knowledge – the knowledge that allows us to comprehend the world and to express the world the way we see it. Children acquire their language by observing and understanding a language that is spoken in the world surrounding them. The process can be passive and they may not show the desire to learn more than they need to. However, the process can also be more fruitful when children are curious and have an appetite for new information and learning. Once they start to wonder about the world they are in, they ask questions to address their interests. The more names and expressions they learn the wider and more complex their world becomes. Through the act of language documentation, both researchers and language consultants can re-experience this very moment of language acquisition and world learning.

Language documentation can produce more than just archival and pedagogical materials that legitimize specific linguistic forms and ideologies. It can provide us an opportunity to re-experience the moment when Sapir (1915) noticed affective associations between speakers and linguistic forms and when Boas (1927) detected an emotional attachment to aesthetic forms. Through this process, researchers, such as Marshall Durbin (1973), Hill and Zepeda (1990), and Tony Woodbury (1987, 1993, 1998) detected the strong ties between and among language, emotion, aesthetics and culture (see Webster 2014). Through this opportunity, Irvine (1990), Webster (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011) and many others found that affects can mediate language and power.

I believe that language documentation can also mediate language and power. It can also mediate emotion and language. It can work as a medium that can intermediate two

contrasting principles or beings, such as researchers and language consultants, or language ideologies and speakers' felt attachment to their language. The border between those contrasting beings can be erased in the moment that language documentation creates. Furthermore, analysis of a consultant's linguistic biography⁶, in which notions of self and the value of self were redefined through his engagement in language documentation, suggests that the process of language documentation can act as a medium to change a person's attitude toward language by erasing the borders between ideologies and affects and creating the moment when language is not just communicative but an imaginative and expressive tool (Friedrich, 1979; Webster, 2009, 2014).

Inspired by Silverstein and Kroskrity's notion of "sites," I treat this moment as a place where contrasting beings meet and interact and call this place a "site." I propose that language documentation can create "sites" of linguistic transaction, of self re-cognition, and of stance shift. Language documentation can create "sites" where speakers can legitimize their ideological stance toward languages and their discourse on language renewal. The process of language documentation provide opportunities in which speakers' language ideologies and affects can conflict, concord, coexist and change within individuals. It can create "sites" where speakers reflect on their life experiences, redefine the self, bring attention back to the value of their language and evoke emotional attachment toward their language. Within this "site," language documentation can serve as a medium that can erase the border between two contrasting beings and help them to face one another and interact. From this "site," a self-motivated and self-engaging language renewal can begin.

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⁶ Inspired by Kroskrity (1993)'s suggestion that individual's life history can be crucial to understand language ideological change and the identity construction of that individual, I consider individuals' linguistic biographies as a useful means for understanding complexity and multiplicity of identity and ideology formation processes as well as for analyzing the degree and kinds of speakers' felt attachments to languages (see Tanaka 2012).

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